The cult of Rudra-Siva.

An historical Survey.

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Abstract.

The introduction summarises the opinions of various scholars upon Saivism 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 Samhitas and the Brāhmaṇas.

In Chapter II an attempt is made to explain the origin of some important features of later Saivism 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 Saivism 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 Ganesa is noticed, and also the rise of Saktism as seen in the Tantras.

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

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

In Chapter VIII a brief survey is made of Saivism outside India, with special reference to Indo-China and the Eastern Archipelago.
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 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 Saivism 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 Vedda times, in vital relationship with all as 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 symbolised, in the beginning, the two-fold aspect of nature creative and destructive. "In Siva," he writes, "we have the condensation of the two primordial agencies, the striving to 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 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.C. Bhandarakar, in his work giving an account of the rise of Saivism, 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 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

1. R.G. Bhandarakar. Vaishnavism, 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 in 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 who is usually taken to be the prototype of later Siva, proves 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 in 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 had 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...
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 Bauranik Saivism. Its subsequent elaboration and new developments are then examined and its history traced up to 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, an 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 everything goes back to the Veda. Also, the deity who, with most propriety, can 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. Besides, in one hymn, the first six verses are addressed to Rudra and the last three to Soma. In another hymn, Rudra and Soma are jointly 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.

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. Dr. Macdonell, recognizing his affinity with Agni, opined that he represented not the storm pure and simple but rather its baneful side in the destructive agency of lightning. R.G. Bhandarkar also takes him to be merely the personification of the destructive phenomena of nature. Muir has expressed a similar opinion. On the other hand, his affinity with Agni had 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. Prof. Keith takes him to be a storm god considered mainly in its destructive rather than its healing aspect. The death dealing shafts of Rudra have, again, led some to regard him as a god of the dead. His association with the Kesiins 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.

1. Indische Studien. II,19-22.
2. Vedic Mythology. p.78.
3. Vaisnavism Saivism etc.
5. Rg Veda.
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 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 satisfactorily 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 gentle. He is malevolent sometimes and destroys man and beast, but he is also benevolent at other times and is a great life-giving force, prayed for progeny and abundance. He is usually tawny in colour but is also described sometimes as white or golden. Besides, he is also regarded the best of physicians possessing cool and healing remedies. He is also the father of Maruts. In some passages he is apparently identified with Agni, and in one he is described as carousing with Reasim. No interpretation of Rudra can be satisfactory.

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6. II, 33, 2, 4. etc.
7. II, 33, 1. etc.
8. II, 1, 6. III, 2, 5.
unless it explains all these characteristics of his. It should also be remembered that the Vedic mythology possesses a storm, 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 light flashing among the clouds, which is of all these colours, while 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 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 Rg Vedic Aryans most probably lived, the lightning is alike fear and destructive, this explains the fierce and malevolent side of Rudra.

1.11, 33, 10. VII, 46, 1. etc.
Rudra's character and accounts of such epithets of his as 'a', 'nrghna', and 'ksayadvira'.

One of Rudra's epithets is 'kapardin', 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 Trtaus, in whose case it may be taken literally, and to Pusara whose case it may represent the halo of the sun. Another epithet of Rudra is 'divovaraha', meaning the boar of the sky. Bright lightning issuing from a dark cloud easily suggests a dusky boar with his white tusk. Finally, Rudra is called 'malikin; one who burns or blazes...'. This attribute also applies best to lightning.

On his benevolent side Rudra is called a great phy -an who possesses cooling and healing remedies. In the great growth of medicinal herbs during the rainy season, when Rudra is 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. ante p.3. note 3. 2. I,114,1,5. 3. I,114,5. 4. II,33,8.
connected with fertility and vegetation, and is prayed for pi
-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-
tion of Rudra with fertility is quite natural. His epithet 'vrsah
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 'vrs', 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 a
bull who is remarkable for its strength and virility, and in a
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 invocation
two deities is not unusual in the Rg Veda, and Soma is also
3) jointly invoked with Indra, Agni, and Pusan. But, in anoth
case:

1. ante p.3. note 4.
2. II,33,6,8.
hymn some verses are addressed to Rudra while others are added to Soma. The latter is also associated with lightning in some passages, and in later Vedic literature we find a 'soma-raudra' offering for progeny. All this suggests a closer connection between Rudra and Soma, and if we accept the above interpretation of Rudra this connection is not difficult to understand. Just as Rudra is the giver of health and strength so the soma juice is medicinal and invigorating, and the two are prayed to give strength and 'bhesaja' to the worshippers. Rudra 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 to the patter of rain, and the terrestrial rain readily sending fancy to the thundering clouds above, the simile is transformed into a hyperbole and Soma is said to thunder and roar even as Rudra does. His roaring in turn, perhaps, gets him the epithet 'vrśabha'.

The interpretation of Rudra given above receives corroboration from his close affinity with Agni which we can discover in the hymns. The latter is several times called 'rudra'.

1. I, 43. 2. VI, 78, 1, 3.
3. IX, 86, 9.; 91, 3; 95, 4, etc. 4. IX, 7, 3.
5. ante p. 3, note 8.
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, seems to identify Rudra and Agni. This identification 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 some 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 parivrdha', which aptly applies 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. 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

1. 1,43,4.
2. Sayana on 1,114,10.
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. This will help us in explaining Rudra's fatherhood of the Maruts who are said to have been begotten by him on Pranl or the earth, 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, as 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', 'ahinasma', and 'a-maṇju', 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

regarded as the attendant deities of the great god Indra, even the fravashis in Iran had become the attendants of Ahuramazda. 

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 this stage they were, perhaps unnaturally, regarded as the sons of the Wind god Vayu. Later, 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 'sindhumatāraha' 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 'visā' with Kes. The difficulty with this hymn is that it is not clear whether

1. X,136.
not we are to take *kṣesā* 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 he most probably follows, who also interprets 'kesa' as rays and regards *kesi* as referring to the sun. In another passage on the Rg Veda, a reference is made to three *kesins*, and there they seem to stand for Agni, Surya, and Vayu respectively. They are interpreted by Yaska as such. The word *visa* also does not necessarily mean poison, but is very often synonym of 'udaka' or water, 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 verse of 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

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1. Nirukta. XII, 12, 25-6. "kesī kesā rasmayah. taistadvan bha-
ti(prakāsanādva).....kesādam jyotir ucyatā ityādityam āha.
2. I, 164, 44.
3. Nirukta. XII, 12, 27. "trayah kesinah 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 show 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 Rg Veda, the strength of the rushing Maruts is compared to that of the Munis. In another passage, Indra, when under the influence of Soma, is said to be the companion of the Munis. From all these passages, it can be inferred that the Munis were a class of ascetics who certainly did not belong to the Indo-Aryan stock, with rather eccentric habits, and supposed to possess superhuman powers as a result of their asceticism, and boasted of these powers when under the influence of strong liquor in which, perhaps, they frequently indulged. Indra, the fire, when similarly intoxicated, and bragging of his prowess...
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 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 Dalbh who might have been their king or priest. The way in which they are connected with the Pancalas might indicate that they were a subdivision of the latter. The Maitrayaniya Samhita mentions a Kesin Satyakami who appears as the teacher of the Kesin Dal

The Kesins are also mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana. 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', having dark tuft of hair, which description applies best to lightning in the midst of dark and massive clouds (already compared to hair in epithet 'kapardin' in the Rg Veda). He also strikes mortals with lightning. In one passage his chariot is described as black and terrible and drawn by ruddy horses. This, again, ap

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 inject poison, injecting disease, and is ever dreaded. He is constantly prayed to avert it, and to strike with it the enemies of the worshipper and those who are niggardly. In one passage he is called 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 in one passage. But in the later portions of the Rg Veda dogs are associated with Yama, the god of death, and in view of their 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 sighted of. He is now followed by his hosts who are probably

1. VI, 90, 1. etc.
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.
5. XI, 2, 30.
same as the Rudras, and who are, in fact, none other than the old Maruts. His shafts are no longer supposed to kill outright but inflict disease for the cure of which charms and herbs are prescribed. He is also invoked against goblins and other spirits. The last two facts show what is not so clear in the Rig Veda, that Rudra was more a deity of popular belief than the higher Vedic pantheon. This fact had important results. 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 called Mahadeva, the great god. In his character as a healer the advance in his anthropomorphicism is noticeable. Not only does he cooling and healing remedies, but he is invoked for curing diseases. In some other hymns he is called 'sahasraksa'. The epithet is usually applied to Varuna in the Rig Veda and to the spies of Varuna in the Atharva Veda. Varuna is the guardian of the moral 'rta' and he watches all the activities of all the beings through the help of his spies. 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.
2. IX, 7, 7. etc.
3. VI, 32, 2.
4. IX, 7, 7. etc.
5. VI, 44, 3; 57, 1. XIX, 10, 6.
6. R.V.V, 50, 10. etc.
7. IV, 16, 4.
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 ind-ependent. 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 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 something in his character which aroused the admiration of the non-priestly section of the Vedic 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 eastern 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 Aryanise 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 men of the 'pumascali' 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

2. N.N. Ghose. Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture (origins). 1
Vratya in the book. In the very beginning, the Vratya is to have become 'mahadeva', and 'isana', both epithets of Rudra. Later on, under his various names, Rudra is described as acting upon the Vratya. 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." 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 for the Vratya is also said to have assumed the forms of 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 passages epithets here, there is any allusion to Rudra or not. In the rest of the book, and also in the later 'vrasta-mas' 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 decried Valhikas, and Dr. Hauer is not right in seeing in drunk orgies of these people the doings of Sivaite Baccha. 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, 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

sufficient evidence to enable us to agree with MM. Haraprasad Satri when he sees in the Vratya Rudra himself, and regards him as a 'god of the nomads', and a nomad of nomads, the spirit of the nomadic horde'. Some of the characteristics of the late Siva, such as the skin garments, and his homelessness, which Mr. 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 formations of offerings to him in sacrifices. 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 ancient Aryans, and for the matter of that, among most ancient civilised peoples. We find numerous instances of it among the 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 story of Sunahsepha in the Aitareya Brahmana for the prevalence of this practice. Thus, it is quite probable, that Rudra was sometimes worshipped with human sacrifices especially as he was connected with fertility in the rites of which such sacrifices were most commonly performed. The practice was, in course

1. JASB. 1921. p.17 et seq.
2. XI,2,9.
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's human offerings, we ought to see in it not a revolting and 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 were feared more than ever, and he is prayed to avert them. Krishna, a destroyer or injurer, is now one of his names, and in one passage he is associated with 'dauravratya', explained by Mahidara as 'capricious behaviour'. This dread of him led to propitiation by more euphemisms, and we find his bow and quiver being called 'siva'. He is also prayed to take the worshipped 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.
4. TS.IV,5,1.

Mahidara on this passage: "dustam skhalanocchanadi vratam yasya sah".
dangerous. His character as a healer is, however, still remembered, and he is prayed for his good 'bhasaja' to men and beasts.

It was perhaps with reference to this aspect of his that the Asvins, the divine physicians, were associated with him, and described in the Yajur Veda as following the path of Rudra.

character as 'pasupati' is more firmly established, and his connection with fertility is seen from the 'somarudra caru' 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 to assume entirely new characteristics which we cannot trace back either to the Rg or to the Atharva Veda. These passages are the Trayama HoMa and the Satarudriya. In the former, Rudra not only appears as 'pasupati' and as a physician, but is also associated with 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 his share has been offered to him, he is requested to depart beyond the Mujavata mountain, and the

1. TS. I, 2, 4.
2. TS. I, 2, 6.
3. VS. XIX, 62. XXIII, 58.
4. TS. I, 2, 6. VS. IX, 39.
Also VS. XXXIX, 8. and the 'satarudriya'.
5. TS. II, 2, 10.
6. TS. I, 2, 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 safe 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 Njauvata? Before we attempt to answer these questions, let us see which way the evidence points. Forgetting for the moment that the passage refers to Rudra, let us first see what idea of the deity described in it we can form from it. The request to depart beyond the Njauvata seems to connect the god with the North Indian mountains. His association with the rat, a troglodyte animal, might suggest 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, the mention of 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-ryan deity, probably 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 these Kiratas and kindred tribes.

This process of assimilation of one deity by another, as remarked above, is not at all unusual in mythology. It appears to have almost inevitably followed the political assimilation 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 people and was, so to speak, outside the circle of the gods round whom the Vedic priests had built up and elaborate ritual 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 in contact were the inhabitants of the sub-Himalayan regions, s
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 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 that of the Satarudriya. This is a hymn of sixty six verses praise of Rudra from which we can get a very good idea of how Rudra was conceived of in Yajur Vedic times. 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, 'siva', 'sivatara', 'samkara' and so on (v.41). He is also a physician. His old epithet 'kapardin' occurs once, while another, 'nilag', seems to be a development of the old epithet 'nilasikhandar'. His character as the lord of beasts is also clearly recognised, but the passage is more important for the many new epithets Rudra found in it. Thus, he is called 'girisanta' (v.2), 'girisa' (v.4), 'giriscara' (v.22), 'girisaya' (v.29), all of which associate him with the mountains. He is also called the 'lord of the 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 be

1. TS. IV, 5,15. VS. XVI, 1-66.
extolling Rudra in high terms, goes on to describe him 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, or worshippers of Rudra, we find mentioned not only the 'sabhas' and the 'sabha-tis', 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 Veda or the Atharva Veda 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 sub-Himalayan regions. The epithet 'krittivasah', which occurs 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 other 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 some of the forms of worship prevalent among the indigenous peoples, which were not regarded favourably by the more strict 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 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 a 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 'bahuvrihi' 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 show that Rudra was ever regarded as having three eyes. On the other hand, the word अंबा ambā 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, 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 अंबा '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
increased still more. Even the gods are afraid of him. The he is called 'pasupati,' and the cattle are said to be under control and care, yet he is regarded as definitely prone to kill animals, and in one passage the worshipper hopes that cattle would not come into contact with Rudra. 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 wrath. He is explicitly called 'ghora' and 'krura,' and is constantly prayed to avert his dart from the worshipper.

As supporting the evidence of the Tryambaka Homa we have to notice the facts that the north or the north-east is said to be his special quarter, and that in one passage he described as a strange person, dressed in black and coming from the north. Other indications of the growing distance between 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 learn that Rudra was supposed to have been left behind when the other gods ascended to heaven, and thus got the appellation of 'va-yaya,' or one who stays behind at home. Also, he is said not.

L 1. SB. IX, 1, 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.
2. SB.V, 32, 3, 7. etc.
6. AB.III, 8, 9. Tālav.III; SB.IX, 1, 1, 5.
8. AB.V, 2, 9. KB.II, 2. TB, 10.
10. SB.V, 4, 2, 10.
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, they was dedicated to him. This incidentally gives the Brahmanic 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 elaborately Brahmanic ritual was developed during the time of the Brahmanas. There was only one exception to it apart from Rudra, 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

1. SB.IX,1,1,5. 2. TB.I,6,10. Tandya.VII, 16.
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.

I 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 communing with nature, probably impressed the Aryans and aroused their admiration. This admiration increased as time passed special among those who did not accept the efficacy of the sacrificial ritual and were trying to discover new means for the realisation 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 record of which are the Upanisads. Now, Rudra, as we have seen, had nev
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 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, and he became 'mahadeva' in fact as well as in name. This position Rudra seems to have attained by the time of the Brahmanas. Inspite of the neglect he suffers at their hands, Rudra is nevertheless, feared by all the gods, and is called 1) overlord. 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 2) incest of Prajapati. 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. 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 all even during Brahmanic times. For, after punishing Pra-pati, he was asked by the gods for a reward, he is said to every thing in the universe as his own. In the Nabhanedistha story also, he makes a similar claim and this claim is suppo; 2) by the father of Nabhanedistha.

It was this rise of the worship of Rudra as a rival 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 orthodox Brahmanic worship. This they seem to have done in 2 ways. First, they emphasised the old identity of Rudra with Agni. This is seen even in the Yajur Veda, where the legend

2. AB. V, 22, 9.
Agni abounding 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 co
In the Brahmanas, Rudra is regularly identified with Agni Sv
-krt'. Secondly, they invented legends about the birth of
in which they sought to connect him with the other gods and
disguise his non-Brahmanic character. Thus, in the Kausitak
Brahmana he is said to have been born from the seed of Agni
Vayu, Aditya, and Candramas, who had been created by Prajapa
In the Satapatha Brahmana he is said to have been born as a :
result of the union of Samvatsara and Usas, while in a passage
the Jaiminiya Brahmana, the gods are said to have created him
from their terrible elements which were laid aside by them w
they were going to a sacrifice. 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 ba*
to the original character of Rudra as lightning. In these 1
-de also, Rudra is described as 'sahasraksa' and 'sahasrapat
after the manner of the Purusa in the Rg Veda, which is furth
indication of his exaltation.

1. TS.I,5,1. 2. TS.II,2.10. 3. KB. III,6. etc. 4. KB.VI,1.
5. SB.VI,1,3. 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, he himself looked upon as the protector or lord of animals, with the beneficent rains which he apparently caused connected with fertility and vegetation, and also earned his 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 prominent position in the Atharva than in the Rg Veda. From passage in the former, it can also be inferred that he was sometimes worshipped with human sacrifices. But this practice 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 worshipp
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. His name is given as Ambika, meaning mother. This assimilation of other deities greatly increased the number of Rudra's worshipers. 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, 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 the
euphemistic epithets of Rudra found first in the Yajur Veda. The 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 'sikhandas' which develops into 'nilagriva' in the Yajur Veda we can see the germs of the later legend of the drinking of son by Siva. From Rudra's epithets 'kapardin' and 'kesin' -loped the idea of the 'jatas' of the later Siva, while the latter's connection with yoga and his conception as a Mahay, is perhaps ultimately to be traced to the old association of Vedic Rudra with the Kesins and the Mûnis. 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 'p -ka' in the 'Batarudriya', which became the regular name of Si bow later on, while the conception of the latter as skin cl is to be traced to the epithet 'krttivasah' of the Vedic R Lastly, we have noticed the absorption of diverse elements in the worship of Rudra. This determined the character of later Saivism which has comprehended under its name a diversity of belief 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, the -fore, we have to find some other source. The most important of these characteristics is the 'linga' worship, became a
prominent feature of the worship of the post-Vedic Siva. From the above survey it is clear that there is nothing whatever in the old Vedic literature which might suggest that Rudra was worshipped in this form. Nor is there any evidence for the worship of phallic emblems in any ceremony. The phallic organs, indeed, are frequently mentioned and many a metaphor and a description of the sexual act, which, perhaps, also played a part in some fertility rites, as for example in the particular rite in the Asvamedha ceremony in which the chief wife of the sacrificer co-habited with the dead horse. But there is nothing to show that phallic emblems were ever worshipped or held in honor, or that any magico-religious significance was attached to them. This invalidates the arguments put forward by Dr. Laksana Sarup in a recent article in which he contends that we can see the existence of phallic worship in the Asvamedha rite as described in the Yajur Veda and the Satapatha Brahmana. We must therefore, in the post-Vedic times we find the worship of Siva intimately associated with phallic worship and must conclude that 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 female associate of Rudra in the Yajur Veda who was regarded as his sister. But she occupies a very insignificant position.

1. Rg Veda and Mohenjodaro. Indian Culture. 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, 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, 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, though 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 for all 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 the design and construction of the temples also was foreign. Once the idea was there, the essentials of a temple might w
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
cal, 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 enquiry which is to discover this outside influence under which the cult of the Vedic Rudra underwent radical changes and developed into the post-Vedic Saivism with all its peculiar characteristics noticed above.
Appendix.

(A)

Passages relating to Rudra in the Rg Veda.

I, 27, 10. Agni is called 'rudra'.

Jarābodha tad vividdhi viśe viśe yajñīyāya.

Stomam rudraya drṣṭikam.

I, 43. To Rudra.

1. Kad rudraya pracetase milhuṣṭamāya tavyase.

Vocema śaṃtamam hṛde.

2. Yathā no aditiḥ karat paśve nṛbhyo yathā gave

yathā tokāya rudriyam.

3. Yathā no mitrō varuno yathā rudras' ciketati.

Yathā viśve sajośasah.


Tat śaṃyoḥ sumnam īmahe.

5. Yah sukra iva sūryo hiranyam iva rocate.

Śreṣṭho devānām vasuḥ.

6. Śaṁ nah karaty arvate sugam meṣāya meṣye.

Nṛbhyo nāribhyo gave.

The next three verses are addressed to Soma.

7. Asme soma śriyam adhi nidhehi satasya nṛmām.

Mahiṣarvas tuvinṛṃṇah.
Āna indo vāje bhaja.

9. Yā te prajā amṛtasya parasmin
dhāmanī ṛtasya mūrdhā nābhā
Soma vena ābhūṣantīḥ soma vedāḥ.

I,114. Entirely to Rudra.

1. Imā rudrasya tavase kapardine,
ksayadvirāya prabhārāmahe matīḥ;
Yathā sam asad dvipade catuspadē,
viṣvam puṣtam grāme aṣmīṁn anāturaṁ.

2. Mrānārudrota no mayaṣkṛdhī,
ksayadvirāya nāmaṁ vidhema te;
Yacchāṁ ca ṭāmya yaścā manuḥ āyaje pitā,
tadasāyāma tad rudrapratniṣu.

3. Aṣyāma ṭāmy te sumatiṁ deva yajyāyā,
ksayadvirāya tavā rudra mīhvaḥ;
Sumnāyaṇṇiśo asmākam ācaraṁ-riṣṭavirā juhavāma te havīm.

4. Tvesam sayam rudrayajña-sādham,
vaṅkum kaviṁ avase nihayāmahe;
Are asmad daivyam helo asyatu,
sumatiṁ id sayam asyaṃvāṃīmahe.

5. Divovaraham arūṇo kapardinam,
tvesam rūpam nāmasā nihayāmahe;
Hase bibhrad bheṣaja vāryāni,
śarma varma chardir asmābhyaṁ ayaṁmat.

6. Idam pitre maṇtāṁ ucyaṇe vacaḥ,
svādoh svādiyo rudrāya vardhanam;
Rāsva ca no amṛtamarta-bhojanam,
tmane tokāya tanayāya mṛla.

7. Mā no mahāntaṁ uta mā nom arbhakam,
ma na ukṣaṇtam uta mā na ukṣitam;
Mā no vadhīḥ pitarammota mātaram,
mā naḥ priyas tanvo rudra rīrīṣah.

8. Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau,
Mā no goṣū mā no asvesu rīrīṣah;
Virāṇaṁ no rudra māmītoṇadhīr,
haviṣmantah sadam itnāhayāmahe.
9. Upa te stoman paśupā ivākaram, 
   rāsva pitarmarutām sumnam asme; 
   Bhadrā hi te sumatir mṛlayāt 
   tam āthā vayam ava itte vrṇimahe.

10. Āre te goghnam puruṣaghnām, 
    kṣayadvīra sumnam asme te astu; 
    Mṛlā ca no adhi ca brūhi deva- 
    'dha ca naḥ sarma yaccha dvibarhāḥ.

11. Avocāma namo asmā avasyavah; 
    sṛṅtou no havam rudro marutvān; 
    Tanno mitro varuno mamahantām, 
    aditiḥ sindhuhḥ pṛthivi uta dyauḥ.

I, 122. To Viśve-devas.

1. Oṁ pra vaḥ pāntām raghumanyavo'ndho, 
   yajñāṁ rudrāya milhūse bharadhvam.

I, 164, 44. Mention of the three Keśins.

Trayah keśināḥ rtūthā vicaksate, 
   saṁvatsare vapata eka eṣām; 
   Viśvam eko abhicaśte sacibhir, 
   dhrājir ēkasya dadēṣe na rupam.

II, 1, 6. Agni called 'rudra'.

Tvam agne rudro asuro maho divas, 
   tvam sardho marutām prkṣa āişāe; 
   Tvam vātair aruṇair yāśi śaṅgayaḥ, 
   tvam pūṣā viḍhataḥ pāsi nu tmanā.

II, 33. Entirely to Rudra.

1. Ā te pitar marutām sumanam etu, 
    mā nah śuryasya samārao yuyōthah; 
    Abhi no vyāro arvati kṣamāta, 
    pra jāyemahi rudra prajabhīḥ.

2. Tvādattēbhi rudra saṁtamebhīh, 
    satam himā aśiya bheṣajebbhīh; 
    Vyasmad dvēṣam vitaram vyaṇho, 
    vyamivaś catayasva viṣūcīh.
3. Śreṣṭho jātasya rudra śriyāsi,
vastastamas tavaśām vajrabāho;
Pargī närā purām āmhasāh svasti,
vivā abhāti rapasā yuyodhi.

4. Mā tvā rudra cakrudhāma namobhir,
mā duṣṭuti ma vṛṣabha mā sahuti;
Unno virān arpaya bheṣajebhir,
bhiṣaktamam tvām bhiṣajam śṛṇomi.

5. Havām abhi havate yo haviṁbhūr,
avo stomebhi rudra diśiya;
Rudārah suhavo mā no aṣyai,
ব্‌ব্বীণু৷ মাহো সি৷ রিতাম দৃ৷ রিপাম।

6. Un mā mamānda vṛṣabho marutvan,
tyakṣiyāḥ vayaśā nādhamānam;
Ghrīvā chāyam arapā asāya,
"वि्वोऽज् याम् रुद्रसा शूरः शूरसा शूरसा „
rudrasya śresthā namo bhāvāḥ.

7. Kvasya te rudra mṛlayākura haste,
yo asti bheṣajō jalaśaḥ;
Apabhārta rapasā daiyasyā,
"-bhī nu mā vṛṣabha caksamitāḥ.

8. Paḥ bhabhavo vṛṣabhāya śvīṭice,
maḥo maḥi suṣṭutim ṭrayāmi;
Namasyā kalmalākınām namobhir,
"ग्रोऽमस्यां कल्मलिकिनाम् नमो भिष यस्माद् रुद्रसा नाम।"

9. Sthrebhir aṅgaiḥ pururūpa ugro,
babhruḥ sūkrebhiḥ pipiṣe hiranyaiḥ;
Īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer,
"नवु उषयाद् रुद्रसां महायानस्य नाम।"

10. Arhan bibhāṛsi sāyakāṇi dhanvā
dhanāśēskam yajataṁ viśvarūpam;
Arhann idam dayase viśvam abhavam,
"नवु ओषयो रुद्रसां त्वदा शस्त्राती।"

11. Stuhi śūtāṁ gartasadāṁ yuvanāṁ,
mṛgam na bhīmam upahatnum ugram;
Mrāṇe ṇaritre rudra stavāno
"नवु ग्रोऽमेन तस्य निवपांतु सनाह।"

12. Kumaraścit pitaram vandanāṁ,
prati nānāma rudropayantam;
Bhūre dātārām satpatir gṛṇiṣe,
"स्तुस्यात् त्वम् बहुस्त्वा राशयस्मे।"
13. Ya vo bhesajam marutah sucini, ya samamah vrso no ya mayobhu; Yani manur avrinita pitah naa, ta sam ca yosca rudrasya vasi.

14. Pari no heti rudrasya vrjyaah, pari tyesasaya durmatir mahi gat; Ava sbhirah maghavabhyas tanusya, midhvas tokaya tanayaya mpia.

15. Eva babhro vrshabhas ciketana, yathaa deva na hpanse na hamsi; Havanasrunno rudreha bodhi, bryhad vadema vidathe savirah.

II,34,2. To the Maruts.

Dyavo nastrbhis citayanta khadino, vydhriyaa na dyutayanta vrsitaryah; Rudro yadvo maruto rukmavakasaao, vrsajani prshnyaah sukra udhanai.


Na yasyendro varuno na mitro, vratam arymaa na minantim rudrah; Naratayas tam idam svasti, huve devam savitaram namobhih.

III,2,5. Agni called 'rudra'.

Agnim sumnya dadhre purojana, vajasravasam iha vyrktabarhisah; Yatasrucah surucam viidavadevim, rudram yajhanam sadhad isthim apasam.

IV,3,6. Parijmane nasatyaya kse bravah
kad agne rudraya nraghe.

IV,3,7. Kathamahe puствibharaya puse, kadrudraya sumakhaya havirde; Kad viшnavam urugayaya reto, kad agne sarave brhatyai.
V,41,2. To Mitrāvaruṇā.
Te no mitro varuno aryamāyur,  
indra ṛbhuksa maruto juṣanta;  
ṇamobhir vā ye dadhate suvrktiṁ,  
stomaṁ rudraya mīḷhasāya sajosaḥ.

V,42,11. Tamu śtuḥi yaḥ svisuh sudhanvā,  
yo viśvasya kṣayati bheṣagajasya;  
Yakṣvāmahe saumānasāya rudram;  
ṇamobhir devam asuram duvasya.

V,46,2. Uḥā nāsatyaṁ rudro adha gnāh,  
pūṣa bhagaḥ sarasvati juṣanta.

V,51,13. Viśve devāṁ no adya svastaye,  
vaivānaro vasur agniḥ svastaye;  
Devā avantv ṛbhavah svastaye,  
svasti no rudrāḥ pātvaṁhasah.

V,53,16. Pra yeṁ me bandhveṣe gāṁ vocanta sūrayah,  
g prṣnim vocanta mātaram;  
Adha pitaram iśminam,  
rudram vocanta śikvasaḥ.

V,59,8. Mimātū dyaur aditir vitaye nah,  
sām-dānu-citra urningo yatantam;  
Acūcyavur divyam kosaṁ etuḥ,  
ṛse rudrasya maruto grāṇāḥ.

V,70,3. Patam no rudra pāyubhir uta trayethām śrātra  
Turyāma dasyun tanubhiḥ.

VI,28,7. Prajaṁatāṁ sūyavasmān riśantiḥ,  
suddhā āpah suprapāne pivantiiḥ;  
Mā vaḥ stena ṛsata mā̄ghasamsaḥ,  
pari vo mūxamaṇiḥeti heti rudrasya vṛjyaḥ.

VI,49,10. Bhuvanasya pitaram gīrbhirābhi rudram,  
dīvā vardhaya rudramktau bhahanāt;  
Ṛsvam ajaram suṣumnaṁ,  
ṛdhag huvema kaśinegitaśaḥ.
VI, 74.

To Soma and Rudra.

1. Somāudrā dhārayethām asuryam,
   pra vām iṣṭayāo aram aśnuvantu;
   Dame dame saptaratā dadhānā
   sām no bhūtām dvipade sām catuṣpade.

2. Somāudrā vivṛhataṁ viśucīṁ,
   amīvā ya naḥ gayām avivesa;
   Āre bādhethām nirṛtim paraṇai,
   asme bhadrā sausravasāni santu.

3. Somāudrā yuvam etāṁ asme,
   viśva tanūsu bhesajāni dhattam;
   Avasyataṁ mūṅcatam yanno asti,
   tanūsu baddham kṛtam eno aṃmat.

4. Tigmāyuḍhau tigmahetī susēvau,
   somāudrāv iha sūmrātam naḥ;
   Āra no mūncautām varunasya pāśad,
   gopāyataṁ naḥ sumanasyamanāḥ.

VII, 10, 4.

Agni and Rudra distinguished.

Indram no agne vasubhiḥ sajosāṁ,
   rudram rudrebhir āvaha brhaṁtam.

VII, 35, 6.

Saṁ no rudro rudrebhir jalāgaḥ,
   saṁ nas tvāstā gnābhīr iha sırṇamu.

VII, 36, 5.

Vi prkso bābadhe nrbbhiḥ,
   stāvāna idam rudrāya prastham.

VII, 40, 5.

Asya devasya mīlhuso vayaḥ,
   viṣnor esasya prābhṛthe havirbhīḥ;
   Vide hi rudro rudriyaṁ mahītvam
   yanīsthām vartir asvināvīravat.

VII, 41, 1.

Pratār bhagāṁ puṣanāṁ brahmaṇaṁpatīṁ,
   prataḥ somamutsa rudram huvema.
Entirely to Rudra.

1. Imā rudrāya sthiradhanvane girah,
   kṣīprasāve devāya svadhāne;
   Asāhāya sahamanāya vedhase,
   tīgmāyudhāya bharatā śrūtuṭaḥ.

2. Sa hi ksayena kṣamyasya janmanāḥ,
   sāmrājayena divyasya cetati;
   avannavantir upa no durascara-
   namīvorudra āsū no bhavya.

3. Yā te didyud avasrta divaspari,
   kṣmayā sarati pari sa vṛṇaktau nāḥ;
   Sahastram te svapivatā bheṣajā,
   mā nas tokesu tanayesu rīṣaḥ.

4. Mā no vadhi rudra mā para dā,
   mā te bhuma praṣītau hīlītasya;
   Ā no bhajā barhiṣi jivaśāme,
   yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sada nāḥ.

To Indra.

Tadidrudrasya cetati yahvam pratneṣu dhāmasu
Mano yatra vitadadhar vicetasaḥ.

Indra as the friend of the Munis.

Vāstospate dhruvā stuṣināṁ saṭraṁ somyānāṁ,
drapso bhettā purāṁ saśvatāṁ,
Indro munināṁ sakha.

Krṣānu māstṛyān tīṣyam sadhastha a,
 rudraṁ rudresu rudriyam havāmahe.

Rudro rudrebhīr deva mṛlayāti nāḥ
 tvāstā no gnābhīḥ suvitāya jinvatu.

Pra rudrena yayinā yanti sindhavas,
tiro māhīm aratipī dadhanvire;

Kad rudro nrṣāṁ stuto marutah pūṣano bhagāḥ.
X, 125, 6.

The Vak Hymn.

Aham rudrāya dhanur ā tanomi, 
brahmadvise sārave hantavā u;

X, 126, 5.

Ugraṁ marudbhi rudram huvemandram agnuṁ svasta 
ati dviṣah.

X, 136.

Rudra and Kesā.

1. Kesāyagniṁ kesi viṣam kesā bibhati rodasi; 
Kesi viṣvam svardre kesidam jyotir ucyate.

2. Munayō vātaraśanāhpiśangā vatsalo malaḥ; 
Vātasyanudhrājīṁ yanti yaddevāso aviksāta.

3. Unmaditā mauneyena vātāṁ a tathimā yayam; 
Sariredasmakām yuyam martāso abhipasyatha.

4. Antarikseṇa patati viṣvarupāvdaśakaśat; 
Munirdevasya devasya sauḥ tyāya sakhā hitah.

5. Vātasyaśvo vāyoh sakhātho devērito muniḥ; 
Ubhau samadrav ākṣeti yasaḥ pūrva utāparah.

6. Apsarasām gandharvanara mrgānam carane caran; 
Kesi ketasya vidvānt-sakhā svadur mānditamah.

7. Vāyur asma upāmanathat pinasti sva kunannamā; 
Kesi viṣasya pātreṇa yad rudrenāpivat saha.

X, 169, 1.

Mayobhur vātō abhibātvusṛā, 
ūrjasyastir osadhīr āriṣantam; 
Pivasvatīr jivadhanyāḥ pivantv- 
-avasāya patayate rudra mṛla.
Passages relating to Rudra in the Atharva Veda.

I,19,3. Yo naḥ svā arañah sajātaḥ
    utā niṣṭya yo asmān abhidāsatī;
    Rudrā saravyaitān mamāmitrān vividvat.

II,27,6. Rudrā jalāsabhēṣaja nilāśikhandha karmakṛt;
    Prāśam prati-pāṣā jahi asrasam kṛṣṇo osadhe.

II,34,1. Ya īṣe pasupati pasunam catuṣpadām
    uta yo dvipadām.

III,16,1. Prāṭar bhagyam puṣaṇam brahmaṇaspatim,
    prataḥ somam uta rudram navāmahe.


IV,21,7. Pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛnaṅkta.

IV,28,1. Bhavāsarvau manve tvāmi tasya vittam,
    Yayo niśaṃ idam pradiṣi yad virocate;
    Yāvasya ethe dvipado yau catuṣpadas
tau no muṇcantaṃ amhasaḥ.

IV,28,2. Yayorabhhyadhvā uṭa yaddūre ciḍ
yau viditāv iṣu bhṛtham əsiṣṭhau.

IV,30,1. Aham rudrebhir vasubhiscaṛamā.

IV,30,5. Aham rudrāya dhanur ətānoma,
    brahmaṇiṣe sarave hantavāu.

V,24,12. Marutām pita pasūnam adhipatih sa mām avatu.

VI20, 2. Namo rudrāya namo astu takmane,
namo rajne varunāya tvīṣīmate.
VI, 32.2. Rudro vo griva asairat piśacāh, 
prṣīr vo'pi śṛṇātu yātudhānāh.

VI, 44.3. Rudrasya, mūtram asyāmṛtasya nābhīh. 
(This to Ośadhi)

VI, 57.1. Idam id va u bheṣajam idam rudrasya bheṣajam; 
Yeneṣum ekatejanam śatasalyam apābravat.

VI, 59.3. Viśvarupāṁ subhagāṁ acchāvadāmi jīvalāṁ; 
Sā no rudrasya āstāṁ hetim dūram nayatu gobhy.

VI, 68.1. Adityā rudrā vasava undantu sacetasah, 
Somasya rājno vapata pracetasah.

VI, 90.1. Yām te rudra īṣumadhyad angebhyo hṛdayāya ca; 
Idam tāṁ adya tvad vayaṁ viśūcim vivṛṇāmasi.

VI, 90.3. Namaste rudrasyate mamah pratihiṭāyai, 
namo visṛjyamanāyai namo nipatītāyai.

VI, 93.1. Yamo mṛtyur aghamāro nirṛthe, 
babhruḥ sarvo'sta nilāsikhandṛaḥ.

VI, 93.2. Manasā homair harasā ghurstena, 
sarvayastra utsa rājīṁ bhavama; 
namayebhyo nama ebhyo kṛnomāy; 
anyatraśmad aghaviśa nayantu.

VI, 141.1. Adhi bravad rudra bhumne cikītsatu.

VII, 75.1. Mā vah stena īśata māghasāṁsah, 
parivo rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu.

VII, 87.1. Yo'gnau rudro yo'psvantar, 
yā osadhīr virudhā āvivesā; 
yā īmā visvā bhuvanāṁi cakṛpe, 
tasmai rudrāya namo'śtvaghaye.
VIII,3,5. Yatredānīṃ paśyasi jātavedas, tīṣṭhatam agne uṣa vṛ ca rāntam; Antarikṣe patantam yatudhānam, tamśē vidhyā sarva sīśānāh.

VIII,5,10. Asmaī manīṃ varma badhnantu devāḥ; Indro visnuḥ savītā rudro agnih.

VIII,8,17. Gharmaḥ samiddhō aguṇāyām homaḥ sahasrahaḥ; Bhavaśca pṛṇībāhusca sarva senām amūm hatam.

VIII,8,18 Indraacakṣu jālābhyaṃ sarva senām amūm hatam.

IX,7,7. Mitraśca varunaśca ansāu tvāṣṭā, cāryamā ca doṣāni mahādevo bāhu.

X,1,23. Bhavāśarvāvāsytām pāpakṛte kṛtyakṛte dustākṛte, vidyatāṃ devaheṭim.

XI,2. Hymn to Rudra.

1. Bhavāśarvau mṛdatam mābhī yātāṃ, bhūtapatī pasūpatī namo vāṃ; Pratihitam āyātam mā visraṣṭāṃ, mā no hiṃsitam dvipado mā catuspadah.

2. Sūne khoṣtre mā sarīrāṇi kartam, aliklavebhyyo grdhrebhyyo ye ca kṛṣṇā avīṣy; Maksikāste pasūpate vayaṃsi, te vighase mā vidanta.


5. Mūkhaṇya te pasūpate yāṇi caksuṃsā te bhava; Tvace rupāya sāmṛṣe prācīnāyā te namaḥ.

7. Astrā nilāsīkhandenā sahassrāksēnā vājīṇā; Rudrenārdhakaghātinā tena mā samarāmahi.

8. Sa no bhavaḥ pari vyākṣta vīśvataḥ, āpa ivāṇīḥ parivṛṇkṣu no bhavaḥ; Mā no bhī māṃṣā namo astvasmaī.

9. Caturnamā astakṛtyo bhavāya, dasakṛtyaḥ pasūpate namaste;
Tavene paṇca pasavo vibhaktā
gavo aśvah purusah ajāvayaḥ.

11. Urukoṣa vasudhānastavāyām,
yasminnīma viśvā bhuvanānyantaḥ;
Sā no mṛda pasupate namaṣṭe,
parah krōṣṭāro abhibhaḥ svāno paro yanṭvag
-ṛudo vikeśyah.

12. Dhanur bibharsi haritaṁ hiranyayām,
sahasrahīm satavadhāṁ sīkhandin;
Rudrasyesu carati devahetis,
tasyai nama yatamasyāṁ disītaḥ.

13. Yo'bhiyāto nilayate tvāṁ rudra nicikīrṣati;
Pasćād anuprayuṅkṣe tāṁ viddhasya padanīriva.

14. Bhavārūdrām sayujā samvidanāy
ubhvugadu caraṭaṁ viryāya;
Tabhyām nama yatamśyāṁ disītaḥ.

15. Namaste astrāyate mamo astu parāyate;
Namaste rudra tiṣṭhate āśiṇaya te namḥ.

16. Namāḥśeṣayaṁ namaḥ prātar namaḥ rātryā namaḥ div;
Bhavya va sarvāya cobbhāhyāṁ akaram namaḥ.

17. Sahasrākṣam ati pasyaṁ purastād,
rudram asyantām bahudha vipaseitam;
Moparāma jihvayeyamānam.

18. Syavāyam krṣnam asitam mrntam,
bdhimaṁ rathaṁ keśinaḥ pādayantam;
Pūrve pratimo nama astvasmai.

19. Ma no'bhiṣera matyāṁ devahetim,
mā nah krudhaḥ pasupate namaṣṭe;
Anyatrasmaḥ divyaṁ sākhāṁ vidhūnūḥ.

20. Ma no himiṁ adhi no brūhi,
pri no vṛddhi ma krudhaḥ
Ma tvayā samarāmahi.

21. Mā no gosu puruṣesu mā grdoḥo no ajāvīṣu;
Anyatrogra vivartāya piyarunāṁ prajāṁ jahi.

22. Yasya ūkmaḥ kasikā hetir,
ekam asvasyeṣa vrṣanah kranda eti;
Abhipūrvam nirnayate māmo astvasmai.
24. Tubhyam aranyāḥ paśavo mrgāvane,
    hitā hamsāh suparṇāḥ sākunā vayaṃsi,
    Tava yākaṃ paśupate apsantaṃ
tubhyām ksaraṇī divyāpo vṛdhe.

25. Śimśumārā ajagarāḥ purīkāyāḥ
ejāy mātasyā rajasa yebho asvasi;
    Na te dūrāṃ na pariṣthāasti te bhava,
sadyaḥ sarvāṃ pariṣpaśyasi bhūmin,
purvasmād harṣyuttarasmānt samudre.

26. Mā no rudra tākmanā mā viṣena,
    Mā naḥ samrā diyyenaṅginiā;
    Anyatraṃ sadā mahīṣāh pātaṇītanā.

27. Bhavyo divo bhava īse prthivyā,
    bhava ā papra urvantaṅkṣam;
    Tasai namo yatamasayām diṣitāh.

28. Bhava rajanyajamānāyamṛda,
    pasūnām hi paśupatir babhūtha;
    Yaḥsādādhatāt santi devā iti
catupade dvipade'ya mṛdā.

29. Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam,
    mā no vahantam uta mā no vakṣyata;
    Mā no hiṃśih pitaram mātaram ca,
    svām tanyāḥ rudra mā rīrīso nāh.

30. Rustrasyailabakārebhyo'samsūktāgilebhyo,
    Idām mahāsyebhyāh svabhyāh akaram namāh.

31. Namaste ghosinibhyo namaste keśinibhyah,
    Namo namsktānbhyo namah sambhujantibhyah,
    Namaste deva senābhyaḥ svasti no abhayāḥ ca n

XI, 6, 9. Bhavasarvāvidam brūmas rudram pasupatiscya yah
    Isur ya esāṃ samvidma tā nah santu sada sivāḥ

XII, 2, 6. Punas tvām ādityāḥ rudrā vasavah,
    punar brahma vasūnitir agne;
    Punastva brahmnapatsati adhād,
    dirghayuṭvaya satasāradāya.
XII,2,47. Tenāpahatam sarum āpatantaṁ,
tena rudrasya pāripātam āstām.

XII,4,17. Ya enām avasām āha devānām nihitām nīdhim,
Ubhau taṃmāi bhavāsārvau pārikramaṃvṛsamasyatāḥ.

XII,4,52. Ye gopatiṁ paṇḍīyāthāhur mā dadā iti,
Rudrasyāstām te hetaṃparyantyaitya.

XIII,4,4. So'ryamāṇaṁ sa varunāḥ sa rudrāḥ sa mahādevaḥ.

26. Sa rudra vāsuvānīr vāsudeva,
naṁ vāke vāṣaṭkāro'nusahhitāḥ.

27. Tasyeṃe sarve yātaveh upa praśīṣam əsatē.

228. Tasyāṃu sarvā nakṣatrā vaṣe candramasā saha.

XV,1,1-8. Vrātīya āsid Īyāmanena eva sa prajāpatīṁ samairay
Sa prajāpatīṁ suvarṇāṁ ātmannapāsyat tat praṭāj
-at(2). Tadekam abhavat tan mahād abhavat tañj
-aṭham abhavat tad brahma abhavat t-at tapo bh
-at tat satyam abhavat tena prajitayat(3). So'v
-dhata sa mahān abhavat sa mahādevo'bhavat(4).
devānām īśāṁ paryait sa īśāno'bhavat(5). Sa ek
-vrātyo'bhavat sa dhanurādatta tadevendradhanu
Nilamasyodaram lohitam prṛṣtham(7). Nilenaivāpr
bhṛātrvyām pronti lohitena dvīṣantam vidhyati
brahmaṇādino vādanti(8).

XV,5,1-7. Tasmāi prāṣyā diṣo antardesād bhavam īṣvāsām a
-ṣṭhātāram akurvan. Bhava enam īṣvāsāḥ praṣyā
diṣo antardesād amaṣṭhātānu tiṣṭhati. Naināṁ
sarvo na bhavo neśānō nāsya pasūnna samānān hi
-tī ya evam veda.(1).
Tasmāi dakṣināyā diṣo antardesād sarvam etc.(2)
Tasmāi prāṣīcyā diṣo antardesād pasupatim etc.
Tasmāt udicēyā diṣo antardesād ugram etc. (4).
Tasmāi dhruvāyā diṣo antardesād rudram etc. (5)
Tasmāi urdhvāyā diṣo antardesād mahādevam etc.
Tasmāi sarvebhya antardesaḥbhya īṣānām etc.(7).
XVIII, 1, 40. Stuhi śrutām gar tasadaṁ jañānām, 
rajanam bhimam upahaṭhum ugram;
Urda jariṭre rudra stavaṇo, 
anyam asmatte nivapantu senyaṁ.

XIX, 9, 10. Sāṁ no grahascandramāśa sāmādityaśca rāhupā; 
Sāṁ mṛtyur dhūmaketaḥ sāṁ rudas tigmatejasah 

XIX, 10, 6. Sāṁ no rudro rudrebhir jalāsaḥ, 
sāṁ nas tvaṣṭā gnābhīr iha arṇotu. 

XIX, 11, 4. Ādityā vasayo rudrā jugantam, 
idam brahma kriyamanam navīyay. 

XIX, 18, 3. Somāṁ te rudravantam rcechantu, 
ye maghayavo doṃsya diśo bhidāsaṁ. 

Yo no agnir gārhatyāḥ pasūnām adhipā asat. 

XIX, 55, 5. Agni as 'rudra'. 
Annadāya annapataye rudrāya namo'gnaye.
Passages relating to Rudra in the Yajurveda.

Taittirīya Saṃhitā.

I,1,1.  
Mā vah stena īsata māghaśāmane rudrasya hetiḥ  
vo vṛnaktu dhruvā asmīn gopatau syat bahvīr  
jamāṇasya 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  
'sgna vāmān vasya samnyāhādātam u no bhaviṣya  
yadi no jeśyantiti, tad agnir nyakāmaya ten  
-kāmata taddevā vijitya-varuruṣamānā anvādāy  
tadasya sahasādītsanta, so'rodīd yad arodīt  
tad rudrasya rudratvam etc.

I,8,6.  
The Tryambaka Homa.  
Pasūnām sarmāsi sarma yajamāṇasya sarma me ya  
itī. eka eva rudro na dytiṣyāya tasthe. ākhu  
rudra paśus tam jūgasva.iti. eṣa te rudra bh  
saha svasrā ambikāyā tam jūgasva. bheṣajaṁ g  
'svāya puruṣāya bheṣajam atho asmaḥbhyaṁ bheṣa  
subheṣajam yathā sāti sugām meṣyā maṇḥyā. it  
avāmabhā rudrām idmahāvada-devām tryambakam.iti.  
tryambakam yajamahe sugandhim puṣṭiyardhanam.  
urvārakam īva bandhanān mṛtyor muksiṣaya māṁrt  
itī. esa te rudra bhāgas tam jūgasva tenāvāsē  
paro mūjavato' Robbie. avatatādhānva pinākahe  
ikrtivāsāḥ.

II,2,10.  
The 'somaraudra' offering.  
Asāvādityo na vyarocata tasmai devāḥ prāyaści  
aiccchantasmā etam somāraudram carum nirvapana  
...yo brahmavarcaskāmāḥ syāt tasma evam somā  
-raudram carum nirvapena tiṣya-purāṇamāsē ni  
-vaped rudro vai tiṣyaḥ...somāraudram carum  
-vapena prajākāmāḥ soma vai retodha agniḥ praṇā  
praṇayitā...somāraudram carum nirvaped a  
caran....etc.
The 'śatarudriya'.
(see VS. XVI.).

Vājasaneyaī Śamhitā.

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.

Visvadevaś cāmaseśūnisūtaḥ. asurhomayādyatal
rudro hūyamanah. vato'abhyāvṝṇadh. etc.

IX, 39. Association of Rudra with animals.

Bṛhaspatir vāca indro jyaiṣṭhyāya rudro paśubhi
mātraḥ satye varuno dharmapāṭinām.

X, 20. Rudra yatte kṛivihparam nāma tasmin hutam...

XI, 15. Addressed to the sacrificial horse.

Pratūrvannehyayavakramaṇānasastī rudrasya gāṇapat
mayobhurehi.
The 'satarudriya'.

1. Namaste rudra manyave uto ta isave namah; Bāhūbhyām uto te namah.

2. Yā te rūdṛa sīvā tanūr aghora pāpakāśinī Tāyā nastan-vā santamayā girīsantābhcākāsihi.

3. Sīvena vasāś tvā girīsācchā vadāmasi; Yathā nah servam ijjagat ayakṣamām sūmanā asat.

4. Adhyavocad adhivakta prathamo daivyā bhīṣak; Ahimśa servān jambhayanta, sarvāsca yātudhānto dhārācīn parāsuvah.

5. Asau yo'vasarpati nīlagrīvo vilohitah; Utaināṁ gopa adgrann... etc.

6. Viṣyāṁ dhanu kapardino visālyo vānayām uto; Anēśannasya ya isava ābhuraśya nīsaṅgadhiḥ.

7. Namo hiranyabhāhaye senānye disām ca pataye nam namo vṛkṣēbhyaḥ harikesebhyaḥ pasūnām pataye nāmaḥ saśpinjarāya tviṣīmate pathiṇam pataye nāmo harikeseyapavitine pustānām pataye namah.


