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VOL. II
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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS

18862

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VOL. II
(ŚĀKTA AND NON-SECTARIAN UPAPURĀNAS)
FOREWORD

Five years ago we published the first volume of Studies in the Upapurāṇas. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the book has been appreciated by scholars all over the world. The present volume contains an account of the Śākta and the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas. The third volume on the Śaiva and the Gāṇapatya Upapurāṇas is almost ready for the press, and we hope to publish it early next year.

Sanskrit College
Calcutta,

Gaurinath Sastri
PREFACE

It is with a feeling of much relief, though not without some amount of diffidence, that I present before the scholarly world the second volume of my ‘Studies in the Upapurāṇas’, in which I have dealt with the Śākta and the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas now available in printed forms and also a number of extinct ones of these two classes. As the Śākta Upapurāṇas still lying in Mss have been preserved at places beyond my easy reach, they have been reserved for future treatment. They are only a few in number, and most of them are of minor importance and come from comparatively late dates.

Although it was my intention to make all the volumes of my ‘Studies in the Upapurāṇas’ approximately equal in length, the extent of the present volume has far exceeded that of the first, and for this, I think, I should offer an explanation.

When, about two years back, the manuscript copy of the present volume was sent to the press, it contained chapters on the Śākta and the Gānapatya Upapurāṇas, but a little before the beginning of its printing I was told by our Publication Department that the matter, sent to the press, might be too insufficient for a volume of 400 pages. So, I felt extremely nervous. After much thought I recalled my manuscript from the press, replaced the Chapter on the Gānapatya Upapurāṇas with two more extensive ones on the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas which were meant for the third volume, and wrote in great hurry pp. 94-188 on the linguistic study of the Devi-purāṇa, which I had kept off for more detailed and elaborate treatment in a separate and independent work. I do not know how my ideas put forth in these pages will be received by scholars, but I crave their indulgence for any slips that may, in their opinion, have occurred in the arrangement of materials in these pages. As a matter of fact, some of the grammatical forms occurring in the Devi-purāṇa were highly confusing to me. For
instance, in the expression ‘ketumuccrayam’, used in Devipuraṇa 11.57, I could not be sure whether the ‘m’ immediately following the word ‘ketu’ was an intervening Saṃdhi-consonant (or hiatus-bridger) or it was due to the second case-ending used irregularly in connection with the Kṛd-anta noun ‘uccraya’ (cf. the expressions ‘tvām-kāmayā’, ‘māṃ kāmena’, ‘kṣīram pāne’, etc. used in the Vedic works).

As to my use of a Ms of the Ekāmra-puraṇa instead of the Cuttack edition of this work printed in Odiya script, I should like to say that although I could procure a copy of this edition not very long after the manuscript copy of the present volume had been sent to the press, I was compelled to set it aside due to my complete unfamiliarity with the Odiya alphabet. For my use of the Vāngavāsi Press editions of certain Purānic texts I have already stated the reasons in my Preface to Volume I of the present work.

As regards certain names the varied spellings given at different places in a particular Upapuraṇa (such as ‘jalpiṣa’ and ‘jalpiṣa’ in Kālikā-puraṇa, chaps. 60 and 80 respectively, and ‘vartāṣa’ and ‘varṇāṣa’ in Kālikā-puraṇa, chap. 81) have been retained in the summaries of the relevant chapters from linguistic and other considerations.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not take this opportunity to express my gratitude to our Principal Dr. Gaurinath Sastri for his keen interest in the speedy publication of this volume. But for his sympathetic help and encouragement it would not be possible for me to have it published so soon. I should also thank Pandit Dinesh Chandra Sastri and more particularly Pandit Nanigopal Tarkatirtha of the Publication Department for their kind service in times of need.

Some portions of this work appeared as isolated articles in different oriental journals. But I have tried my best to improve considerably upon these published portions with much interesting material collected by more recent studies.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Adyar Library Cat. = A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library (Madras).
AnSS = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).
ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
ASB Cat. = See 'Shastri, ASB Cat.' below.
As. Soc. = Asiatic Society.
Aufrecht, Bod. Cat. = Theodor Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae.
Bhāg. = Bhāgavata-purāṇa.
Bhandarkar, Vaiśṇavism etc. = R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiśṇavism, Śāivism and Minor Religious Systems.
Bhav. = Bhaviṣya-purāṇa.
Bikaner Cat. = See 'Mitra, Bikaner Cat.' below.
Bod. Cat. = See 'Aufrecht, Bod. Cat.' above.
B. S. = Bengali Saṃvat.
Burnell, Classified Index = A. C. Burnell, A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore.
Bv = Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.
Calcutta Sans. College (or, Cal. Sans. Coll.) = Calcutta
Sanskrit College (1, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta).


Cat. = Catalogue.


Chakravarti, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat. = Chintaharan Chakravarti, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat (Calcutta).

Chap., chaps. = Chapter, chapters.

Com. = Commentary.

Dacca Univ. = Dacca University.

Dbh = Devī-bhāgavata.

Dbht, Dpt, Dv (Śrīn.), Dv (Śūl.)—See p. 2, footnote 4.


Farquhar, Outline = J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India.

Fol., fols. = Folio, folios.


Hazra, Purāṇic Records = R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs.

Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar = Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).


Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue) — See 'Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat.' above.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay).
-kh. (as in ‘Sṛṣṭi-kh., ‘Bhūmi-kh.’ etc.) = -khaṇḍa.
Kr, Kt = See p. 2, footnote 4.
Lg = Liṅga-purāṇa.
Mahābhāg. = Mahābhāgavata-purāṇa.
Mārk. = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
Mat. = Matsya-purāṇa.
Mbh = Mahābhārata.
Mitra (or, R. L. Mitra), Bikaner Cat. = R. L. Mitra, A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikaner.
Mitra (or, R. L. Mitra), Notices = R. L. Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.
Ms, Mss = Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Ns = See p. 2, footnote 4.
Pd = Padma-purāṇa.
Poleman, Census of Indic Mss = H. I. Poleman, A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.
P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat. = P. P. S. Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore
Mahārāja Serfoji’s Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore. Ps=Pauṣkara-samhitā.
Sans.=Sanskrit.
Shastri (or, Haraprasad Shastri), ASB Cat. = Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
Shastri (or, Haraprasad Shastri), Notices= Haraprasad Shastri, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Second Series.
Sm.=Samvat.
S. K. De, Vaiśṇava Faith and Movement = Sushil Kumar De, Early History of the Vaiśṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal.
Sp, St—See p. 2, footnote 4.
Univ. = University.
Vām.= Vāmana-purāṇa.
Vaṅga.= Vaṅgavāsi Press (Calcutta).
Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat. — See ‘Chakravarti, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat.’ above.
Var. = Varāha-purāṇa.
Veṅkaṭ.=Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay).
Viṣ.=Viṣṇu-purāṇa.
V.S.=Vikrama Saṃvat.
Yāj.=Yājñavalkya-smṛti.
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Chapter I

THE ŚĀKTA UPAPURĀNAS

The history of the worship of female deities in India goes back to a remote past, as early literary evidence from the Vedic period downwards and the excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other places amply indicate, but the conception of a central goddess Devī as Śakti, to whom all other female deities were affiliated as her parts or incarnations, and the compilation of Purānic works dealing with her praise, nature, exploits and worship, were matters of comparatively late ages. As a matter of fact, there have been Mahāpurānas on the rites, customs and faiths of the Brāhmaṇas, Pāñcarātras and Pāṣupatas from long before the beginning of the Christian era, but not a single work of this class has ever dealt exhaustively or even principally with Śakti-worship, although chapters on the praise and worship of the different forms of Devī are to be found in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., Vāmana-p., Varāha-p., Kūrma-p., and so on. In comparatively late days there arose a number of Śākta Upapurānas of note, of which the following have come down to us: Devī-p., Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata, Devī-bhāgavata, Bhagavatī-p., Caṇḍī-p. (or Caṇḍikā-p.), Devī-rahasya, and a second Kālikā-p. (which is also called Kālī-p. and Śatī-p. and is quite different from the Kālikā-p. mentioned above). Of these, the first four are available in printed forms and the rest still exist in Mss. In the present Chapter we shall deal with the printed works only, leaving out the remaining ones for future treatment. It may be mentioned here that these Upapurānas relate very often to

1 See Märk. 81-93 (=Veṅkaṭ. ed., chaps. 78-90), Vām. 17-21 and 51-56, Var. 21-28 and 90-96, Kūr. I. 11-12. Also Mbh IV. 6 and VI. 23 (containing hymns to Durgā) and Harivamsa II, chaps. 2-4 and 22 (in which Devī has been praised).

2 For these Mss see Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 187, No. 415 (Bhagavatī-p.), and Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1202-05, Nos. 3360-61 (Caṇḍī-p. or Caṇḍikā-p., also called Bhagavatī-p. and Kālikā-p.), and pp. 1193-98, No. 3344 (Kālikā-p., also called Kālī-p. and Śatī-p.). See also Mitra, Notices, I, pp. 208-9, No. 370 (for description of a Ms of the Caṇḍi-p.).
the central goddess Devi and sometimes to one or other of her principal forms such as Durgā, Kāli (or Kālikā), Caṇḍī, Sati, etc., although the growing popularity of the conception of Śakti in India inspired people to look upon every female deity as a Śakti (Active Energy) of a particular male god, to whom she was associated very often as a wife.

Besides the Purānic works mentioned above, there are also a few others, such as the Brhadārāṇyaka-p. and the Bhaviṣyottara, which contain chapters on Devi-worship; and among the Purānic verses quoted in the Śruti Nibandhās of different parts of India on the praise and worship of Devi we find a large number which cannot be traced in any of the Purānic works now extant. For instance, in the Bengal Nibandhās a good number of verses on the autumnal worship of Durgā has been ascribed to the Bhaviṣya-p., Liṅga-p., Nandikeśvara-p., Brhan-nandi-

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8 This Upapurāṇa has been printed as the fourth Book (called Uttara-parvan) of the Venkata ed. of the Bhaviṣya-p. It will be examined in details in Chapter II of the present Volume. For our brief analysis of its contents and a discussion on the problems relating to its date, provenance, etc. see Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, III, 1953-54, pp. 8-27.

4 See Ky, pp. 512, 513; Dv (Śūl.), pp. 1-2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14-17, 19-21, 23-26; Dv (Śṛṅ.), p. 52; Kh, fol. 62a; Vī, pp. 367, 372, 376, 378-9, 385-7, 391, 396-7; Dpt, pp. 5-7, 13-14, 16-24, 30-32, 37, 38, 44; S, I, pp. 67, 68, 75, 76, 83, 87, 88, 90, 98, 101-3.

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes 4-62 of the present Chapter:

Dbht=Durgā-bhakti-tārāṅgī (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya of Mithilā).
Dpt=Durgā-pūjā-tattva (of Raghunandana of Bengal).
Dv (Śūl.)=Durgotsava-viveka (of Śrīnāthā Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi of Bengal).
Dv (Śṛṅ.)=Durgotsava-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi of Bengal).
Kr=Kṛtya-ratnakara (of Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura of Mithilā).
Kr=Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (of Śrīnāthā Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi of Bengal).
Kv=Kālāviveka (of Jīmūtavāhana of Bengal).
N=Nilnaya-sindhu (of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa of Benares).
Sp=Śanvāsara-pradīpa (a Śruti work of Bengal).
St=Śruti-tattva (of Raghunandana of Bengal).
Vī=Varṣa-kauṃudi (of Govindānanda Kaviśaṅkāṣṭārya of Bengal).

8 See Ky, p. 512; Sp, fols. 23b (anonymous), 24a (anonymous); Dv (Śūl.), pp. 2, 5, 8, 22; Dv (Śṛṅ.), pp. 43-45, 50; Kh, fols. 60a, 62a (anonymous), 62b (anonymous), 63b-64a; Vī, pp. 368, 371 (anonymous), 375 (anonymous); Dpt, pp. 4, 44; S, I, pp. 65, 74, 76, 87.

No verse on Durgā-pūjā is found quoted from the 'Liṅga-p.' in the Śruti Nibandhās of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, Caṇḍeśvara or any other comparatively early writer of Mithilā except Vidyāpati, who ascribes only one verse to the 'Liṅga-p.' in his Dbht, p. 46.

6 See Dv (Śūl.), pp. 7, 8 (?), 9; Vī, pp. 367, 375, 420; Dpt, pp. 2, 7, 38; S, I, pp. 69, 76, 86, 91.
keśvara-paṭa, Bhagavati-paṭa, Kālikā-paṭa. (which is now available in printed forms) and Devi-paṭa., to Satya, and to a work named as Jyotisā. Many of these verses occur in the Nibandhas of Kāmarūpa and Mithilā also and only a few are found quoted in Bhoja’s Rāja-mārtanda, Hemādī’s Caturvarga-cintāmani, etc., but the great majority of them, especially those on the rites mentioned below, is remarkably wanting in the Nibandhas of Orissa and Southern India.

No Śrūti-writer of Mithilā draws upon the ‘Nandikeśvara-paṭa’ in connection with Durgā-paṭa.

† See Dv (Śūl.), pp. 8, 12-13, 22, 24; Dpt, pp. 8, 10, 31, 37, 44.

Not a single verse on Durgā-paṭa has been quoted from the ‘Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-paṭa’ in the Nibandhas of Mithilā.

* See Kv, p. 511; Sp, fol. 23b (anonymous).

In Kv, p. 515 two verses have been quoted with the word ‘Kātyāyanī-ilośak’, but the first of these two verses has been ascribed to the ‘Bhagavati-paṭa’ in Kālāśāra, p. 109 and to ‘Kātyāyana’ in Vidyāpati’s Dbbt, p. 44 and quoted anonymously in Bhojadeva’s Rāja-mārtanda, fol. 79a. Both these verses have been ascribed to ‘Kātyāyana’ in Dv (Śrīn.), pp. 44-45 and Kt, fol. 63b.

†† See Dv (Śūl.), pp. 7, 8; Ddbt, pp. 3, 37-38; St, I, pp. 72, 75; and so on.

‡‡ See Kv, p. 514-5.

§§ See Dv (Śūl.), pp. 9, 10, 14, 26; Dv (Śrīn.), p. 49 (anonymous); Dpt, pp. 1, 10, 16-17, 45; Kt, fol. 63a, 66a; St, I, pp. 76-77, 103.

See, for instance, Candeśivara’s Kr, p. 362 (for verses which have been ascribed to the ‘Bhagavati-paṭa’ and ‘Satya’ in Jīmūtavāhana’s Kv, pp. 511 and 514 and to the ‘Bhagavati-paṭa’ in Vidyāpati’s Dbbt, pp. 37-38), and Vidyāpati’s Dbbt, pp. 37ff. (for verses of the ‘Bhagavati-paṭa’, ‘Kālikā-paṭa’, ‘Bhavisya-paṭa’, ‘Devi-paṭa’ and ‘Jyotib-śāstra’ on Devi’s bodhana, patrikā-praveša, etc.).

See also Śrīdatta Upādhyāya’s Samaya-pracīpata, fols. 41b-43a (for verses ascribed to the Devī-paṭa. and the Brahma-paṭa.) and Rudradhara Upādhyāya’s Vrata-paddhati, fol. 28a-b (for two verses ascribed to the ‘Bhavisya-paṭa.’).

In Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa’s Nirnaya-sindhu, pp. 127-8 the line ‘ṣaṭhyaṃ aṣayaṃ prakurviṣṭa bilva-ṛkṣe ‘dhīvāsanam’ has been derived from a work named ‘Kalpataru’; but this line is not found in the section on Mahānavamī-paṭa (the great autumnal worship of Durgā) given in Laksṇmidhara’s Kṛṣṇa-kalpataru, XI (Rājadharma-kāṇḍa), pp. 191-5. As a matter of fact, Laksṇmidhara draws only upon the Devī-paṭa. for his description of the Mahānavamī-paṭa.

In Bhoja’s Rāja-mārtanda, fol. 79a the following three verses have been quoted anonymously:

‘aim rāvaṇasaiva vadhaḥṛthaya rāmasyaṅukrahaḥ ca /
akāle brahmaṇaḥ (? brahmaṇaḥ) bodho devyaś tvam priyakṛt purā (?) //,
aham apy āśine tadvaj jyeṣṭhaṃ bodhayāmi te /
sṛṣila-śikhare jāta sṛṣ-phaḥā sṛṣ-niketana //
etavyo ‘si samāgaechha pūjyo durgā-śarupataḥ /
saptamāṃ mūla-yuktāṃ patrikāṃ ca praveśaḥ ca //’

In Hemādī’s Caturvarga-cintāmani, II, i, pp. 906-7 these three verses and also another, viz.,

‘mūlaḥhāve ‘pi saptamaṃ kevalāṃ praveṣayet /
ubhāḥbhāṃ nava-bilvasya phalābhāṃ śākhikāṃ tathā //’
have been ascribed to the ‘Liṅga-p.’

(The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi reads ‘devyās tvayi kṛtaḥ purā’ for the second half of the second line, ‘aham apy āśritaḥ saṣṭhyāṃ sāyāhne bodhayāmy atah’ for the third line, ‘śikhare jātaḥ śri-phaḥal śri-niketanaḥ’ in the fourth line, ‘mayā gaccha’ for ‘samāgaccha’ in the fifth line, and ‘saptamyāṃ pratās tāṁ śākham graham chittvā praveṣayet’ for the sixth line.

The verse ‘mūlābhāve ‘pi saptamyāṃ’ is quoted in Nirṛtaya-sindhu, p. 128 with the words ‘tad uktam hemādru laiṅge’).

It is to be noted that in the first verse (‘aṁśa rāvaṇasya vadhaḥṛthāya’, which is a mantra) Durgā-pūja has been connected with the story of Rāma. As it is the Nibandha-writers of Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa who are found to prescribe this mantra (aṁśa rāvaṇasya vadhaḥṛthāya etc.) to be used in Devī’s bodhana in the evening of the Śākta-śaṣṭhi, and as the tradition of Rāma's performance of Durgā-pūja for killing Rāvaṇa appears to be of East Indian origin, it is probable that the above-mentioned verses of the ‘Liṅga-p.’ were taken by Bhojadeva and Hemādri from some work or works of Bengal or Mithilā.

14 ‘saṣṭhyāṃ bilva-tarau bodhaṃ sāyaṃ saṃdhīyāu kārayet’ (ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ in Śūlapāṇi’s Dv, p. 7, as well as in Dpt, pp. 6, 7, St, I, pp. 75, 102, Vā, p. 367, and Dbh, pp. 40, 62; derived from the ‘Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī’ in Ns, p. 127).

bodhayādeva śākham yāhaṃ devīṁ phaleṣu ca

(ascribed to the ‘Kālikā-p.’ in Śūlapāṇi’s Dv, p. 7, as well as in Vā, p. 365, St, I, p. 75, Dpt, pp. 7, 10, and Dbh, pp. 41, 61; derived in Ns, p. 127 from the ‘Kālikā-p.’ as quoted in the Gauḍā-nibandha’; being the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 7b).

patri-pravexas ṃṇivedṛṣṭaṁ sāyāhe vindiḥya-vāśinīm //
caṇḍim āvāhayaḥ vidvān nātā kāryaya purasikryā //”


16 ‘keśa-saṃskāra-dravyāṇi praṇadiyāṣṭ pratipad-dine //
patīda-dorām dvitiyāyāṁ keśa-saṇyama-hetave //
darpāṇaṁ tu tṛṇīyāṁ sindurālaktakaṁ tathā //
madhuparkaṁ caturthyaṁ tu tilakaṁ netra-maṇḍanaṁ //
paṇcamyaṁ aṅgā-rāgāṇa ca saktyālaṁkaraṇaṁ ca //”

(ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ in Śūlapāṇi’s Dv, p. 6, as well as in Dpt, p. 6, St, I, pp. 101-2, and Dbh, p. 40; derived in Ns, p. 127 from the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ as quoted in the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī). Kamalakāra reads ‘pakva-tailam’ for ‘patī-deram’ and says that the latter reading is given by the Gauḍas—patī-deram iti gauḍa-pāṭhah).

16 ‘sukla-pakṣe caturthyaṁ tu devī-keśa-vimocanam’

(ascribed to the ‘Bhagavatī-’p.’ in Kv, p. 511 and Dbh, p. 37, and to the
(iv) ‘Adhivāsa’ of Devī in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of *patrikā-praveśa*.

(v) ‘Nava-patrikā-praveśa’, i.e. the bringing of the nine plants, viz., *rambhā, kacci, haridrā, jayanti, bilva, dādima, ašoka, mānaka* and *dhānya*, into the pūjā-manḍapa, and the worship of nine Durgās in them.

*Kālikā-p.* in Vks, p. 369; quoted with the words ‘śiṣṭāḥ paṭhānti’ in Kr, p. 362; being the same as *Kālikā-p.* 62. 18a.

śukla-pakṣe caturthyāṃ tu devi-keśa-vimokṣaṇam
(ascribed to the ‘Linga-p.’ in Śrīnātha’s Dv, p. 43 and Kt, fol. 60a).

śaṣṭhyāṃ śaṇāṃ prakurvita bilva-vṛkṣe ‘dhivāsanam’
(ascribed to the ‘Linga-p.’ in Śrīnātha’s Dv, p. 43 and Kt, fol. 60a; quoted anonymously in Kt, fol. 62a and Vks, p. 371; derived in Ns, p. 127 from the ‘Linga-p. as quoted in the Kṛṣya-tattvārṇava’).

śaṇāṃ śaṣṭhyāṃ tu kartavyaṃ pār vanityā ca śivāvivāsanam
śaṣṭhy-abhāve tu kartavyaṃ saptamāṃ api nārada /’
(ascribed to ‘Śrūti’ in Śūlapāṇi’s Dv, p. 8 and in Dpt, p. 7, and quoted anonymously in St, I, p. 76).

pūrvedur adhivāsyaiva bilva-vṛkṣe tathāmbikām
(ascribed to the ‘Nandikesvara-p.’ in Dpt, p. 2).

śaṃtāṃṣaṃ patrikā-pūjā rambhādi-nabhabhir yutā /
rambhā kacci haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dādima /
āsoko mānakaś caiva dhānyam ca nava-patrikā /
(ascribed to the ‘Brāhma-nandikesvara-p.’ in Śūlapāṇi’s Dv, pp. 12-13 and in Dpt, pp. 8 and 10).

rambhā kacci haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dādima /
āsoko mānakaś caiva dhānyam ca nava-patrikā /
(ascribed to the ‘Līnga-p.’ in Śrīnātha’s Dv, p. 50, and to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ in Vks, p. 372; quoted anonymously in Sp, fol. 24a, Kt, fol. 62b, Vks, p. 401; derived in Ns, p. 129 from the ‘Kṛṣya-tattvārṇava’).

brahmāṇi kadali-kāṇḍe dādime rakta-dantikā /
dhānye lakṣmīr haridrāyaṃ durgā mānaka-patrake /
cāmudādā kālikā kaccyām śīvā bilve pratiṣṭhitā /
āsoko śoka-rahitā jayantīṃ kārttikī matā /
(ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ in Vks, p. 391; quoted in Dbht, p. 63 with the words ‘śiṣṭāḥ paṭhānti’; derived from the ‘Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi’ in Dpt, p. 12).

pūrvāhøe nava-patrikā śubhakari dharmārtha-iddhi-pradādā ārogyam dhanadā karoti vījanā ṣaṭpraveśe śubhā /
madhyāne jana-pīḍana-śayakari saṃgrāma-ghorāvahā /śāyāne vadhā-bandhanādā-kalaham sarpa-kṣatam sarvadā /’
(ascribed to ‘Jyotiṣa’ in Śūlapāṇi’s Dv, p. 10, Śrīnātha’s Dv, p. 49, Kt, fol. 63a, and St, I, p. 76).

kadali dādima dhānyam haridrā mānakaṃ kacuḥ /
bilvo śoka jayantī ca vijyeyā nava-patrikā /’
(quoted anonymously in Rudradhara’s Vrata-paddhati, fol. 27b with v. 1. ‘dhānyā haridrāmalaṃkāṇī’ and ‘bilvāvākau’ for ‘dhānyam haridrā mānakaṃ’ and ‘bilvo śoko’ respectively and in St, I, p. 77 and II, p. 664; quoted with the words ‘śiṣṭāḥ paṭhānti’ on p. 63 and anonymously on p. 132 of the Dbht).

It is remarkable that in his Durgotsava-paddhati (fol. 15a) Udayasimha Rūpa-nārāyaṇa, who was a king of Gorakṣanagara (modern Gorakhpur) in Northern Kośala
(vi) The tying of the nine plants (constituting the nava-patrikā) with an Aparājitā creeper.  
(vii) The performance of the Śāvarotsava on the Daśamī Tithi.
Even on 'Patrikā-praveśa' (i.e. the rite of cutting, from a young Bilva tree, a small branch having two Bilva fruits and taking this branch to the pūjā-maṇḍapa for worshipping Devī in it), which, as the Rāja-mārtanda\textsuperscript{21} and the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi\textsuperscript{22} show, was known outside Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa, there are a number of verses, found quoted in the Smṛti works of Eastern India, which do not occur in those of other provinces. As instances of such verses we may mention the following:

'saptamāṃ mūla-yuktāṇṃ patrikāyāḥ praveśanam\
\textsuperscript{23}'
mūlabhāve 'pi saptamāṃ kevalāṇṃ praveśayet/
tathā tithy-antare 'py evam rksesu ca phaloccayah\
'saptamāṃ bilva-sākhāṃ tām āhṛtya pratipūjayet\textsuperscript{25}'
saptamāṃ patrikā-pūjā kartavyā cātha māṇavaīh\textsuperscript{26}
saptamāṃ astagāṇāḥ yadi viśati grhaṃ patrikā śṛphalāḍhyā
rājīnāḥ saptāṇa-rajyāṃ jana-sukham akhilaṃ hanti
mūlānurodhāt/
tasmāt sūryodayaśthāṃ narapati-śubhadāṃ saptamīṃ
prāpya devīṃ

\textsuperscript{21} See fol. 78b—saptamāṃ mūla-yukte prathamapada-gate patrikā-sthāpanam ca, etc. See also the verse 'saptamāṃ patrikā-pūjā astaśāmyāṃ cāpy upoṇaṇam, etc.' quoted in fol. 79a. In his Durgotsava-paddhati (fols. 6b-7a) Udayasimha Rūpānārāyaṇa derives the former verse from the 'Rāja-mārtanda' and reads it as 'saptamāṃ mūla-yog prathamapada-gate patrikā pūjānyā, etc.'

\textsuperscript{22} II. i. pp. 906-7. For the relevant lines see footnote 13 above.

\textsuperscript{23} Ascribed to the 'Devi-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 8, Dpt, p. 3, and Kt, fol. 60b, to the 'Nandikesvara-p.' in Dpt, p. 2, and to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śrīnāṭha's Dv, p. 44; quoted anonymously in Sp, fol. 23b; mentioned in Dbht, p. 46 as occurring in a 'Gauḍa-nibandha'; derived in Ns, p. 128 from the 'Devi-p. as quoted in the Gauḍa-nibandha'.

\textsuperscript{24} Ascribed to the 'Nandikesvara-p.' in Vks, p. 367, and to the 'Liṅga-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 8, Śrīnāṭha's Dv, p. 45, St, I, p. 74, and Vks, p. 368; quoted anonymously in Sp, fol. 24a, Kt, fol. 62b, and Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, p. 28; derived from a 'Gauḍa-nibandha' in Dbht, p. 46.

(A similar verse, agreeing in the first line but differing in the second, is found quoted from a 'Liṅga-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi. For the text of this verse see footnote 13 above. Kamālākara-bhaṭṭa took this verse of the Liṅga-p. from 'Hemādri'. See Ns, p. 128).

\textsuperscript{25} Ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 13, in Dbht, p. 41, and in Dpt, p. 10; derived in Ns, p. 128 from the 'Kālikā-p. (as quoted in the Gauḍa-nibandha).'

\textsuperscript{26} Ascribed to a 'dusrapa-kālikā-purāṇāntara' in Dpt, p. 8.
bhūpālo veṣayet tāṁ sakala-jana-hitāṁ rākṣasarkṣaṁ
vihāya/²⁷

‘mūla-yoge tu saptamyāṁ patrikāyāḥ praveśanam/
yad uktāṁ tad-dvāyabhāve kevalāyāṁ tithāv api/²⁸

As regards the line ‘saptamyāṁ patrikā-pūjā aṣṭamyāṁ cāpy
upośanam’ there is some scope for doubt. This line, which
is the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 19a, has been ascribed to the
‘Liṅga-p.’ in Kālaviveka, p. 512 and Śrīnātha’s Durgotsava-
viveka, p. 43 and Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, fol. 60a, to the ‘Bhagavatī-
p.’ in Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, p. 38, and to the ‘Kālikā-
p.’ in Varṣa-kaumudi, pp. 369, 371 and 375. It has been
quoted anonymously in Saṁvatsara-pradipa,²⁹ fol. 24a,
Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 362, and Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, p. 27. On
the other hand, Bhojadeva of Dhārā is found to quote it in
his Rāja-mārtanda (fol. 79a) without mentioning its source,
and Udayasimha Rūpanārāyaṇa, who has it in his Durgots-
vava-paddhati (fol. 6b), ascribes it to ‘śiṣṭas’, by whom he
must have meant those of Bengal (because he flourished
earlier than Vidyāpati, who only, among the Maithila
Nibandha-writers, is found to quote the said line in his
Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini).

Besides the verses mentioned above, there are also many
others which are peculiar to Bengal and in some cases to
Mithilā and Kāmarūpa also. But, as we have already said,
the comparatively early Śmṛti-writers of Western and
Southern India have no knowledge either of these verses or
of the rites based on them and the later ones record some of
these on the authority of the works of Bengal and Mithilā.
For instance, in his Nirṇaya-sindhu (pp. 126-141) Kamalā-
kara-bhāṭṭa deals with most of the above-mentioned rites
and quotes many of the relevant verses, but Kamalākara’s

²⁷ Ascribed to ‘Jyotiṣa’ in Śūlapāṇi’s Dv, pp. 9-10, Śrīnātha’s Dv, p. 49, and St, I,
p. 77.
²⁸ Ascribed to the ‘Nandikesvara-p.’ in Dpt, p. 3.
²⁹ This work, as occurring in Ms at present, belongs to Bengal.—See Hazra in IHQ,
XXI, 1945, pp. 49-55, and D. Bhattacharya in Our Heritage, I, pp. 159-160. See
also D. Bhattacharya’s Introduction (pp. xii-xlii) to his edition of Halāyudha’s
Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva.
sources are invariably the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithilā, the Devī-प. (a work of Bengal) on 'śatru-bali' only, and the present Kālikā-प. (which, we shall see hereinafter, must have been written either in Kāmarūpa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it). That neither Kamalākara nor his countrymen were familiar with the rites mentioned above, is shown by the following facts.

(i) In his Nirṇaya-sindhu, pp. 120-126 Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa deals elaborately with the proper time and method of performing the Navarātra-vrata without mentioning any of these rites or quoting any of the relevant verses of the 'Bhavisya-p.', 'Liṅga-p.', etc. mentioned above. He then begins, from p. 126, to deal with these peculiar rites with the words 'atha pratipadādīsu viśeṣo durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇyāṁ bhavisye . . . . . .', and bases his treatment of these rites on the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithilā as well as on the Devī-प. (with regard to 'śatru-bali' only) and the Kālikā-प. Had these characteristic rites been in vogue in his country, he would not have dealt with them separately after describing the method of performing the Navarātra-vrata, nor would he have derived his materials from the present Devī-प., Kālikā-प. and the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithilā.

In his Durgotsava-paddhati Udayasimha Rūpanārāyaṇa also says nothing about the peculiar rites mentioned above. In this work he quotes two verses on patrikā-pravesa on the authority of the 'śīṣṭas' (who, as we have already seen, must be the Smārtas of Bengal) and also another verse on the same topic by mentioning as his source the 'Rāja-mārtanda'.

30 The only exception is the verse 'mūlābhāve 'pi saptaṁyāṁ etc.' (on patrikā-pravesa), which Kamalākara derived from 'Hemādri'. See footnote 13 above.
31 Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 137-
   bali-prakāras tu devi-purāṇe—  ' . . . . . . . . / /
   tathā—'tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāt kṛtvā śatruṁ tu paśṭikam /
   khadgena ghṛtayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-viśākhayaḥ / /
   This verse is the same as Devī-प. 22. 16.
32 'saptaṁyāṁ patrikā-pūjā aṣṭāmyāṁ cāpy upoṣañam' etc. and 'mūlena sapṭalāṁ bilva-ākhāṁ āḥtrya pūjaye' etc. (on fol. 6b).
33 'saptaṁyāṁ mūla-yoge prathama-pada-gate patrikā pūjaniyā' etc. (on fol. 6b-7a).
(which must have taken it from some work of Bengal or Mithilā), but he prescribes the rite of satru-bali on the authority of the Devi-p.\textsuperscript{41}, which is a work of Bengal.

(ii) In the Bengal Nibandhas there is a verse, viz.,
‘rambhā kaccī haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍīmau/
asoko mānakāś caiva dhānāṇaṃ ca nava-patrikāḥ//’
which mentions the names of the nine plants constituting the nava-patrikā. In treating of nava-patrikā-pūjā Kamalākara quotes this verse with the mention of the ‘Kṛtya-tattvārṇava’ as his source, but reads ‘kavi’ for ‘kaccī’ and ‘māna-vṛkṣaś ca’ for ‘mānakāś caiva’\textsuperscript{35}. These readings ‘kavi’ and ‘māna-vṛkṣaś ca’ clearly show that neither Kamalākara nor his countrymen were familiar with ‘kaccī’ and ‘māna’. The learned editor of the printed text of the Nirṇaya-sindhu frankly admits that he did not understand what objects were meant by the words ‘māna’ and ‘kavi’ occurring in the text of the Nirṇaya-sindhu\textsuperscript{37}. Now, the word ‘kaccī’ (meaning ‘kacvi’ or ‘kacu’—Arun Colocasia) has been used in the above verse to mean the ‘kacu’ plant so well known in Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa, and its peculiar spelling with ‘व’ is common in the Bengal Nibandhas\textsuperscript{38} (and also perhaps in those of Mithilā)\textsuperscript{39}. The ‘mānakā’ (popularly

\textsuperscript{41} See Durgottsava-paddhati, fols. 4b and 15b.
\textsuperscript{35} For the names of the works quoting this verse see footnote 18 above.
\textsuperscript{36} Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 128— ... iti kṛtya-tattvārṇava utkam / patrikās tu—
‘rambhā kavi haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍīmau / asoko māna-vṛkṣaś ca dhānāṇaṃ nava-
patrikāḥ /’ iti tatrāvoktāḥ / For the reading ‘kavi’ for ‘kaccī’ see also Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 130— ... patrikāḥ
 pūjāyet / kadalyāṃ brahmāṇīṃ dāḍīme rakta-dantikāṃ dhānāye lakṣāṇāḥ haridrāyāṃ
durgāṃ māne cāmuṇḍāṃ kavaś kālikāṃ bilve śīvāṃ asoke śoka-rahitāṃ jayantīyāṃ
dāṭāṃ śāṃbhava durgāyai baliṇī dadyāt /

\textsuperscript{37} With respect to the words ‘māne’ and ‘kavau’ occurring in Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 130
( ... ... māne cāmuṇḍāṃ kavaś kālikāṃ ... ... jayantīyāṃ kārttikāṃ ... ) the
editor writes in a footnote; “māne kavau iti vastu-dvaya-vijñānam na bhavati nṛgym
etat/”. (See Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 130, footnote 1). The editor was not familiar with the
‘jayantī’ plant also. He writes in a second footnote; ‘jayantī ṭāhakalā iti amarāśinīha-
tīkāyām’.
\textsuperscript{38} See Sp, fol. 24a, Śūlapānī’s Dv, pp. 12-13, Śṛṇātha’s Dv, p. 50, Kṛ, fol. 62b,
Vṛ, pp. 372, 401, and Dpt, pp. 8, 10. See also Vṛ, pp. 391, 402, 425, and Dpt, p. 12.
The word ‘kacu’ occurs in Kavi Karṇapūra’s Kṛṣṇāleka-kaumudi, ii.
\textsuperscript{39} See, for instance, the two verses ‘brahmāṇī kadali-kāde’ and ‘cāmuṇḍā kālikā
cacīyām’ derived by Raghunandana in his Dpt, p. 12 from the Durgā-bhakti-tarāṅgiṇī.
The second verse mentions ‘kacvi’. But in these verses as occurring in the printed
called ‘māna’ or ‘māna-kacu’ in Bengal) is one of the varieties of arum. As neither ‘kacci’ nor ‘mānaka’ is mentioned in Amara-kośa or any other famous lexicon⁴⁰, Kamalākara and his countrymen as well as the learned editor of the printed text of the Nīnāya-sindhu totally failed to understand their meanings and made the mistakes mentioned above.

(iii) In two verses, of which one is derived by Kamalākara from the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini with the words ‘durgā-bhakti-taraṅginyāṁ bhavisye’, and the other from the ‘Kālikā-p.’, the reading ‘sāravotsavaīḥ’ is given in place of ‘sāvarotsavaīḥ’⁴¹. This wrong reading shows that Kamalākara and his countrymen were not familiar with the Sāvarotsava which is mentioned in all the Bengal Nibandhas⁴² dealing with Durgotsava and which was widely performed, and is still performed in some form or other, in this province on the Vijayā Daśami Tithi. Bhav. IV, chap. 138, which is one of the main sources of the description of the method of Durgā-pūjā as given in the Nibandhas of Orissa and of Western and Southern India⁴³, refers to none of the above-mentioned rites. As a matter of fact, all these characteristic rites are of East Indian origin. Some of them have been expressly mentioned in the Bengal Nibandhas as local customs prevailing in this province. For instance, the performance

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⁴⁰ Jaṭādhārācārya’s Pārīyā-nānārīha-kośa and Cakrapāṇi-datta’s Śāhda-candrikā mention ‘kacvi’ but do not spell it as ‘kacci’.

⁴¹ Nīnāya-sindhu, p. 126 (durgā-bhakti-taraṅginyāṁ bhavisye— ... ... sam-pūjya prēṣaṇaṁ kuryād daśamyāṁ sāravotsavaīḥ / ... ... ) and p. 127 (kālikā-pūrne — ... ... visarjanāṁ daśamyāṁ tu kuryād vai sāravotsavaīḥ / ... ... ).

In his Vidhāna-pārījāta (II, p. 630) Anantabhāṣṭa also quotes the said line of the Bhaviṣya-p. with the wrong reading ‘sāravotsavaīḥ’.

⁴² Though the Śaṃvatsara-pradīpa does not make any express mention of the Śāvarotsava, it anonymously quotes the line ‘visarjanāṁ daśamyāṁ tu kṛḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ’ (which is ascribed to the Līṅgā-p. in Kṛ, p. 512, Śrīnātha’s Dv, p. 43, and Kt, fol. 60a). According to Jīrnāvāhana the word ‘kṛḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ’ means the Śāvarotsava (see Kṛ, p. 514).

⁴³ See, for instance, Kālaśāra, pp. 103-115 (wherein verses 1-2, 10-11, 13-14, 15-16, 21-23 and 28-30a of Bhav. IV. 138 have been quoted), and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, i, pp. 908-920 (wherein the whole of Bhav. IV. 138 has been quoted). See also Kālaśāra, p. 229—seyam navami bhaviṣyat-purāṇoka-durgā-vratādau draṣṭavyā.
of Devi's adhivāsa in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of patrikā-praveśa is sanctioned by Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana on the authority of a verse ascribed to 'Śmrī'; and by Śrīnātha on the authority of ametrical line 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta' ascribed to the 'Liṅga-p.'

But Govindânanda says that this rite is based on a local custom, that the line 'ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta' is not found in the Nibandhas of Maithilas and others and is, therefore, unfounded, and that if this line was taken to be 'samūla', it would go against 'śiṣṭācāra'.

The tying of the Nava-patrikā with an Aparājitā creeper, again, is mentioned in Śrīnātha's Durgotsava-viveka and Govindânanda's Varṣakaumudi, but is called a local custom in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa and the Durgā-pūjā-tattva. In his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, which must have been written later than the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, Vidyāpati also refers to this custom, but
does not name or quote any authority. It is highly probable that Vidyāpati derived this custom from the Nibandhas of Gauḍa, to which he refers on other occasions. Further, all the plants constituting the Nava-patrikā are very common

nandana Smṛti work of Bengal. Even Govindānanda, who was a contemporary of Raghunandana and deals elaborately with Durgā-pūjā in his Varṣa-kaumudi (pp. 365-449), makes no mention of this custom. It is only in the section on Durgotasa in Raghunandana’s Tithi-tattva that the custom has been mentioned in the following lines:

evaṁ ca ghaṭikona-daśāmyām aparājitā-pūjaṇarthatvāt tatpūjaṇanāṃ pūrva-dine / 
ata eva tat-param evedam

"āśvinī śūkla-pakṣasya daśāmyām pūjayaḥ tathā / 
ekādaśyām na kurvita pūjaṇanāṃ cāparājītam //"

iti śivarahayoktikādaśi-yukta-daśamī-niṣedhaka-vacanam / 
tataś ca tat-pūrva-kṛtyam devi-visarjanam api tadaiva, tadantāpakarṣa-nyāyāt / vācaspati-mūro ’py evam / 
(See Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 88-89. This is a reference to Vācaspatimātra’s Kṛtya-

mahārāva, fol. 72a).

But the genuineness of these lines becomes extremely doubtful when we take into consideration the following facts:

(i) In his Durgā-pūjā-tattva Raghunandana deals elaborately with Durgā-pūjā; but neither in the section on Pramāṇa nor in that on Prayoga does he refer to the custom of Aparājitā-pūjā, although this work is, on one occasion, referred to in the Tithi-tattva for detailed treatment of the method of Durgā-pūjā (pūjāyaṁ viṣeṣa ta durgā-pūjā-
tattve ’nuṣandheyaḥ—Tithi-tattva, p. 93) and, in commenting on the above-mentioned lines, Kāśirāma Vācaspati speaks of the high authority of the Durgā-pūjā-tattva in matters of Durgā-worship in the following words:

‘tatrodaya-gāminiyaṁ mukhāntyānāyaṁ daśaṁyaṁ śravāṇa-nakṣatra-yukta-yāṁ 
kevalaṁyaṁ daśaṁyaṁ visarjanam iti durgācana-tattva-liṅkham / etad-
granthā-pramāṇaṁ tu ‘pūjāyaṁ viṣeṣa ta durgā-pūjā-tattve anusandheyaḥ’ iti 
Tithi-tattva-liṅkhanena drṣṭhikṛtam / (See Tithi-tattva with Kāśirāma Vācaspati’s 
commentary, p. 283).

(ii) In his Kṛtya-tattva Raghunandana deals briefly with Durgotasa (see Smṛti-
tattva, II, pp. 444-5), but there also he makes no mention of Aparājitā-pūjā.

(iii) The above-mentioned lines of the Tithi-tattva (in which Aparājitā-pūjā has been mentioned) do not occur in their right place after treatment of Devi’s immersion 
(visarjana), which is to precede, and not follow, Aparājitā-pūjā.

(iv) From the statements of Kāśirāma Vācaspati and the Durgācana-kaumudī 
(a post-Raghunandana work mentioned by Kāśirāma Vācaspati in his commentary on the Tithi-tattva, p. 283), it appears that even in post-Raghunandana days the custom 
of Aparājitā-pūjā attained popularity in a limited circle and did not obtain the sanction of renowned Smṛti-writers like Raghunandana. See Kāśirāma’s commentary (on 
the said lines of the Tithi-tattva): visarjanam daśāmyām iti rātrī-ādau visarjanam na kāryaḥ / 
devi-purāṇe “patri-praveśaṁ rātrī rātrau visarṣaṁ va karoti yaḥ / 
tasya rātra-viṁśaṁ 
śyād rājā ca vikalo bhavet //” rātrīva iti paryudasta-kālopalaksanam iti durgācā-
kaumudī // Also Durgācana-kaumudī (fols. 65b-66a): “atra kecit devi-visarjanā-
nantarāṁ yadi para-dine daśāmī aparājita-(pūjā-yogā)ya na prāpyate tadā navami-
yukta-daśāmyāṁ evodaya-sambandhāḥ-ābhāve ‘pi visarjanam kāryaṁ tasya tadbhāva-
kaḷa-kartavyatvāt / “ekādaśyaṁ na kurvita pūjitaṁ cāparājītum” (īty aṇena ekādaś-
yukta-daśāmī-niṣedha etad-visaya eveti tan na aparājita-pūjanasya kālab
in Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa, and they do not include ‘yava’ or any other plant which is peculiar to Western or Southern India. So, the verses of the ‘Bhavisya-p.’, ‘Liṅga-p.’, Nandikeśvara-p., Brhan-nandikesvara-p., etc. mentioned above must have been written in Eastern India, mostly in Bengal. We shall see hereinafter that the Kālikā-p. was written either in Kāmarūpa in Assam or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it, and the Devī-p., Nandikeśvara-p. and Brhan-nandikesvara-p. were written in Bengal.

As regards the verses ascribed to the Bhavisya-p. and the Liṅga-p., it is disappointing to find that none of them occurs in the present texts of the Bhavisya and the Liṅga-p. On the other hand, manuscripts are still found in Bengal of Smṛti works on the ‘Bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhati’; and Kāśirāma Vācaspati, in his commentary on Raghunandana’s Tithi-tattva, testifies to the fact that the method of Durgā-pūjā, prescribed by the ‘Liṅga-p.’, was once followed in Bengal. Regarding the verse ‘vratī pratpūjayed devīm’, ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya’ in Raghunandana’s Tithi-tattva, Gadādhara says that it was respected in ‘Gauḍa-desa’ but not in Orissa. We can reasonably presume, therefore, that chapters consisting of verses on the methods of Durgā-pūjā, as followed in Bengal, were written by the scholars of this province and inserted into the texts of the Bhaviṣya and the Liṅga-p. current among them, so that these methods, though determined mostly by the local customs of Bengal, might be regarded as based on authoritative Śāstric injunctions. But all the verses ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ and the ‘Liṅga-p.’ were not written at the same time. For instance, the lines

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62 See, for instance, Dacca University Mss Nos. 2261 and 4055, in which the work is called ‘Brhan-nandikesvara-purāṇ-ānugrīhta-bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgāpūjā-paddhati’.
63 See Kāśirāma’s commentary—evaṃ ca liṅgapurāṇ-ānusāreṇa cet pūjā kriyate tadā navamyāṁ astādaśa-bhūjāya bodhanam, kālikāpurāṇ-ānusāreṇa cet pūjā kriyate tadā navamyāṁ dasā-bhūjāya bodhanam iti bodhyam /—Tithi-tattva, pp. 248-9.
64 See Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 87.
“ṣaṣṭhyāṁ sāyaṁ prakurvita bilva-vrkṣe ’dhivāsanam’ and “śvetāparaṅjitā-baddhāḥ sarva-sampat-samṛddhidāḥ”, which record two of the most characteristic customs of Bengal and Mithilā and which have been ascribed to the ‘Liṅga-p.’ by Śrīnātha Ācārya-cudāmaṇī, were added at a comparatively late date\(^{24}\). It may be that Śrīnātha himself added these two lines to those already current in his time under the name of the ‘Liṅga-p.’

We have already mentioned the names of more than half a dozen Śākta Upapurāṇas which are still extant, and from our examination of these works we shall see that all of them were not written at the same time or at the same place. Hence the question arises as to why the people of later ages felt encouraged to write new Purānic works or chapters on Śakti-worship, although they inherited works of similar nature from their predecessors. In the following pages we shall try to answer this question before we proceed to analyse the individual Upapurāṇas.

We have already seen that the peculiar customs of the people of Eastern India encouraged them to compose new verses and even write new Purānic works in order to furnish these customs with a Śāstī basis. People of other provinces

\(^{24}\) The late date of these two lines is shown by the following facts:

In his Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 Śrīnātha ascribes to the ‘Liṅga-p.’ nine metrical lines, in which the line ‘ṣaṣṭhyāṁ sāyaṁ prakurvita’ occupies the fifth place. Of these nine lines, lines 3-4 have been ascribed to the ‘Bhagavat-p.’ in Kā, p. 512, but there is no mention of line 5 (ṣaṣṭhyāṁ sāyaṁ prakurvita, etc.) in the Kālaviveka. Lines 2-4 and 6-9 agree with Kālikā-p. 62.17-20, but line 5 (ṣaṣṭhyāṁ sāyaṁ prakurvita etc.) is not found there. The Saṃvatsara-pradīpa quotes lines 6-8 but not line 5. Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana support the performance of Devī’s adhivāsa in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of patrikar-panvela on the authority of a verse derived from a ‘Smṛti’ but do not quote the line ‘ṣaṣṭhyāṁ sāyaṁ etc.’ Govindānanda informs us that this line (ṣaṣṭhyāṁ sāyaṁ) was not found in the Nibandhas of Mithilā and other provinces (see footnote 46 above). Hence the line ‘ṣaṣṭhyāṁ sāyaṁ prakurvita’ must have been added later.

Of the three lines (rambhā kaccī haridrā ca, etc.), ascribed to the ‘Liṅga-p.’ in Śrīnātha’s Durgotsava-viveka, p. 50, the third is ‘śvetāparaṅjitā-baddhāḥ sarva-sampat-samṛddhidāḥ’. Although the first two lines are quoted anonymously in Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, fol. 24a and Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 401, and there is mention of the custom of tying the Nava-patrikā with an ṛṣṭai creeper in these two works as well as in the Durgābhakti-tārgāṇi (pp. 63 and 129) and the Durgā-pūjā-tattva (p. 51), the line ‘śvetāparaṅjitā-baddhāḥ’ is not found in any of these works. Hence there can be little doubt regarding the comparatively late date of this line.
also must have made similar attempts for the spread of Śakti-
worship. But this was not the only cause of composition of
new works and chapters on Śakti-worship in later days.
There were other reasons, which will be evident from
the following survey of the rise of Purāṇic Śāktism
in India.

A perusal of the extant Purāṇas indicates that to the
writers of these works the problem regarding Devī was not
how she originated but how she was to be associated and
conceived of. Yet the question of her origin played a great
part in determining her nature and association. There is no
denying the fact that in Devī, as we have her now, we have
glimpses of Vedic deities, especially the earth-goddess Pṛthivī,
but it must be admitted that in her present character she is
pre-eminently a deity of non-Vedic origin. Modern research
has made it sufficiently known that Mother-worship, in some
form or other, prevailed from very ancient times among the
different races and tribes, Aryan or non-Aryan, living in the
vast tract of land extending from Greece to India. In Greece
the only divinity certainly known to be of pre-historic origin
is the Mountain-Mother, who is found figured in ‘a seal-
impression of late Minoan style (circa 1500 B. C.) found at
Knossos’. In this impression the goddess stands on a
mountain-top with a lion on either side. An ancient Greek
work of about the ninth century B. C. identifies the Mother
of the Gods with the Phrygian Mountain-Mother, who is
the mistress of the swift-slaughtering lions. Pausanias, a
Spartan of the fifth century B. C., records the existence of
two ruined temples of the Mother of the Gods in Arcadia
and also of two lions made of stone in the neighbourhood of
one of them. In an Attic relief, dated about 400 B. C.,
the Mother Goddess appears as seated on a throne, with two
lions couching at her feet. According to Sir John Marshall,
‘female statuettes akin to those from the Indus Valley and
Bālūchisthān have been found in large numbers and over a
wide range of countries between Persia and the Ægean,
notably in Elam, Mesopotamia, Transcaspia, Asia Minor,
Syria and Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, the Cyclades, the Balkans
and Egypt\(^{67}\). The Mahābhārata\(^{38}\), Harivaṃśa\(^{59}\), and the Purāṇas\(^{60}\) tell us that in early times female deities of different forms and names were worshipped in different parts of India\(^{61}\) by the followers of the Vedas as well as by the Śavrās, Varvaras, Pulindas, Kirātās, and many other non-Aryan tribes\(^{62}\). These female deities appear in these works generally as divine mothers\(^{63}\) associated as spouses with particular male gods, but much more prominently as virgin deities sporting on mountain-tops and being the sources of origin of the divine mothers. Thus, Durgi or Durgā, a great mountain-goddess associated very often with the Himalayas, is called a virgin in early sources such as the Taśtrirya-āraṇyaka and the Mahābhārata\(^{64}\); Vindhyavāsini also appears as a virgin deity in all works; and in the Mārkaṇḍeya, Devī and other Purāṇas Devī, whether identified with Umā or with Vindhyavāsini, is found to kill the demons in her virgin


\(^{58}\) IV (Vīrata-parvan), chap. 6, and VI (Bhiṣma-parvan), chap. 23.

\(^{59}\) II (Viṣṇu-parvan), chaps. 2-4 and 22.

\(^{60}\) Viz., Viṣṇu-p. V. I; Mārkaṇḍeya-p., chaps. 81-93; Bhaviṣya-p. IV. 138; Devī-p.; Kālīkā-p.; Varāha-p., chaps. 21-28 and 90-96; and so on.

\(^{61}\) Bhav. IV. 138. 9b—rūpa-bhedair nāma-bhedair bhavānī pūjyate śiva; Viṣṇu-p. V. I. 80—tatah śambha-nisumbbhādin hatvā dāityān sahasraśaḥ/ sthānair anekaiḥ prthivin aṣeṣam maṇḍiṣyasi //; Harivaṃśa II. 2. 49—tatah sthāna-sahasraśaḥ tvaṁ prthivīn śobhayasi (spoken of Vindhyavāsina).

\(^{62}\) vāsas tava mahādevi vanešūpavaneṣu ca/ śavarañj varvaraiś caiva pulindaś ca supūjita //

Harivaṃśa II. 3. 6b-7a.

śavarañj varvaraiś cāpi (? śavarañj varvaraiś cāpi) pulindaś cāpi pūjyase /

vindhyavāsini vasaughe amognhe ambike subhe //

Devi-p. 127. 110b-111a. (See also Devi-p. 39. 142).

surā-mānādy-upahārair japa-yajñair vinā tu yā /

vinā mantras tāmaś sā kārāṇām ca saṃṣaṭa //

(ascribed to the ‘Skānda’ in Śūlapāni’s Dv, p. 3, and to the ‘Skānda’ and the ‘Bhaviṣya’ in St, 1, p. 68, Dpt, p. 90, and Kālasāra, p. 111).

See also Bhav. IV. 138. 27-30a (evaṃ vindhyopavāsinaḥ navaśatropavāsinaḥ // ... // ... sthāne sthāne pure pure / ... ... grāme grāme vane vane / ... ... melchair anyaś ca ... ... ).

According to the Kālīkā-p. (chap. 39) Kāmarūpa was a seat of Devī-worship even when it was inhabited by Kirātas.

The remarkable absence of Śāktism among the Tamils (of Southern India) tends to show that these people were originally not associated with Śakti-worship.

\(^{63}\) The number of the divine mothers is generally given as eight or sixteen.

\(^{64}\) Taśtrirya-āraṇyaka X (Nārāyaṇopaniṣad). 1; Mahābhārata IV. 6.7, 14, and VI. 23.4.
state. It is highly probable that the non-aryan tribes mentioned above had a matriarchal system of society and that it was due to this system that the custom of worshipping female deities grew among them. In spite of the spread of the Aryans in India, a large section of the members of these tribes, who lived in impenetrable mountains and forests and were thus able to maintain their freedom and individuality, used to worship, as they still do, their deities in these inaccessible parts of the country with the offer of wine, meat and other things. It is highly probable that on these occasions they sacrificed human beings, drank wine,

65 See, for instance, Devi-p. 35. 17b-18a—
kanyā devyā svayān proktā kanyā-rūpā tu śūlini /
yāvad aksata-yonih syāt tāvad devyā surārihā //
In Devi-p. 7.39 also Devi is called ‘kanyā-rūpā’.
The Vedic Aryans, being born and brought up in a patriarchal state of society, conceived of their principal deities as male. The female deities occupy a subordinate position in the Vedic literature, no matter whether they appear as wives of great gods or not. In comparatively late periods, however, the mother came, in some Aryan families, to be regarded as more important than the father, and this is shown by the fact that the male members of these families were named after their mothers.
67 It is not known definitely whether these aboriginal tribes originally dwelt in mountains and forests, or they were driven to these places by the invading Aryans. In the Atharvaveda the Kiratas have been mentioned as living in mountains. (See Atharvaveda X. 4. 14—kairātikā kumārikā sakā khanati bheṣajam / hiraṃmayibhir abhiribhir girinām upa sānuṣu //).
68 Devi is said to be living in mountains and forests in Mbh VI. 23. 11b-14 (durge kāntāra-vāsini // kāntāra-bhaya-durgeśu bhaktānāṃ cālayeṣu ca / nityam vasasi pātale ...... //), Harivānṣa II. 3.6 (parvatāgresaō ghoreso nadisu ca guhāsu ca / vāsas tava mahādevi vaneṣu pavanaṇeṣu ca //), Devi-p. 17.17 (hemakute mahendre himādrānu mahidhārīṇi vindhyā-sahyālaye śrigiru saṃsthite) and 17.23 (śailaśrūgeṣu tuṅgeṣu vata kāntāra-vāsini), and so on.
Cf. also Mbh IV. 6.20b-21 (kāntāreṣv avasannāṇāṃ ...... // ...... tvam gatiḥ ...... // ...... kāntāreṣv aṭavṣu ca //); Harivānṣa II. 5.54 (kāntāreṣv avasannāṇāṃ ...... // ...... tvam gatiḥ ...... //).
69 Human sacrifice is allowed even by the present Kālikā-p. (chap. 71).
Reference is made in the Daśa-kumāra-carita (Pūrva-piṭḥikā, Ucchvāsā I) and other works to the sacrifice of human beings to deities by Kirātas, Śavaras and other tribes.
70 For references to the use of wine and meat in Devi-worship as well as to Devi’s liking for these things see Harivānṣa II. 22. 53b-54a (arcvate dasyuhīr ghoṛair mahā-bali-paśu-priyā / surā-piṣṭa-pūṃpabhīyāṃ kumbhābhāyāṃ upaśobhitā //), Viṣ. V. 1.84a (surā-māṃs-opāraśa tu bhaṅkya-bhojyaśa ca pūjitā), and Bhav. IV. 138. 98a (surāsaṃbhūta śaṁ kumbhais tarpayet paramesvaram). It is to be noted that chap. 138 of Bhav. IV deals with the method of Devi-worship during the Navarātra-vrata.
See also Mbh IV. 6. 17b (śidhu-māṃsaka-paśu-priye), Harivānṣa II. 2. 52, and
indulged in frantick revels, and practised sexual promiscuity. The aboriginal tribes seem to have worshipped their female deities mainly for protection against ferocious wild beasts and ghosts. They also appear to have believed

3. 12 (surā-māṁsa-bali-priyā), Devi-p. 9. 56 (rudhirā-māṁsa-madaya-priye), etc. as well as the verse ‘surā-māṁsādy-upahāra, etc.’ quoted in footnote 62 above.

71 In Devi-p. 39. 142 Savaras, Pulindas and other aboriginal tribes are said to have worshipped Devi according to the ‘Vāmācāra-mārga.’

Note also the Ṣāvarotsava noted in the Kālikā-p. (62.31 and 63.18), as well as in the verses ascribed to Satya, Bhaviṣya-p., Linga-p., Bṛhan-nandikesvara-p., etc. in the Bengal Nibandhas. (See footnote 20 above).

72 Harivaṃśa II. 3.7-8—

sāvarai varvaraī caiva pulindaī ca supūjitā / mayūra-piĉcha-dhvajini lokān kramasi sarvasāb //

kukkuṭaī chāgalaī meśaī śinhaī vyaṅghraī samākulaī /

ghaṇṭa-nīnāda-bahula vidiṃha-vāsīny abhiśrūta //

Devi-p. 17.26—mṛgendraī grīhitām gajendraī vibhinnaṃ ...... khagendraī viluptaṃ bhujāṅgai ca daśaṃ ...... vane cāpi mūḍhaṃ raṇe hīyāmānaṃ ...... mahāgrāha-grastaṃ ...... māteva samprakṣasē putravān nityam.

Mārka. 92.25-29—

araṇye prāntare vāpi .............. /

dasyuhīr vā vṛtaḥ sūnty grīhitō vāpi satrubhī /

śinha-vyaṅghr-ānuvīto vā vane vā vana-hastiḥbī /

that these deities were able to protect them in all kinds of danger and to confer on them wealth and prosperity as well as victory in war. As a matter of fact, the occasions for Devi’s appearance on the Himalayas and the Vindhya, as given in the Mārkandeyapurañas, Devī-purañas, etc., show that she is conceived of in these works primarily as a war-goddess, with whom other female deities were identified. The very name of Śākambharī as well as her story given in Mārkandeyapurañas 92.42-46, and the fact that Durgā is called ‘kāntāravāsī’ and is said to protect those who fall in trouble (avasanna) in deep forests, tend to show that there were some female deities who were looked upon by the aborigines as vegetation spirits. It should be mentioned here that the character of Devi as a war-goddess explains why she is to be worshipped in autumn and spring, which are highly favourable for military expeditions.