10. Namo kṛṣṇayatayadhāvate satvānām pataye nama sahāmanāya niyadhina avyadhīhinām pataye nāmo nāmo nīsāṅginē kakubbhāya stenānām pataye nāmo nicerave paricarāyaraṇyānām pataye namah.

11. Namo vaṁca parivaṁcete stāyūnām pataye namo nīsāṅginē isudhimate taskarānām pataye nāmo na srkayibhyo jighamsadbbhyo muṣṇatām pataye nāmo 'simadbbyo naktām caradbbyo vikṛtānām pataye.

12. Namo ugrīṣe gīrīcarāya kulaṅcānām pataye nama isumadbbyo dhanyayibhyaśca vo nāmo nama a-vanebhyaḥ pratiĎahāněbhyaśca vo nāmo nama ay-adbbhyo syadbhyaśca vo namah.
24. Namaḥ sabhābhyaḥ sabhāpatībhyaḥ scavo namo namo svabhāvyaḥ svāpatībhyaḥ scavo namo namaḥ ävyādhībhyaḥ svabhāvatībhyaḥ scavo namo namaḥ ührāntībhyaḥ scavo namaḥ.

25. Namaḥ ganeśbhyaḥ gaṇapatībhyaḥ scavo namo namo vṛatībhyaḥ vṛatapatībhyaḥ scavo namo namo grūpēbhyām grūpapatībhyaḥ scavo namo namo virūpēbhyām virūpēbhyaḥ scavo namaḥ.

27. Namaḥ takṣēbhyaḥ ratha-kārebhyām scavo namo nāmō kulīabhyaḥ karmakārebhyām scavo namo nāmō nīśabhyaḥ puṇjīsthēbhyām scavo namo nāmā evanibhyām mrgayabhyaḥ scavo namaḥ.

28. Namaḥ śvabhyaḥ śvāpatībhyaḥ scavo namo nāmā ca rūḍrāya ca nāmāh sarvāya ca paśūpatayē ca nīlagrīvayē ca sitīkanthāyē ca.

29. Namaḥ kapardine ca vyuntakaśayā ca nāmāh sahāksaśa ca satadhañyānē ca nāmā evirīśayyā ca vītāyē ca nāmā milhaṣtamyā ca cesumate ca.

31. Namaḥ sambhāvaya ca mayobhavaya ca nāmāh saṁkṣaye ca mayakṣaye ca nāmāh śivāya ca sivatārē ca.

51. Parame vrīkṣa añudhanā nīdhāyā kr̥t̥īmvasāna acapīnākam bhīhrad āgahī.

XIX, 82. Aśvinas following the path of Rūdra.
Tadaśvinā bhīṣajā rūdravartanī sarasvatī vaya peseṅtaram.

XXIV, 3. Rūdrāya paśūpataye karnā yāmā avaliptayā rauḍ namo rupā pārjanyab.

XXXIII, 48. Udbhā nāsatyaḥ rudo'dhagnāḥ pūṣā bhagah sarasv jūṣanta.

XXXIII, 58. Aśvinas following the path of Rūdra.
Daśrā yuvākavaḥ sutā nāsatyaḥ vṛkta-barhīsah. Ayatam rudravartanī.
XXXIV, 34. Prātar bhagam pūsanam bhrahmanaspatim prātaḥ somam uta rudram hūvema.

XXXIX, 9. Rudra associated with 'dauravratya'.

Mitraḥ sauvratyena rudram dauravratyena prakridena maruto balena sādhyan pramudā.
Passages relating to Rudra in the Brahmanas.

Aitareya Brahmana.

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

XXXI Prajapati vair svāh duhitaram abhyadhāyah
divam ityanya āhur usasam ityamā. tamrāyo bh
rohitām bhūtam abhyait tam devā apasyannakṛtā
vai prajapatīḥ karotiti te tam aicchan ya esa
-yatyaṃm anyonyam asminnavindaanstēṣād yā ev
ghoranāstanva asanṣā ekadhā samabharanantaḥ
sambhrītā esa devo 'bhavat tad asyaitad bhūtav
-nāma iti......tam devā abruvann ayaṃ vai pra
-patir akṛtam akārīmaṃ vidhyeti sa tathetābr
sa vai varam vrna iti vrniyeyati sa etam eva v
avṛnīta pasūnām adhipatyam tadasyaitatpasuām
........tān vai eṣo devo'hvyavadata mama vā id
mama vai vāstuham iti tametayarco nirvādayan

V,22,9. The legend of Nabhanediśthu.

Tāṃ svaryanto'bruvannetaṭ te brāhmaṇa sahasra
tadenām samākuryāṇām puruṣāḥ kṛpaśāvāṣyuttar
upothāyāsravīṇ mama va idam mama vai vāstuha
........tam pītā abruvīta tasyaiva putraka tatta
sattubhyam dāsyatiti........

Kausitakā Brahmana.

II,2. Dvīrūdīcīṁ dīṣaṃ dvacām udvaccatī rudram eva t
svāyām dīṣaṃ prītvāvasṛjati tasmādhūyamanasmīto na tisthed.

III,4. Neda rudrena yajamanasya pasūn pravṛttaṇātī t

III,6. Atho rudro vai svistakrdantabhāgā eva tasmā
dantato yajati.
Legend of the birth of Rudra.

Prajāpatiḥ praśākamas tapo'apyata. tasya taptat pāṇiṣṭhā naśya agni vāyur adityaścandram uṣāḥ pāṇiṣṭhā uvāčaḥ prājapatyayapsaro rūpam kṛtya purastat pratyūdait. tasyaṁ ekanam manah samapataḥ te reto śiścante. te prajāpatim -aram etyabrūvan 'reto vai asinccamaḥ idam n amuyā bhūd iti'. sa prajāpatiḥ hirammayam sam ākarod iṣumātaram urdhvam evam tiryānca. tas retaḥ samasiūcante. tata udatiṣṭhat sahāvakāḥ -rapāt sahasreṇa pratihitābhīhiḥ. sa prajāpatiḥ pitarām abhyayachchati. tam abravit 'katha māb -yacchasi'iti. 'nāma mo kuryātisthāvānāma vai -am aśīhitenaḥśānāmānāmāyānīti. sa vai tvam -abravid bhava eveti ityad bhava āpāḥ. tena nāvā enam bhavo hinasti nāsya prajām nāsya pasū -syā brahvanām eva. atha ya enam deveṣti sa e pāpiyān bhavati. na sa ya evam vedā. tasya vr -tām ā im eva vasān paridadhitēty. .... sa vai tvam ityabraviḥcharva eveti yaccharvo' -...tasya vratam saryam eva nāśīyad iti..... sa vai tvamityabravit pasu'putir eveti yat pas -r vāyuh....tasya vratambrāhmanam eva na pari -ditī...... sa vai tvamityabravid ugra eva deva iti yad u deva osadhaya vanaśpatayāḥ....tasya vratam striyā eva vivaram nekṣetey... sa vai tvamityabraviṁ mahādeva iti. yan mahā deva adityaḥ....tasya vratam udyanam eva nek -stāmyantam cetā..... sa vai tvamityabravid rudra eveti yad rudrasm -drāmāḥ...tasyāvratam vimūrtam eva nāśīyam m -nam cetā..... sa vai tvamityabravid itśa eveti yaduśno'nmu -...tasya vratam annameveccchāmānam na pratyāc -śītetc...... sa vai tvamityabravid asanireveti yadaśanir i -raḥ....tasya vratam satyameva vaded biraya bhīṁi -yād iti....sa eso maśtanamāstavivhito mahūn devaḥ
VIII, 4.

Anhanbibharäi sayakāni dhanveti paśuṇīcā raun
cabhīrāpe abhistausti pausnam caiva raudram ca
svahākāray evaḥhyām anuvadati.

XXI, 3.

Paśuṇ pañcanānāhāpnuvanti rudram devām devat
yasa'ōdhibhūtam viryam ātman dadhate.

XXIII, 3.

Paśuṇ pañcaneśhānapnuvanti paṅktim chandas t-
avam stomam sa∥kara∥mansāvācīṃ dīṣam hemanta
-unam maruto devān devajataṃ rudram adhipatim

Taittiriya Brahmana.

I, 6, 10.

The Tryambaka Havis.

Pratipūrṇam ekakapālam nivrāpati. jāta
prajā rudrānmīniravadayate. ekamatiriktam. jāt
-mānā eva prajā rudrānmīniravadayate. ekakapāla
bhavanti. ekadhaiva rudram niravadayate. nā
-ghārayati. yad abhīghārayet. antarvācarīnām
rudram kuryāt. ekolūkamena yanti. taddhi rud
-ayaḥ bhagadheyaṃ. imaṃ dīṣam yanti. meśā vai
rudrasya dik. svāyāṃ eva dīṣi rudram niravadya
-te. rudro va aparākāya śhyayā nātiṣṭhāt. s
-te pasūr iti nirdiṣṭam yam dvīgyāt. yamēva dve
-śaṃ samai pasum nirdiṣṭai. yadi na dvīgyāt ā
-te pasūri brūyat. na grāmyān paśuṇ hinasti,
-ranyam. catuṣpathe juhoti. esa va agnīnām pā
-so'nam aṅgivatya eva juhoti......antam eva
janatāḥ hotavyam. antatar eva rudram niravadaya
te. esa te rudra bhāgas saha svārāmbikaye
-ha. śaṛadhā va asyāṃbhikā svāsā. tayā va esa hi
-ti. yam hinasti. tayaivaṁ nātasaḥ samayati.
bheṣajam gava ityāha. yāvanta eva grāmyāḥ pas
-yah. tebhhyo bheṣajam karoṭi. avampa rudram i
hityāha. aśiṣamevaṁtasāste. tryambakam yajā
-itaḥ. mrtymukṣya mamṛtādityāevaṁvatingaḥ.
Utkeśantāḥ, bhāgasāḥ lipsante...... esa te rud
bhāga ityāha niravyaḥ. apratikāmaṃ yanti. āp
pariṣiṣṭoṇci. rudrayāntarhityai. pra va asma
-kācchayavante, ye tryambakaiścaraṭi. adityam o punaretya nirvapati. iyam va aditiḥ. asyām eva prati tiṣṭhanti.

III,2,5. Rudrasya hetih pari vo vṛṇaktvyāha. rudrādeva nastrāyate.

III,3,2. Yasyaitānyagnau praharanti. tasmādetānyagnāveta praharet. yatarastasmint—samājīyāt. paśūnām abhiyāt. yo bhūtānam adhipatiḥ, rudras tanticaro paśūn asmakām mā himsiḥ. ētadastu hūtām tava -hetyagnisammarjanānyagnau praharati.

( Rudra and Agni are apparently identified here. 

III,9,17. Raudram caruṁ nirvapet, yadi mahati devatābhīvyata. etad devatyo vā āsvaḥ. svayaivāsamānam deva—ābhīṣajyati.

III,11,2. Tvam agne rudro asuro maho divah. tvam sarpho marutāṁ pṛksa īśiṣe.

Talavakāra or Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa.

I,133. Rudra associated with cattle.

I,133. Tadisānām indreti pratiharet, īdāno yajamanas paśūnāṁ abhimānakaḥ syād. . . . . nēśāno yajaman—syā paśūn abhimanyate sāntāṁ prajā edhante.

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

Tāsṛāyantīyam. devā vai sattram upayanto —van yannāṁ krūram ātmanas tannirmimāmaḥēi, m sakrūra upāgameti, tad yad eśam krūram ātman asit tau nirmāya sarāvayoh samārjām nyadhādu atha satram upāyam tata ēṣo'khale devo'jāya tadyacchāravābhyyām ajāyatā tasyaṣṭantānaṁ aisa hāva so 'ignir jāṁe. na āhainam ēṣa hinaṁ yā enam veda. sa devanabravīt. kasmāi mām ajījaṁ —aupadṛṣṭāyāntyabravan. yo' tippādayat tam hana iti. pmajaśparam boṣamāṁ svāṁ duhiṁe ra abhaya—yat. sa ha tam abhyāṣyatavyādhyat. tataḥ sa e rupam paryasyaḥordhva udākṛmat. sa ēṣa ēṣu tr
Tāṇḍya or Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa.

VI, 9, 7-9. Yaṁ samāṁ mahādevaṁ pasūṁ hanyat saṇaṁ pavasya saṅgava iti catuspade bheṣajam karoti......

Vīgama va tāṁ samāṁ osadhayokta bhavanti yāṁ samāṁ mahādevaṁ pasūṁ mantaṁ yaṁcham rājannos-
-dhībhya ityāhauṣadhirevasmai svadayaṁ.

VII, 9, 16-18. Deva va pasūṁ vyabhajanta te rudram antarāyaṁ tāṁ yāmādevyasya stotra upkṣate.....

Yannirāha rudrāya pasūṁ api dadhāti rudrastāṁ pasūṁ ghūtuko bhavati.

Satapatha Brahmana.

I, 7, 3, 1-6. Yajñeṇa vai devaḥ. divam upodakramam athayo devaḥ pasūṁ abhiṣete sa ināḥyata tasmād vās

-vya ityāhur vastau hi tadbhiyata. ..... so-
-cakrāṁa sa āyatayottarata upotpede. sa esah-
-stākrtaḥ kālaḥ. tadvā agnaya iti kriyate: ag

vaṁ sa devas tāsyetāni nāmanī sarvaṁ iti yathā

pracṣa acakṣate bhava iti yathā bahīkāṁ, pasū

pati rudro 'gniriti tāṇyasyaśāntāntyaśevetarātār

nāmānyagnirityeva santatamam tasmād agnaya it

-yate svistākrta iti.

V, 3, 1, 10. The Gavedhuka ritual.

Atha śāv bhūte. aksamāpasya ca grhebhya govik-
-tasya ca gavedhukāṁ saṁbhṛṭya suyamānasya gr

raudrum gavedhukāṁ ca iti nirvapati. te va ete
dve sati paṁcākṣaṁ karoti sampadaḥ kāmaṁ ta

yad etenām yajate yāṁ va ināṁ sabhāyam ghnant

rudro haitāṁ abhimanyate'gnirvai rudro......
Tha rudra pa^upataye. raudram gävedhukám nirvapati. tadenam rudra eva pa^upatih pa^ubh suvatyatha i yad gävedhuko bhavati vàstavyo v esa devo vàstavya gävedhukas tasmåd gävedhuko bhavati.

Tadatiriktam dadhåtyuttarårdhe juhotyea hyet devasya dik tasmåd uttarårdhe juhoti sa juhot -ra yatte krivi param nåma tasmån hutamasyame -masi svåheta.

Brahmannityeva catutram å mantrayate tvåm br -sititarah pratyåha rudro'si susêva iti tadvi -nyevåsminnetat pûrvañi dadhåtyathainam etac -mayatyeva tasmåd esa sarvasyeåano mrdayati y -am åmåyati.

VI,1,3,1-8. The legend of the birth of Rudra.

Prajåpatir va idam agra åsit. eka eva so -mayata syåm prajayeyati so'sråmyat sa tapot -yata tasmåd...........apoa'rjabhavvan yavam bhavåmi tapyathvam ityabravit...........tåh phenam asrjanta... pheno'bravita: kvåham bhaväñ sa mrdäm asrjata......mrd aabravit: kvåham bhava...sa sikåta asrjata.......sikåtabhyah sårkarå -sårjata.......sårkaråyå asmånam.......asmåno'yaas... -tadyasasrjataåksarå... yadasåjau krtvå'kåsåra sa -ståksåra gåtyasrayabhavat. abhåvåa iyan pratis -åti... tuddhunmårabhavat tåm apråthayat, sa prå -abhavat: tasyåm asyåm pratisåthåyåm bhåtåñi b -tånam ca patåh. savatsaråyådåksånta, bhåtån -tir gñapatir åsid usåh patñi. tådyåni tånåi -tåni gñåvåste 'tha yåh sa bhåtånam patåh sa -vatsaråh so'thå ya soåh patnyådasåsi så tånå -bhåtåñi bhåtåñåm ca patåh savåtsara usåså i -'sinçantåsa savåtsare kumårco'jåyåta so'rodit. -prajåpatir abravit: kumåra 'kim rodiåi..... so' -vid anapahaåtåpåma våsmyåhaåtanåmå nåma me dh -ti tåsmåt putrasyå jåtasyå nåma kuryat...... -abravid rudro'siåti. tad ådåsatås tånnåmå dkarå -agîstådårupåm åbhåvåd ågni r vai rudro yadaråd -tåsmåt rudråå....... 'tåm abravid sarvo'siåti. tåm ådåsåya tånnåmåkåroåd apås tådårupåm åbhåvån åy -vai sarvo'dhya åhidåm sarvåm jåyåte.......tåm al -vit pasåpatiråsåti. tådyåd åveyå tånnåmåkåroåd -dhaåstådårupåm åbhåvån ogådåhyå vai pasåpat -tåsmåt ådå pasåväçoådir labhante'thå patiyåå - ....tamåbåbåvid ugrå'siåti......våyåstådårupåm -våd våyår våå ugrås tåsmåd s yåda balåvåd våt;
VI,3,2,7.
So'svam utkrakayati. pratürvannehyavakramanam
-riti pápma va aśastis tvaramāna ehyavakraman
pāpmānam ityeta rudrāya gānapatēm mayobur-
ti raudrā vai pāsavo ya te devatā tasyai gān-
am mayobhaśehityetadenam asvenānicchati.

IX,1,1,lf.
Oblations with the 'satarudriya' mantras in the
Agni śayana.

Athātaḥ satarudriyam juhoti. Atraṣā śarvo'gn
saṁskṛtah sa eso'tra rudro devatāh. taṁmād
etam aṁrām rūpam uttamam Adadhūḥ. sa eso'tra
dīpyamāno'tītthad annam icchamānas taṁmād
devi abhibhayur yad vai no'yaṁ na himsyād iti......

Prajāpater visrastā devatā udakrāmānas taṁ ek
eva devo najahān manūry eva so'śmīnunatar vi:
tītthat, so'rodit tasya yānyaśṛṇi prākāndā
tānayoṁ manuy pratyatiṣṭhtham sa eva sata-śi
rudrāh samabhavat sahasrākṣāḥ sateṣudhir atha,
anyā vīpruso'pataṁ ta asamkhyaṁ sahasrāṇiṁai
-kāṁ anth praviśays tat yad ruditāt samabhavat-
tāmād rudrāḥ so'yaṁ sātaśīrṣā rudrāh sahasrāk
sateṣudhir adhijyādhanyā prati hitāy bhimsya
'tītthaṁ annam icchamānas taṁmād deva abhiṣha;

IX,2,3,32. Agne sahasrākṣa. hiraṇya-sakalair va esa saha-
-kāḥ saṭaṁudrāhann iti yadādah sataśīrṣā rudr
-jyāta satam te prāṇāh.

XI,5,3,5. Mahadevayādyatām......etc.

( Rudra called Mahadeva)
Budra as the ruler of beasts.

Iad āhuḥ. etasyai va etad aghalāyai devatāyai rūpam yadante ghorā arāṇyān pāśevo yadeteśām pāśunām lomabhīḥ payograhānochṛīṇiyād rudrasya pāśunām abhidadhyād apasur yajamānāḥ syād ya śrīṇiyād anavaruddhā asya pāśevas syu rudro h pāśunām īśāḥ. . . . . . . .
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 various racial and cultural elements and of the varied genius of widely divergent races. Above all, it 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 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 the 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'. 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'; 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 phalli were not so worshipped. The older Puranas, again, recognise the phallic character of the 'linga' and try to expunge away the origin of its worship by spinning legends. 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 m
upon the primitive mind by the process of procreation on which depends the very existence of all life on this earth, and all in what may be called the 'sympathetic' association of sexual union and fertility of crops and animals. 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 practically all countries where the fertility religions prevailed. We find them worshipped in Egypt on the one side, where huge realistic phallii were carried in processions, publicly and with a great ceremony, and were worked mechanically, and the other, in Japan, where detached phalli were commonly used and were set up on roadsides for worship. But the home of phallic worship, par excellence, was Asia Minor, where the 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 Phyrgian immigration and was afterwards introduced into Greece as Dionysus. This

3. ERE, IX, p.819.
Was a deity of fertility, "of the living earth working especially in its vitalising warmth and juices." The phallus was employed in his worship as the symbol of his productive powers, and its 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. Designs of this symbol have also been found at Ekon 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 great gifts. 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 Arabs 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 Mithra.

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. Numerous female figurines in terracotta of untype, 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 as '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 connection practically certain. Figurines of the goddess, much like those found in the Indus Valley, have been found in Asia Minor round the Agean 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 seal found in the Indus Valley sites, we can hardly resist the conclusion that the Indus Valley civilisation must have 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 the character of their finds, place the connection of the civilisations of the two countries almost beyond doubt. Numerous terracotta figurines of the goddess were discovered by him at different sites 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, 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 like that of the Indus Valley seals. This proves that these parts

L/ 1. E. Mackay. Indus Civilisation. ch. VIII, p. 191f.
were within the area of influence of the Indus Valley civilisation. On the other hand, the motifs on painted pottery, brok

fragments of which have been found in great numbers at almost all sites excavated, bear a close resemblance to those on the Meso-potamian 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 emblems 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, 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 real phallic (linga). Other specimens of such emblems may be discovered.

2. Ibid. p. 45, pl. X, mmn 123.
There is, thus, reason to believe that phallic worship was prevalent, or at least was known in these parts. It might be objected here that two isolated pieces of pottery are not sufficient to enable us to base any conclusion upon them. But we have already cited evidence of the prevalence of the goddess in these parts and as phallic worship was connected with her cult, there is every probability of its prevalence here also, and the two finds greatly strengthen this probability. Further, it should be remembered that the two finds by no means exhaust all the evidence which might prove important in this connection. The border land between India and Persia, into which Sir A. Stein has made these pioneer expeditions, is still partly an archaeologically unexplored region, and future discoveries might supply us with more evidence. There is less probability of the discovery of any records of this period further in Persia itself, for later civilisations have completely obliterated the traces of earlier ones, both by building on the old sites and by using the ancient remains as quarries. But Herodotus is to be believed, the worship of the goddess at Waziristan is unmistakable pointers to the eastward migration of Mesopotamian cultural influences which spread as far as India and which, consequently, must have been felt in Persia also.

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

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 Sumero-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 Aryan 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 Veda hymns is a pointer to the fact that the Aryans did not find 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, further shows that these enemies were not merely barbaric horriﬁcised, 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, the same Aryans who contemptuously refer to their enemies as 'dasa' and 'dasyus', did not hesitate to form military alliances with them when it suited their convenience to do so. Therefore, when we have independent evidence for the existence of a ci-

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 RgVeda, a reference is made to the 'sisna-devas', or those whose god is the phallus. 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, as elsewhere, the conquered with the conquerers and lost their separate identity. It was, however, a fusion of two equally civilized peoples, and if anything, the vanquished were somewhat advanced in point of civilisation than their conquerers. As 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 man

god, who was most probably the consort of the goddess, was worshiped in the Indus valley. As the consort of the goddess, he was most 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, 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 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.

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. Where, 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 'aisnadevas' 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, and 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 sect 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 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. The 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
'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 time of Assurbanipal the two were regarded as identical. That Assyrian Ishtar is explicitly called, in the inscriptions of that king, the consort of the Babylonian god Bel.

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 showed 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, 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. In which several of the old fertility rites connected with her worship survived.
Efforts have been made to trace the origin of this 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 'agnas', and once called the wife of Rudra. But she practically disappears in course of time. Such minor deities can hardly be supposed to have developed into the great mothergoddess of the later time 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 2) Veda. She is conceived more or less as the energy of the gods and is described as controlling their activities. We shall occasion to discuss below how the idea of a universal Prakrti 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 does her worship show any connection with fertility rites which the 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 Kapphas 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 is 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 Eabani 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 attached to them. On the other hand, they were looked on as sacred and were honoured. In fact, the common word for a priest 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. 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 customs was nowhere condified not even by the Greeks, we have the evidence of Pindar who gives the "hospitalite young women, the ministrants of priest in rich Corinth, whose thoughts oft times flit towards Asia Aphrodite." Strabo gives them the dignified title of 'hetaera', or one dedicated to the service of the goddess. 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 girls.

began to be dedicated to the temples of Siva. The custom was probably tolerated by the Aryans like the phallic worship of the same 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 up to 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 Dāsāi 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 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 dedicate 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

1. Rastrakuta inscription of Dharavarsa from Pattadakal, date about 700 Saka.
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. 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 his idol danced before it, and when not so engaged, practised their infamous calling. In course of time, the practice, perhaps, spread to some Vaisnava 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 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
assimilate oneself to the goddess and to charge oneself with power, the female dress being thereupon assumed to complete the 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 in permanent places built for this purpose, and to the raising of edifices by the devotees in honour of the deity or deities with 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 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 associate
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. All 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 very nature, a slow and 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 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 conscriptions 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 averse to ignore the changes in the religious and other spheres that were taking place as a result of the fusion of their people and 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, and there is 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 had not become a fact up to 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.
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 tr-

-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, I 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 em 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 people viz. the Aranyakas and the Upanisads. The oldest of these works contain no important reference to Rudra. He is mentioned only twice in the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad merely as one of the, The deficiency of these works is, however, made up by the Svetasvatara Upanisad in which we find how far Rudra had progressed the time of the Brahmanas. He is now regularly called Isa, Isvara, Siva, and Isana, and is conceived of as the One Supreme Self, the brahma or the Supreme Self. A harking back 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 Brahmins. The Svetasvatara Upanisad falls, chronologically, in about the middle of the period of the Upanisads, and from the above

2. " III,2,3,4,7. IV,10,12,14.etc.
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 Aryan. 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 hip, 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 Svetasvataara contains in it the germs of what developed into the Samkhya doctrine. In the fourth book we for the first time in Sanskrit literature, a description of Prakrti as the active creative principle. She is called the 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,—th s referring to her embodiment of the three 'gunas',—and the active creatrix of the universe. Purusa is not the direct creator, but having once activised Prakrti, so say, he leaves her and becomes a mere spectator. This is

1. Svet. IV,1.  
2. IV,5.  
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 1) to be the Creator. Further, the individual self or 'jiva' distinguished from the Purusa, as enjoying experience and being limited by Prakrti, and obtaining its emancipation through realisation when the bonds of Prakrti or maya are removed. 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. Now, this Purusa is throughout identified with Rudra, or Siva or Isa, as he is called here. thus, appears that Rudra was worshipped, by this time, by those among whom these notions of Samkhya were developing, and who looked upon by them as the Purusa or the Supreme Self. This 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 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. The idea might well have been taken up by some thinkers and developed into the conception of Prakrti as seen in the Svetasvatara Upanishad. At the same time, it should be remembered that the Upanisadic thinkers did not develop their doctrines in an ethereal 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...
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 Samkhya and its history 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 said to have gained the knowledge of Brahma from the deity Uma Haimavati. From the way in which she appears on the scene 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. But the name Uma and the epithet 'haimavati' at once mind us of the consort of the later Siva, one of whose name was Uma and who was also regarded as the daughter of Himavat. How exactly this consort of Siva became associated with the of the Kena Upanisad is not clear. Probably, as the concept

of the latter developed into that of the philosophic Prakṛti, and when the consort of Rudra was identified with this Prakṛti, Uma became one of her apppellations, 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 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 some other Upanisads also, some of which are interesting. In the Maitrayaniya, Rudra is associated with the 'tamas', while Viṣṇu is associated with 'satva', which perhaps is the result of the memory of the old character of Rudra. On the other hand, Rudra 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 to Rudra. All these corroborate the evidence of the Svetasvatara Upanisad. Other passages relate

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

The Svetasvatar 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 'bhart or faith. In some ways this movement seems to have been connected with philosophical speculations of the Upanisads, in as much 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 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 l
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 had 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 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, Srauta, Dharm

1. Svet. VI,
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 epithets, Mahadeva, Pasupati, Bhutapati, and others. He is prayed for protection of men and beasts, and is regarded as remover of diseases, and the giver of healing remedies. Special offerings are made to him under the name of Tryambak as in the Brahmanas, and in one passage a reference is made to the mouse dedicated to him. His identity with Agni is also 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 Sankhay Srauta Sutra, and with more detail in the Grhya Sutras, whi

1. SSS.IV,19,1.
2. ibid.IV,20,1.
3. ibid. IV,20,1.
4. SSS.III,4,8.
5. LSS,V,3,2.
6. SSS.III,17,10-11.XIV,10,22.
7. LSS.V,3,1.
8. SSS.IV,19,1.
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 concept of Rudra was developing during this period. This is the mention of the consort of Rudra. She is called Bhavani, Sary 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 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 Yajurveda, and there, it will be remembered, they, most probably, represented the followers of Rudra. But here, some epithet applied to them show that the author was not referring to
these worshippers of Rudra. Thus they are called 'aghosinya', 'pratighosinya', and 'samghosinya', all of which epithets allude to their howling. Besides, they are also called 'kravyadah', carrion eaters, which definitely places them in the domain of the spirits of the dark night like goblins and vampires. It should be remembered, that in the Atharva Veda Rudra was invoked against these spirits, and the association thus established between 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 Srauta Sutras supplement the evidence of the later Loga. 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 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

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 times became famous under the name of Ganesa. In the Taittiriya Arana we come across a Gayatri verse, composed after the manner of the famous Gayatri, and addressed to a deity who is described as ‘vakratunda’ and ‘dantih’, and who is identified with Tatpurusha. But nothing more is said about him either 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 him. He is called not only ‘vakratunda’, and ‘ekadanta’, but also ‘hastimukha’, ‘lambodara’, ‘sthula’, and ‘vighna’, all of whose epithets make it certain that he is the same deity as the later Ganesa, though the latter name does not occur here. The last epithet, ‘vighna’, gives the clue to his character, for, as will be seen in the Grhya Sutras, he was conceived of as a god of obstacles and hindrances, and was propitiated for their removal. The mention of his ‘parsadas’ and ‘parsadis’ might indicate that his worship was connected with that of Rudra. In later literature, Ganesa is regarded as the son of Siva, and it is interesting to note that reference to a son of Rudra is made even in the Dharma Sutra. But there is no direct evidence to show the relation between these two deities here.

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 aspect 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 Dharmasastra. 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 superstition. 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, though his new names Siva and Samkar are becoming more common. He is also sometimes called 'prsa

1. AGS.IV,10. 2. ibid.II,1,2.
-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 a forest or, at any rate, at a good distance from any town or village, and towards the north-east of the sacrificer's habitat. Such a place, having lit the sacrificial fire, and having spread the sacrificial grass on the altar, a cow is ceremonially slain and is offered to Rudra. Eight small vessels are then filled with the blood of the victim and are sprinkled in the eight sections (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 'vişāntaka'.
2. MGS. I, 13, 9-14.
3. Ibid. II, 5.
BGS. I, 2, 7, 1-3.
AGS. IV, 10.
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 habitation, as if it were considered as something dangerous and secret. This shows it to have been a special ceremony outside the ordinary Brahmanic ritual, and falling rather in the category of the secret practices of black magic. We have the evidence of the Sutras themselves that these practices, though 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 superiority 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 in his assimilation of other non-Aryan 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. As time passed, the prohibition of cow-killing was made more and more binding. Except indeed, were made in the case of some, apparently ancient and sanctified, customs, like the offering of the 'Madhuparka' to beoured gusts, when the killing of the cow was not only common but was even prescribed. But so far as the general sacrifice were concerned the offering of cows or oxen seems to have been

1. MGS.II,9,1.2.
discontinued comparatively early. When, therefore, we find the cow being still sacrificed to Rudra in this ceremony, the fact is another indication of the extra-Brahmanic character of the worship of Rudra.

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

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

1. BGS. I, 2, 7, 23. 2. ibid. III, 2, 16, 39.
3. ibid. I, 2, 7.
works that we find the first definite mention of the installation and worship of the various gods including Rudra. In the last chapter we indicated the manner in which image worship probably introduced into Brahmanic religion. The Baudhayan Grhya Sutra prescribes rites for the installation of the images not only of Rudra, but also of Visnu. This shows that image worship had definitely come into existence by that time and was recognised as a part of the cult of these gods. Once at least a temple ('devagara') 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. This shows that Rudra had, by this time, come to be worshipped in the 'linga' form also. Whether or not 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 or-al 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. Though no direct reference is made to her images, yet, from the directions given for her being and cleansing, their existence can be inferred. As regards her character, we have her epithets, 'Arya', 'Bhagavati', 'De-samkirti', 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 conception was not very different from that of the later Durga. Further, her epithet, 'Mahaprthivi' clearly indicates her origin character as an earth goddess, while, on the other hand, another epithet so that of hers, 'Manogama'; 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 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 god and of the 'linga' of Rudra is important, for it supports, in 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 very much 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 demigod-like beings of popular superstition. In the Manava Grhya S occurs a passage in which not one but four 'vinayakas' are mentioned. Their names are given as 'Salakatankata', 'Kusmandaraputra', 'Usmita', and 'Devayajana'. They are conceived of as rather malicious beings, possessed by whom persons behave in a mad manner, see all kinds of inauspicious things in dreams, and have always a feeling of someone 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 this 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 spirits 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 requested to depart after he has been duly worshipped betrays the original purpose of the rite, as the exorcism of a malignant and 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.
This Vinayaka, or the prototype of the later Ganesa seems to have been associated with a female deity whose name given as 'Jyestha' in the Baudhayana Grhya Sutra. 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 'paris'. 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 of Durga herself. This transference of the characteristics suggests an identification of the two deities, and, indeed, by the time 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 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 connect 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 Rud 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 Gane 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, like Vinayaka, a dreaded de who was propitiated with the Tryambaka Homa. The Sulagava sa-rifice, 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 is significant to note, is regularly associated with Gane 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 probability of the original identity of Rud
with Vinayaka is strengthened by the fact that in the Atharva-Veda, Rudra is identified with Vinayaka. 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 and 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 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 apppellations 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 the 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 trine 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 henceforward. 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 Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

I,4,11. Rudra as a 'kṣatriya' god.

Brahmā vā idamagra asīd ekam eva tad ekaṁ samā vyabhavat. Hreyo rūpam atyasrjata kṣatram yānī -ni devatā kṣatrāṇīndro varūnāḥ somo rudrāḥ p -janyo yamo mṛtyur īśāna iti.

II,2,2. Rudra connected with the red lines in the eyes

Tad yā ima aksan lohinyo rājayas tāṁhirenam ru 'nvāyattāḥ.

V,1,3. Mention of Daivi Vak.

Tadetadevaisā daivi vāgāṇavaḍati stanayitnur da da iti.

The Kena Upaniṣad.

III,3. Uma Haimavatī.

Sa tasmānnevākāśe striyam ājāgāma bahusobhamāṅ umāṁ haimavatīṁ tāṁ hovaca kimeṣad yaksam iti

The Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad.

IV,5. Rudra associated with 'tamasāk!

Yo ha khalu vāvasya tāmasoṁso' sau sa yo'yaṃ

Bhargākhyo bhaṅbhir gatir asya hiti bhargo bhaṁjiti vaisa tharga iti rudro brahmavādino......

V,8. Identification of Rudra with Prajāpati.

Eṣa hi khalvātmesānah sambhurvo rudrah prajāpat visvāśrōhiranyagarbhah satyaṁ prāṇo hamsah śan visnur nārāyaṇo'rkaḥ savita dhātā samrād indra induriti ya eṣa........

The Praśna Upaniṣad.

II, 9. Prajāpati as 'all-god.'

Indras tvam prāṇatejasā rudro'sī pariraksītā.

The Svetasvatara Upaniṣad.

Bk. II, 17. Yo devo'gnau yo'apsu yo visvam bhuvanam śivīṣe
ya oṣadhiṣu yo vanaspatisu taśmai deva'ya namo

Bk. III, 2. Eko hi rudro na dvitiyāya tathur
ya imāmlokaṁ ṯhata ṯamalohih;
Pratyahājanaṁstisthāti samcu-kocānta kāle
samsrjya visvā bhuvānāṁi gopeḥ.

3. Viśvataścaksur uta viśvato mukho
Viśvato bhāvur uta viśvataspat.

4. Yo devānāṁ prabhavascodbhavasca
visvādhipo rudro mahārśih;
Hiranyagarbha janayāmāsa pūrvam
sa no buddhyā sa bhayaḥ samyunaktu.
5. Ya te rudra siva tanur agorā pāpa kāsini
   Tayā nas tanuvā samtamaya girisāntābhicākāśīhi

6. Yamīṣum girisānta haste bibharsyastave;
   Sivām giritra tām kuru mā niṃsiḥ puruṣam jagat

7. Tataḥ param brahmmapadām brahmāntam etc.

11. Sarvānanasirogrivaḥ sarvabhūtaguh asayah;
    Sarvavyāpi sa bhagavān tasmāt sarvagataḥ sīyāh

Bk. IV. 1. Ya eko varno bahudhā saktiyogad,
         varnān anekeṣā nīhitārtho dadhati;

5. Ajam ekāni lohitāsuklakrṣṇāṁ,
   bahvīḥ prajāḥ sṛjāmāṇāṁ sarupāḥ;
   Ajo hyeko juṣamāno'nuṣete,
   jahātyenām bhuktaḥhogāṁ ajo'nyah.

6. Dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāya,
   samānām vrksam pariṣasvajate;
   Tayoraṁyān pippalam svādvyānakāśānanyo'bhīci
   -kaṣiti.

9. Asmān māyā srjate visvam manya etat,
    tasmāmścānyo māyāya samārūddhah;

10. Māyām tu ākṛtim vidyāt māyinam tu mahēśvaram;

11. Yo yonim yonim adhitisthatyeko,
    yasmānindam saṁ ca viṣagaiti sarvam;
    Tamīśānam varadām devam idyam,
    nicāyyanām saṁtim atyantam eti.

14. Sukmātisukṣmam kalilasya madhye,
   visvasya sṛtāram anekeśuḥ;
   visvasyaikam pārivestiśāram,
   jānātvā dīvam saṁtim atyantam eti.

21. Ajata ityeva kaścid bhūruḥ pratipadyate;
    Rudra yatte daksināṁ mukham tēnā mā pahi nityān

22. Virān mā rudra bhāmino'vadhīr
    havīṣantah sadam it tvā havāmahe.

Bk. V. 14. Bhavagrāhyam anīdākhyam bhāvābhāva-karam sīvam;
            Kālasargākaram devam ye vidus te jahus tanum.

Bk. VI. 13. Tat karanaṁ sāmkhyayogādhigamyam
            jñātvā devam mucyate sarvapaśaiḥ.
Passages relating to Rudra in the Sutras.

The Śaṅkhāyana Srauta Sūtra.

III,4,8. Vyādiplāyā rudrāya......

III,17,10-11. Tryambakān samstāhpya maitrāscaru. aditaye va.

IV, 17-20. The Sūlagava sacrifice.

Rudram gāvā yajate svāstya vai sahā. sulaga ityacaksate. suddha-paksa uposya puṣye nakṣatr prāgudīcyam disi. agnim ma mathitvā prāṇcem pariya. purastat palaśasākhām sapalasām nikhaya tseya uttaratah pasuṁ upasthāpya. rudrāya tvā justām upākaromi. rudrāya tvā just-am proksām rudrāya tvā justām niyujanm. iti niyunakti p-lasāsākhāyam. paryagnikṛtam uṣācām nayanti. tam samjñapayanti praksiraśa upakāpām uddyāna pratya-siraśa vodakapādām aravamanām.

Yatpaduḥ māyumakrtoro va padbhīrahate; Agniṁ ma tasmād ēnaso jātavedād pramanuḥc svāheti ravyamaṇe juhotī. va-pam uddhṛtya praksā-lyam pūrve'gnau śrāpayitvābhīghāryodvāsa śiva śivam iti trih paryuktyajyānātra juhotī. 17. Yā tīraścī nipadya tehām viḍharaṇi iti; Tāṁ ghṛtasya dharaya yuge samardham imahā svāhā. Yasyedam sarvaṁ taṁ imam havaṁahe; Sa me kāmān kāmapatiḥ pra yacchatu. svāheti dvitiyāyam. Agne prthīyā adhipata iti trihitiyāyam. prajāpata iti caturthyam. triṇi -lāsappalāsāni madhyamāni saṁtrīdypastirya. va avadhāsābhīghārya.

Yavatāmahāṁ īśe yavanto me amātyāḥ; Tebhayās tvā deva vande tebhyaḥ no deva mṛl veda te pitaraṁ veda mātaram dyauṣte pitaḥ prthi- viṁ mātā. tasmai te deva bhavāya śarvāya pāru -taya ugrāya devāya mahate devāya rudrāyaśānā -sanaye svāheti va-pam huta... pascime'gnau sthālipākanā śrāpayati. uttaratvādānāni. sthālipakām yugam māmāṁ māyam iti sanniniya śyor iti trih paryuktya juhotī. 18. Bhavāya svāhā śarvāya svāhā rudrāya svāhe -nāya svahāgnaye svāhā sviṣṭākṛte svaheti. tā -svāya paryukṣaye. tānaye śanniniya. agnau pās -me. bhavānayo svāhā sarvānayo svāhā rudrānya svahesānaya svahāgnaye svāheti... rudrāya-senaḥbhuyo nudiṣṭāti. aghoṣiṇyāḥ pratighoṣiṇyāḥ -aghōṣiṇyo vicinvatāh śvasanāṁ krayāda eṛa v
bhāgastān jusadhvam svāhethi. yajamanasācopatiṣ-

- te.

 Bhūpate bhuvapate bhuvanapate; bhūtapatē
bhūtānām pate mahato bhūtasya pate mṛla no dvi
catuspadē ca paśaye mṛla nasca dvipadāsca catu
padaśca paśun yo'sman dvesti yam ca va'yam dviṃ
durāpuro'si sacchāyo'dhināmena. tasyaṭe dhanu
hydayam manah iṣavācakasurvisargas tām tvā tat
veda namaste astu somas tvāvatu mā mā himśīh.

Yāvaranye patayato vrkau jaḫjabhatavāvīa;
Mahādevasya putrabhyām bhavaśarvābhhyām na
etc.

IX, 26,2. Havis to different gods.

Agnaye grhapataye somāya vanaśpatayē savitre
satyapraśavāyā rudrāya paśupataye bṛhaspataye
vācaspataye indrāya jyeṣthāya mitrāya satyāya
-

The Āsvalāyana Srauta Sūtra.

III,11,1. Yasmād bhīśa nisīdasi tato no abhayam kṛdhī;
Paśūnāḥ sārvān gopāya nāmo rudrāṇa mālhasa iti

IV,11,5. Yadi devānām haviṁṣanvayātayeur aṅnir grhapat
somo vanaśpatiḥ....... rudro paśumān paśupatir

The Latyāyana Srauta Sūtra.

V,3. The 'tryambaka' offerings.

Trāiyambakā nāmāpūpā bhavantyeacakapalāḥ.
Teṣām yam adhyātyur akhtkara upopet tatraya up-
-sprēyuh. dīvā nāḥ santamā bhava sumrdikā sar-
-vati mā te vyoma sandaśā iti......

Nute tīsthanto japeyuravām yarudram ayakṣmahaya-
-vaḥ tryambaka yathā nāḥ śreyaskarad yathā no
vāyavasāyāyād bhesajam asi bhesajam gave'svāya p-
-rasāya bhesajam sugum meṣāya meṣyaistu bhesajā
yathā sad iti.

Tatra brahmā paryājaped iti dhanaṃjayastiṣṭh-
-iti śāndilyastryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim puṣ-
vardhanam urvārakam iva bandhāṁ mṛtyor mukṣīy
-mṛtād iti......
The Bodhāyana Dharma Sutra.

II,5,6. 'Tarpanas' to Rudra.

Om bhavam devam tarpayami. Om sivam devam tarpayami. Om isānam...... Om pasupatim...... Om rud-sam...... Om ugram...... Om bhīnam...... Om mahān...... Om bhavasya devasya patnīm...... etc...... Om bhavasya devasya sūtām...... etc...... Om rudraparsadānām tarpayāmi. Om rudraparsadānāmca tarpayāmi.

II,5,7. 'Tarpanas' to Vināyaka.

Om vighnam tarpayāmi. Om vināyakam...... Om vīram Om abhūlam...... Om hastimukham...... Om vakratunda Om ekādaṃtam...... Om lambodaram...... Om vighna-parsadānām tarpayāmi. Om vighnaparsadānāśca.

II,5,8. 'Tarpanas' to Skanda.

Om skandam tarpayāmi...... Om sanmukham...... Om jay-tam...... Om visākham...... Om mahāseham...... Om abrahamyam...... Om skandaparsadānām tarpayāmi. skandaparsadānāśca tarpayāmi.

II,7,10. Praṇāṇam granthir asi rudro ma viśāntakaḥ.


The Mānava Grhyā Sutra.

I,13,9-14. When the bride is being taken home.

Amaṅgalyam ced atikramati anumāvantviti japatī namo rudrāya gramasāda iti grāme, imā rudrāyeta ca. namo rudrāyaikavrksasāda itye kavrksye. ye vrksesu saśpinjara iti ca. namo rudrāya smasānasāda iti smasāne. ye bhūtānam adhipataya iti
II,3,5.

Tasyāgnim raudram paśupatim īsānam tryambakam saradam pṛṣṭakam gā iti yajati.

II,5.

The Śūlagava sacrifice.

Raudraḥ saradi śūlagavaḥ. prāgudīcyām disi gr -syaśakaśe niśī gāvāṃ madhye taśto yupaḥ. pr svistākṛto 'stau soṇitaputan pūrayitvā namaste rudraḥ manyavā iti prabhṛtibhir aṣṭābhīr anuvā dikṣvantardikṣau copaharet. nāṣtām grāmam aḥ -ret. sesam bhūmaṇaḥ nikhaned api carma.

II,10.

Phālgunyām paurnāmasyām purastād dhānāpūpābh bhāgām cāryamaḥ ca yajet. indrānyā haviśyān pīstvā pīṭhāni samutpūya yāvanti āṣujātāni ta -tō mithunān pratirūpān śrāpayitvā kamsye'dhyanā kṛtvā tenaiva raudrāya svāheto juhoti. īsānyā -eke.

II,14.

The 'vināyakas'.

Athāto vināyakān vikhyasyāmah. salakaṭākaṭās kusmāndarājaputraścosmitāscadevayajanaścetī. -air adhiyātanām imāni rūpāṇi bhavanti. loṣṭ mṛdāti. tāṇāni chinatī. angesu lekhān likha apāsvapnām pasyati. jaṭilān pasyati. kasāvā sah pasyati. ustrān sūkāran gardābhānān divakir -īn anyāṁ ca prayaṭānsvapnān pasyati. antā -ām kramatī. adhvaṇām vrajan manvate pṛṣṭhat me kasci anuvrājati. etaiḥ khalu vināyakair āvistā rajaputraś laksanavatō rājyaṃ na k labb kanyāḥ patikāmā laksanavatya bhartṛīn na labb -te. śriyā prajakamāk laksanavatyaḥ prājām r labhante. 'strīnām acāravatānām apātyāni mriy -te. śrotriyo'dhyāpaka acārystvāṃ na prāpaṇi adhyetnām adhvaṇyane mahāvyāhān bhavanti. v -ujām vānīkapyatho vināyati. kṣriyāraṇām kṣ -rālapaḥalā bhavati. teṣām prāyaścittam:......

.......... namaste astu bhagavān satarasme tamonud jahi me daurbhāgyam saubhāgyena mām sam yojay
II, 9,1-2. The Mdhuparka and the final 'āstaka' offerings.

Uttamāyah pradāge catuvapathe ṭrīghadogam kārayet.
yo ya āgacchet tasami āsamai dadyat.

The Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra.

II,1,1-2. Āsvayujyam āsvyujijkarma. nivṛttanam alamkṛtya sv-
taḥ sucivaśaṃah pasupataye sthālipakam nirūpya
juhuyuḥ. pasupataye sīvāya saṃkarāya prṛgatayasy
svāheti.

IV,10. The Sulagava sacrifice.

Saradi vasante vā......... rudrāya mahādevā
ejusto vardhasveti. harāya kṛpaya sārvaya śīvāya
bhāvāya mahādevayagrāya pasupataye rudrāya saṃ-
karāyeśānayādanaye svāheti.

The Bo dhāyana Grhya Sūtra

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

Aranye'gnim upasamādhāyasya samparistīrya pranīta-
-bhayaḥ kṛtvā bharirādyaya gām upakarotī.— Īśānā-
yavā juṭāṁ upākarōmi iti. tūṣṇīṁ ityekī. a-
aināṁ adbhīṛ prakṛtī.— Īśānaya tvā juṭāṁ p-
kṣānti itī. tūṣṇīṁ ityekī. tām atraivo pratīcī
dānasya udṛcina-pādim samajapayanti. tasyai saṁ-
apśātāṁ adbhīṛ abhiṣekam. prṛpanāṁ āpṛṣyati tūt-
ūṣṇiḥ vampām utkhidya hṛdayam uddharati. prajñā-
mi cāvadāninī. tāyeyeteseva sūlesṇapaniṣipya t-
minnevasভনu śrīpayantī........

Paridhāna-prabhṛtyāgnimukhā kṛtvā daivatam mē,
āvāhāyatī,— a tvā vahantu harāyaḥ sacetasah śv-
tair asvaiṣahakatem adbhīṁ.vātajirair balavad-
rmancjavair āyahi śīghram māma hāvāya sarvomi
atha snuvedopāstīrṇam abhiḥṣatīnaṃ vāmām
juhoti sahasāriḥ sahasraśaḥ itī.:. purō'nuvakyāmucyā,-
Īśānām tvā bhuvanānāṃ abhāryam itī yajyāya juh-
ti. atratāṁyanavānāmi klīdāsūre prṛchṛtyaua-
-māṃsaṃ yuṣmityājyena samudāyāṣya mekṣena-
purūrāṅbhē juhoti,— bhavāya devāya sāvahā,
sarvāya devāya sāvahā rudrāya devāya sāvahā, ugrā
devāya sāvahā, mahate devāya sāvahā, itī. abha ma-
ye juhoti,— bhavāya devasya patnyai sāvahā,
sarvāya devasya patnyai sāvahā Īśānasya...... p-
-supater......, rudrasya......, ugrasya......, b-
-masya......, mahato...... itī. atha parārāṇe
juhoti, bhavāya devasya devasya satāya sāvahā.
pasupater..., rudrasya..., ugrasya..., bh-
masya..., mahato..., iti_ athāparārdhe ju-
hoti_, -- bhavasya devasya sutaya svāhāti... et
athajyāhatir upajuhoti,-- namate rudra manyave
ityantād pradāntād prabṛhiḥ siddh
adhenu-vara-pradānāt_ athāgrēṇāgni-markaparnes
hutaśeṣam nidadhāti_, --yo rudro agnau yo apsu y
oṣadhiṣu yo rudro visvā-bhuvasā bhuvāsa tasmai
rudraya namo'stu iti.
Api yadi gām na labheta meṣam ajam vālabheta.
Iṣānaya sthīrāpakaṃ va śrāpayanti tasmād etat
sarvam karoti yadgava kāryam......
Evam astamyaṃ pradoṣe kriyetaiva deva nāna. n-
tropakāraṇaṃ paśaḥ.

III, 2.16,1-43. Installation of the image of Rudra.