We do not know the number and names of the female deities originally worshipped by these aboriginal tribes, and among the Śākta deities of the Purāṇas and Tantras there are certainly some who owe their origin to the deification of abstract ideas; but it admits of little doubt that many of the Śākta deities of the Purāṇas and Tantras, viz., Umā, Kauśikī, Vindhyaśāsī, Durgā, Cāndī, Kāli, Kālikā, Cāmuṇḍā, Kāmākhyā, Śākambharī and others, were modelled on the popular ones, especially those associated with mountains, viz., Himalaya and Vindhya. It is remarkable that the comparatively early Vedic works do not betray in any way their recognition, or even knowledge, of these Śākta deities, nor do they speak of the lion as a mount of any of their

candike); Mārk. 92.18 (rakṣo-bhūta-pīśēcānām paṭhanād eva nāṣanam); and so on.

Bhav. IV. 136 describes a festival known as Bhūtamātrutsava (the festival of the mother of evil spirits), which is most probably borrowed from the Śāvaras and in which an ugly and hideous-looking female deity called Bhūta-mātā, is worshipped for protection of children from the pernicious influence of evil spirits. This Bhūta-mātā, who is clearly of non-Aryan origin, is said to be born of Pārvatī’s urine and is thus called a form of Bhagavatī herself.

74 The conception of Devi as a war-goddess is certainly not of very late origin. In Mbh VI. 23.4 and 8 Durgā is called ‘siddhasenānī (generaless of the Siddhas) and ‘raṇa-priyā’ (fond of war). See also Mārk., chaps. 81ff., Bhav. IV. 138, Devī-purañas, and so on.
women. On the other hand, in the Harivamsha Devi is said to be worshipped as Vindhyavasini by Savaras, Varvaras and Pundarikas, to be crowded by cocks, goats, sheep, lions and tigers, and to make a high and continuous sound with her bell. So, we find in Vindhyavasini a parallel not only of the Mountain-Mother of Crete and Greece who is the mistress of lions but also of the Mother of the Gods, who is addressed in Homeric prelude 'as rejoicing in the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, the blare of pipes, and the roar of wolves and lions.' But the worship of neither the Puranic or Tantric Devi in India nor her parallels in Crete and Greece can be said to be a development from the vague conception of the Mother Earth.

Of whatever nature the female deities of the aboriginal tribes may have been, they were not allowed an easy access into the Vedic pantheon. The military spirit of the Vedic Aryans as well as their deep-rooted feeling of antagonism towards the natives stood in the way of their having any regard for the deities of the latter. As a matter of fact, none of the names of the different forms of Durgā is mentioned in the Vedic Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. It was only at a much later date that the aboriginal deities began to be admitted by a very slow process of assimilation. In the different texts of the Yajurveda as well as in its Brāhmaṇas there are, of course, passages in which Ambikā has been mentioned and often called Rudra's sister and once his

15 For the relevant verses of the Harivamsha see footnote 72 above.
16 See Taittiriya-samhitā I. 8.6.1—esa te rudra bhagaḥ saha svasarāmbikaya tāṁ juṣaṣava...

Kapiṣṭhala-kātha-samhitā VIII. 10—same as in the Taittiriya-samhitā quoted above.

Kāthaka-samhitā IX. 7—esa te rudra bhagaḥ saha svasarāmbikaya tāṁ juṣaṣava svāhā;

and XXXVI. 14—esa te rudra bhagaḥ saha svasarāmbikaya tāṁ juṣaṣava svāheta śarad vai rudrasya svasāṃbhikā tām eso 'nvavacerati tasmāt eso śaradi bhūyishṭhaṁ hanti ...

Maitrāyanī Samhitā I. 10.4—esa te rudra bhagaḥ tāṁ juṣaṣava saha svasarāmbikaya svāhā;

and I. 10.20—esa te rudra bhagaḥ tāṁ juṣaṣava saha svasarāmbikaya svāheta śarad vai rudrasya yoniḥ svasāṃbhikātaṁ āḥ eso 'nvabhyavacerati tasmāt śaradi bhūyishṭhaṁ hanti tayaivaināṁ saha niravadayate ...
mother as well\textsuperscript{77}, but in these passages Ambikā, unlike Durgā and other Śākta deities\textsuperscript{78} of the Purāṇas, Tantras, etc., has been allowed a share of the sacrificial offerings. She, therefore, does not seem to have been derived from a mother goddess of the non-Aryans. According to the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā, Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā and Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa this Ambikā, sister of Rudra, was the autumn season (śarat), was the autumn season (śarat), his work of killing reached its climax in this season. The Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, says that it was with\textsuperscript{79} his sister Ambikā appearing as Śarāt that Rudra carried out his work of killing. So, commenting respectively on Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I.6.10.4 and Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 3.57 Sāyaṇa and Mahidhara describe Ambikā as a cruel deity (hiṃsikā, krūra-devatā) like Rudra and say that Ambikā helped Rudra in his slaughter by appearing as Śarāt and creating fever and other diseases\textsuperscript{80}. As a matter of fact, 

\textsuperscript{77} See also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa II. 6.2.9—eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svarāmbikāyatasyāḥ// śarad vā ayam ambikā svasā // tayā vā asa hāni // yauḥ hāni taya vā āsahāni saha šāmayati //

\textsuperscript{78} See Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I. 10.20 quoted in the immediately preceding footnote.

\textsuperscript{79} The Hiranyakesi-ghṛhya-sūtra (II. 8.7) prescribes sacrificial offerings "to god Bhava’s wife" (Bhavanti ?)—bhavasya devasya patnyai. But this Gṛhya-sūtra comes from a comparatively late date.

\textsuperscript{80} Note the words ‘sahāya-bhūtabaya’ and ‘sādhana-bhūtabaya’ used by Sāyaṇa and Mahidhara respectively with regard to Ambikā in commenting on Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4 and Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 3.57. For extracts from the commentaries see the immediately following footnote.

\textsuperscript{81} In commenting on Taittirīya-saṃhitā I. 8.6.1 Sāyaṇa quotes Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4 and explains it as follows:

śaradāśarāh kālo hi piṇasa-jvar-ādy-utpādanena hiṃsakas tadadvad iyaṃ ambikā hinsikā / tataḥ śarad ity ucyate / eṣa rudras tayāiva sahāya-bhūtabaya prāśinā hāni / atas tayā saha purodāsa-bhāga-sevayā tuṣṭayā tayāiva sahāvinaṃ rudraṃ śāmayati hīṃsā-rahitaṃ karoti //

Mahidhara explains Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 3.57 thus:

ambikāya rudra-bhāginītvaṃ śrutaye / ambikāḥ hi vā namāya svasaḥ tayā /

Sāyaṇa quotes Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4—eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svarāmbikāyatasyāḥ śarad vā asa hinsikā aṣa
the autumn season (śarat) has been looked upon from the early Vedic period as the most dangerous part of the year, so much so that a person who could pass this season safely was taken to be out of danger for the remaining part, that often the age of a person was expressed and the years counted in terms of the autumn seasons passed, and that this season was mentioned in blessing one with, or aspiring for, a long life. So, the identification of Ambikā with Śarat can by no means be taken to indicate that she was originally a harvest deity and that her identification with Durgā gave rise to the widespread custom of the latter's worship in autumn.

On the other hand, it appears that the custom of worshipping Durgā mainly as a war-goddess in autumn owed its origin much more to her identification with the cruel and destructive deity Ambikā than to the suitability of this season for war expeditions, because it was quite natural for the warriors to believe that by propitiating Durgā with worship and animal sacrifice they could escape death and also create havoc on their enemies. The connection of Durgā with harvest, though coming from an early date, decidedly forms a comparatively late phase in her character as a deity.

But very different is the case with Umā, who, for her peculiar name, her association with a mountain, and her mount (vāhana), a lion, seems to be originally the same as the Babylonian Ummu or Umma, the Arcadian Ummi, the Dravidian Umma, and the Scythian Ommo, which are all mother goddesses. This Umā is neither mentioned in any of the Vedic Śaṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas nor allowed any share of the sacrificial offerings. Even in the story of the destruc-

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(? -kā svasā tayā vā eṣa) hinasti yaṁ hinasti tayavaināṁ ahaṁ śamayatīti (Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4).

See, for instance, Rg-veda I. 72.3 (tisro ... śaradaḥ), 89.9 (śatam innu śarado), II. 27.10 (śatam no rāva śarado ...), III. 36.10 (asme śatam śarado jivase), etc.; Atharva-veda I. 10.2 (śatam jivāti śaradaḥ), II. 13.3 (śatam ca jiva śaradaḥ), III. 11.4 (śatam jiva śarado vardhamānāḥ), 12.6 (śatam jivāma śaradaḥ), etc.; Vājasaney Śaṁhitā 25.22 (=Rg-veda I. 89.9), 33.15 (śatam jivantu śaradaḥ), 36.24 ( ... paśyema śaradaḥ śatam jivema śaradaḥ śatam śrṇuyāma śaradaḥ śatam, etc.); and so on.

See also Raghu-vaṁśa 10.1, Mālavikāgnimitra 1.15, etc.

The goddess appears as ‘Ommo’ in Huviśka’s coin.
tion of Dakṣa’s sacrifice, as given in Mahābhārata XII. 283-4, it is only Śiva, and not his consort Pārvatī, who is promised a share in the sacrifice. The earliest works mentioning Umā are the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka and the Kena-upaniṣad. In the former work Umā as well as Ambikā is associated with Rudra, who is there called Ambikā-pati (Ambikā’s husband) and Umā-pati (Umā’s husband), and in the latter she is called Haimavati (daughter of, or belonging to, Himavat). The Taittirīya-āraṇyaka mentions Durgī (i.e. Durgā) also, but calls her ‘kanya-kumāri’ (virgin). So, according to the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka Umā and Durgī (i.e. Durgā) were different. It is highly probable that originally this Durgī was, like Umā, a mountain goddess connected with the Himālaya. In the Muṇḍakopaniṣad (I.2.4.) ‘Kāli’ and ‘Karāli’ are given as the names of two of the seven tongues of Agni. These references indicate that towards the end of the Vedic period, some female deities of non-Vedic origin began to be associated with the Vedic gods in various ways, and that Umā was the first non-Aryan deity to be regarded as the wife of a Vedic god, whose character had already been much modified by the assimilation of alien characteristics. But during this period the relation between Rudra and Umā was of a very ordinary nature, like that between a husband and his wife, and it was not characterised by the relation between Puruṣa and Prakṛti of the Śaṅkhya system or Brahma and Māyā of the Vedānta.

Towards the end of the Vedic period the high spirit of domination by military power and of maintenance of racial and cultural distinction of the Vedic Aryans began to calm down to a very great extent, and there was a growing tendency towards cultural assimilation. Now, the work of assimilation was mainly taken up by the authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purānic works, who believed deeply in

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83 Taittirīya-āraṇyaka X (Nārāyaṇopaniṣad). 1—kātyāyanāya vidmahe kanyā-kumāri dhīmahi / tanno durgīḥ praccodayat //
And X. 18—namo . . . . ambikā-pataye umā-pataye namo namah.
84 Kena-upaniṣad 3.12—sa tasmin evākāse striyāṁ ājagāṁ bahu-sobhamānāṁ umāṁ haimavatīṁ tāṁ hovāca . . . . //
the theory of rebirth, gave a very high place to the Śaṅkhya and Vedānta systems of philosophy, and explained the nature of the gods and goddesses and the universe through a fusion of the principles of these two systems. These authors had much broader views than the orthodox followers of the Vedic religion and, unlike the Vedic Aryans, tried to bring the antagonistic non-Aryans into the Aryan fold by making a wise compromise between the Vedic and non-Vedic ideas. But as no female deity could be given a pre-eminent position in the recognised pantheon without going against the Vedic tradition and the principles of Śaṅkhya and Vedānta, they connected some of their female deities with Śiva and some with Viṣṇu and explained the relation of these gods and goddesses with the principles of Śaṅkhya and Vedānta. We have already mentioned that in the Taittirīya-āranyaka Umā, an originally Himālayan deity, was connected in a very general way with Rudra. So, Umā was already recognised as a Hindu deity. This well-established position of Umā tempted the Śaiva authors of later ages to regard her as the Prakṛti and Māyā of Śiva and to look upon the other goddesses as the different forms of Umā. The Vaiṣṇava authors, on the other hand, picked up Vindhyavāsini, the most prominent among the female deities of the Vindhya, and connected her with Viṣṇu by taking her to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu’s Yoga-nidrā (or Yoga-māyā). With this Yoga-nidrā the Vaiṣṇavas seem to have identified a deity of the Ābhīras also. It is probable that like the people of Punic Africa, Egypt, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and Greece of early times, the Ābhīras also worshipped a maiden (‘unwed’) goddess with a young subordinate god. When the Ābhīras came to India, this goddess was no longer ‘made first the mother of her companion by immaculate conception, and then of the gods and all life by the embrace of her own son’, because such an idea was repulsive to the people of India, but the young subordinate god was identified with Viṣṇu and the goddess with the maiden Vindhyavāsini, who also was connected with Viṣṇu as his Yoga-māyā. So, through the story of Kṛṣṇa’s birth, the votaries of Viṣṇu managed to include both the
Ābhīras and the worshippers of Vindhyavāsini into their fold. In course of time, however, people conceived of a central Devī to represent Praṅti and Māyā of Sāṁkhya and Vedānta respectively and all the goddesses (including Umā, Vindhyavāsini, etc.) to be her different forms assumed at different times. But being encouraged by their firm faith in the non-duality of God, as well as by their spirit of sectarian rivalry, the Śaivas claimed that this central Devī was none but Umā and that Vindhyavāsini, Kāli, Cāmunḍā and other goddesses were Umā’s incarnations. The Vaiśṇavas, on the other hand, said that it was Viṣṇu’s Yog-māyā who manifested herself as Umā, Satī, Kāli, etc. for the good of the world. These contending sectaries fabricated various kinds of stories often in conformity with philosophical principles to support and popularise their respective views. How conflicting these stories were, will be evident from the following Purānic accounts of Devī’s original nature and her assumption of various forms under different circumstances.

In Mārkandeya-p., chaps. 81-93 it is said that Viṣṇu’s Yoga-nidrā (also called Mahāmāyā) assumed a Tāmasa form at the time of rousing Viṣṇu from his sleep. She next manifested herself on the Himālaya as a collection of energy issuing from the bodies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods and was called Ambikā, Cāndikā, Bhadrakāli and Durgā. She had a thousand hands and a lion as her mount (vāhana) and killed Mahiṣāsura. Next, being eulogised by the gods on the Himālaya for killing Śumbha and Niśumbha, Viṣṇu-māyā (called Śivā and Ambikā) came out as Kauśikī from the body of Pārvatī when she was going to bathe in the Ganges. Pārvati’s complexion turned dark, and she became known as Kālikā and continued to live in the Himācala.

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88 Cf. Bhāg. II, 4.18—
kirāta-hūṃpandira-pulinda-pukvasa ābhira-suhtmā yavanāh khaśādayaḥ / ye’nye ca pāpā yad-upaiṣrayārayāḥ śudhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣqave namaḥ //

89 Cf. Märk. 82.28—
idadāt . . . . . . . . . . . . /

himāvaṃ vāhanaṃ śiṃhaṃ rataṇāni vidhihāni ca //

It is to be noted that among the mountains, only Himavat is mentioned as making presents to Devī.
Candikā (also called Ambikā and Durgā), in the extremely beautiful form of Kauṣikī, lived on the Himālaya and was asked by Śumbha to marry him or his brother. As she refused to do so on the pretext of a pledge, war broke out between Candikā (i.e., Kauṣikī) and Śumbha and Niśumbha. After issuing from the forehead of Kauṣikī (Ambikā), Kāli killed Canṭha and Munḍa (sent by Śumbha to capture her) and was known as Cāmunḍā. Śumbha next came to the battle-field, and Candikā (i.e., Kauṣikī) was helped by Kāli (Cāmunḍā), the lion, and the Śaktis of Brahmā and others (viz., Brahmanī, Māheśvari, Kaumārī, Vaiśṇavī, Vārāhi, Nārasimhī and Aindrī). Then, being surrounded by these Deva-śaktis Īśāna said to Candikā, “Soon kill the Asuras for my pleasure.” Then, from Devī’s body came out the extremely fierce and dreadful Candikā-śakti, who was attended with the howlings of hundreds of jackals’.¹ This Candikā-śakti sent Śiva to Śumbha and Niśumbha as a messenger and was known as Śiva-dūti. Now the war began with Kāli (i.e., Cāmunḍā), Śiva-dūti, Brahmanī, Māheśvari, Kaumārī, Vaiśṇavī, Vārāhi, Nārasimhī and Aindrī, who are called Mātras.² Brahmanī and other Deva-śaktis fought with the demon Raktabija, but Candikā killed this demon with the help of Cāmunḍā who drank the demon’s blood before its fall to the ground. Candikā next killed Niśumbha with the help of Kāli, Śiva-dūti and Brahmanī and other Deva-śaktis. Being censured for her assistants Devī Candikā absorbed into herself all her vibhūtis (viz., Brahmanī and others), fought alone with Śumbha, and killed him. Being eulogised by the gods for killing Śumbha and Niśumbha, Devī (who is described as ‘paramā māyā’) said that in the Vaivasvata Manvantara two other demons named Śumbha and Niśumbha would be born, and that they would be killed by Devī born of Yaśodā in the house of Nanda-gopa and living on the Vindhya (vindhya-cala-nivāsini). She further assured the gods that in future she would assume the following incarnations. (a) She would eat up the Vaipracitta Dānavas

¹ Mārk. 88, 21-22.
² Ibid., 88, 38-39 and 49.
in such a way that her teeth would become as red as pomegranate-flowers, and thus she would be known as Raktadantikā. (b) Being eulogised by sages during a drought lasting for a hundred years she would have an immaculate origin and be known as Śatākṣi and Śākambhari, respectively for looking at the sages with a hundred eyes and for maintaining, until rainfall, the whole creation by means of vegetables originating from her own body. During that drought she would kill a powerful demon named Durgama and be known as ‘Durgā-devī’. (c) She would again appear in a terrible form (bhima-rūpa) on the Himālaya, exterminate the Rākṣasas, and be famous under the name of ‘Bhīmā Devī’. (d) She would kill the demon Aruṇa by taking the form of a bhramara (bee) and be known as Bhrāmari.

According to Devī-p., chaps. 4-9 and 13-20, a demon named Dundubhi saw Umā occupying the left half of Śiva’s body and got enamoured of her. Consequently, Śiva reduced him to ashes by an angry glance. From these ashes rose another demon who also had a strong desire for Umā. So, Umā cursed this dreadful (ghora) demon to go down to the earth. Finding that Umā thus spared the life of this demon, Śiva reproached her for her foolishness. Umā became angry with Śiva and blessed the demon to have his residence in Kuśa-dvīpa, become the lord of the three worlds and be invincible to the gods. Śiva also got annoyed at Umā’s conduct and cursed her saying, “You will go down to the world of mortals, and there this vile creature will want to become your husband.” Umā also said that if this dark-complexioned demon would do so, she would kill him sportively by mounting a lion (pañcānana-vyavasthitā).

Now, in course of time, Dundubhi was reborn as Ghora and began to trouble the three worlds. At the prayer of the gods tyrannised by Ghora, Umā (who is described as the Ādyā Śakti and the Yoga-māyā) came down to earth, sported in the Vindhyas as a virgin girl by mounting a lion constituted of all the gods and goddesses, and became known as Vindhyavāsini. Being informed by Nārada of this Vindhyavāsini, Ghora went to the Vindhyas to capture
her. With the help of the gods and Mātṛs come down to the Vindhyas as her attendants, Vindhyavāsinī gave a tough fight and at last killed Ghora who had assumed the form of a buffalo (mahīṣa) before death. Thus Vindhyavāsinī became known as the killer of Mahīṣa.

In the story given above, the virgin Vindhyavāsinī, who is said to be none but Ādyā Śakti Yoga-nidrā incarnate, is identified with Umā come down to earth for killing Ghora. Thus, according to the Devi-p., Umā is originally the same as Yoga-nidrā, and it is Umā who is said to exist in different forms, viz., Durgā, Śākambhari, Vindhyavāsinī, Kauśikī, Cāmunḍā, Caṇḍi, Pārvati, Dākṣāyaṇī, Vaiṣṇavi Yoga-nidrā, Ambikā, etc.

According to Bhaviṣya-p. IV, chap. 138 (which deals with the Purānic method\(^{89}\) of the worship of Durgā on the Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānāvami Tithis of Āśvina), it is Bhavānī (wife of Śiva) who is worshipped by gods, men, Gandharvas, Kimnaras, Rākṣasas and others ‘in different forms and under different names’.\(^{90}\) This Purāṇa adds: “Bhavānī is worshipped by the gods in all her repeated incarnations. She always kills demons by incarnating herself on earth and protects all creation in heaven, earth, and the nether world. This great goddess (mahādevi) was again born from the womb of Yaśodā and killed the demon Kaṃsa by placing her foot on his head (?). From that time, people on earth have installed this ‘giver-of-joy-to-Yaśodā’ on the Vindhya mountain and reintroduced her worship”.\(^{91}\) Thus Bhaviṣya-p. IV (i.e. the Bhaviṣyottara), though taking Bhavānī to be the original Devī, clearly indicates that the deity, now worshipped on the Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānāvami Tithis of Āśvina, is none but the virgin Vindhyavāsinī,\(^{92}\) who is said to have been born of Yaśodā.

From what has been said above it is evident that serious ritualistic and doctrinal differences were sometimes found

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\(^{89}\) Cf. Bhav. IV. 138.41b—pūjā-mantrān pravaksyāmi purāṅoktān aham tava.

\(^{90}\) Ibid., IV. 138. 9-10—rūpa-bhedair nāma-bhedair bhavānī pūjyate śivā.

\(^{91}\) Ibid., IV. 138. 22-25.

\(^{92}\) Ibid., IV. 138. 18, 24-25, 27 and 91.
among people of different climes and times, and it was often due to these differences that they felt it necessary to write new Purānic works. There were also other causes of such enterprise. With the spread of Śaktism Kāmarūpa attained importance as a seat of the Śākta cult and greatly influenced the religious life and practice of the people of Eastern India, so much so that works like the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata-p., Bṛhaddharma-p., etc. highly glorify Kālī (or Kālikā), the principal deity of Kāmarūpa. Besides this Kālī (or Kālikā), many other local deities grew into prominence, and new Śākta goddesses were invented. In order to give these new goddesses a position in the Śākta pantheon, they had to be connected either with Umā or with Vindhyavāsini (or Yoga- māyyā). Thus, in the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata-p., Bṛhad- dharma-p., etc. Kālī (or Kālikā) has been taken to be the central goddess, of whom Durgā, Gaṅgā and others have been said to be the different forms; and in Devī-bhāgavata IX. 1.136-7 the village goddesses have been regarded as parts of Devī (Mūla-prakṛti). There were also changes in the conception of these deities. But no less important for the compilation of new Purānic works was the call for social discipline (as understood by the followers of the Vedas) which was brought about by unfavourable circumstances not rarely due to political reasons. A good example in this direction will be found in the early history of Kāmarūpa, where, as the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (including the present Kālikā), the Harṣa-carita of Bānabhaṭṭa, and the inscriptions of Bhāskara-varman and others inform us, the dynasty of Naraka

93 Mahābhāg. 77. 3a (kāmākhya kālikā devī svayam ādyā sanātanī), 4a (..... kālī kāmākhya-rūpini......), 5-6 (dhvāyatām parameśānīm kāmākhyaṃ kālikāṃ parām / rakta-vastra-paridhānāṃ ghorā-netra-trayo jvalām // caturbhujāṃ bhīma-damśtrāṃ yugānta-jalada-dyutim // maṇi-sīṁhāsane nyastāṃ sīṁha-pretām hiṃja-asthitām //), and so on.

94 Devī-bhāgavata IX. 1.136-7—

bahiḥ satyāḥ kalāś caiva prakṛter eva bhārate /
yā yāḥ ca grāma-devyaḥ syus tāḥ sarvāḥ prakṛteḥ kalāḥ //

Ibid., IX. 1.158—

pūjitā grāma-devyaḥ ca grāme ca nagare mune.

These lines are the same as Brahma-vaiśvarta-p. II. 1.136 (v. 1. ‘santi’ for ‘satyaḥ’, and ‘tāḥ sarvāḥ ca’ for ‘syus tāḥ sarvāḥ’) and 157.
was ruling from very early times. Though mostly following Śaivism\textsuperscript{86} (which in its Kāpālika form must have been the religious faith of the soil),\textsuperscript{87} the rulers of this dynasty encouraged varṇāśrama-dharma with much enthusiasm. The Kālikā-p. (chap. 39) tells us that after Naraka had defeated and killed Ghataka\textsuperscript{87}, king of the Kirātas, and driven out his faithful followers from Kāmarūpa, Veda-knowing Brahmmins as well as sages and other members of the four castes were settled there and the country was made fit for Vedic study, rites and donations. Even Naraka himself has been said to have been born in Janaka's sacrificial ground in Mithilā. Although there is much scope for doubt about the amount of truth contained in this story, it can hardly be denied that migration of Maithilas into Kāmarūpa, presumably for political and economic reasons, began quite early and there was a very close relation between Mithilā and Kāmarūpa even before the time of composition of the present Kālikā-p. From the testimony of the Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa), the Kālika-p., and the Dharma-p.\textsuperscript{88} it appears that the Maithila Brahmmins were generally full of respect for the Vedas, faithfully followed the varṇāśrama-dharma, and tried to maintain Śmārta discipline in society. But with the passing of the political power to the 'Mleccha' (or Mech) dynasty set up by

\textsuperscript{86} The early epigraphic records of Kāmarūpa show that all the kings from Bhāskara-varman (if not from his earliest predecessor) down to Harṣapañja (father of Dharmapāla of the Brahmapāla dynasty) were devotees of Śiva. Even Dharmapāla, whose Pasñātha Copper-plate Inscription (circa 1100 A.D.) testifies to his Vaiṣṇava faith, was a Śaiva in the earlier part of his life.

\textsuperscript{87} The Kālikā-p. amply testifies to the prevalence of Kāpālika Śaivism in Kāmarūpa even before Naraka's arrival there. It also records a story in which Naraka is mentioned as lying, immediately after his birth, outside the sacrificial ground of Janaka with a human skull under his head.

\textsuperscript{87} In the Vaṅga, ed. (38. 99, 101) of the Kālikā-p. the name of this king has been given as 'Ghataka'.

\textsuperscript{88} This Upapurāṇa, though being an independent work and still occurring independently in Ms, has been included in the printed editions of the Padma-p., Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa (of which it forms chaps. 44-82 in the Poona edition, chaps. 47-82 in the Calcutta edition, and chaps. 49-86 in the Bombay edition). We shall see afterwards that it was written in Kāmarūpa between 1250 and 1325 A.D.

It is remarkable that not a single of the Bengal Ms of the Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa includes the Dharma-p., and of the Devanāgarī Ms, so far known, it is only one which excludes it. For this Devanāgarī Ms see Eggeling, India Office Catalogue, VI, p. 1214, No. 3380 (Ms No. 215).
Sālastambha from about 655 A.D., Kāpālika Śaivism, which, in all ages, has been indifferent to the Vedic way of life, attained great popularity, Mleccha tendencies were encouraged, and the Maithila Brahmans of Kāmarūpa experienced a great social and economic set-back on account of their Vedic inclination. The Kālikā-p. contains frequent references to the bad effects of the spread of Śaivism, especially in its Kāpālika form, and the Dharma-p. gives a dismal picture of the Hindu society, greatly consequent upon the rule of the Mleccha dynasty, in which neglect of the Vedas, Purāṇas, etc. and wilful breach of caste rules in every sphere of life were the orders of the day, people lost all sense of morality and earned their livelihood by learning the Mleccha-dialect (called Paiśācikī Bhāṣā) and serving the beef-eating and immoral Mlecchas, and Brahmans, having social relation with Cāndālas and even marrying their girls, were seldom required to practise any severe penance or subjected to social stigma. In some verses of the Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-khanḍa), which must have been added by the affected Maithilas, the local Brahmans of Kāmarūpa have been mentioned under the distinctive name of 'Pārvatiya' and said to have universally followed a peculiar custom in which a piece of bone from the forehead of a deceased person (asthi lālāṭajam) was finely powdered, mixed up in a (silver) cup with Madhuparka and milk and curd, and offered to a Brahmin couple, who drank the mixture up before accepting the bed of the deceased person. As this custom of bone-eating on particular

99 The name 'Pārvatiya' for the people of Kāmarūpa is a very old one, being used on several occasions in the Mahābhārata. (See, for instance, Āroha-parvan 19.11 and 20). This name (Pārvatiya) may be a Sanskrit equivalent for an Austroic formation like 'Pagar-juh (jο)-tic' (meaning a region of extensive high hills), which seems to be the basis of the name 'Prāg-jyotisa'. See B. K. Kakati, The Mother Goddess of Kāmarūpa, p. 6, and B. K. Barua, A Cultural History of Assam, Vol. I, p. 11.

100 See Padma-p., Srṣṭi-khanḍa, 10. 13b-18a (which include the line 'eṣa eva vidhīr dṛṣṭaḥ pārvatiyair dvijottamaś'). The Venkā, and Vānga, editions read 'rajātasya' (for 'ārghyaṁ dattvā'), and 'lālāṭikāṁ' (for 'lalāṭajam').

All these verses have been quoted by Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa, Hemādri and Pīṭhāmba Siddhānta-vāgīśa in their Hāralatā (p. 199), Caturvarga-cintāmani (III. i pp. 1613 and 1614), and Preta-kaumudi (pp. 138-9) respectively, and the first takes the 'Pārvatiyas' to be 'the inhabitants of Kāmarūpa, etc.'—pārvatiyāṇāṁ kāmarūpādīvāsīnām. (It may
occasions is of non-Aryan origin, being found among the hill-tribes of Assam, the Buddhist monks of Tibet, and the local Hindus of Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts of East Bengal and Assam, the Pārvatīya Brahmins were considered censurable, so much so that in a verse of the Padma-p., Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa, they have been declared unfit for invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony. Yet they enjoyed much greater state support; and in the Padma-p., we hear of the clamour, made undoubtedly by the Maithila Brahmins of Kāmarūpa, about the enviable prosperity enjoyed by the Mlecchas and the Pārvatīyas. This clamour appears in the form of Sāvitri’s curse to Laksṇī, the goddess of fortune, in the following verses:

“naikatra vāso laksṇmyās tu bhaviṣyati kadācana/ kṣudrā sā cala-cittā vā mūrkehā ca vasiṣyati/ mlecceṣu pārvatīyesu kutsite kutsite tathā/ mūrkeṣu cāvalipteṣu abhīsape durātmani/ evamvidhe nare tubhyaṃ vasatīḥ śāpa-kāritā//”

“Never shall Laksṇī’s residence be at one place; mean and

be that by the word ‘kāmarūpādāvāsinān’ Aniruddha-bhaṣṭa meant the original inhabitants of Kāmarūpa, who were distinct from the Maithila Brahmins).

According to Pitāmbara Siddhānta-vāgīśa, the piece of bone was powdered together with a diamond, and the custom was followed only by the Pārvatīyas ( . . . . . . lañāṣa-maṃdby-asthi grīltvā bīraka-saḥitaṁ cūrṇayītvā rajata-pātre nidhāya . . . . . . bhojayed ityarthah . . . . . . pārvatīyanām evāyaṁ saayā-dāna-vidhiḥ. . . . . . .).

The above verses do not occur in the Bengal Mas of the Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa.

103 On the occasion of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru’s visit to the eastern frontier of India in March-April, 1953, the chieftain of Tsawlaw, leader of a head-hunting tribe, and his lieutenants touched a tiger-tooth and chewed a bit of their ancestor’s bone in an oath never to wage war again.

Among the Tibetan Buddhists there is a custom that after the death of Dalai Lama his bones are powdered and eaten up by the monks, who believe that by doing so they make the Lama live among them even after his death.

In Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts the custom of offering powdered bone of a deceased person to Brahmins still prevails, and such Brahmins are called ‘Hād-gilā’ (bone-eating) Brahmins.

102 Padma-p., Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa 27.67—

ye cānye pārvatīyā sa śrāddhe nārhaṇti kecana.

For this verse see Vaṅga. and Veṅkaṭ. eds. 32.66—v. 1. ‘ketanāṁ’ (for ‘kecana’) in both.

This verse occurs in the Bengal Mas of the Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa.

104 Padma-p., Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa 17.176-178a (= Veṅkaṭ. ed. 17.176-178a = Vaṅga. ed. 17.169-171a. V. I. in both these editions—“ca” for “vā", “kutsite/kutsite” for “kutsite kutsite”, and “syāt te” for “tubhyaṃ”).
fickle-minded, shall she live in fools as well as in the Mlecchas and the Pārvatiyas, and the vile and the despised. In blockheads and the proud, in the cursed and the wicked—in a person of this type [shall be] your residence caused by [my] curse."

Side by side with popular Śaivism, which was being guided by the Tantras,¹⁰⁴ including those of the Vāmācāras, from a fairly early period, there grew up into prominence the Tantric worship of a mother goddess, variously named as Kāmākhyā, Kāmākṣī, Kāli and Kālikā, who was conceived of as the wife and Śakti of Śiva. Being connected with popular Śaivism for a long time and practised often in the Vāmācāra-mārga, this Tantric Śāktism attained great popularity in Kāmarūpa and became an additional, but no less potent, factor for social indiscipline and moral degradation of the people. We shall see hereinafter that Kālikā-p. 84. 1-28a narrate a story of the spread of Vāmācāra Tantricism in Kāmarūpa as a result of Vasiṣṭha’s curse to Ugratārā, Śiva’s Gaṇas and Śiva himself for turning him out of that place and that Kālikā-p. 84.28b—86.39 give the description of a devastating flood which was caused by Brahmā’s water-bodied son (Lauhitya) procreated on Śāntanu’s wife Amoghā and brought down by Jāmadagnya and which flowed into the southern sea after obscuring all the sacred pools and holy places in Kāmarūpa. Although the entire portion of the Kālikā-p. describing the said flood must be taken as spurious for reasons to be stated later in their proper place, there is little scope for doubt that the rule of the Mlecha dynasty for more than three hundred years, the ruin brought by the devastating flood of the Lauhitya on the followers of the varṇāśrama-dharma who lived mostly in the lower plains, and the spread of Tantricism among the Śaivas as well as the Śāktas, seriously affected the social, religious and moral

¹⁰⁴ In the Gauhati Copper-plate Inscription of Indrapāla-varma-deva (circa 1038 A.D.) “Tantra” has been mentioned among the subjects studied by him.

The study of “Tantra” by Indrapāla-varma-deva himself shows how popular it was in those days, and its recognition by the king testifies to an earlier beginning of its study in Kāmarūpa.
life of the people of Kāmarūpa. Consequently, the present Kālikā-p. was composed, most probably by the Maithila Brahmins of Kāmarūpa, to popularise the Brāhmaṇical ideas of life and society by re-vitalising the dying Vaiṣṇava faith by associating it with Śāktism. Thus, in the present Kālikā-p. goddess Kāli or Kālikā has been described as Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā or Māyā, Viṣṇu has been presented as superior to Śiva, and people have been advised to be Vaiṣṇavas before they set themselves to Devī-worship.

We shall now examine the individual Upapurāṇas.

1. The Devī-Purāṇa.

This work, the most important of the

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The only printed edition of this work is that published in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta.

Though, as we shall see presently, the Devī-p. is a work of great importance from different points of view, it has not yet been edited critically, nor is there a single edition printed in Devanāgarī characters. In fact, we know of no edition of this work other than that published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. This want has forced us to use this edition in spite of its manifold defects.

Ms of the Devī-p. are not very numerous. Eggeling, in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1205-7 (No. 3362), describes a Ms (No. 380) of this Upapurāṇa 'apparently consisting of some 7000-8000 ślokas' and written in Bengali script by three different hands in 1804 A.D. Its contents are practically the same as those of our printed edition, and it ends thus:

sadācāraḥ subhāhāraḥ sarva-saṅga-vivarjitaḥ /
vācayan śatam ardham vā pratyaḥam prāpātAYac chivam //
etac cābhhyudayam pādam śataś tribhīr narottamaṁ /
sahasrāir dvādaśair vāsa kathitaṁ sarva-siddhidam //
itī adye devy-avatāre śri-devipuraṇe 'bhuyanap-pādaṁ samāptab //
(The second verse 'etac cābhhyudayam pādam etc.' does not occur in the printed edition. The final colophon also is different there).

In his Bikaner Cat., p. 199 (No. 433) R. L. Mitra describes a paper Ms of the Devī-p. which is written in Nāgara and has the same contents as those of the India Office Ms (No. 380) described by Eggeling. Like the latter, this Ms also ends with the verses 'sadācārah subhāhāraḥ' and 'etac cābhhyudayam pādam' (of which the former reads 'pratyakṣam' for 'pratyahaṃ' in the second half) but its final colophon runs as follows: ādye devy-avatāre devipuraṇam samāptam iti.

In the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library there are three complete paper Ms (Nos. 176, 308 and 341) of the Devī-p., of which the first (No. 176), written in Bengali script, contains 138 chapters and ends thus:

sadācāraḥ subhāhāraḥ sarva-saṅga-vivarjitaḥ /
vācayan purāṇam etam tu sarva-kāmam avāpnavyāt //
ity adye devy-avatāre devipuraṇam samāptam //

The second Ms (No. 308) is written in Nāgara characters and has been described by Hrishikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Giri in their Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat., IV, pp. 187-8.
Śākta Upapurāṇas, deals, in 128 chapters, mainly with the exploits and worship of Devī (the great goddess) who incarnated herself on the Vindhayas as a maiden mounted on a lion and became known as Vindhayavāsini. In this Purāṇa Devī is not only called ‘yoga-nidrā’ and the primordial and pre-eminent Energy (ādyā parā śakti—7. 20) and at the same time said to be the same as Umā, the wife and Śakti (Energy) of Śiva, but is also identified with the Śaktis of other gods as well as with the Mātrṣ and other female deities such as Dākṣāyanī, Kāli, Caṇḍi etc. who are called Devī’s different forms. It gives us important information about the different incarnations of Devī and her original nature and relationship with Śiva and other gods; about Yoga and the method of its practice; about Śākta iconography and the Śākta vows and worships; about Śaivism (as related to Śāktism), Vaiśṇavism, Brahmacism and Gānapatyaism; about warfare as well as the construction of towns and forts and the means of their protection; about the different Vedic schools as well as the Upavedas, Aṅgas, Upāṅgas etc.; about the science of medicine; about manuscripts—the method of copying, the script and materials to be used for the purpose, the characteristics of the scribes, and the method of making gifts of these; about holy places (in connection with which many

It is fresh and undated and contains the text of the Devī-p. in 138 chapters. It ends with the same two verses and final colophon as those of the Bikaner Ms mentioned above.

The third Ms (No. 341) is written in Bengali script and was copied on the eleventh lunar day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the Śaka year 1743. Its final verse and colophon are the same as those of Ms No. 176 mentioned above.

In his Notices of Sanskrit Ms, Vol. VI, pp. 180-5 (No. 2118) R. L. Mitra describes an old, undated, complete paper Ms written in Bengali characters and containing 128 chapters and 7371 ślokas. The analysis of its contents as well as the final verse, as given by Mitra, shows that it is generally the same as our Devī-p., chaps. 1-127.

Yet another Ms of the Devī-p. is described by Haraprasad Shastri in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 769-770, No. 4107 (Ms No. 4566D). It is fresh, undated and incomplete and is written in Bengali script. Its final colophon, as given by Shastri, shows that it is the same as our Devī-p., chaps. 1-127.

For other Ms of the Devī-p. see Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 337 (in which there is mention of an incomplete Ms written in Devanāgarī) and p. 338 (mentioning a complete Ms written in Devanāgarī and dated ‘1609’); Chintaharan Chakravarti, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat., p. 71 (where there is mention of an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script and dated Śaka 1726); and Cat. of Sans. Ms in Private Libraries in the North-west Provinces, Part I, Benares 1874, No. 452.
countries and towns of historical interest have been named); about different kinds of gifts; about customs and usages; and so on.

The Devi-p. begins abruptly with an opening verse without any mention of the person to whom this verse is attributed. This unknown reporter further informs us that some sages request Vasiṣṭha to speak on various topics, viz., the killing of the past, present and future demons by Devī, Indra’s recovery of the kingdom of heaven from the demons, the hoisting of Indra’s banner, the sixty incarnations of Devī, and so on. Consequently, Vasiṣṭha promises to narrate to them, in four sections (pāda) according as Devī was incarnated in the different Yugas, all the Purāṇa-topics which, he says, were related

(1) by Śīva to Viṣṇu, Brahmā and others,
(2) by Brahmā to Mātariśvan, and
(3) by Manu, Atri and Bhṛgu (who received these probably from Mātariśvan) to Vasiṣṭha and others (including Agastya ?). He adds that it is Agastya’s speeches on all these topics which would be widely circulated on earth through kings.

Vasiṣṭha further gives the titles and contents of the four sections (pādas) thus:

(1) The first Pāda, which is called Trailokya-vijaya or simply Vijaya, deals with the origin of Devī at the beginning of creation.

(2) The second Pāda, which is termed Trailokyābhyudaya, deals with the following topics: the story of Śakra

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106 namaskṛtya śivāṃ deviṇī sarva-bhāgavatāṃ śubhāṃ /
107 All these topics have been treated of in the present Devi-p.
110 Cf. utpatti-kīrtanaṃ sṛṣṭe prathamaṃ samudāhṛtam /
     vijaye deva-pāde tu rṣīnāṃ pariprechatām / / Devi-p. 1.36.

The first line may be interpreted in the following ways: (1) ‘the origin (of Devī) before creation has been described’, and (2) ‘the first origin of creation has been described’.

It is to be noted that in Devi-p. 127.24f, the first origin of Devī before, or rather at the beginning of, creation has been described,
(i.e. Indra); the killing of Dundubhi; Ghora’s rise, his receipt of a boon from Viṣṇu, his overlordship through the practice of a spell, his son’s entrance into heaven, Ghora’s overcoming Māyā, and his deception by Brhaspati; Devi’s descent on the Vindhya; Nārada’s muttering of the great Padamālā-vidyā with a view to deluding Ghora who was to take the form of the demon Mahiṣa; the killing of Māyā, Khaṭva (a demon) and others by the gods after worshipping Rudra and the numerous forms of Devi.

(3) The third Pāda is called Śumbha-Niśumbhamathana.

(4) The fourth Pāda, which is not clearly designated (but which seems to be called ‘Devāsura-yuddha’), deals with the following topics: Andhaka’s fight; war between the gods and demons; Andhaka’s attainment of the status of Bhṛgū by eulogising Hara; war between Tāraka and Kārttikeya; story of the birth of Kārttikeya—loss of Kāma’s body, Viṣṇu’s worship of Śiva for the good of Indra, and Kārttikeya’s birth and command over the army of gods; origin of Umā-Kāli and her attainment of Śiva as husband; Himālaya’s giving his daughter in marriage; origin of Bāla-khilyas and other sages who acted as Hotṛs; story of gods and sages mounted on the chariot of the Sun; various states to be attained through results of actions; origin of Mahāśvetā who was engaged to protect the Sun; story of Jambha and others as well as of the gods who were transformed into planets; performance of sacrifice to the planets by Brahmā; and residence of the Mātrīs in different regions for the good of children\(^{111}\).

Next, after mentioning the results, rules and fit places of study of the Purāṇa, Vasiṣṭha reports the interlocution between king Nṛpavāhana and his preceptor Citrāṅgada without giving the least introduction about these two interlocutors. From this interlocution we understand that Nṛpavāhana\(^{112}\) asked his preceptor Citrāṅgada to declare

\(^{111}\) Devi-p. 1. 36-52.

\(^{112}\) The substitution of the name ‘Nṛpavāhana’ by ‘Vidyēśvara’, ‘Vidyapa’ and
to him the different Vidyās on khaḍga, mālā, aṅjana, guṭikā etc. which the latter had received from Indra. Consequently, C itrāṅgada referred Nrpa-vāhana to Agastya, who then narrated the Vidyās as revealed to Indra by Brahmā who had received these from Śiva through Viṣṇu.

Thus the topics of this Purāṇa have been introduced in chap. 1.

The contents of the remaining chapters are as follows:112

Chap. 2.—After practising the kāmikā vidyā king Nrpa-vāhana entered the hermitage of Agastya (which is described in twelve verses and in which there were sages ‘engaged in the worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Skanda, Umā and Durgā’) and asked him about the Vidyā which can make one immensely powerful and even give him final release. Consequently, after mentioning that this Vidyā was handed down to Indra by Brahmā who had received it from Viṣṇu, who, in his turn, had received it from Śiva, Agastya said that once, being eulogised by Indra for the sake of this Vidyā, Brahmā advised him to worship Ādyā Śakti and narrated to him the story of the demon Ghora in the following way.

Ghora received from Viṣṇu a boon that none but Śivā Devi would be able to defeat him. He returned to his capital Candrasobhāpura in Kuśa-dvīpa, managed the state affairs according to the principles of the science of politics, and conquered the different quarters with the help of his son Vajradaņḍa.

Chap. 3.—Description of Ghora’s conquest of the whole earth (with the seven dvīpas and oceans); Kāla and Vajradaņḍa’s invasion of Pāṭāla and Rasāṭala and conquest of the Nāgas, Rākṣasas etc. living there; their return to the earth and approach to Śukra who was living at Uḍumbarapura in Madhyadeśa, where the powerful ‘Bhārgava’ (Śukrācārya) resides permanently.

Chap. 4.—Though discouraged by Śukra, Vajra and

1Vidyādhara’ (in Devī-p. 80.1, 92. 14, and 102.2 respectively) tends to show that Nrpa-vāhana was a king of the Vidyādhara.

112 As not even a single edition of the Devī-p. has yet been printed in Devanāgari characters, we have felt it necessary to give a somewhat detailed summary of its contents.
Kāla attacked heaven; Indra sought the protection of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu narrated to Indra the story of the demon Dundubhi who, for his lust for Śiva's wife Umā, was burnt to ashes by Śiva and from whose ashes was born the demon Ghora who was to reign supreme in Kuśa-dvīpa and was to be killed by Devī mounted on a lion when this Ghora would try to have her as his wife. Consequently, Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati pointed out the futility of war with this demon.

Chap. 5.—Bṛhaspati, who was conversant with the political theories (nayāḥ) promulgated (gītāḥ) by Śambhu, Uśanas, Viṣṇu and Brahmā,114 sent Nārada to Vajradanḍa and Kāla with the message that the gods recognised their supremacy and allowed them to enjoy heaven until Devī (Vindhyācala-nivāsini) and Śiva came down to earth and killed them. Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati then went to Brahmā.

Chap. 6.—Brahmā saluted Viṣṇu with the mention of the names of his ten incarnations (including Krṣṇa, the red-robed Buddha, and the naked Kalkin)115 and solicited his help. He also reminded him how in times of yore Cāmūndā, being sent by Śiva, saved Viṣṇu from the rage of Kālāgni-rudra and his son Hālāhala, how Viṣṇu knew this Cāmūndā to be the powerful Śakti able to create, protect and destroy the universe, and how, being eulogised by himself and Viṣṇu, Cāmūndā promised to help them whenever necessary.

Chap. 7.—So, Brahmā advised Viṣṇu to approach Śiva. Viṣṇu, with Brahmā, went to Śiva and eulogised him for the destruction of Ghora and Vajradanḍa. Śiva, the left side of whose body was found occupied by his Śakti, consoled Viṣṇu by saying that Parā Śakti would incarnate herself on the Vindhyas with a lion as her vāhana, and have Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as her servants, the four Vedas as her doorkeepers (pratihāryaḥ), and many unmarried female deities (who have been described in verses 23ff.) as her attendants.

114 The text of verse 2 runs as follows:
śambhu-gītāṣya sā kṣaya aśā aṣā cā tatha nijāḥ
madhyā brahma-gītāḥ ca vetti yāḥ sa va vacaspatiḥ
115 Kalkin is described as 'āśvārūḍha', 'kali-dharma-pravartaka', 'digambara-dhara', 'śūdra-dharma-pravartaka', and 'melccha-varga-kuloccheda'.—Devi-p. 6, 6-7.
that her vāhana would be composed of all the gods and goddesses and the worlds and stars etc., and that she would be furnished with a rakṣā-mantra118 of Śiva as uttered by Viṣṇu. Śiva then sent Devi with the aforesaid vāhana and attendants to the Vindhya mountain.

Chap. 8.—In the meantime Vajradaṇḍa wanted to occupy heaven. So, Nārada was sent to Kuśadvīpa for turning Ghora and his wife and subjects from the path of dharma. Nārada succeeded in his mission by attracting him to sensual pleasures,117 and informed him of the young girl (Devi) residing in the Vindhyas.

Chap. 9.—Ghora forsook the path of dharma and turned a debauch. His wife Candramati118 gave him good counsels by referring to the policies of statecraft and to the dangers from poison-girls (viṣa-kanyā), naked Jain monks (magna), washerwomen (rajakī), fisherwomen (Kaivartī) and others, and narrated the story of Sumedhasa (of Krauṇca-dvīpa) who outraged the modesty of the daughter of a sage of Puṣkara-dvīpa and went to hell. Fearing that these counsels might bring Ghora to his senses, Nārada muttered the delusive Padamālā-vidyā119 which Nandīkeśvara had received from Śiva and which could accomplish 108 acts or even many more, if practised with the Vira-vrata.

In this connexion it is said that with a view to acquiring the Padamālā-vidyā Bhārgava entered Śiva’s body, came out unsuccessful through his generative organ, and was consequently known as Śukra; and the method of muttering the words of the Padamālā-vidyā and the results of performing homa with human flesh (mahāmāṃsa) have been described.

(Digression in chaps. 10-12).

118 In the Rakṣa-mantra Śiva is called ‘māṃsāsava-vasā-medā-pūtansādi-rata’ and is asked to remove all impediments created by mantra and yantra.

117 Nārada referred to the ‘vājīkaraṇa-yogas’ as instructed by Nandīkeśvara, and to Viṣṇu-tattva, Kāma-tattva and Śiva-tattva as proclaimed by the sage Kapila to Nandin. He also praised the enjoyment of a young girl of sixteen years of age.

118 Also named as Candralavatī and Candrabuddhi in Devi-p. 2.51 and 9.9 respectively.

119 This Padamālā-vidyā, which is undoubtedly Tantric, has Cāmupāḥ as its presiding deity and is called ‘Atharva-pada-dipani’. It is said to have been collected from ‘crores of works’ and then described in the Mūla-tantra.
Chap. 10.—Nārada is said to have received the Padamālā-vidyā from Sanatkumāra (son of Brahmā), who had received it from Nandikesvara. From this Sanatkumāra Nārada received instructions on (Śaiva) yoga, with which the Vidyā was to be accompanied for the sake of favourable results. (Here Śaiva yoga is elaborately described).

Chap. 11.—Brahmā’s receipt of the Aparājitā-vidyā and the Padamālā-vidyā from Śiva. Introduction of the Padamālā-vidyā on earth by Dvaipāyana who inherited it from Śiva successively through Brahmā, Aṅgiras, Brhaspati, Śūrya, Yama, previous Indra, Vasiṣṭha, Sārasvata, Tridhāman, Trivrṣa, Bharadvāja, Antarīkṣa, Bṛhṛcya, Aruṇa, Balaja, Kṛtaṅjaya and others (including Śaktri, Parāśara and Jātūkāraṇa). Praise of the Aparājitā-vidyā by narrating the story of the demon Hutāgni who, after receiving a boon from Brahmā, took his residence in Śāka-dvīpa, conquered heaven with the help of his son Caṇḍa, but was defeated by Viṣṇu, who killed Caṇḍa by virtue of a banner of victory which Brahmā had received for Viṣṇu from Śiva with the help of the Aparājitā-vidyā and which was resorted to by Durgā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu, Yama, Indra, Agni and other gods as well as by the nine planets. Viṣṇu’s giving of this powerful banner to the previous Indra, after the latter had been defeated by a demon named Subala in the Bhautya Manvantara. Praise of the hoisting of this banner by kings.

Chap. 12.—Method of preparing Indra’s banner (Indravajā) and of hoisting it in Bhādra or Āśvina during the Śatakratu-mahotsava (i.e. Indra-dhvaja-mahotsava):

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In this chapter, Śaiva yoga has been described in ten Paricchedas or sections. The main topics of these sections are the following:—description of the nature of Śiva after the concepts of Puruṣa and Prakti of the Śāṅkhyya system; rules to be observed during the practice of Śaiva yoga; method of its practice, including the names of āsanas (such as Padmaka, Svastika, Sthalika, Jalika, Pīthārda, Candradanḍa and Sarvatobhadra—10. v. 4); realisation of Śabda-brāhma and Para-brāhma by forsaking the objects of enjoyment; method and results of meditation on omkāra; yoga-dvāra-darśana; upasarga-jaya; dhāraṇā; etc. (Devi-p. 10.i.16 says that a Yogin desiring success is not to devote himself too much to the acquisition of knowledge—aprasaṅga jānān na kāryaḥ siddhiṁ icchatā; Devi-p. 10.iv.8 characterises Śabda-brāhma thus: ‘antah-śārira-prabhavam uḍāna-preritam ca yat / vāg-uccāryam śrotra-vṛttī śabda-brāhma tad ucya te’; and in Devi-p. 10.x.1 ‘dhāraṇā’ has been defined as follows: manaso hṛty avasthānād dhāraṇāty abhidyate).
Selection of trees (viz., dhava, arjuna, priyaṅgu, udumbara, asvakaraṇa, candana, āmra, sāla or sāka) for the preparation of the pole of the banner; lengths of the main pole and of those representing the daughters of Indra; rites to be performed before cutting down the selected tree; auspicious and inauspicious dreams; method of cutting down the tree; the king’s good or evil as indicated by the direction in which the tree falls down; preparation of the pole out of the tree; the bringing of the pole to the place of worship in a procession attended with songs of public women and beat of drums; the covering of the pole with pieces of cloth of different hues and furnishing it with a flag; erection of the pole by means of machines, with the citation of mantras of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra; worship of the banner. Performance of this ceremony of flag-hoisting by kings and their subjects in towns, cities and khetas.

Chap. 13.—Nārada deluded Ghora and his ministers and others by muttering the Padamālā-vidyā, so much so that Ghora’s queen became devoted to the Digambaras and gave herself up to the performance of Vratas and all other religious duties of the Pāṣaṇḍas. With the intention of enjoying mountain girls Ghora started with his army in an auspicious moment and experienced various kinds of bad omens including the sight of a red-robed person. At Nārada’s advice Ghora went to the Vindhyā mountain which was watered by the Narmadā and inhabited by learned sages as well as by various Mleccha tribes such as Varvaras, Pulindas, Śavaras, Taṅkas and Kapāliṅs 121 who were descended from the son (Niṣāda) of Veṇa 122, and who lived on roots and fruits, put on barks, and decorated their dark bodies with guṇjā fruits, garlands, feathers of parrots, and leaves worn

121 Devi-p. 13. 51b-52a—
reṇu-(veṇa-?)saṃbhava-saṃtāna-saṃbhūtā varvarāvarāh //
pulindāḥ śavarātaṅkā-kapāli-mleccha-jātayaḥ //
From the reference to the Kapāliṅs in this verse it seems that the Kapāliṅs were originally a wild tribe (like the head-hunters of Assam?).

122 In Devi-p. 13.51b-52a the wild tribes are called ‘reṇu-saṃbhava-saṃtāna-saṃbhūtā’. But the reading ‘reṇu’ must be a mistake for ‘veṇa’. We know from the Viṣṇu (I. 13) and other Purāṇas that Niṣāda, Śavaras etc. living in the Vindhyas, was born of Veṇa’s thigh.
round their waists. In this mountain Ghora saw Devi in the form of a girl and was bent on having her. He sent Durmukha, but the latter was killed by Vijāyā. Ghora saw various kinds of bad dreams towards the close of the night.

Chap. 14.—Description of the fight of the demons with Devi’s attendants Jayā, Vijāyā, Ajitā and Aparājitā; and Jayā’s killing of the demons Kāla, Bhairava and others.

Chap. 15.—Indra’s eulogy of Jayā for killing Kāla and other demons. Jayā’s fight with and killing of the demons Vajradaṇḍa and Yamāntaka.

Chap. 16.—Suśēṇa praised Ghora as a paramount and unrivalled ruler, and consequently Ghora prepared for war against Devi. In the meantime Nārada eulogised Devi who, though originating from Rudra, creates and protects Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and who is known under different names, viz., Durgā, Śākambhari, Gaurī, Vindhyavāsini, Kātyāyanī, Kauśiki, Kaitabheśvarī, Mahādevī, Mahābhāgā, Mahāsvetā, Aparṇī, Kapālā, Ekapāṭalā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatī, Laksṇī, Sarvatobhadra, Yogānidrā, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Bhadrakāli, Cāmuṇḍā, Cāṇḍi, Cāṇḍini, Pārvatī, Dākṣāyaṇī, Nārāyaṇī, Revatī, Śimhavāhini, Vedamātā, Sarasvatī, Bhogavatī, Satī, Satyavatī, Bhīmā, Dhūmrā, Ambikā etc. Devi was pleased to manifest herself by mounting a lion, carrying carman, sword, bow, nārāca, sūla, khaṭvāṅga, tusk, lute, bell etc. in her hands, and wearing a leopard-skin, and promised to kill Ghora.

Chap. 17.—Finding that Ghora oppressed all the gods and was about to kill even the female deities, Śiva eulogised Devi with the Mahādaṇḍaka hymn, in which he called her Śiva-vaktrodabhava, pramatha-lakṣa-vṛtta, hema-varṇa, śmaśāna-prīyā, kumāri, Śāmkhya-yogodbhava, Vetāli, Kapālinī, Bhadrakāli, Mahākāli, Kāli, mahāruksa-ghanṭā-ravodgiti-karnotsavā etc. [In this hymn Devi is identified with Brāhma, Kaumāri, Māhendri, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavi, Vārāhi, Sarasvatī, Arundhati, Jāhnavi and other female deities and is said to dwell in Hemakūta, Mahendra, Himādri, Vindhya, Sahya and Śrīgiri mountains as well as on mountain-tops and in caves.]
Chap. 18.—As a result of this eulogy, Devi waged war against the demons, and Jayā killed Suśeṇa.

Chap. 19.—Destruction of demons by Jayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā.

Chap. 20.—Fate and perseverance as moulding the destiny of men. Ghora’s assumption of the form of a buffalo (mahiṣa) and fight with Devi. Devi’s killing of Ghora as well as of those demons who grew out of his body.

Chap. 21.—After the fall of Mahiṣa (i.e. Ghora) the gods worshipped Devi with the offer of buffaloes and he-goats. Praise of the worship of Devi (Mahiṣāsura-mardini) with the offer, at midnight, of these animals on the Śuklāśṭamī and Śukla-navamī Tithis of Āśvina. (These Tithis are called Mahāśṭamī and Mahānavamī respectively).

Chap. 22.—Description of the method of Devi-worship as performed annually in a golden, silver, earthen or wooden image or in a sword or trident by the members of the four castes as well as by women. This method consists of various operations, of which the following are noteworthy, viz., beginning of Devi-worship on Āśvina-śukla-pratipad; performance of homa and Śiva-worship, and feeding of virgin girls daily; construction of nine houses or of at least one house for Devi-worship, fasting, and animal sacrifice on the Aṣṭamī Tithi; severing of the figure of an enemy prepared with powdered rice,¹²³ and performance of Devi’s car-festival (ratha-yātrā) on the Mahānavamī Tithi.

Chap. 23.—Results of worshipping Devi for nine days from Āśvina-śukla-pratipad to Navamī, and of having on the banner the figure of Devi mounted on a lion, a monkey, a bull, a swan, a peacock, Garuḍa, a buffalo, an elephant, a lotus, or a dead body.

Chap. 24.—Determination of different kinds of samkrānti (viz., mandā, mandākini etc.) and of their parts in which religious rites can be performed. Good effects of these

¹²³ Devī-p. 22.16—

\[\text{satruṁ krśvā tu piśajam} / \]
\[\text{khaḍgena ghāṭayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-viśākhayoh} ///\]

The printed ed. of the Devī-p. wrongly reads 'sakram' for 'satruṁ' in the first line.
sândakântis to the members of the four castes and to thieves, vintners, Cândâlas, Pukkasas, Píśâcas, actors, dancers and others.

Chap. 25.—Benefits of vasu-dhârâ-dâna\(^{124}\) to Devî in fire daily, fortnightly, monthly or at longer intervals.

Chap. 26.—Method of vasu-dhârâ-dâna:—Preparation of the sacrificial pit (kūnda) with its girdle (mekhalâ); construction of the necessary implements such as a pot (made of gold, silver or brass) for containing ghee, a ladle with a hole, and so on; performance of homa meant for the nine planets, the ten Lokapâlas, and the Mâtras with the citation of the mûla-mantra, hṛdaya-mantra, astra-mantra etc. or according to the direction of the Atharva-veda; citation of a hymn of praise to Agni; feeding of Brahmîns, actors, dancers, harlots, virgin girls, widows, poor men and others.

Chap. 27.—The sacrificer’s good or evil as known from the colour, sound, smell or general appearance of the fire in which homa is performed. Results of the use of different objects for the performance of homa. The sacrificer’s abstinence from speaking with Pâsaṇḍas, deformed persons, and others. The different occasions (viz., Āśvina-mahâ-stami, Āśvina-mahânavaṇi, Kârttiκī pûrṇimâ, Skanda-śaṣṭhi, Śakra-dhvajotsava, Puṣya-snâna etc.) on which the vasu-dhârâ should be given.

Chap. 28.—Devî-worship in temples, pasture-lands, mountains etc.; feeding of virgin girls; offer of gold, clothes etc. to those Brahmîns who are devotees of Devî; and reading of works on Devî-mâhâtmya.—All these are to be performed in Devî-vrata, Vasu-dhârâ-dâna, Dhvajocchhâya etc.

Chap. 29.—Origin of the visible world as well as of gods, Vidyâs, mantras, Tantras, mudrâs etc. from Devî who is the Parâ Śakti.

Chap. 30.—Results of worshipping the images of Devî

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\(^{124}\) ‘Vasu’ means ‘ghee’. The word ‘vasu-dhârâ’ is explained in Devî-p. 27.21 as follows:

\[
\text{vasu dravyam ghratham ajyam amrrtam havibh kâmikam} \\
\text{tasya dhârâ sadâ deyâ vasor dhârâ hi sâ matâ}
\]
made of different materials, viz., stone, sapphire, gold, silver, copper, earth, crystal, pearls etc.

Chap. 31.—Method of performing Devī’s Ratha-yātṛā (car-festival), in which Devī is to be worshipped with the mention of her different names (viz., Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Vindhyavāsini etc.) and women are to utter auspicious words and scatter flowers, dūrvā, aksāta etc. while following the procession. General amnesty to be observed on the occasion of Devī’s Ratha-yātṛā.

Chap. 32—Results of the worship, on different occasions and in different places (such as river-banks, forts, burning grounds etc.), of Devī, who is said to be always present in the Ganges, the Narmadā, the Vindhya mountain, Ujjayinī, Arvuda, Himālaya, Niṣadha and Droṇa. Directions for the construction of images of Devī having ten, two or twenty-eight hands and seated on a lion. (In these images Devī should be exhibited as surrounding, with a snake, the body of the demon issuing out of the buffalo beheaded by herself). Consecration of these images by those (Brahmins) who are versed in Devī-śāstras and have knowledge of the Mārmanḍala (the group of Mātrs) and of works on bhūta-tantra, graha, vyāla, and gāruda-vidyā.

Chap. 33.—Śukra’s eulogy of Śiva on the Kailāsa mountain by mentioning the manifold benefits of Śiva-worship as well as of acquiring knowledge of Śiva and becoming a wandering mendicant according to the rules of the Śaivas. Śiva’s description of the method of performing the Devī-vrata (also called Durgā-vrata) on the Śuklaśṭami Tithis of different months beginning with Śrāvaṇa. (In this Vrata, which is said to have been described in the Tantra, Devī is to be bathed and worshipped with the mention of her different names, viz., Kātyāyanī, Umā, Nārāyanī, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Carcikā, Mahiṣaghnī etc., various articles are to be offered and incense of different kinds including Turuṣka-dhūpa is to be burnt, Brahmins and virgin girls are to be fed, and the worshipper is to avoid all contact with Pāṣaṇḍas).

[In verse 4 there is mention of a ‘stotra’ recited by a
Gaṇa named Puṣpadanta, and verses 15 and 19 describe females wearing ‘cīnāṃśuka’."

Chapter. 34.—Results of decorating and cleansing the house in which Devī is worshipped and of honouring those persons who are versed in Devī-śāstra. Story of a fisherman (Kaivarta) who attained the results of dhvaja-dāna by suspending his fishing net from a tree before entering a Devī-temple on the Vindhyā mountain.

Chap. 35.—Method of preparing flags and furnishing Devī-temples with these. (During dhvaja-dāna Devī is to be worshipped, and Brahmīns and virgin girls are to be fed).

Chap. 36.—A Devī-stotra uttered by Śiva at the request of Śukra. (In this stotra Devī is called ‘nāda-bindu-svarū-pīṇī’, ‘śiva-śakti-para-svarūpīṇī’, etc.).

Chap. 37.—The reasons for Devī’s different names, viz., Gaurī, Nārāyaṇī, Durgā, Kātyāyāni, Raudrī, Vindhyavāsini, Jayanti, Ajitā, Vijayā, Aparājita, Mahiṣaghni, Kālī, Kapāli, Kapālini, Cāmunḍā, Nandā, Kauśikī, Kaitabhesvarī, Mahāśvetā, Mahābhāgā, Bhavānī, Jyeṣṭhā, Brahmacārīni, Aparṇā, Ekaparnā, Pāṭalā, Tārā, Vāmā, Citi, Revatī, Ekānaṃsā, Lakṣmī, Kāṇḍavārīni, Māyā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Rajanī, Hīṃsā, Balā, Śaṅkuvenī, and many others.

Though one, Devī appears as many through guṇa.

Chap. 38.—Enumeration of Devī’s different forms which are worshipped in different places.—Devī is worshipped as Maṅgalā in the tract of land lying between the Vindhyā and the Malaya mountain, as Jayanti on the sea-coast between the Vindhyas and Kurukṣetra, as Nandā between Kurukṣetra and the Himalayas, as Kālikā, Tārā and Umā in the mountains, as Bhairavi in Kiṣkindhyā etc., as Rudrāṇi in Kuśasthalī, as Bhadrakālī in Jalandhara, as Mahālakṣmī in the Kola mountain, as Kāla-rātri in the Sahya mountain, as Ambā in Gandhamādana, as Ujjani in Ujjayani,128 and as Bhadrakālikā in Vaideha.

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128 This ‘Ujjayani’ (also called ‘Ujjayini’) is the same as the ancient city, popularly known as ‘Ujjān’, which comprised the modern villages of Kogrām, Maṅgalakot (Sanskrit ‘Maṅgalakoṣṭhaka’) and Arāl situated on the bank of the river Ajaya in Katwa subdivision in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal. It has been mentioned, sometimes
Chap. 39.—Names of holy places in which Devi was worshipped in her different forms\textsuperscript{126} by different gods, sages and kings (including Jāmadagnya, Bhauma’s son, Vibhiṣaṇa and Rājasena) viz., Pūṣkara, Ṣimhālaya, Naimiṣa, Malayaparvata, Kiśkindhyā-parvata, Kaśikāśrama, Veda-parvata, Kāmākhya-giri-kandara\textsuperscript{127}, Sarasvatī-taṭa, Pūrva-sindhu, Laṅkā, Kailāsa, Kaṇvāśrama, Dharmāraṇya, Mahākāla, Koṭītīrtha, Bhadravāta, Kāveri-saṅgama, Gokarna, Daṇḍaka, Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama, Mahāśoṇa, Mahodaya, Muṇḍi-pīṭha, Malayaparvata, Śaka-dvīpa, Kuṣa-dvīpa, Krauṇca-dvīpa etc. Praise of the power of mantras by narrating the story of the demon Bala, who, being deluded by Viṣṇu by means of the Mohini Vidyā received from Śiva, offered his body for the fulfilment of the sacrifice of gods. Story of the death of the demons Subala (son of Bala), Dundubhi and others at the hand of the Paramā Śakti (also called Mahāvidyā) who took the form of an extremely old and emaciated woman named Kṣemaṅkari and was accompanied by the eight Vidyās (aṣṭa-vidyā-samanvitā). It is said that these Vidyās, divided hundredfold, are worshipped in different forms by kings and women according to the ‘Dakṣinācāra mārga’ and by Pulindas, Śavaras and others according to the ‘Vāmācāra mārga’, and that they are specially popular among harlots, cowherdesses, Tuḍus, Hūṇas and Khasas and in Himavat-pīṭha (Tibet ?), Jālandhara, Vidiśā, Mahodaya, Varendra, Rādhā, Kośala, Bhoṭṭadeśa, Kāmākhya, Kiśkindhyā, Malayā, Kolu, Kāṇci, Hastināpura and

under its popular name ‘Ujāni’, in the works of Bengal as one of the mahāpīthas created by the fall of the different parts of Sati’s body severed by Viṣṇu, and Devi is said to reside here under the name of ‘Ujāni’ or ‘Ujāni’.

For mention of this sacred city see Bṛhaddevā-p. I. 14. 14, in which Devī says:

\"uṣjasyaṁ tathā purṣṭam pīṭhām maṅgalakoṭhakam / \\nśubhā maṅgala-caṇḍy-ākhyā yatrāḥ saṁ vara-duyānī /\"

See also Tīrākṛta-ṣaṁ, Tantra-cuḍāmaṇi, Pīṭha-nirṇaya (alias Mahāpīṭha-nirṇaya), Śiva-carita, Bhārata-candra’s Anandā-maṅgala (Pīṭha-māla, verse 22), and so on.

For an excellent account of the Śākta Pīthas (including the said ‘Ujāyani’ or ‘Ujāni’ of Bengal) see JASB, XIV, 1946, pp. 1-108.

\textsuperscript{126} viz., Nanda, Śiva, Amba, Kāmākhya, Māheśvari, Kottūrda, Mahāraja, Kṛṇḍamudrā, Aghorā, Kālikā, Viṣṇaya, Caṇḍa, Dhitumā (7), etc.

\textsuperscript{127} yajed bhaumātmaja devin kāmākhya giri-kandare.—Verse 6b.
Ujjayini.\textsuperscript{128} Offer of fish, meat and wine in the worship of Kṣemaṅkari is prescribed with the mention of Damanī, Padamālā, Śrīghoṣa-vajraśāsanā and Pratyāṅgirā-devī, and the priest, who is not to be a naisṭhika brahmaçārīn, is required to worship the goddess after the kula-mārga. The giving of one’s own self, wife and the entire property to the consecrator of Devī’s image. Praise of the Vidyās, which are said to be sixty-four in number.

Chaps. 40-41.—Story of Mahādharmāsura’s war with the gods, and his death at the hand of Devī invoked by Brahma.

Chap. 42.—Gods’ eulogy of Devī by mentioning the names of places where she always remains in different forms, viz., Jalandhara Piṭha, Malaya, Sahya, Vindhya, Himālaya, Citragopa, Nārakāla (v. 1. ‘navekāle’ for ‘nārakāle’), Nicākṣaparvata (Nicākhyā-parvata ?), Laṅkā, Udra-deśa, Strirājya, Kāśikāvana, Kāmarūpa, Kānci, Campā, Vaidīśa, Varendra, Uḍḍiyāna, Manākṣa, Kuṇasthala, Cola, Siṃhala, Veṇudanda, Kānyakubja, Nava-durgā-sthala,\textsuperscript{129} etc. At Vaidīśa Devī remains in the middle, seated on a ‘siṃhāsana’, and is widely known as ‘ūrdhvajayāvahā mahākāli’. At Jambūkanātha she is famous as Bhadrakāli.

Chap. 43.—Praise of the Puspākhyā-vidyā, with the narration of the story of Amayāsura who was attracted by the physical beauty of Sumati, beloved of Gajānana, and whom Gajānana killed with the help of his friend Paraśurāma. (In this chapter there are names of more than forty-three kinds of vyūhas,\textsuperscript{130} into which Gajānana arranged Paraśurāma’s army).

Chap. 44.—Gajānana went to his own residence in the Mālavya mountain, and Paraśurāma established Kālikā

\textsuperscript{128} Devī-p. 39. 141-145.

\textsuperscript{129} The text reads:

“siṃhale venudanda ce kānyakubje tha vaidīśe /
 nava-durgā-sthale kṛtvā trimuṇḍā tatra kṛṣṭi |” (Devī-p. 42.10).

According to Devī-p. 44. 4-5, the nine Durgās were established at Mahodaya.

\textsuperscript{130} Of these, seven (named as Kaṅṣa, Pakṣa, Urasya, Daṇḍa, Ābhoga, Maṇḍana and Saṃghātā) are ‘prākrta’, and the rest (viz., Pradātha, Drūḍha, Kośadya, etc.) are not so (prākrta raiṭītan).—See verses 22-34.
at Ayodhya. Results of the worship of the nine Durgās (nava-durgā) at Mahodaya and of the other forms (viz., Kāmikā, Ambikā, Tārā, Vindhyātavī, etc.) of Devī situated at different places (viz., Malayā-parvata, Mandākṣa-parvata, Candra-parvata, Kiṣkindhyā-parvata, etc.).

Chap. 45.—Selection of proper day and time for the performance of sacrifices to the planets and the deities such as Skanda, Bhānu, Viṣṇu, Umā, Vināyaka and others. Results of such sacrifices.

Chap. 46.—Origin of the universe and gods from Devī. Names of the eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, eight Vasus, two Āśvins, ten Viśvedevas, fourteen Manus, fourteen Indras, seven Maruts, three Agnis, five kinds of years, sixty kinds of samvatsaras, and so on.

Determination of the nature of influence of planets on different parts of India according to kūrma-vibhāga. (In connexion with kūrma-vibhāga the names of Tirabhukti, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Vardhamāna, Kāmarūpa, Nepalā etc. have been mentioned, and Narmadā has been called the centre of the earth—mahī-madhyaṃ).

Chap. 47.—Division of time into ‘truṭi’, ‘dina’, etc. Names of planets, and their classification into ‘maṇḍala-graha’ (viz., Sūrya and Candra), ‘chāyā-graha’ (viz., Rāhu) and ‘tārā-graha’. The parentage, relative position, and dimensions of Planets and Stars. Names of the seven regions (loka) and their presiding deities. Position of these regions.

Chap. 48.—Determination of the two kinds of pūrṇimā (viz., rākā and anumati) and two kinds of amāvāsyā (viz., sinīvālī and kuhū). Description of the condition of the moon, whose fifteen kalās are eaten up by gods, Pitrś and others during the Amāvāsyā.

Chap. 49.—Solar and lunar eclipses, which are caused by Rāhu in the forms of shadows of the moon and the earth respectively.

Chap. 50.—Classification of the sixty forms of Devī into three groups: (1) twenty sattvika forms constituting the first grade, viz. Maṅgalā, Vijayā, Bhadrā, Śivā, Śānti, Dhṛti, Kṣamā, Rddhi, Vṛddhi, Unnati, Siddhi, Tuṣṭi, Puṣṭi, Śrī,
Umā, Dipti, Kānti, Yaśā, Lakṣmī and Īśvari; (2) twenty rājasa forms constituting the second grade, viz., Brāhma, Jayāvatī, Śakti, Ajitā, Aparājītā, Jayantī, Mānasī, Māyā, Diti, Śvetā, Vimohini, Śaṇṭi, Kauśikī, Gaurī, Vimalā, Rati, Lālasā, Arundhati, Kriyā and Durgā; (3) twenty tāmasa forms of the third grade, viz., Kāli, Raudri, Kapāli, Ghanṭākarnā, Mayūrikā, Bahurūpā, Surūpā, Trinetrā, Ripuḥā, Ambikā, Māheśvari, Kumārī, Vaiṣṇavi, Sura-pūjītā, Vaivasvati, Ghorā, Karāli, Vikaṭā, Aditi and Carcikā.

Description and measurements of the images of Mahādevī to be worshipped in common houses or in palaces. Benefits of constructing images with gold, silver or copper. Directions regarding the construction of temples for Devi-worship; decoration of these temples with paintings, flags etc. Method of consecration and worship of the images of Devī.

Description of the images of each of the above-mentioned sixty forms of Devī, with the mention of the particular years in which these forms are to be worshipped.

Description of the images of Gaṇeṣa, Mātrī, eight Vidyās, six Seasons, eleven Rudras, Mahālakṣmī, Kuṣmāṇḍā (seated on a human corpse), and Varvāra. Worship, in images or maṇḍalas, of the Sun in different forms under different rāsīs; materials with which these images are to be made. Signs to represent the deities. Worship of Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya, Gaṇeṣa, Brahmā and Hari in maṇḍalas. Ringing of bells during worship. Method of performance of homa and Devi-worship.

Chap. 51.—A man, who is versed in Devī-sāstras and has knowledge of the Mātrī-maṇḍala but is not a naiṣṭhika brahma-cārin, is eligible for performing Devi-worship, no matter whether he is a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra. A Devi-worshipper is to worship Śiva (according to Siva-siddhāntas), Sūrya (according to the Māṭharokta

131 Of these forms, Durgā is to be seated on an intoxicated quarter-elephant, and Vimalā, Bahurūpā and Carcikā on human corpses, and Kumārī, Karāli and Vikaṭā are said to be fond of honey, wine and meat.

132 Devi-p. 50. iv. 55ff.
vidhi’), Brahmā (according to the Vedic method) and Viṣṇu. Necessity of utensils in worship, and the results of making these utensils with different materials (such as gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, stone, wood etc.) under different conditions.

Chaps. 52-54.—Methods of performing graha-yāga and Mātrkā-pūjā in maṇḍalas in the different months of the year.

Chap. 55.—Enumeration of the different kinds of diya, āntarikṣa and bhauma Utpātas (or Adbhutas), and the means (viz., Mātrkā-pūjā, graha-pūjā, Sūrya-pūjā, lakṣa-homa, koṭi-homa, dāna, Brāhmaṇādi-bhojana, etc.) of preventing their bad effects.

Chap. 56.—Detailed description of the method of performing homa.

Chap. 57.—Description of a form of Devī which, when worshipped according to the prescribed rules along with Mātrṣ, Kārṭtika, Gaṇeṣa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Lokapāla and others, gives immediate results. Identification of Devī with Śiva.

Chap. 58.—Story of king Bhāgya who worshipped Hari in a maṇḍala on the Bhāgya-dvādaśī Tithi and also Hari-Hāra and Umā-Maheśvara in images, and thus attained great fortune in the Sūrottama-kalpa.

Chap. 59.—Method and result of worshipping Devī in the different months of the year.

(In this chapter, mention is made of the worship of Brahmā, Agni, Umā, Gaṇeṣa, Nāga, Skanda, Sūrya, Mātrṣ, Yama, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kāma, Rudra, Indra and others in Śrāvaṇa, of Devī-worship and Devī-ratha-yātrā in Aśvina-suklāṣṭami, of ‘dipa-dāna’ and ‘gajāśvādi-nirājana’ in Kārṭtika-krṣṇa-caturdaśi and Amāvāsyā, of worship of Cāṇḍikā in Phālguna, and so on).

Chap. 60.—Method and results of performing vrṣotsarga and ‘go-vivāha’ along with Devī-worship. Results of

\[123\] In this festival, which is to be performed in Māgha or Phālguna, four, two or one heifer is to be duly married to a bull of the ‘nilavṛṣa’ type.
repairing old temples, and of worshipping Umâ-Śaṁkara, Hari-Hara, Ardha-nārīśvara, and the Trimūrti.

Chap. 61.—Proper Tithis for, and results of, the worship of Brahmā, Umâ, Śiva, Agni, Devī-and-Śaṁkara (who are to be placed in a swing), Gaṅeśa, Nāgas, Skanda, Bhāskara, Mātrī, Devī Mahiśamardini, Dharmarāja, Viśṇu, Viśnu, Kāmadeva-and-Rati, Śiva, and Indra-and-Śacī.

Chap. 62.—Results of worshipping Śiva with different kinds of flowers in different months of the year.

Chap. 63.—Names of sixty-eight holy places in which Śiva remains present under sixty-eight names. (Among the names of places there is mention of Puṣkara, Ujjayini, Gokarṇa, Rudra-mahālaya, Devadāruvana, Turāṇḍa, Sukalānta, Ekāmra, Diptā-cakreśvara, Kāśmīra, Nepāla, Gaṅgāsāgara, etc.).

Chap. 64.—Description of Goratna-vrata, in which a cow and a bull are to be decorated and given to a devotee of Śiva after worshipping Śiva and Umā.

Chap. 65.—Method of worshipping Śiva-and-Umā on the Śukla-trīyā Tithi after painting their figures with ‘goro-kanā’, saffron etc. on two pieces of cloth. Devī-worship in Pradipta-navamī-vrata and Guggulā-vrata. Method of performing Puṣya-snāna (which is meant for kings): selection of proper place (viz., Himālaya, Sahya-parvata, Vindhyācalā, sea-coast where ships can remain safely, and so on); description of dreams which indicate good or evil; drawing of maṇḍalas with padmas in them in the prescribed manner; placing of deities in these maṇḍalas; worship of these deities; use of wine and meat in the worship of Piśācas, demons and Rākṣasas.

Chap. 66.—Description of Puṣya-snāna-vidhi continued: account of the origin of pitchers during the churning of the ocean; names of the nine pitchers in which the water for the king’s bath is to be kept and which are said to contain the

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A 'nīla-vṛṣa' has been defined as follows:
labolita yas tu varṣena śaṁkha-varṇa-mukho vṛṣaḥ /
lāngūla-sīrasa caiva sa vai nīla-vṛṣaḥ smṛtah / / Devī-p. 60. 7b-8a.

134 A Nirgrantha, seen in a dream, indicates evil.—Devī-p. 65.52.
seven oceans, seven continents, all the planets and stars, all the Kula-parvatas, all the holy rivers (such as the Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Subhagā etc.), and all the holy places (including Eka-haṃsa, Puṇḍarīka, Gaṅgāsāgara etc.); names of the presiding deities of these pitchers; placing of these pitchers in different directions.

Chap. 67.—Description of Pusya-snāna-vidhi continued: placing of auspicious articles in the pitchers; decoration of a throne and a number of beds (the latter being meant for the royal visitors); bathing of the king by Brahmans; worship of different deities including the Mātrs; donations to Brahmans and others; amnesty to prisoners.

Chap. 68.—Special baths at particular places for the accomplishment of particular objects (such as removal of barrenness of women). Places favourable for the success of mantras. Proper places for drawing maṇḍalas.

Chap. 69.—Description of Vināyaka-yāga (worship of Vināyaka) to be performed by kings for averting the effects of bad dreams. (In this Gaṇa-yāga, Sūrya and Ambikā also are to be worshipped).

Chap. 70.—Description of the rakṣā-mantra called Vināyaka-kavaca, and the result of wearing it after writing it in a maṇḍala on a gold or silver plate, or on a piece of cloth, or on a ‘bhūrja-patra’.

Chap. 71.—Power of rakṣā headed by the bijas of particular gods and written on planks of banian trees or on copper-plates or worshipped with flowers of particular colours. (The final verse of this chapter mentions Madhusūdana with four Vyūhas—catur-vyūha-samāyuktāḥ . . . madhusūdanaḥ).

Chap. 72.—Construction of forts (dūrga): first construction of a fort by Viśvakarman at the instance of Brahmā; selection of a suitable site for the construction of a fort; mutual relation between the different units of measurement of distance, viz., trasareṇu, likṣā, rājasarṣapa, gaura-sarṣapa, yava, aṅguli, prādeśa, tāla, gokarṇa, vitasti, aratni, hasta, kiṣku, dhanus, daṇḍa, nālikā, yuga, krośa, gavyūtī and yoyana; protection of forts by means of ramparts, trenches, shrubs
etc.; different kinds of forts, viz., pārvata (or giri-durga), 
audaka (or jala-durga), dhānvana (or maru-durga) and vanaja
(or vana-durga); further classification of each of these four
kinds of forts into two, viz., (1) guhā-durga and prāntara-durga,
(2) nadi-durga (also called antardvipa-durga) and sthala-
durga, (3) nirudaka-durga and īrīna-durga, and (4) khaṇjana-
durga and stamba-gahana-durga; comparative importance of
these forts to kings; arrangements for the maintenance of
these forts; furnishing the forts with sufficient food, arms and
ammunitions, machines etc.; arrangements for the protec-
tion of forts; restrictions on the admittance of persons into
the forts; maintenance of physicians, carpenters, astrologers,
viṣa-vaidyas, bhūta-vaidyas, gāruḍikas and others138 in the
forts; directions regarding the construction of gates (gopura),
at the sides of which there should be images of Devi Mahiṣa-
mardini, Gaṇeśa, Kuvera or Brahmā and which must be
named after the different names of Devi.

Construction of cities (pura): shapes of the cities (which
should be square, circular, triangular, or oblong); different
names of cities according to the difference in their dimensions,
viz., Aindra, Vaiṣṇava, Śaṃkara, Brāhma and Śarvabha-
mika; position of the residence of the king and the houses
of the members of the four castes in the city; residences of
people of lower castes to be located outside the city for
preventing intermixture of castes; characteristics of different
kinds of nagaras (viz., Sarvatobhadra, Rucaka, Svastika,
Chinnakarna, Vināsa, Duḥṣthita, Krśa and Durbala).
Measurement and position of khetā and grāma. Names
and measurements of different kinds of roads, viz., simā-
mārga, rāja-patha, śākhā-rathyā uparathyā, alpa-rathyā
and jaṅghā-patha.

Chap. 73.—Directions for the construction of adhodurga
and kytrima-durga which constitute the vijayākhya pura.
Location of residences of different classes of people in these
types of forts. Persons (viz., Śūdras, actors, sons of prostitu-
tutes, and others) who are not to be entrusted with the charge

138 viṣa-bhūtopahārāṇī ca gāruḍikādikāṃṣ tathā.—Devi-p. 72.110.
of forts. Determination of auspicious time for the construction of these. Worship of Śiva, Durgā, Mātṛṣ, planets, Vināyaka, and others on this occasion.

Chap. 74.—Names of rivers,²⁴⁶ places and forests which are deemed as highly sacred during eclipses and on other occasions.

Chap. 75.—Names of holy places, mountains and rivers where the performance of dhārā-homa becomes beneficial.

Chap. 76.—Names of some holy places. Praise of Kapota-tīrtha, and the benefits of bathing Śiva-liṅgas, Devī, Mātṛṣ, Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa and others with the water of the pool (kūṇḍa) at Kapota-tīrtha. Story of a pigeon (kapota) which was reborn as sage Śuka as a result of its death in this pool.

Chap. 77.—Praise of the Kapota-kūṇḍa; and the results of worshipping Śiva and Devī at Kapota-tīrtha with the use of Tantric mantras and the performance of sixteen kinds of mudrās, viz., yoni-mudrā, liṅga-mudrā, vyāpini mudrā, chatra-mudrā, etc.

Chap. 78.—Praise of observance of Kṛṣṇāṣṭami-vrata in the different months of the year and of observing Nakta-vrata and worshipping Śiva under different names on this occasion.

(In this chapter, as also in a few others, there is mention of gomedha and puruṣamedha sacrifices).

Chap. 79.—Results of the worship of Devī’s twelve forms (viz., Gaurī, Kālī, Umā, Bhadrā, Durgā, Kānti, Sarasvatī, Maṅgalā, Vaiṣṇavī, Lakṣmī, Śivā and Nārāyaṇī), Ardhanārīśvara, Umā-Ṣaṃkara, Hari-Hara, and Nārāyaṇa. Method and results of performing Umā-Maheśvara-vrata, Viṣṇu-Ṣaṃkara-vrata, Lakṣmī-Parṇā-vrata, Brahma-Sāvitrī-vrata, and Candra-Rohini-vrata. (In all these Vratas the mediums of worship are the images or altars). Praise of sweeping temples of Devī by narrating the story of Kuṅkumā, chief queen of Candramindra, who was a kite in her previous birth but got rid of her kitehood by

²⁴⁶ Gāṅgā, Narmadā, Yamunā, Vetravatī, Kausikī, Vindhyā, Sarasvatī, Candra-bhāgā, Tāṭī, Devikā, Bhāvikā, Sindhu etc.
removing the dusts from a Devī-temple in her attempt to take the food offered to Devī.

Chap. 80.—Devi’s presence in all things. Renunciation not compulsory for Devī-worship. Powers of Mahāmāyā.

Chap. 81.—Description of Kālāgnirudra (who is not different from Kālikā) as well as of his residence (called Kālāgnirudrapura) which is surrounded by flames. Names of the Rudras who surround Kālāgnirudra and bring about the destruction of the world.

Chap. 82.—Names of some of the numerous hells which are situated above the flames surrounding Kālapura. Nature of sins which cause one to visit these hells. Names and description of the seven Pātālas; the residents of these Pātālas. Description of the eighth Pātāla which is not found mentioned in any Āgama or any other work and in which there is Ardhanāriśvara. Story of the rebirths of Taskara-vallabha, son of a Brahmin named Kuladeva of Mahārāṣṭra who, in his attempt to commit theft in a Devī-temple, kept a lamp burning there for some time.

Chaps. 83–87.—Story of the origin of the demon Ruru from the mouth of Kārttikeya’s peacock and his war with the gods and death at the hands of the Śaktis (also called Mātṛṣ) issuing from Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya, Yama, Indra and Agni.

[In these chapters, there are eulogies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva-and-Devī, and the Mātṛṣ, Śiva has been praised, the connexion between Śiva and Devī has been set forth, the forms of the different Mātṛṣ have been described, and the names of different weapons used in war have been given. Chap. 86 ends with a song (in four verses) sung by Viṣṇu, which seems to be a prototype of those in Jayadeva’s Gita-govinda. This song runs as follows:

vikaśita-karnikāra-kamalotpala-laulajām
mukuta-nighṛṣṭāṅgam śaśi-pannaga-vicitra-tanum /
tridaśa-vilāsinī-vadana-pānikja-gīta-ravaṃ
dhruvam iha tanu namāmi caṇḍeṣa-śivam śirasā
dhruvakam / /]
praṇata-jana-hitam asura-bala-haram
tridaśādhipate caṇḍeśvara namo 'stu sadā/
giri-duhitṛ-pate vara-vṛṣa-gate namadhvam paśupate/
and so on (the fourth verse ending with the words
'jaya jaya devaṁ caṇḍa-śivam').

Chap. 88.—Praise of the worship of Mātrṣ even by
Antyajas, Pāṣanḍas, Baudḍhas and Gāruḍavādins according
to the Śivāgamas, Gāruḍa-tantra, Bhūta-tantra or Kāla-
tantra. Sakti as the source of the universe.

Chap. 89.—Method of worshipping Sarva-maṅgalā
da manḍala from Kṛṣṇāṣṭami to Śukla-navami in the
month of Āśvina with the mention of her different names
(viz., Maṅgalā, Bhairavī, Durgā, Kanyā, Kapāli, Kaita-
bheśvari, Kāli, Carcā etc.), sacrifice of animals, performance
of Ratha-yātrā, and feeding of virgin girls.

(This worship is open to the members of all the four
castes as well as to women and children).

Chap. 90.—The different places (viz., pura, grāma,
nagara, khetaka, haṭṭa, Gaṅgā-tira, Vindhya-parvata, Vedaparvata, Śrīśaila, Kīṣkindhā-parvata etc.) where the Mātrṣ
should be worshipped. Directions for the construction of
their images and temples. Furnishing these temples with
wells, tanks, gardens, harlots (veṣyā), bells, mirrors, ghaṭikā-
yantra (for measurement of time), etc. Method of consecra-
tion of images (with the citation of Vedic verses and songs of
females) and their worship (which is to be followed by honour
shown to females, virgin girls and Brahmins).

Chap. 91.—Devi to be worshipped even by Śūdras and
women. Results of Devi-worship in an earthen image and of
giving Vidyā (i.e. books), umbrellas etc. to Devi. Praise of
Vidyā.

Method of Vidyā-dāna [which consists of the following
operations:— books, viz., Siddhānta-śāstra, Mokṣa-śāstra,
Veda, Vedāṅga, Itihāsa, Gāruḍa-tantra, Bāla-tantra, Bhūta-
tantra, Bhairava-tantra, Jyotiḥ-śāstra, Vaidya-śāstra, Kalā-
śastra, Kāvya, Āgama etc., that should be given to Devī;
preparation of palm-leaves, placing them in a leathern
jacket (? carmanāṁ samkuṭikṛte—verse 57), and furnishing
them with two painted pieces of planks to serve as covers as well as with a piece of black or red thread having a coloured end for tying the leaves and the planks with; drawing of a manḍala with a yantra in it; placing of the palm-leaves as well as of a picture of the presiding deity in the yantra; worship of these with flowers and other things; honour to be shown to the scribe, who is to be ‘śāstra-pāraga’, ‘chando-lakṣaṇa-tattvajñā’, ‘sat-kavi’ and ‘madhura-svara’; method of copying books with the use of Nandi-nāgara script in the case of sacred books; worship of the copy thus made, after placing it on a specially made stool furnished with bells, mirrors, painted pieces of cloth, and so on; worship of Mātrī and other gods and goddesses on this occasion; taking of the manuscript in a car to a temple of Śiva or Mātrī, and giving it to a learned teacher; merrymakings on this occasion].

Praise of giving clothes, umbrellas, oil, lamps, food, pens, ink, ink-pots, sharp knives, covers of books, stools for books, etc. to students and scholars.

Chap. 92.—Devi’s constant presence in the Vindhya (where she manifested herself for killing the demon Ghora) and as Nandā in the Himalayas. Praise of worshipping Devī with mantra, dravya, kriyā and dhyāna in these places.

Chap. 93.—Śiva’s praise of the Nandā-tūrtha (in the Himālaya) as the best of all holy places, the other three sacred places on the Himālaya being Bhairava, Kedāra and Rudra-mahālaya. Glorification of Nandā who remains always present at Nandā-tūrtha with virgin girls. Months (Āśāṭha, Śrāvena and Bhādra) best suited for pilgrimage to Nandā-tūrtha. Description of Nandā-puri (residence or temple of Nandā) and its environments. Mediums of worship of Nandā, viz., Śiva-līnga, sthanḍila, pustaka, pādukā, pratimā, citra, triśikha, khadga, jala, agni, and hṛdaya. Characteristics of ‘anivartitādikāra’ and ‘savikāra’ Līṅgas. Praise of Līṅgas established by Śukra and others, and denouncement of those established by Kaca and others with Vedic Mantras. Characteristics of the other mediums of worship (viz., pratimā, pādukā, citra etc.). Method of worshipping Nandā in these mediums. Rules to be observed

(In this chapter, there is mention of wall-painting and of education, pastimes, decoration and sports of girls).

Chap. 94.—Description of pilgrimage to the residence (i.e. temple) of Sunandā, with the mention of the rivers, holy places, and images of deities lying on the way, viz., Gaṅgā with Maruksēvara Śiva on her bank, the river Śiloccyā on the left of Čurdhvāyā, Kāłakūṭa (tīrtha) with its ‘great temple’ of Kalamāṁseśvara Śiva and the river Kauśikā (flowing by it), Śūlabheda (tīrtha), Vasanta-vana, Kārttiķa-pura, Vaiśravāna-pura, and the river Vaitarani.

Chap. 95.—Description and praise of Kanyakāpura (residence of Kanyakā). Identification of Nandā with Śiva.

Chap. 96.—Hereditary study\(^\text{137}\) of the Vedas—one of the principal duties of the twice-born people (dvija). Contact with, and food offered by, Śūdras—to be avoided by them. Fit places of Vedic study (viz., temples of Viṣṇu and Śūrya, bank of a river, and so on). Method of reading the Vedas. Persons who are not entitled to read the Vedas. Days on which Vedic study should be postponed.

Chap. 97.—Killing of animals in sacrifices—not a crime. Directions and prohibitions to be observed by the people.\(^\text{138}\)

Chap. 98.—Unity of Devī, who is known under different names (viz., Nārāyaṇi, Tārā, Śvetā, Mahāśvetā etc.). Method of pavitrāropana after worshipping Devī (in any of her forms, viz., Carciķā, Cāmuṇḍā, Nandā etc.) on a sword, dagger, foot-wear, picture, book, flag, bow, image or altar. Music, dancing etc. to be performed by bands of actors,

\(^{137}\) According to verse 4, those twice-born people who have Vedic śaṁśkāra from their fifth ancestors on their mothers' sides and from the seventh on their fathers', become pure (śuddha) and fit for Vedic study.

\(^{138}\) People are advised to read medical treatises daily and to avoid quarrel with physicians and astrologers.—Devi-p. 97.17-19.
dancers and prostitutes. General holy day to be observed by all for ten, five, three or one day on this occasion.

Chaps. 99-101.—Methods and results of observing the Nandā-vrata (in which Nandā is to be worshipped in the twelve months from Śrāvaṇa with the mention of her twelve names, viz., Nandā, Sunandā, Kanakā, Umā, Durgā, Kṣamāvati, Gaurī, Yogesvarī, Śvetā, Nārāyaṇi, Sutārakā and Ambikā), Vijayā-vrata (on the vijayā pūrṇimā in the month of Śrāvaṇa), and Nakṣatra-vrata (in which the different limbs of Devī are to be worshipped under different nakṣatras). Feeding of Brahmins, women and virgin girls in all these Vratas.

Chap. 102.—Results of giving land, gold, cows, paddy etc. to Brahmins, women, virgin girls, and devotees of Devī at Nandā-tīrtha, Gayā, Puṣkara, Kāśi, Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Jambukēśvara, Kedāra, Daṇḍakāranya, Someśvara, Amara-kanṭaka, Vindhyācala, banks of the Gaṅgā and the Narmadā, and so on. Method of performing the Pada-vrata (in which Devī is to be worshipped on an altar, an image, or Devī’s foot-wears).

Chap. 103.—Method of giving cows (go-dāna) and golden cows (hema-go-dāna) to the devotees of Śiva, after worshipping Devī in these cows.

Chap. 104.—Donation of different articles in the different months of the year. Method of giving a cow to a qualified Brahmin in the month of Śrāvaṇa, after worshipping Devī, Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya and Viṣṇu. Method of tila-dhenu-dāna (on the occasion of which Devī is to be worshipped).

Chaps. 105-106.—Methods of ghṛta-dhenu-dāna and toyadhenu-dāna (with the worship of Devī on these occasions).

Chap. 107.—Devī as the mother of the Vedas. Division of the original single Veda into four, viz., Rk, Yajus, Sāma and Atharva. Names of the ten different texts (bheda) of the Rgveda, viz., Asleṣā, Saṃkhya, Carcā, Yāvakā, Carcakā, Śrāvaṇīyā, Kramā, Puṭakramā, Vaṭakramā, and Daṇḍa; names of its three schools (śākhā), viz., Śākala, Brahma and Māṇḍūka; and the numbers of its Maṇḍalas, Vargas, Rks
and Pādas. Names of the schools of the Yajurveda, and the number of its verses. Names of the Āṅgas, Upāṅgas and Pariśiṣṭas. Names of the schools and divisions of the Śukla-yajurveda, Sāma-veda and Atharva-veda, and the numbers of their verses. The Upavedas, viz., Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharva-śāstra and Arthaśāstra, which are attached to the four Vedas Rk, Yajus, Sāma and Atharva respectively. Names of gotras (Ātreya, Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja and Vaitāla) and adhīdevatās (Soma, Rudra, Indra and Brahmā) of the four Vedas. Description of the forms of the

139 atm bheda tu rgyveda daśa caiva prakṛtītaḥ //
śaśešaḥ sāṃkhyās caracās ca yāvakaḥ caracās tathā /
śravānyā ca kramā ca puṭakrama-vajakramāḥ //
duṣṇāṭaḥ ceti samācena purača evaiva pāraka /
śākhāḥ ca trividhā bhūyaḥ śākala brahma-māndūkāḥ //
teṣām adhyayanāmaḥ proktāṁ maṇḍalāḥ cituḥ-saṣṭikāḥ (v.i. cātuḥ-saptatiḥ) /
vargaṇāṁ pariśamkhyātāṁ caturviṁśa-satāṁ ca //
taṁ daśa-sahasrāṁ taṁ pānca-satāṁ ca /
mānan aṁśtā-śaśa ca tatra pāraṇām ucyate //

Devī-p. 107. 13b-17.

The text of the verses containing these names is full of mistakes. It runs as follows:—

... saṃkhyā yajurvedaaya śṛyatām /
ṣaṇḍāśi-vibhedena mayā bhinnam śivājñāya //
daśadhā caraḥ tatra kārakā vidradhiṣayā (v.i. karakāḥ hāritradhiṣayā) /
kaṭhāḥ prācyā-kauṭhāḥ caiva kapiśhala-kaṭhāḥ tathā //
caṇḍīyaḥ śvetāś ca śveta-tārā maitrāyani ti /
puṣṭaḥ saptatīr bhedena maitrāyanyāḥ prakṛtiśaḥ //
mānava-duṇḍubha-vārāhāḥ chāgeyaḥ hāridravyāḥ /
smāyā mānyānīyā ca teṣām adhyayanam ucyate //
aṭādāsa-sahasrāḥ paśṭhan śākhāvīdhu bhavet /
aviguṇaṁ padapāthī yaś triguṇaṁ krama-pāragaḥ //

Devī-p. 107. 18-23.

śīkṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṁ niruktaṁ chando jyotiṣam //
ṣaṇḍāngāni bhavantye etc tāny upaṅgāni śṛtu kathatām /
pratipadas anupaṅca chando bhashā śīmānā ca //
nyāna-tarka-samāyuktā upaṅgāḥ parikṣītaḥ //
pariśiṣṭā ca saṃkhyātā aṣṭādaśa śṛtuṣva tat //
yūpa-lakṣaṇa-pratiṣṭha tu vākyam saṃkhyāś caraṇa-vyūhaḥ /
śraddhākalpaḥ ca śuklāni pāraṣadam rgyaṇi ca //
āṣṭakāpuraṇaṁ caiva pravaraṅhyāyo'ūga-śāstram /
kratu-saṃkhyā nigamā yajja-pratīṣṭhāntahautrikam //
vrataṁ ca paśavo homaṁ kūrma-lakṣaṇa-saṃyutaḥ /
kathāḥ pariśiṣṭās tu ōnaviṇa mahāmune //


It is clear that the text of these verses is highly defective.

140 For the names of the different schools of these Vedas see Devī-p. 107. 30-44.
four Vedas personified. The different objects in which these Vedas are to be worshipped.

Chap. 108.—Praise of Āyurveda. Debate among the sages about the cause of disease in human body, and their conclusion that bad diet is its root cause.

Chap. 109.—Classification of food with regard to the source of its origin, its effect on human body, the modes of taking it, its taste, and so on.

Chap. 110.—Names of different kinds of food, as well as of roots, fruits, herbs etc. which are most beneficial or harmful to the human body. Praise of Durgā-worship and of study of Tantras. Praise of Āyurveda-śāstra, which is said to have been disclosed by Śiva in order to kill Khaṭvāsura.

[Chaps. 108-110 are the reproduction of Caraka-Saṃhitā I (Sūtrasthāna), 25 with minor additions and alterations.]

Chap. 111.—Story of the origin of Khaṭvāsura from the rage of Viṣṇu and Śiva; his successful war with the gods; and his penance.

Chap. 112.—Viṣṇu’s rubbing (cf. saṃmathayītvā) of his palms under the influence of rājasa-bhāva, and the consequent appearance of Gajānana. Gods’ occupation of the different parts of Gajānana’s body.

Chap. 113.—Viṣṇu’s eulogy of Gajānana by describing his characteristics. Gajānana’s statement that he has been sent there by Mahādeva, and his consent to remove the impediments of gods.

Chap. 114.—Worship of Gajānana by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods. Offer of different articles (viz., crescent moon, white girdle, coral, conch-shell, bow, mace, goad etc.) by different gods, and Śiva’s appointment of Gajānana as the leader of gods under the name of Vināyaka.

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143 In this chapter beef is denounced as the worst kind of meat; meat of cocks is praised as the most strengthening; sight of Nagnas and Kāśyins is said to do the greatest harm to life; the Sun (Āditya) is called the best healer of leprosy; and so on.

144 In this eulogy Gajānana is said to have serpents as his head-ornament, carry dāṇḍa, ankuśa, parasu, mekhāla and sūtra in his hands, hold a ‘lāḍḍuṣa’ in one of his hands and sandal etc. in another, and have his neck adorned by a necklace and his cheeks drenched by ichor.
Chap. 115.—Vināyaka’s arrival at Udayācala and killing of Vighnāsura.

Chap. 116.—Story of the origin of Vighnāsura from the fire issuing from Brahmā’s mouth when the latter, being engaged in penance, thought himself to be the only god. Viṣṇu’s eulogy of Śiva and Devī for killing Vighnāsura, and Śiva’s boon to Viṣṇu that Vighnāsura, Jambhāsura and Sulomāsura would be killed by Vināyaka surrounded by the Mātrṣ.

Story of Khaṭvāsura’s penance for Devī’s favour.

Māṇḍavyya’s saving of Hariścandra’s life and kingdom by worshipping the Mātrṣ at Vindhyācala according to the advice of the five Mātrṣ (viz., Ambikā, Rudrāṇi, Cāmunḍā, Brāhmaṇi and Vaiṣṇavī) whom Māṇḍavyya first worshipped at Someśa on the bank of the Sarasvatī.

Chap. 117.—Praise of the worship of Mātrṣ, especially at a time when the sun remains at the Kanyā rāśi (kanyāsāṃsthe divākare).

Chap. 118.—Results of constructing new temples and of removing the images of Durgā and the Mātrṣ to these temples from the old ones. Suitable time (viz., daksināyana) for removing the images of Brahmā, Indra, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Mātrṣ and Bhairava. The different mantras to be used in removing the images of Mātrṣ. Offer of wine, meat etc. to these female deities. Results of repairing old temples and of replacing old images with new ones.

Chap. 119.—After killing Khaṭvāsura Śiva assumed a dreadful form (of Bhairava ?), held a ‘khaṭvāṇga’ in his left hand and a ‘kapāla’ in his right, and wore a garland of skulls on his head.

Going to speak on the origin of the ‘kapāla’ and ‘khaṭvāṇga’, Śiva describes himself as the Eternal Being and Devī as the Mūla-prakṛti, and narrates how he created water and thence the universe with the gods, men and others. He also says that the skulls and limbs worn by him are respectively those of the innumerable Brahmās and Viṣṇus whom he created in the past. Regarding the origin of the ‘khaṭvāṇga’ Śiva says that the impediment to his yoga-
practice, being hurled up by him in rage, assumed the form of the demon Khaṭva and was destined to be killed by Vighnēśa (i.e. Vināyaka).

Chap. 120.—Purification of the body by muttering the Padamālā-mantra or the Gāyatrī, and by practising ‘yama’ (consisting of brahmacarya, dayā, kṣānti, dhyāna, satya, ahimsā, asteya, mādhurya and dama), ‘niyama’ (consisting of snāna, svādhyāya, upastha-nigraha, guru-sevā, śauca, akrodha and apramāda), and various kinds of penance (viz., sāntapana-vrata, mahasāntapana-vrata, parṇakṛcchra-vrata, taptakṛcchra-vrata, pādakṛcchra-vrata, prājāpatya-vrata, ati-kṛcchra-vrata, kṛcchratikṛcchra-vrata, parāka-vrata, saumya-kṛcchra-vrata, tulāpuruṣa-vrata, cāndrāyaṇa-vrata, and kṛcchra-cāndrāyaṇa-vrata), which have been described.

Chap. 121.—Maintenance of the sacred fire—a duty of those who are versed in the literatures of the Vāmas and the Dakṣinānas as well as in Vedānta, Grhya etc.

Method of performance of homa by the members of the higher three castes as well as by Śūdras, women and children. Names (Agni, Hūtāśana and Anala) of the three kinds of fire and of the gods who reside in it.

Chap. 122.—Origin of Āhavanīya Agni from Gārhapatyam Agni, and of the latter from Dakṣināgni. Names of the fifty-one descendants of Āhavanīya Agni, and the occasions for their use.

Chap. 123.—Different kinds of flowers, incense, scents etc. to be used in Devī-worship.

Chap. 124.—Methods of worshipping Devī and the spiritual preceptor (guru).—Proper place for worship; decoration of the place; performance of śaḍaṅga-nyāsa; bathing of Devī and the spiritual preceptor; offer of different articles including meat; performance of homa; and so on.

Chap. 125.—Praise of the worship of the spiritual preceptor who is identified with Śiva.

Chap. 126.—Method of Agni-saṃskāra and the performance of homa for removing the impediments to ‘japa’ and ‘adhyayana’.

(In this chapter there is mention of different kinds of
mudrās and mantras such as kavaca-mantra, astra-mantra, etc.).

Chap. 127.—Necessity of the performance of Devi-worship by kings, who are to keep their subjects in the path of virtue. Influence of the conduct of kings on their subjects; hence the necessity of imparting good education to a king even with the help of medicine, mantras etc. Necessity of śraddhā on the part of a learner.

Story of the revelation of Devi’s Stava-rāja. (In this Stava-rāja there is mention of the different names and exploits of Devi as well as of the names of the different places of Devi-worship; Devi is said to be worshipped as Vindhyavāsini by Savarases, Varvaras and Pulindas and to move about in the sky in a form having eighteen hands; and the relation between Śiva and Devi has been explained with various examples).

Chap. 128.—Method of worshipping the Devi-p and of reading it before a gathering. Honour to be shown to the reader. Fit places (viz., one’s own house, Kāśi, Kāmapura etc.) for the study of the Devi-p. Results of such reading.

The above analysis of contents of the present Devi-p will show how important this work is from various points of view, especially for the history of Śaktism. But, unfortunately, it does not contain the whole of the original Devi-p, which must have been a much bigger work. We have already mentioned that in chap. 1 of the present Devi-p. Vasiṣṭha speaks of four Pādas of the Devi-p and gives the contents of all these Pādas. This statement of Vasiṣṭha is corroborated by Bhagiratha who, in his commentary on Kumāra-saṃbhava I. I, says that Kālidāsa wrote his Kumāra-saṃbhava on the basis of the story of the birth of

144 Kanyādevi, Śākambhari, Mahāśvetā, Subhadrā, Dhūmrā, Bhūtamātā, Mātaṅgi, Candikā, Ghaṇṭāravā, Virūpākṣī, Śālañkāyanī etc.
145 Himālaya, Kailāsā, Meru, Mandara, Vindhya, Malaya, Gandhamādana, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, and the tract of land lying between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.
146 The text of Devi-p. 127. 110b is as follows:—
śaravarsavaraś cāpi pulindaś cāpi pūjyase.
The reading ‘śaravarsavaraś cāpi’ must be a mistake for ‘śavaraś varvaraś cāpi’.
Cf. Harivaṃśa II. 3. 7a—
śavaraś varvaraś caiva pulindaś ca supūjita.
Kārttikeya as given in the ‘Devi-purāṇa’, and thus proves that the ‘Devi-purāṇa’, with the contents of at least its fourth Pāda, was known to him. But in the present text of the Devi-p. we find only those topics which have been mentioned (in chap. 1) as the subject-matters of the first two Pādas or rather the second one, and at least three of the complete Mss of the Devi-p. end with the verse ‘etac cābhuyudayam pādaṃ śataś tribhir narottamaḥ etc.’ Hence it is evident that the present Devi-p. does not represent the bigger and entire work that was known under the same title in earlier days but contains only a portion ending with the Trailokyābhuyudaya Pāda and dealing with the first incarnation of Devi.

This fragmentary condition of our present Devi-p. is

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148 Dacca Univ. Ms No. 106H (Bhagiratha’s com. on Kālidyāśa’s Kumāra-sambhava), fol. 2a—”kaviḥ kālidāśaḥ devi-purāṇīyam kārttikeya-janma-kathām āśritya kumāra-sambhavaṃ nāma mahākāvyam idam niravatma (‘? niravartayaḥ’). This statement, however, is not correct.

Bhagiratha calls himself ‘pitamuṣṭi-kuśa-bhūṣaṇa’ and was a rādhīn.

It is to be noted that according to the present Devi-p. (1. 45-46) the story of Kārttikeya’s birth and exploits was dealt with in the fourth Pāda.

149 The facts that the contents of the second Pāda begin practically with chap. 2 of the present Devi-p. and that in chap. 1 the Purāṇa is found to begin abruptly and the interlocution between Nṛpavāhana and Cītrāngada is not preceded by any introduction of the interlocutors, tend to show that even the Trailokyā-vijaya Pāda has sustained serious loss. Whatever the meaning of the line ‘utpatti-kāirtanaṃ śṛṭeṣaḥ prathamam samudāhṛtam’ (given in footnote 110 above) may be, it must be admitted that the Trailokyā-vijaya Pāda is almost totally lost. It is only Devi-p., chap. 1 which seems to have belonged to the Trailokyā-vijaya Pāda. Cf. Devi-p. 1.28—

ādyābhuyandyaṃ saṃkṣepat purāṇam samudāhṛtam /

pāde trailokyā-vijaye sarva-kāma-prasādhanam //

With the present state of our knowledge we cannot say definitely whether Devi-p. 127. 24ff., which deal with the first origin of Devi at the beginning of creation, originally belonged to the first Pāda, or whether these verses were added only to deal very briefly with an important topic which was going to be omitted with the omission of practically the entire Trailokyā-vijaya Pāda.

150 See footnote 105 above. The Ms of the Devi-p. described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1205-7 has the final colophon—

‘ity ādye devyavatāre śrī-devipurāpaḥ bhuyadaya-pādaḥ samāptah’.

151 That the present Devi-p. deals only with the ‘first incarnation’ of Devi is shown by the reading ‘ity ādye devyavatāre etc.’ occurring in the final colophon as well as in some of the chapter-colophons of the Ms of the Devi-p. described by Eggeling (see Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1207) and in the final colophons of the two Ms described in Mitra’s Bikaner Cat. and Shastri and Guś’s Calcutta Sans. College Cat. (see footnote 76). Cf. also Devi-p. 128.4 wherein the ‘ādyā devyavatāraḥ’ has been mentioned indirectly, in connection with ‘phala-ṛuti’, as the subject-matter of the present Devi-p.
due most probably to the repeated revisions and abridgments to which this Purāṇa, like many other works of its class, was subjected from early days. The Devī-p. itself records a tradition that this ‘Śāstra’ was revealed by Śiva to BrahmA in ten lacs (of ślokas ?) and by BrahmA to Indra in one lac (of ślokas ?). It then reached Agastya (most probably in a more abridged form), and Agastya narrated it to king Nṛpavāhana (perhaps far more concisely).\(^{132}\)

That, in spite of all its exaggerations, this tradition is not totally false but is based on some amount of truth, is shown by (i) the absence of the third and fourth Pādas and most probably of the major portion of the first also\(^{133}\) from the present Devī-p., (ii) the abrupt beginning of the Purāṇa, the sudden mention of Nṛpavāhana and Citrāṅgada in Devī-p. 1. 63-66 without any previous introduction, and the abruptness of some of the interlocutions,\(^{134}\) (iii) a comparison of some of the extracts quoted in the Nibandhas from the ‘Devī-purāṇa’ with their parallels in the present Devī,\(^{135}\)

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\(^{133}\) Devī-p. 128. 1-2.

\(^{132}\) See footnote 149 above.

In his Kṛtya-ratnakāra, pp. 957-8 Caṇḍesvara quotes twenty-nine metrical lines, ascribing them to the ‘Devī-purāṇa’ at the outset and adding at the end: “bhāgavatapuRāṇe devy-avatāre navami-kriyā-sūcanaṁ āṣṭa-catvārimśo dhyāyāh.” But, curiously enough, these twenty-nine lines constitute chap. 21 (and not chap. 48, as said in the Kṛtya-ratnakāra) of the present Devī-p. Moreover, some of the long extracts and many of the verses quoted by Caṇḍesvara from the ‘Devī-p.’ are not found in our printed text. So, the text of the Devī-p. used by Caṇḍesvara was much more extensive than that of the printed work.

\(^{134}\) For instance, the interlocution between Śaunaka and Manu begins from chap. 39, although no mention of the former has been made anywhere in the preceding chapters and nothing is said as to how these two interlocutors came to meet each other.

\(^{135}\) A long extract dealing with KṛṣṇaŚāmi-vrata and consisting of 71 metrical lines has been quoted from the ‘Devī-p.’ in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. 1, pp. 823-6. A comparison between this extract and chap. 78 of the extant Devī-p. shows that though the present Devī-p. has retained many of the lines of the quoted extract, it has summarised many of the remaining ones by retaining the language of the original as far as possible, that the Devī-p. (chap. 78) condenses the whole topic in 28 lines, whereas the quoted extract has 71 lines, and that in the Devī-p. Manu is the speaker, whereas in the quoted passage the interlocutors are Devī and Śivara.

A comparison between a long extract (on Durgā-varta) quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. 1, pp. 856-862 and Devī-p. 33, 50-109 shows that in the quoted passage BrahmA speaks to Śukra, whereas in the Devī-p. it is Śivara (i.e. Śiva) who speaks to Śukra, and it is due to this change in the speaker that instead of the line ‘etad vratavarṇaḥ śukra mayā rudreṇa viṣṇunā’ (‘this best of vows was practised by myself, Rudra and
and (iv) the loss of some of the chapters from the extant work.\textsuperscript{104}

The above tradition as well as the probable loss sustained by our extant Devī-p., shows that the changes made in the present Devī-p. are far more of the character of condensation than of expansion by additions.\textsuperscript{107} So, in spite of these repeated changes the major portion of the present contents of this Purāṇa can generally lay claim to an early date, if not to that of its first composition. The close interrelation among the chapters\textsuperscript{108} also points to the general integrity of the Purāṇa.

\textit{Viṣṇu}) occurring towards the end of the quoted extract, the Devī-p. has ‘etad vrata-varaṇ, śukra mahā brahmaṇa viṣṇunā’.

Again, a summary of contents of a few lines of the Devī-p., together with the line ‘śrōtra śukra pravakṣyāmi’ and the verse ‘śubham vāpy aśubham kiṃcet’ which precede and follow this summary respectively, has been given in Narasimha Vājapepin’s Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 640-1. A comparison between this summary and Devī-p. 123. 11ff. shows how the Devī-p. has been reshaped. In the quoted portion Śakra is addressed by somebody, whereas in the extant Devī-p. it is king Nṛpavāhana who is instructed by Agastyā on the method of Devī-worship. Though the three quoted lines are not found in Devī-p., chap. 123, and the summary of other lines agrees with the contents of Devī-p. 123. 11ff. only imperfectly, it is Devī-p., chap. 123 which must have been the new form of that chapter from which the above-mentioned lines and summary were derived, because, in the expression ‘mukulādī-nijedhā vāravat/puspābhaive patrāṇi etc.’ (Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 641) there is unmistakable reference to Devī-p. 123. 18-20.

Compare also the verses ‘vāma-dakṣina-vettā yo mātr-vedārtha-pāragāḥ’ etc. quoted in Aparākśa’s com. on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (p. 16) with Devī-p. 32. 42-43 or 51. 4-6; a long extract of 130 lines quoted in Raghuṇandana’s Dūrgā-pūjā-tattva pp. 25-29 may be compared with Devī-p. 50. 88ff.; the verse ‘pañcarātrārtha-kusalo’ quoted in Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 21 may be compared with Devī-p. 32. 42-43 or 51. 4-6; the description of Maṅgāla, Rddhi, Rati, Kānti, Yāśā, Śākri, Jayāvati, Ajīta, Mānasi, Śvetā and several other goddesses, as given in Vidyāpati’s Dūrgā-bhakti-tarāgīti, pp. 77ff., may be compared with that contained in Devī-p. 50.i. 30, 113-4, 45-7, 125-6, and ii. 11-12, 9-10, 16, 24-25a, 31, etc.; and so on.

Such comparison will show definitely that the present Devī-p. is the result of a recast to which the earlier Devī-p. was subjected.

\textsuperscript{104} The mention of ‘Yudhiṣṭhīra’ and ‘Kuru-sārdūla’ as interlocutors in two extracts quoted from the ‘Devī-p.’ in Kālāsāra, p. 103 and Varṣa-kaumudi, pp. 30-31 respectively but not found in the present Devī-p., and the occurrence of the word ‘pārtha’ in the Vocative Case in Devī-p. 27. 6 show that our Devī-p. once contained chapters in which Yudhiṣṭhīra was one of the interlocutors. But in the present Devī-p. there is no such chapter.