Caturthyayaṃ astamyaṃ adrayaṃ apabharaṇyaṃ vā
caturdaśyaṃ vā yāni cānyāni subhanakeśtrāni te
purvedyūre va yugmān brahmānāneva parivisyā pu-
yaham svasti ṛddhim iti vācayītva samagataya
nīṣayam kapilāpanca-gavyena sahiranya-yava-dur-
-ankura-svattha-palāsa-partenca suvarnapadānāna-
pratikṛtīṃ kṛtva bhūṣīncati, --apo hiṣṭā maya-
bhuvaḥ īti tirṣbhiḥ, -- hiranyāpānāḥ śucayah pa-
-kāh, īti catṛbhīḥ, -- pavamanah suvaṃcanaḥ-
ityētenānuvakena vyahrtibhiṣcā. puspahalākaśa-
tāmisra-yava-durvākūram padapilte nīkṣipati,
namaste rudra manyave iti... etena, -- namast
stu dhanvane ityāstābhīṇa śnapayati......
Hiranyena teṣaśa cakṣura vimocayet, -- tejo'si k
lining cennivartate gākṣuraḥ abhāvat......
atha tryambakam yajamahe ma no mahāntam, mā na
toke, ārdraya rudrah, heti rudrasya, ārāti aś-
-ih, vikiridavilohita, sahasrāni sahasradhā,
sahasradhaḥ, iti. dvadāśānāmbhīḥ, -- sīvaya
amkarāya sahamāṇāya śitaikathāya kapardine ti-
raya arunāya apagurumāṇāya hiranyabahave saq-
-piṇjarāya babhulisāya hiranyāya svāhā iti......
Haviṣa balim upaharati, -- tvam ekam adyam puru-
-sam purātanaṃ rudram adyam visvāsaṃjum yajāmat
tvam eva yajñō vihito vidheyastvamāttmanātman
pratigṛṇihīva havyam. iti.

III, 2.18. Rites for bathing the image of Rudra.

Athaiṇam prasādayati,--
Aradhito manuṣyaistvam siddhaiḥ devasura-
-bhīḥ
Arādhāyamī saktyā tvā'nugrhaṇa mahesvara
tryambakam yajamahoe iti ca......
Atha rudra-gayatrim japat, -- tatpurusaya vid-
III, 3, 3.

Mention of Durgā.

Yajñopavitāṁ raktapuṣpapadnam sambhārānukalpasya
masī masī caturthāṁ suklapaśasya paṁcamyaṁ v
bhuyadayaduḥ siddhikāmaṁ ruddhikāmaṁ paśukāmaṁ v
bhagavato vināyakasya balim hare
Vighna vighnesvaraḥ ca vighnetyeva nama

III, 3, 9.

Mention of Jyeṣṭhā.

Atha svabhute jyeṣṭhāṁ anusmarann aṁtaya devaṁ
rahasyapraśede vā yatra roccate maṁsata tatha
-lam kṛtvā.....jyeṣṭhā devīṁ āhyātī.....
Yasyas simhaṁ rathe yuktā vyāghraścapeyam

III, 3, 10.

Mention of Vināyaka.

Masi masī caturthāṁ suklapaśasya paṁcamyaṁ v
bhuyadayaduḥ siddhikāmaṁ ruddhikāmaṁ paśukāmaṁ v
bhagavato vināyakasya balim hare
Vighna vighnesvaraḥ ca vighnetyeva nama

Avighnāya bhavān samyak sadāsmākam bhavap

bh...

atha tuśnīṁ vā gandhpuspapadhūpādīpaṁrhyar
upatisthate,-- bhūpataye namo bhuvanapataye na
bhūtanāmpataye namāḥ iti.
Upanāthāya tisro vināyakahutur juhoti,--vināyak
bhūpataye namo vināyakāya svāhā vināyakāya bhā
napataye namo vināyakāya svāhā vināyakāya bhā
- tāṇāṁ pataye namo vināyakāya svāhā iti jaya p
-bhṛtisiddhāṁ adhenuvarapraṇāt. apūpaṁ kara
bhodakāṁ saktūṁ payasam ityathāśma upaharati,
vighñāya svāhā vināyakāya svāhā vīrāya svāhā śya svāhā ugrāyā svāhā bhimāya svāhā hastimukhā svāhā yaradāya svāhā vighnaparsadēbhyaḥ svāhā -ghnapārṣadēbhyaḥ svāhā iti. 

Atha bhūtebhīyo balīm upaharet, -- ye bhūta prac -nti iti.

Atha pañcasūtram kaṅkānam haste vyāhṛtibhir ba -nāti, -- vināyaka mahābaho vighnēṣa bhave dājña -yā, kāmā mo sādhitaḥ sarve idam badhnāmi kaṅk -nām iti.

Atha sāgnikam vināyakam pradikṣināṁ kṛtvā prá -myābhīvādyā vināyakam visarjyatī, --

Kṛtam yadi mayā prāptaṁ sruddhayā vā gane

Uttiṣṭha saganah sādho yāhi bhadram prasī -

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 for the old Tipitaka and of the Jatakas. Panini, in his Astadhyayi does mention Rudra and his other epithets Bhava and Sarva, but not the later names of the god Siva, Samkara, 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 Krsna 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 Arthasastra 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.
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 religion of 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 Paurasharira. The 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, Maheshvara, Samkara, and Tryambaka with its various synonyms, are now applied to him much more frequently than before. This change

2. Ram. (Bombay edition). I, 36, 7, 13; 45, 2, 4, 5; 55, 12. VI, 3; VII, 4, 29; 13, 26; 16, 16-15, 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) did 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 euhemerisation which began in the Vedic times. We have already seen in the Upanisads how far his old character had been changed 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 coming 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 upon 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, 1) 2) easily pleased by sincere devotion, and is merciful. At the same time, his position is also greatly exalted. In the Upanisads, 3).

1. I, 36, 10. 2. I, 55, 13. 3. VII, 16, 34.
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 Supreme Trinity which now rises into
eminence, while the old Vedic pantheon practically fades into
insignificance. The first god of this Trinity, Brahma, remains
rather in the background, and, so far as the active reg-
ulation of the universe is concerned, he appears to be inferior
to the other two gods, and is frequently mentioned as supple-
ing the one or the other on behalf of the gods, when the lat-
are in distress. Between Siva and Visnu, there seems, as ye
to have been no contention for preeminence. Each was regarded as supreme by his worshippers who, however, did not dis-
claim of the other to the same rank made by his worshipper.
The Ramayana, being a Vaisnava work, on the whole, gives more
prominence to Visnu, but in the passages relating to Siva, th
latter is always looked upon as the Supreme God. He is calle
the highest and the foremost among the gods, the god of gods
3) His worship is performed by the immortals themselves. In a
危机 of the first magnitude, the gods repair to him for suc
and once at least, Visnu himself is said to have led their de-
nation to him.

1. e.g. Ram. I,36,8. 2. I,45,22-26; 66,11-12; VII,6;
3. VII,13,21f. 4. I,45,23f.
The philosophical aspect of Siva, as seen in the Upanisads, 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. In another passage, he is described as the Imperishable, 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 Upanisads, is more evident in the Ramayana. The practice of austerities is the regular mode of worshipping and pleasing him. Bhagiratha pleased him in this manner, and so did Visvamitra. The gods themselves have to perform penance in order to get boons from him. 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. 2. VII,4,29.
5. VII,13,21.
Yogi. This might well be called the apotheosis of yoga. This stage had been reached by the time of the Ramayana, and in one passage we find Siva described as practising yoga and penance in the ^-

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 personality. One of her names is Uma and she is regarded as the daughter of Himavat, or the Himalayas, this showing her identification with with the Uma Himavati 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 became the most common name of the goddess in later times. On she is called Rudrani, but such derivative appellations of with the one exception of Bhavani, became very infrequent in Vedic times, and the goddess was normally called by her own names, which fact shows, again, that unlike other female deities, 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 as the spouse of Siva, under the softening influence of the Bhakti cult.

1. I, 36, 26. 2. I, 35, 16, 21; 36, 14, 20; 43, 2. VII, 4, 30; 13, 22; 16, 32; 87, 12, 16.
VII, 87, 11. 5. VII, 13, 23.
and to have become a gentle, benevolent, and kindhearted god.

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 who happens to look at her face forthwith loses his eye. When a -gered she curses the gods and her curse the gods have no power to counteract. In view of this, it is rather amusing to read 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; 2. I, 35, 21.
Rudra into Siva was, indeed, more complete than appears at first sight. 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, 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 versions themselves any clues which might hint at their origin.

The first of these legends is that of the drinking of poison by Siva. 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, 1ff.  2. I, 45.
referred to in the Ramaayana. The gods and the demons churned the 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 demons 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 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. 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 start 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 Bhag-
-ratha. The legend, here, is obviously used for the exaltation of Siva, but exactly, 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 re-
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 anthropomor-
ism 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, that of the drinking of the poison, forms a part of a bigger legend, but its essential purpose is quite evident. Its orig-
inal 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.

1. i, 35, 13f.
and relates how Uma practised penance to obtain Siva as her band, 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 emphasize 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 aloft with his consort after his marriage. Siva, however, but looked upon him and all his body was burnt up forthwith. The legend brought Siva yet another epithet, 'kamari'.

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 (agnisambhavah). 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, and once, allusion is made to the killing of the demon Andhaka by Siva. Further, from such epithets of Siva as 'tripurari' and its various synonyms, 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. We shall occasionally consider these legends in detail when examining the Mahabharata.

One important and rather significant feature of Siva's 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, 16, 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, Havana is said to have become one of
Siva’s devotees, once his pride had been humbled. Another
demon, Vidyutresa, is said to have been adopted by Parvati, 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. 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, is any demon 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 was, and always remained a purely Aryan deity. He 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. He does not seem to have been a god worshipped by the masses, and this

1. VII,16,34 f.
2. VII,4,29.
3. VII,6,3 f.
4. cf. the well-known dictum,'visnu vai yajnah.'
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 thus enabled him to escape the fate of the other gods. As the later 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 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 boon 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. This tale from Christian mythology, in which the Satan and his followers are said to have been angels originally, residing in Heaven offers an interesting 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, 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. The former, derived from the root

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 'vrśa', literally meaning a bull, is a very common epithet of Rudra. In the Br -manas 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, 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' we

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. In another passage, 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 Parti-ti, Siva assumed the female form, and as a result of this, every other male of every species, even trees with masculine names, underwent this metamorphosis. Then, Siva, his consort and all the attendants begin to sport more or less in a Bacchanalian 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 pleased him and that boons were to be obtained from him by

1. VII, 90, 12.  
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 philosophic aspect is seen not to have been without influence on the popular aspect, it will be better and simpler to examine the 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. He is called the sole source and upholder of the Mahabhutas, the Eternal, the Unmanifest, the sole Cause and the Lord. 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 merges again at the time of the involution. In the latter aspect he is conceived of as the Kalarkudra. 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. His own worshippers, however, have begun to look upon him as supreme to the exclusion of all other deities. Visnu himself, in his incarnation as Kali, is several times represented as extolling and even worshipping him. The followers of Visnu, however, did the same for their god, and, thus, a kind of balance seems to have been struck.

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2. Drona, 74, 56-61; 169, 29ff.; Anu., 22, 15.
3. Karna, 24, 62-64.
4. Anu., 22, 166; 188-90.
5. Anu., 112, 53.
6. Anu., 22.
7. Drona, 74, 16ff.; 51ff.; 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 pantheon. 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 the Puranas, but in the epics, the two gods are never explicitly identified and were not yet, perhaps, looked upon as one generically, 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 hi

and obtain their salvation. The probable cause of this associa-
tion of Siva with Samkhya has been discussed in the previ-
ous chapter. But the conception of the philosophical Purusa in
original Samkhya, as seen in the Svetasvatara Upanisad was
what different from what it became later on, and was more al-
to the Vedantic Brahma. And, it was as that original Purusa
that Siva was connected with Samkhya. In later development
retained that character, and in the epics we find that his con-
ception 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
still preserved, there are also indications of the beginnings
of this dissociation. Thus, in one passage, Siva appears as
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 ('va
-krtta') and impermanent path of 'Aisvarya' and the eight 'gunas'.
Aisvarya would, here, seem to mean the path of Isvara or the I
meaning, probably, the monistic doctrine of Bhakti which the
creed of Siva and Visnu preached then. It is interesting to

1. Anu. 98, 6-22.
note that Samkhya is called, in this passage, 'prakṛta-jnana' 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, Siva 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 Siva proves the lateness of the passage.

On the philosophic side of the cult of Siva also may be counted Siva's association with yoga. The origin of this association has also been seen above. By the time of the epic, 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 Ramayana. Siva is to be realised through penances and devotion only. He is, indeed, the Supreme Purusa of the yogi. He knows the yoga of the self along with all the different aspects of the Deity, and is himself a Mahayogi. It is interesting to observe that in some places Visnu himself is called Yogesvara, which shows the incorporation of the yogic practices, whose growing importance could not be ignored, into the cult of Visnu.

2. Vana, 85, 25f.; Drona, 74, 16ff.  
3. Drona, 74, 41.  
4. Karna, 24, 60.  
5. Drona, 50, 43f.  
6. Anu., xx, 98, 74, etc.
On the popular side, we see the cult of Siva developing various aspects owing to the diverse character and properties 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, Mahadeva, 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 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 ('bhaktanukampi 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. 6. Sauptika, 6, 32.
7. Drona, 41, 15; 74, 62; Anu., 112, 19. etc.
the destructive fire which the latter had created out of his wrath, and which threatened to consume the entire creation.

Many sages of old are said to have obtained boons by devotion to Siva, and their example is followed by Arjuna, Upamar and others. Besides, there is a special form of worship by which Siva is pleased. This is the Pasupata Vrata, mentioned in the KarnaParva. It was to be observed for different periods according to circumstances and the purpose of the performer, varying from twelve days to twelve years. But the Vrata is described in detail.

By the most popular aspect of the worship of Siva no one is that in which he is conceived of as the consort of Parvat and is worshipped along with her. The kind, benevolent Siva regarded as the spouse of the equally kind and gentle goddess and the two reside on Kailasa in eternal bliss, setting the model of perfect conjugal felicity for the mortals of all ages.

In this aspect, he is the 'bhakti god', par excellence, and hymns of praise, which always extoll him as the highest God, prayers for his mercy and grace are addressed to him. The gods themselves have to please him in this manner. It was in this aspect that he was worshipped by the vast majority of the people.

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5. Drona, 74,35.
6. Drona, 24,54f.
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 extreme 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 senti-ments. 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, 'nisarapatii', applied once to him in the epic is significant.

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 'Brahmacārya-samghatīn'. His bow, called the Pinal, and his thunderbolt, called the Sulā, are his favourite weapons and he is described as 'Pravārayudhayodhin'. His might is irresistible, and to those who defy him he is a veritable Death (Kala). In this aspect, he is conceived of as angry, terrible, and a great destroyer. His whole appearance is 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.

Thus, in his popular aspect, Siva came to possess two forms, a gentle and a terrible one. This dual character of his 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.

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.
2. Vana, 33, 87; 35, 1; Udyoga, 177.
4. Karna, 24, 73.
7.8. Anu., 151, 3.
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 demon 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, 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 only all he had desired, but also the boon of immortality, 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
In 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'). 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, 149, 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 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; Saly 39, 24; Sauptika, 6, 33; etc.
In one passage, Siva himself is described as eating meat and consuming blood and fat. This is a deity belonging essential to the domain of superstition and black magic, as in the Sutras and it appears that, despite 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 Sutras, 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 permitted. Thus, we find that in his desperation, Asvatthaman invoked Siva in this aspect. 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 Mahabharata, to be indiscriminately mixed up with his other epithet and occur even in passages where Siva is conceived of in another aspect. Naturally, the reverse is also true, and the other epithets of Siva are applied to him where he is conceived of as a 'kapalin'.

11 Vana, 86, 3; Drona, 50, 49; Salya, 39, 24; Sauptika, 6, 33; Vana, 188, 13.
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 a regular practice of offering his captives of war as sacrifice to Siva. Asvattahaman also, when he worshipped a 'kapalin', is said to have offered himself to the god. The practice is severely condemned by Kṛṣṇa who rebuked Jarasandha for following a practice contrary to established laws. This shows that it was generally disapproved of at that time. It seems to have continued to exist clandestinely among a certain section of the worshippers of Siva in this aspect. According a smattering of the doctrines of yoga, which, as we have observed, were prevalent and fashionable in the epic period, and adopting 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 Kapalikas, among whom the practice of human sacrifice prevailed till a comparatively late period. We shall have occasion to say something 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 Tātāma, the heavenly nymph, that four faces appeared in his head in order to enable him to view her in whichever direction he 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 i

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 legend, 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, would be the fittest leader for the divine armies. Subsequently, the gods repaired to the 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, 8f.
2. cf. the old dictum 'agnih sah devatah'.

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distracted by his passion, he wandered disconsolate in the forest. Meanwhile, the daughter of Daksha, Svaha, had seen Agni at the sacrifice, and had fallen in love with him. She followed him to the forest and there, practiced the ruse of assuming the forms of six of the wives of the sages and then approaching Agni who was easily taken in. Subsequently, she situated 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 sun. An illustration of this fact has been supplied by the various motifs on the pottery recently discovered at Chanhu 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. L. E. Mackay. Paper read before the Royal Society of Arts (I 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.
real sense of the expression 'Rudraputra' having been forgot
Skanda was, in course of time, regarded as the actual son
Siva. And, it was to explain this fatherhood of Siva of the
former god, that the legend of the birth of Skanda was modi
and developed. The first stage in this process is seen in
Mahabharata itself. In another section of the VanaParva,
story is repeated, and in it Rudra and his consort are said
have embodied themselves in Agni and Svaha respectively, an
were, thus, the real parents of Skanda. The next stage in
development of the legend is also seen in the Mahabharata,
the legend was made as a kind of a sequel to the legend of t
marriage of Siva and Parvati. The gods, learning of the o
jugal union of the two deities, were filled with terror, a
repairing to Siva, requested him not to beget an offspring.
Uma, as a child born of such puissant parents would be quit
irresistible and would soon consume the universe by his ene
Siva consented to their request, but Parvati, incensed at t
unwelcome interruption cursed all the gods present with perm
ment childlessness. Siva, then drew up his seed, and, the
forth, has been known as 'urdhva-rtah'. A portion of his

1. Vana, 188, 8f.  
seed, however, fell on the earth and became a blazing fire. But further on, it is said to have been taken up by Agni 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. 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 Krttikas. 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, wherein the six Krttikas 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 Krttikas gave birth to the different parts of the infant, which, however, forthwith united 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

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 fully 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, in the struggle between the gods and the demons, the latter turned 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. 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. Through Brahma’s boon, the chiefs of the demons

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 practiced 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 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.

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

The legend most significant 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, not without 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 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 left

Rudra out. In this legend we can see the germs of the epic-end of the sacrifice of Baksa. 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-
ponents, after which its position was firmly established, and
Siva was universally recognised. All this must have happen-
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-
veloped. An earlier and a later version are found in the Mah-
bharata. In the former, 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 and
approached the sacrifice, the latter took the form of
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 Puran 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. In it, Dadhichi appears as a protagonist of the new creed of Saivism, and, at the sacrifice of Daksha, angrily demands the reason why Siva had not been invited. To this Daksha 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 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 Daksha is not the only indication in the Mahabharata of the prejudice which originally existed against Saivism. Scattered through 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 appe
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. 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. Indra, who, in one 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.
2. Anu., 114, 10f.
3. Anu. 150, 33-34.
Indra, but in the light of the above, we can easily see, in this incident, and indication of the old antagonism between the old and the new cults. By the time of the epics, the old had succeeded in definitely establishing itself, and in ousting the old cult. All the original prejudice against Siv 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 node of her worship. The Ramayana makes no reference to the independent of the goddess, but 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. 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 belts and 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

again, we see a close similarity between her and the Babylon: Ishtar (also the Assyrian goddess) who was likewise regarded as a War Goddess in one of her aspects. 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 child Krsna.

Thus, it is seen that by the time of the epics, the office of the mother goddess had found a place for itself in the pos Vedic Brahmanic religion. The association of the goddess with Siva appears to have been responsible for the recognition acc -ed to her worship in the epics, and we find both Yudhisthir 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 deriv 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 -self, and with the science of Vedanta, probably implying the:

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 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 not found either in the Vedic Ambika, nor, so far as we know, 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 goddess 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, South India. Crooke, Mother Goddess, Folklore, X.
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 personification of the night of Universal destruction. She is described as black in colour, of bloody mouth and blood-shot eyes, wearing a crimsongarland, and smeared with crimson unguents, attired in a single piece of red cloth, thus appropriately wearing her part. She has the appearance of an elderly lady, 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. 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 continues 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 ant-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

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 one called Ganesvāra which, as we know, was an epithet of Vināyaka. This is another proof in favour of the original identity of 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. 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 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 Saktism.

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 the 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.

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 demo 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 her we find the verse, we have noticed in a previous chapter, whi refers to Vakratunda and Danti. In other verses in this pas -ge mention is also made of Skanda and Garuda, which proves lateness. In another passage, the goddess is invoked under t name of Durga much in the same manner as in the epics. Last we have the Atharvasiras Upanisad which is entirely devoted the glorification of Siva. Siva is conceived of as the pant -tic Brahma, and is identified with the various deities incl ding Vinsyaka and Uma. His conception in this Upanisad cle showshow he was becoming more akin to the Vedantic Brahma ra than to the Samkhya Purusa.

Next we have the Mahabhasya of Patanjali who lived

7. Atharvasiras, I.
the 2nd century B.C., and was a contemporary of the Sunga Pusyastra. His work not only mentions Siva by his various 1) names, but also refers to the images of that god and of Skand 2) which were evidently meant for worship. The reference to the 3) Mauryas making use of this worship as a source of revenue supports the evidence of Kautilya, and proves that image wor- 4) ship had been long established by the time of Patanjali. Be- 5) sides this, in one passage, a reference is made to Siva-bhas- 6) vas, who were most probably a sect of the worshippers of Siva. We shall have occasion to notice them again in a later chap- 7) ter. 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 dat- 5) ed from about the 3rd century B.C. They are marked with various symbols among which the bull is of frequent occurrence. 5) This bull symbol also appears on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings of the 2nd century B.C. These kings had become Hinduised, 6) as apparent from the Sanskrit legends on their coins, and it

1. Under sutra IV,1,49; V,3,99; VI,1,63; VI,4,77.
3. " " V,2,76.
4. Cat. of Ind. coins in the Br.Mus. Introd.p.18,Pl.I,nos.2 5) 6)
5. 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 6) 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. 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'. 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 Sutras 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 Gedimallam has been found

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1. Cat. of Ind. coins in the Br. Mus. (Ancient India), Class I, Group 3, Variety f and g. Pl. 41, etc.
2. Cat. of Ind. coins in the Br. Mus. (Ancient India), Introduction, 75, Pl. 11, 2.
3. Ibid.
'siva-linga' whose date has been determined as the 2nd century 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 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 Malai. 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.

2. a p. .
Appendix.

Passages relating to Siva in the epics.

(A)


I,35. 16. Taśyāṁ gaṅgeyam abhavaj jyeṣṭhā himavataḥ sutaḥ; Umā nama dvitīyābhut kanyā tsaiva rāghavā.

19. Ya cāṇḍāśailaduhitā kanyāsīt rāghunandana;

20. Ugrena tapasā yuktām dadau sailavaraḥ sutaṁ; Rudrāyāpratirūpaya umām lokanamaskṛtām.

I,36.

The legend of the birth of Karttikeya.

5. Purā rāma kṛtōvahāḥ sitikantho mahātapah;

6. Drātva ca bhagavān deviṁ maithunāyopacakrame.

7. Taśya samkrīdamānasya mahādevasya dhimataḥ; Sitikanthasya devasya dīvyaṁ varṣaśatam gātam.

Na cāpī tanayo rāma tasyāṁit prāntapa;

Sarve devāṁ samudyuktā pitāmahapurogamāṁ.

8. Yadihatpadyate bhutaṁ kastad pratisahisyate;

Abhigamyā suraḥ sarve pranipatyedam abrūvan.

9. Deva deva mahādeva lokasya sya hite rata;

Surāṇāṁ pranipatena prāsādam kartum arhasi.

10. Na lokā dharayisyanti tva te jah surottama;

Brahmaṇḍa tapasā yukto devyā śaha tapaścara.

11. Trailokyā hitakāṃrtham tejastejasi dharaya;

Rakṣa śravānaḥ imān lokān nālokan kartum arhasi.

12. Devatānām vacaḥ srutva sarvalokamaheśvarāḥ;

Bādhvam ityabravīt sarvan punaścedam uvacāha.

13. Dharayisyāmyahāṁ tejas tejasiva sahomāya;

Tridasāḥ prthivy caiva nirvāṇam adhigacchatu.

14. Yadiḥam kṣubhitam sthānāṁ mama tejā hyanuttamam

Dharayisyāti kas tān me bruvantu surasattamāḥ.

15. Evam uktas tato devah pratyūc ur viṣabhadvajam;

Yattejāḥ kṣubhitam hyadya tad dharā dharayisyat;
16. Evam uktah surapatih pramumoca mahabalah; 
   Tejasā prthivi vyaptā sagirikānanā.

17. Tato devaḥ punar idam ucūscāpi hutāsanam; 
   Avidā tvām mahātejo raudraṁ vayusamanvitah.

18. Tadagnina punarvyaptam samjatam svetaparvatam 
   Divyam sarvamām cāiva pāvakādityasannibham;

19. Yatra jāto mahātejah kārttikeya 'gnisambhavah 
   Athomāṁ ca śivam cāiva devah sarsīganāstathā.

20. Pujayāmāsur atyarthāṁ suprītā manasāastadā; 
   Atha sailasutā rāma tridaśān idam abravit.

21. Samnyur asapat sarvān krodhasamraktañcana; 
   Yasmānivaritāk ca cāham sāmataṁ putrakāmyaya.

22. Apatyām svesu daresu notpādayītum arhattaḥ; 
   Adya prabhṛti yusmākam aprajāḥ santu patnayaḥ.

23. Evam uktvā surān sarvān āsāpa prthivim api; 
   Avane naikarupa tvām bahubhārya bhavīyasi.

24. Na ca putrakṛtam pritiṁ matkrodhakaṅkṛtā; 
   Prapayasi tvām sudurmedhe mama putram aniccha.

25. Tān sarvān pīditāṁ dṛṣṭvā surān surapatis tat 
   Gamanayopacakrama dīṣam varunāpalitāṁ.

26. Sa gatvā tapa ātīṣṭhat pārśve tasyottare gire 
   Himavat prabhave śrīge saha devyā mahēśvarah.
I, 43.
The legend of the descent of the Ganges.

2. Atha samvatsare pūrṇe sarvalokanamaskṛtaḥ; Umāpatiḥ pasupati rājānam idam abravit.

3. Sirasa dhārayisyāmi sailarājasutām aham; Pritaste naraśreṣṭha kariṣyāmi tava priyam.

4. Tato haimavatī jyesthā sarvalokanamaskṛta; Tadā satimahadrūpaṁ kṛtvā vegam ca duḥśaham.

5. Akasād apāsad rāma sīve sīvāsīras-yuta; Acintayacca sa devī ganga ārāmadurdhara.

6. Viśāmyahām hi pātālam srotasā grhyā śāmkaram; Tasyāvalepanām jñātvā krudhastu bhagavān harah.

7. Tirobhāvyatūm buddhim cakre triṇayanastādā; Sa tasmin paṭita puṇya puṇye rudrasya mūrdhani.

8. Himavat-pratime rāma jatāmandalagahvare; Sā kathan cit mahīm gantum nāsaknod yatnamāsth.

9. Naiva sa nirgamaṁ lebhe jatāmandalam antataḥ; Tatraiśvābhramad devī samvatsaraganān bahūn.

10. Tām apasyat puṇas tatra tapah paramām āsthitaḥ sa tena toṣitaścāsit atyantām raghunandana.

11. Visasarja tato gaṅgām haro bindu sarah, prati Tasyām viśjyamanayām sapta srotāmsi jānire. etc. etc.

I, 45.

Drinking of poison by Siva.

18. Tato nīscitya mathanam yoktrām kṛtvā ca vasuki Mantāhānam mandaraṁ kṛtvā mamantkur amitaujasah.

19. Atha varsasaahaseraṇa yoktrasarpasīrāmī ca; vamantotivisam tātra dadṛsur daśanaṁ śilāh.

20. Utpapatāṅgnaśāmkāśām hālāhalamahāviśām; Tena dagdhām jagat sarvām sadevāsuramāṇuṣam.

21. Atha deva mahādevam śāmkaram saranārthināh; Jagmuḥ pasupatīṁ rudrāṁ trāhi trāhiti tuṣṭuvuḥ

22. Evamuktas tato devair devādevesvararah prabhuḥ; Prādūrasit tato' traiva samkhaeakradharo harīn.
23. Uvācaīnām smītaṃ kṛtva rudrām sūlādharam hariḥ Daivataīr māthyamāhe tu yat pūrvam samupasthit

24. Tad tyadiyam surasreṣṭha surāṇām agrato hi ya Agrāmpujām iha sthitvā grāhānedām viṣam prabhō\n
25. Ityuktvā ca surasreṣṭhas tatraivaṁtaradhiyata; Devatānām bhāyām drātva srutvā vākyam ca sārūṇa

26. Hālaḥalam viṣam ghoraṁ samjagārahamṛtopamam; Devān viṣṛjya deveso jagāma bhagavān harah.

I, 55. Visvāmitra's propitiation of Śiva after his di-

12. Sa gatvā himavatpārsye kinnaroragasevite; Mahādevaprasādārtham tapastepe mahātapaḥ.

13. Kenacīt tvathā kālāṇa devesō vṛṣabhadvajah; Darsayāṁasa varado visvāmitram mahāmunīm.

I, 66. Siva's bow at Janaka's palace.

8. Devarātā iti khyato nimer jyeṣṭho mahipatih; nyāso'yam tasya bhagavān hāste datto mahāthama

8. Daksayajñavadhe pūrvam dhanurāyamya vīraṃvān; Vidhvasya tridaśān roṣat salīlam idam abravit.

10. Yasmād bhāgarthino bhāgaṁ nākalpayata me surāḥ Varāṅgini mahāngani dhanasya sātayāmi vaḥ.

11. Tato vīmanasah sarve devā vai muni-pungava; Prasādayanta devesam tesaṁ prito bhavad bhavah


13. Nyāsabhūtām tada nyastam asmākaṁ pūrvāye vibha

I, 75. Further history of Siva's bow.

11. Ima vade dhanuṣī śreṣṭhe divye lokābhīpūjite; dṛdhe balavaṁi mukhye sukṣite visvākarmanā.

12. Anusrāṭam surairekām tryambakāya yuvāyaśe; Tripūrāghanām narasreṣthah bhagam, yat tvāya.

III, 35, 93. Allusion to the slaying of Andhaka by Śiva. Rudrenaiva vinirvadhah svetāraṇya prāṇdhakah
IV, 43, 55. Bhagavāناسca tatra visvatma sambhur evāhāsātmakā
Brahmā vasati deveso brahma-prāparivāritisah.

VI, 117.. Siva comes to plead on behalf of Sītā.

1. Tato Vaisrayano rāja Yamasca, pitṛbhīḥ saha;
Sahasrāksasasca deveso Varuṇasca jalesvāraḥ.

2. Sañāraghanayanah śrīmān mahādevo vṛṣadhvajah;
Kartā sarvasya lokasya brahmā brahma-avidum vara

VI, 119 Siva praises Rāma.

1. Tataḥ subhataram vākyam vyājahāra mahēsvarah.

VII, 4 The legend of the son of Vidyutkēsa.

27. Tato vṛṣabham āsthāya pārvatya sahitah sivah;
Vāyumārgena gacchan vai suśrava ruditāsvanam.

28. Apasyad umaya śardham rudantaṃ rāksasātmajam;
Karunyabhāvāt pārvatya bhavas tripurāsūdanah.

29. Tam rāksasātmajam cakre mātureva vayaḥ svayam;
Amaram caiva tam kṛtvā mahādevo kṣaro'vyayah.

30. Puram aksagam prādāt pārvatyaḥ priyakamyayā;
Umayāpi vairo datte rakṣasāṁ nṛpātmaja.

31. Sadyopalabdhir garbhasya prasūtiḥ sādva eva ca.
Sadya eva vayaḥ prāptīṁ māturs eva vayaḥ samam.

VII, 6. Siva’s refusal to aid the gods against the demons.

1. Tair bādhyamāna devaśca rṣayaśca tapodhanāh;
Bhavārtā saranaṃ jagmur devadevam mahēsvaram.

2. Jagatśāryantakārtaram ajam ayyakarūpinam;
Adhāram sarvalokanām ardhyam paramām gurum.

3. Te sametya tu kāmārīm tripurārīm trilocanam;

VII, 13 Kubera’s worship of Siva.

21. Raudram vratam samāsthāya niyato niyatendriyāḥ
Tatra devo mayā drṣṭah umaya sahitah prabhuh.

22. Savyam caksur mayā daivat tatra deva-yām nipātit
23. Kānyeṣṭi mahāraja na khalvanyena hetunā; Rupām canupamam kṛtvā tatra rūdrāṇi tiṣṭhāti.
24. Devyā divyaprabhāvena dagdham savyam mameksam Remudhvastam iva jyotih piṅgalatvam upāgatam.
25. Tato'ham anyad viśīrṇam gatāvātasya gireṣṭaḥ Tuṣṇim varṣasatānyastau samādhāram mahāvratam.
26. Samāpte niyame tasmins tatra devo maheśvarah; Tatāḥ prītena manasa praḥa vākyam idam prabhul.
27. Pajñālyam yad avāptam hi devyā rūpaniriksanāḥ Prīto'smi tava dharmajña tapasāhena suvṛata.
30. Devyā dagdham prabhāvena yacca savyam ta Ekakṣi pingalātiva nama sthāsyati saśvatam.

VII, 16
Nandi and Ravana, and the latter's humiliation.

8. Iti vākyantare tasya karālah kṛṣṇapālingalāḥ; Vāmano viṅkto mundi nandi hrasvabhujo balī.
9. Tatāḥ pārśvam upāgamyā Bhavasyānucar-oravāvit; Nādiśvaro vacascedam rāksasendram aṣamkitaḥ.
11. Sarvesām eva bhūtānāṁ agamyah parvataḥ
Tannivartasva duṣṭbudhe mā vināsām avāpsyasi; Iti nandivacah sūtvā krodhāt kampita-kundalāḥ.

13. So'paśyaṁ nandinaṁ tatra devasyādūrataḥ sthita Dīptam śūlam avastabhya dvitīyam iva sāmkaram.
15. Tam krudddho bhagavān nandī śāmkaraśayaśparā tanu Abravīt tatra tadrakṣo dasānanaṃ upaśhitam.
22. Parvataṁ tu samādyā vākyam āha dasānanaḥ.
23. Pūṣpakasya gatiścchinnā yatkrte mama gacchataḥ Tamimam sailam unnūlam karomī tava gopate.
24. Kena prabhāvena bhavo nityām kṛidati rājāvat; Vijñātavyam nā jānte bhayaśthanam upaśhitam.
192

25. Evam uktvā tato rāma bhujan viṣṇipya parvate; Tolayaṁasa tam sighram sa sailaṁ samakampaṁ ta

26. Cālanaṁ parvatasyāiva ganaṁ devasya kampitaṁ; Cacāla pārvatī capi tadasliṣṭa mahēśvaram.

27. Tato rāma mahādevyaō devānām pravaro harah; Padāṅguśthena pidayaṁasa līlayā.

29. Rāksā tena roṣacca bhujanām pīdanat tathā; Mukto viravaḥ sahasā trailokyam yena kampitaṁ.

30. Atha te mantinas tasya viṇḍoṣantam athābruvaṁ; Tosasya mahādevam nilakantham umapatim.

33. Kṛpālu sāmkarastraṭstah prasadam te viṇḍasyati; Evam uktas tādāmātyais tuṣṭāva vṛṣabhadhvajam.

34. Sāmabhīr vividhāṅiḥ stotraṁ prāṇamya ca daśānar Samvatsarasahasram tu rudato rākṣaso gatam.

35. Tatoḥ pṛito mahādevah sālāgre viṣṭhitam prabhuh Muktvā cāsya bhujāṁ rāma praha vākyāṁ daśānam

43. Evam uktas tatastena ravanena sa śaṁkaraḥ; dadau khoḍgam mahādiptam candrahāsam iti śrutam

Siva assumes the female form.

11. Taṁsin pradesa devaṁ satīrājasutamānāh; Ramayāmāda durdharaṁ sarvair anucaraṁ saha.

12. Kṛtvā strīrūpam atmānām umeso gopatiḍhvajah; Devyāḥ priyācīkriṣuḥ sāṁtastmīn parvatanirjhare

13. Yatra yatra vanoddesa satyāṁ puruṣaśvadinaḥ; Vṛksāḥ puruṣaṁ nāmānāh te bhavan strījanainaṁ.

17. Umapatemca�takarma jñātvā trāsam upāgamat; Tato devaṁ mahātmānam sitikantham kapardinam.

18. Jagāma saranam rājā sabhrtyabalavāhanaḥ.

Siva as a physician.

12. Nāham pasyāmi bhaisajyam antaraṁ vṛṣabhadhvajam; Tasmād yajāmahe sarve parthivārthē durāsadam.
Further passages relating to Siva in the Ramayana.

Bombay edition.

I,23,10 f. The legend of the burning of Kāma.

10. Kandaṁpo mūrtimāṁ āsit kamaḥ ityueyate budhāṁ tapasyanām iha sthanum niyamena samāhitam.

11. Krtoḍvāham tu deveḍam gacchantam samarudganam; Dhṛṣṭaṁ kamaḥ dharme samkṛtaṁ sahamāṁ mahātmanā.

12. Avadhyatasēcā rudrena caksuṣaṁ rāghunandana; Vyaśāryantaṁ sarīrāt svāt sarvagātrāni durmate

Gorresio's edition.

IV, 5 30 Yatha kruddhasya rudrasya tripuram vai vijijñu

IV,44,46f. The mountain Trisṛūga.

Rudrasya kila samsthānam sāro vai sarvamedhikam...

Tāṁ atikramya sailendram mahādevābhīpalitam.

V,89. Visit of Siva to Kubera's court.

6. Tataḥ sabhāyām devasya rajño vaisravanasya samsthānam sāro vai sarvamedhikam Dhanādhyaṁkṣasya sabhām devah prāpto hi viṣṇubhāva

VI,51,17. Rudra vaṇāhatam ghorām yathā tripurogopuram.

VI,94,35. Akrīḍā iva rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ pasū.

VI,55,88. Iśvareṇābhīpānasya rūpam pa-sūpateriva.
The Mahābhārata. (Southern recension.)

Adi. 13. The churning of the ocean and the drinking of poison by Śiva.

22. Evamuktastādā Brahmā dadhau lokēsvaram haram; Tryakṣam triśūlinām rudrāṃ devadevam umāpātim.

23. Tadatha cintito devas tajjñātva drutam āyayau.

24. Tasyātha devaḥ tat sarvam ācakṣaṣa prajāpātiḥ; Tacchṛutvā devadevāḥ lokasyāṣya hitepsayā.

25. Apiṣad tad viṣam rudraḥ kālānalasamaprabham.

26. Yasmatte nilita kaṇṭhe nilakanṭhas tataḥ smṛta

Adi. 200. How Śiva got his four faces.

84. Drastukāmasya rudrasya gatāyām pārṣvyastatatah; Anyād-aṅcita-pakṣākṣam pascimāṁ niḥśrtam mukha

85. Gatayāscottaram pārṣvam uttaram niḥśrtam mukha Prsthatah parivartinyāḥ daksinām niḥśrtam mukha

87. Evam caturmukhaḥ sthanur mahēdevaḥ bhavat purā.


98. Tān rajñāḥ sannigrhya tvam rudrayopajihirṣe.

100. Manusyaṁāṁ samālambho na hi drṣṭaḥ kada-cana.

101. Sa katham manusair devam yaṣṭum icchasi śāmkar; Savarno hi savārṇāṁ kathāṁ kuryād viṁśanam

Vana. 33, Arjuna's penance to obtain the Pasupata weapon

87. Yada draksyasi bhūteṣam tryakṣam sūladharam sitadā datāṣi te tata divyānayastraṇi sarvataḥ.

Vana. 35, Siva appears as a Kīrāta before Arjuna.

2. Kairātām vesaṁ asthāya kañcana-Druma-saṁnibham.

4. Devya sahomaya srīmaṁ samanavrataveśaya; Nanāveśadharair hrstaṁ bhutaṁ anugatas tvaṁ.

5. Kirāta-veśasama-Drumah āṣṭribhiścānarasaṁsahārasaḥ; Asobhata maḥaraja sa devotiva bhārata.

13. Pramumocāsanipra-khyam sāramagnisikhopamam.

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

22. Karisyāmi maḥaraja vacaste nātra saṁsāyaḥ; Vegam tu mama dūrtharayam patantyā gagana-dcyutat.

23. Na saktas triṣu lokesu kaścidddhārayitum nrpa; Anyatra bibudhasreṣṭhānā nilaṅkaṇṭhānā maheśvarā.  

25. Tapasāradhitah sambhub bhagavān lokabha-vanaḥ.

Vana. 86, (contd.)

2. Dharayiaye maḥabhaho gaganaṁ pracṛtyāṁ sivam; Divyāṁ devanadīṁ punyāṁ tvatrke nrpa-saṁtama.

3. Evar ukṛta mahābhaho himavantaṁ upagamat; Samvṛtah pāṛṣdādaṁ ghoraṁ nānā-praharaṁ nodyata.

5. Etacchrutvā vaco rāja śarveṇa samudāḥrtaṁ.

10. Tam dadhāra haro rājan gāgaṁ gagana-mekhalāṁ; Lalatadese patitam mālam muktāmayīṁ iva.

Vana. 183 The legend of the birth of Skanda.

5. DeVasurā purāyattā vinighnantaṁ para-ś-parasparam; Tatrājayan sada devan dānavā ghora-rūpināḥ.

33. Samavāyam tu tam raudram drṣṭvā sakro vyacinta

35. Janayed yam sutam somah so'syāḥ devyāḥ patir bh.

Agniścaibhir gunāh sarvair agniḥ sarvāśca devaṁ.

40. Tatrābh yogacchad devendro yatra saptarāyaṁ 'bh

42. Pipāśa va yayur devaḥ satakāryatupurogamāḥ.

44. Samahūto hutaṁvahah so'dbhutah suṣyamanḍalaṁ; Vinīṛtya yayau vahniḥ parāvata vidhi vat prabhu
46. Niskramasāpasyat sa patnīṣṭesām mahātmanām;
Patnīr drṣṭvā dvijendraṇām vahñī kāmavaśāmaya
53. Alābhe brahmanastrinām vahñi vahnm upagamat
Śvāhā tām daśādūhita prathāmkāmayat tādā.
55. Sa tām jīnatvā yathāvattu vahnm vanam upagatam
Tattvataḥ kāmasampateptam cintayāmāsā bhūmimi.
56. Aham saptarṣīpatnīnām kṛtvā rūpāṇi pāvakam,
Kāmayīṣyāvī kāmārtam tānām rūpēṇa mohitam.

Vana. 184, (contd.)

1. Sīvā bhāryā tvāṅgirasaḥ sīlarūpapagūṇavitā,
Tāsyāḥ sa prathāmām rūpam kṛtvā devī janāḥhipa.
8. Tato'gnir upayemē tām śiyāṁ prīta udāharat;
Prītyā dehitā samyuktā sakrām jagrāha pāṇīna.
11. Suparnā sa tādā bhūtvā nirgatya mahato vanāt;
Aparśyāt parvataṁ śvetam sārastambaiḥ susamvēta
14. Praksipat kāncane kundā sukrām sa tvarita sāti
15. Sīstānām api sa devī saptarṣinām mahātmanām,
Patnī-śarupatām kṛtvā ramayāmāsā pāvakam.
16. Dīyarūpam arunahatyāh kartum na sahitām tāya;
Tāsyāstaṁ prabhāveṇa bhārtya-sūsṛuṣaṇena ca.
17. Sat kṛtvās tatra nikṣiptam agne retah kuruṭtam
Tām kundē pratipadi kāminya śvāhaya tādā.
18. Tatra skannām tejasā tatra samghṛtam janayat su
Ṛgibhiḥ pujitām skandaṁ janayat skandanāt tu tā

Vana. 185, (contd.)

47. Tathaḥ kumāram samjātam skandam āhur jana bhūvi.

Vana. 186, (contd.)

30. So'bhhisikto maṅgavatā sarvār devaganajī paḥa.
Atīva susūbhe tātra pūjyamāno mahārsibhiḥ.
34. Rudram agniṁ dvījāḥ prāhu rudrasunustatastu sah
Kīrtyste sumahātejāḥ kumāro'dbhutadarśanaḥ.
36. Puṣyāṇam tu rudreṇa dṛṣṭvā sarve diyokasah; 
Rudrasūnum tataḥ prāhur guhām gunavatāṁ varam
37. Anupravisya jatena vahnim jato pjayam sisuh; 
Tatra jātās tataḥ skendo rudrasundaratato'bhava
38. Rudrasya vahneh svahāyam śaṇṇāṁ strīnam ca tataḥ 
Jatāh skandah sūrasrestho rudrasūnum tataṁ 'va

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

8. Abhigaccha mahādevaṁ pitram tripurārddanaṁ; 
Rudrenāgīṁ samaviṣya śvahām avisiṣya comaya.
9. Hitārtham sarvalokānum jatās tvam aparajitaḥ;
10. Umāyonyāṁ ca rudreṇa śukram siktam mahāmatmanā 
Aste girau nipatitaṁ munijīka munijīkā tataḥ.
11. Mithunāṁ vai mahābhagā tatra tad rudrasambhava 
Bhūtaṁ lokam hitoddessāṁ śukraśeśam avāpatat.
12. Sūryārasmiṁgaṁ cāpyanyād anyaśaivāptad bhuvī; 
Asaktam anyād vrkṣesu tadevaṁ pāncadāhābhavaṁ.
13. Tatra te vivdhākārā gana jñeyā manisibhih; 
Ta evam pārasadā ghorā ya ete pūṣītāsanah.
14. Sa grhītvā patākaṁ tu yātyagre rāksaso grahah; 
Kridastu smasāne yo nityam rudrasya vai sakhe

Vana. 226, 26. Sa devam śarāṇam gatvā virūpākṣam umāpatim;
27. Balim śvayaṁ pratyagṛṇat priyamaṇaṁ trilocana

Udyoga. 9, 49. Atha samvatsare pūrṇe bhūtaḥ pasupateḥ prabho 
Samākrosanta mahāvān nāḥ prabhur brahmahā iti

Udyoga, 177. Various names of Siva.

7. Tam devo darsayāmāsa śulapānir umāpatih.
8. Tataḥ sa punareva tha kanyā rudram uvacā ha.
11. Yathā sa satyo bhavati caḥa kuru vṛṣadhvaja.
Udyoga. 178, Siva is prayed for progeny.

Drona. 41. Siva called 'bhaktanukampin'.

Drona. 49, Legend of the creation of Death.

Drona. 73, Krsna offers the Tryambaka 'bali' to Siva.

Drona. 74, Description of Siva.

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4. Apatyārthe mahārāja tōṣayāmāsā samkaram.

15. Bhaktanukampī bhagavān tasmiṃśacakre tato dayā.

44. Prajāh srṣṭvā mahārāja prajāsargē pitāmahah;

45. Cintayāmāsāśadaiva sahāharām vasudhādhipa;

46. Tasyarṣaṇā mahāraja mukhebhyyō'gnirajāyata.

47. Tato bhuvam divam caiya sarvam jvalabhīvṛtvan

48. Kṛṣṇa offers the Tryambaka 'bali' to Siva.

Tatah spratodakam pārtham vinitaparicārakam;

Naityakam darsāyaṇcakre naisam traiyambakam b

35. Saṃpānnañū tam desām sailāgre tu samavasthi

36. Saḥasrām iva sūryānām dīpyamānām svatejasa;

37. Nayaṇānām sahaṣraiscā vīetrāṅgam mahaujasam;

38. Gītā-vāditra-samvādais tālanārtanālāsitaḥ;

40. Vasudevaṁ tuṁ drṣṭvā jāgama śirasā kuśīṁ;

41. Asaṃhṛtaṃ mahātejā drṣṭvā jagadīdham prabhūh.

42. Cintayāmāsāśadaiva sahāharām vasudhādhipa;

43. Cintayānāsāśadaiva sahāharām vasudhādhipa;

49. Bhaṭṭaḥ jayati saṁcaranātīḥ sivaḥ;

50. Tasmin nipatite sthānau praṇānāṁ hitakamayā;

51. Karisyate te priyām kāmām bruhi sthano yad icch
e tc etc etc.

52. Jagaṃa sarāṇām devah brāhmaṇam paraviḥrahaṁ.

53. Bhaṭṭaḥ jayati saṁcaranātīḥ sivaḥ;

54. Bhaṭṭaḥ jayati saṁcaranātīḥ sivaḥ;

55. Kariṣaḥ te priyām kāmām bruhi sthano yad icch
e tc etc etc.

56. Tato bhuvam divam caiya sarvam jvalabhīvṛtvan

57. Tato bhuvam divam caiya sarvam jvalabhīvṛtvan

58. Tato bhuvam divam caiya sarvam jvalabhīvṛtvan

59. Tato bhuvam divam caiya sarvam jvalabhīvṛtvan

60. Tato bhuvam divam caiya sarvam jvalabhīvṛtvan

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41. Lokādiviśvakarmanām ajam īśānam avyayam; Tamasah paramām jyotih kham vāyur jyotiṣam gatām.

42. Yoginām paramām brahma vyaktām vedavidām nidhi; Paravarasya sraṣṭāram pratihartāram eva ca.

43. Kalakeyam mahātmānam sakrasūryagunodayam; Varundustadā kṛṣṇau vaṅgmanobuddhikarmabhiḥ.

44. Yam prāpaśyanti vidvāṁsaḥ suksmadhyātmā nīdānām Tamajam kārṇātmānaḥ jagmatuh sāranam bhavam.

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

52. Namo bhavāya sarvāya rudrāya varadāya ca; Pasūnām pataye nityam ugrāya ca kapardine.

54. Mahādevāya bhimāya tryambakāya śivāya ca; Īśānaya makhaghnāya namo'stvandhakaghātine.

56. Acintyāya ambikābhartre sarvadevastutāya ca; Vṛṣadhvajāya māndāya jātine brahmacarīne.

58. Anangamathanām sarve bhavam sarvatmanā gatah;
60. Sarvatmanam mahatmanam yenaptam visvam atmanam Tapovițesair vividhair yogam yo veda catmanah

61. Yah sâmkhyam atmanâ vetti yasya catma vaśe sa Tâm te dadraurisânam tejorâsim umapatim;


Prayer of the gods to Siva.

67. Namo devâdidevâya priyedhamne'timanyave; Prajâpatimakhagnâya prajâpatibhir idîte.

68. Namâ stutâya stutâya stuyamanâya sambhavâ; Vilohitâya dhumrâya nilagrîvâya sülîne.

69. Taśnâyâpameyâya nihantre carmanâsase; Tapo nityâya pingâya vratine krttvâsase.

71. Kumârapitme tryaksâya pravarâyudhayodhine; Prapannârtivinâdâya brahmadvitsamghâtine.

72. Vanaspatinam pataye vanaâm pataye namah; Gavâm ca pataye nityam yajjânam pataye namah.

73. Namo namaaste saumyâya tryambakâyogratejase; Manovâkkârmabhîr deva tvam prapannân bhajasv.

Karna. 25. The legend continued.