The Ms of the Devī-p. say that this Purāṇa, ending with the Trailokyābhyyudaya Pāda, consisted of 12300 ślokas, whereas these Ms as well as the printed edition actually contain 7000-8000 ślokas. (See footnote 105 above).

\textsuperscript{107} That the present Devī-p. is not totally free from comparatively late additions, we shall see later on.

\textsuperscript{108} For instance, Devī-p. 21. 14 refers to Devī-p. 2. 33-35; 36.1 refers to 33.2; 44.4 refers to 42.10(?) 46.9 refers to chaps. 47ff.; 57.3 refers to chap. 50; 65.90 refers
The Śākta Upapurāṇas must be taken as contemporaneous.

The Devī-p. calls itself a ‘Purāṇa’ or a ‘Śāstra’ and never an ‘Upapurāṇa’; but it has not been included in any of the comparatively early lists of eighteen Purānas or Upapurāṇas contained in the different Purānic and non-Purānic works, most probably because of its abounding in Tantric elements. Yet it is certainly not a very late work. It has been profusely drawn upon by a large number of Nibandha-chaps. 50-54; 74.2 refers to chaps. 24ff.; 92.1-4 refer to chaps. 80-81; 93.22-23 refer to chap. 63; 93.59 refers to 93.26ff.; 121.4-5 refer to chap. 26(7); and so on.

See Devī-p. 1. 1; 1.78; 1.57; 128.49; also the colophons of chapters.

The reading ‘iśāyāde mahāpurāṇe’ after Devī-p. 7.50 must be a wrong one for ‘iśāyāde devipūrāṇe’ which is found in many of the chapter-colophons. It is noteworthy that in the chapter-colophons the Purāṇa calls itself ‘śādya’.

In spite of its claim to the status of a ‘Purāṇa’ it contains very little of the five topics characteristic of a ‘Purāṇa’, ‘vāṇśa’, ‘manvantara’ and ‘vāṃśānucarita’ being safely omitted.

See Devī-p. 128, verses 1, 13, 15, 25, 34 and so on.

It is only in the Ekākrama-p. (a work of Orissa) that the ‘Devī’ has been included in the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas (see Vol. I, p. 13). In his Śrīlaughtera Raghunandana also includes the ‘Daiva’ in the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas contained in the verses quoted by him from a ‘Kurma’ (i.e. Kurma-p.). Raghunandana explains ‘Daiva’ as ‘Devī-p.’ (daivaḥ devipūrāṇam).—Śrīlaughtera, I, pp. 792-3.

The text of the verses of the Kurma-p., as given by Raghunandana, is found to agree neither with that of the extant Kurma nor with those of the verses on the list of Upapurāṇas quoted from the ‘Kurma-p.’ in the different Śrī Nibandhas. (For the texts of these verses of the ‘Kurma-p.’ see Vol. I, Chap. I, footnotes 6-9).

By his reference to the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas as occurring in the ‘Kurma-p.’ and by his express mention that the Devī-p. was not included in any of the lists of eighteen Purānas and Upapurāṇas, Vallālasena also disapproves definitely the text of the above-mentioned verses as given by Raghunandana. See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verse 12b-13a)—

...... kūrapuruṇādipuruṇāyōḥ / uktānā upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhihi ca //

and p. 7 (verse 67)—

tat-tat-purāṇapuṇāna-saṃkhya-bahiśkṛtaṁ kaśmala-karma-yogāt / pāśaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṁ nirūpya devipūrāṇaṁ na nībaddham atra //

Hence the age and authenticity of Raghunandana’s text are extremely doubtful. The Devī-p. is also included in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the Śaṅdra-kalpa-druma, but this list has been derived most probably from Raghunandana’s Śrīlaughtera.

Vallālasena ascribes the exclusion of the Devī-p. from the lists of Purānas and Upapurāṇas to its Tantric character. See Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verse 67)—

tat-tat-purāṇapuṇāna-saṃkhya-bahiśkṛtaṁ kaśmala-karma-yogāt / pāśaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṁ nirūpya devipūrāṇaṁ na nībaddham atra //

It is to be noted that at the time the present Devī-p. was first composed, the Purāṇas imbibed very little Tantric influence and looked down upon the Tantras as ‘Pāśaṇḍa-śāstras’. So, it is natural that the Devī-p., with its prominent Tantric elements, should be kept outside the group of the 18 Upapurāṇas. See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 260ff.
dhākāras, both early and late. For example, Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes numerous verses from Devī-p., chaps. 51, 61 and 118 in his Hari-bhakti-vilāsa; Gadādhara from chaps. 21, 22, 24, 59, 61 and 96 in his Kālasāra; Anantabhaṭṭa from chap. 54 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta; Narasiṃha Vājapeyin from chaps. 32 (cf.), 34, 50, 51 and 123 in his Nityācāra-pradīpa; Raghunandana from chaps. 21-24, 50, 51, 54, 59, 61 and 78 in his Smṛti-tattva and from chaps. 21-23, 50, 54, 59 and 123 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva; Govindānanda from chaps. 21 (cf.), 24, 59, 61 and 78 in his Varṣa-kaumudi, from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-kaumudi, and from chap. 60 in his Dānakumudi; Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmani from chaps. 22, 24, 59 and 61 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava; Vācaspatimiśra from chap. 54 in his Tīrtha-cintāmani, from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-cintāmani, and from chaps. 48 and 59 in his Kṛtya-cintāmani; Rudradhara from chap. 24 in his Varṣakṛtya and from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-viveka; Śūlapāṇi from chaps. 21-23 and 61 in his Durgotsava-viveka, from chap. 97 in his Prāyaścitta-viveka, and from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-viveka; Caṇḍesvara from chaps. 12, 21, 22, 24, 33, 50, 59, 61, 62, 74, 79, 89, 91, 99, 102, 104, 117, 123 and 127 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, from chap. 97 in his Grhastha-ratnakara, and from chaps. 59, 103, 105 and 106 in his Dānavākyāvalī; Madanapāla from chaps. 51, 59 and 97 in his Madana-pārijāta; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 24, 74 and 104 (cf.) in his Kāla-nirṛnaya; Vidyāpati from chaps. 21-23, 50, 51, 53, 59, 89, 91, 117, 123 and 124 in his Durgā-bhakti-taranīgīna and from chap. 50 in his Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī; Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 50 and 51 in his Ācārādarśa (alias Kṛtyācāra) and from chaps. 24, 45, 59, 61 and 79 in his Samaya-pradīpa; Hemādri from chaps. 11, 12, 21-24, 27, 31, 32, 45, 50, 56, 58-62, 64-67, 74, 78, 79, 89, 91, 98, 99-107 and 121 in his Caturvarga-cintāmani; Vallālasena from chap. 100 in his Adbhuta-sāgara; Aparārka from chaps. 32 (cf.),

180 The authenticity of the quotation made from the Devī-p. in the Adbhuta-sāgara is more or less debatable. Towards the beginning of his Adbhuta-sāgara the author gives a list of authorities utilised by him in his work. But an actual examination of the Adbhuta-sāgara shows that this work contains verses from such Purāṇas and
51 (cf.), 59, 74, 97, 102 and 104 in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti; Lakṣmidhara from chaps. 12, 23-27, 33, 58-59, 64, 74, 79, 89, 91, 96-99, 101-106 and 127 in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, Vols. I-VI, VIII and XI; and Jimūta-vāhana from chaps. 22, 48, 61, 74 and 93 in his Kālaviveka. Of the 21 metrical lines ascribed to the ‘Devī-p.’ in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, six are found in chaps. 48, 59 and 61 of the present Devī-p. Some of the verses of the Devī-p., which were derived by Raghubandana from ‘Vācaspatimiśra’, ‘Kṛtya-mahārṇava’ (of Vācaspati-miśra), ‘Kṛtya-cintāmani’, ‘Navya-vardhamāṇa’, ‘Durgā-bhakti-taraṇginī’ (of Vidyāpati), ‘Naiyāya-kālika-kalpataru’ and ‘Kāmadhenu’ (1000-1100 A.D.), are found in Devī-p., chaps. 21, 24 and 59. Hence the date of the present Devī-p., which was known far and wide in the eleventh century, can never be placed later than 850 A.D.

Though the authenticity of the quotation made in the Adbhuta-sāgara from Devī-p., chap. 100 is more or less debatable, Vallālasena’s knowledge of the present Devī-p. can by no means be questioned. By his remark that the Devī-p., which was excluded from the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its treatment of ‘sinful acts’, was rejected by him because of its Tantric character, Vallālasena undoubtedly means the present Devī-p. which had Tantric elements even before the time of Aparārka. Now, Upapurāṇas (viz., Devī-p., Viṣṇu-p., Nandi-p., Vāyu-p., Āditya-p., Liṅga-p. and Brahmaṇḍa-p.) as have not been mentioned in the list. The exclusion of the names of these works from the list may be due either to the inadvertence of the author or to the insertion of verses of these works by people other than the author. Though such incomplete lists are to be found in other Sanskrit works also, a consideration of Vallālasena’s critical outlook as well as of the fact that Lakṣmanasena completed this work left unfinished by its author, tempts us to suppose that most probably it was Lakṣmanasena who revised and improved the Adbhuta-sāgara with further addition of materials.

144-146 Complete lists of all the traced and untraceable verses will be given at the end of the final Volume of the present work.

146 Cf. Dānasaṅgara, p. 7 (verse 67)—
‘tat-tat-purāṇopapurāṇa-sarṇakhyā-bahīṣkṛtaṁ etc.’

147 Cf. Aparārka’s com. (on the Yāj.), p. 16—
yad api devī-purāṇe—
vāma-dakṣina-vettā yo māty-vedārtha-pāragah /
sa bhavet sthāpakaḥ śreṣṭho devināṁ mātaraḥ(-ṭṛkāḥ) sa ca //
by way of explaining why he rejected some of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, partly or wholly, in his Dānasāgara, Vallālasena makes valuable remarks on their contents and authenticity as a result of a highly critical study of the entire Purānic literature and names a set of Purāṇas which he regarded as spurious, viz., Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruḍa), Brāhma, Āgneya, Vaiṣṇava consisting of 23000 ślokas, and Laiṅga of 6000 ślokas. But he expresses no such opinion about the Devi-p. On the other hand, he says that the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas excluded it because of its Tantric character, thus implying that the Devi-p. is as old as any of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas mentioned in the lists. All this shows that in Vallālasena’s days the reputation of the Devi-p. as a genuine Purānic work was firmly established and no question was raised against its authenticity and early origin. So, the Devi-p. must be much older than the extant Gauḍa and Agni which are identical with the spurious Tārkṣya and Āgneya mentioned by Vallālasena. The extant Gauḍa and Agni being works most probably of the tenth and ninth centuries respectively, the Devi-p. must be placed earlier still. Hence the Devi-p. cannot possibly be later than 700 A.D.
This lower limit of the date of the Devi-p. seems to be pushed further up by a good number of references, contained in it, to the independent worship of Brahmā. The opinion of scholars that the sect of Brahmā became prominent during the period ranging from 200 to 600 A.D. and that the five gods of the Smārtas threw Brahmā into the background towards the beginning of the seventh century, tends to show that at the time the present Devi-p. was first composed, the worship of Brahmā was more or less popular. Hence the Devi-p. is to be placed not later than about 600 A.D.

Again, Devi-p., chap. 69 (except verses 1 and 22b), which is the same as Yājñavalkya-smṛti I. 271-289a and 290-293, must have been taken from the latter work; Devi-p., chaps. 108-110 are mainly the reproduction of Caraka-śāhītā I (Sūtra-sthāna), chap. 25; and there are references to the decadent state of Jainism and Buddhism in several places of this work. Moreover, there is mention of horā and drekkaṇa, of the names of the zodiacal signs (rāśi) and week-days, of the Śaivas and Pāṣupatas as two distinct Śivaite sects, of the Vāmas and Dakṣīṇas as two divisions of the Tantriks, of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, of the Tantrik Baud-
dhas,¹⁷⁹ and of the Hūnas as practising the different mystic Vidyās.¹⁸⁰ So, the Devī-p. cannot be dated earlier than 500 A.D.

This upper limit of the date of the Devī-p. seems to be supported by its silence about the Devī-māhātmya of the Mārkaṇḍa-p. as well as by the distribution of the different limbs of the kūrma (kūrmāṅga-saṃsthāna), as described in Devī-p., chap. 46 (verses 63 ff.), which prominently betrays the influence of Varāhamihira’s Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 14 (nakṣatra-kūrmāṅdhyāyah) not only by one of its opening verses¹⁸¹ but also by metrical similarity in a few others.¹⁸² Besides these there are a few more verses in which the influence of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā may reasonably be suspected.¹⁸³ In the description of Ghora’s nature and administration, as given in Devī-p. 16. 3-11, there are some statements¹⁸⁴ which have striking similarity with those made by Bānabhaṭṭa in his Kādambari in course of describing the condition of king Śūdraka’s subjects,¹⁸⁵ and from these it is very natural

¹⁷⁹ Devī-p. 88.2.3—
pāṣaṇḍibhir bhaviṣyais tu bauddha-gāruḍa-vādibhiḥ / svadharmā-niratair vatsa svena nyāyenā pūjitāḥ //

This verse refers to the Pāṣaṇḍa (i.e. Tantrik) Baudhās who worshipped the divine Mothers in their own way.

See also Devī-p. 13. 10-12, which, by their mention that Śilamati, wife of the demon Ghora, became devoted to the Digambara sect and observed vows but did not worship the Mātrīs, seem to betray their knowledge of the Tantrik Baudhās.

¹⁸⁰ Devī-p. 39.143.
¹⁸¹ Cf. Devī-p. 46.44 with Bṛhat-saṃhitā 14.1.
¹⁸² Devī-p., chap. 46, verses 68, 72-74, 80 and 82 are composed in the same metre as that of Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 14. See also Devī-p. 12. 34-38, 44 and 54-57.
¹⁸³ For instance, Devī-p., chap. 12, which deals with the hoisting of Indra’s banner (indra-dhva-jocchhāya), has verses (viz., 22, 24 and 28-29) which may be compared with Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 43, verses 21, 22a and 39-40; Devī-p., chap. 47, dealing with the movements of the planets (graha-gati), opens with six lines written in the same metre as that of Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 14; and so on.
¹⁸⁴ For these see verses 8-11—
yasya kari-mahāgandhā mada-mattā na rāṣṭrajāḥ / yasya hāṭaka-daṅḍāni chatreṣu na jane kvacit // yasya ghatā aśvoṣreṣu na pure na ca ghoṭake / yasya dūṭāḥ priyā-kope kārmukānāṁ na vigrāhe //
yasya cādhvāra-yajñeṣu hy aśru-pāto na śokajāḥ / yasya sāśi-krpaṇeṣu kalaṅko na ca bhīl-krtaḥ //
yasya svapna-prabhā mithyā na ca vaktyā-yojane / yasya bāle mukhābhaṅgo na ca krodha-bhayāt kvacit //
¹⁸⁵ See Kādambari, pp. 10-11—yasminī ca rājani jita-jagati paripālayati mahāta
for one to take the Devī-p. as the borrower. But the grammatical and other errors occurring in some of these verses go definitely against their spurious character. So, these verses cannot be utilised to bring down the date of the Devī-p.

Thus, it is highly probable that the Devī-p., as we have it now, comes down from the sixth century A.D. and most probably from its latter half.

The mention of the earlier arrangement of the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharāṇī in Devī-p. 46.83 and 127.87-92 should not be taken to go against the above general date of the Devī-p. in its present form; because in the Brhat-saṃhitā itself there is mention of the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharāṇī (see Brhat-saṃhitā, chap. 15).

A large number of verses is found common to Devī-p., chaps. 46-49 and Sāmba-p., chaps. 18 and 22-23. Although we have seen in course of our analysis of the Sāmba-p. in Vol. I (p. 66) that chaps. 22-23 of this work must have been added later, we cannot say definitely whether the Sāmba-p. borrowed the common verses from the Devī-p., or both these Purāṇas utilised a common source. The grammatical correctness of the great majority of the verses of the said four chapters of the Devī-p., especially the last three (viz., chaps. 47-49), as contrasted very remarkably with that of the verses preceding and following them, shows that most of them were derived from a different source. But we are in complete darkness about the period of their inclusion in the Devī-p.

The above general date, to which we have assigned the

\[\text{citra-karmau varṣa-saṃkaraḥ} \ldots \text{svapneṣu vipralambhāḥ chatreṣu kanakadanḍāḥ} \ldots \text{kariṣṭu mada-vikāraḥ} \ldots \ldots \text{etc.}\]

186 See, for instance, Devī-p. 16. 3 ("madotsekaḥ" for "madotsekena"), 5 ("hādhanti" for "hādhante", "krodhādir na gaṇo viśate tanum" for "krodhādinām na gaṇo viśati tanum"), 7 ("maṇḍala-tattva-vedītā" for "maṇḍala-tattva-vedītā", and "karastham api dhātrijam" for "karastham iva dhātrijam"), 8 ("kari-mahāgandhāḥ" for "mahāgandha kariṣṭaḥ"), and so on.

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present Devī-p., should not be taken to be the date of composition of all the chapters without exception. It has already been said that this work, as we have it at present, is the result of repeated revisions and abridgments to which its original text was subjected with the progress of time; and we shall see presently that its peculiar language points to its earlier beginning. So, it is very likely that in the present text of the Devī-p. there are chapters (or parts thereof) and verses which were composed much earlier than the sixth century A.D.

Being a great authority on Śakti-worship and consequently a work of extensive use, the Devī-p. could not escape interpolations. In connection with vidyā-dāna mention has been made, in Devī-p. chap. 91, of the Nandi-nāgara script, which, as Bühler says, originated from the Southern Nāgārī of the 8th-11th centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{188} Hence chap. 91 (or rather verses 12-82, which deal with vidyā-dāna) must have been interpolated later. The comparatively late date of this chapter is also shown by its mention of yantra (diagram) as a medium of worship. It is to be noted that in the whole of the present Devī-p. there is no second instance in which the yantra has been prescribed to be used as a medium of worship. Chap. 91 is, however, not to be dated later than 1050 A.D., because Hemādri and Lakṣmīdhara quote almost the entire chapter in their Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and Kṛtya-kalpataru respectively.\textsuperscript{189} Besides these, there may be other interpolations, but it is very difficult to find them out.

Though the Devī-p. calls itself a ‘Purāṇa’ or a ‘Śāstra’ but never an ‘Upapurāṇa’ and is a fairly early work, it has been included among the Upapurāṇas by Raghunandana\textsuperscript{190}, Narasimha Vājapeyin\textsuperscript{191}, Mitra-miśra\textsuperscript{192}, and Śaiva Nila-

\textsuperscript{188} Bühler, Indian Palaeography, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{189} A complete list of the traced verses will be given at the end of the final Volume of the present work.
\textsuperscript{190} See footnote 161 above.
\textsuperscript{191} Nityācārā-pradīpa, pp. 18-19—
\begin{verbatim}
asūtāśāabhyaṃ tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dpīyate /
vijānīdhvam visūṃ-srēṣṭhā tad etebhīva vinīrgetam //
vinīrgetoḥ samudbhūtam / yathā kālikāpurāṇadīnī laṃkāmīdharaḥ / ... ...
... yac ca vāyupurāṇa-devipurāṇādi tad api eteṣv antargatam /
\end{verbatim}
\textsuperscript{192} Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15—
kanṭha. But there was a section of people including Cāṇḍeśvara who claimed that this Devī-p. was the real Bhāgavata. This opinion, being wholly unjustified, failed to find any wide acceptance among the people and was consequently discarded.

As regards the provenance of the Devī-p., there is little scope for doubt that it was written in Bengal. Besides the mention of the names of countries, rivers, holy places etc., mostly belonging to Northern India and showing the relation of this Purāṇa with that part of the country, there are other evidences which point to Bengal as the place of its origin. These evidences are as follows:

(1) As we shall see presently, the Devī-p., unlike all other works of the Purāṇic literature, is written in highly incorrect Sanskrit which compares very favourably with Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit found in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara and other works of East Indian origin. So, there can be little doubt about the fact that the Devī-p. also had its origin in Eastern India.

(2) Of the numerous lists of Upapurāṇas contained in different works it is only those given in the Ekāmra-p. (a work of Orissa) and Raghunandana’s Malamāsa-tattva which include the name of the Devī-p.

(3) Although the Devī-p. mentions ‘Kāmarūpa’ and

āṣṭādaśabhyās tu prīthak purāṇaṁ yat tu dṛṣṭaye //
vijāṅkhaṁ dvija-āṛṣṭhās tad ete bhayo vinirgatam //
... vinirgatāṁ samudbhūtam // yathā mahājana-parighita-nandikāvera-pūrāṇ-ādi-purāṇa-devipūrāṇāditi samkṣepab //

183 See Nilakaṇṭha’s com. Tilaka (on the Devī-bhāgavata), p. 3a—... devipūrāṇa-kālikāpurāṇayor upapurāṇatvasya niścitavāt... //

184 Cf. the verse—
‘bhāgavatyāśi ca durgāyāśi caritaṁ yatra vartate //
tat tu bhāgavataṁ proktam na tu devipūrāṇakam //’

occurring in chap. 23 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bengal Śiva-p. (for which see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3665, p. 1357).

This verse is the same as verse 129 of chap. 44 of the Umā-saṃhītā of the Śiva-p. (Venkata ed., which reads ‘vidyate’ for ‘vartate’).

In his Kṛṣṇa-ratnākara (p. 350) Cāṇḍeśvara once names the Devī-p. both as ‘Devīpūrāṇa’ and ‘Bhāgavata-purāṇa’—See footnote 153 above.

185 See Hātra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 52ff.

186 See Devī-p., chap. 38, 39, 42, 46 (verses 63ff.), 63, 74-76, and so on.

187 For these two lists see Vol. I, pp. 4-5 and 13.
'Kāmākhyā' as places of Devī-worship, it does not add any importance to these, nor does it betray any influence of the method of Devī-worship followed in these places. On the other hand, it concerns itself with the praise and worship of Vindhyavāsinī (of whom, as the Daśa-kumāra-carita tells us, there was a famous temple at 'Dāmalipī' or Tamluk') and the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Śakti-worship and its influence on Bengal become more and more prominent in the later Purānic works such as the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata and Bṛhadārṇava-p.

(4) Most of the extant Mss of the Devī-p. are found in Bengal and are written in Bengali script, and those which are now available at or near about Benares, might have been copied from their originals taken there from Bengal. In other parts of India, Mss of this Purāṇa are very rare.

(5) As we have already seen, the Devī-p. mentions sātru-bali in Durgā-pūjā in the following verse (22.16):
   tasyāgrato nrpaḥ snāyac chatrum kṛtvā tu piṣṭajam / khadgena ghatayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-viśākhayoh //

   Curiously enough, this custom survives in Bengal even to the present day.

   Sātru-bali as a malevolent rite is very ancient. In early days it was performed after a pacificatory rite (śānti) by a king's priest with the use of abhicāra-mantras for the good of his royal patron. Varāhamihira mentions it in the following verse of his Bṛhat-samhitā (44. 21):
   "śāntim rāṣṭra-vivṛddhyai kṛtvā bhūyo bhicārakair mantraih/ mṛṇmayam arīṃ vibhindyāc chūlen-oraḥsthale viprah //""
   "After performing the propitiatory rite for the growth [and prosperity] of the kingdom the [learned] Brahmin [priest] should, by citing Abhicāra-mantras again, thoroughly pierce with a lance at its chest [the effigy of] an enemy made of clay."

But the association of 'sātru-bali' with Durgā-pūjā is of

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1 See Daśa-kumāra-carita, Ucchvāsa VI, p. 149— ... suhmeṣu dāmalipī-āhvasya nagarasya bāhyodayāne ... ayatane vismṛta-vindhyā-rāga-vāsam vasantā vindhyavāsinyāḥ ... /

1 See above p. 45, with footnote 123.
comparatively late date. So far as we have been able to find, it is our Devī-p. which is the earliest extant work to mention this rite in connection with Durgā-pūjā. The other comparatively early Purānic works to prescribe it are the present Agni and Garuḍa-p., the Mahābhāgavata and the Kālikā-p. Of these, the first, viz., Agni-p., says in connection with the worship of sixteen- or eighteen-handed Durgā annually on the Mahānavaṃ Tithi:

“tasyāgrato nrpaḥ snāyac chatrum piṣṭamayam haret / dadyāt skanda-visākhābhyām .... .... .... //”

(185.13-14).

“In her (i.e. Devī’s) presence the king should take his bath, destroy [the figure of] an enemy made of powdered rice, and give [it] to Skanda and Viśākha............”. In much the same words (especially as those of Devī-p. 22. 16) the Garuḍa-p. also says in the same connection:

“tasyāgrato nrpaḥ snāyac chatrum kṛtvā ca pāiṣṭajam / khadgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-visākhayoh //”

(I. 135.3—Jīv.’s ed. I. 134.2).201

It is to be noted that these two verses of the Agni and the Garuḍa-p. (and more particularly that of the latter) agree very much with Devī-p. 22. 16 quoted above, and have even the incorrect Saṃdhī in ‘tasyāgrataḥ’ (for ‘tasyāḥ agrataḥ’) like the Devī202. Moreover, chap. 134 of Garuḍa-p. I, which also deals with Durgā-pūjā on the Mahānavaṃ Tithi, has one line (6b) tallying completely with Devī-p. 22. 10a and two more (6a and 7a) agreeing remarkably with Devī-p. 22. 9a and 10b respectively. So, there is little doubt about the fact that both the Agni and the Garuḍa-p. had their

200 This is a spurious work available in more printed editions than one and quite different from the genuine Agneya-p. still surviving in Ms under the title ‘Vahni-p.’ For information about this genuine Agneya-p. (alias Vahni-p.) see Hazra in Our Heritage, I, 1953, pp. 209-245 and II, 1954, pp. 77-110, and Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, V, 1955-56, pp. 411-416.

201 Jīv.’s ed. wrongly reads ‘lakrama kṛtvā ca pāiṣṭakam’ for the second half of the first line.

202 We shall see hereinafter that the language of the Devī-p., unlike that of the other works of its class, is characterised by grammatical incorrectness at every step very much like that of the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, and several other Sanskrit works of the Buddhist literature.
verses on *śatru-bali* composed on the basis of that of the Devi-p.

Now, the Agni-p. was compiled either in the eastern part of Orissa or in the western part of West Bengal (and most probably in the latter)^203^, and the Garuḍa-p. originated

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203 The earliest reference to the (spurious) Agni-p. occurs in the Dānasāgara of Vallālasena, a ruler of Bengal, who, by way of explaining why he did not utilise the contents of some Purāṇas, or particular parts thereof, in his great digest on gifts, says about four spurious Purāṇas including the present Agni and Garuḍa:

> tārīkṣyaṃ purāṇam aparāṃ brāhmaṃ āgneyam eva ca /
> trayo vimśati-sāhasraṃ purāṇam api vaśiṣṭvam //
> śaṭ-sahasra-mitaṃ laiṅaṃ purāṇam aparāṃ tathā /
> dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pṣaṇḍayuktī-ṛatna-parīkṣaṇaṁ //
> mṛṣā-vanānucaritaib koṣa-vyākaraṇaśāsthriḥ //
> asaṃgata-kathābandha-paraspara-virodhaḥ //
> tan minaketenādīnāṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṇḍa-liṅgīnām /
> loka-vāñcanām ālokyā sarvam evāvadhirītām //

(Dānasāgara, p. 7, verses 63-66.)

From the contents of these works (viz., initiation, consecration of images etc., Tantric practices, testing of gems, false genealogies and accounts of kings and sages, lexicography, grammar, etc.) as mentioned in the above verses and from the fact that these works were utilised by Minaketanas and other Tantrics for deceiving people, it is sure that the Agni and the Garuḍa-p., rejected by Vallālasena, are the same as our present Agni and Garuḍa-p. published so often as genuine Purāṇas from different parts of India.

Being compiled some time during the ninth century A.D. this Agni-p. began its fight against the genuine Āgneya-p. for occupying the latter's position and was soon able to attain much popularity especially among those who had been influenced by Tantricism. But the apathy, or rather hatred, which the comparatively early Śruti-writers bore towards the Tantras, prevented this Purāṇa from attaining a position of general acceptance as the genuine Mahāpurāṇa spoken out by the Fire-god. Thus, in the twelfth century, as Vallālasena's evidence shows, this Purāṇa was trying in Bengal to hold the ground against the genuine Āgneya-p. and took a few centuries more to attain a position of authority among the Śruti-writers. In the meantime it was gaining ground in Orissa, where Viśvanātha Kaviṛāja (1300-1384 A.D.), the first known scholar to recognise its authority, quoted from it two verses (viz., 337.3 and 338.7) in his Sāhityadarpāṇa, Pariccheda I, p. 2. The next writer to utilise this spurious Agni-p. also hailed from Orissa. He was Narasīmha Vājapeyin, a Śruti-writer who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century A. D. Even in the first quarter of the sixteenth century this work was able to attain only partial recognition in Bengal, where Govindānanda Kavikānaṇḍārya (1520-1560 A.D.) was the first writer to look upon it as an authority and to utilise its contents profusely in his works. (For the above date of Govindānanda see Hazra in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, XVIII, pp. 97-108, and for the list of the verses quoted by him from the 'Agni-p.' or 'Āgneya' and traced in the present Agni-p., see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, p. 318, and Our Heritage, I, 1953, p. 244). It is interesting to note that outside Bengal and Orissa this work attained recognition of scholars much later and took a few decades more to be looked upon as an authority in Western and Southern India, and in Mithilā it was not even referred to by any writer down to the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., if not later. So, there is little scope for doubt that the spurious Agni-p. originated somewhere in Eastern Orissa or Western Bengal. The complete silence of Maithila writers about
in Mithilā, but most likely in that part of Bengal which was adjacent to Mithilā²⁸⁴.

As to the Mahābhārata and the Kālikā-p., we shall see hereinafter that the former, which mentions the rite of śatru-bali in the verse

"tataḥ śatruṁ baliṁ dadyāt kṛtvā piśṭamayaṁ mama / navamyāṁ pūjitāhaṁ tu balibhir vividhairy āpi /"

(45.33), was written in Bengal (and most probably in its eastern part) some time during the tenth or eleventh century A.D., and the latter, which gives a description of the rite in chap. 71, verses 177ff., was compiled in the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.D. either in Kāmarūpa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it.

²⁸⁴ This Agni-p. down to the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. (although some of them, such as Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati and others, recognised the authority of Tantras much earlier) and the fact that in spite of the mention of Kāmarūpa as a sacred place on two occasions (in Agni-p. 143.7 and 144.19) the Brahmins of that place (and not those of Bengal or Orissa) have been included in Agni-p. 39. 6-7 among those who were considered unfit for consecrating the images of Viṣṇu according to the Pāṇcarātra method, tend to show that the Agni-p. was compiled neither in Mithilā nor in Kāmarūpa. On the other hand, the facts that Puruṣottama (modern Puri in Orissa), mentioned more than once in the Agni-p. (viz., in 117. 63, 117. 18, and 219. 68), has been located in ‘Auḍra’ (in Agni-p. 305. 13), that no Śrīmātī-writer of Orissa makes any mention of śatru-bali in connection with Durgā-pūjā, and that the name ‘bhelakētī’ for a particular type of mystic Vidyā (widely known in Bengal under the popular name ‘bhelik’) occurs in Agni-p. 133. 40-41 and 143. 3, make it very likely that this Purāṇa was compiled in the western part of West Bengal.

²⁸⁴ Like the spurious Agni-p., the present Garuḍa-p. also was mentioned, for the first time, by Vaiśālīśāna of Bengal but rejected by him as unauthoritative for its spurious character and the Tantric elements in its contents. (For the relevant verses of Vaiśālīśāna’s Dānasāgara see the immediately preceding footnote). Its authority was recognised, first of all, by Vidyāpati (1395-1440 A.D.) and Vācaspati-miśra (1425-1480 A.D.), both of whom hailed from Mithilā and drew upon it in their Gaṅgā-vākyāvalli and Tīrtha-cintāmaṇī respectively. In Bengal, it was Govindānanda Kavikānakācārya (1520-1560 A.D.) who was the first Śrīmātī-writer to recognise its authority and to draw upon it profusely in his Śrāddha-kaumudi and Varṣa-kaumudi and once in his Sudhikāumudi. Following him, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa (author of the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa), and others also drew upon this work. In Orissa, it was not recognised till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., after which Gadādhara utilised it in his Kālasāra. On the other hand, the Garuḍa-p. names, among the great holy places of India, not only Ekāmara, Viraja and Śrī-puruṣottama of Orissa but also Kokāmukha, Kāmarūpa and Pūṇḍravardhana with the particular mention of the deities Kāmēkhyā and Kārttikeya of the last two places respectively. (See Garuḍa-p. I. 81. 11-17). So, the Garuḍa-p., undoubtedly a work of Eastern India, was compiled either in Mithilā or in the western part of Bengal (and most probably in the latter).
Again, the earliest Smṛti work to mention the said rite of śatru-bali in Durgā-पुजा is Lakṣmīdhara’s Kṛtya-kalpataru, but its only authority is the Devi-p., from which it quotes, in its Rāja-dharma-kāṇḍa, pp. 192-5, verses 3-24 of chap. 22 (including the verse on śatru-bali). In his Durgotsavapaddhati Udayasimha Rūpanārayaṇa also quotes many verses from the Devi-p., and says (on fol. 15b):

“anantaram śatru-pratimāṃ piṣṭamayim kṛtvā khadgena tac-chiraś chedayitvā ‘om skandāya namaḥ’ iti skandāya śiro dattvā ‘om viśākhaya namaḥ’ iti viśākhāya kambandham dadyāt”.

Although Udayasimha Rūpanārayaṇa does not quote Devi-p. 22.16 (on śatru-bali), his wordings show definitely that his authority for this rite was the Devi-p. In his Vidhānapārijāta (II, p. 651) Anantabhaṭṭa also quotes the said verse of the Devi-p. (and no other authority) in connection with śatru-bali in Durgā-पुजा. In Eastern India it is the Samvatsara-pradīpa which is the earliest Smṛti work to include this rite in the annual worship of Durgā. It was written in the twelfth century A.D. by Halāyudha, a high state officer in charge of religious affairs under king Lakṣmānasena of Bengal; and its relevant lines (given without quoting any authority) are as follows:

“tataḥ . . . . śāli-piṣṭaka-śatru-pratikṛṭtm nirmāya maṇḍapa-dvāra-pārśve uttara-sīrasāṃ samsthāpya lohita-puspaṃ sampujya tīkṣṇa-khaḍgam ādāya amukāmukāṃ mārayamiti chittvā skanda-viśākhāhāṃ nama iti nivedayet.” (See fol. 25b).

There is also another Smṛti work of Bengal, viz., Durgā-पुजा-paddhati of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, in which there is mention of śatru-bali (see Durgā-पुजा-paddhati, fols. 46b-47b). Of the Smṛti-writers of Mithilā it is Caṇḍeśvara and Vidyāpati who mention śatru-bali in their Kṛtya-ratnakara (pp. 353, 360) and Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini (pp. 35, 197) respectively, the authority cited by them on this rite being the Devi-p. only. The influence of the Bengal Nibandhas on the section on Durgā-पुजा in Caṇḍeśvara’s Kṛtya-ratnakara and Vidyāpati’s Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini is obvious. It
is specially remarkable that in all cases the non-Bengal Nibandhas use the Devī-p. as their only authority on śatrubali, that all the Purāṇas, except the Devī, which mention this rite, connecting it with Durgā-pūjā, belong either to Bengal or to places very near to it, and that this rite is found to be followed in some form or other in Bengal even at the present day. From all this it appears that both the rite of śatrubali in Durgā-pūjā and the Devī-p. recording it originated in Eastern India and very likely in Bengal.

(6) The Devī-p. names, in some cases more than once, Kāmarūpa,203 Kāmākhya206, and the different parts of Bengal, viz., Vaṅga207, Rādhā208, Varendra209, Samataṭa210 and Vardhamāna211, and thus shows its familiarity with and partiality for this part of Eastern India.

(7) Among the few chief holy places sacred to Devī this Purāṇa recognises and names ‘Ujjayanī’ (a Śākta holy place in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal) and its presiding deity Ujjani (popularly known as Ujānī)212, which, being of local importance, are found mentioned only in the works of Bengal213.

(8) As in Bengali versification, long vowels are often to be read as short for the sake of metre, and vice versa. See, for instance, Devī-p. 8.3 (bṛhaspatinā cākhyātam, in which the final ‘ā’ of ‘bṛhaspatinā’ is to be read as short), 14.25 (tathāpi kālo gada tāṃ mumoca, in which the ‘ā’ of ‘gada’ is to be read as short), 85.48b (kunta-karpūra-yaśṭibhir bhusunḍī-hala-mudgaraiḥ, in which the ‘i’ of ‘yaśṭī’ is to be read as long), and 85.49b (śalakaiḥ śilīmukhaiḥ sūlaiḥ paṭṭisair mūsālair halaiḥ). See also Devī-p. 2.10a, 3.24a, 3.25a, 4.1a, and so on.

203 Devī-p. 42. 8; 46. 71.
206 Ibid., 39. 6 and 144.
207 Ibid., 46. 69.
208 Ibid., 39. 144.
209 Ibid., 39. 144; 42. 9.
210 Ibid., 46. 70.
211 Ibid., 46. 70.
212 Ibid., 38.8—ujjayanyāṁ tu ujjānī jambu-mārgē tathā sthitā.
213 For the exact location of this ‘Ujjayanī’ and the names of the works mentioning it see footnote 125 above.
(9) In the Devi-p. there are many words and expressions which are clearly based on those in popular use in Bengal. As instances, only a few are noted below:

(i) The inflected form 'devyā' of 'devi' has been used in a large number of places as a basic word and declined like 'lata' and other feminine words ending in 'ā'. [It should be mentioned here that in rural Bengal the word 'devyā' (for 'devī') is popularly used as a title of Brahmin widows even at the present day.]

Similarly, 'mātā', 'duhitā', 'trātā', 'dātā', etc. have been used on several occasions as basic words respectively for 'mātr', 'duhitṛ', 'trātṛ', 'dātṛ' etc.—See Devī-p. 6. ii. 44; 17.17; 43.18; 7.38; 31.36; and so on.

(ii) As in Bengali, the word 'sammata' has been used to mean 'the person who has agreed or given his consent' (and not 'the matter agreed upon or consented to') in Devī-p. 7. 96—evam tāḥ sammatikṛtvā . . . . / niyuktāḥ śambhunā . . . . . . . / (Cf. Bengali—'sammata kariyā').

(iii) Like the word 'ki' (for 'kimvā' meaning 'or') in Bengali, the Devī-p. uses 'kim' in 8. 12— . . . . . . dvāre . . . / nāradas tiṣṭhate deva sthāpyatāṃ kim praveśyatāṃ //

Cf. Bengali—देव, . . . हारे . . . नारद प्रवेश करितेह, [ताहाक सेखानेड] राखिते हुद्वे, कि, प्रवेश कराते हुद्वे? (Note the word 'sthāpyatām' for Bengali 'राखिते हुद्वे').

(iv) The verbal forms 'uttha' (for 'uttiṣṭha') in Devī-p. 8. 17 (uttha rājan mahābāho . . . . . .) and 'karanti' (for 'kurvanti') in Devī-p. 35. 27 ( . . bādhām karanti ca), are very similar to their Bengali equivalents 'उठ' (rise) and 'करे' (present tense, third person, plural number of the Bengali root 'कर' for Sanskrit 'कृ').

[See also the forms 'utthan' (for 'udatiṣṭhat') in Devī-p. 4.31, 'samutthanti' (for 'samuttiṣṭhanti') in 85. 33, 59, 'utthantaṃ' (for 'uttiṣṭhantaṃ') in 85. 43, and 'uttha' (for 'utthāya') in 85. 58.]

(v) As in Bengali, the Sanskrit root 'bhuj' (meaning 'to enjoy') has been used in the form 'bhuṇj' in many places of the Devi-p. See, for instance, Devī-p. 2.42 (svarga-bhūsapta-pātālān bhuṇja tvām . . . ), 2.49, 5.16 (bhuṇja svargam),
4.10 (bhū-pāṭālāṁ bhuṅjatha), 9.12 (bhūnjate prthvīm), 9.36 (bālā bhuṅjaniyā), 9.39 (bhūnjan prthvīm), 9.45 (bhūnjayitvā), and so on.

(vi) On numerous occasions, nouns derived from verbal roots by means of Kṛt affixes denoting action have been allowed to govern objects having the second case-ending. For instances of such use we may refer to Devi-p. 1. 57 (śravaṇāḥ ... ... purāṇaṁ śiva-bhāṣitam, in which the word ‘śravaṇa’ governs the Accusative Case in ‘purāṇa’), 8.57 (kanyāṁ udvahanopari—about marrying the girl), 9. 42 (tāṁ udvāha-samutsukah—eager to marry her), 9. 50 (vidyā mohana-sīlā yā sa-surāsura-manavaṁ), 11. 22 (divam utsahate jaye), 11. 57 (evam śakrasya brahmaṇa kathitam ketumucchrayam?), 12. 19 (paṅkam uddharaṇam kūpe), 13. 22 (asthīṁ darśanam), 15.2 (-bhitān parirakṣanāyā), and so on. Similar use of Kṛd-anta nouns denoting action is very common in Bengali and has its root in the Vedic literature, in which there are a few instances, viz., Rg-veda VIII. 11. 7—agne tvāṁ-kāmāyā girā (which Śāyaṇa explains as ‘tvāṁ-kāmāyā tvāṁ abhilaśantyā girā stutyā’), Atharva-veda VI. 139. 2, 4—māṁ kāmena—by loving me (Whitney), Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa II. 3. 1. 16—yady enam kṣīraṁ kevalaṁ pāne ’bhyaśhavet—if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk (Eggeling), and so on. In the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata also there are several instances of this type (for which see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 273).

(vii) The forms ‘jvalanta’ (for ‘jvalat’), ‘bhramanta’ (for ‘bhramat’), ‘vahanta’ (for ‘vahat’), etc. have been used as basic words in Devi-p. 14. 27 (jvalanta-kopāḥ), 84. 14 (jvalantāgni-), 85.38 (bhramantāvṛttaka-kuṭilam), 85.39 (vahantaḥ), etc. (Cf. Bengali ‘ज्वलन् धारण’ —blazing fire, ‘वहन्त गाड़ी’ —moving car, ‘पुष्पन्त लिहु’ —sleeping child, and so on).

The form ‘tejīn’ (for ‘tejasvin’—spirited) occurs in Devi-p. 53.1 (sraṣṭāraṁ tejinam ... ...). (Cf. colloquial Bengali ‘তেজী লোক’ —a spirited man).

(viii) As in Bengali, the word ‘pūrve’ (with the seventh
case-ending) has been used in Devī-p. 6. ii. 1 (mayā pūrve ca tvam deva uktam āsit ...) in the sense of ‘formerly’, ‘previously’, and the word ‘kapāla’ appears in Devī-p. 33.31 in the sense of ‘forehead’.

(ix) In several places of the Devī-p. the seventh case-ending has been used in place of the fourth in the Dative case. See, for instance, Devī-p. 11.7 (vasiṣṭhenāpi sa dattā ... ... sārasvate ...; bahvṛcas tāruṇe dadau, ‘tāruṇe’ being used for ‘tām+āruṇe’; and so on), 106.5 (devyā bhakte pradātavyam).

Cf. Bengali ‘না মরে পাপাণ বাপ দিলা হেন বরে’ (Bhārata-candra’s Annadā-maṅgala)— ... ... gave [me] to such a bridegroom ... ...; ‘স্তব্ধে বাণ করা উচিত’ —[one] should make gifts to a worthy recipient; and so on.

On one occasion the seventh case-ending has been used in place of the third, viz., in 14.4—mahāmohe ’timohite (for ‘mohenātimohite’). Cf. শোকে কাতর —afflicted with grief, চোখে দেখা —seen with the eyes, হাতে করা—handmade, কলে তৈরী—machine-made, and so on.

(x) As in Bengali, words have sometimes been used in different cases without any case-endings at all. See, for instance, Devī-p. 3.12, 21 (mahāsamaṃgraṇa cakrire), 14. 20 (vāmaṃ bhuja pūrayitvā ... ... dhāvati kruddha kopāt), 14. 25 (tathāpi kålo gadā tām mumoca), 14. 27 (evaṃ sa kålo hata bhairavaś ca ...), and so on.

(xi) There are a number of cases in which adjectives, qualifying nouns in the feminine gender, have been used, as in Bengali, without any case-ending or change of gender required by the nouns they qualify. See, for instance, Devī-p. 2. 40—param aśṭāṅga devasya bhaktim ... ... 9. 29—evaṃ tasya matir bhūta nārada-pathagā ... ... , and so on.

(xii) The words ‘aṣṭāśi’ (for ‘aṣṭāśiti’) in Devī-p. 12.31 (aṣṭāśim tu ... ...) and ‘paṇca-paṇcāśa’ (for ‘paṇca-paṇcāsat’) in Devī-p. 17. 8 have their parallels in colloquial Bengali (viz. ‘পাণ্ডুলিপি’ or ‘পাণ্ডুলিপি’, and ‘পাণ্ডুলিপি’).

(xiii) As in Bengali, the a of a final or intermediate syllable of a word, though existing in writing, is on many occasions not taken into account in pronunciation. See,
for instance, Devī-p. 13. 57—ināgud-oḍumbaraṁ kharjura-mātulaṅgaiḥ sadādimaṁ (in which the final a of ‘kharjura’ is not to be pronounced); similarly, 32.34—paraśu-cakra-dharau cānyau ṭamaru-darpāṇa cāparau, 32.36—... kurvantī kalakalāravaiḥ, 39.159—śarabha-śaṅkhau hatau dṛṣṭvā... ... ... ... , and so on.

(xiv) As in colloquial Bengali, the final Visarga of a word is sometimes not to be pronounced at all (for the sake of metre). See, for instance, Devī-p. 27.21... amṛtaṁ haviḥ kāmikam (in which the Visarga of ‘haviḥ’ is to be ignored in pronunciation), 31.39—sa sukham yasaḥ sau-bhāgyaṁ... ... , 36.34—... ... pulahādibhīṁ sattamaṁ, and so on.

(xv) In a number of cases the a of a final or intermediate syllable of a word has been eliminated in writing, and for such elimination popular Bengali pronunciation must be held responsible. For instances see Devī-p. 39.15—paraśurāmaṇa (for ‘paraśurāmaṇa’) toṣitā, 43.8—tadā tvam paraśunanā (for ‘paraśunanā’) hataḥ, 43.19—paraśuḥ (for ‘paraśuḥ’) pibati sōnitam, 98.27—bālagbhir (for ‘bālagbir’) na ca ātmiyam... ... ... ... , and so on.

(xvi) As in Bengali, the word ‘vinā’ has been allowed to enter into an Avyayibhāva compound with a substantive and the seventh case-ending has been added to the final member. See, for instance, Devī-p. 51.21—bali-homakriyādini vinā-pātre na sidhyati (vinā-pātre = vinā pātram). Cf. Bengali ‘lokeṣten bina-dvaye śaśṭita haṁ’—the man was punished for no fault [of his]; ‘yē bina-karṇe sāra đeṣa pūriyāṁ’—he has travelled without expense throughout the whole country; and so on.

(xvii) The irregular compounds ‘nṛpa-saha’, ‘rocanā-saha’ etc. (in Devī-p. 12.56, 35.7, and so on), in which the indeclinable word ‘saha’ (meaning ‘with’ or ‘together with’) stands as the final member, have their parallels in Bengali.

(xviii) In Devī-p. 86.30 (uṛtyante paramo devo asmākaṁ saha vāsava) the sixth case-ending has been used in connection with the word ‘saha’. In Bengali also, the sixth case-ending is employed in connection with the words ‘sānge’ and ‘sāthe’,
which are the indeclinable synonyms of ‘saha’, e.g. रामेर सन्नेः (or, सन्नेः) श्रामार्क मनार्गें हजराणितें—I had a quarrel with Ram.

(xix) As in Bengali verse (especially of the early and the mediaeval period), the word ‘darsana’ has been used with svara-bhakti as ‘daraśana’ in Devī-p. 10. ix. 11—daraśanam api puṇyam yoga-mārga-sthitānām.

It is needless to cite more instances.

From the evidences adduced above it is clear that the Devī-p. is an East Indian work written in Bengal. The use of the simile of ships (pota) in more places than one in this Purāṇa, tends to show that it was written somewhere about Tamulk, where, as we have already seen from the Daśa-kumāra-carita, there was a famous temple of Devī Vindhyavāsini and whence ships were sent to distant countries outside India.

Although in the Devī-p., Devī appears mainly as a war-goddess, the method of Devī-worship, as given in this Purāṇa, is in many respects very different from that found at present in Bengal. The Devī-p. mentions śatru-bali but is silent about the customs of nava-patrikā-pūjā (worship of the nine plants), Devī’s bodhana and worship in a Bilva tree, and the Śāvarotsava. This disagreement between the method of Devī-worship given in the Devī-p. and that found in present-day Bengal, can be explained away by saying that the above-mentioned customs (except śatru-bali), which are not found mentioned in any comparatively early work, can scarcely claim to have grown as early as the Devī-p. and that they were most probably due to the influence of Kāmarūpa. The direction for the worship of many gods and goddesses, especially of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śūrya and Gaṇeśa during Devī-worship, shows that the attempt at creating a sense of

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214 Devī-p. 39.35 (pañkodadhi-nimagnānām atipotā bhava tvaram); 72.73 (‘potipotasya vā yathā used in connection with the maintenance of a fort by its owner); 77.3 (siva-potam tu tena pāram bhavārṇavāt); 77.15 (potam nāvaplayam khyātam); 83.36 (iṣu-cakr-aiśa-makare tvam pota bhava acyuta); 83.112 (daityaugha-majjamānānām tvam pota bhava sūlini).

215 It is for this reason that the Devī-p. is said to have been introduced on earth by kings and that it deals, among other topics, with warfare and the construction of towns and forts and the method of protecting these.
brotherhood among the mutually conflicting sects among the Hindus began at an early date, and that such directions of the early Purānic works must have been incentives to the introduction of the ‘pañcāyatana-pūjā’ by the elimination of Brahmā, whose worship grew unpopular in later times.

The Devī-p. supplies us with important information regarding the different branches of Sanskrit literature known to it. Besides Itihāsa, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Ākhyāyikā, Jyotiḥ-śāstra, Vaidya-śāstra, Viṇā-śāstra (93.65), etc. it frequently mentions a Devī-śāstra (literature on Devī) 216 which grew up before the composition of this Purāṇa; it refers to ‘Purāṇas’ dealing with Devī 217, thus showing that Devī had become the subject-matter of Purānic works even before the present Devī-p. was composed; and it speaks of the four Vedas as well as the Upavedas, Āṅgas etc. 218 of Uśanas as an authority on warfare and construction of ‘nadi-durga’ (river-fort) 219, of Māthara as an authority on the method of Sun-worship 220, of the ‘Śiva-siddhāntas’ on Yoga and worship 221, of the Śivāgamas as authorities on the method of worship of the divine Mothers 222, and of the political works spoken out by Śaṁbhu, Uśanas, Viṣṇu and Brahmā 223. It not only mentions ‘Tantra’ and ‘Āgama’ very frequently 224 but names a good number of Tantric works, viz., Kāla-tantra 225, Gāruḍa-tantra 226, Māṭṛ-tantra 227,

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216 See Devī-p. 34.3 and 8; 99.14; 91.7 (devy-avadāra-śastrāṇi); 99.17 (nandā-śastra); 101.20; 105.9 (maṅgalā-śastra).
217 Devī-p. 37.74; 39.22
219 Devī-p. 3.33; 72.55.
220 Devī-p. 51.8. The meanings of the word ‘māṭhara’ are given by V.S. Apte as—(1) name of Vyāsa, (2) a Brāhmaṇa, (3) a distiller (śauṇḍika), and (4) one of the attendants on the Sun. It is most probably in the last sense that the word ‘māṭhara’ has been used in the Devī-p. This word seems to have nothing to do with the name of the author of the Māṭhara-vṛtti on the Sāṁkhya-kārikā.
221 Devī-p. 10.4; 51.8.
222 Devī-p. 88.1.
223 Devī-p. 5.2.
224 Devī-p. 6.30; 10.4; 33.49; 39.24-25; 56.22; 83.1 and 17; 110.3.
225 Devī-p. 6.31; 88.1.
226 Devī-p. 6.31; 32.43; 88.1; 91.14.
227 Devī-p. 39. 25.
Mūla-tantra\textsuperscript{228}, Bhūta-tantra\textsuperscript{229}, Bhairava-tantra\textsuperscript{230}, Bālataṇtra\textsuperscript{231} and Nitya-tantra\textsuperscript{232}. In Devī-p. 76.39 there is mention of a ‘Mārkandaṇḍa-muniśreṣṭha-purāṇa’ dealing with topics about the Narmadā and the Sarasvati; but we have not been able to identify this work. It is also not known which Purāṇa is meant by Devī-p. 63.18 (aṣṭa-śaṣṭis tu nāmāni deva-devasya dhīmataḥ / purāṇe copagītāni brahmaṇā ca svayambhuvā //). An extract, quoted by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 668 from the ‘Devi-p.’ but not found in the present Devī, contains the name of a ‘Brahma-purāṇa’ in connexion with a mantra to be pronounced during the worship of Viśvakarman, the divine architect.

In this connexion we should like to say a few words on the Tantric elements in the Devī-p. The Vedic influence on this work is quite evident from the facts that the contents of the Devī-p. are said to be ‘vedārtha-tattva-sahita’, that the four Vedas are called Devī’s door-keepers, that the muttering of the Gāyatrī is prescribed during Śaiva-yoga, that the Vedas are called the highest authorities on dharma, that those who violate the rules of castes and orders of life are doomed to hell, that the worship often requires Vedic mantras, kunḍa, homa, etc., that the Brahmins are engaged as priests, and so on\textsuperscript{233}. Yet this Purāṇa is infused with Tantric influence from beginning to end. It not only recognises the Tantra as an authority\textsuperscript{234} but mentions ‘Tantra’ and ‘Āgama’ on several occasions and names a good number of Tantric works. The study of a large number of Tantras is even called the best of all purifiers\textsuperscript{235}.

The form of worship, which is often mainly Tantric,
requires the use of Tantric mantras and the performance of nyāsa, mudrā etc.236; the use of wine and meat is prescribed in some cases237; the feeding of virgin girls is regarded as a very important part of all worships and festivals connected with Devi; the image (pratimā), altar (sthāṇḍa), sword (khaḍga), trident (śīla), circle (maṇḍa), with the figure of a lotus - padma - in it), book (puṭaka), phallus (liṅga), foot-wear (pāḍukā), cloth (paṭa), knife (churikā), arrow (bāṇa), water, fire, heart (hṛdaya), picture (eitra), and bow (dhanu) are to be used as mediums of worship in different cases238; and so on.

The Devi-p. mentions many mystic lores (vidyā), viz., Kāmikā, Padamālā, Aparājīta, Mohini, Mrtyuṇjaya etc.,239 which are intended not only for the attainment of magic powers such as ākaraṇa etc. but also for final emancipation (mukti)240. It elevates the position of the spiritual preceptors (guru) by prescribing their worship which is said to be as important as, or more important than, that of the gods, Fire and the Vidyās241.

As to the position to be allowed to women and Śūdras, the Devi-p. holds a liberal view. It allows them as well as the Pukvasas, Caṇḍālas and others to perform the vows and worships connected with Devi242 and even prefers a qualified Śūdra to a worthless member of any of the higher castes243. Women and Śūdras are directed to perform homa daily in a sanctuary (maṭha) or a kitchen (mahānaśa) but never in a kuṇḍa244. Virgin girls are to be worshipped and fed in all the worships and festivals connected with Devi, because Devi, being herself a maiden, resides in all virgin

234 Devi-p. 7.65-66; 7.88; 9.56; 9.68; 26.21-22; 29.14; 50.91; 50.iv.71; 52.8; 77.21-22; 91.40f.; 93.267f.; and so on.
237 Devi-p. 39.173; 50.iii.18, 28 and 30; 118.6; and so on.
238 The Vira-vrata requires the use of 'maḥāmaṇḍa' in homa.—Devi-p. 9. 68-69.
239 Devi-p. 22.10; 26.35; 31.18; 50.61; 50.iv.42f. and 100; 54.10; 57.13; 58.19; 65.56f.; 91.40f.; 93.102-106; 98.7-9; 98.18-19; 100.5; 102.11-12; and so on.
240 Devi-p. 1.63-64; 2.1; 9.49 and 52; 11.4; 76.31; and so on.
242 Devi-p. 7.5; 124.1; chap. 125. Also cf. 39.170; 128.24 and 26f.
243 Devi-p. 22.5-6; 22.23-24; 24.17; 88.4; 89.19; 91.1; and so on.
244 Devi-p. 51.4-5.
245 Devi-p. 121.5.
girls. Other women also are held in high esteem, so much so that their worship is prescribed on several occasions.

As has already been said, the highly incorrect language of the Devi-p. shows characteristics which are unique in the Purānic literature but have very often their parallels in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara and other Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit. Although these linguistic peculiarities are too numerous to be noted here exhaustively, some striking cases are referred to below for giving a general idea of the highly varied nature of these, with the citation of a limited number of instances of each type taken mainly from the first few chapters of the Devi-p.

I. Unlawful changes made not infrequently in the stems:

(i) Substitution of the final i of ‘sakhi’ (friend) with āya, as in

sakhāya (for ‘sakhi’) in 39.146— ... graha-rājasya sakhāyatve vyavasthitāḥ, 95.46—susakhāyaiḥ sahaiva tu, 95.44—sakhāyānāṃ tu laksanam, and so on.

(ii) Substitution of the final r (of masculine words) with a, ara, āra or u, as in

bharta (for ‘bhartṛ’) in 9.10—bhartānupālakaḥ; hota (for ‘hotṛ’) in 11.33—yajña-hotāya namaḥ; karta (for ‘kartr’) in 26.34—bhūti-kartāya namaḥ;

244 Devi-p. 35.17-18—

kanyā devyā svayaṁ prakta kanyā-rūpā tu śūlinī /
yāvad aksata-yonih syāt tāvad devyā surārihā //

245 Devi-p. 93.165f.

246 Devi-p. 22.19; 90.21; 91.61.


Although the name ‘hybrid Sanskrit’, given by Edgerton to the mixed language (Prakrit-Sanskrit) of the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, etc., is not very satisfactory, we have used it here from various considerations.

249 So far as Sanskrit grammar is concerned.

250 It is needless to say that this and similar other references below are to the Devi-p.

251 For the use of ‘sakhāya’ for ‘sakhi’ in Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 69 (10.8).
pitarā (for ‘piṭr’ ) in 50.i.72—pitarā-mātaraḥ, 91.50—
mātaraḥ pitarās tathā;
hotāra (for ‘hotṛ’ ) in 121.27—avedakas tu hotāro
naiva prīṇāti vai surān; vettāra (for ‘vettr’ ) in 32.42—
tacchāstra-vettāraḥ (Instrumental, plural), 121.6—mahā-
vidyārtha-vettāraḥ;
vidhātu (for ‘vidhātr’ ) in 7.9—jaya . . . . . . -budd-
dhīndriya-vidhātave (Dative for Vocative);
and so on252.

(iii) Substitution of the final r (of masculine words)
with ā (the resultant form being used in the feminine
gender), as in
dātā (for ‘dātr’ ) in 31.36—śivāyāḥ śiva-dātāyāḥ (for
‘. . . . . śiva-dātryāḥ’, the word ‘dātā’ having been
used in the feminine gender, for ‘dātrī’, on account of
its final ‘ā’); stotā (for ‘stotr’ ) in 6.ii.32-33— . . . devi
. . . . stotā tvam ca stutis tvam ca (for ‘. . . devi . . . stotri
tvam . . . . .’); trātā (for ‘trātr’ ) in 7. 38—trātās tāḥ
sarva-devānām (for ‘trātryas tāḥ . . .’) and so on.

It may be that of the words ‘dātr’, ‘stotr’, ‘trātr’ etc.
the final r was first replaced by a (as in ‘hota’, ‘karta’ etc.
mentioned above) and then the feminine suffix ā was added
for turning them into feminine bases.

So far as we have been able to find, the Buddhist works
written in hybrid Sanskrit do not contain a single instance
of the above use of masculine words ending in ‘r’.

(iv) Substitution of the final i of certain monosyllabic
feminine words (such as ‘dhi’, ‘ṣrí’ and ‘ṣtri’) with iya
or iyā, as in
dhiya (for ‘dhi’) in 93.111—martyair jaḍa-dhiyair
vātha . . . . . . ;
ṣriyā (for ‘ṣri’) in 7.51—ṣriyā rūpe sthitā tasya,
50.i.10—puṣṭiḥ sriyā umā, 50.i.84—teṣām āyuḥ sriyā,
50.i.115— . . . sriyā kāryā padmāsana-vyavasthitā,

252 For similar use of ‘napta’ (for ‘napṛ’), ‘māndhāta’ (for ‘māndhrāt’), ‘yaṣṭa’
(for ‘yaṣṭṛ’), ‘karta’ (for ‘kartṛ’), ‘bhrātara’ (for ‘bhrātr’), ‘pitara’ and ‘pitu’ (for ‘piṭṛ’),
‘bhartṛ’ (for ‘bhartṛ’), ‘śāst’ (for ‘śāstr’), and so on in Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, etc.
see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 90 (13.3-6) and 91 (13.16-17, 21-28).
66.29—śriyā caiva tathomā ca;

striya and striyā (for ‘stri’) in 101.27—striyaiḥ kāryam, 9.68—striyākarṣaṇam, 67.74—striyā vā laksanopetā, 91.75—striyā vānena vidhīnā vidyā-dāna-phalam labhet; and so on.

(v) Substitution of the final ī (of feminine words) with ā, ara, or arā, as in duhitā (for ‘duhitr’) in 43.18—agastyā-duhitām devim;

mātā, mātara or mātarā (for ‘mātr’) in 6.ii.44—suḥrd-bandhu-mātā-balābalā-vadham, 17.17, 106.6—vedamāte (Vocative), 119.24—vīrā-māte (Vocative), 7.84—mātara-saṃnidhau, 59.11—ravi-mātara-rūpā ca, 86.20—mātarāḥ, 86.4, 6, 8, 10, 14—mātaraiḥ, 88.11—devamātarotpattim, 26.13—mātā bhujagāmbikā, 45.6—mātarāsu ca (also 7.96—nāyikā mātarārtiḥāḥ, 22.21, 65.90—mātarāṇām, 26.17—mātārā loka-pālānām, 53.9—mātāranām sadā-cakram, 65.81—mātārā graha-nāgās ca, etc.); and so on.

(vi) Shortening of the final ā or ī of certain feminine words (very often for the sake of metre), as in
dirghika (for ‘dirghika’) in 82.64, 93.75—dirghikaiḥ;

jyotsna (for ‘jyotsnā’) in 32.25—mayūkha-danta-jyotsnena cakāsanti taḍḍid iva; mekhala (for ‘mekhalā’) in 26.3—mekhalais tribhiḥ, 50.ii.1—muṇja-mekhala-bhūṣitā; mudra (for ‘mudrā’) in 52.8—varadābhaya-mudrau tu . . . ; narmada (for ‘narmadā’) in 32.4—gaṅgā-narmada-vindhyaḍri; pāduka (for ‘pāduka’) in 93.105—pāduke pratimāsu ca, 98.7—pāduke paṭe, 98.19—pāduke vātha khadge ca; patāka (for ‘patākā’) in 51.27—patākaiḥ; śobha (for ‘śobhā’) in 50.ii.44—śobha-ṛṣṭ;

devis (for ‘devi’) in 14.23—sa devi-ghāto hata-bhūniśānāḥ, 14.28—te devi-bāṇāsani-bhinna-vakṣāḥ, 50.i.59—bhūṣayed devis-vedikām, 50.i.61—darsṣayed devi-

233 For the use of ‘śriyā’ and ‘striyā’ (for ‘stri’ and ‘stri’ respectively) in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 69 (10.4-6).

234 For instances of similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 90 (13, 7-13) and 91 (16-18).
mandale, 93.269—... devi uddharet ...; parvati (for 'parvati') in 43.37—parvati-nandanah; patni (for 'patni') in 33.36—pratyani-mukhah patnisu;
and so on.<sup>255</sup>

(vii) Addition of ā after the final i of certain feminine words (such as 'devi', 'koṭi', 'kumāri', 'vedi', etc.), as in
devyā (for 'devi') in 35.17—kanyā devyā svayam
proktā, 15.17—devyā kopānala-sudipitāh, 7.37—tā devyā
ṛṣi-mānavaḥ, 9.71—devyāyai vinivedaya, 32.14—devyāyā
bhakti-kāraṇam, 37.100—devyāyā eṣa siddhāntaḥ, 92.13
—devyāyām; kotyā (for 'koṭi') in 2.37—kotyāyuta-gajā-
nvitaḥ; kumāryā (for 'kumāri') in 12.28—kumāryāḥ pra-
thamāṃśagāḥ (Nominative, plural); vedyā (for 'vedi') in
65.99—paścimāyam tu vedyāyām ...; and so on.<sup>256</sup>

(viii) Addition of a to the final consonants mostly of masculine words and rarely also of feminine and neuter
ones, as in
bhiṣaja (for 'bhiṣaj') in 58.5—purodhā-bhiṣajānvitaḥ,
58.7—bhiṣajaḥ ... laghu-hasto jitendriyaḥ; sraja (for
'sraj') in 50.2.45—asoka-sraja-homena, 65.2, 99.26, 29—
srajiḥ, 99.34, 101.7—saḥakāra-srajaiḥ, 101.2—jāti-
mayaiḥ srajaiḥ;
anicchata (for 'anicchat'—unwilling) in 9.36—na hi
anicchatā<sup>257</sup> bālá bhunjanīyā ('anicchatā' being the
feminine form of 'anicchata' and qualifying 'bālā');
bhavata (for 'bhavat') in 9.31—yathāpi bhavato nāsman
... bhāṣate (bhavataḥ = bhavān); jānata (for 'jānat'—
jā + satṛ) in 4.13—desam caiva na jānata (the
visarga of 'jānataḥ' being dropped);
sampada (for 'sampad') in 50.iv.6—āyuḥ-sampada-

<sup>255</sup> For instances of similar shortening of long vowels in Buddhist works see Edgerton, <i>op. cit.</i>, I, p. 69 (10.10).

<sup>256</sup> The occurrence of the inflected forms 'devyāḥ' and 'kotyāḥ' (Accusative plurals of 'devi' and 'koṭi') in the Saddharma-puṇḍarika and Lalitavistara, and of 'hiranya-
vatāyāṃ' (Locative singular of 'hiranyavatī') in Ārya-maṇjuśri-mūlakalpa (580.9), shows that the use of stems formed by adding ā to feminine words ending in i was not unknown to the Buddhists.—See Edgerton, <i>op. cit.</i>, I, p. 79 (10.162, 164), and II, p. 620.

<sup>257</sup> Some Ms of the Devi-p. read 'anicchatī' for 'anicchatā'.

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dāyakam; śāstravida (for ‘śāstravid’) in 16.12 — . . . te deva śāstravidasya . . . ; tadvida (for ‘tadvid’) in 27.17 — deyā ca tadvidaiḥ;

samidha (for ‘samidh’) in 50.i.63—samidhāni, 55.16—

samidhāny etāni;

ātmāna (for ‘ātman’) in 8.19—ātmānaṁ paramaṁ
devaṁ toṣaṇiṇyam sadā budhaiḥ; brahmaṇa (for ‘brahman’) in 31.39—ity evam brahmaṇo ‘bravit, 85.78—brahma-

nasya;

arthina (for ‘arthin’) in 32.11—sthāpayed deva-
deveśaṁ sarva-kāmārthino yadi; aśvina (for ‘aśvin’) in 17.28—sāśvināṁ, 26.29—vasu-aśvina-rūpāya; dhāriṇa (for ‘dhārīn’) in 7.81—mahārudraḥ khaḍga-kheṭaka-dhāri-
nah; hāriṇa (for ‘hārin’) in 4.56—deva-deveśa umā-
dehārdha-hāriṇah / āgataḥ . . . . . . /. . . ; karina (for ‘karin’—
elephant) in 50.i.116—karinaiḥ kalasāṇvītaiḥ; śūlina (for ‘śūlin’) in 9.66—vaktum arhasi śūlina;

dīva (neuter, for feminine ‘div’) in 4.6—divaṁ
duḥkhena sādhyati, 4.10—na jetuṁ śakyate kāla divaṁ
dharmena raksitam;

dīśa (for ‘dīś’—direction) in 50.i.52—pūrva-dīśaiḥ;
nabhāṣprśa (for ‘nabhāṣprś’) in 13.56—śāla-tālaṁ

nabhāṣprśaiḥ; viśa (for ‘viś’—a Vaiśya) in 51.5—

viśaiḥ (singular), 22.5—viśaiḥ;

āyuṣa (for ‘āyus’) in 27.25—āyuṣa-kāmena; dhanuṣa
(for ‘dhanus’) in 50.i.42—dhanuṣaṁ, 53.2—dhanuṣa-
vadhi; vapaṣa (for ‘vapuṣ’) in 43.50—divya-vapuse
(Locative singulars);

aṅgirasa (for ‘aṅgiras’) in 2.8—bhṛgv-aṅgirasa-vāsiṣṭha-
māṇḍavyāḥ; chandaśa (for ‘chandas’) in 17.29—nāmabhiś
chandaśaiḥ . . . kṛittam . . . ; divaukaśa (for ‘divaukaś’) in 33.17— . . . modanti divaukaśā iva . . . ; jātavedasā
(for ‘jātavedas’) in 54.17—kuśmāndi-jātavedasaiḥ; pumṣa
(for ‘pumṣ’) in 8.44—pumṣaḥ saubhāgyam āpnuyāt,
33.109— . . . labhate pumṣaḥ . . . , 44.18—bhavate dag-
navān pumṣaḥ . . . , 108.32—tathā pradhāna-pumṣābhyāṁ
anyaiḥ; sumedhāsa (for ‘sumedhas’) in 9.38—rājā nāmā
sumedhāsaḥ, 9.47—sumedhasas tato yātaiḥ; tejasā (for
‘tejas’) in 85.75 — sva-tejasaiḥ; vāsasa (for ‘vāsas’) in 127.85 — rudrāṇi kṛṣṇa-piṅgā ca nila-kauṣeya-vāsasā; and so on 258.

(ix) Addition of ā to the final consonants of certain feminine words (such as ‘āpad’, ‘mṛd’, ‘sampad’ and ‘sruc’), as in
āpadā (for ‘āpad’) in 83.117 — smaraṇād eva stotrasya sransate mahad-āpadā; mṛdā (for ‘mṛd’) in 33.57 — mṛdayā ... aṅgam upalipya ..., 33.89 — mṛdāṁbubhīḥ; sampadā (for ‘sampad’) in 8.25 — sampadā dharma-bhogā hi ...; srucā (for ‘sruc’) in 50.iv.78, 80, 84; and so on 259.

(x) Substitution of the final at (of words formed with the Taddhita suffixes ‘matup’ and ‘vatup’ and the Kṛt suffix ‘satr’) with anta, as in himavanta (for ‘himavat’) in 93.10 — himavante mahāgirau;
tāvanta (for ‘tāvat’) in 50.i.27 — tāvanta-bhedena;
bhramanta (for ‘bhramat’) in 85.38 — bhramant-avṛttakaṭulam; jvalanta (for ‘jvalat’) in 14.27 — jvalanta-kopāḥ, 84.14 — jvalant-āgni-latākāra-; vahanta (for ‘vahat’) in 85.39 — śilimukhair vahantaś ca ...;
and so on 260.
(xi) Substitution of the final an or at with āna, as in śvāna (for ‘śvan’), in 13.19 — śvāno vānti-mukho bhavet; yuvāna (for ‘yuvan’ or ‘yuvat’) in 12.22 — yuvānair balasampannaiḥ, 50.iii.48 — bālā yuvāna-madhyā ca, 91.64 — yuvānair api taṁ neyam; and so on 261.
(xii) Substitution of the final as of some masculine words with ā, as in
purodhā (for ‘purodhas’) in 58.5 — purodhā-

258 For similar forms in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara etc. see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 95 (15. 7-8, 10-13) and 96-97 (16. 1ff.).
259 For similar modification of stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 94 (15.1) and 95 (15.9).
260 For instances of the use of similar stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 102 (18.5ff.).
261 For similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 100 (17.37-39, 44).
bhīṣajānvitāḥ, 58.10 — purodhānumate sthitaḥ; and so on²⁶².

(xiii) Loss of the final single consonants (following a) of masculine and neuter words, as in

atḥarva (for ‘atharvan’) in 7.22—ṛg-yajuh-sām-ātharvānām; bhasma (for ‘bhasman’) in 4.64—sitabhasmena, bhasmāt; brahma (for ‘brahman’) in 7.44—brahma (Vocative, singular), 11.57, 40.11, 83.46—brahmena, 80.10—brahmāya, 6.ii.14, 12.59, 37.83, etc.—brahmasya; carma (for ‘carman’) in 14.20—carmena; karma (for ‘karman’) in 34.7—karmena, 122.27—nāma-karmail, 9.64—siddhānta-veda-karmāṇām; nāma (for ‘nāman’) in 33.96—svasti-nāmena, 46.83—nāmena, 16.16—mantra-nāmaiḥ, 16.20—nāmaiḥ, 93.287, 289—sva-nāmaiḥ, 16.19—sarva-nāmebhyaḥ, 50.ii.11—nāme;

adha (for ‘adhas’) in 46.3—adhordhvaṁ kāṇcanamayāḥ, 70.7—adha-paṭṭagam, 84.10—bhūtādham (for ‘bhūtādhah’), 87.5—adhordhvaḥ; ambha (for ‘ambhas’) in 50.iv.94—kumbhāmbhāiḥ; aṅgira (for ‘aṅgiras’) in 46.54—aṅgirādyāḥ; aṃsara (for ‘aṃsaras’) in 14.29—saḥāpsarāḥ kiṃnara-cāraṇāḥ ca, 93.244—apsarāḥ, 12.40—apsarādiḥ, 17.20—yakṣāpsaraiḥ, 93.217—apsaraiḥ; āyu (for ‘āyus’) in 79.iii.7—putrāyu-saṃyutah, 82.50—kalpāyu-jivitaḥ; jātaveda (for ‘jātavedas’) in 12.25—jātavedamayena; mana (for ‘manas’) in 37.51—manādīnām, 39.69—manepsitaphal-pradam, 50.i.40—dig-bhāge mana-tuṣṭide, 116.iii.10—mane kṛtvā; oja (for ‘ojas’) in 8.51—śukrauja-balam eva ca, 84.25—tarjayantī mahaujena; raja (for ‘rajas’) in 37.33—rajādi-triguṇā matā, 65.59, 61—rajāḥ; rakṣa (for ‘rakṣas’) in 3.21—nāga-rakṣendra-daiteyānām, 4.20—nirjita āsura rakṣāḥ pāṭala-talavāsinaḥ, 15.6—jaleśa-rakṣaiḥ, 17.28—saraksan; sara (for ‘saras’) in 65.28—sare, 82.68—dirghikā-sara-madhyaśāh; šīra (for ‘śiras’) in 20.30—devyāḥ śīre mudgara-pāsa—

²⁶² For similar modification of stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., 1, p. 97 (16.29).
ghātān, 50.i.53—sarveśāṁ śīra-paṭṭastham ... , 50.ii.53
tac-chirottha-, 85.58 — kaṇṭha-śīroru; sumana (for 'sumanas'—flower) in 31.25, 65.93—sumanaiḥ; tama
(for 'tamas') in 32.22—tama-vaktreṇa; tāpa (for 'tapas')
in 2.37—vidyāvāṃs tapavāṃs caiva; teja (for 'tejas')
in 2.59—satejās ca sādā grahāḥ, 4.32—paśunā tu satejena,
7.22—mahātejāḥ (feminine, plural), 20.24—
dīpta-tejāṃ tām, 39.102—tāṃ sutejām; uṣana (for
'uṣanas') in 5.2—nayāḥ ... auśanāḥ ..., 3.33—auśa-
noddīṣṭa-vidhinā, 67.70—uṣanāc ca guruḥ prāptaḥ;
vakṣa (for 'vakṣas') in 14.28—te devi-bāṇāśani-bhinna-
vakṣā gatāsavah, 32.26—piṇau vakṣau, 43.19— ... te
vakṣe parśuḥ pibati śoṇitam;
sapta (for 'saptan') in 25.18—paṅcātha sapta vā,
96.4—paṅca saptas tathā dvijāḥ; aŚṭādaśa (for 'aŚṭā-
daśan') in 2.76—mukto hy aŚṭādaśair dosaiḥ;
dvātriṃśa (for 'dvātriṃśat') in 17.8—lakṣā dvātriṃśa;
dvipaṅcāsa (for 'dvipaṅcāsat') in 17.31—dvipaṅcāsa-
saṃkhyaṃ; paṅcapaṅcāsa (for 'paṅcapaṅcāsat') in 17.8—
aśvānām paṅcapaṅcāsa;
... and so on.263
(xiv) Loss of the final consonant (following a vowel
other than a), as in
nandi (for 'nandin') in 85.66—nandiṃ caiva mahā-
balam; pathi (for 'pathin') in 95.9—tato gaccheta ... .
pathim; and so on.264
(xv) Loss of the final syllable (of certain words, mostly
those denoting cardinal numbers), as in
aŚṭāsi (for 'aŚṭāsiti') in 12.31—aŚṭāsiṃ tu svaYaṃ śakrō
nīla-varṇāṃ pradāpayet; aŚṭāvimśa (for 'aŚṭāvimśat')
in 54.16—aŚṭāvimśaśta-homaṃ tu ... ; caturvimśa (for
'caturvimśat') in 107.16—vargānāṃ caturvimśa-śatāni
cā; ūnavimśa (for 'ūnavimśat') in 107.29—kathitaḥ
pariśiṣṭas tu ūnavimśah;
kaṭa (for 'kaṭaka') in 93.207—kuṇḍalaiḥ kaṭa-keyūraiḥ;

263 For similar forms in the Mahāvastu and other Buddhist works see Edgerton,
264 For similar loss in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 77 (10. 42-43).
ulū (for ‘ulūka’) in 65.21—-grdhr-olū-kākāni, 65.52—
kāk-olū-varāh-āhi—;
and so on.\footnote{The Buddhist works contain forms like ‘āṣṭāviṃśa’, ‘caturviṃśa’ and ‘ūnāviṃśa’ mentioned above, but none like ‘āṣṭāl’, ‘kaṭa’ and ‘ulū’.—See Edgerton, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 107 (19.30-31), but pp. 107 (19.35) and 31 (3.118).}

(xvi) Loss of the initial vowels of \textit{api} and \textit{atha}, as in
\(pi\ vā\) (for ‘\(api\ vā\)’) in 12.9—-sāsi-sākamayāṃ pi vā, 26.9—dvi-guṇam tri-guṇam pi vā, 35.6—\ldots \text{ dhātuji}ṃ pi vā, 50. iv. 4—kanakaṃ pi vā, 50. iv. 78, 54.15, 65.61, etc.—pi vā; \textit{thavā} (for ‘\textit{athavā}’) in 50. iii. 40—varadaṃ daṇḍa-matsyaṃ vā vāmārdhe yuvatī thavā, and so on.\footnote{For instances of similar changes in Buddhist works see Edgerton, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 32 (4.8 and 12).} (xvii) Use of \textit{pantha} (for ‘\textit{pathin’}, or for ‘\textit{panthan’}?)) in 19.8—yama-panthagāh, and \textit{pānīn} (for ‘\textit{pāni’} placed at the end of a Bahuvrihi compound) in 7.61—krpāṇa-vara-pānīne, 14.12—krpāṇa-pānīni, 16.40—varad-odyata-pānīni.
And so on.

II. Shortening of long vowels and lengthening of short ones (evidently for the sake of metre), as in
4.11—yuddham dvānks-olukaṃ yathā (in which the ‘ū’ of ‘ulūka’ has been shortened for the sake of metre), 4.92—ākhu-kāk-olukaṃ yathā, 15.9—yām śāmkhyayogaiḥ sa-pataṇjal-ākhyaiḥ (in which the ‘ā’ of ‘pataṇjala has been shortened), 32.4—gaṅgā-narmadavindhyādri (for ‘narmadā’), 65.95—sa-yajnopavitāni ca (for ‘-vītāni ca’);
4.13—asmad-ripu-balā-śaktim (in which the final ‘a’ of ‘-bala’ has been lengthened), 7.82—vāsuki-kṛta-bhūṣanaḥ (for ‘vāsuki’), 25.19—pānca-saptā-navāsyam vā (for ‘-saptā’), 27.2—sita-gandhi ca pūjitaḥ (for ‘-sita’), 32.37—śimha-padmāsanā-śamsthā (for ‘-āsana-śamsthā’), 45.11—śaṭṭy-abhiṣeka-yāgṣu (for ‘-abhiṣeka’);
and so on.\footnote{For instances of similar changes in Buddhist works see Edgerton, \textit{op. cit.}, I, pp. 23-26 (3.5-46).}

III. Saṃdhi (euphonic combination) often made against the rules of Sanskrit grammar:
(i) Double Samdhī (?), as in
āyātāvadān (for ‘āyātāh + avadān’) in 39.38 — kim
āyātāvadān surāh; dānavāpi (for ‘dānavāh + api’) in
13.65; ekamanādhunā (for ‘ekamanāh + adhunā’) in 29.3 —
... tvam ... śrṇusv-aikamanādahunā; ghorānikāvatasthire
(for ‘ghorānikāh + avatasthire’) in 13.59; graha-nāgāpare
(for ‘graha-nāgāh + apare’) in 51.9; jambhakādyāthā
(for ‘jambhakādyāh + atha’) in 7.69; mātarārtihāh (for
‘mātarāh + ārtihāh’, or ‘mātarāh + ārtihāh’) in 7.96;
tasyāgratalī (for ‘tasyāh + agratalī’) in 22.16; yasyārthē
(for ‘yasyāh + arthe’) in 9.57;
chinna-pakṣevasa (for ‘chinna-paksāh + iva’) in 85.62 —
chinna-pakṣevasa parvatāh;
catur-odbhāsa (for ‘caturāh + udbhāsa’) in 87.1;
praṅmukha-odānmukha (for ‘praṅmukha + udānmukha’) in
12.10; saṃkṣepat-oddhṛtya (for ‘saṃkṣepatah + udhṛtya’) in
1.53; soktaḥ (for ‘saḥ + uktah’) in 11.19; yamadāṇḍa-
ogrāndaṇḍa (for ‘yamadāṇḍa + ugrāndaṇḍa’) in 3.19;
and so on.

As a matter of fact, the above instances are not those of double Samdhī at all, the preceding words having been used without their final Visarga like some of their parallels in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.

(ii) Irregular Samdhī, as in
mumocanena (for ‘mumoca + anena’) in 20.35; pata-
ṃītyādhaḥ (for ‘patanti + adhaḥ’) in 85.55; sarvamāṅga-
layāṃśagāh (from ‘sarvamaṅgalā + āṃśagā’) in 50. i. 29;
mārkaṇḍa-ṛṣayāvāsam (from ‘mārkaṇḍa-ṛṣī + āvāsa’) in
13.64; śrāvaneśāde (for ‘śrāvane + āśāde’) in 93.48;
vidhvaṃṣayisyeti (for ‘vidhvaṃṣayisyē + iti’) in 84.8; śabda-
mātraiva (for ‘śabda-mātreye + eva’) in 9.22; tasyomkāram
(for ‘tasya + omkāram’) and yasyomkārādhivāsitam (for
‘yasya + omkārā-’) in 10. vii. 6; vedomkāra- (for ‘veda +
omkāra-’) in 57.20;
śrāvaṇārabhyā (for ‘śrāvaṇāt + ārabhyā’) in 98.9;
ḥrhotārau (from ‘ḥrhot + udara’) in 50. iii. 39; sarva-
gatānubhūya (for ‘sarva-gatān+anubhūya’) in 33.25; vividhānubhūya (for ‘vividhān+anubhūya’) in 33.22;

tvaham (for ‘tvam+aham’) in 6. ii. 36; devyānte (for ‘devyām+ante’) in 6. ii. 46—mucyate sarva-pāpebhayo devyānte liyate naraḥ; śakti-dvitiyāham (for ‘śakti-dvitiyām+aham’) in 84.26—asyā śakti-dvitiyāham srjāmi aparājitām; tārune (for ‘tām+ārune’) in 11.8—bahvṛcas tārune dadau; nandikārabhyā (for ‘nandikām+ārabhyā’) in 23.1—kṣirāśi nandikārabhyā devyā bhakti-rato nṛpaḥ; devīstå (for ‘devīm+iṣṭvā’) in 60.30; satyedam (for ‘satyam+idam’) in 39.181; stavedam (for ‘stavam+idam’) in 83.11; satyevam (for ‘satyam+evam’) in 3.4;

hiranyākhyā andhakāraś ca (for ‘hiranyākhyāḥ+andha-kāraś ca’) in 3.17; devya apāne (for ‘devyāḥ+apāne’) in 7.51; bhayebhya muṇcati (for ‘bhayebhyaḥ+muṇcati’) in 15.4; tatrasthā citrakarmāra- (for ‘tatrasthāḥ+ citrakarmāra-’) in 12.27; pūrṇo aprāptaḥ (for ‘pūrṇaḥ+ aprāptaḥ’) in 10. iii. 7; vānaro ṛksah (for ‘vānaraḥ+ ṛksah’) in 13.22; so gatāsuh (for ‘saḥ+gatāsuh’) in 14.26; so vai (for ‘saḥ+vai’) in 11.18; rāhoṭha (for ‘rāhoḥ+atha’) in 26.33; alipaṅktiva (for ‘alipaṅktiḥ+ iva’) in 32.21;

and so on.289

Besides the different types of irregular Samādhī cited above there are also many others including those having d (rarely), m or r as an intervening Samādhī-consonant (or hiatus-bridger), viz.,

kṛtvā-d-upagataḥ (for ‘kṛtvopagataḥ’) in 8.6;

ādyam-antau (for ‘ādyaṁntau’) in 46.60; avilambita-mutthānam (for ‘avilambitothānam’—Bahuvrhi compound) in 12.46; ayuta-m-ekam (for ‘ayutaiakam’) in 95.7; daṇḍāsi-pāṣa-m-udyata (for ‘-pāṣodyata’) in 85.21; eka-m-ekam (for ‘ekaikam’) in 85.39, 90.24; eka-m-ekena (for ‘ekaikena’) in 31.20; iṣa-rakṣo’nila-toya-m-analāma-namaskṛte (for ‘-toyānalā-’) in 6. ii. 22; kāla-gaṅṛda-m-ādiṣu (for ‘-gaṅṛdaḍiṣu’) in 6. ii. 31—jyotira-bandyaśāstresu

289 For instances of Samādhi similar to many of those given above see Mahāvastu and other Buddhist works cited by Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 34 (4.36), 43 (7.14), and so on.
kāla-gāruḍa-m-ādiṣu; ketu-m-ucchrayam (for ‘ketūcchrayam’) in 11.57; koṭi-m-ekam (for ‘koṭyeكام’) in 93.255; krṣṇāyaṣa-m-alaṃkārāḥ (for ‘yasālaṃ-’) in 13.74; mahūra-m-āsanārūḍhā (for ‘mayūrāsana-’ in 83.89; -pāṭāla-m-ākāra- (for ‘pāṭalākāra-’ in 84.12; subha-toraṇa-m-ākula (for ‘toraṇākula’) in 12.46; sūrya-m-ujjvalāḥ (for ‘sūryojjvalāḥ’) in 85.59; tathā-m-ayuta-koṭidhā (for ‘tathāyuta-’) in 19.5; vāyu-m-astram (for ‘vāyav-astram’) in 15.21; vidruma-m-anvitaḥ (for ‘vidrumānvitaiḥ’) in 93.75; ghanta-kiṅkini-r-āvṛte (for ‘kiṅkinya-āvṛte’) in 31.21; puṣkarini-r-iva (for ‘puṣkariṇiwa’) in 93.79; raudrāyaṣa-purī-r-iva (for ‘purīva’) in 93.91; rju-r-a kraṇa-nisphātaiḥ (for ‘rjv-avraṇa-’) in 50. i. 51; sambhru-r-ājñayā (for ‘sambhv-ājñayā’) in 16. 15; and so on.270

IV. Hiatus created by absence of Samādi in Samāsa.

As in Pali and Prakrit, the adjoining vowels in compounds have been left unchanged, with hiatus, on numerous occasions. See, for instance,

rasa-annya-kiṛiṣa-vāda- (6. ii. 31), vāsuki-saṅkhābhja-ananta-krta-mekhala (7.14);
asva-mahisa-māṛjāra-ākhu-kākolukam (4.92), ved-odgirita-ānanāḥ (2.58);
karnāpūrīta-nāve (7.14);
deva-udyānājan (12.5), kṛmi-jālaka-uttāne (12.53), -mahācchadma-uragair iva (7.26), -mahākalpa-uttappati- (6. ii. 28), mahā-ulka-nibhāya (7.64), -skanda-umā- (2.13), yuga-manvantara-kalpa-uttappati- (7.43), yugānta-yuga-uttappati- (6. i. 7);
pakṣa-māsa-rtu-dvi-tri-ayanesu (6. ii. 27), sam-āyana-rtu-māsa- (26.10), -sattva-ṛṣi-siddha-niśevite (7.93), vaḥniśa-ṛṣi-mantraiḥ (12.39);
vāsuki-upavitine (11.33);
vasu-aśvina-rūpāya (26.29);
and so on.271

270 For similar instances in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 35-37 (4. 59-60, 64).

271 Similar instances of absence of Samādi in Samāsa are to be found in Buddhist works also.—See Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 35 (4.31-54).
V. Wrong formation of feminine bases, viz.,

(i) anukīrtanāḥ (from ‘anukīrtana’, a neuter word meaning ‘narration’, ‘statement’) in 1.19—cakracārānukīrtanam (an Inflectional Tatpurṣa compound);

kīrtanaḥ (from the neuter word ‘kīrtana’) in 6. ii. 33—

... sarvā kṛta-kṛtyasya kīrtaṇaḥ;

raja (from the neuter word ‘rajas’ > ‘raja’) in 50. iv. 52—puspā-rāga-kṛta raja;

sahasra (from the neuter word ‘sahasra’) in 49.7—

trayaś ca tri-sahasrāsu devāḥ . . . . ;

vāhanā (from ‘vāhana’, a neuter word meaning ‘a mount’) in 7.45—vāhanā hy ari-darpahā;

potā (from ‘pota’ meaning ‘a ship’) in 83.112—tvaṁ potā bhava śūlinī;

-kāraṇā (for ‘-kārika’) in 16.17—utpatti-sthiti-kāraṇa (Vocative); -dāyaṇā (for ‘-dāyikā’) in 90.11—tāḥ . . . . phala-dāyaṇakāḥ;

anicchatā (or anicchatāi according to some Mss, for ‘anicchanti’) in 9.36—na hi anicchatā bālā bhuṇjanīyā; dhātumayā (for ‘dhātumayi’) in 32.19—vārṣaṁ vā 

śailajāṁ vāpi ratna-dhātumayām api; haimā (for ‘haimi’) in 2.54, 22.10; mahārājā (for ‘mahārājī’) in 39.16—

mahārājeti yā devi . . . . ; mohanā (for ‘mahanī’) and

bhairavā (for ‘bhairavi’) in 9.49—mohanā japyate vidyā 

padamāleti bhairavā; mrnmayā (for ‘mrnmayi’) in 57.6; 

purāṇikā (for ‘purāṇikī’) in 39.22—etāḥ purāṇikā 

devyāḥ . . . . ; raudrā (for ‘raudrī’) in 50. i. 15—kāli 

raudrā kapāli ca; vārṣaḥ (for ‘vārṣī’) in 32.19 cited 

above in connection with ‘dhātumayā’;

dātā (for dātri) in 31.36—śivāyāḥ śiva-dātaṁyāḥ . . . . ;

trātā (for ‘trātri’) in 7.38—trātās tāḥ sarvā-devānām;

(ii) dāityāntaki (for ‘dāityāntikā’) in 20.25—kāraṇā (for ‘-kārika’) in 6. ii. 23—bahu-kārana-kāraṇa (Vocative),

46.84—utpāta-mṛtyu-kāraṇa (Vocative); māyātmaka-rūpī

\[972\] The final \( ā \) of ‘anukīrtanāḥ’, ‘kīrtanaḥ’, ‘vāhanā’ and ‘potā’ is really due to 

the lengthening of the short vowel \( a \), as often made in Apabhraṃśa. See Siddha-HEMA- 

śabdānuśasanā 4. 330—syādau dirgha-hrasvau // apabhraṃśa nāmno ‘nīya-svarasya dirgha-hrasvau syādau prāyo bhāvatāḥ // In Apabhraṃśa the final vowel of a word 

is lengthened or shortened, in case the case-terminations ‘si’ etc. follow.
(for ‘-rūpā’) in 36.9—māyātmaka-rūpi (Vocative); -mocaki (for ‘-mocikā’) in 6. ii. 24—vadha-bandhana-mocaki (Vocative); -pravartaki (for ‘-pravartikā’) in 6. ii. 24—nānā-bhāva-pravartaki (Vocative), 9.65—sarva-karma-pravartaki; -virodhaki (for ‘-virodhikā’) in 6. ii. 22—candra-sūrya-virodhaki (Vocative); sādhaki (for ‘sādhikā’) in 24.26; saṃkampayanti (for ‘saṃkampamānā’) in 39.137; śaṭhi (for ‘śaṭhā’) in 8.49; vāgeśi (for ‘vāgiśā’) in 16.18;

adanti (for ‘adati’—eating) in 85.18; rudanti (for ‘rudati’) in 9.44; vācanti (derived from the root vac with the suffix ‘satr’) in 16.41;

kṛpaṇa-pāṇini (for ‘kṛpaṇa-pāṇi’ meaning ‘a female carrying a sword in her hand’) in 14.12; varadābhaya-pāṇini in 93.288; varadādyata-pāṇini in 16.40, 50. i. 97, 101, 119, etc.;

kartāri (for ‘kartri’), pradattāri (for ‘pradātri’), vettāri (for ‘vettri’), etc. in 6. ii. 21—ṛṣṭi-saṃhāra-kartāri rudra-mūrti-prabhāvati (Vocative), 83.49—jaye bhuvana-kartāri (Vocative), 83.58—sarva-vidyā-pradattāri vidyesvari namo ‘stu te, 6. ii. 29—vidyāvedana-vettāri (Vocative), and so on;

ghaṇṭā-mudgara-dhāri (for ‘-dhāriṇī’) in 50. ii. 24; mukt-ākṣa-sūtra-dhāri (for ‘-dhāriṇī’) in 50. ii. 41; padma-kaṇḍala-dhāri (for ‘-dhāriṇī’) in 50. i. 120; sruva-mekhala-dhāri (for ‘-dhāriṇī’) in 50. ii. 50; ugra-saṃcāri (for ‘-saṃcāriṇī’) in 83.66;

kāma-rudra-saṃkṛti (for ‘kāma-rudra-saṃkṛti’, a Bahuvrihi compound) in 59.11;

and so on. 228

VI. Wrong use of Number on many occasions

(i) in Dvandva compounds (irrespective of their nature or the number of their component parts), as in

aṣṭami-navamiṣu—27.29, brahma-janārdanaīḥ—15.6, brahma-sūryānām—4.59, brahma-visnoḥ—15.5, devi-brahmeśa-sūryam—104.9, eka-liṅga-druma-saila-

228 For some of the above-mentioned feminine forms as occurring in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 84 (11.1-3) and 81 (10.183-185).
gha-gōṣṭha-trikanṭake (Locative, singular)—32.7,
indr-āgni-devasya—5.16, īrṣy-āṣūyā-krodha-paśunyasa-
sāhasam—8.36, madya-maithuna-māmsasya—8.41,
māgha-caitre (Locative, singular)—27.29, nādi-tīra-
drum-odyāna-viviktajana-samśadi — 1.59, nāga-
rākṣasa-daiteyāḥ — 3.17, ravi-candramāh — 4.17,
sādhu-śīla-brahma-hareḥ—12.15, śiva-viśṇoḥ—2.33,
vibhav-āntahpurasya—8.54, viṣṇu-brahmāṇa—16.13,
viṣṇu-brahmasya—7.18, viṣṇu-śakrānām—18.1, yam-
endubhiḥ—15.6, and so on; 274
(ii) in verbs (irrespective of the Number of their subjects), as in

4.1—......tau......vajra-kāla......| pṛṣṭavān......
bhārgavaṃ......|, 4.28—...te......| āuroha purīṃ
yāmyān......|, 5.10—sukham icchan divaukasah (for
‘......icchantaḥ divau’), 5.16—kṛtvā bhṛhaspatir
viṣṇur jagmuh, 6. ii. 18—......vayaṃ......| tutoṣa
parayā bhaktyā......|, 9.38—tasya patni-
sahasrāṇi aśāv aṣṭau bhavet kila |, 9.57—yas-yārthe
udarām jagmūr madiyāṃ bhārgavaḥ purā, 14.28—devā
mumoc-opari puspa-vrśtim, 15.13—pranaśta-rāja-
dravyāni punar eva bhavisyati, 20.24—ghorah......
jagmuh......, 39.115—......śaraṇam jagmuh......sur-
rāt tadā, 55.6—rudhirām srayanti, 82.32—......piban
pānāni......| asur-āñena bhāvena deviṃ pūjyate
sadā |, 86.30—ntvyante paramo devṛḥ, 92.2—sā ca
......| yatra yatra ca pūjyante ......|, and so
on; 275
(iii) in adjectives, as in

5.16—deva-devi tavāntakau, 13.7—vanaspatiḥ samastās
ca phala-puşpāiḥ susobhitaḥ (for ‘vanaspatayaḥ ...’),
26.4—catvāri triṇi dve kuryād angulaṁ kuṇḍa-mānataḥ,
34.4—......eka-viṁśati......kulaṁ......, 43.41—na
saṃkhyā vidyate tāta ghātamāṇasya dānavaṇ (for ‘...
......hanyamānānam dānavaṇām’), 79. ii. 15—bhogān

274 For similar instances in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 125 (23.1-4).
275 For similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 129 (25.1-6)
and p. 38 (5.4).
mahan\textsuperscript{276} (for ‘... mahataḥ’), and so on;\textsuperscript{277} (iv) in pronouns (irrespective of the Number of the nouns for which they are used), as in 7.18—varam vara hare brahman yat te manasi vāñchitam;
(v) in words denoting cardinal numbers, as in 50. i. 66—vidyā-mantraś ca şaśtibhiḥ (for ‘... ... şaśtyā’);
and so on.

VII. Frequent use of words in Genders other than those of their own (in very much the same way as that in Apabhraṃśa, in which, as Hema-candra, Trivikramadeva and others say, Gender has no rule—liṅgam atantram\textsuperscript{278}):

(i) Masculine words used as neuter, viz.,
adhivāsa in 50. i. 64—adhivāsāni ... kṛtvā ...;
antā in 15.10—na cādir āsya na ca madhyam antam ...; ātmāna in 8.19—ātmanaṃ paramaṃ devaṃ toṣaṇiyaṃ sadā budhaiḥ; drṣṭāntā in 37.91—drṣṭāntāni bruvanti ca; ghāta in 4.18—yuddhe ghātaṃ bhaved vatsa ...; grāma in 9.7—pura-grāmāṇi; homa in 27.28—bhaveddhomaṃ ..., 54.16, 55.13—lakṣa-homaṃ ..., 54.18, 55.13— ... koṭi-homaṃ ..., 54.20—homaṃ kāryam, 57.14, 15—homaṃ; hutāśana in 15.7—tvam ... ... hutāśanam ...; jīva in 8.51—tac ca jīvaṃ mataṃ budhaiḥ; kṣaya in 12.24— ... nemyā nāsc kṣayaṃ tathā (in which ‘kṣayaṃ’ is the subject); mantra in 10. vi. 3—yoga-mantraṃ viśiṣyate; pāta in 13.30—sakṛn-mūtr-āśru-pātāni (Tatpurusa compound); putra in 35.29—dānam ışṭaṃ ca putram ca devyā dipas tathaiva ca; rudra in 54.3—śivaṃ rudraṃ sadā vatsa karṇikāyaṃ nivesitam; śara (arrow) in 43.43—āgneyaṃ cintitaṃ śaram, 43.45—muktam nārāyaṇam śaram; śesa in 12.30—śeṣaṇi; soma in 51.20—vedāḥ somaṃ kratur yajñāḥ pātraṃ

\textsuperscript{276} The Accusative plural (masculine) form of ‘maha’ derived from ‘mahat’ by dropping the final consonant ‘t’.

\textsuperscript{277} For similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 38 (5.5).

\textsuperscript{278} See Hema-candra’s Siddha-hema-sabdānumāśasana 4.445, and Trivikramadeva’s Prākrit-sabdānumāśasana III. 4.68.

For instances of want of restriction as regards Gender in Mahāvastu,Lalitavistara etc. see Edgerton, \textit{op. cit.}, I, pp. 39-41 (6.1-20).
evaṁ vidur budhāḥ; stava in 26.26—tad-ante ca stavam kāryam ...; svapna in 8.35—divā-svapnam (Nominative); svarga in 4.83—tvayā dattaṁ mama svargam ...; ucchraya in 11.57—... kathitaṁ ketu-mucchrayam; uddēsa in 26.10—uddēsaṁ kimcid atrāpi ...; vara in 1.38—tapas taptvā varaṁ lebhe viṣṇunā ...; 39.131—varaṁ varaya ... yat te hṛdi vyavasthitam; vigraha in 3.8—... pātāla-vigrhām / prārabdhāṁ ... ... / /; yoga in 10. i. 12—kenopāyena tad yogam prāpyate ..., 10. i. 8—yena yogena sā vidyā ... sidhyati / tac ca deva samākhyā ... ... / /; 10. vi. 4—alpa-viryam hi tad yogam ..., 13.2—kathitaṁ ... yogam nārada-prēchitam; and so on.

(ii) Neuter words used as masculine, viz.,

astra in 4.90—nārāyaṇāstra-brahmāstra-saivās cānye 'tha vārunāḥ; bhūta in 6.ii.40—na bhūtā na ca rākṣasāḥ; dāru in 90.13—dārum; indriya in 8.27—sevyamān-endriyā brahmaṇ pravrddhīm upayaṅti hi (in which the word ‘sevyamān-endriyāḥ’ is a Karmadhāraya compound and subject to the verb ‘upayaṅti’), 8.32—gandha-vāg-indriyas tathā; nakṣatra in 39.92—nakṣatṛ bahu-rūpās ca; pāṭala in 3.18—pāṭalān, 3.30—tam jītvā tu pāṭalām gatvā anyām rasātalam, 4.3—nirjitāḥ sapta-pāṭalāḥ, 4.6—pāṭalāḥ, 8.1—martya-pāṭalāḥ, etc.; pūspa in 54.6—gandha-puspāś ca dātavyāḥ, 69.18—puspamś citrān, 98.17—puspān; sata in 49.7—trayaś ca tri-sataś caiva ...; sthāna in 68.9, 90.9—ete sthānāḥ ... ...; vasu (wealth) in 2.92—vasuṁ prati; vrata in 1.18—vrataś ca niyamādayaḥ; and so on.

(iii) Feminine words used as neuter, viz.,

dīva (for ‘div’) in 4.6—... divaṁ duḥkhena sādhyati (passive voice), 4.10—divaṁ dharmena rakṣitam, 15.7—tvam bhūmi-vāyū kham jalam hutāṣanaṁ diśo divaṁ saṅgara-ṛkṣa-cakram; koṭi in 4.34—lakṣa-koṭinī; patākā in 12.42—patākāni; pramadā in 22.19—... pūjyeta kanyakāḥ pramadāni ca; sobhā
in 50.i.61—anekāni ca śobhāni . . .; and so on.

(iv) Difference in Gender between nouns and their adjectives, as in

1.34— . . . artha-samprāptih . . . bhāvyam . . .; 3.2—anāṃ . . . prāptaṃ . . .; 7.38— . . . āpatsu sumahatsu . . .; 8.21—brahmā . . . . . . / stri-rūpadhārinī bhūtvā . . . . . . ; 8.28—dāha-jvara-mahātāpo vahni-pitta-sumudbhavam; 9.9—amātya-sahito vāgmī candrabuddhir amantrayat (in which Candrabuddhi is the name of a female); 9.29—evaṃ tasya matir bhūta nārada-pathagā . . .; 12.42—tataḥ sakadalikṣu-daṇḍān patākāni samucchrayet; 16.18— . . . samhāra-kārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya . . . (qualifying ‘devi’ in verse 17); 16.36—jayaṃ ca samare nityam vidyā-labhāṃ ca durlabham / dīrgham āyur athotsāham pārthivānāṃ ca iṣṭadā . . .; 17.11—yamāntakaḥ . . . . . . ghātitaṃ devyā . . .; 20.18— . . . samdhīyāṃ samupasthite; 27.29—mahā āśvina-māsc tu aṣṭamī-navamīṣu ca (in which ‘mahā’ qualifies ‘aṣṭamī-navamīṣu’); 31.29— . . . strībhir maṅgalavādibhiḥ; 33.12—nilotpala-patra-gandha-surabhiṃ pitvā . . . madhuv; 33.25—suracitaiḥ sragbhiḥ; 40.3—mahaṃ pudjyāṃ; 42.11—devyāḥ (for ‘devyāḥ’) sarvārtha-dātāraḥ . . . . . .; 43.50—tadā bhayaṃ mahān āsīt . . .; 43.58—yenaṃ madhavat (for ‘smṛtaṃ’) tvaya (said by Pāṇupata Śara to Gajānana); 50.iv.84—tābhyaṃ homaṃ sukhāvahā; 51.24—śānkha-nilotpalākārān pāṭrāṇi parikalpayet; 55.16—phalavatī apāmārgam; 58.2—tuṣṭam umāpatiḥ; 82.74—evaṃvidhāiḥ sadā strībhir nityamī smara-nipidibhiḥ; and so on.

(v) Difference in Gender between nouns and their pronouns, as in

10.vi.9—śabda-brahma param brahma tasmin kṣīne yad aksaram/ sadā taṃ (for ‘tat’) manasa dhyāyet . . . . . . ; 16.12—alpa-dosā viśantimāḥ . . . (for ‘. . . vi santime’); 26.20—chede bhayaṃ vijāniyat tad-arthaṃ tan na (for ‘taṃ na’) kārayet
(the word 'tat' having been used for 'cheda'); 33.21—
tam bhittvā . . . dainty-āṅgan-āntahpuram (for 'tad
bhittvā . . .'); 34.14—tasya jālam . . . tam (for 'tat')
avalambayet; 43.40—pāsodyata-karam ghoram
amayopari pāta sah (i.e. saraḥ) / ratha-nāgāsva-
pādātaṁ hanyamānaṁ (for 'ghnana') sahasradhā //;
65.40—rātrau tasmin . . .; and so on.
(vi) Adverbs used in the Masculine Gender, as in
3.17—kṣubhito mahān (for 'mahat').

VIII. Wrong declension, as in
(i) -mogha-vīryayaḥ (for '-mogha-vīryāḥ') in 84.17,
su-hṛṣṭātmāḥ (for 'su-hṛṣṭātmānaḥ') in 72.5,
surārinam (for 'surārim') in 5.12, pathim (for
'panthānam') in 95.9, ūrdhva-retam (for '-retasam')
in 63.9, purodhān (for 'purodhasah') in 67.63,
viśvakarmeṇa (for '-karmanā') in 93.201, mūrd-
dhanā (for 'mūrdhnā') in 91.38, bālagbhīḥ (for
'bālakāiḥ') in 98.27, vettāraiḥ (for 'vettrbhīḥ') in 32.42,
hotāya (for 'hotre') in 11.33, -kartāya (for '-kartre')
in 26.34, -vidhātave (for 'vidhātre') in 7.9, vighna-
hantāya (for '-hantre') in 83.34, mahāretāya (for
'-retase') in 100.21,
anyajām (for 'anyajānām') in 88.4, -mahoragām
(for 'mahoragānām') in 98.10, -go-vṛṣām (for '-go-
vrśānām') in 98.11, māṭ-gaṇām (for 'gaṇānām') in
90.20, rājānām (for 'rājnām') in 55.11, 56.1,
pratyuṣi (for 'pratyuṣe' or 'pratyuṣasi') in 90.20,
himavante (for 'himavati') in 93.10—himavante
mahāgirau,
mahā-kapāla-mālāya (masculine, Vocative) in
11.32, and so on;
saptah or saptā (for 'saptā') in 96.4—paṅca-saptas
tathā dvijah, 25.18—. . . paṅcātha saptā vā . . .,
25.19—paṅca-saptā-navāsyam vā, aṣṭam (for 'aṣṭa')
in 82.59—upapātālam aṣṭāṁ tu . . .,
anyāḥ (for 'anye') in 12.43—anyāś ca vividhā
bhogāḥ . . ., imaiḥ (for 'ebhiḥ') in 65.96—dravyair
imaiḥ, 93.188—imair mantraiḥ;
(ii) patākāni (for ‘patākāh’) in 12.42, patākān (for ‘patākāh’) in 65.94, pramadāni (for ‘pramadāh’) in 22.19, sobhāni (for ‘sobhāh’) in 50.i.61, lakṣa-koṭīni (for ‘lakṣa-koṭyāh’ or ‘lakṣa-koṭyayāh’) in 4.34, mahākoṭyāh (for ‘mahākoṭyayah’ or ‘mahākoṭayāh’) in 17.11, vidyutāni (for ‘vidyutaḥ’) in 87.9, mṛdāni (for ‘mṛdaḥ’) in 50.iv.90—kāṭha-saila-mṛdāni ca, srajāni (for ‘srajaḥ’) in 61.7, māṭrm (for ‘mātaram’) in 91.6, gadgadā (for ‘gadgadayā’) in 36.29, -jyotsnena (for ‘-jyotsnayā’) in 32.25—mayūkha-danta-jyotsnena, mekhalaḥ (for ‘mekhalabhīh’) in 26.3, vidyāḥ (for ‘vidyābhīh’) in 86.4, bhaktinā (for ‘bhaktīyā’) in 22.23, 39.69, 89.9, buddhīnā (for ‘buddhyā’) in 27.25, sva-śaktinā (for ‘sva-śaktyā’) in 90.21, -paṅktibhiḥ (for ‘-paṅktibhīḥ’) in 94.6, -prakṛddāya (for ‘-prakṛddayai’) in 8.20, yuga-piḍāt (for ‘-piḍayāḥ’) in 50.iv.2, nandāya (for ‘nandāyāḥ’—Genitive case) in 93.273, navamim (for ‘navamīyām’) in 76.40, pratimau (for ‘pratimāyām’) in 79.iii.4, tṛtīyām (for ‘tṛtīyāyām’) and dvādaśim (for ‘dvādaśyām’) in 99.12, saṃbhārakārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya (feminine, Vocative) in 16.18, asyā (for ‘asyāḥ’—Genitive case) in 84.26, tirsṛṇām (for ‘tirsṛṇām’) in 80.24;
(iii) puspān (for ‘puspāṇi’) in 98.17, dārum (for ‘dāru’—Accusative case) in 90.13, dadhinā (for ‘dadhnā’) in 33.64, dānasu (for ‘dānesu’) in 91.17, -kāṭhasu (for ‘-kāṭheṣu’) in 6.ii.26, -madhyasu (for ‘-madhyesu’) in 6.ii.3—sarit-sāgara-madhyasu, anyam (for ‘anyat’) in 3.30; and so on.

For wrong declension of many other words ending in vowels or consonants see above (in the sections on changes made in the stems and on Genders).

[Similar instances of wrong declension are to be found
in the Buddhist works also.—See Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 48ff.]

IX. Incorrect use of case-endings (vibhakti):

(i) The first case-ending used

(a) for the second, as in 1.3—kathyātāṁ yatra ghorādyā bhūtāḥ sāmprata-dānavaḥ / bhavisyaś ca vināśisyā devi deva-namaskṛtā // (for ‘... ghorādyān bhūtāṁ sāmprata-dānavaṁ / bhavisyaṁś ca ...’),

2.75—kosa-vṛddhiḥ prajā-raksā ... (for ‘-vṛddhiṁ prajā-rakṣā ...’), 7.69—... te te khādaya ...

(for ‘... tān tān khādaya ...’), 7.72—kāla-piđā kriyā-piđā pāpa-piđātha dhātujā / vātā-pitta-kaph-odbhūtāṁ śamaye bhairavaḥ sadā // (for ‘kāla-piđāṁ kriyā-piđāṁ pāpa-pidām atha dhātujam / ... śamayed bhairavaḥ ...’), and so on;

(b) for the third (in the anukta-kartā in the passive voice), as in 1.38—mantrādyāḥ sādhitaḥ yatra nr̥pā nāgā rasātale (for ‘... nr̥paim nāgaiḥ ...’), 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa nimn-onnata-virājitaiḥ (for ‘ardhendubhīr iva lalāṭair nimn-onnata-’), 7.76—ye cānye vairīnāḥ kṛtāḥ (for ‘... vairībhiḥ kṛtāḥ’), and so on;

(c) for the fourth, as in 26.35—... tvām pitre ...

(for ‘... tubhyam pitre ...’);

(d) for the sixth, as in 4.92—na yuddham śreyaye deva uragā nakulaiḥ saha (for ‘... uragānām ...’), 7.37—śāntiṁ vītā-rāgānāṁ tā devyā rṣi-mānavaḥ (for ‘... -mānavānām’)—those goddesses are the givers of peace to those sages and men who are free from desire;

(e) with the separated component parts of a compound, as in 6.ii.25—brahma-prajeśa-somaś ca yakṣa-rakṣaḥ-piśācaki (for ‘... -soma-yakṣa-...’), 13.75—... pum̥bhiḥ pāsa-dāṇḍodyatair mahān (for ‘pum̥bhiḥ mahāpāsa-dāṇḍodyataiḥ’).

(ii) The second case-ending used

(a) for the first, as in 3.5—kuśa-dvīpaṁ purā tena sa-balenaiva arjitam / jambum śākaṁ tathā krauṇcaṁ
śāmalim atha pauśkaram / sapta dvīpās tatas tena
deva-rāja vaśikṛtāḥ //, 3.27—pauṇḍarikaṁ ca duspre-
ksyam śveta-bhadraṁ tathoragāḥ (for 'pauṇḍarikaś ca
duspreksyāḥ śveta-bhadras tathoragāḥ');
(b) for the third, as in 33.72—dakṣināṁ priyatāṁ
śivā (for 'dakṣināya ...'), 33.84—dakṣināṁ priyatāṁ
jayā (for 'dakṣināya ...');
(c) for the fourth, as in 58.15—varam dattam
dvijottamam (for ' ... dvijottamāya'), 69.21—brāhma-
ṇān bhojanam dadyāt (for 'brāhmaṇebhyāḥ ...'),
93.191—mahādevim namas kṛtvā (for 'mahādevayai
 ...'), 94.25—guhyesvaram namas kṛtvā (for 'guhy-
esvarāya ...');
(d) for the sixth (also in the anukta-karma of Kṛd-anta
verbs in the active and the neuter voice), as in 1.57—
 ... śravanāt ... idāṁ purāṇāṁ śiva-bhāṣitam (for
' ... asya purāṇasya śiva-bhāṣitasya'), 7.28—nilotpala-
dala-prakhyair harinīr iva locanaih (for ' ... hari-
nīnām iva ...'), 8.22—sarve ca sukham arthinaḥ
(for ' ... sukhasya arthinaḥ'), 21.1—devim upāsakāḥ
(for 'devyā ...'), 43.41—na saṃkhyā vidyate tāta
ghātamānasya dānavān (for ' ... hanyamānānāṁ
dānavānām');
(e) for the seventh (in the Adhikaraṇa-kāraka),
as in 4.69— ... satrur asmākaṁ vadhām udyataḥ
(for ' ... vadhe udyataḥ'), 9.53—yadi māṁ varado
devaḥ ... (for ' ... mayi varado ...'), 66.6— ...;
devatāḥ sarvā veṣṭayanti caturdiśam (for ' ... catur-
diṣku'), 93.67—pati-hinaṁ na rājate (for 'pati-hine
 ...' =pati-hīnāyām. ...');
(f) in connection with the words 'pravṛttah', etc.,
as in 14.26—gadāṁ samāḍāya jayāṁ pravṛttah ... .
(iii) The third case-ending used
(a) for the first, as in 1.32—agastyā gis tu nṛpagaih
 (=nṛpagā bhūtvā) loke khyāṭim gamisyati;
(b) for the seventh (in the Adhikaraṇa-kāraka), as
in 6.ii.35—varadā ca abhūd ubhau (for ' ... abhūd
ubhayoh')—granted boons to both (of them), 8.38—
viṣayaiḥ saṁniveśyatām (for ‘viṣayeśu saṁ-’), 93.106—
ebhīḥ sthānair mahādevī pūjitā varadā bhavet (for
‘eṣu sthāneṣu . . .’);

(c) in Avyayībhāva and Bahuvrīhi compounds
having ‘yathā’ and ‘yāvat’, and ‘saha’ (contracted to
‘sa’), respectively as their first members. See, for
instance, 2.49, 65.66, 65.70, 68.7, 95.35, etc.— . . .
yathepsayā (for ‘. . . yathepsam’), 8.55, 32.43, 32.44,
etc.— . . . yathāsaktyā (for ‘. . . yathāsakti . . .’),
100.14—yāvac-chaktyā (for ‘yāvac-chakti’), 3.12—
saṁnahya sabalenaiva mahāsamgrāma cakrire (for
‘. . . sabalam eva . . .’), and so on.

(iv) The fourth case-ending used

(a) for the second, as in 39.78 —indrāya śaraṇaṁ
gataḥ (for ‘indram . . .’), 83.16 —veda-vedānta-gar-
bhāya namāmi . . . (for ‘garbhām namāmi . . .’);

(b) for the sixth, as in 3.22 —kāla-vajrasya hetave
(for ‘. . . hetoḥ’), 52.11—snānaṁ śisyāya kartavyaṁ
. . . (for ‘snāpanaṁ śisyasya kartavyam . . .’);

(c) for the seventh, as in 39.112 —indrāy-ābhi-
mukho ‘dhāvat (for ‘indrasy-ābhi’);

(d) in the Vocative case, as in 7.7ff. (jaya . . .
-kāraṇa-traya-hetave, jaya . . . -buddhīndriya-vidhā-
tave, jaya . . . -pradhāna-puruṣātmane, jaya . . .
śūline, jaya kāla-mahā-kūta-visa-kaṇṭhaṣthā-jirṇave, jaya
. . . śambhaye, jaya śmaśāna-vāsine, jaya sārdra-gaja-
carma-prāvṛttāya mahātmane, jaya triṣūla-hastāya
karnāpūrīta-isave, and so on), 7.68 —chinda chinda
mahācakra iṣu-hastāya śaṁkara, 7.70 —gadā-triṣūla-
hastāya sarvām bādhām vināsaya, 16.18 —jaya saṁ-
hārakārāya rudra-deha-bhavaya ca; and so on.

In the compound ‘kāla-mahā-kūta-visa-kaṇṭhaṣthā-
jirṇave’ (= kaṇṭhaṣthā-kālakūta-mahāvisa-jirṇave) in Devi-
p. 7.12, the part ‘jirṇave’ has clearly been formed by adding
the fourth case-ending (singular) to ‘jirṇu’, a peculiar word
having its parallel neither in the Devi-p. nor in any of the
Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit. The meaning
of the word ‘jirṇa’ (which points to the thing digested and
not to the person who digests a thing) and the fourth case-ending of 'jirṇave' appear to indicate that the final u of 'jirṇu' was not due to the influence of Apabhramśa, in which, as Hema-candra and others say, words ending in a have u before Nominative and Accusative singular terminations. So, one may feel tempted to assume that this word (jirṇu) was derived from the word 'jirṇa' after turning it into a Nominal verb (Nāma-dhātu) by the addition of ni and then adding the Kṛt suffix u (as in 'bhikṣu', 'cikīṣu' etc.); and thus, the said compound would come to mean 'one (i.e. Śiva) who digested the great poison Kašakūṭa remaining in his throat'. But it is more probable that 'kāla-mahākūṭa-visa-kaṇṭhastha-jirṇave' is a Bahuvrihi compound formed in imitation of those of the 'āhitāgni' class and that its final u (before adding the fourth case-ending) was due to the influence of Apabhramśa.

(v) The fifth case-ending used
(a) for the third, as in 14.21—kṛpāṇa-ghātād api tāṃ jaghāna (for '...-ghātena ...'), 14.24—śare-bhyāś ciccheda (for 'śaraiś ciccheda').