17. Sâhâyyam vah kariyâmi nihaniyâmi yo ripûn;

18. Diyamat ca balârdham me sarvairapi prthak pr

19. Paśutvam caiva me lokâh sarve kalpantu pîdit Pasunam ca patitvam me bhavatyadya divokâdah

The Pasupata Vrata.

24. Yo vah pâsupatescaryam cariṣyati sa mokṣyate Pasûtvād itisatyam vah pratijâne samâgame.

25. Ye cānye'pi cariṣyanti vrataṁ mokṣyante te'pi Neîṣṭhikam dvâdâśâbdam va yo'bdamârdham ārûtya Mâsaṁ dvâdasa râtram va sa puṣtvâd vimucyate

26. Tasmâd param. idam guhyam vrataṁ divyam ca
The legend concluded.

Salya. 39

The legend of the birth of Skanda.

6. Tejo māheśvaram skammam agnau prapihitam purā
   Tat sarvam bhagavān agnir naśakaddhartum aksa;

8. Sa gaṅgām upasāṃgamya niyogād brahmanah prabha
   Garbham ahitavān divyām bhāskaropame ṇ ṇ e jasah.

9. Atha gaṅgāpi tam garbham asahani ca dhārane;
   Utasasarja girau taismin himavatyaamarārcite.

10. Sa tatra vayuḥhe lokan avatya jvalanātmajah;
    dadrṣūr jvalanakaram tam garbham atha kṛttikā

11. Sarastambe mahātmānam analātmajam tīvram;
    Mamāyaniti sarvastāḥ putrārthīno vicukruṣuḥ.

12. Taśāṁ viditā bhāvām tam māṭrīṇāṁ bhagavān prasā
    Prasnamatanēṁ payah sādhir ānandir apivat tada.

16. Kuśāruṣa mahāvīryah kārttikeya iti smṛtah;
    Gāṅgeyaḥ purvam abhavan mahakayo balāhyātaḥ.

The Kumāra goes to see Śiva.

23. Sa dadarṣa mahātmānam devadēvamumāpatim;
    Sairaputtyā samāgamya bhūtasaṅghahīṁ sarvārtaḥ.

24. Nikayā bhūtasaṅghānāṁ paramād bhutadarsanāṁ;
    Viṅkrtā viṅkrtakāra viṅkṛtābharaṅadvaĵāṁ.

25. Vyāghrasimherṣavadanaṁ vidālamakarānanāṁ;
    Prā ā āmāmakhaśāścānye kharostra vada nānāstatha.

26. Uḷkuvaḍanaṁ kecid gṛḍhrogayudarasanāṁ;
    Kramēkaparavatunibhāir vadanaṁ bhairavāvair api

27. Śyāvīcchālasya godhanāṁ kharaiḍakagavāṁ api;
    saḍrṣāṁ vapūṃgyante tatra tatra vyadhārayan.

28. Kečiṣcchailamabāda prabhyaścakrālaḥ tāgadāyudhāṁ;
    Keči aṁjaṇapūjābhāḥ kečiṣcchvetācalaprabhāḥ.

34. Taṃāvrajaḥ tam alōkya śivasyāṁ manā gataṁ;
    Yugapace ṣchailaputryāṣcā gangyāḥ pāvakasya ca.

35. Kamnu purvaṁ ayam balogauravad abhyupaiti ca;
    Api māṁ iti sarvēṣāṁ tṛṣāṁ asin manogatam.
36. Teṣaṁ evam abhiprāyam saturnām upalakṣya saḥ; Yugapdyogam āsthāya sasarja vividhāstanaḥ.

37. Tatō bhavaccaturmūrtiḥ kṣaṇena bhagāvan prabhuh Skandāḥ sākho visākhaścā naigamaśca prathataḥ.

Sauptika. 6. Aśvatthāman worships Śiva.

32. So'ham adya mahādevam pr apadye āraṇām prabhuh Daivadandām imām ghorām sa hi me nāsāyasyati.

33. Kapardinām prapadye'ham devadevam umāpatim; Kapālanālinām rudrām bhaganetraharam haram.

Sauptika. 7. Same continued.

2. Ugram sthānum śivam rudrām sarvām īsānam īsvan

3. Sītikāntham ajam rudrām kṛṣṇam krutaharam ṇara

4. Smaśānanilayam drptam mahāgaṇapatim vibhum; Khaṭvāṅgadhārīnām mūndam jatīlam brahmācārīnām

5. Dhanādhyaksaṃprīyasakhaṃ gaurī-hṛdaya-vallabha

6. Kṛttivasasam atyugram... ........

7. Pāram parebhya pāramām param yasmānāḥ vidyate Ievastrottanaḥbhartāram digantāḥ desarakṣāṇam.

8. Kṛttivasasam atyugram... ........

9. Aśvatthāman offers himself as oblation to

Sauptika. 18. The legend of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

1. Tato devayuge'tīte devā vai samakalpayan; Yajñām veda-pramāṇena vidhivad yaṣṭum Īpsavah

3. Te vai rudrām ajānanto yātātathyena bharata; Nakalpayanta devasya sthanor bhāgām naradhipa

4. So'kalpayāme bhāge tu kṛttivasāh makhe 'mara Tapāsa yajñām avicchan dhānur agre sasarja h

8. Tatāh kruddho mahādevas tadupādaya kārmukam; Ajagāmātha tatraiva yatra deva samijire

9. Tam āttakārmukam drṣṭvā brahmācārīnam ayyayam Vivyathe prthivī devi parvatāśca cakampire.
10. Na vayau pavanascaiva nāgner jayvāla caidhitah

Vyabhramaccāpī samvignam divi nakṣatramandala
dhūmaṁ.

12. Abhibhūtas tato deva viṣṇyāna na prajāpātre; Na pratyabhāṣca yajñāḥ sa devatās tresire tha

13. Tatah sa yajñāṁ viśvādha raudreṇa hṛdi patrin


15. Apakrānte tato yajñē sanjñā na pratyabhbēt sur

16. Tryambakah savitur bahu bhūgasya nayane kath

17. Pusnāśca dasanāṁ sarvān dhanuṣkotyā vyaśataya

18. Prādravanta tato deva yajñāngāni ca sarvasah; Kecit tāraive ghūṁanta gataśava iyābhavan.

19. Sa tu vidrāvya tat sarvan sitikāntāḥ pahasya

20. Avaṣṭabhya dhanuṣkotim rurodha bibudhaṁstath

21. Tato vāg amarair uktā jyām tasya dhanuṣgocchinch

22. Atha tat sahasā rajan chinnajyām vishphurd-dh

23. Tato vidhanuṣgam deva devasreṣṭham upāgaman.

24. Sāraṇam saha yajñēna prasādām ca karot prabhuh

25. Sarvāṇi ca havimānya deva bhāgam akalpayan.

Sānti. 186. Viṣṇu exalted above all other gods including

6. Rudrādityavasūnām ca tathātikyaṁ divaukasaḥ; Ete vai nīrayāstata sthānasya paramātmānasah.

Sānti. 191. Viṣṇu said to have created Śiva.

Vedādityāvidhatāram brahmānap amitadyutim;

Bhūtamātrganādhyaksam virūpekaṁ ca so'srjat.

Anusāsana. 22. Kṛṣṇa himself describes the greatness of Śiva

Na sakyam karanā vettum gatim īśasya tatvata

Hiranyagarbhaṁ prabhūkṛṣṇāṁ sendre deva mahargayaḥ.

Na vidur yasya nidhanam ādiṁ va sūkṣma darsin

Sa katham namamātreṇa sakyo jñātum satāṁ gati
Anusasana 22. Enactation of Siva by Upamanyu.

96. Eṣa eva mahaṁ hetur āśaḥ karaṇākāraṇam;
Sūrūmo va yadanyasya devam abhyarcitam suraiḥ;

97. Kasyanyasya suraiḥ servair lingam muktva mahaṁ
Arcyate'rocitapūrvam va bruhi yadayasti te urutsa;

98. Yasya brahma ca vīmaśca tvam ca śakra sahaṁaṁ
Arcyadhvam sadā lingam tasmacchrestha param hi;

99. Divaskaraśadānikavahininetram,
tribhuvana-sāram apāram āsam adyam;
Ajaram amaramprāșadya rudram, jañati pumān iha ko labheta santiṁ.

Description of Siva.

115. Praśāntamanaśam devaṁ trihetum aparajitum;

116. Nīlakantham mahātmanā haryakṣam tejasāṁ nilhi
Antādeśābhujam devam sarvābhāranabhūqaṁ.

117. Suklāmbaradharām devam suklāmelyānulepanam;
Suklādhvajam anādṛṣyam suklayajñopavitinam.

118. Viṭṭam parāśadaṁ divyair atmātulyaparukramaiṁ.

119. Tribir netraiṁ kṛtodyotam tribhiṁ sūryair āvāṁ

121. Aśobhata ca devasya māla gātre sitaprabhā;
Jātārupayaiṁ padmaṁ grathitā ratnabhūqaṁ.

123. Indrāyudhasahasrabhāṁ dhanustasya mahātmanah;
Pīnakam iti viṅkatam sa ca vai pannago mahāṁ.

133. Nārājanasya lokeśmin brahmavismuṣurevyapi;
Taddṛṣṭavan aham tatra āscaryam idam uttaram.

144. Savyadeṣe tu devasya brahma lokapitāmah.
divyam vimānam āsthaṁ hamsayuktam avasthitah.

145. Vānapārāvagataścāpi tīṃ tatha narāyanah sthīta
Vatnateyam samāsthaya sthīto devyāḥ sam-āpataḥ

146. Saktim kanteḥ samāsthaya dvitiya īva pāvakaḥ.
Upamanyu's prayer to Siva.

154. Namo devaśdevaśya mahadevaya vai namaḥ; Sakrāya sakrārūpāya sākravesadharāya ca.

156. Namo'stu kṛṣṇavyāsāya kṛṣṇakūcitamūrdhaj; Kṛṣṇajinottariyāya kṛṣṇaṭamāratayā ca.

158. Tyam brahma sarva-devānām rudrānām nilalohita Atmā ca sarvabhūtānām sāmkhyaiḥ purusa ucyate.

159. Rasabhastvam pavitraṇām yoginām kapilāḥ sivas; 164. Sanatkumāro yoginām sāmkhyāṇām kapilo mudīnāḥ.

166. Adis tyam asi lokānām samhārā kalā eva ca.

168. Yo'arjat dakainād angād brahmānām lokasambhava Vāmapūrṇevat āthā viṣṇuḥ lokar-aśārthaṁ ēvara

189. Yo'arjat samanupraṣpte rudram prabhur athāsrjat. 190. Sa rudrah sahmāra krtenam jagat sthāvarajānga Kalō bhūtva param brahma yāti samvartakānalan.

192. Svargāḥ sarvabhūtātma sarvabhūtabhayodbhavaḥ; Āste sarvagato nityam adhyātaḥ sarvadevataih.


Kṛṣṇa extols Siva.

227. Tvam vai brahmā ca rudrasca varūṇo'gnir manur Dhātā tvāṣṭā vidhātā ca tvam prabhuh sarvato m

Anusasana .23, Description of Pārvatī.

3. Tato mām jagato mātā dhāraṇī sarvāpavānī; Uvāca mām prānihīta sarvānī tapasāṁ niḥihī; Siva not known by gods and men.

40. Ayam brahmaśabdhībhīḥ siddhāvām sevīyatā prabh Devasuramanusyaṇām prakāśaḥ na bhaved iti.

41. Tenā devāsuraṇā tāḥ bhūteṣāṁ na vidur bhavām; Mohītāḥ khalvanensiva bhūcchayena pracoditaḥ.
Siva to be known through bhakti.

42. Ye cañam saṃprapadyante bhaktiyogena bhārata

Siva's association with Śāmkhya.

43. Yaṁ sāṃkhyaṃ gunātattvajñāh śāṃkhyaśāstravidārṇava

Suṣumna jñānaratā sarve jñātva mucyanti bandhanā.

Anusāsana. 98. Siva as a philosophical enquirer.

7. Upasasarpa bhagavantam acyayam bhagavan acaryam

Rudraḥ.

8. Ityakte cāsino bhagavān anantarūpo rudrastam

yāca.

12. Tacc ca tat puruṣām suddham ityuktaṁ yogasāṃkhya-

yāca.


19. Caturthas tvam trayāṇām tu ye gataḥ paramāṁ ga-

naṁ.


21. Vayam tu vaikṛtam mārgam āsrita vai ksaram sad

Param utsajjya panthānam amṛtabhāgam eva tu.

22. Nyoṣe pathi nīmaṇiṣṭhānaisvareṣṭageṇe tatha;

Mahīmanam praghrhyamam vicarāmo yathā-sukham.

Vigraha called Yogesvāra.

74. Yogesvaram padmanābham viṣṇum jīṣṇum jagatpati

Anādinidhanam devaḥ devadevam sanātanaṁ.

Anusāsana.112. Description of Siva in the Himalayas.

17. Tatra devo girīte hemadhātuvibhūsite;

Parvahakaiva babhṛja upaviṣte mahādyutīḥ.

18. Vyāghraśaramaparidhāno gajacarmatārachadāḥ;

Vyālayajnopavītaśca lohitāntrarnvibhūṣitāḥ.
19. Dhayahetur abhaktanāṁ bhaktanāṁ abhayamkarah.

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


28. Saridvāribhīḥ sarvābhīḥ prāṭhato'ngata vāra; Sevītuḥ bhagavat pūrvam ājagama suśīmitā.

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

34. Tṛṭiẏam cāaya sambhūtam lalāte netram āyatam; Dyāḍādityasamsākṣām lokān bhasavabhāsayat.

The greatness of Siva.

52. Sarvēṣāṁ hi lokānāṃ kūṭastham viḍdhī māṁ priye.

53. Madadhīnaḥ trayo lokā yathā viṣṇau tathā mayī.

54. Sraṣṭā viṣṇur aham gopta ityātad viḍdhī bhāmīni Tasmād yadda māṁ aparṣati saṁbhāva va yadi vēṭarat; Tathaivedam jagat sarvam tat tād bhāyatī sōbhāna

Anuśāsana 113. Śiva and Tilottamā.

6. Purā-suraṁ mahāghoreṇu lokaṁvegakaraṁ bhṛṣam; Sundopasundanāmaṁyāsatur balagarvitaṁ.

7. Tayoreva viṇaśāya nirmīti viśvākarmaṇā.

8. Tilottameti..............

9. Sā tapasyantam āgānya rūpeṇāpratima bhūvi; Māya bhumatā ceyam devakāryam karisyati.

10. Iti matva tādā cāham karvantim māṁ pradakṣinām; Tathaiva tām didṛkṣaṁca caturvākṛtbhavam priye

11. Aindraṁ mukham idam pūrvam tapaścaryāparam sadā Dakṣinām me mukham divyam raudram saṁharati pra,

12. Lokakāryaparam nityāṁ paścimaṁ me mukham priye; Vedān adhitē satataṁ adbhutaṁ cottaram mukham.
Explanation of the blue neck of Siva.

15. Purā yogantare yatnād amṛtartham surāsuraiḥ; 
Kalayadbhir vimśatītāde cīrakālam mahodadhīh

16. Rajjunā nāgarajena mathyamāno mahodābabhau; 
Viśam tatra samudbhūtān sarvalokavināsānam.

17. Grastam hi mayā devi lokānam hitakaraṇat.

18. Tattṛati nilatī cāsit kānte bherhiṁbhīḥ subhe; 
Tadā prabhṛti caivaham nilakaṇṭha iti smṛtah.

Anusāsana. 114, Explanation of the ‘kāparikā’ aspect of Siva.

5. Avasārtham purā devi suddhanvese śucismita; 
Nādhyaagacchham cīrakālam desam śucitamām subhaḥ


7. Akulah samahāghorah prādurasit samantātāḥ; 
Sambhūtā bhūtaśrīstīca ghorā lokabhaṣyāvāhā.

8. Nānāvarṇa virūpāśca tīkṣadānāstrāh praharināḥ; 
Paśceraśekavadānā prāṇinām prānahārīrāḥ.

9. Evam leco prānte keśayaṃ yete pitāmahaḥ; 
Cintayamatetpratikāre mām ca saktam hi nīgraḥ.

10. Evam jñātvā tato brahmā tasmin karmayayojaṭayat

11. Taccāpranibhitārtham tu mayūpyanumataṃ priye; 
Tasmat samrāksīta devi bhūtebhyo prāṇino bhayaḥ

12. Asmacchasaṇeṇān medhyam tu nāsti kiṃcid anindit 
Nīhāsamūtān manuṣyaṇām tasmacchuchitaṃ samān

13. Bhūtaśrīśī ca tum cāham śamaśāne samnyavesaya 
Tatrasthasaryabhūtānām vinīhanmi priye bhayaḥ.

14. Na ca bhutasaghenāham api nāsitum utsahe; 
Tasmān me samīvasāya śaśāne rocate manah.

15. Medhyakāmair dvijair nityām medhyam ityabhidhi 
Acaradbhir vratam raudram mokṣakāmaśca seyyat

Explanation of the terrible aspect of Siva.

20. Pīngalām vikṛtam bhūti rūpam te tu bhayanakam; 
Bhasmadigdham virūpākṣam tīkṣadānāstraṃ jaṭāku
The legend of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

5. Śivah sarvagato rudrāh srāgta yastam arṇuṣaya: Prajāpatīs tam asṛjat tapaso'nte mahātapah. Šeṁkarantvasṛjat tāta prajāh atīavaraṇagamañi mañi kṣicat paraṁ bhutam mahādevadviśāṁ pateḥ; iha triṣṇāpya lekeśu bhūtanāṁ prabhavo hi saḥ.

12. Prajāpateṣṭu dakaṣasya yajato vitate kratau; Vivyūha kupito yajñam nirbhayastu bhavas tad

14. Tenā jyotaleghoṣeṇa sarve lokāḥ samakulaḥ; Bābhāvar avasaḥ ərthā viśedusca surāsurāḥ.

13. Tatāh so'bhhyadradadvā devān krudho bhimaparākrame
eca. etc.

The legend of the destruction of the three citi

25. Asurāṇāṁ purāṇyāsan triṇi viṁyavatam divi.

26. Maśakat tāni bhagavān bhettum sarvāyudhair api; Atha sarve'mara rudraḥ jagmuḥ saraṇam ārditāḥ

29. Sa tathoktaṣṭathetyuktya viṣṇuḥ kṛtvā sarottar Sālyam agniṁ tathā kṛtvā pūrkaṁ somam apiṁ pu
30. Omkāram ca dhanum kṛtvā jyām ca sāvitriṁ uttama
Vedān rathavaraṁ kṛtvā viniyujya ca sarvasah;
Triparvāna trisālyena tenātani bīheda saḥ.

31. Sāreṇādityavrāṇaṁ kālāgnaṁ amatejasaḥ;
Te suraḥ sapuṇāstatra daṅgha raudreṇa tejasā.

Indra's humiliation.

32. Devyāscānākagataṁ dṛṣṭvā bālam pāncaśikhaṁ punah
Umāṁ jijñāsamanāṁ sa ko'yam ityabravid varah.

33. Aṣṭyataśca śakrasya vajreṇa praharīyataḥ;
Savajraṁ sanatambhayāṃsā tām bāhum parighopama

The gods do not know Siva.

34. Na sambubudhīre caiva devāstām bhuvanesvaram;
Saprajñāpatayāḥ sarve tasmin mūmuhur īśvare.

35. Tato dhyātvā tu bhagavān brahmā tam amitaujaśa
Ayaṁ ērṣṭha itī jñātva vāvande tam umapatiṁ.

36. Tataḥ prasādayāmāsār umāṁ rudrāṁ ca te suraḥ.

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

3. Iśvaro devāya yedajāṁ brāhmaṇā viduḥ;
Ghorām anyāṁ śivām anyāṁ te tanu bahudhā punah.

6. Yasya ghoratarā mūrtir jagat samharate tathā;
Īśvaratvān mahatvācca mahēsvare iti śmṛtaḥ.

7. Yannirddahati yat tīkṣṇo; yad rudro yat pratāpav
Māṃsa-śoṣita-majjādo yat tato rudra ucyate.

8. Yacca viśvāṁ jagat pāti mahādevas tataḥ śmṛtaḥ.

9. Sa medhayati yannityāṁ sa sarvān sāryakarmabhiḥ
Sivam icchaṁ manuṣyaṁ pauruṣaṁ eva śivāṁ śmṛtaḥ.

10. Dhatyārthvāṁ sthito yacca praṇāṁ prarayate ca;
Sthiraliṅgam ca yannityāṁ tasmāt etadhur iti smṛtaḥ.

12. Dhumāḥ-rūpa jataṁ yasmād dhūrjaṭiḥ punar ucyate;
Viśve-dāvyāca yad rūpam viśvarūpas tataḥ śmṛtaḥ.

13. Sahaśrākeśo'cyutākṣaśeśa sarvato'ksimayo'pi ca;
Cakṣusāḥ prabhavam tejaḥ sarvatasacaṅkṣureva ca.
14. Saryathā yat paśūn pāti taśca yad ramatē puna
Teṣām adhipatīr yacca taśmat paṇḍopatīr ucyate.

15. Nityena brahmaçaryena lingam asya sadā sthitam
Bhaktānugrahārthāya guḍhaliṅgastataḥ smṛtaḥ.

Mention of the images of Siva.

16. Vigraham pūjayed yo vai liṅgam yāpi mahātmanaḥ
PūJayamāne sadā taṁmin modate sa mahēśvarāḥ.

Terrible and benevolent forms of Siva.

19. Taśyaghorāṇi rūpāni diptāni śubhāni ca;
Loke yāni sma pūjayante viprās tāni vidur budhāḥ

21. Vede caasya vidur viprāh satarudriyām uttaman;
Vyasaṇoktam ca yaocasya upasthanam mahātmānah.
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 that 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 that period. Accordingly, we shall examine these records, and show how far they help us in tracing the history of the Saiva faith through these centuries.

Among the literary records, we have, first, the works 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 that the conception of that god was, in all essentials, the same as in the epics. Thus in one verse he is referred to 1) 'vrsadhvajah', while in another he is called by his other Bhava, and Skanda (called 'Samukha') is mentioned as his s

In a third passage, Parvati is referred to as Devi, and is

2. ibid. I,93.
regarded as the mother of Skanda. 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.

2) ikas', which might refer to Skanda or to Ganesa. But the text of the verse is not certain. Other works, ascribed to Asvag

3) sa, do not give us any important information about Saivism.

Perhaps, to the 1st or the 2nd century also, belongs the Mrçchakatikam 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, 3)

-kara, and Sambhu, are mentioned in one passage, while in another, a reference is made to the destruction of the sacrifi

4) ce of Daksa by Siva. Parvati, in her aspect as the great godd is also mentioned once, and allusion is made to her exploit

5) the slaying of the demons Sumbha and Nisumbha. So far we can observe but little change in the character of Siva and his eer advance, and an approach towards Pauranic Saivism. Thus in sixth act, occurs a verse in which a distinct reference is made to the conception of essential unity of the Trinity of Brahm Visnu and Siva, a conception of which only vague hints are fo

5. ibid. VI, 27. 6. ibid. VI, 27.
in the latest parts of the Mahabharata, but which is clearly recognised in the Puranas. Again, in the third act, Skanda appears in a new role of the patron deity of the thieves. It cannot be said for certain how Skanda came to possess this character, but it might be interesting to remember that in the Vedic 'satarudriya', Rudra himself was given this role. In another passage, allusion is made to Skanda's slaying of the demon Kraunca. Lastly, in one passage, mention is made of the Matras, or Divine Mothers, who are described as being popularly worshipped on the cross-roads. These deities, later on, become associated with the worship of Skanda. We shall have occasion 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, and also to a certain class of people who apparently made a living by carrying about cult images of these deities. Several gods, including Vишnu are mentioned by name, but not Siva, nor his consort, though Rudras are mentioned once. In one passage, however, we have injunction against accepting the 'naivedyas' leaves, flowers, fruits, or water, which have been offered to Siva. This show

1. Mrcccha. III, prose following v.12.
2. ibid. I, 2 " v. 15.
5. ibid. III,284 etc. 180.
6.
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 Brahm 1) and is called Paramesvara. Elsewhere, he is described as 'trinetra', 'vraanka'; and 'nilakantha', and mention is made of 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. It was who gave the 'tandava' to the drama. Probably, by now, he also looked upon as a Teacher, and he is said to have 'siddha' 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', call 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 compendious work of vast dimensions, which had been made by Brahma.

1. Natyasastra. I.1. 5. ibid. I.60.
2. ibid. I.45; II.24; IV.5-10. 6. ibid. IV.5-10.
4. ibid. IV.17f.
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 period. To the first century belong the coins of the early Kusan kings. On two gold coins of Wema Kadphises, we see a 1) representation of Siva on the reverse. 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 twoarmed. 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 Sai for he is styled as 'Mahisvara' in them. On the copper coin of the same king we have, again, a figure of Siva, identical that on the gold coins except that the head is radiate. Next we have the coins of Kaniska. One gold coin and numerous coins of his show, on the reverse, a four-armed figure of Siva with head radiate, and holding the trident, the 'damarṣu', a gourd, and the noose. 2) The accompanying legend is in Greek reads ' ', which is equivalent to Sanskrit, 'isah'. On

2. ibid.
3. Lah. Mus Cat. of coins. Pl. XVII, no. 36.
other coins of Kaniska, an antelope is seen standing behind figure of Siva. This, probably, has reference to the chariot 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 two-armed figure of Siva holding the trident and the gourd.

Coming to the coins of Huviska who succeeded Kaniska, and the belongs to the close of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century, we find similar figures of two-armed and four-armed Siva. The Greek legend is also the same. On some coins, antelope appears again, with Siva's hands resting on its horn. On one coin the god is represented with a crescent. This is supposed to represent the moon god, but, the Greek legend is, most probably, the same as on other coins, and, hence, it is more likely that the figure represents Siva bearing a crescent. Another coin of Huviska is a puzzle. It has a figure very similar to that of Siva in the above coins, but holding a big bow, and facing to the right. It, probably, represents as a 'Pinakini'. 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 proof 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. **p. 70, nos.9-10.**
3. " " Pl. XIX, nos. 150-52; 153-5.
5. " p. 80, no. 31.
6. " p. 80, no. 46.
Yet another coin of Huviska is important, for it shows, for the first time, a multi-headed figure of Siva. The figure is sitting, 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 represent 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 show the two-armed Siva with the same characteristics as those of the previous coins. One coin of his shows, again, the multi-headed figure of Siva, similar to that on Huviska's coin. Other coins of Vasudeva show a goddess seated on a throne, holding a fillet and cornulopiae. It is not possible to identify this deity at present. After Vasudeva we have the coins of Kanesko who reigned in the later half of the 2nd century. His coins also show the figure of two-armed Siva similar to that on Vasudeva's coins. Others show the goddess with the Greek legend 'Aγαντοξος', which seems to be equivalent to the Samskāra 'ardhakṣaṇa'. But the meaning of the word is not clear. To
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 'APΔO×PO'. The coins of Vasudeva, the successor of Vasu, revert to the two armed figure of Siva with the familiar Greek legend 'ΟΠΔΟ'. Finally, the coins of Hormazd II, and of Varahman, show again, the figure of Siva the bull.

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 god 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 graphical 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. The Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of the successor of Samudragupta, Candragupta II, records the

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   " p. 88, nos. 9-10. The last has a different legend, 'I'.
dedication of the cave, presumable for the use of Saiva as-tics, by a person who professes himself a devotee of Siva.

That Candragupta is said to have accompanied the donor showing that he gave his patronage to the Saivas, though he himself was probably a Vaisnava, and is called 'paramabhangavata' in the Gadhwa stone inscription. In the Sanci stone inscription the same king is described as the patron of the writer of the inscription, Amrakadeva, who appears to have been a Buddhist. Thus, Candragupta seems to have given his protection and patronage to many faiths, though, perhaps, formally belonging to one. This became a very common practice among kings later on. Candragupta reigned during the latter half of the century, and was succeeded, in the early fifth century by his son, Kumaragupta. The latter is also styled 'paramabhangava' in the Bilsad and Gadhwa stone inscriptions and, hence, was probably, a Vaisnava. But, like his predecessor, he gave his patronage to all creeds, and in the Mankunwar stone inscription we find him being respectfully referred to by one Budhamitr, a Buddhist 'bhiksu'. His inscriptions, however, make no reference either to Siva or to Saivism.

During the reigns of Candragupta II and Kumaragupta

1. CII. Pl.II, b. p.21.
2. CII. Pl.IV, b. p.36.
3. CII. Pl.IV, c.p.36.
4. CII. Pl.VI, a.p.45.
lived Kalidasa. In his works we can see clearly how far Siva 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 Raghuvamsa. 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 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 easily 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 consort as the supreme deities residing on the Kailasa mountain in sublime eternal bliss. The other work, besides referring to Siva residing on the Kailasa, and to his dancing the 'tandava' in terrible or 'bhairava' form, also gives us a glimpse of the actual worship of Siva by mentioning the temple of that god 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, a reference is made to a practice, then prevalent, which should be noted. At the time of the evening worship at the temple, cautezans came there to dance, for besprinkling whom with its refreshing spray, and being gratified with their grateful looks 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

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

The works of Kalidasa and the inscriptions of the early Guptas bring us well within the period of the Puranas. For the sake of continuity, and also because the period of the Puranas extends well down into the 6th century, we shall consider the examination of the records of the old Gupta period at any rate, before we paws on to the consideration of the Pahlavi literature. In the Bhittari stone inscription of Skanda-gupta who succeeded Kumaragupta, mention is made of the Mat and, for the first time we see them associated with Skanda.

These deities we have already seen mentioned in the Mrochaka-ka. Most probably, they were local goddesses whose cult was incorporated into the Brahmanic religion. How they came to be associated with Skanda is not clear, though it is possible that they were identified with the Krttikas who were regarded

1. CII. Pl.VI, b. p.47.
as the mothers of Skanda. But it should be remembered that the 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 in addressed to Siva, and shows the popular conception of that god as an 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 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 subj
and showing a great variety of matter, thought and style, but also, extending over a considerable period of time. The Purana-nic literature, in itself, seems to be considerable antiquity.

The Purana, along with the Itihasa, is mentioned in the Atharvaveda, and there is reason to believe that the Puranas, as historical works, or rather as chronicles, existed throughout later Vedic and the epic period, down to the classical times. The extant Puranas are, in a very large measure, recasts of early 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, belong 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 Vedas. He is the philosophical Brahma, the Self, limitless and eternal. He is the Unmanifest, and also the Manifest in the form of the individual self. He is the one Primeval Purusa, the Atmatattva, the Highest Truth, proclaimed in the Upanisads and in the Vedanta philosophy, and, also, in all the Smrtis, Puranas, and the Agamas. Him, the one God, the wise, desirous of salvation, meditate upon, and forsake every thing else. He is the Omniscient, the Omnipresent, the Lord of all creation, and the real Self in all beings. He is the one Svyambhu who assumes the three fold role of creating, preserving, and destroying the universe. He pervades the universe, and manifes-tself through it in various forms, though essentially one.

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.
5. Saura,38,91-92; Brahma,36,39. etc.
6. Saura,2,83; Brahma. 110,100; etc.
7. Vayu. 30,283-84; etc.
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 one God, and to regard their respective gods as but the two aspects of the same one God. The Puranas show that this latter course adopted by the more intelligent of both the sects. The essential identity of Siva and Visnu is frequently, emphasised in most the major Puranas, whether Saiva or Vaisnava. Thus in the S Vayu Purana, Siva is once explicitly said to be identical with Visnu, while in other passages he is either called by one

1. Vayu. 25, 21f.
the other apppellations of Visnu (e.g. Narayana), or given
latter's epithets like 'laksmirati' anad so on. In the Saum
Purana, which is also Saiva, it is expressly said that there
no difference between Siva and Visnu. The same is seen in
Vaisnava Puranas. Thus, in the Matsya, Siva is 'visnurupin'
while Visnu is often called 'rudramurti'. In the Brahma,
Visnu himself declares his identity with Siva. In the Vis
Purana, Siva and his consort are considered identical with
Visnu and his consort. In another passage, in the same Pur
Visnu is called by the name of Pinakdhurk, which is a special
epithet of Siva, while at another place the two are said to
one and the same. In the Vraha, 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. In another passa
the Supreme Purusa is described as being called either by
name of Visnu or of Siva, and the philosophical 'avyakta'
the goddess Uma or Sri. Conversely, Siva is called the Su
-reme Purusa, and is identified with Visnu. And so on. Thi
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. 1, 9, 68.
9. Varaha. 9, 7.

2. Vayu. 24, 111.
4. Matsya. 154, 7; 249, 38; 250,
10. Varaha. 10, 16.
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.

This monistic trend of thought did not, and, in fact, could not stop at the identification of Siva and Visnu. But the third god of the Trinity, had also to be brought in if it 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 recognized. This is seen, first, by the attribution of the distinctive functions of the three gods to one and the same deity. Thus, 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, is, in reality, only the one Being who, manifesting himself three forms, deludes the people, and whose oneness is recognised in the Veda, in the Dharma Sactras, 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 pressed in a passage in the Vrahaj Purana, where Brahma is to be seen in the body of Siva and Visnu in his heart.

Other features of the philosophical side of Saivism, we saw in the epics, are also to be seen in the Puranas. Th as the object of realisation of those who practised austerity and self discipline, he is closely associated with yoga. He himself regarded as the Mahayogi, and as the foremost expon 6) of the science of yoga. Besides, by this time, a special sy

1. e.g. Brahma.129,8.  2. Vayu.66,109-16. etc.
of yogic practices had also been developed in connection with the worship of Siva and was known as the Mahesvara Yoga, described 1) in the Saura and the Vayu Puranas. In this aspect also, Siva 2) is conceived of as a 'yatin', or one who is self controlled, 3) 'brahmacarin', and a permanent celibate('urdhvaratuh'), thus providing the perfect example to those who practised yoga. An old connection with Samkhya is also remembered in the Puranas 5) Thus, as in the epics, he is called 'samkhyatman', and is described as the source of Samkhya. He is the Purusa of the Samkhya 7) 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 Saivis had taken, and was, now, almost atheistic. In this connection it is important to remember that in the verse in which the Siva's are described as meditating upon Siva as the Purusa, the reference is to the 'maulika' or original Samkhyas who held the doctrine of a transcendent Self or Purusa and a plurality of 'prakrtis', and not to the later Samkhyas who believed in a single Prakrti and a plurality of 'purusah'!

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 consorts in association with him. We saw in the Upanisads, the idea of

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 recognized in many of the Puranas. In the Saura, for example, she is called the conscious ('jnanamayi') Sakti of Siva, with, and through whom he created, protects and destroys, and who, in this work, assumes different forms. In another passage, she is called the Para or the Pramasaakti, pervading all, the Maya of Mahesvaras. 3) Para or the Pramasaakti, pervading all, the Maya of Mahesvara, 3) is the Mayin. And so on. As his Sakti or Maya, she was not different from Siva, and this essential oneness of the two is explicitly pointed out. Only those who are ignorant regard them as different, not those who see the truth. Their relation is analogous to that of fire and the power of burning. At one place, Parvati herself declares the absence of any distinction between Siva and herself, and that their oneness was evident from the study of Vedanta. The reference to Vedanta is interesting as it further emphasizes the monistic lines on which

1. Saura.2,16.  
3. Saura.2,18; 55,8,14.  
5. Saura.2,18-19.  
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, with association with his consort as 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 Mahadeva, 1) 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 hymns from him. No amount of external ceremony, 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. In this aspect, Siva is also conceived of as 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 Mahabharata. It is not quite evident in the epics, but is clearly brought out in the Puranas, and is illustrated by the

1. Matsya.136,6f. Saura.7,17; 38,1; 39,14f.
2. Matsya,183,51; Saura,2,14. etc.
3. Saura.24,43-44.
legend of Soma and Tara. As in the Brahmanic legend of the
offence of Prajapati, it is Siva who, wrathful at the trans-
gression 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 as
prayed for her grace. A new feature in her character, which
was, perhaps, the result of the mutual influence of her char-
er as a mother goddess on the one hand, and as the consort
Siva on the other, is what may be called a euphemisation of
the former. The beginning of this was seen even in the epi-
when she was called the Devi, and the great goddess, honour
even by the gods. In the Puranas, this is developed. As Siva
was the great Father, so she was regarded as the great Moth-
3) and hymns are addressed to her as such. In them she is exte
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
conception of the latter as the Sakti of Siva, found popula
expression in a new idea, the 'ardhanarishvara' 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.25,13-2
Matsya.13,183
symbolising the essential oneness of Siva and Parvati, the former was conceived of as both male and female, and his form was half man and half woman. Thus arose the conception of the 'dhanarishvara' Siva. The Puranas frequently refer to this aspect of Siva, especially when describing the worship of the 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 men.

3. Vayu. 24,141. 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 crescent, and so on. Other images depicted him in his fierce aspect. Detailed instructions for the constructions of these images are given in the Matsya Purana. But much more common were the 'linga' images of Siva, which are commonly 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 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 event...
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
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 a
variety of kinds of 'lingas'. 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,
iron, copper, brass, silver, gold, or jewels. The Linga Purana
also mentions these different kinds of 'lingas'. In connection
with the construction of the 'linga' images directions are all
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
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 'ardhanarishvara' aspect. Directions for the

1. Saura. ch. 4-6.  
2. Agni. 53, I f.  
3. Agni. 54, 3 f.  
4. Agni. 54, I f.  
5. Linga. 1, ch. 74.  
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 
the head, and suitable ornaments on the arms and neck, and was 
clad in the usual female garments. The worship of Siva and 
-sati jointly was performed before such images. Besides these 
three kinds of images, the Matsya also, once, mentions the com 
posite images of Siva and Visnu, showing the identity of the 
two deities. These images became very common later on in coun 
t ries which came under the influence of the Indian civilisations. 
But in India itself, they seem to have remained rather rare, 
probably, owing to the sectarian spirit which both Saivism 
and Vaishnavism 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 exist 
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 im 
ages were worshipped in the same manner as those of Siva.

As a rule, the worship of Siva, and also of his co
was performed daily, and directions are given in the Agni and other Puranas for it. But certain days in the year were considered as special days for the worship of Siva, on which special ceremonies were performed. Thus, in the Matsya, we read that on the Krsnastami, gifts of cows, land, gold, and others, were made to the Brahmanas, after which Siva was worshiped in the evening. Numerous offerings, and leaves of the sacred trees were required, and the worship closed with further presents to the Brahmanas. Great merit is said to accrue from worshipping Siva on this day, and the devotee, honoured even 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 performed, was the Anangatrayodasi, the day on which Siva was said to have destroyed Kama. The ceremony is described in Saura Purana. As in the case of the Krsnastami worship, Siva was worshipped under a different name in different months in which the particular 'trayodaasi' happened to fall. But these names are other than those used in the first ceremony. The worship 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. 2. Matsya. ch.56. 3. Saura. ch.16.
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 Siva 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 the rites, is said to be very great indeed. It is described as equal to the accumulated merit of a thousand Asvamedha sacrifices and able to release a person from the sin of Brahmahatya! Thus it, the Siva devotee could attain to the status of a 'Ganadhari' 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 seal 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

1. Matsya ch, 95.
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 Umanahasvara Vrata. It is described in the Saura Purana. It could be performed either on a 'Paurnam 'Amavasaya', 'Caturdasi', or 'Astami'. The images of the two deities were worshipped simultaneously with the usual prayer 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 Parvati worshipped together, the latter being, here, called Bhavani. The ritual was much the same as the Umanahasvara 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. Therite was in her honour, though Siva was worshipped along with her. The worship was performed with offerings of fruit, incense, lamps, and the 'naivedyas'. 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 ('bhisa'). He is supposed to be entirely naked, when he gets his epithet 'digambara', and is smeared all over with ashes on account of which he is called 'bhasmanatha' in the Vayu Purana. Having such an appearance, and thus attired, rather unattired, he carries a skull in his hand which serves as his begging bowl, and has a garland of skulls round his neck. The latter is a new feature which further emphasises his 'kapalin-tva'. The cremation ground is his favourite resort. From he gets his skulls and his ashes, and in it he he diverts him.

3. Vayu. 112,53. 4. Brahma 37,7; Vayu. 24,129; 54,70; 55, Vayu. 24,129,132; 54, 14; Matsya, 47,137.
5. Vayu. 24,140; Varaha, 24; Saura. 53,5; Brh.
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. At one place, he himself is called a 'nisacara'. 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 norm 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 mask ascetics who claimed to have acquired superhuman powers by dabbling in magical and pseudo-vegetarian 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 a 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 in the cremation grounds wherever they went. This form of

1. Matsya. 8, 5; Brahma. 36, 37; 2. Saura. 41, 53; Vayu. 10, 46.
worship was not officially recognised, and was condemned, to no active steps seem to have been taken to suppress it. In 1) Saura Purana, the Kapalikas are classed with the heretics, 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, in itself, a tacit recognition of the Kapalika sect, and it perhaps, partly because of this that the sect was not definitely suppressed, and it continued to exist till recent times, 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 dages, Siva himself is described as explaining the significance of the different features of his 'kapalin' aspect. 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,

regarded as the very essence of purity, and as removers of sin from him who uses them. Through an 'ash-bath' (that is, ringing 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, have, therefore, been considered worthy of attaining immortality and 'Isitva'. In this way, did the Kapalikas sought to justify 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 'Brahmhatya'. He is described as taking the garb of a Kapalika, that is, naked and smeared with

1. This legend will be 'explained in an upcoming section.
ashes, and making a long pilgrimage of all the important 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 anti-social 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 Bacchanic deity. We have seen that in the epics Siva was associated, in this aspect 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, 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
revel, and eagerly joined Siva in riotous merriment and want of 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 the sages, and his granting boons to them. But the alien 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 the trait of Siva's character, which, like his 'kapalin' aspect, has no connection with his normal worship and would have died out 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.

1. Saura. ch.69; Linga. 1, ch.29.
2. Agni. 3,18f.
the lower Himalayan regions, in which Siva is said to have
duced the women of the sages. When Vianu deceived him, it
also in the Himalayas. This supplements the evidence of the
epics, and supports the suggestion made in the previous chap-
that the god, from whom Siva derived these characteristics, was
worshipped somewhere in the north. Direct evidence upon the
point, however, had been provided by the late Nilamata Puran
a Kashmirian work. In it, we read how in Kashmir, on the Kra-
caturdasi, on which day Siva was specially worshipped, gross
revelry prevailed among the worshippers who are described as
passing the night in singing and dancing, and in the company
of courtesans. This is entirely foreign to the worship of Siva
on that day in other parts of India, as has been noticed abo
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
evidence of Siva being worshipped in a similar manner, and t
shows that this form of worship remained confined to the reg
in which it had originally prevailed, and even here, it grad-
ally disappeared, as is evident from the later history of the
Siva faith in Kashmir.

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

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 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, so on. He is described as black in colour, bearing a trident and, sometimes, a 'tanka' in addition, having a rosary of beads, and bearing 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 ('ksapa'), 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 the name Rudra, and is worshipped with the three 'kapalas'). His attendants, in this aspect, are the 'rakshas', the 'danavas', the 'daityas', the 'gandharvadas', and the 'yakshas'. His association with the 'yakshas', and his being called the lord of

1. Matsya. 252,10; Brahma. 43,66; 2. Agni. 76,7f.
2. Agni. 76,5; etc. 3. Matsya. 47,128f.
'yaksas' are rather significant facts, for, the 'yaksas' are described in the Matsya Purana as beings who supposed to be by nature, carrion eaters, devourers of uneatable things, a 1) prone to kill. 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 2) and to have been like him in shape. This further makes of the conception of Siva in this aspect. In this, aspect all 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 destined he is conceived of as the slayer of the enemies of gods and and his most famous exploit in this connection is the killing 3) of the demon Andhaka. 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.

against Saivism. The Puranas show many reminiscences of this prejudice, though there is room for suspicion that some of its 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 Pur Parvati herself reviles Siva as a knave ('dhurta') 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 a tion from the ashes, and stupidity from his bull, who has all sense of propriety and even decency by frequenting the c nation 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 Braeda Purana, in the legend of the seduction of the women of sages, the latter upbraids him in very severe terms and consi him to be a mad person. Lastly, in the Brahma Purana, Men mother of Parvati, speaks insultingly of Siva as a beggar who cannot even afford a garment to cover his nakedness, and ass tion with whom was humiliating to anybody, particularly to vati 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.  
2. Brahmanda. 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 greatness of the god. The reasons for this reluctance on the part are, again, the same as above. In the Vayu Purana, Brahma sees Siva as having a cavernous mouth with protruding sides, 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 'swayamvara' 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 waxes angry, and raises 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 obeisance 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, as 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 business of creating the beings through the agency of the seven Prapatis, 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.

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 Puran 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 Brahmanical pantheon. The sequel to the legend is even more significant for, in it, it is related that Sati, who had been previously led 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

1. Varaha, ch.22.
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 intenotional biased outlook on the part of his contemners. 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 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 Vaishnavism, 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 sects of the worshippers of Siva, they were increasingly discredited, and, gradually, the cult of Siva was purged of them, those who still adhered to them were regarded as heretics. It was this gradual process of reform that was responsible for 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, the Siva cult was always an example before the Saivas, which they had

1. Saura.50,71. 2. Saura.39,54.
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 Vaisu. In order to gain more adherents, Saivism had to mould itself along the lines 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 of the mother goddess was also developing during this period. As seen 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 Bhakti religion, worshipped along with Siva, and the other a fierce and formidable deity that she originally was. As in the case of Siva, these two aspects of her not kept separate, and allusions to her character in one aspect frequently occurred she was being worshipped in the other. This fact is seen more 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 god as the fierce deity, the killer of demons, and the great mother and vice versa. 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 real origin of these two aspects having been forgotten, other, more 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

1. Matsya.158,11f.; 176,22f.; Varaha.96,99; Saura.49,5f.; Agni.96,100f. Vayu. 9,92-96; 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.

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, despite 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 Saundarya Lahiri mentions, by name, the Kaulas who, later, appear as one of the sects of the Saktas. The identification of the mother-goddess as the consort of Siva, however, established an 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 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 arms 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. 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. This was the result of the development of the philosophical aspect of her cult, in which she was regarded as the Prakrti or Maya of 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 which she is conceived of as the Sakti of all the gods, for, 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 notable was Mahisa. The legend of the battle of the goddess was

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

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. 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, while a cow of good quality was to be given to a Brahmana. The usual merits accruing from the worship are described. But, at the comes a significant passage describing how the goddess is pleased with those who worship her in this manner, and who are not Siyas, 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, and the Brahma Vaivarta Purana actually refers to her worship as a Vaisnivi.

In sharp contrast to the above mode of worship of the goddess is another mode which reveals, more clearly than anywhere 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. Probably, wine also used in her worship, as the goddess is described as fond of it, and recoups herself with copious draughts of wine when ged in battle with Mahisasura. 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 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 received emphasis from from the assimilation of

the various indigenous local goddesses into her, who were worshiped 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 of a goddess, further proves her assimilation of some goddess or another 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. The 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 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 mode of worship of the latter, such as her fondness for blood.

and the offering of the buffalo to 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') is said to be the most pleasing to the goddess. Detailed instructions are all 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, 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 must have a fierce and a dreary goddess, delighting in blood and animal sacrifices, and utterly opposed in spirit and form is her cult 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, per 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 as his consort, the latter refuses to do so, and strongly condems 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. 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 regarded 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, it does not seem to have been accorded recognition for a considerable time. This non-recognition, the Saktas tried to fig to 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 Puranic texts had for the followers of the

1. Brahma Vaiv. I,6,6f.
Brahmanic religion. The Brahma Vaivarta Purana mentions them by name, which shows that they had come into existence by that time. 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. These texts, the goddess, of course, appears as the Supreme Deity, and the whole worship centres round her. But the influence of Saivism is seen in the fact that she is always regarded as the consort of Siva. Also, in her conception, which almost always that of the fierce goddess, she has borrowed some of the characteristics of the fierce aspect of Siva.

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 skin 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 herself in various forms which have different names. This accounts for the multiplicity of her appellations as Tara, Mahavidy Bhavani, and so forth. Each of these forms has its own peculiar characteristics, but all are alike terrible and fierce.

The Prapancaasara Tantra, she is described in a similar manner.

2. Kali, I, 3f.
3. Kali, ch. 3.
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 Tantric doctrine approaches closer to the position of the Samkhya than 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, 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 licence in which the worshippers indulged, after intoxicating themselves with copious draughts of wine, 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. Her association with Kama, in the Tantraraja Tantra, 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 them, was, originally, looked down upon and discaunted. 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 Kulamnava Tantra, Siva is said not to have revealed the secrets of the Tantra to Brahma and -snu, which, perhaps, indicated that Saktism found no favour with the worshippers of these gods. In another passage, an allusion is also made to the ridicule and persecution to which the Saktas were subjected. Later on, in order to gain recognition for their cult, and to make it respectable, the doctrine evolved by Samkhya of the 'purusa' and his 'prakrti' was introduced into Saktism, and the goddess was regarded as the Sakta of the Purusa. Attempts were also made to introduce some new forms into the ritual, and to bring it more in line with temporary Brahmanical creeds. This is seen in the Mahanir-

Tantra which is evidently late. It insists on the formal purificati-
on of the meat and wine used in the ritual, and expressly forbids license and excessive drinking. As a result of the reforms, arose the Daksina, or the right-hand path in Saivism, whose adherents were as respectable as the adherents of any other Brahmanical creed. They had, also, a very pure ritual. The ceremonies, also, were no longer secret, the need for secrecy having disappeared, and the Tantra expressly says that all Tantric ritual was to be performed openly.

The Puranas also show the merging of Ganesa as a direct deity, and the development of his worship. We noticed in the Sutras that the original character of this deity was that of 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 said to have been made the lord of the 'vinayakas' by Brahma. In the Varaha Purana, he is mentioned as a mischievous being who had been expressly created for the purpose of putting obstacles in the way of mortals who had grown too virtuous. Siva is said to have made him the leader of the 'vinayakas' who are described as 'kruradrarah' and 'prandah'. In the Agni, he is described

3. Ibid. IV, 79. 4. Matsya. 154, 505.
as having been created by Brahma, Visnu, and Siva, to "baffle 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 performance of the sacrifice by the gods. Thus, his character as a 'viana' is firmly established.