(vi) The sixth case-ending used
(a) for the second (in Karma-kāraka), as in 3.2—ahām ... prāptaṁ tava janārdanāt (for '... prāptas tvām janārdanāt'), 9.68—ekaikasya padasyāṣṭa-sahā-sram jāpet ... tilānāṁ madhunāktānām aṣṭa-sahā-sram jhūyāt (for 'ekaikāṃ padam aṣṭa- ... tilān madhunāktān aṣṭa- ...'), 25.9—viprāṇāṃ koṭi-koṭināṁ bhōjayitvā ... (for 'viprāṇāṃ koṭi-koṭīr bhōja-yitvā'), 28.1—inḍrāc ca mama āgataṁ (for '... mām, or mayi, āgataṁ'), 39.108—pāṇya-strīva yathā lobhāt kāmukānāṁ varāyate (for '... kāmukān varīyati'), 93.15—pārvatīyāś ca prāsāṁsante (for 'pārvatīm ca ...');

279 See, for instance, Hema-candra's Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 4.331—sy-amor asy-ot.—The final a of a word is replaced by u in case 'śi' and 'am' (i.e., the Nominative and Accusative singular terminations) follow.

280 See Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī ii.2.37—vāhitānyādiṣu, according to which the word 'āhita' (having the kita-pratyaya) may be placed before or after the word 'agni' in a Bahuvrihi compound. Similarly, both 'pīta-taila' and 'taila-pīta' are current.
(b) for the third, as in 4.72—mamāyaṁ vinipā-titaḥ (for ‘mayāyaṁ vini-’), 86.30—nṛtyante ... asmākaṁ saha ... (for ‘... asmābhīḥ saha’);

(c) for the fourth very often in Saṃpradāna-kāraka and rarely also on other occasions (as in connection with the word ‘namah’), e.g. in 1.14—yatra saṃkirtayaḥ brahmā manv-ādīnām prapṛcchataṁ (for ‘... manvādibhyāḥ prapṛcchadbhyaḥ’), 1.36—utpattikiṛtanaṁ śṛṣṭeḥ prathamam sa mudāhṛtam ... ṛṣi-ṇāṁ paripṛcchataṁ // (for ‘... ṛṣibhyāḥ paripṛcchadbhyaḥ’), 2.20— ... vidyā viṣṇor dattā ... / pitāmahasya tenāpi ... // (for ‘... viṣṇave ... / pitāmahāya ... //”), 2.32— ... tasya vara-dānam ... (for ‘... tasmai vara-... ...’), 2.41—pradadau tasya daityasya yathepsita-varaṁ nṛpa (for ‘... tasmai daityāya ...’), 2.50—evaṁ dattvā varamaṁ tasya ... (for ‘... tasmai ...’), 2.100—evaṁ tasya varaṁ dattvā ... (for ‘... tasmai ...’), 40.15—ugrasenasya saṃkruddhā (for ‘ugraṣenāya ...’), and so on,

26.33—(namah) bṛhaspataye śukrāya śane rāho 'tha281 ketave (for ‘... śanaye rāhave ’tha ...’);

(d) for the fifth (in Apādāna-kāraka), as in 3.4—ṣṛṇuṣya gadato mama (for ‘... gadato mat’), 3.18—bhītās teṣām (for ‘bhītās tebhyaḥ’), 93.143—prāsāda-syottare (for ‘prāsādād uttare’);

(e) for the seventh (in Adhikarana-kāraka), as in 1.32—tathā manv-atri-bhrgubhir asmākaṁ avatāritā (for ‘... asmāsu ...’), 2.39—tuṣṭas tasya khagāsanaḥ (for ‘... tasmin ...’), 2.40—param aṣṭāṅga devasya bhaktim ekāṁ tu yācate (for ‘... deve ...’), 2.49—ārtasya me sudīnasya dayāṁ tvam kuru keśava (for ‘ārte mayi sudīne ...’), 7.18— ... tadā devo viṣṇu-brahmasya tuṣṭavān (for ‘... viṣṇu-brahmaṇoḥ ...’), 11.51—tutoṣa keśavas teṣāṁ ... (for ‘... teṣu ...’), 33.10—yeṣāṁ haraḥ prīta-manā babhūva (for ‘yeṣu

281 We have already seen that ‘rāho ’tha’ is the result of Samādi between ‘rāhob’ and ‘atha’.
harah . . .'), 39.47—... yācanāṁ kasya kāromi . . . (for '... kāsmin . . .').

(vii) The seventh case-ending used
(a) for the first (in the secondary object in the passive voice), as in 35.2—... sakreṇa brahmaṇi pṛṣṭah pūrvam . . . (for '... brahmā . . .');
(b) for the second (and also for the third or fifth in some cases), as in 83.16—... namāmi tvāyi . . . (for '... tvām . . .'), 51.21—vinā pātre na sidhyati (for 'vinā pātraṁ, or pātreṇa or pātrāt, . . .');
(c) for the third (in Karana-kāraka), as in 14.4—mahāmohe 'timohite (for 'mahāmohenātimohite'), 51.6—avidhau yaḥ śivāṁ pūjyeta . . . (for 'avidhinā yaḥ . . .');
(d) for the fourth in connection with the word 'namah' and in Sampradāna-kāraka, as in 6.1.2—bhūta-bhavya-bhavisyānāṁ kāraṇkāraṇe namah (for '... kāraṇkāraṇaṁ . . .'), 7.58—namah . . . kotarākṣāya bhairave (for '... bhairavāya'), 7.59—namas te . . . surāsura-bhayamkore (for '...-bhayamkarāya'), 26.27—... namas te . . . /... pita-vāsaṁ pāvane // (for '... pāvanāya'), 26.28—... brahmaṇe dahanam namah /... sarvāśine sarva-gate . . . namo namah // (for '... dahanāya . . . /... sarva-gatāya . . ./') , 26.34—sarvage graha-rūpāya (namah) (for 'sarvagāya . . .'), and so on,

9.60—tvayāpi vatsale deyā abhakte nājitendriye (for '... vatsalāya . . . abhaktāya nājitendriyāya'), 11.7-11—... sā dattā . . . sārasvate /... trivṛṣeṇa bharadvāje . . . / antarikṣeṇa bahuṛce . . . / tasya-ārūnena balaje tenāpi ca kṛtamjaya / kṛtamjayena rṇaje . . . / vājaśravās tathā some . . . // (for '... sārasvatāya /... bharadvājāya . . . /... bahuṛcāya . . . /... balajāya . . . kṛtamjaya . . . /... rṇajaya . . . /... somāya . . ./') , and so on;
(e) for the fifth, as in 2.78—... nāparādho mamopari / kartavyo mama vākyesu . . . // (for '... vākye-bhyah . . .'), 7.78-79—... simha-khadgi-bhayesu ca/
trāya māṃ ... taskareśu ... // (for ‘... bhave-bhyāḥ ... / ... taskarebhyāḥ ... /’);
(f) for the sixth, as in 33.32 — ... vidyādharīṣu nivasanti kucāntareśu (for ‘... vidyādharīnām ni-’);
(g) in Saṃbodhāna, as in 7.7—jaya ... / ... sākṣi-bhūta-guṇa-traye // (for ‘... -guṇa-traye’);
(h) in certain Avyāyībhāva compounds (such as ‘prati-sthānam’ etc.), as in 39.146—prati-sthāne sthitāḥ.
(viii) Different case-endings used in nouns and their adjectives. See, for instance, 95.8—trayo lakṣān.
(ix) For other instances of wrong use of case-endings see 4. 35b-37a, 7. 27ff., 9. 29-32, and so on; also 6.ii.1—pūrve (for ‘pūrvam’ meaning ‘formerly’)\(^{**3}\), 6.ii.28—māṇavāṇ deva-satrūnāṃ brahmāy-asmāka-jantuṣu, 7.55—bhūta-rākṣasa-vetālādy-arīṇām saṃkāteṣu ca, 16.36—jayaṃ ca samare nityāṃ vidyā-lābham ca durlabhham / dirgham āyur ath-otsāham pārthivānām ca iṣṭadā // (in which the root ‘dā’ in ‘iṣṭadā’ has been taken as governing the Accusatives in ‘jayam’, ‘vidyā-lābham’ etc.), 93.207—kuṇḍalaiḥ kaṭa-keśūrāir mukuṭādi-vibhūṣitā, 94.7—nāṇā-sayyā-samākīriṇair nāṇā-cāmara-sobhitaiḥ / nāṇā-vastra-vitānais ca nāṇā-vimāna-saṃkūla //, 20.23—tasya saṃcaramāṇasya kampate ca vasumdhara— and the earth quakes as he moves, 27.2—megha-dundubhi-sāṅkhānāṃ vēṇu-viṁśaṇaḥ sūbhāḥ (for ‘sāṅkhā-vēṇu’), vṛṣendra-nṛpa-
kākānāṃ kokilā-svana pūjitaḥ (for ‘kāka-kokilā-
svanaḥ pūjitaḥ’), 27.3—siṃha-barhiṇa-syenānām cāmarākṛtir iṣṭidaḥ (for ‘-syena-cāmarā-’) and so on.

It is to be noted that instances of wrong use of case-endings are innumerable, and on many occasions words have been formed and case-endings added to agree with the sounds of the final words of the neighbouring compounds. For such word-formation and use of case-endings see Devī-p. 6.ii. 19ff., 7.7ff., 7.58ff., and so on.

\(^{**3}\) For similar use of ‘pūrve’ see Lalitavistara 196.5 (=P.L. Vaidya’s ed. 142.17).
[For instances of indifferent use of cases in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 42ff.]

X. Use of words (in the Nominative or the Objective case) without the relevant case-endings, as in


In putting down the characteristic features of Abhraṁśa in his Siddha-hemaśabdaṁśasana 4.329ff. Hema-candra gives two rules, viz., ‘sy-am-jas-sasam̐ luk’ (4.344) and ‘ṣaṭṭhīaḥ’ (4.345), which say that in Abhraṁśa the Nominative, Accusative and Genitive terminations, both singular and plural, are often dropped. (For similar rules

382 Instances of similar use of words without case-endings are to be found in the Buddhist works also.
XI. Kṛd-anta nouns governing cases. 
For instances see above (pp. 87, 115). Also 43.48—brahmacāstrāṁ prativāraṇe—for preventing the Brahma-missile, 53.9-10—māṭarāṇāṁ sadā cakram ... pūjanaṁ ... / (for ‘... cakrasya ...’), 84.6—śaṁbhūṁ ghāṭāya (for ‘śaṁbhūḥ ...’), 91.14—śāstraṁi pathanād dānāt... (for ‘śāstraṇāṁ ...’), and so on.284

XII. Use of cases (Kāraka) without verbs:
(i) Nominatives without verbs, as in
4.35—durnirikṣyāṁ ripur ghoras tasya dṛṣṭvā tu vāhi-nīm, 6. ii. 36—tadā tvahāṁ (=tvam+aḥam) ca samcintya sahāya bhava suvrate, 13.15—tā dṛṣṭā munayaḥ kṣobham kim punar asurādhīpāḥ, and so on.
(ii) Accusatives without verbs, as in
2.105—nirjitya sarva-nṛpatiṁs tathā dvīpeṣu codya-mam, 10.i.2—sanatkuṁāram varadāṁ tapasā dhūta-kalmaśam/mama putraṁ mahāprajñāṁśiva-bhāvena bhāvitam, 12.23—vṛttā vā bhaṅgam ādhatte rājnāḥ putraṁ purohitān, 12.51—chatra-pāto nṛpaṁ hanyāt patākā mahiṣi-vadham, 41.9—evaṁ tam kṛṣṇa-dharmā-ṇam mahābala-parākramam/ samgare nihataṁ vatsa brahmendra-parirakṣitam/
(iii) Datives without verbs, as in
12.58-59—evaṁ pūrvaṁ hariḥ ketūṁ prāptavān vṛṣa-vāhanāt// tathā brahmasya tenaiva brahmaṇaḥ sakram āgatam/

XIII. Irregularities in the formation of compounds (Samāsa):
(i) Wrong position of the component parts, as in

284 Instances similar to these and most of the others noted in sections XII-XXI are to be found in the Buddhist works also, but it is no longer necessary to point out these parallelisms, except in special cases.

(ii) Unlawful separation of the component parts (sometimes adding no case-endings to those which are not final), as in


\textsuperscript{288} For 'mahācchanda-', the printed edition of the Devī-p. reads 'mahācchadma-', which, though occurring in many Ms., seems to be a mistake for 'mahācchanda-' meaning 'highly graceful.'
'catus-kaṭak-opetam'), 27.29—mahā āśvina-māse tu aṣṭami-navamiṣu ca (in which the word 'mahat' qualifies the words 'aṣṭami' and 'navami'), 53.3—subhodayaṃ jayaṃ bhāgyaṃ kalyāṇam aparājitam / maṅgalam aṣṭa-siddhiṃ ca vibhavaṃ subhadaṃ subham // (for 'subhodaya-jaya-bhāgya-kalyāṇ-āparājita-maṅgal-aṣṭa-siddhi-vibhava-subhadaṃ subham'), 92.5—kalau ghore mahā prāpte (for 'mahā-ghore kalau prāpte'), 2.40—param aṣṭāṅga devasya bhaktim ekāṃ tu yācate, and so on.

(iii) Occasional insertion of m or r (or ra) either as a Saṃdhi-consonant or as a connecting link between the component parts.

For instances see under Saṃdhi above.

Also 7.89 — sarva-tīrtha-tapo-dāna-m-sarva-vrata-pradāyikā (for '-dāna-sarva-'), 13.57—iṅguḍ-oḍumbara-m-kharjura-mātulunīgaiḥ (for '-oḍumbara-kharjura-'), 16.7—vyūha-kriyā-bhāva-maṇḍala-m-tattva-veditā (for '-maṇḍala-tattva-'), 33.5—tam buddhva tad-gata-m-cittam (for '-tadgata-cittam'), 84.12—prabhā-m-pātāla (for 'prabhā-pāṭāla-'); 85.38—calo-dṛṣṭi-ra-kātaram (for 'calo-dṛṣṭi-kātaram'); and so on.

(iv) Occasional insertion, between the component parts, of any of the indeclinables 'atha', 'hi', 'ca', 'tathā' etc., as in


It is to be noted that in 'aṅghri-m-ca-yugasyādhaḥ' (for 'aṅghri-yugasyādhaḥ' in 7.4) there are both the intervening Saṃdhi-consonant 'm' and the indeclinable 'ca'.

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383 For an instance of insertion of 'tathā' between the component parts of a compound in a Buddhist work see Śādhanā-mālā, No. 171 (p. 343)—puspa-dhūpa-tathā-dīpa-gandha-naivedya-sančayaiḥ.
(v) Wrong use of the Samāsāntas, as in
4.51—kaustubhboraska-maṇḍitāh, 11.50—kaustubhoraska-bhūṣanam, etc.
(vi) Various other irregularities, as in
2.58, 50.ii.2—vedogīrita-ānanāḥ, 4.33—yamabhaṅgāya mahīṣasya (for ‘yamasya mahīṣasya bhaṅgāya’
—for the defeat of Yama’s buffalo), 6.ii.28—brahmādy-asmāka-jantuṣu, 6.ii.34—evām-bhūtārtha-bhavyaiḥ,
7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa-nimnonnata-virājītaiḥ (cited
above), 7.40—anaupamā (meaning ‘incomparable’),
7.42—svāmi-bhūtā, 7.55—ātmanāḥ para-rakṣāsu—in
protection of (one’s own) self from others (i.e. enemies),
7.76—iṣuj-opala-vārksaḥ (injuries) created by arrows,
stone and trees, 83.117—mahad-āpadā (for ‘mahāpat’),
8.34—mahad-aśvaryāt (for ‘mahaiśvatoryāt’), 54.7—
ḵayādi-mahadāpadāḥ (for ‘mahāpadāḥ’), 97.8—
brahma-viṣṇu-mahēśvarāḥ ... striyāḥ pāṇa-mano-
nugāḥ— ... Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara ... have
their minds running after women and drink, 17.12—
ghoraḥ ... yuddha-mano’nugāḥ— ... Ghora ... 
had his mind bent on war, 7.61—piṇāka-vara-pāṇine
(for ‘pāṇaye’—Dative), 14.12—krpaṇa-pāṇini—(a
female) with a sword in (her) hand, 16.40, 50.i.97, 101,
119, etc.—varad-odyata-pāṇini—(Devī) who has raised
her hand for granting a boon, 93.288—varad-ābhaya-pāṇinīm,
17.23—bhūtāni-tāri (feminine, Vocative)—(a
female) who delivers beings, 25.14, 19—pakveṣṭaṇda-ddamar—made of burnt bricks, stone and wood,
25.18—viṃśaikam (for ‘eka-viṃśatim’), 26.10—sam-
āyana-ṛtu-mōṣa-paks-āho-rātra-pūrvat, 32.33—viṃś-
āṣṭā—twenty-eight, 32.35—śakti-kunta-dhṛtau—holding
(the missiles) Śakti and Kunta, 33.6—vibhiṣaṇa-karam
—terrifying, 33.70—darbha-mūlabhiḥ (mṛdbhiḥ)—
(with mud) that sticks to the roots of Kuṣa grass, 35.8—
dhvajā-pālana-kartavyā—protection of the banner should

387 For ‘pakveṣṭaṇda’—Devī-p. 25.14 and 19 wrongly read ‘paśṭāṇka’ and ‘paśṭāṅga’
respectively. For the reading ‘pakveṣṭaṇda’ see Devī-p. 118.2—pakveṣṭa-dāru-sailam....
be made, 37.25—mātarāṇy-agrājā—(a female deity) born before the mothers, 39.45—sa-vistari, 39.157—vināhava-nipātane, 43.14—vana-kānānam (Bhuvṛīhi compound), 48.3—paśc-āstamita-bhāskare, 50.1.27—tāvanta-bhedena, 50.1.32, 124—sarvābharana-bhūsaṅgi (feminine), 50.iii.27, 85.20—bhayānanā, 82.56—traya-rākṣasāḥ, 83.35—rakṣā-pālakaḥ, 82.47—khaḍga-karodyataḥ, 85.21—daṅḍāsi-pāsa-m-udyata, 86.27—sa-kṣipram (adverb), 93.63—soṣṇena, 93.285—viṇā-grhīta-hastām (Bhuvṛīhi compound), 91.38—evaṃ-vidha-kṛtena, and so on.

XIV. Wrong formation and use of verbs:

(i) Parasmaipadiya roots used in their Ātmanepadiya forms, viz.,

(a) bhvādi-gaṇīya

bhū in 8.53, 9.20, 23.17, 19, 24.7, 26.43, etc.—bhavate (for ‘bhavati’), 86.27—bhavadhvam (for ‘bhavata’), 33.21—bhaveta (for ‘bhavet’),

car in 47.16—carate (for ‘carati’),

drś in 7.5—paśyate (for ‘paśyati’), 13.72—paśyeta (for ‘paśyet’), 34.13—apaśyata (for ‘apaśyat’), 1.70—
dadṛśe (for ‘dadarsa’),

gam in 33.62, 34.5, 42.15, etc.—gacchate (for ‘gacchati’), 86.16—gacchase (for ‘gacchasi’), 84.4—gacchadhvam (for ‘gacchata’), 95.9—gaccheta (for ‘gacchet’),

jap in 1.40—japate (for ‘japati’),

ji in 4.5—jayāmahe (for ‘jayāmah’),

jval in 8.30—jvalate (for ‘jvalati’),

kṛṣ (ava+) in 49.2—avakarṣate (for ‘avakarṣati’),

kṣar in 49.12, 17, 19—kṣarathe (for ‘kṣarati’),

pā (to drink) in 48.11—pibate (for ‘pibati’),

pat in 27.10—patate (for ‘patati’),

pāth in 7.84—pāthate (for ‘pāthati’),

rakṣ in 7.80, 14.8—rakṣate (for ‘rakṣati’),

rakṣ (pari+) in 42.1—parirakṣase (for ‘parirakṣasi’),

sad (pra+) in 1.26—prasidate (for ‘prasidati’),

smṛ in 91.52—smarate (for ‘smarati’),
sthā (to remain) in 2.14, 3.34, 7.90, 8.12, etc.—
tiṣṭhate (for ‘tiṣṭhati’),
sthā (ut-+ meaning ‘to rise’) in 55.6—ketavaś
cottiṣṭhante (for ‘... cottiṣṭhanti’),
tap in 13.25—tapate bhānuḥ (for ‘tapani ...’),
tyaj in 13.19—tyajate (for ‘tyajati’),
vad (to say) in 4.84, 6.ii.12, 14.6, etc.—vadate (for
‘vadati’), 37.41—vadante (for ‘vadanti’),
vas (to reside) in 9.11—vasante (for ‘vasanti’),
vraj in 99.33—vrajate (for ‘vrajati’);
(b) adādi-gañiya
i (to go) in 39.108—esayate (for ‘esyati’),
snā (+nic) in 68.2—snāpayeta (for ‘snāpayet’);
(c) divādi-gañiya
nrt in 13.74—nṛtyante (for ‘nṛtyanti’),
tuṣ in 51.11—tuṣyante (for ‘tuṣyanti’);
(d) svādi-gañiya
āp (pra+) in 6.ii.40—prāpayisyate (for ‘prāpsyati’),
sādh in 1.24—sādhate (for ‘sādhnoti’),
śru in 3.4—śrūnusva (for ‘śṛṇu’);
(c) tudādi-gañiya
iṣ in 4.17—iccheta (for ‘icchet’),
pracch in 2.18—prcchate (for ‘prcchati’), 9.67, 13.1,
35.2—prcchase (for ‘prcchasi’), 13.3—prcche (for ‘prc-
chāmi’), 2.101—aprcchata (for ‘aprcchat’),
viṣ in 16.5—viṣate (for ‘viṣati’).
(ii) Ātmanepadiya roots used in their Parasmaipadiya
forms, viz.,
(a) bhvādi-gañiya
bādh in 16.5—bādhante (for ‘bādhante’),
dṛṣ (used in the passive voice) in 85.60—dṛṣyanti
(for ‘dṛṣyante’), 95.16—dṛṣyet (for ‘dṛṣyeta’),
ji (vi+) in 2.98—vijayāmi (for ‘vijaye’), 98.9—
vijayet (for ‘vijayeta’),
labh in 33.43—labhate (for ‘labhate’), 11.11, 59.3,
etc.—labhet (for ‘labheta’),
lamb (vi+) in 9.56—vilambasi (for ‘vilambase’),
rabh (sam+ā+) in 58.10—samārabhat (for ‘samāra-
bhata’), 59.20—samārabhet (for ‘samārabheta’),
ram in 82.75—ramanti (for ‘ramante’), 7.92—rarāma
(for ‘reme’),
sah (sam+ut+) in 43.51—samutsahet (for ‘samutsaheta’),
sev in 93.20—sevanti (for ‘sevante’), 10.iv.1, 8—
scvet (for ‘seveta’),
sthā (ava+) in 69.4—avatiṣṭhati (for ‘avatiṣṭhate’),
trai in 6.ii.12—sā trāya (i.e. ‘sā atrāyat’, for ‘sā
atrāyata’), 7.79—trāya (for ‘trāyasva’),
yāca in 6.ii. 35, 16.41, 83.21—yāca (for ‘yācasva’),
39.131—yayāca (for ‘yayāce’);
(b) adādi-gañiya
han (used in the passive voice) in 85.12—hanyanti
(for ‘hanyante’);
(c) divādi-gañiya
jan in 33.22, 28—jāyanti (for ‘jāyante’),
man in 93.290—manyet (for ‘manyeta’),
yudh in 4.13, 14—yudhyanti (for ‘yudhyante’),
vid in 33.30—... na vidyati nṛṇāṃ ... (for ‘...
vidyate ...’),
(d) kryādi-gañiya
stambh in 7.75—stambha (for ‘stabhāna’—Lot, second
person, singular).
(iii) Irregular conjugation of verbs (sometimes with
unauthorised change of Gaṇa, sometimes without the
augment a in Laṅ, sometimes with the loss of the redupli-
tive syllable, and so on):
(a) bhvādi-gañiya
bhāṣ in 39.55—avabhāṣata (for ‘avabhāṣata’),
bhram (pari+) in 43.15—paribhramat (for
‘paryabhramat’),
bhū in 14.1—bhavat (without the augment ‘a’ in Laṅ,
for ‘abhavat’),
bhū (sam+ut+) in 4.66—samudbhavat (without
the augment ‘a’ in Laṅ, for ‘samudabhavat’),
dīś (ā+) in 39.133—ādiśaya (for ‘ādiśa’),

*** It is rarely used as a Parasmaipadiya root.
dru (abhi+) in 11.23, 39.77, 43.15—abhidravat
(without the augment ‘a’ in Lañ, for ‘abhyađravat’),
gam in 32.1—jagma (for ‘jagāma’),
gam (prati+-ā+) in 93.200—pratyāgamāmi (for
‘pratyāgacchāmi’),
ji in 4.74—jayiṣyati (for ‘jesyati’),
pat in 43.40—pāta (for ‘papāta’),
raks (conjugated as a curādi-ganiya root) in 12.47—
raksayet (for ‘rakṣet’),
smr (anu+) in 14.3—anusmaraś (in Lañ, for ‘anv-
asmarat’),
śri (ut+) in 23.19—ucchraye (for ‘ucchrayet’),
sthā (ava+, sam+ut+, ut+) in 13.45—avatiśṭhata
(without the augment ‘a’ in Lañ, for ‘avātiśṭhata’),
85.33, 59—samutthanti (for ‘samuttiśṭhanti’), 4.31—
uttan (for ‘udatiśṭhat’),
śubh in 2.53—śobhire (for ‘śuśubhire’),
vah in 13.25—vahan (in Lañ, for ‘avahan’), 14.29—
vavāha (for ‘uvāha’),
vās in 10.iv.11—uṣet (for ‘vaset’),
vrddh in 43.3—vṛdhe (for ‘vavṛdhe’),
yāc (conjugated as a curādi-ganiya root) in 9.52,
39.63—yācayāmi (for ‘yāce’), 39.59—yācaya (for
‘yācasva’), 4.77—yācayiṣyati (for ‘yāciṣyate’),
yāc (prati+) in 43.17—pratyayāca (for ‘pratyayar-
cata’),
yaj in 99.36—iṣyet (for ‘yajet’),
yat (pra+) in 93.268—prayatneta (for ‘prayateta’);
(b) adādi-gaṇiya
cakās in 119.38—cakāsanti (for ‘cakāsati’),
i (ut+) in 119.34—udayāmāsa (for ‘udiyāya’),
han in 9.56, 85.4—hana (for ‘jahi’), 16.42, 39.131—
vadha (for ‘jahi’), 43.35, 68.16—hanet (for ‘hanyāt’),
15.22—jighāṃsa (for ‘jaghāna’ or ‘avadhīt’), 83.23—
vadhiṣyati (for ‘haniṣyati’),
han (ni+) in 14.8—nighnāmi (for ‘nihanmi’),
85.12—nighnanti (for ‘nihanti’),
han (vi+) in 2.31, 32—vighnate (for ‘vihanyate’),
rud in 119.37—rurodanti (for ‘rudanti’),
stu (conjugated as a bhvādi-gaṇiya root) in 2.43—
stavati (for ‘stauti’ or ‘stavītī’), 2.95, 11.29—stavate
(for ‘stute’ or ‘stavīte’), 80.19—stavase (for ‘stute’ or ‘stavīse’),
vā in 55.7—vāyante (for ‘vānti’),
śās in 72.5—śāsat (for ‘aśat’);
(c) hvādi-gaṇiya
dā in 93.123—dadanti (for ‘dadati’), 11.50, 86.28—
dada (for ‘dehi’), 91.74—dadet (for ‘dadyāt’) (the
forms ‘dadate’ in 37.2, ‘dadase’ in 83.15, and the like
having been derived probably from the root ‘dad’
meaning ‘to give’—cf. Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī iii.1.139—
dadāti-dadhātyor vibhāṣā, and Whitney, Sanskrit
Grammar, 672 and 794 j),
dhā in 2.50, 116.iii.18 (antar)—antaradhiyata
(for ‘antaradhita’—Luṅ, third person, singular), 48.22
(vi)—vidhet (for ‘vidadhyaṭ’);
(d) divādi-gaṇiya
as (vi+ni+) in 44.1—vinyasat (for ‘vinyāyat’),
buddh in 8.38—buddha (Loṭ, second person, singular,
for ‘budhyasva’),
śām in 6.ii.44, 8.30—śamate (for ‘śāmyati’), 8.29—
śamet (for ‘śāmyet’),
vyaḍh in 43.36—vyāḍha (for ‘vivyāḍha’),
yudh in 39.82—ayodhyanta (for ‘ayudhyanta’), 43.32
(vi)—vyayodhayat (for ‘vyayudhyata’);
(e) svādi-gaṇiya
āḍ (pra+) in 6.ii.40—prāpāvyaye (for ‘prāpsyati’),
sāḍh in 1.24—sādhate (conjugated as bhvādi-gaṇiya,
for ‘sādhnoti’), 4.18—sādhyanti (conjugated as divādi-
gaṇiya, for ‘sādhnvanti’ or ‘sādhayanti’),
vr in 39.131—varam varaya govinda (for ‘... viṇu...
...’);
(f) tudādi-gaṇiya
kṛt in 9.56—karta (for ‘kṛnta’), 7.67 (vi+ni+)—
daiyāṇ hi vinikṛntaya (for ‘... vinikṛnta’),
muc in 4.70, 7.87—mocate (conjugated as bhvādi-
gaṇīya, for ‘muṇcati’), 119.35—mumocati (for ‘muṇcati’), 15.18—vimokṣa (for ‘vyamuṇcat’ or ‘vyamukta’),
vid in 2.30, 9.43—vindyāt (conjugated as rudhādi-gaṇīya, for ‘vindet’);
(g) rudhādi-gaṇīya
bhid in 13.21—bhindate (for ‘bhinte’),
bhuṣ (to protect, to enjoy) in 9.12—bhuṇjate (for ‘bhunaktī’), 4.10—bhuṇjatha (for ‘bhuṅktha’), 9.8—bhuṇjāmi (for ‘bhunajmi’), 2.42, 2.49, 5.16, 9.56, etc.—bhuṇja (for ‘bhuṅgdhi’), and so on,
chid in 7.68—chinda (for ‘chindhi’), 12.13—chindayet (for ‘chindyāt’), 12.20—chindeta (for ‘chindita’);
(h) tanādi-gaṇīya
kt in 35.27—karanti (for ‘kurvanti’), 9.8—kurvāmāḥ (for ‘kurmaḥ’), 7.78—kurva (for ‘kuru’);
(i) kryādi-gaṇīya
bandh in 7.66, 9.56—bandha (Loṭ, second person, singular, for ‘badhāna’),
grah in 9.56, 85.4, 116.iii.14—grhṇa (Loṭ, second person, singular, for ‘grhāna’), 95.35—grhya (for ‘grhāṇa’),
jnā in 85.34—jānayanti (for ‘jānanti’),
li in 95.43—liyanti (for ‘linanti’);
(j) curādi-gaṇīya
cint in 2.32—cintate (for ‘cintayate’),
dhū (ava+) in 4.64—avadhūnayat\footnote{The reading ‘avadhūnayat’ seems to be a mistake for ‘avadhūlayat’.} (Laṅ, third person, singular),
kath in 1.31—kathiṣyati (conjugated as bhvādi-gaṇīya, for ‘kathayiṣyati’), 82.1—katha (for ‘kathaya’),
kirt in 99.50—kirtanti (for ‘kirtayanti’),
pīḍ in 24.18—pīḍati (conjugated as bhvādi-gaṇīya, for ‘pīḍayati’),
tad in 41.3, 4—tāḍayat (without the augment a in Lā, for ‘atāḍayat’).
(iv) Irregular Causative (niyanta) and Denominative verbal forms, viz.,
bhojīyāt (for ‘bhojayet’) in 33.67, damśāpayati (for
‘dāṃśayati’) in 9.68, mocāpayati (for ‘mocayati’) in 9.68, nīyāmase (for ‘niyamayasi’) in 36.10, nṛtyāpayati (for ‘nartayati’) in 9.68, pātayat (without the augment ‘a’ in Laṅ, for ‘apātayat’) in 41.8, pratiṣṭhayet (for ‘pratiṣṭhāpayet’) in 32.8, 50.i.45, 50.ii.3, pṛṣayat (for ‘prṣayet’) in 40.14, śamaye (Vidhi-liṅ, third person, singular, for ‘śamayet’) in 7.72, tōṣati (for ‘toṣayati’) in 2.40, utthāpayat (for ‘udasthāpayat’) in 39.154, vādayat (for ‘avādayat’) in 39.158, vārate (for ‘vāryate’) in 37.57, vināśisyey (for ‘vināśayisyet’) in 1.3,

homaye (Vidhi-liṅ, third person, singular, for ‘homayet’) in 26.36—satatāṃ homaye’nale—should always perform ‘homa’ in fire, kṣamāyeta (for ‘kṣamāpayet’) in 31.27, 36.29.

(v) Wrong use of Denominative verbs, as in

39.108—पन्य-स्त्रिवा yathā lobbhāt kāmukānām varāyate (for ‘... variyati’)—just as a harlot wants to have, out of greed (for money), lustful persons as her husbands.

(vi) Wrong formation of Kṛdanta words, viz.,

(a) Present Participles (in ‘sṝ’ and ‘sāṅac’), such as bhūnjayat (for ‘bhūnjat’) in 8.40—bhūnjayan punar anyāś ca striyo ratna-vibhūṣitatḥ, utthai (for ‘uttiṣṭhat’) in 85.43—kvacit patantam utthantam ..., bhramanta (for ‘bhramat’) in 85.38—bhramantāvṛttata-kuṭilam ..., chādayanta (for ‘chādayat’) in 43.39—chādayanto disāḥ sarvāḥ pūrayanto navāmbubhīḥ / ... amay-opari pāta saḥ //, jvalanta (for ‘jvalat’) in 14.27—jvalanta-kopāḥ, 84.14—jvalantāgni-, pūrayanta (for ‘pūrayat’) in 43.39 (cited above), vahanta (for ‘vahat’) in 85.39—vahantaiḥ,

anicchamāna (for ‘anicchat’) in 9.43—anicchamānāpi tathā gṛhītā pāṇinā kare (for ‘anicchanty api ...’), cintamāna (for ‘cintayat’) in 36.32—vedārtham cintamānena visnunā ..., dhyāyamāna (in active voice, for ‘dhyāyat’) in 10.vi.4—yas tu kāya-kṛtān bhogān dhyāya-mānas tu sevate, ghātamāna (in active voice, for ‘ghnat’) in 32.38—ghātamānā ripum devi ... (for ‘ghnati ...’),
hasamāna (for ‘hasat’) in 34.15—āgataḥ ... hasamānāḥ, japaṁāna (for ‘japat’) in 39.50, 56, kṛidamāna (for ‘kriḍat’) in 4.78, pathamāna (for ‘paṭhat’) in 39.51, pravişamāna (for ‘pravişat’) in 12.37—prathamaṁ pravişamānā bhūmiṁ yaśīṁ hantī rāṣṭram (for ‘prathamaṁ pravişanti bhūmiṁ ...’), rudamāna (for ‘rudat’) in 9.46—tena sā vinānā drśṭā rudamānā tu kanyakā (for ‘... rudatī tu ...’), tarjamāna (for ‘tarjayat’) in 32.37—tarjamānaṁ hatam mūrdhni nāga-pāṣena veśītam (for ‘tarjayantaṁ ...’),

ghātamānā (in the passive voice, for ‘hanyamāna’) in 8.31—satavvo ghātamānā hi kṣiyante hy avicāraṇāt, 43.41—ghātamānasaya;

(b) Past Participles (in ‘ka’), such as

bhidiṭa (for ‘bhinnā’) in 52.7— ... aṣṭadhā bhiditena ..., chadmita in 1.39—chadmito gurunā punah—again deceived by Guru (the preceptor of gods), ghāṭita (non-causative) in 11.41—viśṇunā ghāṭitāḥ kecit ... (for ‘... hatāḥ ...’), 39.68—evaṁ sa ghāṭitāḥ ... (for ‘... sa hatāḥ ...’), kṛntita (for ‘kṛtta’) in 119.9, paṭhata (for ‘paṭhita’) in 32.38-39— ... devī ... // sthāpitā pūjitā śakra smaratā paṭhataṁ vi / prayacchatī sūbhān kāmān ... //, praṇamīta (for ‘praṇata’) in 33.23— ... sarva-surāśra-praṇamītaṁ sambhum ..., pṛchita (for ‘pṛṣṭa’) in 13.2—kathitam ... yogam nārada-pṛchitam, 39.26—pṛchito vṛṣa-vāhanāḥ, 93.15—pṛchitaḥ śivah, 92.15 (pra+)—devyā prapṛchitam, 39.38 (sam+)—sammṛchitaṁ tataḥ sarve ..., raṅgiita (for ‘raṇjita’) in 91.38, smaratā, smarita and smārita (for ‘smṛta’) in 32.39 (cited above in connection with ‘paṭhata’ for ‘paṭhita’), 39.69—smaritaṁ bhaktinā, 43.58—yenāhaṁ smāritaṁ tvāyā;

(c) Gerunds (in ‘ktvā’ and ‘lyap’), such as

apasthāpayitvā (for ‘apasthāpya’) in 3.18, bhunjayitvā (for ‘bhuktvā’) in 9.45, chinditvā (for ‘chittvā’) in 86.22, kriḍayitvā (for ‘kriḍitvā’) in 87.14, namaskṛtya (for ‘namaskṛtya’) in 10.i.14, racitvā (for ‘racayitvā’) in 86.19, sammatikṛtya (for ‘sammatikṛtya’) in 7.96, smaritvā (for

(d) miscellaneous other primary bases, such as

bhunjanīya (from the root ‘bhu’) in 9.36—na hi anicchatā (=anicchanti) bālā bhunjanīyā kadācana, darṣakārin (for ‘darṣaka’) in 10.iii.6-7, dhyāpāna (for ‘dhyāna’) in 10.v.12—ity ete dhyāpan-opāyā ṛṣibhīḥ parikārtītāḥ, samjītr (conqueror) in 15.3—yamasya vahner api samji-tāram, vaivāha (for ‘vivāha’) in 27.6— ... yajña-vaiivāha-sthāpane—in sacrifice, marriage and consecration.

(vii) Wrong use of Gerunds, as in

43.3—mahādevi ... ghoram hatvā devena viṣṇunā/ dattāparājīta candre ... //, 55.4—rātrāv indra-dhanur dṛṣṭvā ... śmaśāne dhūmo jāyate, 95.36—bhuktvā tu vipulān bhogān paścān mokśo bhaviṣyati.

(viii) Wrong use of Tenses and Moods:

(a) Lat used for Līṭ, as in

15.18—vavarṣa plavate (for ‘plavayate’) sarvāṁ dānavim vāhinim tadā—then rain poured down and flooded the entire army of the Dānavas;

(b) Vīdhī-liñ (Potential) used for Lān, as in

2.69—atandrita-manāḥ śakra dharmādini na hāpayet (for ‘ahāpayat’—ajahāt), 2.71-72—gṛte vā darpanē vāpi mukham paśyed (for ‘apaśyat’) dadau ca gām // tataḥ sabhām samāsthāya paśyet (for ‘apaśyat’) kāryāni kāryinām //, 2.73—sabhā-manḍapam āsthāya paśyet (for ‘apaśyat’) svāni balāni ca, 2.76—mukto hy aṣṭādaṣair
doṣaiḥ kuryād (for 'akarot') rājyam mahāsuraḥ, 13.67—
sa cāsvina-prathamāhe girindramavarohayet (for
'āvārohayat'—avārohat), 13.69—karaṃ prasārayed (for
'prāsārayat') devyāḥ ... —stretched out (his) hand
towards Devi, 13.70—samādhyaḥṃ vijayā gatvā kāraṇa-
yāṃ nivedayet (for 'nyavedayat'), 13.72—ghora 'pi
svapnān paśyeta (for 'apaśyat'), 40.13-15—muṇḍaṃ
sampiḍayet (for 'samapiḍayat') devi ... // indṛaya
preṣayāt (for 'praṣayat') śaktim ... // ... indṛaṃ
khadgenā tādayet (for 'atādayat') //, 40.17—vāyavyaṃ
praksipet (for 'prāksipat') devi ... , and so on;
(c) Āśir-liṁ (Benedictive Mood) used for Vidhi-liṁ,
as in 12.54—ketor niratā yajane bhūyād vipra-kanyāś ca,
67.53—vastraṃ kārpāsikam dhṛiyāt (for 'dharet', i.e.
'dhārayet').
(d) Lṛt (future) and Vidhi-liṁ (Potential) mixed up,
as in 1.3—vināśīṣye (for 'vināśiṣyet'<vināśaṃgaṃ
generated by wrong conjugation of the root 'na').
(ix) Causative (nijanta) forms of verbs used for the
non-Causative (anijanta), as in
2.69—hāpayet (for 'ajahāt'), 6.ii.40—prāpayisye (for
'prāpsyat'), 9.56—bhedaṃ (for 'bhindi'), 12.41—
ghātitaḥ (for 'hatāḥ'), 13.67—avarohayet (for 'avārohat'),
20.18—tathāstaṃ prāpita (for 'prāpte') sūrye ... , 43.59—
mocitam (for 'muktaṃ'), 43.61—ghātayitvā (for 'hatvā'),
66.6— ... devatāḥ sarvā vēṣṭayanti (for 'vēṣṭante') ... ,
and so on.
(x) Non-Causative (anijanta) forms of verbs used for the
Causative (nijanta), as in
2.94— ... tasya deva-devojanārdayaḥ / dadarsi
(for 'darśayāmāsa') svāṃ tanum ... // —Janārdaya, the
god of gods, showed his own person to him ... , 9.51—
tadā tasya dadarsi tām—then (Nandin) showed him that

296 A similar form (kāraṇayet) occurs in Mahāvastu i.267.9 (prose). See
Edgerton, op. cit., 1, p. 152 (31.37 and 40). See also Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 938
(pp. 333-4) for similar forms in the Rgveda, Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, Gopatha-brāhmaṇa,
Mahābhārata, etc.
(Padamālā Vidyā), 7.6—stavenainam tutoṣa (for ‘toṣa-yāmāsa’), 15.18—(meghaḥ) vavarṣa plavate (for ‘plāva-yate’) sarvām dānāvīm vāhinīṃ tadā, 27.8—yā samate (for ‘śamayate’) ca hutāsanan—and which extinguishes the fire, 42.16— ... brahma-hatyādi-pātakam / śamate sā na saṁdeho vidyā ... // (śamate=śamayate), 52.11—snāṇaṃ śisyāya kartavyam (for ‘snāpanaṃ śisyasya kartavyam), 88.6—saktibhir jātam (for ‘janitam’), and so on.

(ix) Confusion as regards voice:
(a) Active forms of verbs used in the passive voice, as in
2.31-32—vighnate (for ‘vihanyate’), 2.77—so ’pi tātene dṛṣṭavān (for ‘dṛṣṭah’), 21.8—krāvān sarva-devais ca pūjāḥ ... ... (for ‘kṛtāḥ ... ’), 11.9—(vidyā) bharadvājena prāptavān (for ‘prāptā’), 15.4—bhyebhya muñcanty avicāraṇena ... tvām āśritā vita-bhayā bhavanti (for ‘... mucyante ... ’), 17.27—te ’pi pāpāt pramuñcanti (for ‘pramucyante’), 90.4—viṣṇuḥ sakreṇa prṣṭavān (for ‘prṣṭah’), and so on.

(b) Passive forms of verbs used in the active voice, as in
83.2—tvām punah kathyaṭe (for ‘kathayasi’) ... ... 3.2—tvām ca ... kathāṃ pūrvāṃ prakathyaśe (for ‘prakathayasi’), 4.86—tasya kaḥ śakyate (for ‘śaknoti’) yuddhe, 9.11—sa katham mucyate pathaḥ (for ‘... muñcati panthānam’), 9.74—yas tu devim na pūjyate (for ‘pūjayate’), 43.40— ... ... saḥ (śarāḥ) / rathaṅgāśva-pādātāṃ hanyamānam (for ‘ghan’ sahasradhā //, 51.6—avidhau yaḥ śivāṃ pūjyeta (for ‘pūjayeta’), and so on.

(c) Active and passive voice mixed up, as in
2.23—śakreṇa ca samāyāntam dṛṣṭvā devam pitāmāham / tyaktvā śimhāsanaṃ tūrṇam daṇḍavat patito bhuvi //
3.5— ... tena ... arjitam / jambum śakam tathā krauṅcalaṃ śālmalim atha pauskaram //
4.42-43—indreṇa tau samāyātau dṛṣṭvā yama-huta-
śanau / mahākṣobham samāsthāya gaja-rājaṁ ruroha saḥ //
8.4—... ghoraḥ ... / ... kṛto yatnāḥ ... //
8.11—dvāhsthena taṁ samāyāntaṁ dṛṣṭvā brahma-
sutottamam / praviṣṭo yatra vai rājā ghoro ghor-
parākramāḥ //
11.22—tena dvīpādhipān jītvā divam utsahate jaye,
15.18—taṁ dṛṣṭvā vajra-danḍena mahāmāyā-
samudbhavam / vāyuṁ mumoca ... //
17.3—evaṁ prṛṣṭas tadā brahmā ... ... / vimṛṣya
kathyate sarvaṁ ... ... //
35.32—rājñā vānena vidhinā ... dhvaja-yaṣṭīṁ
samucchrayet,
and so on.
(d) Wrong formation of passive verbs, as in
24.19—piḍante naṭa-nartakāḥ (for ‘piḍyante naṭa-’).

XV. Wrong formation of Taddhitānta words, viz.,
dārva (for ‘dārava’—wooden) in 25.14, 25.19, 32.39,
sakhāyatva (for ‘sakhitva’) in 39.146, śphāṭikamaya (for
‘śphāṭika’ or ‘śphāṭikamaya’) in 93.226, tapavān (for
tapasvān’) in 2.37, tāvanta (for ‘tāvat’) in 50.i.27, vaimāna
(for ‘vimāna’) in 64.3—vāta-ramhasa-vaimānaḥ, vimśatima
(for ‘vimśatitama’) in 10.ii.3—tac ca vimśatimām
tattvam ..., yathāśaktitāḥ (for ‘yathāśakti’) in 35.17— te
yathāśaktitas toṣyāḥ ..., and so on.

XVI. Defects in versification:
(i) Want of restriction with regard to the number of
syllables in a Pāda, as shown by
(a) the Pādas having more syllables than necessary,
as in
2.7—sanakaḥ sanatkumāras ca, 2.22—kṛtvā kratu-
śataṁ vidhivat ..., 3.16—hilihilo bhadranāmā ca, 4.78
—yama-mahiśam ivāparam, 7.29—kunda-kuṭmala-va-
abhāsa-, 8.7—yena kenacid upāyena, 13.57—iṅgud-
odumbara-m-kharjura-, 27.2 — maṇaḥsilā-kuṣṭha-
karpūrā-, 84.10, 86.1—kavacinaḥ sottara-cchadāḥ,
50.i.10—ṛddhir ṛddhir unnatiḥ siddhiḥ, and so on, (b) the Pādas wanting in syllables, as in
2.52—tam āyāntaṁ tu śruttvā, 5.12—tvaṁ devaṁ devarṣe viprendra, 7.64—mahāvidyujjihvāya, 15.6—tāṁ devī
dṛṣṭvā bhasmi-prayātām (Upajāti), 29.8—sakala-bhū
divāṁ bhūtām, 57.21—sa ca maṅgalāṁ rūpāṁ, and so
on.
(ii) Indiscriminate use of (metrically) long and short syllables in a Pāda, as in
2.1—nrpa-vāhana-mahātmā, 2.8—śaṇḍilyo mahāśir
vahni-, 3.25—bhogāḥ kulikāh sauvarṇāḥ, 4.90 (second
Pāda)—vināśaḥ kena kriyate, 6.ii.20—pīta-padmāruṇa-
hema-, 6.ii.25—paśu-mṛga-pakṣi-tiryak-, 7.14—karna-
pūrita-īṣave, 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa-, 8.32—śabdā-
sparsā-rasa-rūpa-, 8.36—daṇḍār varā īrṣyāśūyā-, 54.9—
rakta-karavāra-puṣpāiḥ, 85.58 — chinna-bāhu-kara-
kaṇṭha-sīroru-vinistambhitāḥ, 89.7 (first Pāda)—karta-
vyaṁ jita-dvandvena, and so on.
(iii) Wrong pronunciation or non-pronunciation of
vowels and consonants necessitated:
(a) Long vowels to be pronounced as short, as in
7.14—jaya triṣūla-hastāya (in which the ‘ū’ of ‘śū’
is to be pronounced as short), 7.22—ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmāthar-
vānāṁ (in which the ‘ā’ of ‘mā’ is to be pronounced as
short); similarly in 8.3 (third Pāda)—bṛhaspatinā
cākhyātām, 13.76 (third Pāda)—tamo ‘ndhakāre kāntāre,
and so on.
(b) Short vowels to be pronounced as long, as in
5.14—tava ghora-suta vajra (in which the final ‘a’
of ‘suta’ is to be pronounced as ‘ā’), 6.ii.20—pīta-
padmāruṇa-hema- (in which the ‘a’ of ‘na’ is to be
pronounced as ‘ā’); similarly in 6.ii.26—lava-syandā-
truṭi-mesa-, 7.14—jaya sārdra-gaja-carma-, karna-pūrita-
iṣave, 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa-, 15.22—sareṇa haima-
dala-patritena, 32.2—sammārjanam upalepam, and so on.
(c) Consonant-groups to be pronounced as single
consonants, as in
6.ii.25—paśu-mṛga-pakṣi-tiryak- (in which ‘pakṣi’-
is to be pronounced as ‘-pakhi-’), 6.ii.33 (fourth Pāda)—
vettā tvam vedanī ca tvam (in which ‘tvam’ is to be
pronounced as ‘tam’), 9.33—varuṭi puṣpa-granthini (in
which ‘-gra-’ is to be pronounced as ‘-ga-’); similarly
in 27.14—sātatyād avicchedini, 41.15—dahyamānāḥ
sasyandanaḥ, 55.14—pāyaśam dadhi-kṣīrāyam, 67.67—
catuṣke gṛhta-dyotitaḥ, 79.iii.1—vramaḥ me mana-
stuṣṭidam, 79.iv.8—patantī viyaccāriṇī, 80.21—prchāṇi
jagaddhetave, 85.58—śiroru-vinistambhitāḥ, 87.21—
brahmaṇā śiva-skandena, and so on.

(d) Non-pronunciation of intermediate or final
vowels of words, as in

2.7—sanakāḥ sanatkumāraś ca (in which ‘sanat-’ is
to be pronounced as ‘sant-’), 2.22—kṛtvā kratu-śataṃ
vidhivat (in which ‘vidhivat’ is to be pronounced as
‘vidhvat’), 3.16—hilihilo bhadranāmā ca (in which
‘hilihilo’ is to be pronounced as ‘hilhilo’), 4.78—yama-
mahiṣam ivāparam (in which ‘yama-’ is to be pronounced
as ‘yam-’), 13.57—ingudoṭumbara-m-kharjura-mātuluṅ-
gaiḥ sa-dādimaiḥ (in which the final ‘ā’ of ‘-kharjura-
’ is not to be pronounced), 32.34—paraśu-cakra-dharau
cānyau daṃmaru-darpaṇa cāparau (in which ‘paraśu-
’ and ‘daṃmaru-’ are to be pronounced respectively as
‘parśu-’ and ‘daṃru-’), 32.36—kurvanti kalakalāravaiḥ
(in which ‘kalakalā-’ is to be pronounced as ‘kalkalā-’),
51.2—maṅgalāḥ sākambhari kāli (in which ‘maṅgalāḥ’
is to be pronounced as ‘maṅglāḥ’), and so on.

That the above mode of pronunciation was actually
in practice, is shown by the occurrence of the word
‘parśu’ (for ‘paraśu’) in a number of verses, viz., 39.15
(parśurāmeṇa), 43.8 (parśunā) and 43.19 (parśuḥ).

(c) Non-pronunciation of the final Anusvāra and
Visarga of words, as in

15.7—tvam bhūmi-vāyu kham jalam hutāsanam (in
which the Anusvāra of ‘kham’ is not to be pronounced),
82.20—vibhūti-krīdaṃ sanākṣepat (in which the Anu-
svāra of ‘-krīdaṃ’ is not to be pronounced), and so on;
3.25—bhogāḥ kulikaḥ sauvarṇaḥ (in which the
Visarga of ‘kulikaḥ’ is not to be pronounced), 27.21—
amṛṭam haviḥ kāmikam (in which the Visarga of ‘haviḥ’
is not to be pronounced), 31.39—sa sukham yaśaḥ
saubhāgyam (in which the Visarga of ‘yaśaḥ’ is not to
be pronounced), 36.3—pulahādibhiḥ sattamaiḥ (in
which the ‘Visarga’ of ‘-pulahādibhiḥ’ is not to be
pronounced), and so on.

In ‘kavacinaḥ sottara-chadāh’ (84.10, 86.1), both the
‘a’ and Visarga of ‘-nah’ are to be overlooked in pronun-
ciation. So, ‘kavacinaḥ’ is to be pronounced as ‘kavacin’.
(It may also be pronounced as ‘kavcinah’).

That the final Anusvāra and Visarga of words were
sometimes not pronounced (for the sake of metre) will be
evident from the instances cited above (in section X).
See also 65.52—-nigranthayāḥ (for ‘-nigranthayāḥ’),
72.55—ity uvāc-ośanā svayam, 84.26—asayā śakti-dvitiyāham.

(iv) Very frequent presence of hiatus (caused by
absence of Saṃdhi) in verses, as in

1.14—varṇāśrama-sthitir yatra ācārasya ..., 1.26—
... devī ātma-bhāv-ānurūpataḥ, 1.35—... yati ih-
loke ..., 1.36—... tu rśinām ..., 1.54—... pādam
vā ādyādhyāya-trayaṃ ..., 2.1—nrpavāhana-mahātma
agastyaśyaśramam gataḥ, 2.2—... yatra rśayā ..., 2.5—... ramante ekataḥ sadā, 2.14—... ramye
agastyaas tiṣṭhate ..., 2.17—... pratipūjāni tu āsan-
ārghya-, yathā rtvig guruṣ caiva ..., 2.22—brahmā
rśi-varair yuktāḥ, 2.25—... veda-garbhāya utpatti-
..., 2.29—evam uktaṃ tu indreṇa ..., 2.34—parā vā
apara vātha ..., 2.38—tena ārādhitāḥ pūrvam ..., and
so on.

(v) Unwarranted Svara-bhakti (Anaptyxis) already
made in the text, or required to be made in pronuncia-
tion, as in

10.ix.11—daraśanam api puṇyaṃ yoga-mārga-
sthitānām (for ‘daraśanam . . .’),
15.6—tam devī dṛṣṭvā bhasmi-prayātaṃ (in which
‘bhasmi’ is to be pronounced, with Svara-bhakti, as
‘bhasamī’-’).
XVII. Use of wrong words, such as bhukṣā (for 'bubhuksā') in 33.6—bhukṣormi-trṣītam, gavi, gāvi (for 'go') in 64.1—vṛṣam gavīm ..., 103.2—... sukha-dohāṃ gavīm ..., 103.8—śubhāṃ hema-mayīṃ gavīṃ kārayet ..., lāṇčha (for 'lāṇčhana') in 35.38—... vāhana-lāṇčhena lāṇčitāḥ ..., nomāli (for 'navamālikā') in 62.2—nomāli-kusumaiḥ pūjā ..., varākin (for 'varāka') in 4.21—brāhmaṇena varākinā, and so on.

See also 6.ii.19ff. (for the words 'praśāmati', 'bhāvati', 'virodhaki, etc.).

XVIII. Use of verbal roots in peculiar meanings, such as
dakṣa (in the sense of 'paying honorarium—dakṣinā—to') in 33.79—... kanyā bhojyeta ... saktyā dakṣeta vācayet, 99.43—bhojanīyās tathā dakṣed go-bhū-dāna-hiranyataḥ.

XIX. Use of nouns as adjectives, as in
4.11—mājāra-mūṣikāṃ yadvad yuddham dhvāṅkṣ-olukām yathā, 4.12—mahiśāsvam yathā yuddham yathā danti-mṛgādhipam, 4.92—āśva-mahiśa-mārjāra-ākhu-kākolukām ... yuddham ..., 39.121—uvāca sausthavāṃ vānīṃ ...

XX. Use of synonymous words, as in
2.2—yatā veda-dhvaniḥ sabaḥ, 2.3—vidyā-vedaka-vettāraḥ, 2.60—svādu-jal-odakāḥ (dīrghikāḥ), 2.61—svabhāva-prakṛti-sthitāḥ, 4.71—sākhilaṃ sarvaṃ, 13.76—tamo'ndhakāre kāntāre, 14.23—vajrāsani-vajra-kopah, 17.16—sarvaṃ samastān api piḍayitvā, 33.7—vañcita-mokṣa-mārga-rahitam, 43.14—prthiviṃ vana-kānānām, 83.100—ghanṭā-ninaṇḍa-sabdena, 91.42—sarvartu-kusumaiḥ puspaḥ, and so on.

XXI. Ungrammatical construction of sentences, of
which only a very few instances are cited below:

2.92—mantri-vāky-ānal-otthena uddyotita vasum prati / matir dānava-nāthasya vrat-ārādhanaṁ āyayau //

4.32-33—yugāntakas tathā cakre ... / mahiśam yama-bhaṅgāya mahiśasya mahābalam //

4.42-43—indreṇa tau samāyātau dṛṣṭvā ... / mahā- kṣobham samāsthāya gaja-rājam ruroha saḥ //

4.70—na yuktam satru-paṅkṣasya vṛddhiṁ dātum kadācana,

4.71—nipātya sākhilaṁ sarvaṁ mūlaṁ yasya na khanyate,

4.86—tasya kaḥ śakyate yuddhe sabalasya nipātitam,

4.90—nārāyaṇāstra-brahmāstra-saivāś cānye 'tha vārunāḥ / tasya evamvidhāḥ satror vināśāḥ kena kriyate //

6.12.18—tadā tvayā mahādeva jñātva śaktim mahā- balām / ... vayam ... / tutoṣa ... //

9.14—yadā hi vyasaṇāsaktam nṛpaṁ buddhi- viparyaye / vijñāya sa tadāmātyah prākṛtam darśayed bhayam //

9.23—strī-svarūpā yadā kīcin mayā vāṇi na samśkrta / tathāpi mama kṣantavyam bālām hi na ruṣṭatām // (in which ‘-svarūpā’ has been used for ‘-svarūpayā’, and ‘ruṣṭatām’ for ‘ruṣyatām’),

9.29—vayam tvam ca tathāgaccha pratyakṣam anu- sātyatām,

9.31—yathāpi bhavato nāsmān vācāyaṁ api bhāṣate,

9.51—ārādhya nandinā pūrvaṁ deva-devaṁ jagad- gurum / yogābhyāsena mahata tadā tasya dadarśa tām //

11.46-47—yathā na saktāḥ samare daisyān yoddhun pitāmaha / śatrūnāṁ paribhūtānāṁ śaraṇāṁ tvā gatā vayam // yathāhaṁ cintayāmāsa sakra viṣṇu-divau- kasāṃ /

16.2— ... suṣeṇāḥ pratyabhāṣata / mayā tvam sarva-devaṁ buddhir nābhyadhiko mataḥ //

39.70—atha devair gate svargaṁ ...,

39.76—atha tad-danu-rājendraḥ pitṛ-vairāṇalo 'bhavat,
39.134—pûrvaṁ so’haṁ hato mayā,
43.41—na saṁkhyaṁ vidyate tāta ghātamānasya dānavāṁ (for ‘... tātā hanyamānaṁ dānavāṁ’).

The peculiar features of the language of the Devi-p., noted above, are perhaps sufficient to show that they have much in common with those of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit found in the Mahāvastu, Saddharma-puṇḍarika, Lalitavistara and a good number of other works on Buddhism. There is little scope for doubt that they are due chiefly to the influence of (early) Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, which have controlled to a very great extent the formation of stems used in this work and are responsible for the peculiar features of its euphonic combination, declension, conjugation, formation of compounds, use of numbers, genders and cases, and so on. As a matter of fact, it is mainly Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa which form the basis of the un-Pāñinian Sanskrit of this Purāṇa281, which occupies a unique position in the Purāṇa literature from the linguistic point of view.