Now, in the Varaha Purana, this 'Vinayaka' is said to have been created by Siva, and is described as almost another Rudra ('sakṣād 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. In the Brahma Vaivarta, he is called by the epithet of 'isa', and is described as the teacher of the sages and the yogis. 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 'bodara' and 'damstrin'. In the Brahma Purana also, some of these epithets are applied to Siva. This interchange of epithets is a distinct pointer to a time when the two deities were not

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1. Agni, ch.266. (M.N. Roy's translation).
2. Brahma, 40,126; 114,4f.
3. Varaha, 23,14f.
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 Vi-kaka, and, later on, came to be known as Ganesa. In this connexion, 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 me it seems to have been lost long ago. In the Puranas, G appears as a distinct deity who is regarded as the son of and his consort, Parvati. And, as in the case of Skanda, to explain this relationship, the Pauranic authors have had -course to the usual method of recounting legends which has grown up around these deities. Many of these are found in t 1) extant Puranas. In the Matsya, Parvati is said to have m a toy, in the shape of an infant with the head of an eleph from the flour with which she had rubbed her body. This t when immersed in the waters of the Ganges by her, was infu with life, and began to grow, and was hailed as her son by Parvati, and by Ganga also. Subsequently, she was made th 2) lord of the 'Vimayakas' by Brahma. In the Varaha Purana, G is said to have been created by Siva at the request of the who wanted some one to put obstacles in the activities of mortals whose perfect conduct had emptied hell, and had lef no work for Yama to do. Siva made him 'in his own image', as Parvati looked upon him affectionately, Siva grew jealo

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. Different, and, probably, later, are the versions of the legend found in other Puranas. In the Brahma Vaivarta, 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 interrupted the union of that god and, himself taking the form of an infant, lay on Parvati's bed where he was found by her, and joyfully accepted as her son. Later on, the legend goes on to relate, Ganesa's head fell off when Sanaisscara, 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 euphemised a great deal in the Puranas, as was the case with Siva and 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 lives...

works, he came to be looked upon as the deity of obstacles, and was prayed to for their removal. From this, his conception as the removal of obstacles was but the next step. Thus, from being 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. 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 'ulkantas', and kinds of sweets and incense. The sweets appear to have been the favorite offerings to him. The usual mode of his worship is also described in the Agni Purana. Details are given for the construction of a 'mandala', called the 'Vighmamardana' or the 'ghnasudana', 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.

To this period belongs the Ganesa Purana. In it, Ganesa is

1. Agni. 318, 39.
2. Agni. ch. 179.
3. ibid. ch. 313.
described as creating, preserving, and destroying the universe. He is the Mahavishnu, the Sadasiva, the Mahasakti, and the Mahabrahma. Only that meditation, which revealed the essential unity of these different conceptions in the one Ganesa, was real yoga. 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. An instance of the sectarian bias of the worshippers of Ganesa is seen in one instance in which the worshippers of Brahma, Visnu, Siva, and the other gods are said to be liable to fall again even after having salvation, whereas the worshippers of Ganesa have no such fear.

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

2. Ganesa, 1,20-22.  
3. ibid. 1,20.  
4. ibid.  
5. Ganesa, 6,19.
a good subject for an independent work, and we shall, here, 
tent ourselves with noticing the more important legends only 
and seeking in them some information about the history and c 
acter of Saivism. Preserving the order of the epics, we s 
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 orig 
nal fatherhood of Agni is practically completely forgotten 
at least, so far as the legend itself was concerned, though 
1) stray allusion or two is found in some of the Puranas. Th 
legend is, now, a part of the bigger legend which includes the 
legends of the destruction of the sacrifice of Daksa, of th 
marrige of Siva and Parvati, and of the burning of Kama. V 
ious divergent versions of it have also grown up, which, how 
can be grouped under two main versions. In the first, the 
legend starts with the desire of the gods to find a leader f 
their armies. This, it will be remembered, was the beginnin 
the legend in the original version seen in the Mahabharata . 
2) The legend, as given in the Varaha Purana, represents this fi 
version. The gods, being repeatedly defeated by the demons 
sought a new commander-in-chief, and, on the advice of Brahm 
approached Siva. So far, the account tallies with the "
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 parted his Sakti from whom there appeared forth, at once, a 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 of gods are said to have been alarmed by the prolonged union of Siva and Parvati. The nearest parallel to the epic version is found in the Saura Purana, with, of course, the characteristic Pānic elaboration. Thus, it is related that chaos reigned in the universe on account of the prolonged dalliance of Siva with his consort after their marriage. This alarmed the gods, as all the fact that Narada told them that the offspring of such parts would be altogether too powerful for them. Visnu, also, gave the same warning. The gods first sent Agni to disturb the couple. But, on his flying back in terror at the sight of Parvati'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 the 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 Kṛttikas who deposited it in the forest of reeds, where the new god was born. The legend closes with Parvati pronouncing the curse of permanence childlessness on the gods. In the Brahma Vaivarta Purana, the legend is very similar, though it is broken up and related in two different places. It shows a slight Vaisnava influence in

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)
greater 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 Sailasa. 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

3. Matsya. 158,26f.
Skanda. Hence, by this time, all memory of the original association of Agni and Skanda must have been forgotten. The final stage in the development of the legend is seen in the Brahma Purana. 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, by 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 Śiva. As in the epics, this remains the biggest single exploit of Śiva, 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 Sanskrit 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. 1) The three cities had been obtained as boons from Brahma by the three sons of the demon chief Taraka. They were impregnable 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 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 dread 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 in the manner of the Mahabharata. At his approach, the three cities came together, and he pierced and destroyed them with a shaft. A shorter version of this legend is also found in the 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 version is found in the Matsya Purana. Here, the chief of the demons is Maya or Bana, who, as also his subjects, was a

1. Linga. I, ch.72.  
2. Matsya. ch.129-32, and ch.18
great devotee of Siva. But, in course of time, the demons are said to have become arrogant, and Siva, in order to chase 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 the 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 'liina' 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 Bana, 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 Kaailasa, 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 latest version, perhaps, in the Varaha Purana, has been noticed 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 blade 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. This, Dadhici was enraged and demanded the reason why Siva had not been invited. Tom this Daksa replied that he recognised 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 the state of affairs. Here, therefore, we have a clear indication of the fact that the worship of Siva was not recognised for long time. The legend goes on to relate that on the insistence of Sati, Siva, at last, consented to assert himself and, for 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 in destroying the sacrifice, and capturing the other gods.
the gods. On their pleading 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 id-
tical words in the Brahma and the Saura Puranas. The Ling-
shows a shorter version of it. In other versions, the destruc-
tion of the sacrifice of Daksa is effected by Siva himself, 
and the reason of this destruction is made out to be the su-
cide of Sattion account of the insults offered to Siva by he 
gather. This version of the legend is found in another chap-
3) 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 
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. Siva 
learning of this tragedy, was filled with wrath and went to the 
sacrifice and destroyed it, and pronounced a curse upon Daksa 
all those present. Daksa pronounced a counter curse, but, a 
last Brahma pacified both, and Daksa paid due homage to Siva,

2. Linga.I,ch.100.  
3. Brahma. ch.34.
recognising him as the great god. This version of the legend is repeated in almost identical words in the Brahmanda Purana.

It also occurs, again, in the Brahma Purana itself, with the modification that on the destruction of the sacrifice the assembled gods and the sages appealed to Visnu for aid, and the latter hurled his discus at Siva. Siva, however, swallowed it and the gods were completely humiliated. Daksa, finally, prostrated to Siva and Visnu, also, paid his homage to him, and got back his discus. The hand of a Saiva sectarian is, perhaps, to be seen in this version.

Other legends about Siva, which we noticed in the epics, are also all repeated in the Puranas in more elaborate forms. That about the drinking of the poison by Siva preserves all the essential features of the epic version, and is practically the same in all the Puranas. The change of colour of the neck of Siva is said to have been caused by the passage of the poison through his throat. Its blue hue so pleased the gods that they requested Siva to hold the poison there, which he did, and thus became 'nilakantha'. A slightly modified version is found in the Matsya Purana, where the reason for the churning of the ocean is said to have been the constant revival of the demons killed in battle by means of the 'samjivani' herb given to Siva.

Matsya. ch. 24. etc etc.
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 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 as For this purpose, the gods sent Kama to disturb the austerities of Siva, and to make him fall in love with Parvati. As prepared his arrow to strike Siva, the latter, his mind agitated a little, opened his eyes, and seeing Kama, was filled with wrath, and at that very instant, fire flashing out of third eyed reduced Kama to ashes. Subsequently, however, at request of Parvati, or, according to an alternative account taking compassion of 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 fier

aspect. The main development in the legend has been the association of Siva with the Matras, 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 body 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 deities 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 explicitly the phallus of Siva in several contexts. Thus, in the Vayu Purana, when Siva and Visnu appear before Brahma and Visnu, he is described as having a erect phallus. In the legend of the seduction of the women, the sages, his phallus is again emphasised, and it is explicitly said that it was this phallus of Siva which was worshiped.

1. Matasya, 179, 2f.; Varaha, ch. 27; Saura, ch. 29.
2. Vayu, 24, 56.
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. 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 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 have appeared in the 'linga'; and the latter was hailed by all gods as the sacred Om. Thus the worship of the 'sivalinga' explained and glorified. The explanation given in this legend effectually concealed the phallic character of the 'linga' symbol, and in the post-Pauranic period, we see, as a result of

1. Vayu.24,33f.; ch.55; Brahmanda.ch.26; Saura.66,18f.; Brah ch. 135. Linga, ch.17.
this, that this character of the 'linga' was completely lost 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 Puranic 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 decline 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 of
We saw how the followers of each creed regarded as supreme the only God the deity whom they worshipped. We also saw how as 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 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, while 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 them 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 sev-
eral scattered passages in the Puranas which have leanings to-
wards Saivism, in which Siva is considered above Visnu, and
latter is often described as worshipping or otherwise exalting
him. In the Saura Purana, for example, Visnu is said to have
1) obtained his discus from Siva, and in the Brahma Purana, Siva
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
3) Linga Purana, 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
4) his devotee. In another chapter, Siva appears as expatiating
on the merits of worshipping Visnu, and as granting boons to
deout Vaisnavas. The world of Visnu is also said to be higher
6) than the world of Siva. In this exaltation of Visnu over Siva
the Siva legends themselves appear to have been 'Vaisnavised'

1. Saura. 41, 145f. 2. Brahma. ch. 33.
Thus, in the legend of the descent of the Ganges, in the Brahma Vaivarta Purana, Bhagiratha appears as a devotee of Visnu 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 Ganesa, again, Siva and Parvati are described as worshippers of Visnu in order to obtain from him a boon for a son, and Ganesa himself is made out to be none else than an incarnation of Visnu. In other passages, we have evidence of a rise of stronger antagonism between the two faiths, and in this, the Saivas seem to have taken the lead, and were remarkable for their aggression and intolerance. Thus, in the Matsya, ignorant people alone are said not to know the Bhrgu Tirtha, sacred to Siva, deluded as they are by the 'maya' of Visnu. In one version of the legend of the destruction of Daksa's sacrifice, Daksa, who refused to recognise Siva, professed himself a worshipper of Visnu and inimical to Siva. It is, however, in the Saura Purana, which is as strongly Saiva as the Brahma Vaivarta is Vaisnava, 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. An active intolerance of the non-Saivas is also evident from this Purana, as also from the Linga. In the legend of manyu in both the Puranas, a true Saiva is recommended to

5. Saura.64,44.
anyone who blasphemes against Siva. All the ancestors of a fall into the vilest hell, if in his realm Siva is blasphemed 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 Siva from whom have been created all the gods, inc
-ding Brahma and Visnu. To talk of the equality of Siva an Visnu, the Saura Parana goes on to say, is sheer heresy, as was only through the grace of Siva that Visnu obtained the lordship of Vaikuntha. In another passage, it is said that who speaks of the equality of Visnu and Siva is born as\* wor in ordure for countless number of ages, while he who talks Siva as being inferior to Visnu is a veritable 'cangala; no 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 Pratardana. That king was a devout Saiva, and all his su
-jects also professed the same faith. On account of the vi
-tuous conduct of all the people, which affected the condi 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. 2. Saura. 38,64.
5. ibid. 40,17; 40,16. 6. ibid. 38,67f.; c
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 became contaminated by his doctrines. He harangued the king himself and denounced Saivism in favour of Vaisnavism. The king was wroth but, greatly forbearing, he called a religious conference to settle the matter. But, Kali, presumably at the instance 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 vanity 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, acquiesced 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 reflecting the normal relations of the two faiths in actual practice, at least, shows the outlook of the extreme Saiva sectarian, and it was among such sectarian 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 An -ruddha. The legend occurs first in the Mahabharata. In th

1. Mahabharata (southern recension), Sabha, 40, 24-29.
Puranas, it seems to have been utilised by the Vaisnava sects for the exaltation of Visnu over Siva. It is related in practically identical words in the Visnu and the Brahmanda Puranas. Siva is said to have come to the aid of Bana, the father of USA, when he was fighting with Krsna, and the conflict developed into a struggle between Visnu and Siva, in which the latter was worsted, and pacified the former to spare Bana, who was a great and sincere devotee of his. The legend, as now, ends with the amicable declaration of Visnu about his essential identity with Siva, and is thus harmonised with the prevalent 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 virtuous. On the other hand, the Saivas developed the legend of 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 Purana.

With regard to the attitude of the Saivas towards other creeds, the Puranas do not tell us much. We have not above the passage showing the contempt of the Saivas for all did not belong to their faith, and their intolerance of those who criticised it. Apart from this, we have also noticed the passage in the Saura Purana referring to those who were re

2. Linga I, ch. 95-96.
Brahmanda. 1, ch. 204.
ed as heretics by the Saivas, and who included the material of the Kaulas, the Kapalikas, the Buddhists and the Jainas. In their case, the grounds of difference between them and Saivaism were far more fundamental than in the case of Vaisnavism. The latter was, after all, a part of the same religion to which Saivaism belonged, and both had common foundations, having emerged out of the same Vedic religion, and recognising the same scriptures. These other creeds, however, denied the very basis on which the Brahmanic religion was founded. A clash between them and the Brahmanic creeds was, therefore, something to be expected, and what is remarkable is that right up to the time of the Puranas, there is hardly any evidence of any such clash, or of any persecution of the one by the other. On the whole, the tolerant spirit displayed by the edicts of Asoka seems to have 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 which 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 religion against the heresies of Buddhism and Jainism, they first appeared as actively engaged in confuting their doctrines. In the Saura Purana, these doctrines are said to have led the people away from the path prescribed by the Vedas, and to have ended them. Accordingly, a Saiva king is asked to forbid the Buddhists and the Jainas, and all other heretics from entering...
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 Siva in the works of Asvaghosa.

The Buddhacarita.

I, 66. Reference to Pārvati as Devī.

Dhātryāṅka-saṁvīstam avocayā gāinam,
Devyāṅka-saṁvīstam ivāgniśūnum.

I, 93. Mention of Skanda as the son of Siva.

Bhavanam ato vigāhyu sākyarājo,
Bhava iva saṃmukhajanmanā pratitah.

X, 3. Reference to Siva as 'Vṛṣadhvajā'.

Vīśnimye tatra janās tadānīṁ sthānuvratayaiva
vṛṣadhvajasya.

The Saundarāṇada.

X, 9. Mention of 'Ambika'

Sahāntapa-cāmikara-bhakta-citram,
Rupyāṅgadām śirnāṁ ivāmbikanyā.

Passages referring to Siva in the Mrchakatikām.

I, 15. (prose following the verse)

Tadvayasya kṛte mahā grhadevātabhya balīṁ.
Tvam api cațuspathe mātrabhyo balim upahāra.

I, 41. Mention of the different names of Siva.

Kāśār sukṣa sīlāsi gghaṭīda kesoṣu valeṣu sīlōl
Akkosa vikkosa labāhi candam saṁbhuma sivam sa
-lam issalam ca.

III, 12 (prose following the verse).
Mention of Skanda as the Patron of the

Prathaman etat skandaputranam siddhilakshanam
curma-prarambhe kidrasam idam naahim utpada
Iha khalu bhagayata kanakasaktinah caturvidhanah
saahhyapayo darisatah.

VI, 27.

Reference to Siva as Hara, and to the goddesses :

Abhaaaa tuha deu hero vinhu bhamh ravi a cande
Hattuna sattuvakkhaa sambha-nisumbhe jadh'a da

x, 45.

Reference to Siva's destruction of Daksa's sacrifice.

Jayati vrabhatetur dakayayamahy a hanta
tadanu jayati bhoTTa samukhaa krodnaasata

Passages relating to images etc. in the Manusmrti.

III, 152.

Reference to those who made a living out of the worship of the images of the gods.

Cikitsakaa devakaa maahavikrayinas tatha;
Vipanena ca jivanto varjya havan-kavyayoh.

IV, 39.

Reference to images of gods.

Mrdaya gam daivatam vipram ghrtan madhu catyaap
Pradaksinani kurvita prajnataamca vanaspatin.

IV, 130.

Same.

Devatanaam guro rauYah snatakacaryayos tatha;
Nakraema kamataashayad babhruno diksitasya ca
(Comm. devatanan pasanadimayinam etc.).

IV, 153.

Same.

Daivatanyabhagacchet tu dharmikamaca dvijotta
Isvaram daiva raksartham gurn eva ca parvasu.
Passages relating to Siva in the Natyasāstra.

I,1. Mention of Siva with Brahmā.

Praṇayma śīrṣā devau pitāmahaparamasvarau; 
Natyasāstram pravakṣyāmi brahmaṇā yadudahrtam

I,45. Siva as a dancer.

Dṛṣṭā mayā bhagavato nilakanṭha-sya nrtyataḥ; 
Kāliki alakṣenanaipathyā sṛgūrarasasambhavā.

I,60. Siva as giver of 'siddhi'.

Sūryascchatram sivaseiddhim vāyurvyajanam eva

I,93. Mention of Skanda.

Trīyam ca sthito Vīnuścaturthe skanda eva

II,24. Reference to Siva's 'bhūtas'.

Adau nivesyo bhagavān sārdham bhūtagaṇair bhagah

IV,5-10. Reference to Siva as 'trinetra' and 'vrsāuka'

Bharata is said to have produced the play 'Trīṇṭa' before him.

IV,17-18. Siva gave the 'tāndava' to the drama.

Tataasṭaṇḍum saṁahūya proktavān bhuvanesvarā 
Prayogam angahāraṇām ācakṣāva bharatāya vai.

Important passages relating to Siva in the works of Kālidāśa.

The Malavikāgnimitra.

I,1. Ekaisvārye sthitotpī pranatabahuphele yah sv 
kṛttivāsaḥ 
kānta-sammasraddheho'pyaṅgilayamananaṣām yah pura 
yatinām;
Aṣṭābhīr yasya kṛtanam jagadāpi tanur bibhrat
nābhīmānāh,
sanmārgalokanāya vyapnayatu saḥ tāmāśirī vṛ
dhā.

The Vikramorvṛṣīya.

I,1.

Vedānteṣu yam āhur ekapurūsām vyāpya sthitam
rodasi,
yasmīnissvara ityananyavisayah sabdo yatarthah
-ksarah;
Antar yasaḥ muṣukṣubhir niyamitapṛṇādibhir m
-yate,
Sa sthamuh sthira-bhakti-yoga-sulabho niḥsrey
-sāyāstvā vah

The Sakuntalā.

I,1.

īś ārṣṭih sraṣtur ādāya vahatī vidhihutam yaḥ
yā ca hotī
guh. Ye dve kālam vidhatte srutī-visaya-gunā yā st
vyāpya visvam
yam āhuh sarvabijaprakṛtirī yaya prānīnāh
prānavantah,
pātyaksabhīh prasannāe tanabhīr avatū vah tā
aṣṭābhīr āsah

The Meghadūta.

I,34.

Apyanyasmin jaladhara mahākālam āsādyā kāle,
sthātavyam te nayanavisayam t yāvad atyet
bhānu
Lurvan somdhyā-bali-pāṭahatām sūlinah slāghan
Āmāṇdrānām phalamavikalam lapayase gārjītānām

I,35.

Pādanyasahī kvanitarasanās tatra līlavadhūtai
ratnachāya-khacita-valibhīs cāmaṇāh klantaha
-īh;
Vesyās tvatō nakhapada-sukhān prāpya yarsāg
bindūn,
Amekṣyante tvayī madhukera-srenī-dīrghān kātā

I,36.

Artyārambe hara pasupatotm ārḍraṇāgājīneccchā
sāntodvagastimitanayanām drṣṭabhbaktīr bhavāny
The Raghuvamsa.

I, 1. Vāgārthāv iva sampṛktau vāgārtha-pratipattaye,
Jagatah pitarau vande pārvatī-paramesvanau.
Appendix.
(B)

Passages relating to Siva in the Purānas.

The Agni Purana.

Ch. III, Drinking of poison by Siva.
8. Keśirābdher māthyanāśca viṣam hālāhalam hyabh
9. Harena dhāritam kanthe nilakanthas tato'bhayat
   Siva infatuated with the female form of Viṣṇu.
18. Darsayāmasa rudraya strirupam bhagavān hariḥ;
   Mayāyā mohitaḥ sambhir gaurīm tyaktvā strīyam
19. Nāgna umattarūpo'bhut striyā kūsaḥ adhārayat
   Agād vimucya kūsaḥ stri anvadhavacca tām gataṃ
20. Skhalitam tasya viryam kau yatrā yatra harasya
   Tatra tatrābhavat kṣetram lingānāṁ kanakasya
21. Mayeyam iti tam jñātyā svarupasto bhavāddhara
   Sivam āha hari rudra jītā mayā tvaya hi me.
22. Ma ātum ānam sakte me tvad ēte'nyāḥ pumāṁ;
   Aprāptascāmṛtaṃ daitya devaīr yuddhe nipatatāṁ

Ch. XVIII, The eleven Rudras.
41. Surabhī kāsyapād rudrān ekādasa vijijñāśiḥ;
   Mahādeva-prasādona tapasā bhāvita sati.
42. Ajaikapād ahirbuddhyan tvāstā rudrasca sattama
43. Tvaśtuṣcātmaññā śrimaṇ vīśvarupo māhāyasah;
   Harasca bhurūpaśca tryambakascaparajitah
44. Vṛṣakapiśca sambhūscā kapardī rājvatas tatha;
   Mṛgāvyādhasca sarpaśca kapāli dasā caikakah
45. Rudrāṇāṁ ca satam laksām yair vyāptam sācaracā
Ch. LIII,  Characteristics of the 'sivalinga'.

1. Liṅgādīlakṣaṇam vakṣye kamalodbhava taceḥrṇu; Dairghyārddham vasubhir bhaktvā tyaktvā bhāṅgat -yam tathā

2. Viskambham bhūtabhāgaistu caturasram tu kāraya Ayām rtubhir bhaktvā eka-dvi-tri-kramānnyaset.

3. Brahmā-viṣṇu-sīvāṇśeṣu vardhamāno'yam ucyate; Caturasre'syakarnārdham guhya-koneṣu laṁchayet


5. Vistāro'tha liṅgasāstaddha samvībhājayet; Bhagārārdhādham tu saṣṭyajya chaṭtrakaram śiro b etc. etc.

Ch. LIV,  Description of the 'lingas'.

1. Vakṣyāmyanyaprakāreṇa liṅga-mañādikam śṛṇu; Vakṣye lavāṇajam liṅgam ghṛṭajam buddhi-vardha

2. Bhūtaye vāstra-liṅgam tu liṅgam tātkalikam vidvā Pakvaṭakvam mṛṇmayam syād apakvād pakvājam var.

3. Tato dāravam yam dārujačchailajam varam; Sailād varam tu miktajam tato lauham suvarnajna

4. and so on. Liṅgas of silver, copper, brass, jet and of 'rasa' are mentioned.

5. Puḥyo haras tu sarvatra liṅgē purnārecaṇam bhava


41-48. Description of 'mukha-liṅgas'.

Ch. LXXI,  Worship of Ganesa.

1. Gaṇāya svabhā hrdayam ekadāmstrāyā vai sirah

2. Gaṭakarnin ca sikhā gajavakratreyā ca; Mahodarāya sudanda-hastayākṣai tathāstrakam

3. Gaṇo guru pārśvakasca śaktīyāntau ca dharmakār Mukhyāsthi-mandalam cāhascordhvam chādanam arč
4. Padma-karnika-bijam ca javalinim nandayarcayet; suryesa kamarupa ca udaya kamavartini.
5. Satya ca vighna-nasá ca asanam gandha-mrttika; Vamso gharma ca dahanam plavo lambam tathā surm.
6. Lambodarāya vidmahe mahodarāya dhimahi; Tanno dantiḥ pradodayāt.
7. Ganapatir ganādhipo ganeśo gana-nāyakah; Gaṇakrido vakratunda ekadamśtro mahodarāh.
8. Gajavaktro lambakuksir vikato vighnanasanaḥ; Dhūmravarno mahēdradyāh pujya ganapateh smṛtāh

Ch. LXXII, Conception of Raudri.
29. Raudrīṁ dhyāyed vṛṣabjaśthāṁ trinetrām saśi-bh-tam; Trisūlākṣa-dharam dakṣe vāme sābhaya-saktikām.

Ch. LXIV, Directions for the worship of Siva.
42. Praksalyo pindikā-linge astra-toye tato hṛda; Arghya-patrāmbunā śiśoed iti linga-visodhanam.
43. Ātma-dravya-mantra-linga-suddhau sarvān surān Vāyavye ganapataye sarvān hāṁ gurubhyo'rcaued
c
50. Nyaset śīhāsane devam suklaṁ panca-mukham vi Dasaśāhum ca khandendum dadhānem dakṣinaṁ kar
51. Śakti-rāti-sūla-khaṭvāṅga-varadāṁ vāmakaih kar Demarum bijapūram ca nilābjan sutram utpalam.
81. Tan me siva-padaṣṭhāya hūm kṣaḥ kepaya sanka Sivo datā sivo bhokta sivah sarvam idamjagat.

Sivo jayati sarvatra yah sivah so'ham eṣa ca; Sloka-dvayaṁ adhityaivam japam devāya carpayet.

Ch. LXXVI, Directions for worship of Siva as Canda.
1. Tatabhivantikam gatvā gatva pujaḥ homādikam ma Gṛhāṇa bhagavān punya-phalam ityābhidhāya ca.
4. Samhrtya divyāya lingam mūrti-mantrenayojayet; Sthandile tvarcite deve mantra-sahāran ātmani
5. Niyojya vidhinoktena vidadhyaścanda pujanam.
6. Om dhūli-candesvaraya hum phat svāhā tam ahvay
8. Candāstrāya tathā hum phat candraṁ rudrāgniṣam
Sūla-tanka-dharam krenam sākṣa-sūtra-kamandal
9. Tankāreśāndre va caturvākram prapujayet;
Yathāsakti japam kuryād ahgānam tu dasanmatah

Ch. LXXIX. Worship of Siva (contd.).
7. Samnidhāne tatah sambhor upavisya njāsane;
Pavitram ātmane dadyād gaṇaya guru-vahnaye.
16. Svahāntam va namo'ntam va mantram esām udīraya
17. Om haṁ-tatvādhipataye sivaya svāhā;
Om vidyā-tatvādhipataye sivāya svāhā.
18. Antaścāreṇa bhūtānām draṣṭā tvam paramesvāra;
Karmanā manasā vacā tvattō nānya gotir mama.
38. Pavitrāṇi samāropya praṇāmyagnau śivam yajet.
39. Bhukti-kaṁah śivāyaḥ kuryat karma samarpanam
44. Viṣṇyā lokapālaṁ ādāyesat pavitrakam;
Sati candegvare pujāṁ kṛtvā vidhinā pūrvavad y

Ch. LXXXVI. Prayer to Siva.
5. Om namah śivāya sarva-prabhāve svāyesāna-muṁ
tatpuruṣa-vakrāyaghora-hṛdayāya u vāmadeva-gu
6. Sadyojātāṁrtyaye Om namo namo guhyātiguhyāya;
Goptre'ṇidhanāya sarvādhipāya jyotirupāya pars-
ādaya bhāvena Om vyom.

Ch. LXXXVIII. Mention of Siva and Sakti, and of Siva as 'Het
3. Ubhaun sakti-śivau tatve bhuvanaśtaka-siddhikam
7. Hetuḥ sada śivo deva iti tatvādi samcayam;
Saṁcitaiva śāntyatitākhyaṁ vidadhyaṁ taḍānādikam

Ch. XCVI, Worship of the 'linga' in the house.
22. Murtis tadvāramstatra pūravad vinivesayet; Tadvapakam śivam sāngam śiva-hastam ca mūrthah.  
25. Advapakah śivam śiśvānām nā Ṛtaḥ.  
26. Arcayet tato lingam nāpayaṭvā mṛdādhībhī; Silpinam toṣayitvā tu dadyād gām gurave tataḥ.  
27. Lingam dhupādibhibhī prārychya gāyeyur bhartragah aḥ-yaḥ; Savyena cāpasavyeṣa sūtrenātha kudena va.  
29. etc.etc.  

Ch. XCVII. Directions for the installation of the 'linga'  
The 'Dvārapālas', the 'Dikpati', and the 'Śivalīl'-vara are worshipped first. Then, eight handfuls of rice are offered to Agni and to the 'linga'. Then, the worshipper enters the sanctuary reciting auspicious mantras; Then, the 'linga' is installed.  
4. Tasmadhye sthāpayeṣa lingam vedhatosaviṣajayā Tasmān madhyām parityajya yavārdheṇa yavena  
Then, the 'ananta' slab is carefully placed. This is the symbol of universal receptivity ('sarvādāraśvāraṇī' ). Then, the 'astala' slab is placed in position with the following mantra.  
6. Oh namo vyaṃpini bhagavati sthīreṣca dhruvāya  
Then, the worshipper meditates upon the various subsets like jewels, different metals, and different grains giving beauty, energy, good appearance, and strength. Then, the various pitchers are placed in the proper positions, with the proper mantras. Then, having offeredings to the 'Vāstu-devata', the worshipper takes up the 'linga' and, with necessary circumambulations, deposits it in front of the 'bhadra' door. After this, the Mahapasupata hymn is recited.  

Ch. CIII. Restoration of old and decayed 'lingas'.  
1. Lakṣmojjhitam ca bhagnam ca sthūlam vajra-hatam Sampatam sphutitam vyāṃgama lingamityeyamādikam
2. Ityādi duṣṭa-liṅgāṇām tyājyā pīṇḍi tathā vṛṣaḥ

21. Asuraimunībhīr gautraie tantravidbhiḥ pratisthat
Jīrnam vāpyatha bhagnāṁ vidhināpi na cālayet.

Ch. CXII, The 'mahātmya' of Kāśi.

1. Vārānasī param tīrtham gauryai praha mahesvaram
Bhukti-mukti-pradām puṇyam vasetam grnatam hariḥ

2. Gauri-kaśtram na muktāṁ vai avimuktāṁ tataḥ smṛtah
Japtam taptam hutāṁ dattam avimukte kilākṣayaṁ

5. Guhyānāṁ param guhyam avimuktāṁ param mama.

Ch. CXIII, The 'mahātmya' of Narmadā.

1. Sadyaṁ punāti gāṅgeyam darsanād vāri nārmadām.

4. Gauri śri-rūpinī tepe tapastāṁ abhravīd hariḥ;
Avāpasyasi tvam adhyātma nāmā śripavastat tava

6. Maranam nīvalokāya sarvadām tīrtham uttamarāṁ;
Naro'stra kriyate devyā hiranyākaśipus tathā.

Ch. CLXXIX, Worship of Ganesa on the 'sukla-caturthi' in Māyā.

3. Ulkāntair gādi-gandhādyaiḥ pūjayen modakādibhiḥ;
Om mahollāya vidmahe vakratundāya dhimahi;
Tanno dantih pracodayat.

Ch. XCVIII, Worship on the 'Sivarātri'.

1. Maṁgha-phalgunayor maṁhye krṣṇā ya ca caturdaśī;
Kāmayuktā tu sopayā kurvaṁ jāgaranam vratī.

2. Āvahayamyaham sambhūṁ bhukti-mukti-pradāyakam.
3. Narakaṁpravottaranāvaṁ śiva nāmo'śtu te;
Namḥ sivāya santaya preṣṭārajyādidadayine.

etc. etc.

Ch. CCLXVI, The 'vināyakas'.

1. Vināyakopasṛtānāṁ śānaṁ sarvakaram vade;
Vināyakah kārmaṇīva-siddhyartham viniyojitaḥ.
2. Ganañām adhipatye ca kesavesapitamahajh; Svāpne'vagāhate tyartham jalam mundāmśca pasya.  
3. Vīnāyakopasrastāstu kravyādān adhirohati; Vrajaśamastathātmānām manyate'ṇugataḥ paraśāh.  
4. Vīmanā vīphalāśambhah saṁsidatyanimittatāh; Kanyā varam na capnoṭi na capatyam varāgana.

Ch. GCLXXIV. The story of Soma and Tārā.

2. Somaścakṛ rājasuyam trailokyaṃ daksinām dadaṃ Samāpte vabhrthe somam tadrupalokaṁ�ecchavah.
3. Kāma-hāṁbhīhitaptānayo nava devyāḥ sisevire; Lakṣmi nārāyanam tyaktvā .........
4. Dhṛtis tyaktvā patim nandim somam evabhajat tādā.
5. Svakiya eva soma'pi kāmāyāmāsa taś taśa.
7. Jahāra tarasa somo hyavamanyāṅgirahautam; Tatas tad yuddham abhavat prakhyatām tarakāmāyā.
8. Devānām dahanānām ca lokakṣayakaranān mahat; Brahmā nirvāryosanasam tārān angirase dadau.
9. Tam antah prasām drstvā garbham tyajābravid gār; Garbhasthyaktāḥ pradīpto'tha prahah somasambā.
10. Evam somaḥ budhah putrah ....... etc.

Ch. CCCXIII. Worship of Vīnāyakaor Ganesa.

1. Om vīnāyakārcaṇanām vaksye............
3. Gajamūrtim ganapatiṁ hṛdayam syād ganañjayaḥ; Ekadantotkataśirah sikhyacalakarnine.

Jayo ganadhipo ganañayako'tha ganesvarah; Vakratūnda ekadantotkata-lambodaro gajah.
6. Vaktro vikaṭanāmātha hāmrupurvo vighnānāśine; Dhūmravarno mahendraḍyo bāhye vighnesa pūjana.
Ch. CCCXVIII, The 'Sivagayatri'

7. Tannah sivah pracodayat.

Worship of Ganeśa for the removal of obstacles and his various names.

8. Yatrāyam vijayādau ca yajet pūrvam gaṇam sriyā

10. Sirohatam tatpurasena usādyām ca nāma'ntakam;

15. Gajākhyam gajasirṣam ca gangeyaṁ gananayakam;

16. Vicitrāsam mahākāyam lamboṭham lamḥakarnakam;

18. Mahānādan bhāṣurāṁ ca vighnarājāṁ ganāḍhipām;

20. Layam nṛtyapriyam lāulyāṁ vika-ṛnah vaṭsalam tār Kaṭantam kalāḍandaṁ ca yajetkumbham ca pūrvava

Ch. CCCXXII, The 'Paśupatānti'.

Om nāmo bhagavta mahāpasupatāya.....trīpaṇcana-

-nya.....sarvāngaraktāya.....vaśānavetālapri-

-ya sarva-vighna-nikrntana-ratāya.....bhaṅgam-

-pine' sāmḵyavaktrabhujapādaaya.....vetālavitrās-

śāṅkinikṣobhaṁjanakāya vyādhiṁgrahakārīne......da-

ṇāgaṁsakārīne.....kruraya.....vajraḥastāya.....

muniya.....mundaṁstrāya.....kaḥkālaṁstrāya.....yogīn-

-rāya.....divastraṁ.....sarvaloka.....sarvasatva.....
etc.etc.

Ch. CCCXXIV, The 'Rudrānti'.

13. Om rudrāya.....vṛśabhāya nāmo'vimuktāya sambhavī
puruṣāya paṇca-pājyaṁ isaputre pauruse paṇcapan-
ttare visvarūpāya karālāya vikṛtarūpāya.....
15. Ekapingalaya svetapinagalaya krsnapingalaya

16. Medhupingalaya niyatavanantayardraya suskaya ya-
  -gaapaya kalataye karalaya vikaralaya dvau may-
  tatve sahasrasyayasaahasraktraaya ......

19. Bhupataye pasupataya umapataye kalaahipataye

25. Sastavataya yogapithasamsthitaya nityayogine....
  sarvaprabhaye......tatpurusaya......pancovaktraya

31. Brahma-visnu-rudra-padamcaritastuta......

Ch.CCCXXVII, Worship of the 'linga'.

10. Yad Om namah siyayeti etavat paramam padam;
  Anena pujayellogam linga yamsat sthitah diva

12. Lingarcanad bhuktir muktir yavajjivam ato yaj
  Varaah pranaparityagho bhunjitapuja naiva tam.

14. Sarvayajnopadane tirthe vedesu yatphalam;
  Tatphalam kotigunatam sthapyam lingam labhenna

15. Trisandhyam yo'rocayellingam krtvaa bilvena parr
  Sataikadasikam yavat kulam uddhrya nakabhak

Ch.CCCXLVIII, The mantra of Ganesa.

24. Om gam svaha mulamantro'yan gam va ganapataye
  Sadango raktaasuklasca dantaksarasaasutkatah.

Some epithets of Ganesa.

26. Nusmandaya ekadantaya tripuraantakayati .......
  -akaya....vyhnesvaraya....bhujagendraraharya...
  saasankadharaya ganadhhipataye svaha.
The Brahma Purana.

Ch. IX, The story of Soma and Tārā.

21. Uṣāna taśaya jāgṛaha pārśṇim āngirasa sastraḥ; Rudraśca pārśṇim jāgṛaha grhītvā jāga gavam dhanum.

23. Tatraci tad yuddham abhavat prakhyātam tarakāma; Devanām dānāvanām ca lokākṣayakaram mahat.

24. Tatraci sīrṣātu ye devās tusiṣāscaiva ye dvijāh; Brahminān sa ranaṁ jagmur ādidevam sanātanam.

25. Tadānivāryosanasam tām vai rudrāh ca sākārām; Dādavāngirase tārāṁ svayāṁ eva pitāmahāḥ.

Ch. XXVIII, The Rāmeśvara 'tirtha'.

56. Āste tatra mahādevas tīre nādanadīpateḥ; Rāmeśvara iti khyataḥ sarvakāmāpanalakrīḍayah.

59. Rajasāyaphalam samyag vājimeśhaphalam tathaḥ; Prāpunvanti mahātmānāḥ samsiddhiṃ paramānām tathā.

62. Samkaram yogam āsthāya tato mokṣam vrajanītī te.

Ch. XXXIV, The destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

1. Yo'sau sarvagato devas tripurāri trilocanah; Umāpriyakaro rudras candrārdhakṛtadakṣaḥ.

2. Vīrāvya bibuddhān sarvān siddhavidyādharān raśi; Gandharava-yaksa-nāgaṁca tathānyāmśca samāgataḥ.

3. Jaghāna purvam daksāya yajato dharanītale; Yajnaṁ samṛddham rāṭrādyam sarvasamvārasambhur.

4. Yasya pratapasamtrastā sakradyastraḥdikulasāḥ; Sāntim na lebhīr viprāṁ kailāsam saranaṁ gātāḥ.

5. Sa āste tatra varadāḥ sūlapāṇir vrṣadhvajah; Pinākāpāṇir bhagavān daksayajñavināśanaḥ.

6. Mahādevo'kale deśe kṛttivāṁ vrṣadhvajah; Ekāṃrake munireṣṭhāḥ sarvakāmāprado harah.

11. Nājuhāvātmajāṁ tām vai daksō rudrām abhīdviṣan; Akarot samnātīm daksō na ca kāmcīn mahēśvarah.
16. Tvattah sreṣṭhā variṣṭhāsca pujyā bālāḥ sūtāḥ
Tāsām ye caiva bhartāras te me babhumatāḥ sati.

19. Taṅga-pi ṣpadhāte sarvah sarve caiva tam pra
Tena tvāṁ na babhumāmī praṅikulo hi me bhavaḥ.

Dakṣa's counter curse on Siva after the destruction of the sacrifice.

34. Yasmāt tvam matkrte krūra rāgin vyahṛtvān asi
Tasmāt sārdham surair yajnē na tvāṁ yakṣyanti
dvijāḥ

35. Kṛtvaḥutim tava krūra apiḥ aprānta karmanu;
Ihaiva vatsyaṣe loke divam hitvayugakṣayāt.

Description of Siva.

101. Mahesvārah parvatalokavāsā caracareṇāḥ pratha
-prameyaḥ;
Vinendunā hindrasamaṇavargasā bibhīsam rūpam
-sthito yāḥ.

Ch. XXXV, Siva visits Pārvatī in disguise after her pen
5. Vikṛtam rūpam āsthāya hrasvo babuka evaca;
Vibhāgaṁ -nāsiko bhutvā kubjah kesānta-pingal

6. Uvāca vikṛtaṇyascā devi tvāṁ tvān 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 bāhur utthitaṁ taṣya taṭhaiva samatishhati
Stambhitah ādiṣurupena devadevena sambhunā.

Greatness of Siva.

39. Purāṇaiḥ śāmasaṃgītaiḥ punyākhyair guhyanāma
Ajaśtvamajaro devah sraṣṭā vibhūḥ parāparam.

40. Pradhanapuruso yastvam Brahmadhyeyam tad ake
Amṛtam paramātma ca iṣvāraḥ kāraṇam mahat.
41. Brahmasrk prakrteh srastā sarvakrt prakrteh pa
    Iyam ca prakrtiv devi sādā te srītikaraṇām.

42. Patnirūpam samāsthāya jagatkarānam agata;
    Namastubhyām mahūdeva devya vai sahitāyā ca.

43. Devādyastu imāḥ ērōtā mudhan tvadyogamayaya.

45. Mādhasca devatāh sarvā nainām budhyāta samkara
    Pānemur manasa sarvam bhavasuddhena cetasa.

Ch.XXXVII, Prayer of the gods to Siva.

2. Namah pārvatalingāya...pavanavegāya virūpāya j
   -ya ca............


7. Kapalamalāya kāpalātiradharine......kapālahast
   dandine gadinē......

8. Trailokyanathāya pasulokarataya....khatvāngaha
   -ya......

9. Kṛṣṭakesāpaharine............

10. Kālakālāya .................

12. Daityānām yogasāsāya yoginām gurava......

13. Smaśānarataye smaśānavaradāya........

14. Ghasthasādhave.....jatīle......brahmaçāriṇe.....m
   -rdhamupdāya pasūnām pateye.....

17. Sāṃkhēṣya.............

19. Pradhanaāyaprameyāya kūryāya karnāya......

20. Purusasāmyogapradhānagunakārīne.......

Ch.XXXVIII, Denunciation of Siva by the mother of Par

26. Daridra-kridanais tvam hi bhātṛā kridāni samāg;

27. Ye daridrā bhavanti sma tathaiva ca nīśayayaḥ
    Umē ta eva kridānti yathā tava patih subhe.

Siva’s comment on this.

36. Evameva na sundehah kasmān manyur abhūt tava;
    Krttvāsaḥ hyavāsaśca smaśānanilayaśca ha.

37. Aniketo hiranyesu parvatānām guhāsu ca;
    Vīcārāmi ganāir nāgnair vyto’mbhojavilovane.

38. Mā krudho devi mātre tvam tathāyam mātāvadat tāv
Ch. XXXIX. Another version of the 'Daksayana' story.

31. Sānti me bahavo rudraḥ sūlahastah kapardinaḥ; Ekādāna sthānagataḥ nānyāṁ vidmo mahaśvaram.

Dadhici says

32. Sarvegām ekamāntraḥ yam mamego na nimantaṭāh; Yathāham samkarād ārdhvām nānyāṁ paśyāmi daiva Tatha dakaśaya vipulo yajño'yaṁ na bhaviṣyatī.

Siva's reply to Sati's query.

38. Surair eva mahābhāge sarvam etad anuṣṭhitam; Yajñesu nama sarvesu na bhaga upakalpitah.

39. Purvagatena gūmṭavyaṁ marginala varavarnini; na me surā prayaṇchanti bhagamajñāyaṁ dharmaṁ.

Siva creates Virabhādra.

48. So'arjad bhagavāṁ vakrād bhutam krodhagnisambh

49. Tām uvāca mākaṁ gaccha dakaśaya tyāṁ mahaśvaram Kāśayāśu krātum tasya dakaśaya madanujñāyāṁ.

Pacification of Siva by Brahma.

85. Bhaṭṭo'pi sura sarve bhagam dasyanti vai pra Kriyatāṁ pratisamhāraḥ sarvādevēśvaram tvayāṁ.
Ch. XI

The Ekaśmaka 'tīrtha'.

11. Lingakotisamayuktam varānasī-sahā-samam subhājapta tīrthastakasamanvitam.

50. Aste tatra svayam devah kṛttivāsa vrasadhvajah.

76. Tasmin kṣetravare lingam bhāskaresvarasamjñītesa prabhātāpi jñātāṃ.

Ch. XLIII

Mahākāla in Avanti.

65. Tatrāste bhagavān devas tripurāri trilosanaḥ.

66. Mahākāleti vikhyataḥ sarvakāmapradāḥ śivaḥ.

70. Sampūjya vidhīvad bhaktyā mahākālam sakrochiva āsvamedhasaharaṃ phalam prāpti mānavaḥ.

Ch. LXXI

The legend of the burning of Kama.

39. Sambhum drṣṭvā suragaṇā yavaḥ pasyanti manmatha
Tāvaśca bhāmasād bhūtām kāmām drṣṭvā bhayātur
Tustuvāś ca triḍāsesānām kṛtaṁjālapuṭāḥ surāḥ.

40. Tarakad bhayam apannam kuru patnīm gireh satām.

41. Viddhacitto haco'pyasu mene vāyaṃ suroditaṃ;
Arundhatim vasistham ca nam tu sakradharan tat.

42. Prasayamasur apraḥ vivahaya parasprasaram.

Ch. LXXVII

Bhagiratha is told to worship Siva by Kapila.

54. Kailasaṃ tān harasrestha gatva stūhi mahesvara
Tapah kuru yathāsakti tataspēṣpitam āpyasi.
Ch. XCVII, Reference to the eight forms of Siva.
21. Tvam astamārtya sakalam bhārasi,
Tvādājaññayā varatataśva sarvām.

Ch. 100, The greatness of Siva.
19. Lokatrayādīkādhipater na yasya
kutrāpi vāstunyabhimānalesaḥ;
Sa siddhanātho'khilavisvakarta
bhartā sivāya bhavatu prasannah.

Ch. CIX, The Cakra'tirtha', and Visnu's prayer to Siva for obtaining his discus.
2. Yatra visṇuḥ svayam devaśa cakraṛtham samkaram
bhūḥ.
Pujāyamāsa tattirtham cakramṛtham udāhṛtam.

Ch. CX, Siva as the one God.
100. Sarvai karmāṇi vihāya dhīra
Tyaktāśrāṇaḥ nirjītacittavatāḥ;
Yam yanti muktyai sarṣṣāṁ prayatnāt
Tam āśādevam pranāmami sambhūm.

Ch. CXIV, Propitiation of Ganesa.
7. Na vighnarajena samostī kasced
devo manovamsitasaṃpradāta;
Niścitya caītat tripurāntakōpi
Tam pujāyamāsa vadhe purānām.
10. Yo mātur utsaṅga gato'thamātra
nivāryamanō'pi balācca caṇḍram;
Śaṁgopāyamāsa pitur jātāsu gaṇadhināthasya
vinoda esah.
13. Yo vighnapāsaṁ ca kareṇa bibhṛat
skandhame kuthāram ca tatha parena.
15. Svatatrasāmarthyaṅkṛtātigaram
bhṛtrapriyām tvakhurātham tāṁ ide.

Ch. CXV, Prayer to Siva.
7. Namas trailokyānāthaśya dakṣagajānavibhedaṁ;
Adikartrā namastubhyām nāmas trailokyarūpīne.
9. Sarvada sarvarūpaśya kalarūpaśya te namah; Pahi samkara sarveśa pahi someśa sarvaga.

Ch. CXVI. The 'Āmatīrthā'.

1. Āmatīrtham iti khyātam bhuktimukti pradām nṛpi Tasya prabhāvam vakṣyāmī yatra jñanesvāraḥ sīv

Ch. CXXIII. Rama's prayer to Siva.

195. Namāmi saṁbhunā puruṣam purāṇam namāmi sarvajñām āpārabhāvam; Namāmi rudrāḥ prabhūm aṅgāyam tam namāmi sarvam dīrāsā namāmi.

200. Namāmi vedatrāyalocanam namāmi mūrtitrāyavarjītām tām;

202. Yajñesvaram samprati havyakavyam tathā gatim lokasāda sīva yāh.

265. Namāyajadisā-purāndarādi-sūrāsuraśīr arcīta pādāpamān; Namāmi devi-mukha-vadānānam ikṣārtham āksitritāyam ya āicchat.

Ch. CXXVII. The Vedas are under the orders of Siva.

37. Paratantrā vayam tāta īśvarasya yasamāgaḥ; Aṁesa jagadādhaśo nirādhaḥo niraṁjanaḥ.

38. Sarvasaktyaikasadanaṁ nīḍhanām sarvasampadāṁ Sā tu karta mahādevāḥ saṁhäṛtaṁ sa maheśvāraḥ.

Hymn to Siva.

49. Na tvām ānānti nīgama 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. Tataḥ katipayekale tārakād bhaya āgate; Anuppanne ca kārttikeśe cīrakālaraḥagate.

8. Maheśvare bhavayāṁ ca trāsta devāh saṁgataḥ. etc., etc.

Agni's prayer to Siva.
44. Visvasya jagato dhata visvamurtir niranjanah; 
Adikarta svayambhusca tam namami jagatpatim.

Ch.CXXIX, Indra's hymn to Siva.

68. Svamayaya yo'khila saracaram 
srijatyavatyatti na sajjate'smin;
69. Na yasya tatvam sanakadayo'pi 
janananti vedanta-rahasya-vijnah.
71. Papam daridram tvatha lobhayacna moho vipacce 
to'pyanantam; 
Avekaya sarvant eakah sureo devim avocajag 
estameti.
72. Tvam pahi lokesvari lokamatar 
ume saranye subhage subhadre.

Oneness of Siva and his consort.

81. Eke tarkaiv vimuhanti liyante tatra capare; 
Siva'aktyostadadvaitam sundaram naumi vigraha

Ch.CXXX, Unity of Brahma, Visnu, and Siva.

10. Brahma visnu; sivasce ti devanam tu parasparam; 
Traya'nam api devanam vedyam okam param hi tat
17. Yadyapya'sam na bhedosti devanam tu parasparam 
Tathapi sarvasiddhi'sh svat sivad eva sukhato
18. Prapa'nacasya nimittam yat tajjyotisca parsim s 
Tameva sakhayam haraa bhaktye paramaya mune.
23. Kasthesu vahni'h kusumesu gandho 
bijesu vrsakdi drgasam harm; 
Bhutesu sarvesu tathasti yo vai 
 tam somanatham saranam vraja.m.
26. Yena trai'dharmam avekaya pruvam brahmadyayas 
tatra samihitaseca; 
Eva'm dvidha yena krtam sariram 
somesvaram tam saranam vrajami.
Ch. CXXXV. The legend of the origin of the 'linga'.

2. Brahmanvisnavavāsa samvāde mahatve ca paraspara
    Tayor madhye mahādevo jyotir mūrtir abhūt kil

3. Tatraiva vāg uvacēdam daivi putra tayoh subhā

4. Daivi vāk tāv ubhau prayānam yastvasyaāntam tu pa
    Sa tu jyotho bhavet tasmāh ma vādam Kārtum ar
    etc. etc.

Ch. CLVII. Rama's worship of the 'linga' on the banks of the Gaurīnāmi.

21. Evaru tu pāncāham caīre te
    svam svām pratiṣṭhāpatalingam aroṣāya.

24. Yeśraddhānāḥ sivalingapūjām,
    vidhāya kṛtyaḥ na samācaraṇti.

25. Yathoṣcitam te yamaṁkarair hi
    pacyantā svakhīh-durgatīṣu.
    etc. etc.

Ch. CLXII. Siva as the Manifest and the Unmanifest.

17. Naiva kacīt taḥ vetṭi yah sarvaṁ vetṭi sarva
    Aṃurtam mūrtam apiyad vetṭi kartā jaganmayāh

28. Sa eva rudra-rupī syad rudro manyuh sivaḥ bhav
    Sthāvaram jaṅgaman caiva sarvaṁ vyāptam hi ma
    etc.

Ch. CXXVI. Story of Uṣa and Aniruddha.

13. Yayau baṅapurābhyaśam nītva taḥ sansārayam har

14. Tatas triṇadās triśirā jvaro mahesvaro mahān;
    Baṅarakṣaratham atyartham yuyudhe sūṁgadhvan

16. Tattah samudhyamanastu saha devena sarṅgina
    Vaisnāvam jvarāṇām kṛṣṇadehanniraktaṇa.

21. Tattah samastasaimyaena daiteyanam baleḥ stah
    Yuyudhe śūmkarasādīva kartīkeyasca sāurīna.
The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.
Pt.I.

Ch. IX.  Creation of the hordes of Siva.

22. Harisamkarayor yuddham ativasit sudarṣanam; 
    Cuksubhuh sakala lokā sastrastraīr bahudhādīt

24. Jṛmbhenāsthrenā govindo jṛmbha-yañāsa sakrama
    Taṭāh pranaśe daityāh prathamıca samantatāh.
    Siva pleads on behalf of Bāna.

41. Kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa jagannātha jane tve √ purusottamanam;
    Pārśeṇā pāramātmanam anadi-nidhanam param.

42. Deva-tiryaṇ-manuṣyeśu sarirgraheṇātmikā;
    Lileyaṃ tava cesta hi daityanām vādha-laksanā.
    The reply of Kṛṣṇa.

46. Yuvamaddatta-varé bāno jivatād esa samkaraḥ;

47. Tvaya yad abhayam dattam taddattam abhayam maya
    Maṭto'vibhinnaḥ atmānām draṣṭum arhauṣi samkaraḥ

Ch. XIII.  The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

45. Tasām jyestha sati nama pātñi ya tryambakasya
46. Hañuhavatmajam tañ vai dakṣa rudram abhidvisa
   Akarot sannatim dakṣa na kādaçin mahesvarah.
   etc. etc. Story identical with that given in
   ch. 34.

Ch. XXV,  
The legend of the churning of the ocean.

60. Viṣam kālanalapraṇakhyam kālakūṭam itiś smṛtam;
   Yeha prodbhūtamātrena na vyarajanta devatāh.

61. Taśya viṣnur abham vapi sarve va sarapungayāḥ;
   Na saknuvānti vai sodhum vegam anyatra śāmkarī
   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 bl:
The gods request him to keep the poison there,
and, thus, Siva gets a blue neck.

Ch. XXVI,  
Visnu glorifies Siva.

9. Yah sṛastā savyabhuṭanam kālaḥ kala-karaḥ prag
   Yenāham brahmanā sārdham sṛstaca lokasca maya;

Ch. XXVII,  
The legend of the seduction of the women of the
sages.

10. Tatas tesaṃ prasādārtham devas tadvānam agataḥ
    Bhasma-pānduradigdāṅgo nagno viṅkta-laksanah;

11. Viṅkta-srastakesascā karāladasanās tathā;
    Ulmikā-vyagra-haṭtasca raktā-pingala-locanah.

12. Siṣam savrṣanam taśya rakta-gaurika-sannibham
    Mukham angara-varnena sulkena ca vibhūṣitaṁ.

13. Kvaicit sa hasate raudram kvacid gayati vismīta
    Kvačinmṛtyati sṛngari kvacid rauti māhumuhuh.
   Ṛtyantam ruruḍhus turnam patnyastesam vimohitah;
   Āsramabhīyagato bhikṣeṣām yacate ca punah punah.

15. Gārya kṛtā tathā rūpā trnabharanabhusitāḥ;
    Viṃśanādām pragarjanyai kharanādām nanada ca.

16. Tatḥa vāṇcitum arabdho ṣa yan sarvadhipaḥ;
    Tatās te mānyaḥ kruddhah krodhena kaluṣīkṛtah
17. Mohitā mayāya sarve sapitum samupasthitah; Kharavad gāyase yasmad khara eva bhavisyasi.

19. Sepuh sāpāistu vividhaistam devam bhuvanesvara

29. Yatinām va tathā dharmo nayam drstah kathācan Anayastu mahān esa yenayam mohito dvijāh.

30. Lingām prapatayasvaitān nayam dharmas tapasvin Vadāsva vaca madhuram vastram ekam samasraya.

31. Tyājite ca tvaya linga tathā pūjam avāpyasya. Siva’s reply

33. Brahmāmā daivataḥ sarvaih kumārāñ yaisa tapodha Pātayeyam aham Caitum lingam bho dvijasattamah

The sages told him

Āsrame tistha va gaccha vākyam ityeva te'bruvan; Eṣam ukto mahādevah prahrā tenthṛdyacēṣṭitah.

35. Sarveśaṁ pasyatam eva tatraiva tāndadhā prabhul

The sages tell Brahma,

43. Snusānam ca duhitrānam putrinām ca viśesatah;

44. Vartamānastatah pārśve vīparitam abhilāpatah; Unmatta iti vijnāya so'rambhīr avamānītāh.

45. Akruṣṭas tāditasāpi lingām cāpyasya coddhratam; Tasyā krodhaṃśasādārthām vayaṁ te sāraṇam gataḥ. Brahma tells them,

55. Drstām vai yādram tasya lingām āsin mahatmanāh Tādṛk pratikṛtām kṛtva sūlapanim prapaṣyata.

Siva tells the sages,

92. Ye hi me bhāma-niratā bhāsmanā dagdhā-kilbīsah Yathoktakārīno dantā vīpra dhyanaparayanāh.

93. Ma tān parivaded vidvān na ca tān aṭilāṅghayet.

107. Asakrocagnīna dagdham jagatsthāvarajaṅgamam;

108. Bhāmasādhyaṁ hi tat sarvam pavitraṁ idam uttam
115. Bhasmaśāna-visuddhātma jitarakrodho jiterendriyah
Matsamipam upēgamyā na bhīvo vinivartate.

118. Nagnā eva jayante devatā munayās tatha;
ye cānye mānava loke sarve jayantyavāsātāh.

119. Indriyair ajitair nagnā dukulonyapi samvrtāh;
Taivera samvarto gupto na vastram karanam sārta

125. Daksinātathā pantānam ye smaśanāni bhejire;
126. Isitvam ca vaśitvam ca hyamaratvam ca te gataḥ

Pt.II.

Ch. X.
The legend of the birth of Skanda.

22. Anyonya-pritamanasor umāsakarayor atha;

23. Slegam samsaktayor jnatva samkitah kila vrtrah
Tābhyan maithunasaktabhyan apatyodbhavabhīrunā
Tayoh sakāsad indrena presito havyavahanāh.

26. Uma dévah samutarjya sukram bhuma viśarjaya

28. Yadevam vigatam garbham raudram sukram mahapra
Garbhē tvam dharayasvāivam esa te dandadhārānād
etc.etc.

Ch. LXVII. The mother of Parvati condemns Siva.

35. Mama parśve tvanacarasa tava bharta mahēsvarah;
Daridraḥ sarvathāiveha ha kāstam lajjate na va

The Brahma Vaivarta Purana.

Pt. I.

Ch. I. Exaltation of Visnu over Siva.

1. Ganesa-brahmesa-suresa-seśāh surāsca sarve maś
munindrāḥ;
Sarṣavati-sri-girijādikāscā namanti devyāḥ pr-
māmi tam vibh
4. Vande krsnam gunatitam param brhamacyutam te y
   Avir babhuvah prakrti-brahma-visnu-sivadayah.

Ch.III,

Siva born out of the left side of Visnu.

18. Avirbabhuva tatpascad atmano vamaparavathah;
   Suddhasphatikasamkasah pancavaktra digambarah.

20. Sarvasiddhesvarah siddho yogindranam gururguru

23. Vaisnavanam ca pravara prajvalanbrahmatejasas.

24. Sri krsna-puratanv sahitva tustava tam putanjal

Ch.VI,

Condemnation of the goddess by Siva himself.

4. Tatah samkaram ahuya sarvyo yoginam gurum;
   Uvaca priyam ityevam gahiya simhavahinam.

6. Adhunaham na grhahi prakrtim prakrto yathah;
   Tvad-bhaktyaik- vyavahitam dasyamargavirdhini

7. Tatvajhina-samacchannam yogadvrakapatiikam;
   Muktiochdhaamsarupam ca sakamah kamsvardhinim

8. Tapasyacchannarupam mahahakarandikam;
   Bhavakararhe grhore dhrcah nigadairupinim.

9. Sasvad vibuddhijananim sadbuddhicchedakaarihim;
   Sastvad vibhogasaram ca visayocchavivardhinim.

10. Nechami grhiniim natha varam dehi madipitaam.

Viyanu's reply.

26. Matsevam kuru sarvesa sarva sarvavidam varah;

29. Adyaprabhrti jnana tejasah vayasah siva.

31. Tvat tara nasti me preyama tyam madityatmanah p
   Ye tvam nindanti papista jhanahinah vicetanaah;
   Pacyante te klasitreb yuvaccandradivakaraa.

46. Krtva lingam sakrt pujya vase kalpayaubam divi

47. Jhanavan muktivam sadhuh sivalingaahenad bhava
   Sivalingaahenasthanam atirtham tirtham eva tat
Visnu says to Durga or the goddess

55. Adhunā tiṣṭhāvat sa tvaṃ goloke mama samādhiḥ
   Kāle bhavīṣyasi śivam śivaṃ ca śivāyanaṃ.

60. Kāleśu servasu visvesu mahāpuja supūjitā;
   Bhavitā pratīvaṣe āhār api saṅgaḥ uṣṇedavatī.

61. Grameṣu nagaresveva pujita grāmādevatā;
   Bhavati bhavītityeṣu namabhedena carunā.

62. Madajnayā sivakṛtaṁ tantrair nānāvidhair api;
   Pujaḥ vidhiyām kavacaḥ stotresāṅsūtum.

64. Ye tvamāṃtār bhajisyanti pūnyaśetre ca bhūraḥ
   Teśām yānaśca kirtiścā dharmasvāryam ca vārdhī

Ch. XII,

Siva exalts Visnu.

22. Yasya bhaktīr harau vatsa dṛḍhā sarvamāṅgalaj;
   Sa samarthah sarvāṁśīvam pātum kartum ca lila

Ch. XXV,

Siva in 'śivaloka'.

8. Lokam trilokāccha vilaksanaṃ param
   bhimṛtyuṛgūrtijārāhāram varam;
   10. Digambaram ........
       Kramaṭi naśeva madā Japantam.
12. Bhaktajnaikabandhum ........

Pt. II.

Ch. X,

Bhagiratha as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa.

16. Vaisnava visnabhaktasca gunāvām ajarāmarah;

17. Tapah kṛtvā laksavarmāṁ gangāśyanaṅkāraṇāṁ;
   Dādārāḥ kramāḥ hṛṣṭāyam śrīyakotisamaprabham

Ch. XVIII,

Siva as the god of both the 'devas' and the 'ās'.

73. Tatrāvayor vārodhe ca gamanam nispalam tava;
   Sanasambhandhino bandhvin īśvaraśya mahatmanah
Ch. LXI, Siva worshipped by both the gods and the demons.

37. Ubhayēṣaṁ guruh sambhur manyo vandyasa sarva Dharmasāca śākṣi sarvēṣaṁ tvameva ca pitāmaha.

Exaltation of Viṣṇu.

56. Tato na balavamchambhur na ca pāsupatam vidh Na ca kāli na sesasēa na ca rudrādayah surah.

58. Sodasāṁso bhagayatah sa caiva hi mahān virāt.

Ch. LXVII, Exaltation of the goddess.

9. Brahma-viṣṇu-sīvādīnām pujaṁ vandyam sanatana Nārāyaṇāṁ viṣṇumāyāṁ vaisnavīṁ viṣṇubhaktiṁ

10. Sarvarūpāṁ sarveśaṁ sarvādhārāṁ pratparāṁ Sarvavidyā-sarvanāmantra-sarvasakti-sarvāpiṁ.

14. Durgāṁ satabhujāṁ devīm mahādurgā-tānāśīṁ; Trilocanapriyāṁ sadhvīṁ trīguṇāṁ ca trilocanā

44. Kṛtvā ca vaisnavīpujāṁ viṣṇulokam vrajaj eva Mahēśvarīṁ ca sampaṭya śivalokam ca gacchati.

48. Mahēśvari ca balidanasamanvita; Śāktaśocē aśeśaṁ kailāsam yanti te tathā;

49. Kīrtām tridivam yanti tāmasyā pujaṁa tathā. Sacrifices to the goddess.

92. Balidānavidhānāṁ ca śruṭāṁ munīsattama; Mayātīṁ mahīśam chāgam dāyaṁ mesādikāṁ sūdha

95. Maṁsaṁ supakvādī phalāir akṣatat ira naradā.

96. Yuvaṅkāṁ vyādhihināṁ ca saṅrāngāṁ laksanaṁvitaṁ Viśuddhaṁ avikārāṁ guṇam puṣtam eva ca.

100. Mayātīṁ evarūpam ca śruṭām munīsattama; Vakṣyam yathārvaṅvedoktam phalāhārin vyatikrame.

Ch. LXV, Same continued.

10. Balidānena viprendra durgāprītir bhavennṛṇam; Himsājanyāṁ na papāṇa ca labhate yajñakārma.
23. Viṣṇu-brahma-sīvādīnāṁ aham ādyā paratpara;  
Sagūṇa nirgūṇa cāpi varā śvacehamayāt sadā.

24. Niśṭānityā sarvarūpā sarvakāraṇakāranam;  
Bijārūpā ca sarvesāṁ mūlaprakṛtrīṁ śevarī.

Pt. III.

Ch. I.  
Curse of Pārvati upon the gods.

41. Drstvā surāṁ bhayārtamāśca punah stotum samudyas  
Vijāhau sukhasaṁbhogam kanthalāgnaṁ ca pārvatī  

42. Utteṣṭhato mahesasya trāsalajjā yutasya ca;  
Bīmāu papāta tadviryaṁ tataḥ skando babhūva ha

Ch. II.  
The actual curse of Pārvati.

Ch. VII.  
Viṣṇu promises a son to Śivāyī Pārvati.

91. Syayāṁ golokānāthasāca punyākasya prabhāvataḥ;  
Pārvatī-garbhajātāsāca tava putro bhavyayati:

92. Yasya amarasamātreṇa vighmanāso bhaved dhruvam  
Jagatāṁ hetunānena vighnanigābhīdho vibhūḥ.

94. Sanidrṣṭyā siracchedād gajavaktreṇa yojitaḥ;  
Gajānānah śīśus tena sarvesāṁ sarvasiddhidah.

95. Dantabhangah parasunā parasurāmasya vai yataḥ;  
Hetunā tasya vikhyātaścaikadantābhidhah punah.

Ch. XIII.

Epithets of Ganesa.

41. Iśāḥ..............

42. Siddhāḥanāṁ yogināṁ guruḥ............

49. Prakṛtrūpah-prakṛteḥ param............

Ch. XXXVII.

Exaltation of the goddess.

29. Namah sankarakāntāyai sarāyai te namo namah;  
Prasīda jagatāṁ mataḥ srṣtri-saṁhāra-karinī.
The Ganesa Purana

Ch. I, Ganesa as the one God.

20. Siya viśeṇau ca saktau ca suryae mayi ca naraḍhi
Yo'bhedabuddhhiyorgah sa samyag yogo matah.

21. Aham eva jagad yasmat srjāmi pālayami ca;
Krtvā nanāvidhah vesam samharami svalilaya.

22. Aham eva mahāvishnu aham eva sadāsivaḥ;
Mohayahakhilam mayā sreṣṭhān mama naraḥ amūn.

Ch. III, Ganesa incarnates himself over and over again.

6. Anekanā ca te janmāṇyatītāni mamāpi ca;
Saṁsmaro tāni nārvāni na surīs tava vartate.

7. Mātā eva mahābāho jātā viṣṇyādayāḥ surāḥ;
Mayyeva ca layāṃ yanti pralayesu yuge yuge.

8. Ahamvedāparo brahmā mahārudro'hamevaca;
Ahamekam jagat sarvan sthāvaram jaṅgamam ca ya

Ch. VI, Further exaltation of Ganesa.

11. Na mām vindanti pāpiṣṭeḥ māyamohitatācaṣāḥ;
Trivikāra mohayati pākṛtir mama jagattbāyaṃ.

Yo mām upaśyadṛśīdīyāḥ patanām tasya na kvaIDDLE

Ch. VII, Fruits of worshipping Ganesa.

23. Yoge'tha durācarah pūpāstraivarnikāś tatha;
Maddārayaḥ vimucyante kim mad bhākta dvijātayaḥ

Ch. VIII, The pantheistic conception of Ganesa.

8. Viśe'ham tava dehe'śmin devān raśigānāḥ pitṛṇa;


10. Brahma-viṣṇu-mahesendrān devān jantūn anekadāhā
20. Tvam indro'gnir yamasciiva nirrtir varuno maru
Guhyeekadesas tathesahah somah suryo'khilam jah

The Garuda Purāṇa.

Ch. VII, Siva is worshipped in the body of Viṣṇu.
52. Madhye pitāmaham caiva tathā devam mahesvaram
Puṣyeyecca vidhānena gandhapuspādibhibhī prthak.

Ch. XII, Siva associated with the north.
9. Uttarasyām rudrakumbham puṭitam madhusarpiṣa;
Śrī rudram sthāpayet raktavastrenāvestitam.

Ch. XVI, Supremacy of Siva.
6. Asti devah paramabrahmasvarūpī niskalah sivah
Sarvajñāḥ sarvakartā ca sarvesā nirmalodvayaḥ;
7. Svayām jyotir andyanto nirvikarah paratparah;
Nirgunah saccidānandās tadanājīvasajjñākāh.

The Linga Purana.

Pt. I,

Ch. I, Siva as the Supreme God.
1. Namo rudrāya haraye brahmāne parāmatmane;
Pradhānāpuruṣesāya sargasthityantakārine.

Ch. XVII, The legend of the origin of the 'linga'.
14. Tathā bhūtām aham dṛṣṭvā sayānam pahkajekṣeṣaṁ
Māyāṁ mohitām tasyām tam avacan amarsitah.
15. Kastvam vadeti hastena samutthāpya sanātanam;
Tadā hastaprahārena tivrena sa drdhenā tu.
22. Kimartham bhāpase mohād avaktum arhasi satvaj
So'pi mām āhā jagatām kartāham iti lokaya.
31. Ityukavatī tasmineca mayi capi vacastathā;
32. Avayoceabhavad yuddham sughoram romaharsanam.
33. Etasminpantare lingam abhavacchāvayoh purah;
   Vivadasamanartham hi prabodhārtham ca bhāsvaram.
34. Jvālāmalāsahasāraghodhyam kalānalasatopamaṃ;
   Kṣayavṛddhivinirnuktam adimadhyāntavarjītām.
35. Tasyajvālāsahasārasya mohito bhagavān harib;
36. Mohitam praśa mām atra parikṣāvo'gnisambhavam;
   Adhogaṁśyāṇyanalastambhāsyāṇupamasya ca;
37. Bhavān urdhvaṁ prayatnaṁ gantum arhasi setvar
38. Bṛhtvarośa sarvayatnena tasyāntam jñātum icchayaḥ;
   Śrāntaḥ hyutṛṣṭvā tasyāntam ahanākṛṣad adhogataḥ.
39. Taddābhavat tatra nādo vai sabdalaksanah;
   Om om iti suraśresthāṁ suvyaktah plutalaksanah.
40. Kīmīdāṃ tviti sayā saṁcitṛtya mayā tiśthān mahās
   Lingasya daksīne bhaga tadāpaśyat saṁñātanaṁ.
41. Ādyavarnam akaranā tu ukāram cāntate tathā;
   Makāraṁ madhyataścālīva nādāntam tasyaṁ iti.
   etc. etc.

Ch. XVIII, Sīva as 'ardhanārisa'.
30. Ardhanāri sarīrāvāyuktāya namo namah.

Ch. XIX, Sīva as the One God.
12. Tridhā bhinnoham viśno brahma-viṣṇu-bhavakhyo
   Sargarakṣālayagunāṁ nisskalah paramesvaram.
   Sīva and Parvati in the 'linga' and 'vedi'.
15. Lingavedi mahādevī lingaśākṣaṁ mahesvarah.

Ch. XXI, Sīva called 'lambodarasārīrīṁ'.

67. Dyayate jṛmbhatecāśva rudate dravyate namah;
   Vālgate kridate caiva lambodarasārīrīpe.
Siva’s association with Sāmkhya and Yoga.

35. Bhavī iso’nadimañstvam ca sarvalokanām
tvam brahmaṁ kartādisargahaḥ;
Sāmkhyah prakṛte paramām tvāṃ viditvā
saṅadhyanāstvam amṛtyum visanti.

36. Yogāśca tvam dhāyinyo nityasiddham jñātāv yog
samtyajante punastān;
Yo cāpyanye tvāṃ prasannā visuddhāh svakarmab
divyabhāga bhavanti.

Ch. XXIV,

Different incarnations of Siva.
Account identical with that in Vayu ch.23.

Ch. XXV,

Worship of the 'linga'.

21. Ācāmya ca punastasañjñjalād uttīrya mantrayit.
Pravīṣṭaīa tīrthamadhye tu punah puṣya-vivṛddha

22. Sṛngena parnaputakaiḥ pālasaiḥ keśālitais tada
Sakṣeṇa sapuṣpēna jālenai vabhañacayet.

Ch. XXIX,

The legend of the seduction of the women of tisages.

5. Manayo dārugahane tapasteṣu sudarunam;
Tusṭyarthaṁ devadevasya saḍāratanayāgnayaḥ.

7. Pravṛttī laksanam jñānām jñātum dāruvanaukasām
Pariksārthah jñānānathah ēṛddhayā krīdāya ca

8. Nivṛttīlaksanajñānapratisthārtham ca saṁkarah
Devaḍaruvanāsthānām pravṛttijnānaçetasam.

9. Vikṛtānāṁ āsthyā digvāsa viśameksanah;
Mugdhe dvinaṣṭah kṛṣṇāṅgo divyam dāruvānām yaj

10. Mandasmītām ca bhagavu striṇām manasijodbhavah
Bhrūvīlaśah ca ganam ca cakārātiva sundaraḥ.

11. Sampreksyanaritrvidam vai muhurmuḥur annīgahā;
Anāṅgavṛddhaṁ akārod ativa madhurakṛtiḥ.

12. Vane tam purusam dṛṣṭvā yikṛtam nīlalohītam;
Strīyāḥ pativrataścāpi tamevānavaḥ adarāt.
13. Vanotajdyāragataṁca naryo
   viśrastavastrādharmāṁ vīceṣṭaḥ;
   Laṁbhyā samitaṁ tagaṁ mukhāvindād
drumalayasthāṁ tamathaṁvāyaustāṁ.

15. Aṁha drstvāpuraṁ naryah kīṁcitprahaśitānāṁah;
   Kīṁcit viśrastvasanāṁ erastakaṁelguṇaṁ jāgūḥ.

18. Kāśeijjagus tam naurtur nīpetusea dhāratale;
   Nisedur gajavaccanayāpovaca dvijapungavaḥ.

19. Anyonyam saśmītām prkṣaya cāliliṅgah saṃmantat
   Nirudhaṁya mārgam rudraśya nāpunaṁ pracakraṁre
   Vājraśya tātāraṁ prānaṁ ca saṁkṣero
   Avīśeṣāṁ paramāṁ vākyam jayalpuste munisvaroḥ.

23. Dr̥tvā jārīkulaṁ vīpṛas tathā bhūtam ca saṁka
   Ativa paruṇam vākyam jayalpuste munisvaroḥ.

37. Tel̥pi dārvayāt tamāt prātaḥ samyogamānasah
   Pitamaham mahātmānam āsīnām paramāsane.

38. Gatva vijñāpayāmasuḥ prārvttam aṁkilaṁ vibhoḥ
   Subhe dārvayāt tasmin manāyāh kṣinaṁcatasah.

40. Utthāya prāńjalir bhutvā pranipatya bhavayā ca
   Uvācā satvaroṁ brahmā munīn dārvayālayaṁ.

42. Yastu dārvayāt tasmin liṅgī dṛstro'pyalingibhi
   Yuosābhir vikrtākāraṁ sa eva pārāmesvaraḥ.

66. Tasya tad vāscam eṛutvā brahmāno brahmaṁārgaḥ
   Brahmanāṁ abhivyandyaṁtāḥ procūkūlītekkṣaṇaḥ.

Ch.LXXII,

The legend of the destruction of the three cities

1. Aṁha rudrasya devasya nirmoto visvakarmaṇaḥ;
   Sarvalokamayo divyo ratho yatneṇa sādaram.

   Avahadyas tathā sapta sopānam hainm uttānam;
   Sārathir bhagavān brahmā devabhīṣudaḥraḥ smṛtaḥ. 1

34. Aṁhaḥa bhagavān rudro devāhālokyā samākaraḥ;
Pauṇāṁ adhipatyam me detattam hanmi tato' surār.

52. Agre surāṇām ca gānasaṁrāṇām
   tadāthāvandād girirajakālpam;
   Vināmān āruhya puram prahartum jagāma mṛtyum
   bhagavanivasah.

75. Gānasaṁrānar devaganaśakā bhṛṅgi
   samavṛtaḥ saraṁagānādṛavaryah;
Jagāma yogī tripurām nihantum
vimānam aruhya yathā mahanādraḥ.

101. Atha sajayam dhanuḥ kṛtvā sarvāḥ samāhāya taṁ
yuktva pāṣupatāstrenā tripurām samacintayat.

102. Tasmin athite mahādevo rudre vittatākarmuke;
Purāṇī tena kālena jagmur ekatvam āsu vai.

110. Dādhum arhasi sīghram tvam trinātāni purāṇi
Atho devamahādevah sarvājas tad avīkṣaṇa.

111. Puratṛtyam virūpāksas tatkṣanād bhasma vai kṛ.

114. Mumcā bānam vipr-āndra vyākṣyākāram isvāraḥ
Tatkṣanāt tripurām dagdhvā tripūrāntakarāh vai
etc.etc.

Ch.LXXIII. Fruits of worshipping the 'linga'.

6. Pujaniyāḥ sivonityam śraddhāyā devapunyayaiḥ;
Sarvalingamayo lokah sarvam lingah pratiṣṭhitā.

7. Taṃmāt sampūjāyādīlingam ya iccheyā tathā
dī intertwā karopanēd eva devā dāityāsca dānavāh.

9. Arccayitvā lingamūrtim samśiddhā natra samāyāt
Tasmāllingam yajenityam yena kenāpi vai surāḥ.

24. Bhavanāśamāraṇādyuktā na te duḥkhḥasā bhajānem
Bhavanāṇi mandjānāni divyam abhāraṇām striyāḥ.

26. Bhāmān vā tuṣṭi-purkṣantam sivāpūjāvidheḥ phal
Ye vaṁchanti mahabhogān rājyam ca tridāśālaye
Te'rcauntu sada kālam lingamūrtim mahorāmīm.

27. Nativā bhītvā ca bhūtānā dagdhvā sarvam ādam ja

29. Yajed ekam virūpāksam na pāpaiḥ sa līpyate.

30. Tadaprābhṛti sakrādyah pūjāyamsārd śivāram;
Sakaat pāṣupatam kṛtvā bhasmoddhiḥlitavigrāhāḥ.

Ch. LXXIV. Different kinds of 'lingas'.

2. Indrānilamayam lingam visnunā pūjitasvarām sada;
Padmarāgamayam sakho haimam vīravasah sutasā.
3. विस्वेदेवं तथा रामयं वासवं कांतिकं सुह\nरकृतामयाम् वेयुर असविनु परथियम वदाः।

Sphatikam varuno rāja Adityastanāranirmitam;
Mauktikam saCharad dhimānetathā lingam anuttamam. 4

5. Anantādyā mahānāga prāvalakamayam subham;
Daityaḥ hyayomayam lingam rakṣāsasca mahātmanah

6. Trialohikam guhyakāśca sarvalohamayam ganah;
Gāṇumā haingātāḥ sākṣan mātarāsca dvijjottomah

7. Dārujam māriśritir bhaktyā yamo markatam subham
Milūdyāśca tathā rudrāḥ sūddham bhasamayamā su

8. Laksñīvṛkṣamayam lakṣṇa guho u vai gosāyatmak
Mūnayo muniśardūlāḥ kusāgrāmayam uttānam.

12. Bahuṇātra kimuktena carācaram idam jagat;
Śiva lingam sambhyarcah sthitam atra na samsaya

13. Sadvidham lingam ityāhur dravyanām ca prabbedā
dharaṇaṃ suṣottati sthitāḥ sthitāḥ.

14. Tāsan bhedāscaturyuktācatvāriṃasad iti smṛtaḥ.
Saflajam prathamāḥ proktam taddhi saksāscaturv
Dvitiyaṃ ratnañāḥ tacco saptadhā muniśattamah.

15. Tṛtiyāṃ dhātujaṃ lingam aşṭadhā paramesṭhinah;
Turiyam dārujaṃ lingam tattu sodasādhhocate.

16. Mānmayam paścātmaṃ lingam dvidhā bhinnam dvijot
dāśathā tu kaṣākham lingam saptadhā prākṛtitarā

Ch. LXXIV. The Umāmaheśvaravrata:

2. Paurnamasyāṃ amāvasyāṃ caturdaśayaṣṭamisu ca;
Maṅkam abānāḥ prakurṛtā haviṣyāṃ pūjayāḥ bhavam

3. Umāmaheśapratimām hema kṛtyā susobhanām;
Rājaṃ vāthā varṣante pratisthāpya yathāvidhi.

4. Brahmaṇāṃ bhogayāt vā daṇḍa sakṣyā ca dukṣānāṃ
dhāraṇāyair vāpi devesam nītvā rudrālayam prāti.

5. Sarvatisayasyamuktāścattracāsarasāmbhūssneḥ;
Nivedayaḥ vratam caiva śivāya paramesṭhināḥ.
Ch. XCIII. The legend of the slaying of Andhaka.

3. Hiranyäksasaya tanayo hiranyanayanopamaḥ;

4. Purändhaka iti khyāta tapasa labdhvikramaḥ.

6. Baddhitas tadita baddhah patita stencil te surah; Vivisur mandaram bhita narayanapurogamah.

8. Tataste samasta sreṇdirah sasādhyah suresco mahesāḥ puretyāhur evam; Drutān cālpa vīrya prabhinnāngabhinnā yayam dairyaśaya śastraṁ nīkrtraṁ.

9. Itidām akhilam erutva dairyaśagamananupamam; Ganeśvaraiśca bhagavān andhakābhūmakham yayaṁ.

11. Athāsegaśunrāmastasya koti kōtisaśaistataḥ; Bhāṣmi kṛtya mahādevo nirbīhedaṇdhakaṁ tathaṁ.

15. Dagdho'gninā ca sūlena protoḥ preta ivandhakaḥ Satvikam bhāvam aśthāya cintāyamāsa cetasā.


17. Tamad etan maya labāham anyatha nopapadāyo Yāh smaṁ manasa rudram prāṇante sakṛdeva va.

18. Sa yati sivasyāujyam kim punar bahuṣah śmaraṁ; Brahma ca bhagavān visnuḥ sarva devaṁ savasavaṁ

19. Saranam prāpya tiṣṭhanti tāmeva saranam vrajita Etaṁ saṁcitiya tuṣṭātmā so'ndhakaschāṇdhakardanaṁ


21. Hiranyametratanayāṁ vīra-grastham sukeśvarāḥ; Provacā dāhavam prakṣya ghrṇaya nilalohitaṁ.

22. Tuṣṭosmi vatsa bhadrani te kamam kim karavāni te Varāḥ varyaśa dairyaṁ varaṁ tvāndhakaṁ.

23. Srutva vākyam tādā sambhor hiranyanayanatmayaḥ Barsagadgadagaya vaca provacedām mahesvarām.

24. Bhagavān devadevāṁ bhaktaṁ tīrthaṁ saṁkaraṁ; Tvayi bhaktaṁ prāsidēsa yadi deya varasiṁ me.
Ch. XCV.
The fight between Śiva, as Sarabha, and Visnu, as Nṛsimha.

20. Tatās tair gataih saīga devo mṛsimhaḥ saharākṛtih saryapāt sarvabāhuh; Sahesrevkāṇaḥ somaśuryāgninetras tādā samst̄hi sarvam avṛtya maį.

21. Tam tuṣṭuvah surāśreṣṭhā loka lokaçaale sthitā Sabrahamakaḥ sarādhyasca sayamah samarudganāḥ.

22. Tato brahmādayas tānṇam samṣṭuta paramesvaram

32. Amaṇtranāya śaranam jagauḥ param karaṇam;

33. Mandarastham mahādevam kridamānam sahomayā.

34. Hiranyakaśiṇipum hataḥ karajair nisītah śvayam

33. Daityendraścī bāhubhīḥ sṛdham hitārtham jagat;

54. Sāṅkhīṇa śanānayanyonim bādhate nikhilam jagat, Yatkrtyam atra devesa tat kuruṣva bhavan iba.

60. Athoṭṭhāya mahādevah sarabham rupam asthitah.

61. Yayaup prante nṛsimhasya garvitasya mrga-śiñhaḥ;

62. Simhat tato naro bhūtvā jagāma ca yathā kramam

Ch. XCVI.

65. Tatāh saṁhāraṇupena suvyaktah paramesvaraḥ.

70. Harīa taddarśnādeva yināstabalavikramah;

71. Bibhradārmaṇyaḥ sahasraṁśo adhaḥ khadyotavibh

72. Atha bibhrāṇya paksābhyām nabhpaṛadebhyudārayan;

75. Bhindannurasi bāhubhyām nijārāha hrao harim;

76. Tustāva paramesānam haristham lalitākṣaraḥ;

77. Bhinnānāmaṣṭāsatenaivam stutvaṁrtamayena tu;

85. Yādaśadā māṣājānaṁ atyahamkārāduṣitaṁ;

96. Tadā tadāpanetavyah tvayaiva paramesvara.
Ch. XCIX.

The 'linga' and the 'vedi' representing the 'ardhanarīsvara' form of Siva.

6. Sa bhagakhyā jagaddhātrī lingamūrtestrivedikānā

7. Lingas tu bhagavān dvābhīyām jagatāstir dyijat

8. Lingavedī-samayogad ardhanarīsvarāc bhavat;

The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

13. Sraddhāhyasya purā pātī tataḥ puṁsah puṁsatani

14. Sati samāśa tada sa vai rudrām eyasrita patim;

15. Anādṛtya krtim jñātvā sati daksena tatksanat;

16. Babhūva parvati devi tapasa ca girch prabhoh;

Ch. C.

Same continued.

3. Bhadro nāma ganasteṇa preṣītaḥ paramoṣṭhīnā;

4. Sośrjad virabhadrāśca ganesān ramaṁcubhban

5. Gantumacakre matim yasya sārathir bhagavān aja

12. Uvacā bhadro bhagavān daksam samitatejasam;

13. Dagdhum sampreṣītaṣcāham bhavantaḥ samunīśvaram

14. Vyasambhayad adīnātma tathanyesam diṣṣukasāṃ;

17. Nihatāya mustīṁa dantān pūnascaiva nipatayat;

23. Jaghāna bhagavān rādrah khaḍgamustyadīṣyakāṁ;

24. Yuyodha bhagavānśtena rudreṇa saha mādhavah;
Ch. C. 1.

The legend of the burning of Kama.

16. Devatasca sahendrena tārakad bhayapiditāh;  
Sa sāntiś lebhire surah saranaṁ va bhayarditaḥ.

24. So'pi tasya mukhācchrutva pranayat prapatārti  
Devaśca sarve devasāṁ tustuvuh paramesvaran.

25. Jane vortim surendraṁ tathāpi  
Virindya daksam yā dēvi sati rudrāngasambhavā.

26. Uma haimavati jajñe sarvalokanamastkṛta;  
Tasyāścaiveha rupena yūyam devah surottamah.

27. Vibhor yatādhvam akraṣṭum rudrasyasya mano ma  
Tayor yogena sambhūtaṁ skandah saktidharaḥ pr

28. Sadasyo dvādasahujah senāṁī pávakīḥ prabhūḥ  

30. Lilayeva mahasenaḥ prabalam tarakāsuraṁ;  
Halo'pi vinihatyaike devān samtarayisyati.

35. Tam aha bhagayāncchakrah sambhāvyaḥ makaradhv  
Samkaraṁambikam adya saṁyojaya yathā sukham.
36. Evam ukto namaskṛtya devadevam sacipatim; Devadevāsraman gantum mātiścaṅkre tayā saha.

39. Gatyā tadāsraramam sambhoh saharatya mahābalah; Vasantena sahaśyena devam yoktumanābhaṇavat.

40. Tatāḥ samprēkṣaya madanaṁ ṣasan devas tryambakaṛaśaṃ Nayanena tṛtijena sāvajnam tam aveksata.

41. Tatoṣya netraṣo vahmir madanaṃ pārvatataḥ sthānav Adahat tat keśanā eva laḷapā karunam ratīḥ.

42. Ratyāḥ pralapam ākarnya devadevo vṛṣadhvajāḥ Krpaśā parayā prāha kāmapatnāṁ nirikṣya ca.

43. Amirto'pi dhruvam bhadre kāryam sarvam pātis Rati-kale dhruvam bhadre karīṣyati na samāya.

Ch. CII.

The 'svayamvara' of Pārvatī.

1. Tapasa ca mahadevyāḥ pārvatā vṛṣabhadhvajāḥ; Pṛtaśca bhagavāṇoṛcabaro vacanād brāhmaṇas tān

2. Hītāya ca asramaḥnaṁ ca kridarthaṁ bhagavān bha Tadāhāṁnavaṭāṁ devīṁ upayemeva yathāvidhi.

17. Svayamvaram tādā devyāḥ sarvalokesvaghosayat.

23. Atha sailasudā devī haimam āruhya sobhanam; vimānaṁ sarvato bhadrām sarvaratnair alaṅkṛta

27. Mālah grahyā jayā tusthau suradrumsamudbhahār Vijayaṁ vyajanam grahya sthitā devyāḥ sampataḥ

28. Mālah prargrahyā devyāṁ tu sthitāyām devasamaka Sidurdhūtvā mahādevāḥ kridarthaṁ vṛṣabhadvajāḥ

29. Utsamgatalasamēupto babhūva bhagavān bhavaḥ; Atha drṣṭvā śīśum devaṁ tasya utsamgavartinam


31. Sa bāhuruddamyaṁ tasya tathaiva samupasthitai stambhitah sidurupena devadevena lilayā.

41. Sa buddhāḥ devam iṣanam sīghram utthāya viṣm Vavande caranau sambhoh astuvacca pitaṁabhah.
61. Tasyadevi tada hrṣṭa samaksam tridivaukasaṃ.
62. Padayoh sthāpayamāsa mālām divyam sugandhinīṃ.

Ch. CIII. Describes the marriage ceremony of Śiva and Uma.

Ch. CIV. Creation of Ganesa by Śiva.
2. Etasmānnantare devah sendropendrah sametya te, Dharmavignaham tada kartum daityānām abhavan dvaṃ.
4. Avighnaṃ yajñadānādyaiḥ samabhyarcya mahēśvaraḥ Brahmānam ca harim vipra labdhīpetavarā yataḥ.
6. Putrārtham gaiva nārīnām naraṅgm karmasiddhaya vaghnesām samkaram srāstum ganaṇam stotum arhaḥ.
7. Ityuktvānyonyam anagham tustuvah śivam īśvarah.

Ch. CV. Same continued.
4. Suretarādibhiḥ sadā hyavighnamarthito bhavān.
6. Tatāt prasiddatād bhavān suvighnakarmakāraṇam; Surāpākāraṁ kāre itaiṣa eva no varaḥ.
7. Tatastāda nīsānaya vai pinakdhṛk suresvarah; ganesvarām suresvaram vapurdadhara sa śivah.
9. Ibhnānasritam varaṃ triśūlapaśadhārām; Sametālokasambhāvam gajānanaṃ tadāmbikā.

Ch. CVII. Legend of Upamanyu.
24. Etasmānnantarā devah pinākī paramēsvarah; Sakrārūpam samēthāya gantuṃ cakre matim tatha.
32. Tuṣṭo'ṃsti te varaṃ brūhi tapasanena svuṛataḥ; Dadāmi cepsītaṁ sarvān dhaumyāgraṇa mahāmatē.
33. Evam uktān tada tena sakreṇa munisattamaḥ; Varayami śive bhaktim ityuvāca kṛtānjaliḥ.
34. Ta-to nisamyā vacānam muneḥ kuptavat prabhuh
Prāha savyāgram iṣanah sakrarupadharah svayam

36. Madbhaktō bhava viparāge māmavācaya sarvadā;
Daḍāni sarvam bhadram te tyaja rudram ca nirg

37. Tatāh sakrasya vacanam śrutvā srotravidārayanam
Upamānyur idam prāha japām pāncāksaram śubham

38. Śrutvā nindām bhavasyātha tatksanādevasamtyaj
Śvadeham tam nihaṭyasya sivalokāṁ sa gacchati.

41. Svadābhaktā praya saṁdyāya sa aya sa ca
Dadhiant sarvam bhadrante yajāraudram oṁ ar

43. Astam ava vacanam śrāccayāḥ kṣiṇam pratī surādhama
Nihatya tvam sivāstrena tyajāmyetat ekaśvaramā

Pt. II,
Ch. IV, Superiority of the Saivas ocer the Vaiṣṇavas.

20. Anyabhaktasahasrebhyyo vīṣnuśbhakto visisyate;
Vīṣnuśbhaktasahasrebhyyo rudrabhakto visisyate;
Rudrabhaktat parato na loke na saṁśayāḥ.

21. Tasmāt tva vaśnavam cāpi rudrabhaktam athapi e
tājye sarvāyatnena dharmakamārthaṃuktaye.

Ch. LIII, Fruits of worshipping Siva.

34. Sarvāvasthām gato vāpi mukto'yaṃ sarvapatakaḥ
Siddhyānaṇāṁ samdeho yathā rudras tathā svayam

35. Hatvā bhītvā ca bhūtaḥ bhuktvācasanyayato'pi va
Sivam ekam sakṛt smṛtvā sarvapāpiḥ pramucyaye

The Markandeya Purāṇa.

Ch. LXXXII, The goddess created out of the wrath of Siva and othe gods.

8. Itthām nisamya devanām vacāmsi madhusudanah;
Cakarakopam sambhusca bhrūktikūṭilanānu.

9. Tatot' tikopapūrṇasya cakrīṇo vadanāt tataḥ;
Nīscakrama mahāt tejah brahmanah saṁkarasya ca.
10. Anyesām caiva devānām sakrādīnām sarīratah; nirgatām sumahattejās tascāikyam samagacchata.

11. Ekaśtham tad abhūnnari vyāptalokatrāyam tviṣā. etcete.

Ch. LXXXV, The white and black forms of the goddess.

40. Sarīrakośāt tasyaḥ parvatā yāḥ nihartāmbikā; Kauśikī samstēśu tato lokesu giyate.

41. Tasyām nirgratāyām tu kṣṇābhūt sāpi parvatī Kaliketi samkhyaṭā himācalakṛtārayā.

Ch. LXXXVIII, The 'saktis' of the different gods.

13. Yasyadevasya yadrūpam yathābhūṣanavāhanam; tattadeva hi tascaktīr asurān yoddham ayaṇau.

15. Ayatā brahmānāṁ saktiḥ brahmaṁi sabhidhiyate; Māheśvarī vrśārūdhā triśūlavaradhirinī.


17. Tathaiva vaishnavī saktiḥ garudopari samsthitāḥ etc. etc.

Ch. XC, The essential identity of these different 'sak with the great goddess, the great Sakti.

3. Ekaivaḥam jagatyatre dvitiya kāmamāpara; Paśyaitā dūṣṭa mayyeva vidantiyo madvibhūtayaḥ.

4. Tatath samastāṣṭa devyo brahmāṇipramukhaḥ nayam; Tasyā devyā devyā stanau jagmura evaivaśiṣa tadāmbikārūnāḥ.

Ch. XCI, Exaltation of the goddess.

2. Prasīda maṭar jagato'khilasya, tvam īsvari devī sarāgrasya;

3. ādharabhūta jagatas tvam eṣā.

4. Tvam vaishnavisaktir ananta-virya Viśvasya bijam paramāśi maya; Sammohitam devi samastam etat tvam vai prapannā bhuvī mukti hetuḥ.

37. vindhyācalavāsinī......

The Matsya Purana.

Ch. V, Skanda called the son of Agni.


Ch. VIII, Sivas the lord of 'pisācas' and other spirits.

5. Piśācaraksahpamubhūta-yakṣa-vetāla-rajam tvat eva sūlapānim.

Ch. XI, How Ila became a woman.

44. Jagāmopavanam sambhor asvākrstah pratāpavan; Kalpadrumalatakīrnam namā śaravānam mahat.

45. Ramate gatra deveśah sambhah somārthasekharah Umayaś samayastatra purā śaravane kṛtyah.

46. Punnama satvam yatkiñcet āgamiyati te vane; Strītvam ēṣyati tat sarvam daśayojanamadale.

47. Ajñātasaamayo raja ilah saravane pura; Strītvam āpa viśanneva vadavatvam hayastada.

Ch. XIII, The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

12. Dakṣasya yajne vitate prabhūtavaraḥdaksīne; Samāhūteṣu deveṣu pitaram sati.

etc. etc.

Dakṣa prays to Sati.

18. Tvamasya jagato mātā k jagat saubhāgya-devatā Duḥiṭtvam gataḥ devi namānugrahaḥkāmyaya.


Ch. XXIII, The legend of Soma and Tārā.
35. **Mahesvar-evâtha caturmukhenâ sâdhyaîr marudbhî
saha lokapâlaih;
Dadu yadû x tan na kathahid indus tâdâ sival
krodhaparo babhûva.

37. **Dhanur grhitvajagavam purârir jagâma bhutesvar
siddhaustah;
Yuddhâya somena vîsesa-dipta-trîya-netra-nalâ
bhima-Vaktrya.

eetc.etc.

**Ch.XLVII.**  
**Kavya's prayer to Siva.**

**128.** Namo'stu sitikanthâya kâniêthâya suvarcase;
Lelihânâya kâvyâya vateerâyândhasah.

**129.** Kaprdine karâlâyâ haryakane varadaya ca;
Samstutâya sutîrthâya devâdevâyâ ramhase.

**131.** Bravyâya muktakesâyâ senânya rohitâyâ ca.

**132.** Saharasirase caiva saharâkşayâ midhase;
Varâya bhavyarûpâya sâvetâyâ puruçâyâ ca.

**134.** Nîgângine ca tarâya svaksâya kâpanâya ca;
Tâmâtâya caiva bhîmâyâ ugrâyâ ca sivâya ca.

**135.** Mahâdevâya sarvâya visvarûpasivâya ca;

**137.** Kapâline ca vîrâya mûtyave tryambakâya ca.

**138.** Dundubhûyaîkapâdâya ajâyâ buddhidâya ca;
Arânyâya grhasthâya yâtsye brahmacârine.

**139.** Sâmkhyâya caiva yogâya........

................................ bhavyesâya yamâya ca.

**142.** Sikhandine karâlâyâ demstrine visvavedhase.

**143.** Krûrâya vikrtâyâiva bhîsanâya sivâya ca.

**149.** ............ ......... suâine cordhvaretase.

**157.** ............ visvâya krttivâsase;
163. tubhyam sāmkhyātmane namah.
166. Nityāyatmalingāya sukṣmāyaitarāya ca.

Ch. LVI. The Kṛṣṇaṭamī worship.
1. Kṛṣṇaṭamīṃ atho vakṣye sarvapāpapranāsīṁ;
   Sāṁtiḥūktire bhavati jayah pumsāṁ viṣesatāh.
2. Saṁkarai mārgasirasi sambhum paṣaṭbhipuṣyayet
   Nāghe mahēsvaram devaḥ mahādevam ca phālgune.
3. Sthānuni caître sīvam tādvad vaisakhe tyaracya
   Jyeṣṭhe paṃpatim oarcod asādhe ugram arcayet.
4. Pūjyayet, śrāvane sarvam nabhasye trīyakakām ta
   Hāramāevayuṣe māsi tathēśānam ca kārtike.

Ch. LIX. The legend of the creation of the 'linga'.
3. Tatāh kūlēna mahāta paṇah sargavidhau nṛpa.
4. Spardhayaa ca pravṛttayāṃ kamalāṣṇakṛṣṇayoh;
   Līṅgakāra samudbhūtā vahnerjvalātibhīmānā.

The worship of Śatī.
16. Taya sahādyā devēśam tṛtiyayām atharcayet;
   Phalair nāvādichair dhupair dipanāivedyasamyaṁ.
17. Pratīmāṃ pāncagavyena tathā gandhodakena ca;
   Snāpayitvārcayod gaurīm indudekhara saṁyutām.
25. Nāmo'ṛdhānārisaharam asitāṅgītī nāśikāṃ;
42. Umāmahesvaram haimam vṛṣabham ca gāva saha;
   Sthāpayitvātha sāyane bṛähmanāya nivedayet.

Ch. LXIV. Worship of Mahādeva and Bhāvani.
3. Mahādevena sāhitam upavīśāṁ mahāsane.
11. Visvākayayu visvamukham visvapāḍakaran śivaṁ;
   Prasannavedanau vande parvatiḥparamesvarau.
Ch. LXXII, The legend of the sacrifice of Baksa.

11. Puradakasvinasaya kupitasya tu sulinah; Atha tadbhimavaktrasya svedabindulalaṭṭayaḥ.

12. Bhītvā sa saptapatālaṁ yadahat saptasagarān; Anekavaktrānayano jvālajjvalanabhidanah.

13. Virabhadrā itiṁ khyātaḥ karapādayutairiyutah; Kṛtvāsauyajñānamathanam punarbhūtalaṁsabhavah; Tṛjagannirdahan bhūyāh sivena vinivāritaḥ; etc. etc.

Ch. XCV, The Sivacaturdasī.

3. Dharmo'yaṁ vṛṣarupona nandī nama ganādhipah; Dharman māhośvaran vākṣayatataḥ prabhṛti nārad

6. Margaśiśatrayoḍayāṁ sītāṁ ekabhojanah; Prārthayed devadevosāṁ tvāṁ aham saranāṁ gataḥ

8. Kṛtasnānajapah paścād umāya sahasāṁka-rām; Pūjayet kamalāṁḥ subhraiṁ gandhamālyānulepanai

9. Nādau namah sivayetī sirah sarvātmane namah; Tṛṅeṭrāyetī netrāṁ lalāṭaṁ haraye namah.

Ch. CXXXI, Continuation of the story of the destruction of the three cities.

13. Arcayanto diteḥ putrāṁ tripūrayatane haram.

14. Pūnyahasabdāṁ ucchuraṁ asirvadāṁsca vedāgān.

Ch. CXXXII, Prayer to Śiva.