281 That Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa had much to do with the language of the Devi-p. is evident from the rules of Prakrit grammars with regard to formation of stems, euphonic combination (Saṁdhi), formation of feminine bases, declension, conjugation etc. A few instances may be cited here:

In his Prākrta-prakāsa Varnaruci says that the final ‘r’ of words is replaced by ‘ara’, in case any of the case-terminations follows (rta araḥ supi—3.31), that the word ‘mātr’ has its final ‘r’ changed into ‘a’ under the same conditions (mātur āt—3.32), and that the words ‘piṭṛ’, ‘bhūrā’ and ‘jāmātṛ’ have, for their final ‘r’, ‘ara’ (and not ‘ara’ in all the cases (piṭṛ-bhūrā-jāmāṭṛyān araḥ—5.34) and also ‘ā’ in Nominative singular only (ā ca sau—3.35). Hemacandra also says in his Prakrit grammar Siddha-hema-sabdānasāna that the (feminine) words ‘svaśr’ etc. have the ‘dā’ (=a) Pratyaya (aND thus give rise to the stems ‘sasā’, ‘dhihā’ etc.—svārāder dā—3.35), that the final ‘r’ of words are substituted by ‘ara’ in the presence of any of the case-endings (araḥ sy-ādau—3.45), that in the same circumstances the word ‘mātr’ has its ‘r’ changed into ‘a’ and ‘ara’, with the former of which this word means ‘a mother’ and with the latter, ‘a mother-goddess’ (ā araḥ mātub—3.46, bāhulakā jaya-arbyasa ā devatārbyasa tu ara vy ādēsāḥ—commentary), and that (such) words (as ‘piṭṛ’, ‘bhūrā’ and ‘jāmātṛ’) meaning ‘designation’ have their final ‘r’ changed into ‘ara’ in all the cases, but into ‘a’ in Nominative singular only (nāmmy araḥ—3.47, ā sau na vā—3.48, in which the word ‘nām’ means ‘saṁjñā’ and not ‘nomen’ or ‘noun’ as held by Fischel, P. L. Vaidya and others). Similar statements have also been made in Trivikramadeva’s Prākrta-sabdānasāna ii.2.41—svaśrāt dāl, and ii.2.49–52—araḥ supi, mātur ā araḥ, saṁjñāyān araḥ, ā sau vā. By following these processes of change the Devi-p. forms its stems ‘dāṭā’, ‘sotā’, ‘trāṭā’, ‘hotāra’, ‘veṭṭāra’, ‘pitā’, ‘pitara’, ‘mātā’, ‘mātarā’, and so on, in imitation of those in Prakrit.
Now, the question arises as to whether the Devi-p. is indebted to the Buddhist works for its peculiar language, 

In Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa there is a rule (4.6—antyasya halab) which states that the final consonant of a word is dropped (in Prakrit). Hemacandra and Trīvikramadeva also give similar rules in their Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana (1.11—antya-yañja, 1.12—na śrad-udo) and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana (1.1.25—anty-ya-halo 'śrad-ud) respectively. So, the Devi-p. has such stems as 'atharv', 'bhasma', 'brahma', 'adh', 'ambha', 'sapta', 'aśāda' etc. on the basis of their parallels in Prakrit.

See also Prākṛta-prakāśa 4.7—strīyām āt and 4.9—na vidyuti, Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 1.15—strīyām ād avidyuti, and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana i.1.29—avidyuti strīyām āt, which provide for the formation of Prakrit stems like 'sāri', 'sampaś' etc. Consequently, the Devi-p. has 'āpadā', 'mrđā', 'sampadā', 'sruĉā', etc. (for 'āpad, 'mrđ, 'sampad, 'sruc, etc.).

According to Vararuci, Hemacandra and Trīvikramadeva, the pronoun 'idaṁ' is replaced by 'ima' in all the cases (idama imaḥ—Prākṛta-prakāśa 6.13, Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 3.72, and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana ii.2.76). So, the Devi-p. has the stem 'ima' (for 'idam'), which it declines as 'imaṁb' in Instrumental plural (masculine and neuter).

In treating of euphonic combination Hemacandra says that Śaṇḍhī between the vowels of two words (of a compound) is optional (see Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 1.5—padayob saṇḍhir vā). Vararuci and Trīvikramadeva also give similar rules in their Prākṛta-prakāśa (4.1—saṇḍhāv ācām aj-lopa-vāseṇa bahulaṃ) and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana (i.1.19—saṇḍhis tv apade). So, for Sanskrit 'vāṣa-srī', Prakrit has 'vāsi' and also 'vāsa-ist (with hiatus). Similarly, the Devi-p. has 'rāsa-anya-kriyā', 'śaṅkh-āja-ananta', 'māṭa-āja-śkha', etc. (with hiatus).

According to Vararuci, Hemacandra and Trīvikramadeva, a vowel, when followed by another, is often dropped (see Prākṛta-prakāśa 4.1 cited above, Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 1.10—luk, Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana i.1.4—lopaḥ). Thus, for Sanskrit 'tridaśēḥ' Prakrit has 'tiaśo' (from 'tīsa + i-a-c Sanskrit 'tridaśa + i-bh'). In a similar way the Devi-p. has 'mumocanena' (for 'mūmoca + anena'), etc.

In his Prākṛta-prakāśa Vararuci says that the Kṛt suffixes 'saṭ' and 'ānac' are replaced respectively by 'nta' and 'māṇa' in Prakrit (nta-mañgau saṭ-ānacoby—7.10) and that in the feminine gender these suffixes are replaced by 't as well as 'nta' and 'māṇa'. Hemacandra and Trīvikramadeva also make similar statements in their Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana (3.180—nta-mañgau, 3.181—saṭ-ānasiḥ, 3.182—i ca strīyām) and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana (ii.4.41—māṇa-ntau ca ḍrāṇaḥ, ii.4.42—śaṭra-śānacoḥ, ii.4.43—strīyām i ca) respectively. Thus, for Sanskrit 'hasanti' Prakrit has 'hasa' ('<hasati') 'hasanti', 'hasamāṇā' and 'hasamāṇi', and for Sanskrit 'vepamāṇā' Prakrit has 'vevāl ('<vepati), 'vevanti', 'vevamāṇā' and 'vevamāṇi'. Similarly, the Devi-p. has 'anicchati', 'adant', 'rudanti' etc.

Hemacandra and Trīvikramadeva say that in conjunction the root 'bhuj' becomes 'bhunī' (see Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 4.110 and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana ii.4.137). Consequently, the Devi-p. conjugates the root 'bhuj' (meaning 'to protect', 'to enjoy') often as 'bhunī' (as in 'bhunījate', 'bhunījatha', 'bhunījami, etc.).

For change of the root 'kṛ' to 'kara' and 'jāh' to 'jāja' in conjunction, see Prākṛta-prakāśa 8.12.13—rto 'rābh, 'krāṇa kupo vā, and 8.23—jō jāna-muṇau, Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 4.234—ṛ-varṇasyāraḥ, 4.7—jō jāna-muṇau, and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana ii.4.66—ara ub, ii.4.130—jāna-muṇau jāha. So, the Devi-p. has the forms 'karanti', 'jānayanti' etc.

It is needless to multiply examples.
and, if not, how this type of incorrect Sanskrit came to be adopted in such an important work of the Hindus. The references to the decadent state of Buddhism in several places of this work and its mention of the Tantrik Baudhās and of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, tend to create the impression that in its language the Devī-p. was influenced by the Mahāvastu and other Buddhist works mentioned above. But a critical study of the Devī-p. and a consideration of several matters relating to Indian religion, literature and culture encourage us to hold a perfectly different view. We have already seen that the Devī-p., as we have it now, is the result of several revisions and abridgments to which its original text was subjected in different ages before attaining its present form, and that this work in its present state (excepting a very few interpolated passages and verses) comes down from the sixth century A.D. and most probably from its latter half. So, there can be little doubt about the fact that, in spite of its incorporation of matters bearing stamps of comparatively late dates, the Devī-p. contains chapters (or parts thereof) and verses which were composed much earlier than the sixth century A.D. Thus, it is evident that the language of this Purāṇa had a much earlier beginning, which finds strong support in the Tantric Mantras and Vidyās recorded in it as well as in the striking similarity it has in some respects with the Mahāvastu. It can hardly be denied that the various Tantric Vidyās, and more particularly the Tantric Mantras, like the Vedic ones, are not in every case new creations made by individual authors but have long traditions behind them. The frequent reference to Āgamas and Tantras as authorities and the mention of a good number of them by name show that a rich Tantric literature had developed before the rise of the Devī-p. and that this work derived its Vidyās and Mantras from these Āgamas and Tantras. As a matter of fact, the Devī-p. expressly says with regard to a particular ‘Mahāvidyā’ called Pada-mālā (or Mantra-mālā) that after extracting this Vidyā from ‘a crore of works’ (koṭi-granthāt) Śiva spoke it out to Viṣṇu (Nandin) in the
Mūlatantra. The Devī-p. even connects this Vidyā with the Atharva-veda by calling it ‘atharva-pada-dipani’. So, the history of the Vidyās and more particularly of the Tantric Mantras (both of which are replete with incorrect forms based on or influenced by Prakrit) goes far back to the pre-Christian days. Consequently, the period of origin of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Devī-p. has to be pushed farther back, probably up to, or even beyond, the time of first composition of the oldest Buddhist hybrid text, viz., Mahāvastu, the nucleus of which is believed to have ‘originated as far back as in the 2nd century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the 4th century A.D. and perhaps still later, by additions and interpolations’. This early origin of the language of the Devī-p. is supported by certain facts, which may be stated as follows.

After critically examining the language of Buddhist hybrid texts Edgerton divides these works into three main classes, viz., class i consisting principally of the Mahāvastu, and also of a short citation made in Śāntideva’s Śikṣāsamuccaya from the lost Bhikṣu-prakīrṇaka, and a short Jātaka printed in the Appendix to Āryaśūra’s Jātakamālā, class ii, of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika, Lalitavistara, Gaṇḍavyūha, Kāśyapa-parivarta, Daśabhūmika-sūtra, Rāṣtrapāla-paripṛchchhā, Sukhāvatīvyūha (both the longer and the shorter text), Samādhīraja-sūtra, Suvarṇa-

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292 Devī-p. 9.65—devy uvāca
kaññasa-piṣṭha-madhyaṣṭhāṃ vireṣaṃ paramaṇaṃ prabhūṃ/
uktā yā ca mahāvidyā mūlatantre tvāya prabho/
koṭi-granthāt samāhṛtya sarva-karma-pravartakī/
(The printed text of the Devī-p. reads ‘samāhṛtya’ for ‘samāhṛtya’ contained in many Mss.).

293 Ibid., 9.64—
tatāh te haṃ pravakṣyāmi śrūṇa tattvena vāsava/
siddhānta-veda-karmāṇāṃ atharva-pada-dipanīm/
ānayā tu samā vidyā na bhūtā na bhaviṣyatī/

294 Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 247.

295 See Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. xxv.


297 Āryaśūra probably lived in the fourth century A.D.—See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 276; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 68.
bhāsottama-sūtra, Udānavarga (containing no prose), and nearly the entire Śīkṣā-samuccaya (consisting mainly of quotations from older texts mostly extinct at present), and class iii, of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda-vinaya, Divyāvadāna, Avadāna-sūtaka, Prātimokṣa-sūtra, Ārya-maṇjuśrī-mūlakalpa, Bodhisattvabhūmi, Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, Mahāmāyü, Bhikṣuṇi-karmavāca, and a few other works (including the Lāṅkāvatāra-sūtra). As regards the language of these three classes of works, Edgerton says that in the works of class i ‘the prose parts are thoroughly hybridized, showing as many Middle-Indicisms as the verses’, that in the works of class ii ‘the verses are hybridized, as in the first class, but the prose contains relatively few signs of Middle Indic phonology or morphology’, and in the texts placed in class iii ‘even the verses (if any; . . .) are substantially as Sanskritised as the prose parts’ and ‘the entire text of these works resembles linguistically the prose parts of the second class’. These strata in the Sanskritisation of the Buddhist hybrid texts indicate that about the second century B.C. when the Mahāvastu first came into existence, hybrid Sanskrit as a language of religious texts was quite popular and that, with the progress of time and the consequent changes in the country, Sanskrit attained greater popularity even with the Buddhists, who consequently set their hands to Sanskritising their hybrid texts more and more, evidently for effecting better circulation of their religious views. Now, the date of original composition of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika and the Lalitavistara is most probably to be placed in the second or even the first century A.D.; and the verses of these two

298 Though ‘the whole of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika only gives expression to a later phase of Buddhism’, the nucleus of this work is most probably to be dated as early as the first century A.D., because it was quoted by Nāgārjuna (who probably lived towards the end of the second century A.D.) and was translated into Chinese first in 223 A.D. and again by Dharmarakṣa in 286 A.D. There were also other translations in later times.—Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 303-4. Also Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 52, and Nalinakha Dutta in his Introduction (pp. xv-xvii) to his edition of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika.

The Lalitavistara belongs to the first two centuries of the Christian era but also contains materials of later dates.—See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 255-6; P. L. Vaidya’s Introduction (pp. xi-xii) to his edition of the Lalitavistara.
works as well as of the others constituting class ii have Prakritisms as frequently as the Mahāvastu, but their prose parts show signs of the influence of Prakrit on a small number of occasions. A greater tendency towards Sanskritisation is found even in the early works placed in class iii. For instance, the Avadāna-sūtaka, which was composed about the first or second century A.D., has very few Prakritisms in its verses, its prose portions being almost clear of these. Similar peculiarities are also found in the language of the other works of the third class. So, it can hardly be denied that from about the beginning of the Christian era Sanskrit had begun to find favour with the Buddhists and to make its way into the Buddhist works in a greater degree, with the result that in works like the Prātimokṣa-sūtra as found in Anukul Chandra Banerjee’s edition (Calcutta, 1954), prose and verse have become almost totally free from Prakritisms.

As regards our Devī-p., it is remarkable that the prose portions show as much influence of Prakrit as the verses; and in this respect it is similar to the Mahāvastu, which also, unlike the other hybrid texts of the Buddhists, has Prakritisms equally in its verses and prose parts. There is another point of agreement between the Mahāvastu and the Devī-p. Unlike the other Buddhist hybrid texts the former has its Nominative and Accusative singular ending in ‘u’ in rare cases. Similarly, the Devī-p., as we have already seen, appears to have the final ‘a’ of a word replaced by ‘u’ on a single occasion (in Devī-p. 7.12—kāla-mahā-kūṭaviṣa-kaṇṭhaṣṭha-jırñave). So, the history of the language of the Devī-p. can reasonably be traced back to the time of origin of the Mahāvastu.

But the dissimilarities between the language of the Devī-p. and the Mahāvastu are so varied and serious and outnumber the similarities to such an extent that the former

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399 This date of the Avadāna-sūtaka is based mainly on its translation into Chinese in the first half of the third century A.D. and on its mention of Dīnāra as a minted coin (lakṣaṇāhataṁ dīnāra-dvayam).—Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 279, and P. L. Vaidya’s Introduction (p. x) to his edition of the Avadāna-sūtaka.

400 See Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 49 (8.20-21) and 51 (8.30). Also ibid., pp. 12 (1.95) and 26 (3.51 ff.).
work can never be said to have been influenced in its linguistic peculiarities by the latter. In order to show the nature of the Prakritisms in the Mahāvastu, two extracts are quoted below from its verse and prose portions.

(a) apare pi parasparaṃ praduṣṭamanasamkalpā āyasehi nakhehi pāṭenti tikṣṇāni ca asipratrāṇi hasteṣu prādurbhavanti gāṭrāṇi chhindaṇi na ca kālam karonti yāvat sānaṃ pāpakā karmā na parikṣiṇā /// kālasūtre mahā-narake adrākṣit satvāṃ kālasūtreṇa sūtrītāṅgā nihatakṣiyan-tāṃ paraśūhi pi vipāṭiyantāṃ karapatrehi vipāṭiyantāṃ ///

Mahāvastu Avadāna, p. 5.

(b) imaṃ lokāṃ pāralokāṃ satvānāṃ āgatiṃ gatiṃ / cyuti-upapatti-saṃsāraṃ sambuddho svayamaddassā /// āvajjanto saphalatāṃ karmaṇāṃ prāṇa-saṃśritāṃ / yathāsthānaṃ vipākaṃ ca svayam avabudhye muniḥ /// so abhijñāya ākhyaśi narakān aṣṭa gautamaḥ / pratyakṣa-dharmā bhagavāṃ sarva-dharmesu cakṣumāṃ ///

Mahāvastu Avadāna, p. 9.

That these sorts of Prakritisms are not peculiar with the Mahāvastu only, will be evident from the following quotations made from the Saddharma-puṇḍarika, Lalitavistara, Gaṅḍavyūha and Sukhāvatīvyūha:

(a) yehi mahī śobhatīyam samantat parśās ca catvāra sulabdha-harṣāḥ / sarvaṃ ca kṣetram ima samprakampitam śaḍbhir vikārehi subhiṣma-rūpam /// sā caiva raśmi purimā diśāya astādaśa-kṣetra-sahasra-pūrnāḥ / avabhāsaya eka-kṣaṇena sarve suvarṇa-varṇā īva bhonti kṣetraḥ /// yāvān avicī paramaṃ bhavāgraṃ kṣetresu yāvanti ca teṣu sattvāḥ / sāṣṭu gatiṣṭu tahi vidyamānāḥ cyavanti ye cāpy upapadyā tatra /// karmāṇi citrā vividhāṇi teṣām gatiṣṭu dṛṣṭyānti sukhā dukhā ca / hīnā prāṇitā tatha madhyamā ca
iha sthito addaśi sarvam etat //
Saddharma-puṇḍarika, p. 5 (Gāthās 3-6).

atitam adhīvānaṃ anumāvam
acintiye aparimitāsmi kalpe /
yadā jino āsi prajāna uttamaś
candrasya sūryasya pradīpa nāma //
saddharmā deseti prajāna nāyako
vineti sattvāna ananta-kotyāḥ /
samādaṃpeti bahu-bodhi-sattvān
acintiyān uttami buddha-jañāne //
Saddharma-puṇḍarika, p. 18 (Gāthās 57-58).

(b) athāpi vā tṛṇasya tūli bhūmito grhītvāna
dadāti māya āturāṇa sarvī bhonti nirjarā /
saukhya-prāptī nirvikāra gehi gehi gacchiṣu
bhaiṣaja-bhūṭī vaidya-rājī kuṣṭi-samprasāṭhīte //
yasī kālī māya-devi svātānum niriktate
adrśāti bodhi-sattva kuṣṭiye pratiśhitam /
yathāiva candra antarikṣa tārakai parivrtaṃ
tathaiva nāthu bodhi-sattva-laksanair alamkṛtam //
Lalitavistara, p. 55 (verses 31-32).

c) tvat-prabhāvata ahāṃ mahāmate
bodhi prasthitu hitāya dehinām /
tatra niścayu ananta-gocaro
yo mamā bhavati taṃ śṛṇohi me //
Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 54 (Gāthā 1).

ye eta naya samudrān avatīrṇa sthihitva buddha-
bhūmī ye /
te bhonti sarva-darśī śikṣanto lokanāthānām //
Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 57 (Gāthā 7).

(d) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
sūrya-maṇi-giriṣa-candra-ābhā
da tapita bhōsiṣu ebhi sarva-loke //
rūpam api anantu sattva-sāre
tatha api buddha-svaro ananta-ghoṣaḥ /
śīlam api samādhi-prajñā-viryaiḥ
sadrśu na te 'stiha loki kaścid anyaḥ //
gabhīru vipulu sukṣma-prāptu dharmo-
'cintitu buddha-varo yathā samudraḥ /
tenonnamanā na cāsti śāstuḥ
khila-doṣāṇ jāhyā ato 'dhibālaṃ //

Sukhāvatīvyūha, pp. 7-8 (Gāthās 1-3).

It will be noticed that in these extracts, as also in the
other relevant parts of the hybrid texts, Prakrit phonology
and morphology have been followed to a very great extent.
Thus, the conjunct consonants have often been assimilated,
single consonants have not rarely been dropped or replaced
by others, non-final vowels of words have been subjected
not infrequently to various changes or eliminated in some
cases, new vowels have been inserted at times, non-Sanskrit
endings (Vibhaktis) have very often been used in declension
and conjugation, and so on. The Devī-p., on the other
hand, has Prakrit influence in a much limited sphere. It
allows assimilation of conjunct consonants not in its written
text but only in pronunciation, evidently for the sake of
metre; it does not drop or change any single consonant
unless it is final; it scrupulously avoids the use of non-
Sanskrit endings of verbal inflection, and has non-Sanskrit
case-endings only in extremely rare cases\(^\text{301}\); and so on.
As a matter of fact, the Devī-p. uses Prakrit practically as a
basis for its un-Pāñinian Sanskrit but does not allow it to
exert too much influence on the latter and thereby to obliterate
its character. So, the language of this unique Purāṇa
follows a tradition very different from that of the Buddhist
hybrid texts. The occasional similarity in language, which
the Devī-p. has with the Ārya-maṇjuśrī-mūlakalpa and the
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, does not deserve any serious considera-
tion, because these two Buddhist texts come from compara-
tively late dates\(^\text{302}\) and the points of their linguistic

\(^{301}\) As in ‘-prakṛṣṭaya’ (for ‘-prakṛṣṭayai’) in Devī-p. 8.20, ‘nandāya’ (for ‘nandā-
 yaḥ’—Genitive case) in Devī-p, 93.273, ‘tṛṣṭyām’ (for ‘tṛṣṭyāyām’) in Devī-p, 99.12, and

\(^{302}\) Regarding the period of original composition of the Ārya-maṇjuśrī-mūlakalpa
Benoytoah Bhattacharya says: “The Maṇjuśrī-mūlakalpa deals with the formulæ
and practices which lead to the material prosperity of the followers of Mahāyāna, and
probably belongs to the early centuries A.D. but decidedly after the time of the composi-
tion of the Aṣṭākṣṛya Sūtra or the Sukhāvatī Vyuha which ushered in the conceptions of
Amitābha or Amitāyus and Avalokiteśvara for the first time in Mahāyāna. The
dissimilarity with the Devī-p. far outnumber those of their similarity with it.

There is another matter which cannot be overlooked here. Long before the rise of the Mahāvastu and other Buddhist hybrid texts the Hindus accepted the standard of correct Sanskrit set up by Pāṇini in his famous grammar Aṣṭādhyāyī; and the language of their Sanskrit works, written after Pāṇini’s time, has been controlled to a very great extent by the rules laid down by that great grammarian. On the other hand, the Buddhists were looked down upon and called Pāṇḍāṇḍas (heretics), with whom the Hindus following the Vedic tradition did not like even to meet or talk. Thus, the Viṣṇudharma, which was composed some time during the third century A.D., severely denounces the heretics (including the Buddhists), identifies the founders of the heretical faiths with the dreadful Mahāmoha born of the malevolent rite (kṛtyā) performed by the demons Śaṇḍa and Marka for the destruction of the gods, and characterises the language of the religious works of these heretics as ‘Meccha-bhāṣā’. The Viṣṇu-p. gives out the Baudhas, Ārhatas (Jainas), and other anti-Vedic sectaries

Amitāyus Sūtra was first translated into Chinese at a period between A.D. 148 and A.D. 170 and hence the time of its composition may be fixed at about 100 A.D. or a little later. The Maṇjuśrī-mūlakalpa in that case would be only about a hundred years later than the Amitāyus Sūtra.” (See B. Bhattacharya’s Introduction, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi, to his edition of the Sādhana-mālā, Vol. II). But according to M. Winteriniz, the arguments, put forward by B. Bhattacharya in favour of such an early date of the Ārya-maṇjuśrī-mūlakalpa, ‘are by no means convincing.’ (See Winteriniz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 635). That this work was composed earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century A.D., admits of no doubt, because it ‘was translated into Chinese as a Mahā-Vaipulya-Sūtra between 980 and 1000 A.D. and into Tibetan as a Tantra in the 11th century.’ (See Winteriniz, op.cit., II, p. 397). J. N. Farquhar ascribes it to the tenth century A.D. (See Farquhar, Outline, pp. 272 and 398).

303 For the evidences in favour of this date of the Viṣṇudharma see Vol. I, pp. 137-143.
304 Ibid., pp. 124 and 147-149.
305 In chap. 105 of the Viṣṇudharma the following heretical sects have been named: Utkocas (v.l. ‘utkaucāḥ’ for ‘uktocāḥ’), Saugatas, Mahāyāṇists, Kāpilas, Bhikṣus, Śākyas, Śrāvakas, Nirgranthas, and Siddhaputras. (For the relevant verses of the Viṣṇudharma see Vol. I, p. 150).
307 For the relevant verse of the Viṣṇudharma see Vol. I, p. 150.
as 'Paśaṇḍas' and 'Nagnas' (naked, i.e. bereft of the raiment or covering consisting of the triple Veda) and fabricates stories to show how the demons led themselves to ruin by forsaking the Vedic Dharma and taking to the religious rites and practices of the Baudhhas, Jainas and other heretics, and how king Śatadhanu incurred sin by speaking with a heretic just after his holy bath in the Ganges during his observance of a fast on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika and consequently became a dog, a jackal, a wolf, a vulture, and so on in his successive rebirths. The Purāṇa (III.18.95-102) then says:

"esa pāṣaṇḍa-sambhāśa-doṣaḥ prokto mayā dvija /

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

tasmāt pāṣaṇḍibhiḥ pāpar ālāpa-sparśane tyajet /
viṣeṣataḥ kriyā-kāle yajnādau cāpi diṣṭataḥ //

kriyā-hānir grhe yasya māsam ekaṃ prajāyate /

tasy-āvalokanāt sūryaṃ paśyeta matimān naraḥ //

kim punar yais tu sā tyaktā trayi sarvātmanā dvija /
parānna-bhojibhiḥ pāpar veda-vāda-virodhibhiḥ //
pāṣaṇḍino vikarmasthān baidāla-vratikān satān /

haitukān baka-vṛttaṁ ca vān-mātreṇāpi nārcayet //
dūrād apāstāḥ samparkaḥ sahāsyāpi ca pāpibhiḥ /

pāṣaṇḍibhir durācārais tasmāt tān parivarjayaet //

ete nagnās tavākhyataṁ dṛṣṭyā śrāddh-opaghātakāḥ /

yeśāṃ sambhāsaṇat puṃsāṃ dina-puṇyām pranaśyati //

ete pāṣaṇḍinaḥ pāpā na hy etān ālaped budhaḥ /
puṇyaṃ naśyati sambhāsād eteśāṃ tad-din-odbhavam //”

"Such is said to be the sin of speaking with a heretic,

[O] twice-born man, .................

"So, [one] must avoid discourse with and contact of
the heretical sinners, especially at the time of observing
[a religious rite] and also after getting initiated for [the
the performance of] sacrifice etc.

“A wise man is to look at the sun after beholding
one in whose house there is omission of [Vedic] rites for a
month.

“What, again, [O] twice-born man, [can he be
required to do after beholding] those sinning anti-Vedic
parasites who have forsaken the triple Veda completely?

“One must not honour even with a word [of the mouth] the heretics, the performers of acts not meant for them, the followers of the [deceitful] course of conduct of cats, the scoundrels, the sceptics, and those [hypocrites] who behave like cranes,

“far from having any intercourse with these sinful heretics of ignoble practices; so, one must avoid them by all means.

“These persons, spoken of to you, are the Nagnas, who spoil a Śrāddha ceremony by their very sight, and conversation with whom destroys the [religious] merit of persons earned in a day.

“These are the sinning heretics, with whom a wise man must not speak, [because] the [religious] merit obtained [by the speaker] on a particular day will be lost through conversation with them.”

In his commentary on Yāj. 1.103 Aparārka ascribes to the ‘Brahmāṇḍa-p.’ a number of verses in which the Baudhāyas, Jainas, Kāpālikas and others have been decried as ‘following bad practices and being foreign to the acts of purification’ (durācārāḥ saucācāra-bahiśkrtaḥ) and classed with the outcasts. The Śaṭṭriṃśan-mata, as quoted in Devaṇabhaṭṭa’s Smṛti-candrikā (II, p. 310), says:

“baudhānā pāśupatān jainān lokāyatika-kāpilān /
vikarmasthān dvijān sprṣṭvā sacejo jalam āviṣet /
kāpālikāms tu saṃsprṣyā prāṇayāmo ’dhiko mataḥ //”

“After touching the Baudhāyas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas, and those twice-born [people] who take to unlawful acts, [a man] should get into water with [all his] clothes on; but in case of contact with the Kāpālikas [performance of] prāṇāyāma is prescribed as [an] additional [duty].”

Going to suggest an alternative explanation of two Sūtras of Jaimini207 for the rejection of the scriptures of the Buddhists and other anti-Vedic sectaries as authorities on

207 Viz., Pūrvā-mimāṃsā-sūtra i.3.3—virodhe tv anapekṣam syād asati hy anumānam, and i.3.4—hetu-darśanāc ca.
Dharma, Kumārila-bhaṭṭa points out that the texts compiled by Śākya (i.e. the Buddha) and the propounders of the systems of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāṣupata and the like, in which there are statements about Dharma and Adharma, are not accepted as authorities by those who know the Veda, that these texts have in them a certain mixture of the Vedic Dharma which serves as a thin cloak to hide their true character, that they are meant for achieving selfish ends such as a good following, pecuniary gain, respect, fame, etc., and that, in spite of their occasional recording of statements about non-killing, truthfulness, self-control, charity, kindness, etc. in agreement with those of Śruti and Smṛti, they are opposed to the Veda. So, Kumārila says, the said two Sūtras establish the unacceptability of the above-mentioned works as authorities on Dharma for their anti-Vedic character as well as for the worldly motives lying behind them, because the rejection of the authority of these works has not been established in any other Adhikarana and also because they are sufficiently known and have wide circulation "like the knowledge of the imports of [such incorrect forms of] words [as] 'gāvi' etc." 208

Again, after referring to the statement of the Purāṇas that Śākya and others would become the causes of confusion of Dharma in the Kali age, Kumārila-bhaṭṭa says in his commentary on Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra i.3.7 that, like very small quantities of real gold-dust, camphor etc. put in masses of artificial ones, the few Vedic truths, mixed up in these works

āśakyāvete mātv-anaye bhaveyāḥ sama-dṛṣṭāyaḥ/ .................................................................

Tantra-vārttika, pp. 114-5.

For this extract see also Mimāṃsā-darśana, p. 194 where it reads, "-grantha-" (for "-nirgrantha-").
with numerous other statements misrepresenting Dharma, lose themselves in the latter, and thus, like milk kept in a bag of dog-skin, remain unacceptable to us until they are discovered in the recognised Dharmaśāstras (already mentioned in the Tantra-vārttika). Kumārila adds that when these truths are clearly known from these Dharmaśāstras, the works of Śākya and others become useless for us. So, Kumārila concludes, *no compilation outside the recognised Śāstras such as the Veda etc. is to be recognised as an authority on the Vedic Dharma.*

At another place of his Tantra-vārttika Kumārila-bhaṭṭa says that *the scriptures of the Śākyas, Jainas and others, abounding in incorrect words and being thus bad and unreliable compilations, cannot be recognised as Śāstras and that they are composed in incorrect words consisting mostly of those of Māgadhā, Dākṣīṇāyya and their Apabhraṃśas*. Thus, Kumārila says, the objects denoted by such words as are themselves unreal, cannot be accepted as real, and *the words having deteriorated forms, cannot be recognised as eternal.*

It is needless to refer to any more authorities.

From the Viṣṇudharma and other works cited above it is evident that the followers of the Vedas and the varṇāśrama-dharma bore a very strong feeling of hatred towards the

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smaryante ca purāṇeṣu dharma-viplutī-hetavaḥ/
kalau śākyādayas teṣāṃ ko vākyam śrōtum arhati/
yathā kṛptaka-karpūra-suvarṇādiṣu diyate/
yad bājan tad api vyaktam agrāhyatvāt praliyate/
tena karm-ānurūpya-sāmānyato dṛṣṭārth-āpatti-balat tad-abhiprāya-kalpita-dharmābhāsa-madhya-patitam san-mūlam apyahiṁśādi śva-dṛṣṭi-nikṣipta-kṣṛavad anupayoṣ avirāṃbhānyam ca tan-mātr-opalabdham bhavatiyya avasyam yāvat-parigaṇita-dharmāstrebhyo nopalabhyate tāvād agrāhyam bhavati/
yadā śastra-āntareṇ-āiva so’rthaḥ spāṣṭa ‘vadhaḥyate/
tadā tenaiva siddhatvād itarat syād anarthakam/
tasnād yāvat-parigaṇita-vedādi-śastra-vyātirikta-nibandhanām tad-dharma-pramāṇa-
tena nāpekṣita vyavam iti.—Tantra-vārttika, p. 127.

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asādhu-sābda-bhūyīṣṭhāḥ śākya-jain-śagamādayah/
asān-nibandhanatvāc ca śastra-vyavam na pratiyate/
māgasadha-dākṣīṇāyya-tad-apabhraṃśa-prayā-śāsdhu-sābda-nibandhanā hi te/ ‘mama vi hi bhikkhave kammavac ca iś save/ tathā ukkhitte loḍhammi uve atthi karaṇam/.../ apuppatti-karaṇam/ ityevam-adayaḥ/
tataś cāsatiya-sābdeṣu kutas teṣaḥ arthā-satyaṭāḥ/
-dṛṣṭ-āpabhraṣṭa-rūpeṣu kathāṃ vā syād anādītā/—Tantra-vārttika, p. 171.
Buddhists and their scriptures and had no respect for their language, which they called ‘Mleccha-bhāṣā’ and denounced as being quite unfit for religious works. Under these circumstances the Devī-p., which is a religious work of the Hindus and holds the Vedas in high esteem as the sources of Dharma, cannot be expected to have derived its peculiar language from the Buddhist religious texts. If, in spite of the strong feeling of antagonism and hatred between the Hindus and the Buddhists, this Purāṇa was written by somebody in such undesirable language in imitation of the Buddhist works, it would hardly be able to attain wide popularity and to occupy and enjoy for long a position of high authority even among the Smṛti-writers including Laksṇmidhara, Aparārka and others who do not recognise the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras, Pāṣupatas and similar other sectaries as sources of Dharma. As a matter of fact, we do not know of a single scholar, Smārta or otherwise, who has raised the slightest objection against its language. It is true that Vallālasena does not utilise its contents in his Dānasāgara and rejects its authority with the following remark:

“tat-tat-purāṇ-opapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṁ kaśmalar- karmayogāt /
pāsanḍa-sāstr-ānumataṁ nirūpya devi-purāṇaṁ na nibaddham atra//”

“Finding that the Devī-p., which was excluded from the [recognised] lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its connection with (i.e. treatment of) foul acts, followed

311 As a matter of fact, Laksṇmidhara does not draw upon the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, Śaivāgamas etc. in his Kṛtva-kalpatañca, nor does he care to mention the names of these works even by way of rejection in course of selecting the authorities on Dharma at the beginning of the Brahma-cāri-kāṇḍa.

Aparārka, on the other hand, discusses at length the question of accepting the religious texts of the Śaivas, Pāṣupatas, Pāñcarātras and other similar sectaries as sources of Dharma and comes to the following conclusion: These works are not to be decried, nor are their prescriptions to be carried out into action in their totality, and one may follow in practice only such statements of these works as agree with, or do not go against, the directions of the Vedas. But those texts of these sectaries which are of human authorship (pauruṣeya), are to be rejected without any reservation. (See Aparārka’s commentary on Yājñ. 1.7).

312 Dānasāgara, p. 7, verse 67.
the scriptures of the Pāṣaṇḍas, it was not drawn upon here.”

But the word ‘pāṣaṇḍa’, as used in this verse, definitely means the ‘Tantriks’, and not particularly the ‘Buddhists’;313; and this meaning of the word finds strong support in Vallāласena’s statements made in the introductory verses of the Dānasāgara about the Bhaviṣya-p. and five other Purāṇic works which he considered spurious. Going to explain why he did not utilise those parts of the Bhaviṣya-p. which dealt with the procedures of religious rites to be observed on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī Tithis, Vallāласena says:

“saptmy-avdhī purāṇam bhaviṣyam api saṁgrhitam atiyatnāt /
tyaktv-āṣṭamī-ṇavamyoḥ kalpau pāṣaṇḍibhir grastau //”314

313 In his Introduction (p. xxiii) to his edition of the Dānasāgara Bhavatoosh Bhattacharya takes the word ‘pāṣaṇḍa-śāstra’ in the said verse to mean ‘the Buddhistic Scriptures.’

314 See Dānasāgara, p. 7, verse 59.

The printed edition wrongly reads ‘saptmy-aiya’ (for ‘saptmy-avadhī’) in the first line, and ‘-navamya’ (for ‘-navamyoh’) in the second. Of these two readings the former is clearly arbitrary as well as nonsensical, being supported neither by any of the Ms used in this edition nor by sense or grammar, and the latter, though contained in two Ms, is equally unsuitable for the same reasons. So(5,5),(996,989), we have to prefer the readings ‘saptmy-avadhī’ and ‘-navamyoḥ’ given by two Ms of the Dānasāgara, viz., the India Office Ms (for which see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., Part III, p. 544) and the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Ms (No. 1374, fol. 3a). It is remarkable that these two readings can be made to stand in correct grammatical relation with the other words of the said verse and to create a perfectly relevant meaning in it, and that the former (viz., ‘saptmy-avadhī’) finds considerable support in the corrupt reading ‘saptmy-avāva’ of Ms B written in Bengali scripts. Moreover, in the printed edition of the Bhaviṣya-p. the Brāhma-parvan (which consists of chaps. 1-215) is found to deal with the ‘kalpas’ (procedures of religious rites) to be followed on the different Tithis from Pratipad to Saptamī in the following chapters:

Chaps. 16-18—Pratipat-kalpa, chaps. 19-20—Dvitiyā-kalpa,
chaps. 21—Tṛtīyā-kalpa, chaps. 22-31—Caturthī-kalpa,
chaps. 32-38—Paṇcamī-kalpa, chaps. 39-46—Ṣaṣṭhī-kalpa,
chaps. 47-215—Saptamī-kalpa (including stories of Sāmbo
and others relating to Sun-worship).

Vallāласena’s statement shows that the Ms. of the Bhaviṣya-p., current in Bengal in his days and used by him in his Dānasāgara, contained chapters on the Aṣṭamī-and the Navamī-kalpa and that these chapters had already been influenced by the Pāṣaṇḍas in Vallāласena’s time. That chapters on the Aṣṭamī-kalpa and Navamī-kalpa did once occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., is also shown by some Ms of this work (for which see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, Nos. 3739 and 3741, Shastri, Notices, II, No. 151, and Mitra, Notices, Nos. 1742 and 2553) as well as by those verses, ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ in Hermāndri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī (Vol. II) and in other Smṛti Nibandhas, which deal with the
"The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa also has been drawn upon with much care up to [the part dealing with] the Śaṭamā [-kalpa], leaving off [the parts on] the Aṣṭamā- and the Navamā-kalpa [which were] taken up by the Pāśaṇḍins." In naming the said spurious Purāṇas and giving a short account of their extents and contents Vallālasena says:

"tārksyaṁ purāṇam aparāṁ brāhmaṁ āgneyam eva ca /
trayovimśati-sāharaṁ purāṇam api vaisnavam //
śaṭ-sahasra-mitaṁ laṅgam purāṇam aparāṁ tathā /
dikṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāśaṇḍa-yukti116 -ratna-parikṣanaiḥ //
mṛṣā-vāṁśānucaritaṁ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ /
asaṁgata-kathā-bandhaiḥ paraspara-virodhībhīḥ //
tan-minaketanādīnāṁ bhanḍa-pāśaṇḍa-liṅgīnām /
loka-vānčanam alokya sarvam evāvadhīritam //"116

vows and worships (including that of the goddess Durgā) to be observed on the Aṣṭamā and Navamā Tithis but do not occur in the present Bhaviṣya-p. We have already seen that the Bengal Śrīnti-writers are found to ascribe to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' a good number of verses on Durgā-pūjā, some of which seem to betray Tantric influence but are not traceable in the printed text of this Purāṇa. It should be mentioned here that it is the Bhaviṣyottara, and not the present Bhaviṣya, which is found to deal with Durgā-pūjā in chap. 138, that this work, though claiming to belong to the Bhaviṣya-p. as its final part and printed as such with the latter, is an independent work of a different date, and that its chap. 138, which deals with the Mahānavami-vrata requiring the worship of Durgā on the Aṣṭamā and more particularly on the Mahānavami Tithi, contains no trace of Tantric influence, even the Mantras prescribed for use in Devī-worship being Purāṇic, and not Tantric. (See Bhaviṣyottara 138.41b-42a—pūjā-mantrān pravākyāmi purāṇākān aham tava / yaiḥ pujitāḥ prayacchanti kirtim āyur yaśo balam //).

(For a more detailed discussion on the suitability of the said two readings see our article on a 'Critical Examination of Some Readings of the Dānasāgara' published in Our Heritage, Vol. VIII, 1960, Part 2.

116 The word 'pāśaṇḍa-yukti' means 'usages or practices of Tantriks', and not 'arguments of the Buddhists' as said by the learned editor of the Dānasāgara in his Introduction, p. xxiii. It is well known that the Purāṇas, as we have them at present, were meant for religious synthesis as well as for the popularisation of the varṇāśrama-dharma and the authority of the Vedas in society. On the other hand, the Buddhists have in all ages been openly anti-Vedic. So, the Purāṇas are found to deify Buddhism often in very strong terms, although in the comparatively late Purāṇic works the Buddha has been respected not as such but as an incarnation of Viṣṇu come down to the earth for deluding people and making them forsake the right path of the Vedic Dharma. Under these circumstances, it was not, and could not be, possible for the Buddhists to have anything to do directly with the Purāṇas or to introduce their 'arguments' into these works for helping the propagation of their religious faith. It is true that the present Purāṇas are sometimes found to refer to some of the main teachings of the Buddha, but they do so invariably for denouncing Buddhism and not for advancing its cause.


In the sixth line (asaṁgata-kathā- etc.) the printed edition reads 'kathā-bandha-
"There is] another Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruḍa) Purāṇa, as well as a Brāhma and an Āgneya [Purāṇa], also a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa of twenty-three thousand [Ślokas],

"[and] likewise another Laiṅga Purāṇa consisting of six thousand [Ślokas], [which deal] with initiation, consecration [of images etc.], usages of Pāṇaḍas, and testing of gems,

"with false accounts of the families [of kings and sages], with lexicography, grammar etc., and with irrelevant statements having mutual contradiction.

"Finding people to be deceived [with these] by those [well-known] Mīnaketanas and others, who are hypocrites, Pāṇaḍas and pseudo-ascetics, all [the above-mentioned Purāṇas] have been rejected with contempt."

It is hardly necessary to say that in the above-mentioned verses of the Dānasāgara on the Bhavisya and the spurious Purāṇas, the word 'pāṣaṇḍa' or 'pāṣaṇḍin' has been used by Vallālasena to mean the Tantriks, and not particularly the Buddhists; and this meaning of the word becomes evident from the facts that the Buddhists had practically nothing to do directly with any of these Purāṇas or with Durgā-pūjā dealt with in them, and that the present Garuḍa- and Agni-p. (now available in printed forms), which, as Vallālasena's enumeration of the contents of the spurious Purāṇas shows, are undoubtedly the same as his second 'Tārkṣya' and 'Āgneya' Purāṇas, prominently betray the influence of the Tantras (including particularly the Pāṇcarātra Samhitās). As a matter of fact, on one occasion Vallālasena himself expressly takes the word 'pāṣaṇḍin' to mean 'those people who instruct such Dharma as is opposed to that of the Veda'.

\[317\] See Dānasāgara, p. 57—

\[\text{vipuddharme—pāṣaṇḍino vikarmasthān nālapec caiva nāstikān} / \]

\[\text{pāṣaṇḍino veda-viparīta-dharma-opadeśtārah} / \]

paraspara-virodhataḥ' and this reading is supported by all the three Ms, except in the case of 'virodhataḥ', for which the Indian Office Ms reads 'virodhitāḥ'. But as, with this reading, the said line cannot be properly construed with the rest and does not give any cogent meaning, we have preferred to read it as 'kathā-bandhaiḥ paraspara-virodhībhīḥ.'
bhaṭṭa, the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas and similar other sectaries were ‘opposed to the triple Veda’ (trayī-viparīta). Following Kumārila, Medhātithi also names the Bhojakas, Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas and others as persons denying the authority of the Vedas and look upon their scriptures with equal disrespect. In Kūrma-p. I.12.250-259 Devī has been made to declare Śruti and Smṛti, and no other works, as the sources of Dharma consisting of sacrifices etc., and to decry ‘the delusive (mohanātmaka, mohanārtha) literatures of the Kāpālas, Bhairavas, Yāmalas, Vāmas, Ārhatas, Kāpilas, Pāñcarātras, Dāmaras, and others of these types’ as ‘opposed to Śruti and Smṛti’ (śruti-smṛti-viruddhāṇi) and meant ‘for infatuating in their subsequent births those persons who mislead others by means of bad scriptures’; similarly, in Kūrma-p. I.16.115-117 Śiva and Keśava are said to have ‘compiled the delusive scriptures (moha-sāstrāṇi) [such as] Kāpila, Nākula, Vāma, Bhairava, Pūrva-paścima, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata, and also others by thousands’ for deluding those who had become extra-Vedic as a result of Gautama’s curse; in Kūrma-p. II. 37.146-7, the scriptures of the Vāmas, Pāśupatas, Somas,

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318 They formed a class of Sun-worshippers.—See Vol. I, pp. 95-99
319 See Medhātithi’s commentary on Maṇu-smṛti 2. 6.
320 The story of Gautama, as given in Kūrma-p. I. 16, 95-122, runs as follows:

In ancient times there was once an extremely severe drought, which continued for a very long time and compelled the sages living in Dāruvana to approach Gautama for maintenance. Gautama supported them with food for twelve years, after which there was heavy rain and the earth regained its former state. As the difficulty was over, the sages met Gautama for permission to return to Dāruvana for austerities, but the latter requested them to stay with him for some time more. Being eager to leave the place, the sages created a black cow by virtue of their magic power and presented it to Gautama. But as soon as Gautama touched this magic cow, it fell down dead. Thus associating Gautama with sin, the sages left for Dāruvana. Very soon Gautama saw through the plan and cursed the sages to be extra-Vedic and guilty of heinous crimes (maḥāpātakin) and to be born as such again and again. Being in a difficult situation the sages praised Śaṃkara and Viṣṇu with ‘populār hymn’ (laukikāḥ stotralīḥ) for immunity from sin; and as a result these two gods compiled for their deliverance the delusive scriptures of the Kāpālas, Nākulas, Vāmas, Bhairavas, Pūrva-paścimas, Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas, and ‘thousands of others’ and asked the sages to follow the prescriptions of these works and go to hell again and again, until, with the exhaustion of their sin, they would be born as human beings and attain the state of pious men by worshipping God. The sages did as desired by Śaṃkara and Viṣṇu, compiled other scriptures, taught them to their disciples, and deluded people by undergoing rebirths.
Lāṅgalas, Bhairavas, and other extra-Vedic sects have been said to be delusive (mohana) and opposed to the Vedas (veda-vāda-viruddhāni); in Kūrma-p. II. 16.15 one following the Vedic Dharma is urged not to show respect, even by a word (of the mouth), to the Vāmācāras, Pāṇcarātras and Pāṣupatas who are Pāṣaṇḍins (i.e. follow an anti-Vedic course of conduct) and always do acts not meant for them; and in Kūrma-p. II. 21.32 the Buddhist saints, Nirgranthas, Pāṇcarātras, Kāpālikas, Pāṣupatas, and similar other sectaries have been called ‘Pāṣaṇḍas’. Thus, Vallālasena’s use of the word ‘pāṣaṇḍa’ or ‘pāṣaṇḍin’ and the fact that in spite of his deep hatred of the Pāṣaṇḍas he says nothing expressly about the language of the Devī-p., show that this avowedly pro-Vedic royal Smārta of great eminence cannot be taken to mean that the Devī-p. was influenced in its language by the Buddhists.

From what has been said above it is evident that the language of the Devī-p. follows a tradition which originated not later than that followed by the Buddhists in their hybrid texts and was quite distinct from the latter. As a matter of fact, this tradition comes down from a much earlier date, which finds strong support in the occurrence in this Purāṇa of a good number of such Vedic and epic forms and usages as had gone out of use long ago, and it was followed in ancient times by the adherents to the Pāṇcarātra, Pāṣupata and similar other religious systems as known and practised by those Hindus who had little regard for the Vedas and the varṇāśrama-dharma. As regards the compilation of the earliest pro-Vedic Pāṇcarātra work the Mahābhārata says in its Nārāyaṇiya section\[^{221}\] that the seven illustrious Citraśikhāṇḍin Ṛsis ‘unanimously proclaimed on the great mountain Meru an excellent Śāstra which was made consistent with the four Vedas’\[^{222}\] and meant for the popu-

\[^{221}\] Consisting of chaps. 335-351 of the Śānti-parvan. These chapters correspond to chaps. 322-339 in the Poona critical edition.

\[^{222}\] Mbh XII. 335. 276-28—
ye hi te ṛṣayaḥ khyātāḥ sapta citra-sikhaṇḍināḥ //
tair eka-matibhir bhūtvā yat proktam śastram uttamam //
vedaiś caturbhīḥ samitaṁ kṛtaṁ merau mahāgirau //
lace,\textsuperscript{328} that it consisted of one lac of verses\textsuperscript{324} and dealt with the best ‘loka-dharma’ (religious duties of the people),\textsuperscript{325} and that as it was to direct them in their activity as well as inactivity, it was furnished with (the teachings of) the Yajus-, Rk-, Sāma- and Atharva-veda.\textsuperscript{326} Although no Pāṇcarātra Śāstra ascribed to the seven Citra-sīkhaṇḍin Rṣis has come down to us nor is there any definite evidence in favour of its actual existence, the very mention of making this work, which was meant for the populace, conform to the four Vedas, is important in that it implies the non-Vedic, and perhaps also in some respects anti-Vedic, character of the ideas and practices of the Pāṇcarātra system as understood and followed by the common run of people. The Mahābhārata itself differentiates the Pāṇcarātra system from the Vedic, saying:

\begin{quote}
“sāṃkhyam yogah pāṇcarātram vedāḥ pāsupataṁ tathā / 
īśānāy etāni rājarṣe viddhi nānā-matāni vai //\textsuperscript{327}

“Sāṃkhyya, Yoga, Pāṇcarātra, Vedas and Pāśupata—
know these, O royal saint, as [branches of] knowledge 
holding different views.”
\end{quote}

That before the compilation of the said pro-Vedic Śāstra by the seven Citra-sīkhaṇḍin Rṣis the Pāṇcarātras had little regard for the Vedas and the varṇāsrama-dharma, is also shown by the extant Pāṇcarātra Saṃhitās of early

\textsuperscript{328} Mbh XII. 335. 32b—lokān saṃceintya manasa tataḥ śāstraṁ pracaṅkire.
(This line is the same as Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 29c).

\textsuperscript{324} Ibid., XII. 335. 39—kṛtaṁ sata-saharsaṁ hi ślokaṁnām idam uṭtamam / loka-
tantrasya kṛtisaṁya yasmād dharmakh pravartate // (Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 36).

\textsuperscript{325} Ibid., XII. 335. 29a—āṣayaṁ saṁtaḥbhir udgṛtaṁ loka-dharmam anuttamam.
(In the Poona critical ed. this line has been given as spurious).

See also verse 39 cited in the immediately preceding footnote.

\textsuperscript{326} Ibid., XII. 335. 40—
pravṛttau ca nivṛttau ca yasmād etat bhaviṣyatī / 
yajur-ṛk-sāmbhūr juṭaṁ aṭhavāṅgirasais tathā //

For this verse see Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 37. The Poona ed. reads ‘yoniḥ’
(for ‘yasmāt’).

\textsuperscript{327} Mbh XII. 349. 64. (This verse, as occurring in Poona critical ed. XII. 337. 59, reads ‘yogaṁ’ for ‘yogah’). See also ibid., XII. 349. 1—sāṃkhyam yogah pāṇcarātraṁ vedārasvakam eva ca jīnāny etāni brahmare lokesu pracaṅkite ha // (Poona critical ed. XII. 337. 1, which reads ‘yogam pāṇca-’).
origin which continue more or less the non-Vedic, and in some cases also anti-Vedic, tradition of the ancient Pañcarātras.\textsuperscript{328} About the Pāṣupatas also the Mahābhārata expresses a very similar view. We have already seen how it distinguishes the Pāṣupata system from the Vedic.\textsuperscript{329} At another place of this work Śiva is found to say that in ancient times he created the Pāṣupata Vrata which 'was contradictory to, though in some cases agreeing with, the rules of varṇāśrama-dharma' and which was 'denounced by the unwise.'\textsuperscript{330} In his Smṛti-candrikā (II, p. 311) Devanābhaṭṭa quotes from the 'Brahmāṇḍa-p.' a verse which says:

"śaivān pāṣupatān prṣṭyā lokāyatika-nāsitkān / vikarmasthān dvijān śudrān savāsā jalam āviṣet //"

"[After] touching the Śaivas, Pāṣupatas, Lokāyatikas, Nāstikas, those twice-born [people] who have taken up the duties not meant for them, and the Śudrās, [one] should get into water with [all the] garments on."

In the same work there is another verse, ascribed to the 'Ṣaṭṭrimśan-mata', in which, as we have already seen, the Pāṣupatas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas and Kāpālikas have been denounced in a similar way.\textsuperscript{331} These and other condem-

\textsuperscript{328} For an idea of the non-Brāhmaṇical character of the ideas, rites and practices of the Pañcarātra Saṃhitās, see our analysis of the contents of the Jayākhya-saṃhitā given in our Purānic Records, pp. 218-223.

\textsuperscript{329} See Mbh XII. 349. 64 quoted above.

\textsuperscript{330} \textit{Ibid.}, XII. 294. 121-124a—

\begin{verbatim}
vedāt saj̐-aṅgād uddhṛtya sāṁkhyā-yogāc ca yuktitaḥ /
apūrvaṁ sarvatoḥbhadrāṁ vīvatomukham avayam /
abdaṁ daśārdha-saṁyuktaṁ gūḍham aprājñā-ninditaṁ //
carpāśrama-kṛtair dharmair viparītaṁ kriṣcit samam /
gatām tair adhyavasitaṁ atyāśramam idam vrataṁ //
mayā pāṣupatām daksā śubham utpādaṁ purā //
\end{verbatim}

These verses have been quoted by Aparārka in his com. on Yāj. 1.7 (pp. 17-18) with the readings 'iaktitaḥ' (for 'yuktitaḥ'), 'arthair daśārdhaṁ saṁyuktaṁ' (for 'abdaṁ etc.'), 'ṣatāntaiḥ' (for 'gatāṁ taṁ'), 'anyāśramam' (for 'atyāśramam'), 'sūrtaṁ' (for 'vrataṁ'), 'pūrvaṁ' (for 'daksā'), and 'yogam' (for 'śubham'). Still, their early origin cannot be denied, and this is clearly indicated by their occurrence, with variation in readings, in the Vāyu-p. (30. 293-5), Brahma-p. (40. 108-110), Līṅga-p (II. 20. 9-11), etc.

\textsuperscript{331} For this verse see above.
natory statements made in the comparatively early Sanskrit works about the Pāṣupatas show that among the early worshippers of Śiva-Pāṣupati there was a large section which was no less irreverent of the Vedas and the varṇāśrama-dharma than the early Pāñcarātras. It is natural, therefore, that these Pāñcarātras and Pāṣupatas and also similar other sectaries among the Hindus should have their scriptures written in an unorthodox language. Speaking of those Brahmin sages who, at the advice of Śiva and Viṣṇu, followed the teachings contained in the scriptures of the Vāmas, Pāṣupatas, Somas, Lāṅgalas and others, the Kūrma-p. says that after being cursed by Gautama to be extra-Vedic and guilty of Mahāpātakas, these sages pleased the two gods ‘with popular hymns’ (laukikaiḥ stotraiḥ). At another place this Purāṇa says that in the Kali age people would praise their deities ‘with popular songs’ (laukikair gānaiḥ). It is highly probable that by ‘laukika stotra’ and ‘laukika gāna’, the Kūrma-p. means such hymns and songs as were composed in a popular language like that of the Devī-p.

That the peculiar language of the Devī-p. was not confined to this work only, but was used in writing their scriptures by those other sects among the Hindus which were stamped out as ‘extra-Vedic’ by the staunch followers of the Vedas, is shown by the earliest extant Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās such as the Pauṣkara and the Jayākhya, more particularly the former, which was written, like the Jayākhya, in Northern India but comes from an earlier date. On the strength of doctrinal and palaeographical evidences Benoytosh Bhattacharya assigns the Jayākhya-saṃhitā to about 450 A.D. So, the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā is to be dated earlier. The high age of this work is further shown by the fact that it is named in the Śātvata-saṃhitā, which, again, is mentioned in the

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332 There is hardly any scope for doubt that the extra-Vedic ideas, rites and practices of these early Pāṣupatas come down more or less through the early Āgamas.
333 Kūrma-p. i. 29. 24—gāyanti laukikikār gānār daivatānī narādhipa.
334 Jayākhya-saṃhitā, Foreword, pp. 26-34.
335 evam-ādyais tu vidhivad-bhogair nānāvidh-otthitaib // yaḥ sthitas trividhe sarge vibhavaḥ pārameśvarah // pauṣkărākhye ca vārāhe prajaṁpatye mahāmāte // sūkṣmatvena ca niḥśeṣaṁ pratyekasmin hi ārte // 132-133.
Ahirbudhnya. In its printed edition this work consists of forty-two chapters covering as many as 272 pages. In order to show how strikingly its language agrees with that of the Devī-p. in the variety as well as frequency of grammatical and other irregularities caused mainly by Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, we cite below a few instances from the first five chapters covering a little more than 31 pages only.

I. Unlawful changes made occasionally in the stems:
   (i) Substitution of the final ṣ (of masculine words) with ṣ, as in ‘savita’ (for ‘savitr’) in Pauṣkara-saṃhitā 3.69—savitaḥkhyānaḥ ca savitram ......

   (ii) Loss of the final single consonants of masculine and neuter words, as in ‘śaśi’ (for ‘śaśin’) in Ps. 4.155—śaśiṃ rātrikaraṇaṃ smaret; ‘adhva’ (for ‘adhvan’) in 5.3—sad-adhvam syāt trītyaṃ ca ...... (in which ‘sad-adhvam’ qualifies ‘maṇḍalam’ in the immediately preceding verse); ‘raja’ (for ‘rajas’) in 1.6—...... pūrayitvā rajaiḥ śubhaiḥ, 5.53—...... vyoma bāhyam rajena tu. For a few more instances see under III (i) below.

   (iii) Loss of the final syllables of words denoting cardinal numbers, as in ‘vimśa’ (for ‘vimśati’) in Ps. 5.145—dvitiyenātha vimśādīn ......; ‘saptaviṃśa’ (for ‘saptaviṃśati’) in 5.269—...... saptaviṃśa-padotthitam.

   (iv) Loss of the final vowels of words, as in ‘pād’ (for ‘pāda’) in Ps. 5.170—tulyaṃ caturvidhākaraṃ pād-bhedena yathāsthitaṃ; ‘vimśat’ (for ‘vimśati’) in 5.154—catur-abhyadhikāṃ vimśad-amśakān ......, 5.178—satāni paṇca-bhāgānām vimśadbhis tu navādhikāiḥ; ‘ekonaviṃśat’ (for ‘ekonaviṃśati’) in 5.118—bhāgair ekonaviṃśadbhiḥ ......; ‘pañcaviṃśat’ (for ‘pañcaviṃśati’)

337 Ps. = Pauṣkara-saṃhitā.
in 5.64—koṣṭhakāṇṭha pañcaviṁśadbhīḥ ... 5.119—kamalama pañcaviṁśadbhīḥ ... 5.140—paṅkajāṇṭha pañcaviṁśadbhīḥ ... 

II. Lengthening of short vowels (evidently for the sake of metre), as in Ps. 5.152, 260—caturāśitibhir bhāgaīḥ ... (for ‘caturaśitibhir ...’); 5.271—saptādaśa-pādaś bhūtaḥ ... (for ‘saptadāśa- etc.).

III. Saṃdhī made against the rules of Sanskrit grammar:
(i) Double Saṃdhī (?), as in ‘tartordhvaṁ’ (for ‘tataḥ +ūrdhvaṁ’) in Ps. 4.20—madhyamaṁ viddhi tāmanāṁ tattordhvāṁ tu smṛtaṁ mahat; ‘śiropari’ (for ‘śirāḥ + upari’) in 4.83— ... tac-chiropari vinyaset; ‘rajaottame’ (for ‘rājaḥ + uttame’) in 5.201—rājasā pūrayet paścāt ... / ... vyoma-bāhye rojattame //

(ii) Irregular Saṃdhī, as in ‘samekavarṇā’ (for ‘samā +ekavarṇa’) in Ps. 2.18—samekavarṇā sarpādyair nirmuktā ...