21. Namo bhavāya sarvāya rudrāya varadāya ca; Pasūnām pataye nityam ugrāya ca kapardine.

23. Kumarasatrunighnāya kumarajanakāya ca;

25. Uragāya trineṭrāya hiraṇyavasureṇa;

26. Vṛgadhyāya munḍaya jaṭine brahmacārīṇe;

27. Viśvātmane vīśvaśrje viśvanārīya tīsthate.

Ch. CLIV, Viṣṇu called 'rudramūrtiḥ'.
7. Tvaṁ omkāro' syānkurāya praśuto 
Visvasyātmanāntabhodasya parvam;
Sambhūtasyaṁtaram satyamūrte Sakhāreochos te rūdramūrte.

Siva as the perfect yogi.

213. Anaya devasāngrya munidānayabhīmaya;
Duhsādhyāh śāmkaro deva kim na vetsy jagatprab

The legend of the birth of Gañesa.

501. Kadācid gandhataileṇa gātram abhyajya sailajāḥ

502. Cūrnair udvartayānasa malināntaritā tanum;
Tadudvartanakam grhyā naram cakre gajānanam.

503. Putrakam kṛīdati devī tam cāpyarpayad ambhaṣi;
Jahnavyāstu śivasakhyāś tataḥ ṭx so'bhūḍ bṛhad

504. Kāyenātivisāleha jagadāpurayat tada;
Putretyuvāca tam devī putretyuvāca ca jahnāvī.

505. Gaṅgeya iti devaistu pūjito'bhūḍ gajānanah;
Vināyakādhipatyaṃ ca dadavāṣya pitamahah.

The 'gaṇas' of Siva.

531. Yavantās te kṛṣṇa dirgha hrasyāh sthūla mahodar 
Vyāghrabhaivedanāh kecit kecimēṣa jārūpinah;
Anekapānirupāṣaṣvālāṣyāḥ kṛṣṇapīngaḷāḥ.

533. Kaṇeṣyacarmanvasanāh mgnāścānye virūpinah;
Gokarnā gajakarnāsa bahuvaktrekaṇodāraḥ.

535. Vṛkāhaṇāyudhadharāh nānākavacabhūṣitāḥ;
Vīcitravīhanarūḍāḥ divyarūpa viyacāraḥ.

538. Kotisāmklīya hīyasamkhyāyāh nānāvikhyāta-paurusā 
Jagadāpuritām sarvair ebhir bhimar mahābalaiḥ.

Ch. CLV,
Parvati's condemnation of Siva.

6. Naivasmi kutika sarva visamā naiva dhūr̄jate;
Savisayas tvam gatah khyātim vyaktadoṣakārasay

7. Naham puṣno'pi dasana netre cāsmi bhagasya hi;
Adityaścā' vijāṇāti bhagavān dvādāśātmakah.
8. Yāvatvam māmāha kṛṣṇeti māhākāla itiṣmṛtah.

22. Vyālebhya'nekajihvatvam bhasmanā snehabandhanam
kṛtkālasyam sasāṅkāṭtu durbodhitvam vṛṣād api.

23. Tathā bāhu kimuktena aham vācā sramena te;
Smasānavāsamirbhīṣṭvām nagnatvāhna tava trapa-

24. Nirghrnatavān kapālītyād dayā te vigataś ciram-

31. Eṣā strilampato devo yatāyām mayyamantaram;
Dvārarakṣā tvāyā kārya nityam randhranvāeśīna

Ch. CLVII. Brahma's boon to Pārvatī.

12. Evasa bhava tvam bhūyasca bhātrapdehārthadharīni

Ch. CLVIII. Prayer to the goddess.

11. Naṭāsurasurāsurasamānilamanparaṣayākantikarāalan
-ānikte;
Nagasute saraṇagatavatalse tavanato' smi natart
vinaśinī.

12. Viṣabhujāṅgiṣaṅgiyāṅhyāṅgitε,
'girisute bhavatim aham āsraye;

14. Sitasaṭapataloddhatakandhara-
-bharamahāṁgarājarathasthitā.

16. Nigadita bhuvanaír iti candikā
janani sambhānisambhānisūdānī.

The story of the birth of Skanda follows after

Ch. CLXXIX. The legend of the nāk slaying of Andhaka.

2. Āsid daityo'ndhako nāma bhinnānjana-cayopamah;
Tapasa mahaā yukto hyavadhyasa tridivaukasām

3. Sa kadācin mahādevam pārvatīyā sahitam prabhum;

4. Kriṣdamānām tada drātvā hārutum devim pracakrame
Tasya yuddham tathā ghoram abhavat saha suṁbhu

9. Paharthat andhakāvaraśaya so'srjat mātaras tada;
Māheśvari tathā bhāmāi kaumāri malini tathā.
34. Tatāh sa sahkhara devas tvandhakaik vyākulikta
Jaṅgaṇasaranat devam vāsudevam ajanī vibhūm.

Viśṇu created the goddess 'Suśkravatī who draw
up all the blood that fell from Andhaka. Then
the demon was killed.

Ch. CLXX, A description of the 'yakṣas'.

9. Guhyakā yata yuyam vai svabhavaḥ krūracetasah;
Kṛvādāścaiva kim bhakṣā himsāsilasca putrakā.

Glorification of Varānasi.

59. Dhyatastatra mām nityam yogagnir dīpyate bhṛṣā
Kaivalyam paramam yati devānām api duñlabham.

Ch. CLXXXIII, Siva is to be known through 'bhakti'.

51. Sādyayā sevate bhikṣām tato bhavati rāṇijitah;
Rājanāt tanmayo bhūtvā liyate sa tu bhaktimān

52. Sāstrānāṁ tu varārohe paḥukāraṇadarsināṁ;
Na māṁ pasyanti te devi jñānavākyavividināṁ.

The legend of the cutting away of Brahmā's fi-
head by Siva.

85. Āsit pūrvam varārohe brahmaṇastu sirovaram;
Paṅcamaṁ śrṇu suḍroni jātam kā[action]nasaprabham.
Jvalatī tat paṅcamaṁ sīrām jātam tasya mahāṁ
Tadevam abravīd devī janmā janāmi te hyaḥam.

86. Tatāh krodhāparītena raktanayanena ca;
Vamāṅguṭhanakhaṅgṛṇa chinnam tasya siro maya;
Upon this Brahmā cursed Siva.

87. Yadā niraparadhasya sīrācchinnam tvayā mama;
Tasmāt sāpasamayuktah kapali tvam bhaviṣyati.

89. Brahmahatyākulo bhūtvā cara tirthāṁ bhutale.

Ch. CLXXXVIII, The legend of the destruction of the three
cities.

61. Utthitaḥ sīrāsā kṛtvā liṅgam tribhuvanesvaram;
Nirgataḥ sa puradvārāt parityajya suhṛtstutān.
62. Gṛhitvā sīrasā lingam gacchan gaganamandalam;

63. Stuvāṁśa devadevasamā trilokāhīpitam sīvam;
Tyaktā purī mayā deva yadi vadhya'smī sāmkara;
Tvät-prasadān mahādeva mā me līṅgām vinasyatu.
Siva's reply.

74. Na bheṣṭavyām tvaya vatsa savarne tiṣṭha dānava
Pūtra-poutre-suhṛt-bandhu-bhāryā-bhṛtyājanaiḥ

75. Adyaprabhṛti bāṇa tvam avadhyas tridasaṁ api;
Bhūyas tasya varo datto devadevena pāndava.

77. Trātyam rakṣitam tasya samkareṇa mahātmanā;
Bhramattu gāgane divyaṁ rudratējah-prabhāvavatāh

79. Ekaṁ nipatitam tātra srisāle tripurāntake;
Dvitiyām patitam tasmin pārvate 'marakaṇṭake.'

Ch. XCI, The exaltation of Kapilatirtha.

10. Ghṛtena sāyaṁ śṛiṇālingam pūjayed bhaktīdā dvija
Saivaṁ padam āpnotī yatra cābhimataṁ bhavet.

11. Akṣayaṁ madate kālam yathā rudrastathaiva saḥ.

The Bhṛgutirtha.

58. Evaṁ tu vadato devīṁ bhṛgutīrtham anuttaman;
Na jānanti narā mudhā viṣṇumāyāvīmohitāh.

Ch. CCL, Prayer to Siva.

30. Brāhmane caiva rudraya namaste viṣṇurūpine;

Ch. CCLX-CCLXI, Directions for the construction of the various kinds of the images of Siva, the Maṭra and Gañesā.
The Nilamata Purana.

The worship of Siva on the Krsnacaturasiai.

508. Chrtakambalahinam tu lingam samanapayed budhah
511. Srotavyaya sivadharmaśca pradurbhavāścā tatkrta
512. Paśtāścā pasavaṁ kāryā naivedye samkarasya ca
558. Tam rāttrim iksanam kāryam balakānām grhe grhe
559. Pumścalisahitair neyā kṛdamānaṁ nisā tu sa;
Brahmacaryena gitena nṛtyair vadyair manoharai

Indra 's question to Brahma.

1087. Sarvam etat tvam evaikah tvattah kimaparam vi
Yam nato'si mahābhāga etan me śamsayo wahān.

Brahma's reply.

1243. ( appendix.).

Ma ma sakra vādir evam avijñato'si putraka;
1244 Eṣa sarvesvarah sakra esa karaṇakāraṇam;
Eṣa cacintyamahima esa brahma sanātaṇam.
1245 Sa esa sarvakartā ca sarvajñāscā mahesvarah;
Yadīcchayā jagadīti varvarti sacerācaram.

The Saura Purana.

Ch.II, Exaltation of Siva.

2. Visvam tenākhitam vyāptam nanyenstyabravicchrat
4. Eko'pi bahudhā bhati līlayāmx kevalah sivah;
Brahmaviṇyādirupena devadevo mahesvarah.
6. Ātmabhūtan mahādevālīvigraharupānāh;
Adisarghe samudbhūtau brahmaviṇu surottamānāu.
8. Mumukṣubhiḥ sadā dhyeyah siva eko nīraṇjanaḥ;
12. Tasminjñāte'khilan ātanam ityāhur vedavādinaḥ
14. Na dānair na tapobhīr vā naśvamedhaṁ dibhir maṁ Bhaktyaivāṁ hyāyaṁ rājan jñayate bhagavānācchivaṁ
dhāraṇāāśaṁ.

16. Tasya jñānamayaṁ saktir aṣṭaṁ ṣaṁhitaṁ ādīvāyaṁ girijaṁ sīva; Tasya āhamahādevah ajñātyavatā hanti ca.

17. Āčaksate tayor bhedaṁ ajñā na paramārthinah; Abhodah sīvayoḥ siddho vahnidāhakayor īva.

18. Mayā sa paramā saktir aksaraṁ girijāvayaṁ; Mayi vijayāmako rudrāṁ tājñhātva hyamṛti bhava

19. Svātmanvavasthitam devaṁ visvavāpyinam isvaram Bhaktya paramayaṁ rājan jñātvā pāñair vimucyate

28. Asṛjad yogināṁ dhyaye nirguṇas tu svayam sīvah

31. Yaṁ prāpasyanti visvāmso yogināṁ Kapitāsamayāṁ; Niyamya kāraṇaṁgrāmam sa evaṁ māhēsvaṁraṁ.

42. Bālāgramaṁtram hṛtpadme sthitam devaṁ umāpatīṁ; Yeṁnipasyanti visvāsāṁ teśaṁ sāntir hi saśvata

Ch. III, Further exaltation of Sīva.

8. Tatraksayaṁ paramo dharmah sīvadharmah saṁdhī
dham

11. Kurvannapi sada paṇama sākṛdevāreśayedchivaṁ; Lipyate na sa paṇena yaṁti māhēsvaṁraṁ padam

Ch. VII, The legend of the sacrifice of Daksā.

10. Vairam nidhāya manasi sambhūnaṁ saha suvrataṁ; Daksāṁ prācetaso yajñam akarṣajahnāvate.

12. Devan sarvāṁśa dhāgārtham ahutēna padmaśambhava

13. Dratvā sivena rahitān daksam pratiyevam abhavī; Aho daksen mahāmūdha durbuddhaṁ kim kṛtāṁ tvayaṁ; Devah saṁve samāhutēna sahkareṇaṁ vinā kathām

17. Yasya padarajahsparśād bhahmatvāṁ prāptavat aham Sardgīnāpi saṁ mūrdhnaṁ dhārtyate kah sīvātparaṁ

18. Yasyavamāñgajō visnuṁ daksināṅgad bhūbhīyaḥ Yasya jñāyāḥkhiham visvān bhramati sarvadā.

20. Sa ca saktih parā gaurī svecchāvigrāhacarini

21. Kastam jñāti visvesīṁ isvarārdhasarārāṇīṁ; Aham nādyāpi jñāmī cakri śakrāya kā kathā.
30. Eka eveti yo rudraḥ sarvavedesu giyate;
Tasyaprasadaalesena muktir bhavati kīnkari.

Dakṣa's reply.

34. Maham narayanād devat pasyamyanyam dvijottama;
Kārānām sarvavastūnāṁ nāstītyeva suniscitam.

Dakṣa went to Varanasi, and there

57. Pratiṣṭhāpya mahālingam gaṅgātire mañorame;
Ārādhya parayā bhaktyā tasmāllinge layam gatah

Ch. XI,

Emphasis on 'bhakti'.

5. Madbhaktāḥ sarvādā skanda matpriyo na gunadhik
Sarvādī sarvabhaksāḥ vā sarvācaravilopakah.

6. Matparo vanmanahkāryair muktā eva na sāmsayah;
Naham prasannas tapasa na danena nacejyaya.

7. Tusto'ham bhaktilesena keipram yacche param pa


22. Bhaktigamyastvaham vatsa mama yogo hi durlabhā

30. Aham atma vibhuh śuddhah sphaṭikopalasannibhah
Upādhirahitaḥ sāntah svayam jyotihprakasaḥāḥ.

Ch. XII,

The Mahēsvāra yoga.

1. Mayyekacittattā yoga iti purvan nirupitam;
Sādhanaṁyastadāḥ tasya pravakṣeyamadyadhunā śrūn.

These 'śādhanaś' are: 'Yama', 'Miyama', 'Asana' 'Pranayama', 'Pratyahara', 'Dharana', 'Samādhi', and 'Dhyāna'. Each of these is described in detail.

Ch. XVI,

The Anangaṭrayodasi 'vrats'.

3. Pura devena rudreṇa dagdhāḥ kamo durasaḥāḥ;
Uposita tithis tena tehanangaṭrayodasāī.

The details of the worship are then described.
Ch. XXIII, The oneness of the Trinity.

53. Tridha bhinnasayam brahman brahma-visnu-ha-khya
   Sarga-raksä-laya-gunair nirguna'ham na samsay

Ch. XXIV, The 'bhaktas' alone can see the highest transcendental form of Siva.

43. Tadiyam trividham rupam sthulam suksamam
   Asmadadyaih surair drayam sthulam suksma
   yogibhi

44. Tatah param tu yannityam jnanam anandam avay
   Tannisthais tatparair bhaktair drayate vratam asthita

Identity of Siva and Vishnu.

68. Navabhyam vidyate bbedo macchaktis tvam na sa

Ch. XXIX, Siva as the Supreme God.

31. Tvaem ekam ahuh purusam puranam adityavarqam t
   parasta
32. Tvaemmatatatyam paramarthatasadbam bhavantam ahuh
   sivam eva kec

35. Vedantaguhyopanisatsu gitah
   sadasaivas tvam paramesvaram si.

Ch. XXXIV, The demons as the devotees of Siva.

26. Hantavyaaste katham daitya mahadevaparayanah;
27. Trailokyam api to hatvah mahadevaparayanah;
28. Kas tam nihanta trailokye vina sambhor anugra

Ch. XXXV, Siva worships Ganesa for the removal of obstacle.

19. Svakharyavighnakartaram devam drayva vinayakam
   Sampuja bhaktyabhojyaisca phalaisca vividhaisca
   subha

20. Underair modakaisciva puşpair dipair manahara
   Evam sampuja bhagavan puram dagdhum jagama ha
Ch. XXXVI.
The legend of Upamanyu.

23. Bhakti śūlyāhaṁ yace śivād eva nacānyatā; Alam anyair varaiḥ sakra taraṁgair iva cañcalā

The pretended Indra replies.

29. Tena pārvatīṇe-na nirgunaṇena mahātmanā; Kriyate munusārdula tasmānmatto varam ṛṣṇu.

Upamanyu's reply.

33. Sivanindākāram dṛṣṭva ghatayitvā prayatnataḥ; Hatvātmanam puṇāryastu sa yati paramām gatim

Ch. XXXVIII.
Exaltation of Śiva.

1. Caturvāpi vedaṇa puṇāṇaṇa ca sarvāṇaḥ; Srīmahādevat paro deva na samāno'sti kascana.

6. Kecilokā mahesānām tyaktyā kesava-kinkarah; Tatra kim kāram suta vada samsayanāsaka.

7. Antakāle smarantyeva prayena garudaṛdhvajam; Vidyamāne śive visnoḥ prabhau sripurvaṁpatatav.

8. Yada yada prasanno'bhūḥ bhaktibhavena dhurjati Viśnumārdhito bhāktya tadāsau dattavan varān.

10. Hetuna tena vipreṇḍrāḥ sivam jānanti kecana; Prayena visnumāṇi gṛhanti varadānātah.

11. Viśnoḥ asarana-mātraṇa sarvapapakṣayo bhavet; Sambhuprāsaḍ evaśa natrākṣaryā vicarana.


The heretics.

54. Na carvako x na vai buddho na jaino jayano'pi Kapalikaḥ kauliko va tasmin rājye viset kvacit.

63. Śiva-dvēṣa mahapāppaprerakah sivanindakah.

64. Dāmbhenā yadi tadrājye gīvaninda kṛtā bhavet; Tāda tatpurvajah sarve'ṇaṛkaṁ yanti daruṇam.
The supremacy of Siva.

66. Kaśćandalāḥ sivam brūyat sadharanyena visnuna. Yasya prasādad vaikunthah praptavan idraṃ pad

70. f. The story of king Pratardana.

84. Rajan vadarthavijnane bahavo mohita janah; Sivapujaratah saṅto nanadaivatapujakah.

85. Eko visnur na dvitiyāo dhyeyah kiṃtvitaraih su Krūram'ca krūrakarṇaṇam somkāraṁ manyate katha

The king replies,

90. Anadinā pramanena vedena procyate sivah; Visnor apyadhikō vipra saṃpuṣyey na kathām bhava

91. Siva'asi puranāsu procyate samkaro mahan. Sarvasu smṛtiṣu brahman sivacāresu sarvatah.

92. Nanagamesu punyesu procyate hyaja isvarah.

The 'kinnara' says

93. Naikagramanāsnaste tu ye'roantiha dhurjatim; Smasanavasi digvasa brahmamastakadhur bhavaḥ.

94. Sarpahārah kathām sevyo viṣadhāri jaṭāṭharah; Tasmādvisnūḥ sāda sevyah sundarāh kamalāpatīḥ.

Ch. XXXIX. Visnu exalts Siva.

14. Matavamino'vaganana na hi sakyate me. Krtvāpi pujyātanasmūrtim īdham girīsam; No manyate tadiḥa vajrasamam mamaiva.

15. Asti sarvam varārdhe mayi tattathyam eva hi; Srīmāhesvarallabāham madiyam hi na kincāna.

18. Vedavedāngavetrānām sahasrānyagrajanmanam; Nanamamocye jivo na tu sri sivahelanat.

22. Svāmī madiyāh srikṣatthas tasya dāsos'mi sarvad
The identity of Siva and Visnu.

1. Sūta bhadra samācakṣaṇa sevako yasya madhavaḥ; 
   Śrī mahesasya viṣṇuṣaṣa tulyatvam bruvate kathā
2. Bruvanti tulyatam kecid vaiparityaḥ kecena; 
   Ekatvam kecid isena kesavasya vādanti hi.
3. Atra siddhanto māryaṁ bruhi tatvena sūtaja

Few followers of Saivism.

10. Ghoṛa kaliyuṛe pṛapte sri samkaraparamukhaḥ; 
    Bhavisyantii narāś tathyaṁ iti dvāipayano 'bravi

Exaltation of Siva.

16. Nyūnatāṁ tasya yo brute karmacandalla ucyate;
17. Tena tulyo yaṁ viṣṇur brahma va yadi gadyate; 
    Sasthivarsanasahasrāṇi viśthāyaṁ jāyaṁ kṛmih.

Visnu worships the 'linga' of Siva.

9. Lingam tatra pratisthāpya snayagandhadakahāṁ
10. Tvaritakhyena rudrena saṃpuṣya ca mahesvaram; 
    Tato namā sahasrena tustāva paramesvaram.

Some of the epithets of Siva in Visnu's prayer.

15. Vedāntasārasanandobahah
16. Āstamūrtih, visvarūrtih
20. Nāgaoldah . . . īrvasah
23. Mahāvyādahah . . . .
30. Bhiṣak . . . . . . . . .
38. Puncavindatitattvanyah
40. Keśapanah . . . .
43. Unamttavesah
46. Pāram brahma
53. Nāsacarah . . . . . . .
55. Nartakah . . . . . . .
94. Camundī . . . . . . . .
106. Nagnah . . . . . . nagnayratadharah
107. Lingadhyaksaḥ

110. Visnu-kandharapatanah

Ch. XLII, Exaltation of the 'linga'.

41. Adimadhyaṁta rahitam thesanṁ bhavarogināṁ;

42. Sivalingam iti khyataṁ sivalinge vyavasthitam. Pranavenaiva mantrena pujayelligamurdhani.

Ch. XLIII, The Umamahesvara 'vratā'.

As given in the Linga Purāṇa (ch. 84) and elsewhere.

Ch. XLIX, Description of the goddess.

5. Hānarūpadhara saivam avatìryaiva pārvati;
   Dharamamsthāpanārthāya nighnati dāityadānanārāṁ

6. Paramatmā yadā rudra eko'pi bahudhā sthitah;
   Prayojanaśād devi saikāpi bahudhā bhavet.

63. Babhuyādbhutarūpā sa triṇetrā candraśekharaṁ.

64. Sinhārūdhā mahādevī nanā sastrastradhārīṇī;
   Suvaktrā vimśatibhujā sphūrja vīḍyullatopamā.

Ch. L, Worship of the śī goddess on Ulkānnavāṁ.

29. Puspāir dhūpaivaḥ naivedyaṁ payodadhīpahādāṁ

30. Bhaktyā sampujayitvaivaṁ stutvā samprārthayet

36. Anena vidhīnā varsaṁ maśi maśi samācaret.

37. Tatāh samvatsarasyānte bhujayitvā kumārikāḥ;
   Vastraḥbharaṇaṁ pūjyāḥ pranipatya visarjayet;
   Sarukmaṁgam gāṁ dādayat suvipsrāya suśobhanām

71. Gobrahmanārcaṇaparāscaraṭaṁ svadharme
   Ye madyamanājavimukhāṁ suṣayaścāśaśaivāḥ;
   Satyapriyāḥ sakalabhūtaḥ bhīte ratasca
   Tesam ca tuseyati sada suṃate mrdāni.
Ch. LI I I , Describe 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 sukham paramam pavitram.

Ch. LV, One ness of Siva and Parvati.

6. Bheda'asti tatvato rājan na me devān mahēṣvara
Siddhamevaśāvayoraikyam vedāntārthavīkaratāpāt.

Ch. LX-LXIII, Describe the marriage of Siva and Parvati the interruption of their amorous sport by th gods, and the birth of Skanda.

Ch. LXIV, Merits of worshipping Siva.

30. Nāti lingārcanāt punyam adhikam bhuvanatraye.

31. Linge'roite'khilam visyamarcitam syanna samsā
Māyayā mohitātmāna na janaṁ mahēśvaram.

34. Prthivyām yāni tirthāṁ punyavyayatanāṁ ca;

35. Sivalinge vastatyeva tani sarvāṁ narada.

44. SivabhaTtān varjyitvā sarvāṁ sāsako yamaḥ.

Ch. LXVI, The origin of the 'linga'.

19. Ekānya'vā purā ṣhnā tērthāvarajangame;
Namavishnoḥ prabodhārthām āvirbhātām bhatam divatmakam.

20. Tada prabhṛtyaham viṣṇur bhaktyā paramaṁ muḍā
Lingamurtidharam sāntāṁ pujāyavo vrndahvajam.
Ch. LXIX.
The legend of the seduction of the women of the sages.

34. Anyad daruvanam punyam samkarasyatitvallabhah; Girijāpatinā yatramohitā munipatnayah.

35. Ministriyāh sīvam dratvā madanānalaḍipitah;

51. Tyaktalajjā vivastrasca yeyustā anusaḥkarām.

52. Strīrupadhārinam viṣṇum sarve mukumārakāh; Anvagacchanta devarṣe kūnabānaprapīditāh.

53. Tadadhvatām tada jñātāś kūpita munayaś tadā Linghahināi haram kṛtvā gopavesādham hārim; Tadāprabhūrti viprendra sīvāmekhalasamanjita

54. Ubbhayoscaiva samyogah sarvapatarah sivah.

The Varaha Purana.

Ch. IX.
Identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

7. Yeyam mūrtiḥ bhagavataḥ samkarah āsa svayam har

Ch. X.
Supremacy of Viṣṇu.

15. Sa ca nāṣayāno dovah kṛte yugavare prabhuḥ;

16. Tretāyam rudrarupastu āvapare yajñāmurtimān.
Ch. XXI, The legend of the destruction of the sacrifice Dakṣa.

4. Tasya brahma subham kanyam bharyayai murtisam Gaurinammi svayam devim bharatin tam dadau p

8. Tasmin nimagine devese tam brahma kanyakam pun Antah sariragam krtva gayrim paramasobhanam.

9. Punah sirksur bhagavan asrijat sapta manasan; Dakaśaṃsa tesām arabhya prajāḥ samyagvivardhit.

When Rudra approached the sacrifice,

36. Rtvijāṃ mantraṇicayo nasto rudragame tadā.

37. Viparītam idam dṛṣṭvā tadā sarvatra rtvijāḥ; Ucchā sansahyatam dēvāḥ mahad vo bhayam āgatah.

38. Kascid āyati balavān asuro brahmanirmitah; Yajñabhāgārtham etasmin kratau paramadurlabham

48. Dṛḍṛvuh sarvato dīkau rudraśtvekadāsa drutam.

Brahma pacified Siva, and made him equal to Vi

62. Ubbhau hariharau devān loke khyātim gamisyathāh

65. Brahma lokān uvacēdāṃ rudrabhāgō' sya diya tām; Rudrabhāgō jyeṣṭabhāga itiyam vaidiki śrutih.

Ch. XXII, Sequel to the above story.

1. Tasminiṇinasatastasya rudrasya parameṣṭhinah; Cukopa gaurya devasya piturvairam anusmāran.

2. Cintayāmāsa devasya amenapahrtam puram; Yajno vidhyāmeite yasmat tasmād deham tyajamyā

Ch. XXIII, Creation of Ganesa by Siva.

7. Devadeva mahādeva sulapanē trilocana; Vighnārtham avisistātāṃ utpasayitum arhāsi.

13. Murtimaṇi aṣṭejasvi hasataḥ parameṣṭhinah;

14. Praḍipāsyo mahādipah kumarō bhāsayan disah; Paramesthigunair yuktah saksād rudra ivaparah.
16. Tam drṣṭvā pariṇāma rūpam kuparasya mahatmanah; 
Umanirnānetraḥbhīyām tamapasyata bhamini.

17. Tam drṣṭvā kūpito devah striyavaham caṇcalam 
Matya kumārarūpam tu nothanam mohanam dhrumān.

18. Tatāh saśāpa tam devam gaṇesaṃ pariṇeṣvah; 
Kumāra gaṇaṇaṃ pralambajatharas tathā; 
Bhaviyasi tathā sarpaip upavitaṅgitir dhrumān.

19. Vinayakop viṅghakaro gajasya 
Gaṇeśa nāma ca bhavasya putraḥ; 
Āte ca sarve tvapayantu bhṛtya 
Vinayakah kṛṇadṛṣṭau pracandah.

Ch. XXV, 
Gives the legend of the birth of Skanda.

Identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

4. Puruṣo visnur ityuktah ēśo va namataḥ murtah;

5. Avyaktam tu ūma devi ēśir vā padmanibhekoṇa; 

Exaltation of Śiva by the gods.

18. Trisūlapāṇa puruṣottamcyuta;

19. Tvem ādidevah puruṣottamo hariḥ 
 Bhavo mahaśes tiruprāntako vibhuh;

24. Kapālaṃalin samkhando-sekhara 
Mahasannayasi sitabhasmagunṭhitah.

Creation of Skanda.

32. Evamūktva haṅc devaṃ visājya svāngasthitam; 
Saktim saṃkṣobhayāmāna putrakhetoḥ parantapah

33. Tasya keśobhayātaḥ saktim jvalanarkasaṃprabhah 
Kumāraḥ mahajān saktim bhṛrjayāmāṃ sagālāṃ

34. Utpattis tasya rājendra bahurudā vyavasthitah 
Mūnvantaraṇyavonkṣe deva senapatiḥ kīla.

Ch. XXVIII, 
Birth of Katyayani.

23. Evam cintayatas tasya prādurasid ayonija; 
Suklambaradhara kānya srakkiritojjvalanamā.
24. Astabhir bāhubhir yukta divyaprakahṛodyata; 
Cakraḥ khadgaḥ gada pānam sarikham ghantām tatā 
 dhanul

25. Dharayanti tathāyan buddhatānu jalad baṇī; 
Niścakraṁa mahāyogisimHAVĀnAvēgtā.

Siva praised her.

30. Vedamātār namastubhyam aksaraste the mahesvari.

Ch., LIXI, One ness of the Trinity.

2. Tāvat tasyaiva rudrasya dehasthām kamalasanan;
3. Nabhayanam ca hṛdaye trasareṇu sūṣkamakam 
 Jvalad bhaskaravarnābham pāyāmi bhavadehatah.

Ch. XC, Siva created out of Vighu.

3. Tasmād rudro'bhavad devi sā ca sarvajnatam gat

The goddess as the sakti of the gods.

19. Nilotpaladalasya-mā nīcakuṇītameurdhaja; 
Sunasa sulalātuṇta suvaktra supratisthita

22. Kīm māṁ na vētha suṣrōniṁ svasaktim parameva

Ch., XCVI, The goddess as Camunda.

49. Camundē jvalamanāsya tikṣanadanaṁre mahābale; 
Śatāyanasthitite devi pretānāna gatē sive.

50. Karāle vikarāle mahākale ca karālnī; 
Kāli karāli vikrāntā kālaratry namostu te.

Ch. XCVII, The legend of Siva's cutting off Brahma's fifth head.

Brahma's fifth head spoke to Rudra,

4. Mantram ātharvaṇam rudrō yena sadyaḥ pramucyat

5. Kapālin rudra babhro'tha bhaya kairata suvrat

Then
Kapālaśabdāt kupitastacchīro vicakarta ha.

7. Tannikrtam diro dhātri hastalagnum babhuvā hā.

After Siva's pilgrimage

12. Tasmin bhinne prthak kesaṁ grhitvā bhagavan bhi.

13. Yajnopavitam kaiśam tu mahāṣyaṣdamāniṣmatathā;
Kapalaśakalāṁcaikam asrk pūrnam kare sthitam.

Evam krtvā mahādevo babhrāmmām vasundharam.

20. Pajdhanaṁ tu kaupinan nagnah kāpaliko'bhavat

The Vayu Purana.

Ch. V, Exaltation of Siva.

41. Devesu ca mahān devo mahādevas taṁah smrtah;
Sarvetvacca lokanam avasyatvat tathesvarah.

43. Brhatavacca smṛto Brahma bhutatvad bhuta ucyat
Yasmāt paryanuṣete ca tasmāt purusa ucyato.

Ch. IX, The birth of the goddess.

82. Tatra ya sa mahabhoga saṃkarasyārdhakayinī;

83. Prag ukta na maya tubhyam stri svaynabhoh mukhān
Kāyārdham daksinam tasyah suklam vamam tathāsa

84. Atmanam vibhajasyeti sokta devi svayambhava;
Sā tu prkta dvīdha bhuta suklā kṛṣṇa ca vai gā

Ch. X, The 'bhutas' of Siva.

46. Vivāsaṇ harkesaṁ ca drṣṭīghnāṁca kapalinah;

48. Sthulasirsāṁ astadāmstranud dvijīhvastriloca

49. Medhrpamscatikāyamca sitikanthogramanyavah.
Ch. XXIII. The incarnation of Siva as Nakulī.

217. 

218. 

219. 

221. 

223. 

Ch. XXIV. The legend of the origin of the 'linga'.

35. 

36. 

54. 

55. 

56. 

57. 

62. 

64. 

66. 

67. 

Visnu explains,

60. 

69. 

70. 

Asmaṁmahattaram guhyam bhūtamanyannavidyate; Mahataḥ paramam dhāma sivam adhyatmināṁ padam.
71. Dvaidhībhāyena catmanam prāvīṣastu vyavasāthi Niśkalah saktam avyaktaḥ sakalasca mahēsvras

Prayer of Viṣṇu and Brahmā to Śiva.

92. Amedhrāyardhvarmedhāyā nama vaikuntha retase;

94. Namaste hyasmadādināṁ bhūtanāṁ prabhavāya ca.

95. Namo yogasya prabhava samkhyasya prabhava nam

107. Daityadānavasanghanāṁ rākṣasāṁ pataye namah.

168. Gandhārvāṇāṁ ca pataye yaksāṇāṁ pataye namah.

111. Namostu lākṣmiṇipataye īrīmate hrīmate namah.

129. Namah kapalabastāya dīgvastrāya kapardine;

132. Sumedhaseṃśamālaya dīgvāṣāya sikhādine.

134. Rāksoghnāya makhagnāya sītikanthordhvaretase

135. Ārīhāya kṛtāntāya tigmātudhadharāya ca.

140. Smāsānaratatīntyāya namastrymbakadharāṇīṁ;

141. Nāranārīśārīrāya devyāḥ priyakārāya ca

142. Namostu nrtyasīlaya vādyanrtyapriyaya ca.

147. Gaḷate kṛṣṭate caiva lambodarasārīrinīṁ.

156. Japo japyo mahāyogī mahādevo mahēsvraṁ;

162. Brahmanyo brahmaśāry ca goghastvamāḥ-stapujita

163. Samkhyāḥ prakṛtiḥbhayaḥ paramam tvāṁ viditvā-

164. Yogena tvāṁ dhyāyino nityaṅyukta

Ch. XXV, Identity of the Rudras with Śiva.

16. Ātmaikādasa ye rudra vihitah prāṅkhetavah.
17. So'hameka'dasätma vai sulahastah sahanugah;

Identity of Siva and Visnu.

21. Prakāsaṃ caprakāsaṃ ca jangamam sthāyaram ca

Visvarūpam idam servam rudranārāyanatmakam.

23. Ātmanam prakṛtim viddhi mama viddhi puruṣam siva

Bhavan ardhasariram me tvaham tava tathaiva ca

Creation of the 'bhūtas' of Siva.

64. Sakrodhaviṣṭapetrābhyaṃ apatannaśrubindavaḥ;

Tatastebhyo śrubindubhyo vātapittakapāthmakah.

65. Mahābhogah mahāsatvāḥ svastikairabhyaśalamkṛtaḥ

Prakīrṇakedāḥ sarpastē prādur bhūta mahāvisāh;

Ch. XXX, The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

39. Dakṣayasana suta hyastau kanya yah kirtita maya

41. Tāsam jyeṣṭha satī nāma patnī ya tryambakasya

Nājūhāvatmājaṃ tāṃ vai dakṣo rudram abhidviseṣan

43. Tato jñatvā satī sarvāh evaṃ praṃtāḥ piturgrḥ

Jagama sāpyanahūta satī tat evam piturgrham.

44. Tato'bravīt sa pitaram devō krodhād amarsita;

Yayiṣṣiḥbhya jyāyāśā kim tu pūjām imāmi prabho

Asamatāḥ ajaḥyā kṛtvānvasi garhitam.

45. Evas ukto'bravid evaṃ dakṣa samraktalocanaḥ;

46. Tvam tu sreṣṭha varīṣṭha ca pūjya bālā sadā ma

Tāsam caiva bhartāraṣṭe me bahusrutā sada;

47. Gunāscaivaḥdikahesāghyāh serve te tryambakāt

49. Tenā tvam na bhubuśāmi pratikūlo hi me bhavāḥ.

52. Tatastenaṃvamanena satī duḥkhād amarsita;

Abraud vacanaḥ deva namaskṛtvā mahēsvaram.

53. Yatrāham utpatsye'ham punardehena bhāyata;

Tatrāpyaham asammuḍhā sambhūta dharmikī punah

Gaccheyam dharmapatnītvam tryambakasyaiva dharmaḥ.
Daksa's counter curse on Siva.

63. Yasmātttyam mātrkṛte kṛuram rśina vyahrtavān asī
tasmāttardham surair yajñē na tvām yakṣyanti
dvij

64. Hutvāhutim tatah krūra apastyakṣyanti karmasu
Ihaiva vatsyaśi tathā divām hitvayugakṣayāt.

Another version of the legend.

Dadhici asks,

104. Puṣyam tu pasubhartāram kasmānḥahvayase prabhā
e

Daksa's reply.

108. Etaṃ makhosāya suvarṇapātro havīḥ samastam viś-
mantraputam;

Vīsnūnayāmyapratimasya sarvam prabhōr vibho
yāḥhavanīyanityam.

To Sati's query Siva replies,

112. Surāireva mahābhāge sarvam etad anuṣṭhitam;
Yajñēṣu mama sarvesu na bhāga upakalpitāḥ.

Then follows the account of the creation of Vi
-bhadra and Mahakali, and the destruction of t
sacrifice by them.

Daksa's hymn to Siva. Some important epithets
the god.

183. Gajendra-karnah
198. Marṇanaśīla...mukhavaditrkāri...
253. Silpinam ārestkāh...

e.t.d. etc.

Siva's supremacy.

283. Sarvastvam sarvago deva sarvabhūtapatir bhavān
Sarvabhūtantaratmā ca tena tvam na nimantritāh
Ch. XXXI, Kāla identified with Siva.

32. Ahamkārad rudan rudrāḥ sadbhūto brahmaṇas tma; Sa rudro vatsarastesām vijajīne nilalohitah.

Ch. LIV, The legend of the churning of the ocean, and drinking of poison by Siva.

49. Mathyamāne mrte purvam kairode suradānavaḥ; Agre samutthitam taśmin vāgaṃ kalānasannibha Nirdagdho raktagaurāṅgah kṛtah kṛṇo janārdana

49. The gods invoke Siva.

68. Brahmaṇe caiva rudraya viṣṇave caiva te namah Sāṅkhyaṃ ca yogāya bhūtāgūmaya vai namah.

70. Kāpadine karālaṃ saṁkarāya kapāline; Virūpāyaikarūpāya śivāya varadāya ca.

74. Vyaktāya caiva vyaktāya vyaktāvyaktāya vai num

75. Bhaktānam ārūtapāya nāranārāyanāya ca.

77. Nāmā kapalahastāya digvāsāya sikhāndine.

The gods request Siva to take the poison.

88. Bhavān agryasya bhokta vai bhavascaiva varah prabhā Tvam rte'nyo māhādeva visām sodhum na sakyaṭa.

On Siva’s taking the poison

90. Kānthah samabhavat tūrṇam kṛṇo me varavarnin

The oneness of the Trinity.

97. Tvāmeva viṣṇuscaturānanastvam tvāmeva mṛtyur varadas tvāmeva.

100. Tvāmeva sarvasya ca rācarṣaya lokasya kartā pral ca bhokta.
Ch. LV, Siva’s supremacy.

10. Yenāham brahmaṇā sārdham srṣṭa lokāśca māyā.

The legend of the origin of the ‘linga’.

17. Uttaram diśam āsthāya jvalādṛśta pādhaṅgalātā.

18. Tasya jvalamadhye tu pasyāvo vipulāprabham;

20. Pradesānātram avyaktam lingam paramadipitam.

23. Atha lingasaya yo’ntam vai gaccheta mantrakāra

Ghorarūpīnam atartham hindantem iva rodāt.

Brahma and Visnu exalt Siva.

31. Paramaṣṭhī param brahma aksaram paramaṁ padam

śresthāśtvam vama devasāca rūdram skandah śivah

-bhu

35. Bhūmer gandho rasasaśaṁ tejorūpaṁ mahesvara.

37. Tvam kartā savabhūtaṁ kālo vṛtyur yamo’naṁ

55. Vyālayajñopavītī ca surānāṁ abhayāṁkaraṁ.

Ch. LXVI, Siva as the one God.

108. Ekah svayambhuvah kālas tribhistrin karoti y

Srjāte cāṅugrāmāti prajāḥ samhārate tathā.

110. Eka tanaḥ sarṣṭa vede dharmāṣṭre purātane;

Sāmkhya-yoga-paraṁ virāh prathakatvaikādavis

111. Ekatve ca prthakte ca tāsū bhinnāḥ prājasvih

Idám param Idāṁ neti bruwanto bhinnadārganāh.

112. Brahmaṇam kāraṇam keciḥ keciḥ prabhuh prajāpat

Karticchivam pariṣṭvenā prāhur visnum tathāpate

Avijñānena samsakta saktā ratyā di cetasa.

116. Ekataḥ sa tridhā bhūtva sammahayati yah praja

Etēsam tu trayānāṁ tu vicārantyaṁantaram janāḥ.

Ch. LXXII, The legend of the birth of Skanda.

20. Anyonyapritīranayor umāsamkarayor atha.
21. Ślesasāṃsaktayor jñātva samkitah kila vrtraḥ;  
Tabhyām maithunasaṃktābhyaṁ apatyodbhavabhīruṇā  
Tayoh sākṣāṁ indrena preṣitoḥ havyavāhanah.

23. Umādeham samutsrjya sukram bhuma visarjitam.

24. Tato rūṣitaṁyā devyā saptō'gnih sāmsapayanaḥ,

25. Yasmān mayyavitrptāyān rativighnam hutaśāna;  
Kṛtavan asyakartāvyaṃ tasmātvan asi durmatih.

26. Garbhām tvam dharayasaivam esa to dandadharār  
etc. etc.

Ch. XCVII,  
Hymn to Siva.

166. Girisaśyārkanetraya yatine jambavāya ca.

194. Sreṣṭre dhartre tathā hotre harte ca kaśpāṇā,

201. Nityāya cāthaliṅgāya sūkṣmāya cētanāya ca.

Ch. CI,  
Characteristics of true Saivas who go to Trayaśnopura.

311. Brīmanantah sūrjitaḥ dantah sauryayuktā hyalol up  
Madhyāhārāsca matrāsca atmārājanītendriyah.

312. Jītevdvā mahotsahah saumya vigatamatsaḥ;

313. Karmanā manasa vācā visuddhenāntarātmanā;  
Ananyamanaso bhūtvā prapannā ye mahedvaram.

Ch. CXII,  
Siva as 'Bhasmanātha'.

53. Bhasmakūte bhasmanātham natvā ca tārayet pitrīn  
Tyaktapāpo bhaven muktah samgame snānāmaścaram.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

Pt. I.

Ch. VIII,  
Identity of Viṣṇu and Siva.

21. Samkaro bhagavan saurirbhūtir gaurī dvijottama.
Ch. IX.

Visnu called 'pinakadhrk'.

68. Namo namo 'visesastvam tvam brahma tvam pinaka-

Pt. IV.

Ch. VI.

The legend of Soma and Tara.

5-14. Atra somah... sa rajasyam akarot. Tat-pr

Pt. V.

Ch. XXXIII.

The legend of Usā and Aniruddha.

22. Harisamkarayor yuddhan ativasit sudarunan;

25. Jrmbhahibhutasca harsho rathopastha upavisat;

40. Sa x upetyaha govindam samapurva umapatih;

41. Krsna krsna jagannatha jane tvam purusottamam;

44. Mayadattavaro daityas tatastvam ksamayamaham.

Visnu's reply.

46. Yusmaddattavaro hanc jivatam esa samkaraam;

47. Matto 'vibhinnamatmanam drastum arhasi samkara-

48. Yo'ham sa tvam jagaccedam devasuramanusam;

Avidyamohitatmanah purusa bhinnadarsinah.
Relevant passages bearing upon the worship of the goddess from the Tantras.

The Kāli Tantra.

Ch. I, 3. The conception of the goddess.

Karalayavadanāṁ ghoram muktakesīṁ saturdayāṁ;
Kalikāṁ daksināṁ śāyāṁ muddamālāvibhūṣitāṁ.

Sadyaschhinnasirah khadgavāmadhuvakarakāṁbuj;
Abhayāṁ varadāṁcaiva daksinordhapanikāṁ.

Mahāmeghangprabhāṁ syāmāṁ tathā caiva digambarīn
Kanthavasaaktamandāli galadrudhiraacaritāṁ.

Ghoraravāṁ maharudrāṁ smasānalayavāśāṁ;
Bālārkaudadalākaraalocanatritayanvitāṁ.

Savarupamahādevahṛdayopari samsthitāṁ;
Śivābhir ghoraravābhiscaturdikṣu samanvītāṁ.

Mahākalena ca samām viparītatātātātāṁ;
Sukhaphasanavadananāṁ smarānānasaroruhāṁ.

Evaṁ samcintaye kalim sarvakāsamardhīdaṁ.

Ch. I, 15. One of the modes of worshipping the goddess.

Samantād āpina-stanā-jaghāna-dhṛg-yauvanavatī-
ratāsakto naktam yādi japatī bhaktastavāṁ svā
Vivasūtvāṁ dhyāyaṁ Galitacikuras tasyavasānt
Samastāḥ siddhaugha bhurvicirataram ājīvati kavi

Ch. I, 17. The goddess as the great mother.

Prasūte samāke jānāmi jagatīm pālayati ca,
samastāṁ keśyāṁ pralayaśāmaye sāmharati ca.
Ātasa tvam āhātapi tribhuvanapatīḥ śrīpa-tir api
Maheso'pi prayāh sakalam api kim stauṁ bhava

Ch. III, 2. The different manifestations of the goddess.

Tārā.

Pratyāliḥhapadāṁ ghoram muddamālāvibhūṣitāṁ
Bālakamādalakāraśocanatrayabhūsitam; Jvalacitāmadhyagatām ghoradamstra-karalinīm; Visvavyāpakatoyāntah evapatāmopharishthitam.

Mahāvidyā.

Caturbhujām mahādevīm nāgayajñopavītinīm; Mahābhīmām karālayām siddhāvidyādharaīr yutām Mundāmālāvalikīrnamāvakaśīm smitānanām Evām dhyāyen mahādevīm sarvakāmūrthasiddhaye.

And so on.

Ch. V, 2

The goddess as the creator of Viṣṇu and Siva.

2. Adyaṁ aseṣajananīm arvāndayonen-
-viṣṇoḥ sīvasya ca vapuḥ pratipādayitī;
Srṣṭi-śthiti-ksaya-karīm jagatāṁ trayānāṁ,
Stūtvāgiram vimalāyāmyaham ambike tvām.

In the following chapters, the descriptions of the other manifestations of the goddess are given. These are the following:- Bhairavī, Chinnamasta, Dhūmavatī, Matangi, Kaundinya, and Lakṣmī.

The Kaulopanistrad.

Injunctions for the secrecy of Tamtrikā teach

Prakatyam na kuryat. ... Ātmarahasyam na vadē
sisyāya vedet. antah saktah, bahiḥsāvah, loke
vaisnavah. ayaṃ evaśāraḥ

The Kulaśudānam Tantra.

Ch. I, 24. Exaltation of the goddess.

Yadi mam viddhi sarvajñak kvacāmmayah kva yaj
Na viddhi mam cet sarvajñak, kva cāmmayah kva yaj

25. Marirupan samāsthaya srstisāram madatmakam;
Bhavantām bhāvayogastham gurum jñātum vijrāb
The secrecy of the Kaula doctrines.

28. Sarvajñām sarvajñādam guhyām tatvabodhaprabodha
31. Na maya viśnave proktah na dhatre ganaṃpya ca.

Ch. IV, Worship of the goddess in the cremation ground

39. Dhyāyet kālam kāralasyaṃ damśralinavilochanam
Sphuracchavākārasreṇikrtakāṃ digambarim.

The Kulārṇava Tantra.

Ch. I, Description of Siva.

11. Asti devī parabrahmasvarupī niskalah sivah;
Sarvajñāḥ sarvakartā ca sarveṣo nirmālaśayaḥ.
12. Ayam jyotir andyanto nirvikaraḥ paramparah;
Nirgunah saccidānandās tadāmsā jivasamjñakāh.

Ch. II, The Tantrika doctrines not revealed to Śiva
Brahma and Viṣṇu.

4. Brahma-viṣṇu-guhādhībhya na mayā kathitam priya
Kathāyāmi tava snehā srnusvaikāramānasa.

Tantrika doctrines secret.

6. Tvayāpi gopayitavyamahi na deyam yasyakasyacit
Deyam bhaktāya sīyāya anyathā patanam bhavet.

The Tantrika doctrines as the essence of the

10. Mathitvā jnanamanthena vedāgamamaharnavam;
Sarvajñāḥena maya devī kuladharṇah samuddhṛtaḥ.

Kaulas looked down upon.

51. Uindantu bandhavah serve tyajantu strayutadayi
Jānā hasantu mām dṛṣṭvā rajāno dandayantu vā.
52. Seve seve punah seve tvāṁ eva paradevate;
Tvātkarma naiva muṇcāmi manovakakṣayakarmabhiḥ.
Ch. III. The Kaula doctrines are secret as opposed to the Vedic doctrines which are open.

4. Vedasāstrapurāṇāni prakāṣyāni kulesvari.
5. Rahasyātirahasyāni kulasāstrāni parvati.

Ch. V. Exaltation of wine.

Suradarsanaṇaṃatraṇa sarpapāpaḥ pramucyate; Tadgandhagranamatraṇa satakratuphalam labhet; Tasyasamadarsanaṃatraṇa tirthakotiphalam labhet; Devī tatpanataḥ saksāllebhāḥ nṛkutam caturvidham.

(p. 46.)

Justification of the use of wine.

Yathākratuṣṇāvānapam samapānam vidhiyate; Madhyapānam tathā kāryam samagrabhogamokṣadām.

(p. 50.)

Ch. VII. Dead drunkenness is supposed to give salvation

Pitvā pitvā punah pitvā yavat patati bhūtale; Utthāya ca punah pitvī punarjanma na vidyate.

Anandat trpyate devī murchanād bhairavaḥ svayam; Vamanat sarvavedaśca tasmat trividham acaret.

(p. 68.)

Ch. VIII. The wild abandon of the Kaula ceremonies.

Cakreśmaṇa yogino, vīra yogino madamantharaḥ; Samacarantī devesi yathollāsam manogatam.

Samaiḥ prechati pravastha vismṛtyatmaviceṣṭītam; Vidhāya vadane pātraṃ nirvīnāṃ vasanti ca.

Yadanyam purusāṃ mohaḥ kantānyamāvalaksate;

Purusah purusāṃ mohadālingatyanānganāṅganāṃ; Prechati svapatim mugdhā kastvam kāham ime ca ke.

All this is taken seriously.

Tebhyo droham pa kurvita naḥitaṃ ca samacaret; Bhaktyāsamgrahayet tacca gopayen mātrjāravat; Cakre madakulān drśtvā cintayed devatādhiyā. (p. 73)
No distinction of caste in the Kaula ceremonies.

Pravrtte bhairavicakre sarve varna dvijayayah;  
Nivrtte bhairavicakre sarve varnah prthak prthak.  
(p. 76)

Importance given to sexual intercourse.

Madakumbhasahasraistu mamsabharasatair api;  
Na tuyami vararohe bhagalingamrtem vinah.

Na cakrankam na padmankam na vajraikam idam jagat;  
Lingahkim ca bhagankam ca tasmacchakti divatmakam.  
(p. 7)

Ch. IX. The epicurean tenets of the Kaulas.

Yavad asavagandhah syat pasuh pasupatih svayam;  
Vinabimsa sagandhena saksat pasupatih pasuh.

Anaca-rah sadacaras tvakaryam karyam eva ca;  
Asatyam api satyam syat kaulikanam kulesvari.  
(p. 81.)

The Mahanirvana Tantra.

Ch. II. The justification of the Tantrika doctrines and prac-  
as meant for people in the Kali age.

6. Medhyamedhyavicagatah na suddhih srautakarmana  
Na samhitadyah sambhir istasiddhir nrnam bh

7. Satyam satyam punah satyam satyam satyam mayoca  
Vinahyagamamargena kalau nati gatih priye.

Siva as the supreme God.

10. Sarvair vedaih puranaisco smrtibhih samhitadh  
Pratipadyosminanyo'sti prabhur jagati mam vinah

Different schools of the Saktas.

Ch. III, The non-Brahmanic character of the Tantrika worships.

15. Na tithir na ca nakṣatram na rāśigamanam tathā
Kulākulādiniyamo na samsakāro'tra vidyate.
Sarvathā siddhamantro'yan nātrakārya vicāraṇā.

Ch. IV, The goddess as the supreme deity.

10. Tvam para prakṛtih saksād brahmanah paramatman
Tvatto jātum jāgat sarvam tvam jāgajjajanīj div

The Kaula ceremonies are to be performed open

79. Gopānuddhīyate satyam na guptir anṛtam vīnā;
Tasmāt prakāśatah kuryāt kaulikāh kulasādhanam

Ch. V, The worship of Ganesa in the Kaula ceremonies.

75. Ganesam kṣetrapalāṇca batukaṁ yoginīm tathā;
Gaṅgā vca yamānām caiva laksminām vanīm tato yaj

Deification of wine.

202. Sudhadevyai vaśād anto manur asyaḥ prapūjane;
204. Mulena devatābuddhyā datvā pūpañjalim tataḥ;
Daṅgāyed dhūpadīpau ca ghantāvādanapūrvakām.

Purification of flesh.

206. Maṁsaṁ anīya puratas trikonamaṇḍalopari;
Phātabhujuvāyuvahnimijabhyāṁ ātmavīryatītā.

Ch. VI, Taking unsanctified wine is sinful.


'Maithuna' to be performed with one's wife only.

14. Sesatātvam mahesāṁ nirbīje prabale kalau;
Svākīya kevalā geyā sarvadoṣavivarjītā.

Moderate drinking in the Kaula ceremonies.
194. Yayanna calayed dratim yawanna calayenmanah; Tavat pānam prakurvita pasupānam atah param.

Ch. VII. The significance of the five 'tatvas' of the Kāyavāpaṇa ceremonial.

104. 'Tahopaṇam yajjīvanam duḥkhavismāraṇakam mahā Anandajanaṇam yaccaa tadādyatatvalakṣanam. 
Grāmavāyavya-vanyānam udbhutam puṣṭivāḍaḥ Buddhitejobalakāram dvitiyatatvalakṣanām.

Jalodbhayam īa yatkalyāṇi kāmāniyam sukhaprāpaḥ Prajavṛddhikāram cāpi tṛṭīyaṃ tatvalakṣanām.
Sūlabhām bhunijātam ca jīvānaṃ jīvanāṃ ca yā Ayūrmūlam trijagatām aṭsurtham tatvalakṣanām

Muhānandakāram devi prāṇīnām arṣṭikāram; Aṇḍyanta jagamulāṃ sesatatvāyalarakṣanāṃ.

Ch. VIII. A reformed 'Bhairavīcakra'.

154. Bhairāvī cakravīyaye na tādṛṣṇi nīyamāḥ priye; Yathāseamayam aśādyā kuryāccakram idam suḫham.

172. Svabhāvast kālījanmanah kāmaśvāntasetasah; Tadrūpeṇa na jāṇanti sāktim sāmānyabuddhayah.

173. Ataś teṣām pratinidhau sesatatvasya pārvati; Dhyānam devyāh padāmbojeye śveṣṭmanjrapajaps tathā

Ch. X. Worship of Ganesa in the Kaula ritual.

117. Saddhirghayuktamulena sadāṅgāni samācoret, Prāṇāyānam tataḥ kṛtvā dhyāyed gaṇapatim sive.

The Prapancasūratantra.

Ch. 12śx Divine origina of the Tantras.

21. Vaidikān Śāntrikāṁścāpi sarvān ityuvāca ha.
Exaltation of the goddess as the Sakti.

28. Pradhānam itīyam ahur ya saktiriti kathyaṃ; 
   Ya yusmān api māṃ nityam avastabhyābhivartate.

Ch. IX, Description of the goddess as Tripura.

8. Atāmraṅkayutābham kalitasāsikālāraṇjitaṃ 
   Tritvā purhenduvaktrāṃ vighṛtajanapavitipustakābhi 
   Pradhanam Itiyam saktiṃ kathyate; 
   Ya yusman api māṃ nityam avastabhyābhivartate.

Ch. XIV, Association of the goddess with the 'saktis'.

6. Prabhā maya jaya sukma visuddha nandini tatha 
   Suprabhā vijayā sarvasiddha navami tatha.

Ch. XVII, The association of Ganesa with the 'saktis'.

22. Tīvra jvalini nanda sabhā gada kāmarupinīgōṛī 
   Tejovati ca satyā sāmproktā vighnanaśinī navā 

Ch. Worship of Kama with his 'saktis!'

The Tantrabhidhāna Tantra.

Exaltation of the 'śivalinga'.

33. Etatpadmantarāle nivasati ca manah sukṣmarupa 
   prasiddham 
   Yonau tatkarṇikāyam itarasivanam lingacinchajī 
   Vidyunmālāvīlāsam paramakulapadām brahmaśūtraya 
   Vedānāṁ adibijam thiratarahṛdayaścintayet kri 

The Tantraraja Tantra.
The Tantraraja Tantra.

Ch. I. Secrecy prescribed for Tantrika rites.


Ch. VI. Intimate connection of the worship of the god with superstitious belief in goblins and other spirits.

64. Nirjana vipine ṛṣṭrau maṇam tram tu nirbhayaḥ
Yajeddevim cakragatam siddhadravyasyasamanvitaṃ.

65. Tena sidhyanti vetālas tānaruḥya svecchayā ca

66. Smaśāne candikagṛhe nirjana vipine'pi va
Madhyarātre yajeddevim kṛṣṇastraśradhibhūṣanah.

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 Brahmanical religion. It had also spread over the whole of India. The development of the cult itself finished at this point, and 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 take place was the emergence of sects within Saivism itself, an inevitable process in every religion once it becomes estabished. Even the new developments were, however, all complete by about the end of the 12th century, after which we find an 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 are the inscriptions. Then, there are the temples and numerous images of Siva which illustrate and supplement the presence of the other records. Among the literary records, w
the different religious works dealing directly with the Saiva faith, most of which are found in the south. Their evidence is 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 a large extent, in culture also (at least generally), 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, appears 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 also, convenient to treat them separately.

In the north, the Puranas had practically fixed the character of Saivism not only in form, but also in spirit. First source of information, here, is furnished by the inscriptions of the contemporaries and successors of the later Gupta monarchs. In them, we find that Saivism had essentially the
features as in the Puranas. We have already noticed the Mas-
sor inscriptions of the king Yasodharman of the 6th century.
In the Apsadh stone inscription of Adityasena, of the late 7th
century, reference is made to Karttikeya who is regarded as the
actual son of Siva, thus showing how far the original account
1)
Skand's birth had been forgotten. 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-
2)
by the monarch on the spot. Another inscription of the same
king, in the same place, alludes to the legend of the kill-
of the demon, Mahisa, by the goddess who is conceived of in her
3)
fierce aspect. In it, the goddess is regarded as the same
Parvati. Her actual name is not given, but the king is al-
have installed an image to Katyayani in these caves, and to
have 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 inscrip-
Maharaja Pravarasena II, both of which allude to a particular
4)
group of Saiva devotees who are called Bharasivas, and whose
peculiar practice it was to carry a sivalinga reverently on
their shoulders. 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

3. ibid. Pl.b, " "
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 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 life and the Bharasivas may be older than is apparent from available records. We shall meet them again under a different name, later.

The inscriptions of the 7th century also reveal to the general spirit of tolerance that prevailed among the followers of different creeds. We noticed, in the last chapter, 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, maintain 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, a Saiva, and exalts Siva as the supreme God, the last verse (1) 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 popular worship we have already noticed in the Mrchakatika. They are to be distinguished from the Matrkas mentioned in the Puranas, who appear as fierce spirits and are associated with...
Siva or his consort in their fierce and destructive aspects. These Matrikas, here, are regarded as mothers, and are, to all appearances, auspicious deities, worshipped and prayed for prosperity and general happiness. They were also associated with Skanda, as seen in the Bihar pillar inscription of Skanda-gupta, and this, as has been suggested, raises a possibility their having been identified with the Krittikas. 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 concur-morate 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 central 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 later half of the 6th century, and from his romance, the Dasakumarac-ram, even though it deals mainly with the weaknesses and vices of contemporary society, a fairly good idea of the religious conditions of India prevailing at that period can be obtained. As regards Saivism, his references to the various Saiva temples...

1. Deogarh Rock inscription of Svamibhata. 6th century. XI. XVIII, p.12
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 ed 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 Harsacarita, he exalts Siva as the one God who manifests himself in the Tribhanga. In the Kadambari, moreover, he mentions the famous temple of kala at Ujjayini, which is referred to by Kalidasa in his Meghadutam. The queen Vilasavati is described as going to that temple for worship. Besides this, Bana shows himself fully versant 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. Avimuktesvara at Benares (ch.IV,p.123.), and Tryambakesvara at Sravasti (ch.V,p.142.).
2. ibid. e.g. Ch.II,p.75.
4. ibid. (BSS.no.24.) p.50.
5. ibid. " " p.61.
The Chinese pilgrim, Hieun Tsang, also travelled in India during the reign of Harsa, and his work gives considerable information about the religious conditions of the country at that time. He frequently refers to Siva and his temples over India. In Langala (round about modern Kacch), was a temple of Siva, which is described by Hieun Tsang as richly adorned with sculpture. From some passages it can also be seen that Saiva sects had come into being by that time. These we shall have occasion to notice later on. His work gives us the first definite indication of the conflict between the Buddhist and the Brahmanic creeds, though this conflict was not acute.

Coming to the inscriptions of the 8th and the 9th centuries, we find the essentially Pauranic character of Saiva still maintained. Whenever Siva is invoked, he is conceived as the supreme God, and is worshipped in the ordinary Pauranic manner. Frequent reference are made to the installation of 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. In the Prasastis, reference is made to the eight 'murtis' of Siva. Different creeds still seem to have maintained amicable relations with one another on the whole. An invocation of the Buddha in an inscription of Dantivarman of Gujerat, of 867 A.D., is followed by a verse in which Visnu and Siva are prayed to. Siva

2. Ibid. II, pp. 277.
5. EL. 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 Jain, yet in the second verse Visnu and Siva are invoked for blessings.

It is in an inscription of the 8th century that we first mention of a new development in Saivism, or, to be more correct, of a feature of the Saiva cult, which we have not noticed before, though it perhaps existed. This is the dedication of female attendants to the Saiva temples, probably for general service. 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 form 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 is

1. EI.XXI,p.140.
2. EI, I, p.148.
regarded as the one Supreme Being, and Visnu, 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 Svatnesvara inscription at Bhavanesvara of about 1192, 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, 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 Malhari inscription of Jajjaladeva, of 1150 is even more explicit. In it, the person commemorated is said 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 Bauddha doctrine, and the doom of the Digambra

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 seats like the Kapalik 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 the various aspects seems to have been that functional attribute 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 poetical, and, perhaps, metaphorical conceptions of the Puranas. Representing the god in his benevolent aspect, we have, first, the ordinary images of Siva (as represented as standing or seated, with 1)

handsome appearance and, usually, with four arms. A speci

I. The account, here given, of the iconographical records, based mainly on Mr. G. R. 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 Elliphanta. Other conceptions of Siva, emphasising his essential Oneness, were also frequently represented in stone or metal. Most well known of these, of course, is the 'Trimurti'. The images representing it show Brahma and Visnu emerging out of the body of Siva, or, out of his 'linga' image. Most of these images have been found in the south. They are images representing the 'Ardhanarishvara' 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
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 'Ardhanarishvara' images is the one at Ellora. Rarer than either the 'Trimurti' or the 'Ardhanarishvara' images of Siva are those which represent his oneness with Visnu. These 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 are gods 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 a hideous appearance, either unclothed or wearing the 'krtti', having 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 'Tirupurari', and have reference to his destruction of the three cities of the demons. The 'Virabhadra' images allude to his destruction of the sacrifice of Daksha, and evidently refer to the being of that name, who is said to have been created by Siva himself. Then, there are the 'Aghoramurtis' which represent Siva as a 'kapalin'. In them, he is shown with a blue neck and black body, and wea 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 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 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, there is another type which became very popular, and which represents Siva as a dancer. This aspect of Siva, 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, four armed, and bears the Ganges and the crescent on his head. Sometimes, he is represented as trampling upon the demon Gaja 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 Pauranas. 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 essentiality of the Brahmanic creeds in the north and the south, the religious thought and practice in the period and succeeding of the Puranas, in the south, differed in several important respects from those in the north. And, Saivism, as it prevailed 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 religious. Sai
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 Madura and Ellora, but also, countless otherless 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 so a similar variety.

The spirit of Saivism, however, was very different 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 high-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, when the south became a centre of acute religious rivalry. The different creeds had been introduced into the south by the 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 peaceful 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, confuted 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

1. The observations made here about these saints are based mainly on the accounts of their lives given by Mr. C. V. N. Ayyar in his recent book 'Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India' (ch. X-XI.).
'padigam' to Siva. References are also made to several other similar miracles, in his 'padigama', 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, 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 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 'Tiruvasagam', who did the same for Buddhism what the other two had done for Jainism. There is no reference in his work to the Jaina as its serious rival 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. This is supposed to have been a big event, the debate being arranged by the king himself, and 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 a

decisive, and must have dealt a heavy blow to Buddhism. Beside
these saints who have become famous, there must have been nu-
meros 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 Nedumal
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
account of Hangarkkarasiyar, we read of the aggressive character
of the Jaina. "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 Sáivasis also reflected in the accounts of the lives of
other Nayanars. The stories of Uripanda Nayanar who killed an
elephant and its five attendants simply because a basket of flow-
ers, 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 wor-
ship of Siva, show the fanatical bigotry of some of the Sáivas
which must have found expression in more violent forms against
the heretics like the Jainas and the Buddhas.

11 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 prevails 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 Tirumular the Saiva saint and scholar, who translated the Saiva Agamas lived from Sanskrit into Tamil and who 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 descending jata and tall crown, the shining axe and the discus, the encircling serpent and the golden waistband are sacred. So my lord/the sacred mount surrounded by overflowing stream-lights 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 Daksha against Siva in some of the Puranas, and it is quite possible that there were some Vaisnavas of this kind who reviled Siva.

and his worship in south India also at this time. This is confirmed by the actual accounts of the Vaishnava Saints of this period that are available to us, and we learn that the more zealous of the Vaishnava 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 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 Nandiva 1) man, 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 2) about 777 A.D. the opening invocation is to Visnu, then one Visnu Gopa is represented as the devotee of Siva whom is referred to with reverence, and the inscription itself records a grant

1. I.A.
made for the support of a Jain temple. Again, in the Balagair Stone inscription of Somesvara Deva I., of the eleventh cent the first invocatory verse is to Jina, and the next is to Vi The concluding portion of the inscription is also significar "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 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 sectarian 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 Jains and these now appear to have been in sharp conflict with Buddhism, and Saivism in conflict with both. In the Sravasti Belgola inscription of 1128 A.D., the hostility of the Baudh 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 Samkhyaists), and the Baudhdhas. The latter is also mentioned in another Jaina inscription of 1183 A.D., recording the death of Candraprabha, and is similarly descri 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 'bhakt' being deemed as much worthy of honour as a person of a higher caste. The Periya Purana itself says of the Nayanar 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 Penumal. 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 sanctity as the greatest of the Brahmanas. The story of Nami Nanda Afical, 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 sur-
prising 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 heretic.

This was, perhaps, the reason that the Saiva scriptural works, the Agamas, were not, at first, given place in the recognis-
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 men who were 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 form 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 Nayamar, 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 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 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 whatever 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 Sadasiv Brahmana became a famous saint. They gradually spread, and i
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 Saivism soon after it had established itself as a recognised creed. The earliest reference to a particular sect of Saivas 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 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 the 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.

We have had occasion to notice above the disregard for the regulations by some Saivas in South India, and it is possible that this practice originated with the Pasupatas. The mention of this characteristic also proves that the Pasupatas did not present 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 Nāma. There is no reason to doubt the historicity of Lakūn even though we cannot be certain about his date. The Sarvadānasamgraha describes him as the founder of the Pasupata school, and the same is affirmed by the evidence of the Nagajā 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.

Coming to later times, we find that Wena Kadphises (2nd century), in one of his coin types calls himself a Ma\-syara, which appears to have been another for the Pasupat
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 Pu
-nas passages bearing upon the Pasupata sect have already been referred to. The Kapalikas are also first mentioned as a definite sect and, as was noticed in the last chapter, we considered as heretical at that time. The worshippers of Siva in general appear to have been called simply Saivas, and it with their doctrines and practices that the Puranas chiefly deal. No definite mention is made of any other Saiva sect 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 centu
the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang toured India, and at several places in his book he mentions the Pasupata sect by name.

1. Hieun Tsang. II, pp. 276, 277, 279, 280, 281 etc.
absents appear to have been very numerous. Some he de-
cribes as worshippers Siva in temples, these being, proba-
ble, 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 body
with ashes, and 'ash-covered' is the regular title by which
Hieun Tsang refers to them. Among other Saivas, he men-
tion some who grew 'jataas' and went naked. 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
and who were, in all probability, the 'mundi' Saiva sects.

It is interesting to remember that in the Puranas Siva is some-
times called a 'mundin', which indicates that such ascets
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 Kapalikas at
places in his work. At Kapisa he saw some ascetics," who wore chaplets of bones which they wear as crowns on their heads."
At another place he refers to some who "wear as ornaments
necklaces made of skull bones." He does not say definitely
that they were worshippers of Siva, but the two description

2. ibid. II, 45.
3. ibid. II, 45.
4. ibid. I, 55.
5. ibid. I, 76.
unmistakably point to the Kapalikas, and the fact that the first passage they are distinguished from those "who cover 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 Pulakesin II, we learn that, inspite 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 a temple dedicated to Siva under the name of Kapalesvara, for the maintenance of a certain number of ascetic devotees called Mahavratinins, which was but a euphemistic synonym of the word Kapalika. A reference to another such temple of Kapalesvara is made in the Nirmanda copper plate inscription of Mahasamanta Maharaja Sundarasena, which also belongs to the 7th century.

The works of Bana also throw some light on the sect 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 Sukanaasa. 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.

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 sect as it existed in his time. The temples where the Kapalikas conducted their worship were situated in the cremation grove. The practice of offering human victims to the god still existed 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. Nor 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, variably 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 Kapalis.

the Bhata or Bhattas, and the Jangamas, all of whom came to dispute with Samkara. The external 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 distinctive 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 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 Vidyaranya, a Saiva Nilakantha, who had written a commentary on the Siva Sutras, is described as attacking the oral doctrine of 'tattvamasi' of pure monism, which Samkara achieved. 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 accounts 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', meat and wine, and worshipped Siva in his 'bhairava' or 'kapalka' 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 Vidyaranaya'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 carried upon them. In Karnata they appear to have been socially strong, as they are said to have organised a serious revolt against the king which was put down with some difficulty. Vidyaranya also mentions another Saiva sect, the Bhairavas, Samkara met in Vidarbha. But nothing is told about their professions of practice except that they had as their authorative 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 Krsnamisra, 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 Saivas and the Pasupatas, who are ridiculed, along with other religious sects by the Materialist. Apart from this, a Kali 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. Siva was conceived of in his 'bhairava' form, and to 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 suggests the evidence of the Malatimadhavan that women also belong to this sect.

The information about the later history of these sects has to be gleaned from miscellaneous sources. The Pasupatas 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 the
attention in the inscriptions of the 10th-12th centuries. In the
Cintra Praasti 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 Sarvadarsanasam-
tha, the Pasupatas are recognised as one of the two chief sects
of Saivism, and an account is given of their philosophic do-
trines. The other chief sect of Saivism was the Saiva sect,
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 re-
ferences in literature and other records. They seem to have
developed an extremist sub-sect called the Kalamukhas, or,
haps, 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
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 Rudraksha beads round
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 mentioned 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 south 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 Chiluka is said to have been an incarnation of Lakulin. In another, dated 1078 A.D., an ascetic is spoken of as an ascetic of the school of Lakulin. Lastly, in an inscription of the 12th century, one Somesvara Suri is said to have again popularized the doctrine of Lakulin. Yet another inscription of 1285 A.D., the Granth-maker is called the supporter of a new school of Lakulin, which is taken by some scholars to refer to the Lingayat sect. 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 inscription, even the kalamukhas are called Lakulas. Hence, the possibility that all these inscriptions may not mean by 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.
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 sect, and was the head of an establishment of this sect at Valkalesvara. This shows the existence of the Siva sect in the 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., 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 powerful. Dr. Fleet's Ekananda Ramayya, also, appears to have been not the founder, but a great preacher of this sect who helped 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 of

of such technical terms in its doctrinal works as 'sthala', 'anga', and 'linga', prove it to be comparatively modern. The Lingayatas may be described as Protestant Saivas who revolted against the superfluitites and, possibly also, against some abuses of the existing Saiva cult, and endeavoured to create purer, simpler, and an essentially rational creed. Original their doctrines appear to have been, in the main, akin to
of the Saiva sect, and it is possible that the 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 Lingayatas 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 Lingayatas began to move away from the original position still farther from the orthodox Saivism, in their earliest available records, we find them as a military 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 were always on their persons, and whence

1. The account of the Lingayata sect is based on that given

Dr. Bhandarkar in his 'Vaisnavism, Saivism etc.'
they derived their name. Their sacred mantra was not the Ga but 'Om namah Sivaya'. 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 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 Lingayats did not have the approval of all the adherents of the sect, these dissentients included the very Aradhyanas who had placed the sect on its feet, and who refused to accept the anti-Brahmanical practices which the sect had adopted. But the advocates of the latter prevailed, and we find that the dissentients were reduced to the position of a sub-sect, and were regarded asetics. 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 wives 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. Subsequent though they became very powerful in the south, they seem to gradually succumbed to the influence of Brahmanism and gave 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 Brah

-ism that we find Lingayata scholars trying to find author

for their tenets in the Brahmanical and Vedic scriptures a

discovering the worship of the 'linga' in the Vedic Samhitas

themselves. A very good illustration of this is found in a

late but interesting 'Lingadhāranacandrika', recently publi

by Mr. M.R. Sakhare, which is wholly devoted to prove that

the Vedic scriptures themselves enjoin the worship of the 'lin-
garna', 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

come within the scope of this survey. But, in view of their

close association with Sivism, 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

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 god the Saivas. As in the case of Siva, the various aspects

which she was conceived of and worshipped in the Puranas

the Tantras, were literally interpreted in stone and metal

images and numerous specimens of these are found in ara
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, holds
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 chapter. 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 Anandag;
there appear to have been several of them. Those who worshi-
ped the goddess as the Sakti of Siva were called the Saktas.
Those who worshipped her as the Sakti of Visnu called her Ma-
laksmi or Mahavaishnavi, 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 dis-
gusting features. They were called the followers of the

1. G. Rao. Hindu Iconography. vol.II,
left-hand path ('vama-marga'). They, too, are mentioned by Anandagiri, and their tenets show the consequences of the absurd application 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 Vidyaranya'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 Saktas, whom Sakra is said to have met in the extreme south, and for whom 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 historical 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 was that reflected in the Ganesa Purana which,
many of the Tantras, chronologically falls in the post-Paur*
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
having four sub-sects. This shows that it must have come in
being considerably earlier. These sub-sects, with the excep-
of one, are named after the particular aspect of Ganesa in
which that deity was worshipped by 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 pos-
a consort who was regarded as his Sakti. Apart from these on-
characteristics of all the four sub-sects, the Haridra Gan-
-patya conceived of Ganesa as wearing a yellow garment, a
yellow sacred thread, having four arms and three eyes (which

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 sects of the Ganapatyas, described above appear to have been evolved by them, for, it is in the chapter dealing with the fact that they are given in detail by Anddagiri. The navanita-suvarna-samtana-Ganapatyas conceived of Ganes as having a green form, but in all other respects they did not differ from the first two sects, and their spokesman supports the arguments 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 Ganapatyas sect, which had completely come 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 left side. Their doctrines and practices were gross in the extreme, surpassing even those of the Vamacari Saktas. Freedom of action was not only allowed but enjoined, the one means of salvation was said to be unrestricted enjoyment.
-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 Heramba and of every female with his Sakti, they permitted a sexual communism and unchecked license of a type grosser than even what the left-hand Saktas allowed, not only during worship but at times, and abrogated the institution of marriage. Like the Kali-likas, they are said to have been sternly denounced 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 god of 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 Uchch, 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 is, as in the case of Siva, illustrated and supplemented 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 by 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 frieze at Mahintale in Ceylon (1st or 2nd century), and a similar representation of a 'gana' is also seen in the terra-cotta 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.
sculptures of the 6th and 7th centuries. In these, he already associated with his Sakti, which shows that this development in his conception had taken place by this time. In the Fatehgarh 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. In Tibet.
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 Sānta. The tenets of this school were first clearly formulated in special works which were known by the name of āgama, which appear back 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 Upanisads. We noticed in a previous chapter that it was during this period, when a veritable revolution in religious and philosophic thought was taking place, that the doctrine of Bhakti made its appearance, which may be described as the result of the repurification, 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 philosophically the background of the Bhakti cult. And, as this Bhakti cult centred round Siva and Visnu, who were the two 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 he is described as a 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. These 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 was not regarded as merely a kind of illusion, but as real,
though the creation of the Supreme Self, and, secondly, by the 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 of 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 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 in the post-Vedic period. In the epics, the conception of Prajapati or Maya, in the person of the consort of Siva, is very much like that in the Svetasvatara Upanisad. Salvation, also, supposed to be the attainment by the individual soul to the world of God, in other words, 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 postulate the existence of a supreme God who creates the universe 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 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, 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 Prakrti 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 tenet 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, extends over a considerable period. Mr. V.V. Raman, in an article the Siddhanta Dipika places them even before the Buddha, this will hold good only of the essential doctrines, the age 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 somewhere 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. "Vedas and the Agamas," says he, "are both of them true, being the word of the Lord." He is also at pains to emph
that the two are essentially complementary and nor 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 mill. 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 Agamic 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. There, 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, for the north of the centre of culture from the 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 as 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 Siddhant 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 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, their relation is best expressed by the term 'bhedabheda', the nearest equivalent of which in English is 'inseperability'. 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 Samkhyaist 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 it unconscious, but is animated by them. Thus united, they fall into the three fold bondage of 'avidya', 'kama', and 'maya'. From this threefold bondage they are released through the grace of Siva who is constantly engaged in their rescue. The doct
of Karma is, at this point, incorporated into the Siddhant 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 -pose behind it, and cannot be regarded as a mere illusion. Bodage of the soul constitutes sin which is removed by the and grace of Siva. And when this is removed, the soul is c -ipated, and released from the cycle of birth and death, attains perfect perfect resemblance to Siva to whose present goes. It does not become one with him, but exists in an in -state in his presence, and with his light shining through. Here we have the third major point of difference between the Siddhanta and pure monism, the latter holding the theory of complete merge of the individual soul after emancipation the Supreme Self or Brahma.

The fundamental tenets of the Saiva Siddhanta, as -lined in the Agamas, did not change materially after-ward and were accepted by all philosophers whose chief work lay the scholastic elaboration of its details. This elaboration took place chiefly in the south which became the stronghold Sāivims after the 6th century, and nearly all noted Saiva s -lars from that time onwards belong to the south. The most -ble among these, in the 7th century were Appar and Manikk -sagar, Both were thoroughly conversant with the Siddhant philosophy, and were great exponents of its tenets. Both,
however, accepted the Agmas as scriptural authorities and neither of them deviated materially from them.

The work of preaching and popularisation of the Siddhanta must have been carried on after these two scholars by other philosophers and preachers of less repute. The in the 9th century, arose Samkara, and it was critical time for the Siddhanta 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 inconsistent 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 Vidyaranya’s account of Samkara’s life, a Saiva Siddhantin is actually mentioned as attacking the doctrine of ‘tattvasamjnah’ 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 face-to-face 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 Saiva 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 these very heretical creeds, Sankara was a veritable godson 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 Meyyanda Devar. He gave the essence of the entire Saiva Siddhanta thought, as existed at that period, in a short epitome consisting of no more than twelve Sanskrit 'anustubhs'. This work is known under the name of Sivajnanabodham, and it became to the Saivas what the Bhagavatapitamaha 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 other 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 indeed 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 Virupakṣapancāśīka, 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 appears 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 a pure monistic school rose into prominence, possibly, under some able scholars, and its adherents tried to interpret t
Agamas according to their own doctrines just as in India Sambhu and his followers tried to interpret all the Upanisads in a purely sense. The earliest definitely known scholar who did so was Vasugupta who lived in the later eighth or the later ninth century. 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 the 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 undertaken by Somananda who a contemporary of Kallata, and might have been a pupil of Vasugupta. He wrote the famous Sivadrssti in which he developed the theme propounded by Vasugupta and Kallata, and made it in a definite system of philosophy, in accordance with pure monism. He was succeeded by his pupil Utpala who wrote the Pratijabhij.

1. The account of Kashmirian Saivism given here is based on Cattopada's book Kashmirian Saivism.
Sutras, and from his use of this new term 'pratyabhijna' the school came to be known by that name, and so named as such in the Sarvadarshanasamgraha. 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. This is also a tradition of Samkara visiting Kashmir, and he, presumably, did actually go there, and helped, on the one hand, to 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 Parmarthasarasindhu along with 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 Ksemaraja who wrote the celebrated Sivastravimarsini expound the Siva sutras 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 Spnadadhoha, and the Spandanirnaya may be mentioned as the most important. After Ksemaraja, the further development of the Pratyabhijna philosophy was carried on chiefly through commentaries written on existing works. The first among the
most eminent of these later commentators was Yogaraja, a disciple of Abhinavagupta. He wrote a commentary on the Paramarthasiddhanta of the latter. Somewhat later, in the 12th century, lived Prakūṭa, who wrote a commentary on the Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta. He is the last scholar of note in the history of the Kashmir 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 differed from the orthodox Siddhanta. The first of these is the conception of Sakti or Prakṛti. While, in the Siddhanta, she was conceived of as co-eval with Siva, more or less independent of him, in the Kashmirian philosophy, she is regarded as essentially a manifestation of the Parasiva or the Para-Siva. She is supposed to reside in him and in him only, and may be best described as his creative power, and hence, really one with him. Thus the apparent dualism of the Siddhanta is reduced to a monism. The Sakti has five primary aspects: the Ananda Sakti, or the power of absolute joy of the Paramasiva; the Jñāna Sakti, or the power of the Paramasiva through which he feels himself possessed of an absolute will, and of resolve to create; the Jñāna 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 n
-fest universe. When the last aspect is attained, actual
- tion begins, which is called Abhasa. This Abhasa is ver-
- ilar to the Vivarta process of the Vedanta, the only dif-
- ce being that the diverse forms of the created universe are
the latter regarded as mere & 'maya', neither real nor unre
('sadasadbhyam anirvacya'). In the former, they are regard-
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 and infin
number of selves. These pass through the various cy
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 identi
of the individual and the Supreme Self, and the complete mor-
ce of the former into the latter after emancipation.
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 these 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 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 ascendency over the others. At that position when Hieun Tsang visited that country, an enmity existed between the Brahmanic creeds became most generally accepted. The worship of the goddess was also introduced there for some period, and, at the present time, there are several temples of the goddess. But no extant records of that country are of a date earlier than the 14th century. Hence, we are not in the position to study the early history of the various religions in that country. 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 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 Cambodge. 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 to the Vedic rite. 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 tvam justam kariyayami"). It appears, therefore, that the worship of Siva, here, had been fused with the old Vedic rites which had probably introduced at a comparatively early period, and being isolated, had survived 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 daso 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 felt 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 salutations 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 Sambhuvaraman, a descendant of Bhadrawarman, 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 Purana. From the various inscriptions of Prakasadharman of the late 6th century, we learn that the 'linga' of Siva was also 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 Ind 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 the inscriptions of Indochina, 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 v 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 also seen in the records of the 7th century. The Myson Sta 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. Vikrantamurman was succeeded by Vikrantavarman II who was also a patron of Saivism. In his Myson Stelae inscription of the early eighth century, Siva is exalted above Brahma and Visnu, who are said to be saluting his feet. In the Po-nagari 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 Stelae inscription of Indravan 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 Stelae 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 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 Stela inscription of the 9th century records the donations made by one Samanta both to the Baudhhas 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, Vaishnavism 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 Baudha, as he is described installing an image of Svabhayada and Lokesvara. But it reads 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 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
other blurring their distinctive character. Two indication
this mutual influencing of these creeds are to be seen in the
above inscription itself. First, the king is said to have
cated male and female servants to the temple of Lokesvara
exactly after the manner of the dedication of such servants
Saiva temples, which shows that Buddhism was taking up the
practices of the Saiva creed. Secondly, Lokesvara is, through
called 'Laksmindra', or the 'lord of Laksmi', which shows how
Buddhism was taking up the deities of Vaishnavism. We shall
occasion to notice further indications of this tendency bel

To the 9th century, also, belong the inscriptions
Indravarman III, and of Jayasimhavarman I, and these further
make clear the character of Saivism at that period. The Bo-
Stelae inscription of the former refers to the 'makhalingas
Siva which were installed by the king, and, also, to the ima
Siva's consort, which were erected by the side of the image
of the god. This shows the prevalence of the practice of wor-
shipping Siva and Parvati together. From the same inscription
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 temp
and its priests. When there were not fields, the servants
probably, did other menial work connected with the temple.
Ban Iyanh inscription of the latter king, of the early 10t
century, is worth noting. It is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Cham. In the former portion, Siva is called by the 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 portion occurs an interesting passage. It reads: "The men and daughters to the temple for living therein as its proper 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 it served the temple in a capacity determined by the custodians of the temple. But whether these services might have been there is no indication to say.

Somewhat later is the Hoa-Que Stelae inscription of Bhadravati of 909 A.D., in which we find what may be called the apothophoros 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 Stela 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 Avar-kitesvara. This shows, again, the prevalence of the spirit of toleration between Saivism and Buddhism. In the Po-nagar Stele 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 was 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 Sakt worship in these parts. The goddess is invoked as the Supr 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 be
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. This inscription, again, she is described as being well known in Yampunagara, which, therefore, appears to have been a center 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 Preah Kev inscription of about the same period she is, similarly, referred to as 'Sambhusakti'. In the Phnom Mosesey inscription of the 10th century, she is identified with Sarasvati and is called Vagisvari. As in the Tārika works in India, she is regarded as the Supreme Deity who, at the time of involution, breaks through the lotus of universe and goes above, and then comes back again for beginning the work of creation once again. She is also called 'Bhuvanesvarodayakari', 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 unknown, and at least one inscription refers to it.

In the inscriptions of the 12th and the 13th centuries also, the same character of Saivism is revealed. The Mysore 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 Mysore stela inscription of the same king begins with an invocation to Siva, but the king is said to have installed an image of Loka-vara, 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 Mysore 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 of Jayaparamesvaravarman 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 we
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 story 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'. Saiva and Vaisnava symbols are seen under an inscription of the 1st century at Tuk Mas, while in another inscription at Tjang (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 appeared later on.

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, 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 the actual fact that a Brahmana of the Agastya clan 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 Janggeng,
group of temples belonging to later 9th century, which riv
the glories of the Buddhist Borobuddur. The central templ
is of Siva, and in it, stands an image of Sivawho is repr
- ted as standing and four armed. An image of Durga, eig
armed and slaying the demon Mahisa is also found at the sa
place, and still an object of popular devotion. Another i
of Siva, belonging to the same period and made in bronze,
which is now in the Essen museum, shows the four armed Siv
three eyed, holding a 'kamandalu', and with snakes coiling
round the arms. This indicates that this aspect of Siva
also known in Java.

Saivism continued to flourish in Java during the
11th, and the 12th centuries, though the monumental records
this period are scanty. In the 13th century, the records
become abundant, and we find a Siva temple at the Candi K
in Eastern Java, which shows that Saivism had spread to th
parts also. It also appears that during the centuries imme-
ly preceding, Tantrism had also been introduced into Jav
and had become established by the 13th century. For, at
Candi Jago at Sigasuri, was found a statue of Ganesa conce
of in his Tantrika aspect, with imprints of skulls on his
and ears, and a row of skulls round the pedestal on which
-presented as seated. Also, an image of Siva in his 'bhair
form, with side tusks, garland of skulls, and rows of skull
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 apparently sitting on a dog who, as we know from the images of the god 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 the goddess in the same aspect of 'Mahisamardini' is found, along with the two above images of Ganesa and Siva. Evidently, this was the most common aspect in which the goddess was worshipped. To the 13th century also belongs the famous image 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 was the famous Krtanagara. His reign is of great interest from many points of view. Not only was he a great patron of 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 performed many ceremonies according to Tantrika rites. But the point most interest to us is that it was during his reign that the process of the mutual assimilation of the different creeds, especially of Saivism and Buddhism, indications of which were seen in the records of Indo-China, and which went much further in Java, reached its culmination. Saiva and Buddhist tem
had existed together from the earliest times in Java, and the
Tankéka images of Ganesa and Siva, noticed above, were found
in a Buddhist temple, and during the reign of Krtanagara, they
two creeds are seen to be practically fused with one another.
king regarded himself as an incarnation of Siva and Buddha, w
in an Buddhist work of the period, Siva is regarded as ident
with the Buddha. There was, perhaps, even a Siva-Budd
form of worship, as in one temple we find an image of Siva, w
one of the Buddha above it. In another temple (CHúpuwatu), w
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 S
and Visnu, found at Simping, which shows mutual assimilation
Saivism and Vaisnavism. At the same place has, also, been fo
one of the few images representing Siva's consort in her bene-
ment aspect.

Fornour knowledge of Saivism in Bali we suffer from
initial disadvantage of lack of early records. Inscriptions a
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 else-
Fa Hien records the existence of the 'Mulasarvastivadin' scho
of Hinayana Buddhism in Bali. This was, in course of time, s
planted by Mahayana Buddhism. Saivism was the next most impo
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 of 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 shows the popularity of the Saiva cult. Some 'mukhalingas' are found, and one of them has 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 'catukaya' of the 'triratna'." This type belongs to the 13th or the 14th century, and, therefore, as an indication of the prevalence of Saivism at that period. Besides the archaeological records, we have also a number of literary records, most of which are only corrupt copies of Indian Sanskrit 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 M. Levi.

About the prevalence of Saivism in other islands of the

2. Ibid. p.31.
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 Stra, records are too fragmentary to enable us to give an extended 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. 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 Yasodhararāman and Viṣṇuvar (early sixth century). CII, Pl. xxii, p. 56.

1. Sa jayati jagatāṁ patih pināki smitaravagītis ya danta-kantikā, Dyutiriva taḍitāṁ nīśi sphuranti tirayati ca -tāyatyaśāsca visvām.

Svambhūr bhūtānām athitilayasamutpatti vidhi śu, Parayuktō yenājñāṁ vahati bhuvanānām vidhrtaye; Pitṛtvam cāṅito jagatī garimāṇaṁ gamayata, sa Śambhūr bhūyaṃsi pratidīṣatū bhadrāṇi bhavatām.


Jayati dhruvabalendujataṁ lakṣamanaṁ dalaḥ; Anādyanidhanāsaśc śambhūr viśvesam jagatāṁ pataḥ .........

Vijayavajjanyāṁ svāmī-mahāsena-mātr-ganāṇaḥ -nābhisiktaṁ .........

......

Namo hariharahiranyagarbhebhyo.


......sthamā sajagād rakṣamaujasam mātrām lokā mānḍalam bhūtayestu vāḥ.


Ajanyad ekām sa nṛpo hāva śikhyāhanāṁ ta -yam.

Bimbam bhūtapater guhasritam idam devyasca pājagat.

Unnidraṣṭya saroruhasya sakalam  akşipya sōbhām Sāvajñām mahiṣāsurasya sīrasi nyastāh kvanannīraḥ.

etc. etc.

Vinyastaādbhutavindhyabhūdharaguhām āśritya kāryani.

...........

Grāmam analpabhogāvibhavam ramyam bhavanyai d

Chammaka Copper Plate inscription (7th century). CII, xxxiv, 235.

Aṃśa-bhūra-samnivesita-divalingodvahana-siva-super-
ta-samutpādita-rāja-vamśaḥ dhīmānaḥ parākramādhibhāg-
yamala-jala-mūrdhā-bhisiktanām, daśāvāmedhavābhr-
snānānap bharasīyānam mahārāja sri bhavanāga-dauhi-
sya...........

Nirmanda Copper Plate inscription (early 7th century). CII, xliiv, p. 286.

........bhagavatastripurāntakasya lokālokasevari
pranatanukampinaḥ sarvadūhkha-sakarasya kap-
-svare ......kapālesvara-bali-cāru-satra-srag-
a-dīpivānaya...........


Sarga-sthiti-layahetorvisāsya (brahma) visnuru
Mūrti-tr̥yam pradadhate samsāra-bhīde namo vi

Baijanātha Prasasti (8th century) EI I, p. 104.

I, Durge......dvārahārīṇi hari-brahma-didevastute
Bhaktiḥ kaśemavidhāyīnī trinayane ......
II. Devasyahuti lampatasya parama pustir yato jaya
Tabhir murtibhir astabhir avatu vo bhutyai
bhavanivibhuh.

Kastkhoddipanakarmatthagati ya ya nirnimesekya
Satpaksair upajivyate dvijanam ya bhibhrit a
-etc.


....raja-dauvarikagnisvami-karanikika votada
-karanikamaitya-bhadrasvami-purasarena.....

Surata Plates of Karkkeraja Suvarnavarsa. (9th century). EI.X
p. 140.

Invocation to Jinendra. Then
Sa vo vyad vedhasa dhama yannabhikamalamkrtam
Harasca yaaya kontendukalaya kamalamkrtam.

Inscription of Dantivarman of Gujerat. (9th century). EI.VI
p.287.

Invocation to the Buddha. Then
Sa vo vyad vedhasa dharma etc.etc. as in prev
inscription.


Anve tataivameva buddham amam lam tvanye jina
namanam;
Tasmai sarvamayaikyakaraapanateh sarvaya nitya
narah.

Malhar stone inscription of Jajalladeva (12th century).

Yascaravaka-visalamanam analo durvarabuddha
panananditakumbhasambhavamunir digvasasam ant
Inscription of Svapnesvara at Bhubanesvara. (12th century).

1. Mṛtyārāmbhe valayamāṇibhir nīrmitā yatnādipā
dasmāi dattās tripurājayine tena tāstā mṛgāk.

Badaun inscription of Lakhamapala (12th or 13th century).

1. Yo bālah kila dākṣiṇāpathagatō bauddha-prati
   -pitām
2. Sampasayan pratimām jahāra vidhīnā kenāpi durā
   rūṣā;
3. Mantroccāraṇavelayaiva patahadhvānāt tato vi
   vijñāto gurugauravān nijapade nīnīye.....

Dabhoi inscription. (13th century).

1. Āstabhīs tanubhiṣanotvabhimatām śrī vaidyanā
   śvāyam...........

Further India.

All inscriptions are taken from:

1. Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge.
2. Inscriptions du Cambodge.

Cho-Dinh rock inscription. (about 400 A.D.).

1. Namo devāya bhadreśvarasvāmiprasādat agnaye
   justam karisyāmi dharmamahāraja śrī bhadrava
   -no yāvaccandrādityau tayat...........

2. Sivo dāso badhyate.
Myson Stelae inscription of Badravarman (5th century).

Siddham namo mahesvaram umāna prā p śreedharmām visnu eva ca.

Myson Stelae inscription of Sambhuvarman. (about 6th century)

Sthityupattipralayavasinas sūlinas samāranam

Kṛtsam vetti tribhuvanagurukaraṇam sthānur ev

Duong Mong Pedestal inscription (6th century) of Prakasadh

Idām bhagavataḥ puruṣottamasya visno anādi-

-nidhanasyāśesabhuvalavuroḥ pujasthānam.

Thach Bich rock inscription of the same king.

Śri prakāśadharmeti sthāpitanam amaresām iha

Myson Stelae inscription of the same king.

Svāh saktīḥ pratiyōjanam upagataḥ ksityadayo mṛt
lokaśhitudayadikaryaparata tabhivrīmā nasti hi.

Yo brahma-visnu-trideśādhipādi-

śruṣṣuabrahmanarparsimānyaḥ;

Tathāpi bhūyai jagatāṁ āntyac
eṣhamābhumāvaticitrāmetat.

Myson Pedestal inscription of the same king

Mahesvarasakhasyedam kuverasya dhanākaram;
Prakāśadharmanpurati pujasthānam akalpayat.

Ekākṣipingealayesa devyādadrasanaduduṣitaḥ;
Saṁvārdhaytviśadhanam puyaccāhitatas sādā.
Myson Stelae inscription of Vikrāntavarman (687 A.D.).

Isānasyaśtāmūrtih keatamabhilaṣitam rūpyakosē
nādo......

Myson Stelae inscription of the same king. (undated).

Lokānām paramaśavṛatvasamām yāto nādadvāhano;

Bhuṅkte 'dyāpyupamanyurindudhavalam ke-īrrharvha
bandhavaḥ.

Aśārdhābrāhmadhuryam sakalasuramayasyandanaṃ
viṣṭapānām
Sāntyartham yena dāhovugapadapi purātraipurā
putānām.

svārūpenāpyavani-vana-pavana-sahaa-pavana-vana
-path-dāsaśatakiṃa-satakiṃa-dikṣita-tanub
atanuprabhāvābhīḥ sarva-bhava-paśu-patī-sāna-b
rudrā- mahādevo-grābhīdhana-pradhāna-samupavr
-ābhīr āvirbhāavitaviśamūrtīnā.

Myson Stelae inscription of Vikrāntavarman II, (731 A.D.)

Sriśāmbhurumukhalingamujjvalanibham sarvāpabho
-ītm.

Kośām sānanam āditulyavibhavam saśrīvahanārīv
-puḥ.

Yangtikuh Stelae inscription of Indravarman I. (799 A.D.).

Paṭāla-prabhāvāsca viryatapasa śatvena va yopi

Antahpuravilāsinīdāsadāsāgamahisaksāetrādidrav

Ghai Lamov Stelae inscription of Indravarman I. (801 A.D.).

A Atha kālēna mahatā sāmbhor bhaktiparāyanat;
Kīrttā ca dharmena ṣa ṣa ruda lokaṃ agānītāt;

Jayati mahāsurapuratrāyāvamarandanavividhavikra
'pi sitaḥbhasmaprabhavāyogādiṣcaḥubhānaṃkārāṇamal-
taraśarīrapradasaḥṣaḥca. . . ji valitanetra bṛaya-
- jyotane.
Bakula Stelae inscription of 829 A.D.

Vihārau devakulau dvau dve jinasāmkarayostay

Po-nagar Stelae inscription of Vikrāntavarman II, (9th cent

Tasmai āri bhagavtisvarāya...kosthāgāram...striganaśahādita...

Dong Duong Stelae inscription of Indravarman II, (9th centu

Imam ca paramam loke buddhasantānajam varām
Ahem lokesvaram kartum jagatām syām vimuktay

...asapī ca yas āri indrāvarmā ksetrāni s
-ānyānī dāśīdāśān...lakṣṇāndrāya lokesvārāy
bhikṣusamghāparibhogāya....dattavān iti.

Bo Mands Stelae inscription of Indravarman III (889 A.D.),

Śri mahāliṅgadevov'yam sthāpitaśtena tatpittah
Sthāpita ca mahādevi śrimati mbaripriyā.

Hoa Que Stelae inscription of Bhadravarman II (905 A.D.),

Tataścā daksine bhṛmā saṃghītō vāmato hari
Ityekatvam īmāu yena yena labhete yadanujāh

Po-nagar Stelae inscription of Indravarman III, (919 A.D.)

Ākhyāna-saivottarkālpamināh....

Po-nagara temple inscription of Paramesvaravarman I, (1050 A

Bhūtābhutesabhotā bhuvibhavatibhavodbhāyātmābhāyā
Bhāvābhāvasvabhāyā bhavabhavakabhāvabhāvabhāvika
-bhāvā
Bhāvābhāvāgrāsaktiḥ saśīmukutatanorardhākāya suka
kaye kayesakāya bhagavati nāmato no jayevasvasīdā
Po-nagar temple inscription (undated but later than 1050.)

Ya devī sa śrīmalaḍākutthārā-
-khyā śaṁ hara mama tāsya bhāryā.

Vyāpnoti yo'nikhilavastvasubham subham va
no lipyate raviḥ iveddhakalā tadiya;
Devo ca yāmpunagaraprathitābhidhānā;
 Ya sa natābhimataśa mama śaṁ kuru tvām.

Myson temple inscription of Jaya īndravarman IV. (1163 A.D.)

Dr̥ṣṭaťair mahasyair bahuvāk sa śarvah......

Vat Prey Virer inscription. (667 A.D.)

Viśnūśāvekamūttī kagaliṣayaminā śthāpitavatru
yuktyā.

Prea Bynkosey inscription (688 A.D.).

Udyadbhānunibhā vibhidya kamalam kham yati ya
saṁbatau,
ṣrṣṭyārtham punaretica ndrámuścira yanmanasam
mānini;

Sā saktir bhuvaneśvarodayakarī vāgiśvāri pātu

Phnom Prah inscription (about 893 A.D.).

Sivaśaktiḥ sa cāryaḥ sivaśaktivibhāgavit.

Sivaśaktyānubhāvena sivaśaktirvividhate.

Prea Kev inscription (9th century ?).

Vasati yad acaḷāśaṁ śambhuśaktis susubhṛā.
The 'evolution' of Siva.

Vedico Vak

Indus Valley - Indus Valley

Hale God

Mother Goddesses

Amshaka Pundra

Gamsa

Local goddesses

Siva - Parvati

Siva Bhatawa, Kapalika, etc., Parvati, Durga, Kasyayani etc.

other local gods?

Vishnu (Sutras)

Genesis

The Himalayan deity = a female associate
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Sutra Text</th>
<th>Series</th>
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<td>Bibliotheca Indica.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDS</td>
<td>Baudhayana Dharma Sutra</td>
<td>Leipo 1884</td>
</tr>
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<td>AGS</td>
<td>Asvalayana Grhya Sutra</td>
<td>Anandasrama Sanskrit Series.</td>
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<td>BGS</td>
<td>Baudhayana Grhya Sutra</td>
<td>ed. Same Sastri. Mysore 1920</td>
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