An instance of irregular Saṃdhī with r as an intevening Saṃdhī-consonant (or hiatus-bridger), viz., ‘jāti-r-inkukikābhena’ (for ‘jātīnukukikābhena’) in Ps. 5.76—daśakaṁ daśakaṁ vipra bhāgaṇāṁ atha raṅjayet / jāti-r-inkukikābhena vyoma-bāhyāt tu pūrayet //

IV. Hiatus created by absence of Saṃdhī in verses, as in Ps. 1.30—tathaivāyatanāṁ ca āśramāṇāṁ mahā-mune, 2.17— ... hy āpāre āmra-kānanam, 5.66—dvārāν pagasya madhyāt tu aṣṭau ... 

V. Wrong use of Number
(i) in Dvandva compounds, as in ‘udag-yāmye’ (for ‘udag-yāmyayoh’) in 5.162, ‘pūrva-paścimam’ (for ‘pūrva-paścimau’) in 3.4 and 3.16, ‘dakṣinottaram’ (for ‘dakṣinottarau’) in 3.38, 51, 52, ‘paścimottare’ (for ‘paścimottarayoh’) in 3.68;
(ii) in verbs (irrespective of the Number of their subjects), as in Ps. 5.35—bhaved dvārāṇy ath-āśrayah, 5.47—ekavimśottaram śatam / utpadyante ca bhāgānām /, 5.66—aṣṭau śobhā-dvaye bhavet, 5.71—krāvā dvidāsaadhā kṣetram śaṅnavaty-adhikam śatam / utpadyante ’ṃśakānāṃ tu /;

(iii) in adjectives, as in Ps. 2.20—atyuṣñā yā ca hemante rasānvā (? rasālā) jalādāgame / kāṃsya-bhāṇḍasvanā ghanṭā-viṇā-vaṃśa-ravah sūbhāḥ // (in which ‘yā’ has been used for ‘mahi’ in the immediately preceding verse), 5.1—yāgas tu deva-devesa bhadrādīni kramād vada, 5.84—rāgas tu pitha-kōnāni pāścimādī tataḥ punah;

(iv) in words denoting cardinal numbers in most cases, as in Ps. 3.28—astāvimiṃśatibhir yuktra-dvy-aṅgulair dhanusī śṛṇu/aṣṭādaśaṅgulā vipra dvy-aṅgulair daśabhir vinā //, 3.29—trīṃśadbhir dvy-aṅgulair unā ..., 4.8—caturvimśatibhir brahman hastas tair aṅgulair bhavet, 4.10-11—ādyā-dvādaśabhir mānam aṅgulaiḥ parikirtitam / dvitiyam aṣṭādaśabhīs caturvimśatibhir param //, 5.64—kośṭhakahī paṇeacvimśadbhiḥ ..., 5.118—bhāgair ekoṇa vimśadbhiḥ ..., 5.139—ekavimśatibhir bhāgaiḥ ..., 5.152—caturāṣṭribhir bhāgaiḥ ..., 5.178—śatrimśadbhis tu koṣṭhakahī //, 5.178—trayovimśatibhir bhāgaiḥ ..., and also 5.206, 208, 226, 241, 247 etc. (for similar use), 4.6—tābhīr likṣāṣṭakair yūkāṃ viddhi ...  

(v) in other cases such as ‘yāgas tu ... bhadrādīini ... vada’ (for ‘yāgaṃs tu etc.’) in Ps. 5.1, ‘saptādaśa-paddbhūtam ...’ (for ‘saptadāśa-padebhyaḥ etc.’) in 5.271, ‘... catvāriniṃśat-pade sthitam’ (for ‘catvāriṃśat-padeśu etc.’) in 5.280.

VI. Unauthorised change of Gender:

(i) Masculine words used as neuter, viz., ‘ādhāra’ in Ps. 5.16—buddhy-ādhāram ataḥ proktam ..., 5.258—buddhy-ādhāram athocyate; ‘ākāra’ in 4.104—... kartavyam jyeṣṭhākāram gaṇasya ca; ‘aṃśa’ in 5.186—
saptavimśatya-athāṃśāni ... , 5.196—samśodhy-aikā-
dāśāṃśāni ... , 5.232—dve catus-ṣaṭ tathāṃśāni ... ,
5.266—ekonavimśatya-aṃśāni ...; 'bhāga' in 3.30—
śaṅkor dvādaśa-bhāgaṃ yad vijnātavyaṃ tad aṅgulam /
tasya yat śaṅthaṃ bhaṅgaṃ bodhavyaṃ dvī-āṅgulam
tu tat //, 5.38—pitā-dik-sthita-bhāgaṇi ... , 5.41—
paritas tatra bhāgaṇi śodhayitvā ... , 5.81—ekaikādaśa-
bhāgaṇi ... , 5.102—trīṇy-arḍham paṇca-bhāgaṇi ... ,
5.265, 268, 301— ... bhāgaṇi ...; 'daṇḍa' in 4.120—
sarvāṇy ādheya-danḍāni ... , 4.204—vedī-toranada-
danḍāni ...; 'deśa' in 3.18—tathā paścima-bhāgasthaṃ
desaṃ ... (for 'bhāgaṣṭho deṣaḥ ...'), 5.61—tat-kona-
madhya-deśāni ... raṇjayet; 'jaya' in 5.10—ataḥ paṅca-
daśaṃ yāgam jayaṃ nāma jaya-pradām, 51.3—yam
dṛṣṭvā bhavināṃ śāsvad bhaved bhūta-jayaṃ dvīja,
5.151—idam uktam jayaṃ nāma ...; 'koṇa' in 5.28, 50,
249— ... koṇāni ... , 5.39—tad-upasthāna-koṇāni ... ,
5.68—pitā-koṇāni sarvāṇi ... , 5.70— ... tadvat koṇam
iti srūtam, 5.77— ... pitā-koṇāni raṇjayet, 5.84—
rāgais tu pitā-koṇāni ... , 5.94—pitāṣaya sarva-
koṇāni ... pūrayet, 5.95—koṇāni athopapitāṣaya
tenāiva pariraṇjayet; 'pralaya' in 4.92— ... pralayāni
cia yojya ca; 'saṃcaya' in 1.5—evam-ādi yadā bhūyat
karuṇam vākya-saṃcayam; 'stambha' in 4.63—stam-
bbāni ca svuṛttāni ...; 'sugrīva' in 3.73—indraś cendra-
padākhyāsa ca sugrīvam kusuma-dvīja; 'vighna' in 3.49—
... madhye vighnam bhavet sphuṭam; 'yāga' in 2.3—
pravartante ca yāgāni ... , 5.5, 9, 10, 14, 97, etc.—
yāgam (for 'yāgaḥ'), 5.18—asyāparaṃ mahāyāgam
dhruvākhyāṃ ca prakīrtitam; and so on.

(ii) Neuter words used as masculine, viz., 'sthāna' in
Ps. 5.45—dvāra-kaṇṭha-opagau sthānau ...; 'dvāra' in
5.106—dvārādin ... susamsthitān, 5.203—dvārān nṛpo-
palābhena śobhāṃ pitēna pūrayet.

(iii) Feminine words used as neuter, viz., 'āṣri' in
Ps. 5.78—nṛpopalābhena-āṣrīṇi śobhāni vyoma-bāhyavat:
‘śobha’ in 5.78 (cited above), 5.96—pitena copaśobhāṇi ..., 5.106—sitena copaśobhāṇi ..., 5.114—śeṣāc chopobapobhāṇi bhāgair dvāraṇī kārayet.

(iv) Difference in Gender between nouns and their adjectives, as in Ps. 1.33—bhāva utpadyate kṣipraṁ tan-madhye śraddhayānvitam, 4.78—... kuryāc chīrṣagaṇāṃ mahat, 4.85—... stambha-saṁśatitam/ kīmcit samuṣchritam dattvā ... //, 4.97—... kuryāt ... / prākāraṇ ... mahat //, 5.1—yāgas tu devadevesa bhadrādini kramād vada, 5.160—evam iśāna-dik proktam ..., 5.202—jātyā hiṅkulikābhena ..., 5.252—due catus-śaṭ ca bhāgāms tu ...

(v) Difference in Gender between nouns and their pronouns, as in Ps. 1.8—... tam tu viddhi caturvidham (in which ‘tam’ has been used for ‘maṇḍalam’), 2.14—... tathāṁye mṛga-jātayaḥ, 2.18-19—vāpi-kūpādikam khātam iśāne yasya cottare / śubha-lakṣaṇa-yuktā sā sarva-siddhi-kari mahī //, 4.6—tābhir liṅkāśṭakair yūkāṇi viddhi ...

VII. Wrong declension, as in ‘prajāpatim’ (for ‘prajāpatiḥ’) in Ps. 3.74; ‘śaśim’ (for ‘śaśiṇam’) in 4.155—brhac-chaśaka-prāṭhasthaṁ śaśiṁ rātrikaraṁ smaret; ‘ekādaśaṇi’ (for ‘ekādaśa’) in 5.249—... koṇāṇy ekādaśaṇi tu; ‘ekonaviṁśadhbih’ (for ‘ekonaviṁśatbibhiḥ’) in 5.118; ‘vimśadbhiḥ’ (for ‘vimśatbibhiḥ’) in 5.178 (cited above); ‘paṇcaviṁśadbhiḥ’ (for ‘paṇcaviṁśatbibhiḥ’) in 5.64, 119, 140; ‘ekacatvāribhiḥ’ (for ‘ekacatvārimśadbhiḥ’) in 5.278—... ekacatvāribhiḥ padaīḥ;
‘tule’ (for ‘tulāyām’) in Ps. 3.27—tule tu meṣa-sadṛṣī vrścike dvādaśaṅgulā.

VIII. Incorrect use of case-endings:
(i) The first case-ending used
(a) for the second, as in Ps. 1.51—anyāṣa ca viddhy anāhāro velā tasyendra vartate (for ‘anyāṃ ca ...
anāhāraṃ ...'), 4.77—bandhaś ca sadṛṣaṃ dadyāt ... (for 'bandham ca ...'), 5.1—yāgas tu devadevesa ... vada—(for 'yāgamś tu etc.'), 5.39—... paripūrayet / dvārāṇi ... căśrayaḥ (for '... căśriḥ'), 5.62—... raṅjayet ... / dvārāṇi ... vāśrayaḥ (for '... vāśriḥ');

(b) for the seventh, as in Ps. 5.161—tat tu paścima-dik kuryāt ... (for '... paścima-diśi ...').

(ii) The second case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 5.154—... bhāgām catuṣṭayam (for '... bhāgānām ...')?

(iii) The third case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 5.131—gātrakābhyaṃ samipaṃ tu ... (for 'gātrakayoh ...').

(iv) The fifth case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 4.78—... bhinnād upari ... (for '... bhinnasya upari ...').

(v) The sixth case-ending used

(a) for the fourth, as in Ps. 1.8—pūjitaṃ dasrayet tasya ... (for '... tasmai ...');

(b) for the seventh, as in Ps. 1.4—dayāṃ kuru tv anāthasya ... (for '... anāthe ...').

(vi) The seventh case-ending used

(a) for the third, as in Ps. 4.206—mṛdā gomaya-miśrayām upalipya ... (for '... -miśrayā upa- ...')

(b) for the sixth, as in Ps. 2.15—janayaty āśu cāhlā-daṃ sva-kāntāsv iva dasānam (for '... sva-kāntānām iva ...'), 3.18—tasāṃ abhyantarasthaṃ vā ... (for 'tasāḥ abhyā- ... ...'), 3.53—dikṣu caivāntarālaṇi ... (for 'diśāṃ caivā- ...').

IX. Irregularities in the formation of compounds:

(i) Occasional insertion of 'm' as a connecting link between the component parts, as in 'torana-m-mānam'
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(for ‘toraṇa-mānam’) in Ps. 4.125—etad dvādaśamāṃśena toraṇa-m-mānam abajja, and ‘paṅkti-dvaya-m-jātām’ (for ‘paṅkti-dvaya-jātām’) in 5.101—bhāgaṃ paṅkti-dvaya-m-jātām saṃcārārtham tu śodhaye.

(ii) Occasional insertion of the indeclinable ‘atha’ between the component parts, as in ‘saptaviṃśatī-ath-āṃśāṃ’ (for ‘saptaviṃśatī-ath-āṃśān’) in Ps. 5.186—saptaviṃśatī-ath-āṃśān koṇa-deśād viśodhaye.

(iii) Wrong use of Samāsāntas, as in ‘sad-adhvam’ (for ‘sad-adhvā’, a Bahuvrīhi compound qualifying ‘maṇḍalam’) in Ps. 5.3—sad-adhvāṃ śyāt tṛtiyāṃ ca . . . . 5.33— . . . sad-adhvam adhunocyate, 5.40—sad-adhvam ca mayā prōktam . . . .

(iv) Various other irregularities, as in
‘corātaṇka-bhayādike’ (for ‘bhāyādikaiḥ’ connected with ‘vinirmukte’) in Ps. 2.7—duṣṭa-prāṇi-vinirmukte corātaṇka-bhayādike, ‘sa-sthūlaḥ’ (for ‘sa-sthauyaiḥ’) in 4.76—drḍha-kāśtha-samudbhūtaḥ sa-sthūlaṁ bahuḥhis tathā, ‘vimśādīn’ (for ‘vimśatī-ādīn’) in 5.145—dviṭīyenaśa vimśāḍin śaṭkam śaṭkam tad-aśrīsu, ‘saptaviṃśa-padotthinam’ (for ‘saptaviṃśatī-padotthinam’) in Ps. 5.269, ‘pād-bhedena’ (for ‘pāda-bhedena’) in 5.170—tylaṁ caturvidhākāraṁ pād-bhedena yathā-sthitam,
‘vīṁśad-aṁśakān’ (for ‘vīṁśatya-aṁśakān’) in Ps. 5.154—catur-abhyadhikān vīṁśad-aṁśakān kamalodbhava, ‘eka-catvāribhiḥ’ (for ‘eka-catvāriṁśadbhiḥ’) in 5.278—satāṣṭa-kaṁ tu bhāgānāṁ eka-catvāribhiḥ padaiḥ.

X. Wrong formation and use of verbs:

(i) Parasmaiipadiya roots used in their Ātmanepadiya forms, viz., bhvādi-gaṇiya ‘sthā’ (meaning ‘to remain’) in Ps. 1.50—yathaikas tiṣṭhate ṭṛptaḥ ... (for ‘ ... tiṣṭhati ... ’), 3.92—saṁyuktaṁ tiṣṭhate dehe ... (for ‘ ... tiṣṭhati ... ’).

(ii) Ātmanepadiya roots used in their Parasmaiipadiya forms, viz., bhvādi-gaṇiya ‘mud’ in Ps. 2.15—yatra modanti vai vyāghra-kuṇjarāḥ saha mānavaiḥ (for ‘ ... modante ... ’).

(iii) Irregular conjugation of verbs (mostly with un-authorised change of Gaṇa):

(a) bhvādi-gaṇiya ‘ikṣ’ (to see) in Ps. 3.43 (with ‘nir’)— ... tathā chāyā nirikṣayet (for ‘ ... nirikṣeta’);
(b) adādi-gaṇiya ‘mrj’ in Ps. 5.216, 246, 252—mrjet (for ‘mrjyät’);
(c) hvādi-gaṇiya ‘hu’ in Ps. 4.206—hunet (for ‘juhuyāt’);
(d) divādi-gaṇiya ‘as’ in Ps. 2.90, 4.60, 4.67, 4.74, etc. (with ‘ni’)—nyaset (for ‘nyasyet’), 4.83, 4.127 (with ‘vi+ni’)—vinyaset (for ‘vinyasyet’);
(e) svādi-gaṇiya ‘cī’ in Ps. 4.56 (with ‘vi’)—vicinviyāt (for ‘vicinuyāt’), 4.105—cinviyāt (for ‘cinuyāt’).

(iv) Wrong formation of Kṛd-anta words, viz.,

(a) Gerunds (in ‘ktvā’ and ‘lyap’), such as ‘samjñātvā’ (for ‘samjñāya’) in Ps. 1.42—kṛta-kṛtyaṁ tu samjñātvā ... , ‘samikṣayitvā’ (for ‘samikṣya’) in 4.60—samikṣayitvā tān sarvān ..., ‘unmilayitvā’ (for ‘unmilya’) in 5.271,
‘lānçhya’ (for ‘lānçhitvā’) in Ps. 3.56— ... lānçhya

(b) Other primary bases, such as ‘ārurukṣakaḥ’ (for ‘ārurukṣuh’) in Ps. 1.49—siddhaśa ca sidhyamānaś ca tritiyaśa cārurukṣakaḥ.

(v) Wrong use of Gerunds, as in Ps. 3.49—saṅku-sūtram dvidhā bhaṅktvā madhye vighnaṃ bhavet sphuṭam, 5.63—sarva-kāma-pradaṃ caiva kṛtvā 'mitragñam ucyate / kṣetram tridaśadhā kṛtvā bhāgānām jāyate śatam //, 5.100—bhavanti śobha-tulyāni kṛtvai vāṃ gātrakāṇi tu, 5.107-8—kṛtvā-aśtādaśadhā kṣetraṃ ... / jāyate vai catuṛvimśatya-adhikāṃ ... //, 5.118— ... kṛtvā tu jāyate, 5.128—kṣetraṃ dvādaśadhā kṛtvā bhavaṇa chata-catuṣṭatyaṃ, 5.151-2—dvir ekādaśadhā kṣetraṃ kṛtvā samjāyate dvija / caturāśtibhir bhāgaire adhikāṃ tu catuṛḥsatam //, 5.155—evam aṃsaka-bimbam ca kṛtvā dvāropamaṃ bhavet, 5.271—sammārya-omālayītvā ca bim-bam tu prathamāṃ bhavet, and so on.

(vi) Unauthorised use of Āṣīr-liṅ (Benedictive Mood) for Vidhi-liṅ, as in Ps. 1.5—evam-adi yadi bhūyāt karuṇāṃ vākya-saṃcayam / pravarteta tad-arthaṃ tu gurur maṇḍala-pūjane //

XI. Wrong formation of Taddhitānta words such as ‘dvādaśa’ (for ‘dvādaśa’) in Ps. 4.125—etad dvādaśamāṃsena toraṇa-m-mānam abjaya, ‘śaṣṭhamā’ (for ‘śaṣṭha’) in 3.30—tasya yat śaṣṭhamāṃ bhāgaṃ boddhavyaṃ dvy-aṅgulaṃ tu tat, ‘traih’ (for ‘triḥ’ formed with the Taddhita suffix ‘suc’, i.e. ‘s’ added to the word ‘tri’) in 4.92—bhittau bhittau catus trair vā pralayāṇi ca yojya ca, ‘vistṛtāṃ’ (formed with the Taddhita suffix ‘tal’ i.e. ‘tā’ added to the wrongly formed word ‘vistṛ’?) in 4.4— ... astrāder bhūmi-vistṛtāṃ (for ‘... -vistṛtim’).
XII. Use of an adjective as a noun, as in
Ps. 4.76—dṛḍha-kāṣṭha-samudbhūtaḥ sa-sthūlair bahubhis tathā (in which the word ‘stūla’ in ‘sa-sthūlaiḥ’ is an adjective used as a noun for ‘sthaulya’).

XIII. Use of a noun as an adjective in
Ps. 5.154—... paṅktyā bhāgaṁ catusṭayam(?).

XIV. Use of synonymous words, as in
Ps. 1.33—tadiyena prabhāvena śraddh-ādyādyēṣu kim punaḥ, 2.7—... cor-ālaṅka-bhay-ādike, 3.73—... yāvad-vāyu-pad-āvadhi.

It is needless to cite more instances. The above citations will be found sufficient to indicate the nature of the language of the Pauṣkara-saṁhitā and to show its striking similarity with the language of the Devi-p. It should be mentioned here that our citation of instances of grammatical and other irregularities from the first five chapters of the Pauṣkara-saṁhitā is not exhaustive. The above collection has been made simply to give a general idea of the variety as well as frequency of the irregularities found in this work.

Like the Pauṣkara-saṁhitā the Jayākhya also is looked upon as one of the earliest and most authoritative works of the Pāncarātra Āgama. But it comes from a date later than that of the Pauṣkara and consequently lacks many of the linguistic peculiarities of the latter, evidently under the growing influence of Sanskrit. Still it retains a good number of such irregular forms and usages as amply testify to the original nature of the language of the Pāncarātra scriptures. In order to give an idea of these irregularities, a few striking instances are noted below mostly from the first sixteen Paṭalas of the Jayākhya (which cover about half of the work consisting of thirtythree Paṭalas).

(1) The Jayākhya-saṁhitā uses the word ‘tredhā’ (for classical ‘tridhā’) in 16.176—ekadhā vā dvidhā tredhā ..., and spells ‘ṛṭiya’ once as ‘ṛtīya’ in 15.184—ṛtīyam
mūla-khaṇḍānāṁ..., and ‘śimha’, ‘uṛṣimha’ and ‘narasimha’, very often as ‘sīhṛma’, ‘uṛṣihṛma’ and ‘narasīhṛma’ respectively. (See, for instance, Jayākhya-saṃhitā 16.21, 37, 107 etc., 25.16, 27, 31, 38, 51, 54, 62 etc., 16.91, 25.42, 72, 86, 95 etc.; 29.5, 9 etc.; 2.12, 15, 143, 26.107, and so on).

Sometimes it shortens the final long vowels of words, as in ‘devāta’ (for ‘devatā’) in 2.57—tadā sambodhito brahmā devatair munibhiḥ saha, and sometimes it lengthens the short ones, as in ‘śakti’ (for ‘sakti’) in 14.66—tasya śabdāmayi śakti jvālāvan niḥṣṛtāṁ mahat, and ‘kuśa’ (for ‘kuṣā’) in 15.115—madhya-namram kuśā-kāṇḍāṁ gṛhitvā...

Sometimes it drops the final single consonants of words, as in ‘ekatriṃśa’ (for ‘ekatriṃśat’) in 13.194—... eka-trimśāksaram param / mantram ... //, ‘śīra’ (for ‘śiras’) in 16.128—... śīyaṁ sama-pāda-śironnatam, and ‘sarpi’ (for ‘sarpis’) in 15.146—hiranya-madhu-sarpibhyāṁ snānam...

(2) As regards Gender, the Jayākhya-saṃhitā sometimes goes against the rules of Śanskrit grammar. Thus, it uses neuter words as masculine, as in 15.143—narasihmādayo vaktrāḥ sphurat-tāraka-saṃnibhāḥ, and 16.139—... sa hi karm-āśpado yataḥ, and it allows nouns and their adjectives or pronouns to have different Genders, as in 14.66—tasya śabdāmayi śakti jvālāvan niḥṣṛtāṁ mahat (in which the words ‘niḥṣṛtā’ and ‘mahat’, though qualifying ‘śakti’, i.e. ‘saktih’, have been used in the neuter Gender, for ‘niḥṣṛtā’ and ‘mahati’), and 16.141—sādhu paraṇa-puṭe sūtraṁ kṛtvā tam mallake ’tha vā (for ‘... sūtraṁ ... tat mallake...’).

(3) It contains instances of irregular formation of feminine bases, as in 2.66—saṃpraviṣṭas tataś cāhām imāṁ padmodbhavīṁ tanum (for ‘... padmodbhavāṁ ...’).
(4) Sāṃdhi has sometimes been effected irregularly either with the elimination of the final single consonant of a word followed immediately by the initial vowel of another word, as in ‘pāyūpastheti’ (for ‘pāyūpastham + iti’) in 3.6—tac ca vāk-pāṇi-pādākhyam pāyūpastheti ca smṛtam, and in ‘śiromnātam’ (for ‘śiraḥ + unnatam’) in 16.128—... śisyaṃ sama-pāda-śiromnātam,

or with the insertion of a Sāṃdhi-consonant (or hiatus-bridger), such as ‘ṛ’, as in ‘tri-r-aṅgula’ (for ‘tri + aṅgula’) in 15.103—vistārasya tri-bhāgena grīvā sāśrā tri-r-aṅgula.

(5) In using Vibhaktis the Jayākhya-saṃhitā sometimes violates the rules of Sanskrit grammar. Thus, it employs

(a) the fourth case-ending in place of the sixth (in the sense of ‘saṃbandha’), as in 2.3—svam ātmānaṃ puraskṛtya sad-bhaktāya hitāya ca (for ‘... sad-bhaktasya hitāya ...’),

(b) the sixth case-ending in place of the fourth and the seventh, as in 2.64—dattāṃ mayābhayaṃ teṣām ...

(for ‘... tebhyāḥ ...’), and 12.132—kramoditena vidhinā tasya tuṣyāmy aham mune (for ‘... tasmin tuṣyāmy ...’),

(c) the seventh case-ending (instead of the sixth) in connection with the word ‘upari’ (formed with an ‘atas-artha pratyaya’, viz, ‘rīl’, i.e. ‘rī’), as in 11.4—kṣitāv upari vinyāsām ...

| tasmiṃs copari vinyāsāṃ ...

| /, 12.128—... tasyāṃ upari bhāvayet, and 15.189—

| tatr-opari ghṛtam dadyāt ..., and so on.

(6) Its irregularity in the formation of compounds is found in the words ‘ekatrimśākṣaram’ (a Bahunṛhi compound, for ‘ekatrimśad-aksaram’) in 13.194 (cited above), ‘tri-r-aṅgula’ (for ‘try-r-aṅgula’) in 15.103, ‘susuptāvasthagah’ (for ‘susupty-avasthā-gah’) in 16.175, ‘pāyūpastha’ (for ‘pāyūpastham’) in 3.6 (cited above), ‘kuśā-kāṇḍam’ (for ‘kuśa-kāṇḍam’) in 15.115, ‘udak-paścima-aśāna-prāṇ-
mukham’ (with hiatus, for ‘-paścimaiśāna-’) in 16.192, and so on.

(7) On several occasions it uses Parasmaipadiya roots in their Ātmanepadiya forms, and vice versa. Thus, it has ‘samśmarasva’ (for ‘samśmara’—Loḍ, second person, singular) in 2.58, ‘ācarate’ (for ‘ācarati’) in 12.131, ‘labhet’ (for ‘labheta’) in 13.45, ‘samārabhet’ (for ‘samārabhet’) in 15.161, and so on.

It has irregular conjugation of verbs in ‘hanet’ (for ‘hanyāt’—Vidhi-liṅ, third person, singular of the root ‘han’) in 10.4, ‘hunet’ and ‘juhet’ (for ‘juhuyāt’) in 15.183 (also 16.160) and 16.176 respectively, and so on.

(8) Among the irregularly formed Kṛd-anta verbs there are

(a) the Gerunds, such as ‘likhya’ (for ‘likhitvā’) in 6.27, ‘prerya’ (for ‘prerayitvā’) in 16.138, ‘pūya’ (for ‘pūjayitvā’) in 6.7, ‘tādya’ (for ‘tādayitvā’) in 13.86, and so on, and

(b) the Present Participles, such as ‘anicchamāna’ (for ‘anicchat’) in 16.138—anicchamānasya balāj jantoḥ . . . , ‘bhrāmayamāna’ (for ‘bhrāmayat’) in 13.85—smṛtvā bhrāmayamānas tām samviṣed yāga-mandiram, ‘dhyāyamāna’ (for ‘dhyāyat’) in 16.95— dhyāyamānas tam eva hi, ‘patamāna’ (for ‘patat’) in 12.122—smṛtvā mantram tu tan-mūrdhni patamānam dvijāmbarāt, and so on.

The Sātvata-saṃhitā, which, with the Pauṣkara and the Jayākhya, formed the three jewels of the Pāñcarātra scripture, is undoubtedly an early work like the other two. It has been drawn upon by Rāmānuja in his Śrībhasya, and named and referred to in the Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā.

338 See Śrībhasya on Vedānta-sūtra, II. 2. 42 (p. 1608)—

. . . sātvata-saṃhitāyām uktaṃ—

bhṛmānāṁ hi sad-brahma vāsudevākhyā-yājinām /
vivekadaṁ paraṁ śāstraṁ brahmopāniṣadaṁ maḥat // iti.

This verse is the same as Sātvata-saṃhitā 2. 4a and 5a.

339 For the relevant verse of the Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā see footnote 336 above.
and the Bhāgavata-p.⁴⁴⁰. But its mention of the names of the Pauśkara, Vārāha and Prājāpatya (i.e. Brāhma) Saṃhitā in one of its verses⁴⁴¹ with references to some of their topics, shows that it is to be dated later than all these three works. So, we can scarcely expect to find in it grammatical and other irregularities as much as in the Pauśkara. Still it is not totally free from these, but there is hardly any necessity of noting them here.

Although we have got very little information about the early Śaiva Āgamas and the Śākta Tantras, the language of the mystic Vidyās, Kavacas, Mantras, etc. contained in the extant Śaiva and Śākta works shows that the early Āgamas and Tantras were written in an unpolished language very similar to that of the Devī-p. and the Pauśkara-saṃhitā.

In connection with imparting religious instructions to kings and others, the Śiva-dharmottara says:

yac chrutvā jāyate puṇyaṃ rāgādīnāṃ ca saṃkṣayaḥ / virūpam api tad vākyam vijñeyam atisobhanam //"⁴⁴²

"Whatever utterance follows from love, hatred, falsehood, anger, desire and longing, is called bad speech, because of its being the cause of [residence in] hell.

"What [can one have to do] with the words of attachment arising from nescience, which cause sufferings of rebirths, even though these [words] may be polished, gentle and charming?

"That speech, though deformed, is to be known as highly elegant, which, being heard, creates merit and destroys attachment etc."

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⁴⁴⁰ I. 3. 8—ṭṛīyam ṛṣi-sargaṃ vai devarṣītvam upetya saḥ / tantram sātvatam acakṣa naśkarmyaṃ karmanāṃ yataḥ // This verse unmistakably means our present Sātvata-saṃhitā, in which Nārada appears as the speaker.

⁴⁴¹ For the relevant verse of the Sātvata-saṃhitā see footnote 335 above.

⁴⁴² Chap. 2, fol. 42a.
The Śiva-dharmottara allows to the Śaiva teachers sufficient freedom in the use of language for religious instruction, saying:

"saṁskṛtaḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ /
   deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ ॥"\(^{343}\)

"That person is regarded as a [religious] teacher who enlightens [his] disciple with refined and vulgar speeches (or, with expressions in Sanskrit and Prakrit) and by means of local dialects etc. according to [the latter's] fitness."

It is to be noted that unlike Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, who refused to accept as Śāstras those works which were composed in incorrect words (asādhu śabda) derived mostly from the Prakrit dialects such as 'Māgadha, Dākṣiṇātya and their Apabhraṃśas', the Śiva-dharmottara has a very liberal view as regards the medium of religious instruction and prefers the 'deformed' (vīrūpa) speech to the refined one (saṁskṛta) in case it rightly serves the purpose.

The recognition of Sanskrit, Prakrit and the local dialects and also a mixture of all these as mediums of religious instruction, was likewise made by the Nandi-p., an extinct

\(^{343}\) Chap. 2 (fol. 43a).

This verse has been quoted and ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' in Raghunandana's Vyavahāra-tattva (for which see Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 205) and to the 'Viṣṇudharma' in Mitramiśra's Vīramaṇodaya (Vyavahāra-prakāśa, p. 54).

Both Raghunandana and Mitramiśra take this verse as their authority for stating that even in teaching (adhyāpana) there is no restriction about the use of correct words and that for the sake of proper understanding plaints etc. may be recorded in the courts of justice by using the popular words of the contending parties. (See Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 205—...... iti bhāṣā-saṅrīram/ etac ca saṅkṛta-deśabhāṣ-ānyatareṇa yathābodhaṁ vaktavyaṁ lekhyam vā, mūrkhaṁ api vādi-pratīvāditā-darsanāt / ata eva dhīyāpane 'pi tathoktaṁ viṣṇudharmottare—saṁskṛtaṁ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpaṁ/ deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ //' Vīramaṇodaya, Vyavahāra-prakāśa, p. 54—bodhakais tu yeṣāṁ ye śabdāḥ prasiddhaṁ tair eva bhāṣād lekhaṁyam / pratīvād-aḥbhāyanāṁ tad-anabhijñatve bhāṣā-dvayādy-abhijñaiś te bodhaṁyā ityādy śīyam / ata eva viṣṇudharme 'dhīyāpane 'pi sādhu-śabda-niyam-anādara uktā̃ / 'saṁskṛtaṁ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpaṁ/ deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ // iti /).

As this verse does not occur in the present Viṣṇudharma and Viṣṇudharmottara, its ascription to these works seems to be wrong. But it is not possible to dogmatise that this verse did not occur in the texts of these works known to Raghunandana and Mitramiśra.
work composed not later than the seventh century A.D., and this is shown by two of the verses on Vidyā-dāna quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri, Anantabhaṭṭa and others.

From what has been said above it is evident that the type of un-Pañinian Sanskrit, found in the Devī-p., Pauśkara-saṃhitā etc., had a very early origin, with which the Buddhists had nothing to do in any way. As a matter of fact, the popular religions current among the Hindus in early days were recorded in this type of Sanskrit, which scrupulously avoided Prakrit phonology and morphology to a very great extent but widely used Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa as its basis. As these religions concerned the common run of people who were indiff erent to the Vedic views of religion, life and conduct and also perhaps to Sanskrit learning, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, which were widely used and understood by them, were very naturally allowed to play a great part in the making of the Sanskrit of their religious works. But Sanskrit had to be retained, however ‘deformed’ (virūpa)

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344 saṃskāraś ca saṃskṛṭāṃ vidyāṃ prākṛṭaiḥ prākṛṭāṃ api / 
ālāpa-māṭair vyākhyānair yaś ca sīyān prabodhayet //
deśābhīdāna-vinyāsair bodhayec cāpi yo guruh /
śa guruh sa pitā mātā sa ca cintāmaṇīḥ śṛṅgadv //

(For these verses of the ‘Nandi-p.’ see Lakṣmīdhara’s Kṛtīya-kalpataru, V, p. 218, Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., p. 400, Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, I, p. 552, and so on).

345 For references to the relevant works of these Smṛti-writers see Chap. III, footnote 76 below.

346 In case we do not admit the early origin and distinct tradition of the language of the Devī-p., Pauśkara-saṃhitā etc. and these works are taken to be of dates not going beyond the third century A.D., we fail to understand why these works should be composed in a synthetic language in imitation of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit in spite of the fact that the Buddhists themselves had begun to look upon their own hybrid Sanskrit with growing apathy and to Sanskritize their hybrid texts from a much earlier date going as far back as the beginning of the Christian era.

347 This is shown by the traditional use of different kinds of Prakrit in Sanskrit dramas, as well as by the fact that the learned and extremely intelligent Vaihasīka, who was the prototype of the Vidūṣaka and who was engaged by kings and harihots for the extremely difficult task of psychological study of people, spoke not in Sanskrit but in some popular dialect, in order to hide his own identity and learning. For more information about this Vaihasīka and the Vidūṣaka of Sanskrit dramas see our article on “The Vidūṣaka in Sanskrit Dramas—His Origin” published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Cutcutta, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (Letters), 1933, pp. 83-103.
it might have to be made for practical purposes, and, even in spite of the deep association of Prakrit with the daily life of the people, it could not be replaced by the latter, nor could it be allowed to change its appearance by taking the latter’s phonology and morphology, because the persons for whom the said works were meant were Hindus and it was Sanskrit (be it Vedic, epic or otherwise) which had long been accepted by the Hindus as the language of their religious works.

It is true that the un-Pāñinian Sanskrit, as now found particularly in the Devi-p. and the Pauskara-saṃhitā, has many peculiar features in common with the language of the two great epics of India, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. But we cannot overlook the fact that these two epics remarkably lack the variety and frequency of grammatical and other irregularities, very often made under the influence of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, which we find in the Devī-p. and the Pauškara-saṃhitā. This dissimilarity, which is deep as well as extensive, is very striking and shows definitely that the language of the Devī-p., Pauskara-saṃhitā, and similar other works was not derived from the epics. We have already seen that this peculiar language originated long before the rise of the Buddhist hybrid texts. So, the assumption of derivation of this un-Pāñinian Sanskrit from the epics would create insurmountable difficulties in explaining away the variations referred to above. It appears that even in the pre-Pāñinian period a kind of grammatically incorrect Sanskrit (of which a later and possibly more improved form is presented by the Devi-p. etc.) had come into being among the less cultured sections of the Vedic and allied population as a result of the contact of the Vedic language (including pre-Pāñinian Sanskrit), on the one hand, and the early Prakrits and their Apabhraṣṭa forms current in the lower strata of the society, on the other, and that this synthetic language, which was evidently evolved for practical purposes, could not be set aside totally by the cultured Aryans because of their daily necessity of maintaining religious, social, economic, political or cultural contact.
with the other sections of the population.\textsuperscript{347} But, as we have already said, Aryan supremacy in Indian society demanded that this synthetic language should be more Sanskrit than Prakrit, whatever its basis may be, and it is for this reason that in the Devī-p. we find the Sanskritised forms of such Prakrit words as were originally non-Sanskrit or were derived from Sanskrit, but the Vibhaktis and Pratyayas are very often Sanskrit. The present Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, attempted at religious synthesis by bringing about a compromise between the popular religious views and those of the orthodox followers of the Vedas, who had great faith in the Vedic sacrificial religion as well as in the varṇāśrama-dharma. As they were meant for guiding the unorthodox members of the Hindu society in their religious, social and individual life in conformity

\textsuperscript{347} In pointing out, in his Mahābhāṣya (pp. 12ff.), the various purposes served by the study of grammar, Patañjali says that it ensures perfect protection of the Vedas through knowledge of elision, augmentation, and change of letters, places the Brahmin priests of sacrifice in a position to make the right use of the Vedic Mantras by effecting necessary modifications in these, by acquiring knowledge of these, and by removing doubts as regards their meanings by correct accentuation, and offers a means of earning knowledge of words within a short period. Patañjali further says that by studying this science a Brahmin (who is the custodian of the Vedas and has to perform sacrifices) learns to avoid the employment of originally wrong (mlecha) and mispronounced (apabhājita) words (like ‘helaya’ for ‘he araya’), and also of such words as become defective due to the use of wrong accents or letters. He then adds:

“yo hi śabdāḥ jānāty apāśabdān apy asau jānāti / yathāiva hi śabdā-jāśe dharmaḥ, evam apāśabda-jāśe ‘py adharmah / atha vā bhūyān adharmah prāṇotī / bhūyānśo ‘pāśabdāḥ, alpāyānśaḥ śabda iti / ekaikasya hi śābdasya bahavo ‘pahramāḥ / tad yathā gaur ity asya śābdasya gāvī goṇī goṭā göpatalik-ety-śadayo bahavo ‘pahramāḥ / atha yo ‘vāg-yoga-vid ajñānaṁ tasya śaraṇam /””

“One, who knows the [correct] words, also knows the incorrect ones. Just as merit accrues with the knowledge of [correct] words, in the same way demerit also arises with the knowledge of incorrect words. Or, greater becomes the demerit, [because] the incorrect words are more numerous, [whereas] the [correct] words are comparatively small [in number]. For, each individual word has many wrong forms, just as the word ‘gaub’ (meaning ‘cow’) has many deteriorated forms like ‘gāvī’, ‘goṇī’, ‘goṭā’, ‘gopatalikā, etc. Now, one who does not know the formation and use of correct words, has ignorance as his resort.”

From Patañjali’s statement it is evident that even the orthodox Brahmin followers of the Vedas widely used in their everyday life such words as were originally wrong or became wrong due to wrong pronunciation or want of knowledge of grammar; and this, in spite of their high education, was possible because of their close contact with the masses who were very often indifferent to or ignorant of the rules of Sanskrit grammar.

See also Mahābhāṣya, pp. 87 and 89.
with the prescriptions of the Vedas, their language, though chastened to a great extent, could not eliminate the popular elements fully but followed a middle course lying between correct Sanskrit and the highly incorrect synthetic language of the pre-Pāṇinian days, an idea of which we get mainly from the Devī-p.

For want of early records of this synthetic Sanskrit it is not possible for us to say anything definitely about its constituents. It is highly probable that during the long period of its growth, the popular dialects of different parts of India made their contributions to its making.

The association of this synthetic Sanskrit with the popular religious literatures of the Hindus was a matter of such a hoary past and was consequently so well established in the country that in spite of their having a synthetic language of their own, which we have named as hybrid Sanskrit, the Buddhists composed their Tantras (except the Ārya-maṇjuśrī-mūlakalpa348) in a kind of Sanskrit which agrees much more with the language of the Devī-p. than with their own hybrid Sanskrit. In these works Prakrit phonology and morphology are remarkably wanting, except in the Gāthās (which must have been derived from older sources), and many irregular forms of words, like those in the Devī-p., have been used. For instance, the Prajñā-pāramitā-sādhana349 of Asaṅga350 has ‘atra’ (with the Taddhita suffix ‘tral’ in place of the seventh case-ending) for ‘asya’ in ‘atraṇy upari ......’, and ‘vāma-daksine cotpale’ (for ‘-daksinayoś cotpalayoh’) on p. 324; the Guhya-samāja-tantra, which is one of the earliest Buddhist Tantras written not later than the seventh century A.D.351, shows signs of laxity about the use of gender (as in ‘jātikām trividham’

348 In this work we find a number of the leading features of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit as well as of the language of the Devī-p. and the Pauṣkara-sanhitā.
349 Sādhana-mālā, No. 159, pp. 321-5.
on p. 33), and has pūja (for ‘pūjā’) in ‘pūja-hetunā’ on p. 33, ‘cintya’ (for ‘cintayitvā’) on pp. 52, 53, ‘grhya’ (for ‘grḥitvā’) on p. 52, ‘bhāvītva’ (for ‘bhāvayitvā’) on p. 53, ‘prabhāvītva’ (for ‘prabhāvyā’) on p. 53, ‘cintet’ (for ‘cintayet’) on p. 40, and ‘dāsa’, ‘pañca’, ‘sapta’ etc. (for ‘daśama’, ‘pañcama’, ‘saptama’ etc.) on p. 152; the Trisamayarāja-sādhana332 of unknown authorship has ‘ime vajra-padāh (for ‘imāni vajrapadānī’) on p. 2, ‘kleśa-duḥkhha-jālān’ (for ‘-jālāni’) and ‘sarpa-sukhān’ (for ‘-sukhānī’) on p. 4, ‘mahān’ (for ‘mahātinī’) on p. 4, ‘dentu’ (for ‘dadatu’) on p. 2, ‘dadāhi’333 (for ‘dehi’) on pp. 4 and 7, ‘vidhunāh’ (for ‘vidhunū’ on p. 4, and ‘nyaset’ (for ‘nyasyet’) on pp. 4, 5 and 6; the Trailokya-vasaṃkara-lokesvara-sādhana334 of Saraha have ‘bali’ used in the neuter Gender on pp. 80 and 83 (idaṃ baliṃ grhṇa ..., in which ‘bali’, though taken as neuter, has been declined as masculine), and ‘dhyāyāt’335 (for ‘dhyāyet’) on p. 80 and ‘grhṇa’ (for ‘grhāṇa’) on pp. 80 and 83; the Vajratārā-sādhana336 of Dharmākaramati has ‘devati’337 (for ‘devatā’) in ‘dāsa-devatā-parivṛtām’ on p. 195 and in ‘devatinām’ and ‘madhya-puṭa-devatinām’ on p. 199; the Viśva-mātā-sādhana338 uses the inflected words ‘mātā’ and ‘bhūvi’ as basic words (for ‘mātṛ’ and ‘bhū’) in ‘viśva-mātā-sādhanaṃ’ and ‘viśva-mātāyai namaḥ’ on p. 240, and ‘sakala-bhūvi-tale’ on the same page respectively; the Kalpokta-tārodabhava-kurukullā-sādhana339 has ‘mayūkha’ (for ‘mayūkha’) and ‘nirmalina’ (for ‘nirmala’) on p. 343 (tasya citra-mayūkhābhī hi kṛtvā nirmalinam jagat), ‘trātā’ (for ‘trātri’) on p. 344 (kṣantavyaṃ tat tvayā devi yatas trātāsi dehinām), ‘sodhya’ (for ‘sodhayitvā’) on p. 343, ‘dadanti’ (for ‘dadati’) on p. 346, ‘trāṇa’ (for ‘trāṇa’) on p. 346 (mamāpi trāṇanārthāya kha-vajr-ādyam dadāhi me), and the compounds ‘dhūpa-

333 For the form ‘dadāhi’ see also ibid., pp. 231, 346 etc.
334 Sādhana-mālā, Nos. 35-36, pp. 79-83.
335 For ‘dhyāyāt’ see also ibid., pp. 198, 327, 345, 349, 352 etc.
336 Sādhana-mālā, No. 97, pp. 195-200.
337 For ‘devati’ see also ibid., p. 240.
338 Sādhana-mālā, No. 113, p. 240.
339 Ibid., No. 17, pp. 343-7.
puṣpa-tathā-dipa-gandha-naivedya-saṁcayaiḥ (with the indeclinable ‘tathā’ as an intervening member) on p. 343, ‘mahad-bhūtā’ (for ‘mahābhūtā’) on p. 346 and ‘yathecchaya’ (for ‘yathecchham’) on p. 346; the Tārodbhava-kurukullā-sādhanas of Muktaka (circa. 1100 A.D.) has the word ‘upaśama’ used in the neuter gender on p. 349 (... prathamamāse rogādy-upaśamaṁ bhavati) and conjugates ‘labh’ as ‘labhet’ (for ‘labheta’) on the same page; the Śukla-kurukullā-sādhanas has ‘samidhāni’ (for ‘samidhāḥ’) on p. 369, ‘jāta-mātreṇa’ (for ‘jāta-mātram’) on p. 364, and ‘cakrāṅkitam śveta-phāṇinam punar narair nihsāṅkaṁ dhriyate’ (for ‘cakrāṅkitaḥ śvetaphāṇi punar narair nihsāṅkaṁ dhriyate’) on p. 371; the Śaḍbhujā-kurukullā-bhaṭṭārikā-sādhanas has ‘nimāntrayāmi’ (for ‘nimāntraye’) and ‘carisye’ (for ‘carisyāmi’) on p. 379; and so on. For instances of metrical irregularities in the Sādhanas-mālā reference may be made to p. 196 (aśṭa-bhujāṁ kanaka-varṇāṁ ..., catur-buddha-maḥāmukūṭim ..., with more syllables than eight in a Pāda), p. 265 (... dvibhujākajaṭā-sādhanam), p. 343 (... kurukulla-parvate gatāṁ, in which the word ‘kulla’ of two syllables has to be pronounced as ‘kul’ of one syllable), and so on. It is to be noted that the grammatical and other irregularities in the Tantric texts mentioned above, are much less varied and frequent than in the Devī-p. and the Pauṣkara-saṁhitā and that even the Gāthās, derived from older sources, have often been Sanskritised in such a way that the number of Prakritisms in them has gone down in many cases. These variations and the fact that the Buddhist Tantras cannot possibly be dated earlier than the fourth century A.D. show that it was the linguistic tradition of the Saṁhitās, Āgamas and Tantras of the Hindus which influenced the language of the Buddhist Tantras, and not vice versa.

From what has been said above it appears that the prototype of the synthetic Sanskrit now found in the Devī-p.

360 Ibid., No. 172, pp. 347-356.
362 Ibid., No. 182, pp. 379-380.
and the Pauškara-saṁhitā attained the position of the medium of expression in religious and social matters in quite early days, that due to its wide popularity the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and undoubtedly also the early Purāṇas, aiming at religious synthesis as well as mass enlightenment, could not but imbibe many of the peculiarities of this language, and that in view of the influence of this synthetic Sanskrit as well as of Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa on all grades of people including even the Vedic priests, Pāṇini and others tried to set up the standard of correct Sanskrit by writing grammatical treatises. It is hardly necessary to say that it was not merely Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa with their peculiar phonology and morphology but a kind of widely circulated and deep-rooted incorrect Sanskrit based on or influenced by Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa, which stimulated and necessitated the setting up of a standard of correct Sanskrit and the compilation of grammatical works. It is highly gratifying to see that specimens, though of comparatively late dates, of this synthetic Sanskrit have been preserved for us in the Devī-p. and the Pauškara-saṁhitā.

As regards hybrid Sanskrit as found in the Buddhist texts mentioned above, it may be said that, being fully alive to the advantages of the synthetic Sanskrit of the Hindus, the Buddhists also adopted it in some of their works, but, finding that due to the prevalence of Sanskrit words and

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That once the uṣ-Pāṇinian forms in the Purāṇas were more numerous and varied than those now found in the printed texts and comparatively late manuscripts of these works (in which the interfering hands of the scribes and editors cannot escape our notice) will be evident from the interesting collection of these made from printed texts as well as manuscripts by Anand Swarup Gupta and published in Purāṇam, Vol. IV, Part 2, 1962, pp. 277-297.

It may be stated here that there is no evidence to prove that the Purāṇas, or any parts or individual verses thereof, were originally composed in Prakrit and later on rendered into Sanskrit by the Purānic redactors (as said by F.E. Pargiter in his Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. xvii-xviii and 77-83, and Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 5-14, and by Anand Swarup Gupta in Purāṇam, IV, Part 2, p. 280). Equally baseless is Sri Gupta's surmise that the Purāṇas were originally composed in ‘laukika-saṁskṛta’ (by which he means classical Sanskrit or the 'Bhāṣā' of Pāṇini) but were later influenced by the ‘loka-bhāṣā Prakrit’ (loka-bhāṣayā prākritena prabhāvitam) in the course of their circulation by Vyāsa, Sūta and others. (See Purāṇam, IV, pp. 279-280.)
forms it had receded much from actual life, they made it more practical by introducing into it Prakrit phonology and morphology in considerable measures in order to fulfil the wish of the Buddha that preachings of Buddhist doctrines should be made in popular dialects and according to a pronunciation which people can understand. If, in compliance with their Master’s wish, the Buddhists made their preachings in popular dialects and did not adopt any kind of popular Sanskrit for the purpose, then we would find their religious texts composed in hybrid Prakrit and not in hybrid Sanskrit abounding in Sanskrit words and forms. It may be mentioned here that the intention underlying the use of hybrid Sanskrit in the compilation of some Buddhist religious texts was clearly and unquestionably the popularisation of the religious views of the Buddha, and that the Buddhists were always on the look out for possible means for occupying an advantageous position over the Hindus, who were their greatest rivals in the field of religion. So, their hybrid Sanskrit must have had, in its origin, some connection with contemporaneous popular life and could not be their own creation, because in the latter case a newly created language of this type might satisfy the personal whim or taste of its creators but would never find favour either with the literate Hindus for its Prakrit phonology and morphology or with the illiterate masses for its predominant Sanskrit elements.

Thus, from the linguistic point of view the importance of the Devi-p. is immense; and it opens up a new line of investigation, which, if made with a more thorough and critical study of the relevant sources, is expected to solve many problems relating to our language, religion and culture.

As we have already indicated, the whole of the Devi-p.

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262b The prevalence of Prakrit phonology and morphology in the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists shows that the authors of the hybrid texts were quite familiar with some Prakris and Apabhraṃśa which were quite different from Pali, and which, as Aśoka and Khāravela’s inscriptions, Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, Bharata’s Nāṭya-śāstra, Āvavoṣa, Bhāsa and others’ dramas, and similar other records of early date amply indicate, were very closely associated with popular life in those days.
is not metrical. There are many prose passages in some of its chapters, such as chaps. 9, 17, 33, 36, 77 and 116, and especially chaps. 55-56 and 109-110. The frequent occurrence of grammatical irregularities in these prose parts points to the general integrity of the work.

Tracts, claiming to be parts of the Devī-p., are very small in number. In the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat collection there are two Mss of the ‘Devipuraṇokta-durgāpūjā-paddhati’ and ‘Devipurāṇe Vīraśṭamī-vrata-kathā’^{363}, and in the Dacca University collection there is a Bengali Ms of a Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa^{364} claiming to be a part of the Devī-p. This Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa, which is quite different from the ‘Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa’ drawn upon in the Prāyaścitta-khaṇḍa (p. 82) claiming to be a part of Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, is a unique Purānic work dealing, in sixteen chapters, with the story of Maṅgala-caṇḍi as found in the Caṇḍi-maṅgala-kāvyas of Bengal. The Bengali script of its Ms and its story and other contents show that it was written in Bengal at a comparatively late date.

Before we finish our study of the Devī-p. we should say something about its contents as known from the references to and quotations from this work made in the Nibandhas.

In course of our attempt at tracing the verses ascribed to it by the Smṛti-writers of different parts of India we have found that hundreds of these verses do not occur in our present text of this Purāṇa. Although some of these untraceable verses are undoubtedly local additions, they deal, often in details, with various topics mostly of religious interest, as will be evident from the following list of their contents.

I. Worship of Devī (Durgā) in images of different articles such as gold, silver, earth, etc., or in a sword or a trident^{365}.

^{363} Chakravarti, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat., p. 72.
^{364} Ms No. 1617A (consisting of 78 folios and containing a fly leaf bearing the date 1723 Śaka).
^{365} Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgīpī, p. 7.
Characteristic features of an image of Devī having eight, ten or twenty hands.\(^{366}\)

Names of leaves and flowers to be used in Devī-worship.\(^{367}\) Praise of offer of Bilva-leaves to Devī.\(^{368}\) Proper time and method of Devī-bodhana, Bilvābhimanoṭana, Patrikā-praveśa, Devī-pratimā-sthāpana, Devī-visarjana, etc.\(^{369}\) Bathing of Devī with ghee, milk, curd, honey etc. and with the waters into which gold, gems, camphor and Aguru have been put.\(^{370}\) Performance of Devī’s ghṛṭābhiseka (holy bath with ghee) in the month of Āśvina.\(^{371}\) Devī-worship on the Aṣṭamī Tithi connected with Navami.\(^{372}\) Lustration of Devī (devī-nirājana).\(^{373}\)

Names of sixteen Devīs; performance of Mudrās; and offer of weapons.\(^{374}\)

Worship of Māṭrī.\(^{375}\)

Worship of virgin girls (kumārī-pūjā) with flowers etc.; feasts to be given to them on Śuklaśāmī, Navami and Caturdaśī Tithis; and the virgin girls’ placing of akṣata (thrashed and winnowed rice dried in the sun) on the head of the giver of the feast.\(^{376}\)

Worship of horses during Devī-worship.\(^{377}\)

Characteristics of persons fit for consecrating an image of Devī.\(^{378}\)

\(^{366}\) Ibid., pp. 14, 93 (12 lines).


\(^{368}\) Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, p. 155.

\(^{369}\) Śūlapāṇi’s Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 4, 7, 8, 11 etc.; Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, fols. 60a-b, 62b, 64b; Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 346; Śrāddha-kaumudi, p. 248; Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 3, 44; Kālasāra, pp. 88, 103, 105, 112 etc.; and so on.

\(^{370}\) Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, pp. 142-7 (37 lines).

\(^{371}\) Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 308.

\(^{372}\) Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, p. 50.

\(^{373}\) Śūlapāṇi’s Durgotsava-viveka, p. 25; Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 37-38; Śrīmati-tattva, I, p. 102.

\(^{374}\) Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, p. 71, Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 25.

\(^{375}\) Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, p. 91.

\(^{376}\) Ibid., pp. 100-101 (20 lines), Varṣa-kaumudi, pp. 376, 447.

\(^{377}\) Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 906.


According to the verses of the Devī-p, as quoted by Aparārka, a consecrator of an image of Devī is required to be ‘vāma-dakṣīṇa-vettā’, ‘mātr-vedārtha-pāraga’, ‘pāṇ-
Construction of images of Hara and Gaurī according to Āgama, and detailed description of the method of celebrating their marriage\textsuperscript{379}.

Construction of an image of the Sun with his retinue\textsuperscript{380}.

Performance of śānti (pacificatory rite) in Āśvina-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī for the good of horses\textsuperscript{381}.

II. Performance of various Vratas, Pūjās etc., such as Kunda-caturthi-vrata\textsuperscript{382}, Kṛṣṇāstami-vrata\textsuperscript{383}, Nava-rātra-vrata\textsuperscript{384}, Puṣyārka-dvādaśi-vrata\textsuperscript{385}, Saṃkrānti-vrata\textsuperscript{386}, Manasā-pūjā\textsuperscript{387}, and detailed description of the method of Mrtyunjaya-pūjā\textsuperscript{388}.

Elaborate treatment of ‘dvāri-bandha-vidhi’\textsuperscript{389}.

Statement of reasons for the name ‘Ākṣayā Tṛtiyā’\textsuperscript{390}.

Hoisting of flags on Bhādra-śuklaśāti or Āśvina-śuklaśāti\textsuperscript{391}.

Observances on the Caturthi Tithis of different months for the pleasure of Gaṇeśa\textsuperscript{392}.

Worship of different deities under different Nakṣatras (beginning with Aśvini) for the fulfilment of different desires\textsuperscript{393}.

Detailed description of the method of performing Lakṣa-homa\textsuperscript{394}.

carātrārtha-kuśala’, and ‘mātr- mantra-viśārađa’; according to those quoted in the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, he is to be ‘pañcarātrārtha-kuśala’ and ‘mantra-tantr-avadāraka’; and according to the verse quoted in the Nityācara-pradīpa, he is to be ‘pañcarātrārtha-kuśala’ and ‘mātr-caatra-viśārađa’.

\textsuperscript{379} Kṛtya-ratnakara, pp. 108-110 (45 lines).
\textsuperscript{380} Aparārka’s com. (p. 570) on Yāj. I. 296 (the quotation consisting of 16 lines).
\textsuperscript{381} Kālasāra, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{382} Kṛtya-kalpār, VI, pp. 83-84; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 525-6.
\textsuperscript{383} Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 823-6.
\textsuperscript{384} Tithi-nirṇaya (of Caṇḍēśvara), fol. 8a (many lines).
\textsuperscript{385} Kṛtya-kalpār, VI, p. 351.
\textsuperscript{386} Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 728-730 (34 lines).
\textsuperscript{387} Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 437.
\textsuperscript{388} Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 216-7 (14 lines).
\textsuperscript{389} Ibid., I, pp. 1007-1014 (149 lines).
\textsuperscript{390} Kṛtya-ratnakara, p. 156.
\textsuperscript{391} Ibid., p. 285.
\textsuperscript{392} Varṣa-kaumudi, pp. 30-31 (20 lines).
\textsuperscript{393} Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, pp. 878-9 (34 lines), 880-1 (25 lines).
\textsuperscript{394} Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, pp. 589-592 (51 lines).
III. Gifts of artificial cows made of molasses, water and ghee in the months of Māgha, Āśāḍha and Bhādra. Gift of an image of Gaṇapati, of horses, of food, cows, milk, curd etc., of shelter, and of dwelling houses.

IV. Instructions on the feeding of Brahmins, offering of pīṇḍas to the deceased ancestors, and performance of Śrāddha in holy places.

Praise of the Ganges. Rubbing of the body in the Ganges with Nāgakeśara, camphor etc. Offer of lamp and incense to her. Performance of Śiva-worship, feeding of Brahmins, taking of food at night (nakta-bhojana), and similar other acts on the Caturdaśi Tithi and Paurṇamāsī in Māgha and Vaiśākha on the bank of this river.

V. Performance of Śrāddha of persons meeting death in war or by throwing themselves into water or fire or from a high place.

Prohibition of Maghā-trayodāṣi-śrāddha during Saṃkrānti and eclipses.

VI. Measurements of wells (with or without stairs) and tanks.

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395 Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 513; Samaya-pradipā, fols. 5a, 36a.
396 Dāna-vākyāvalī, fol. 27b.
398 Ibid., p. 386.
399 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 668 (13 lines).
400 Ibid., I, pp. 673-4 (19 lines).
402 Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, p. 123. Also Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms, fol. 47b, where there are three metrical lines which do not occur in the printed edition.
403 Ibid., Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms, fols. 49b-50a (containing one verse not occurring in the printed edition).
404 Ibid., p. 205.
405 Tirtha-cintāmaṇi, pp. 247-250 (60 lines).
406 Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, p. 23.
407 Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, p. 25.
408 Dānḍa-viveka, p. 314.
Elaborate description of the methods of consecrating wells and gardens and of planting trees.

VII. A literate and highly placed Śūdra’s attainment of the sin of a Mahāpātaka by speaking immodestly.

Results of a Brahmin or a similar person’s dining in the house of a harlot or a similar woman, a Yati’s intercourse with harlots etc., and a Śiva-yogin’s association with wine etc.

A king’s enforcing of Siddhānta-śāstras and Veda-śāstras on his people.

Unfavourable results of giving no smoke to cow-pens for removing mosquitos and of milking a cow whose calf has died.

Signs of a bull (viz., its exceptionally strong back and neck) capable of carrying a heavy burden.

Punishment of those who hate the Śiva-śāstras or decry the Vedas; unassailable authority of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata.

Detailed description of the method of purifying the site for a house.

Elaborate account of ‘bhrigu-patana’.

Besides the untraceable verses with the contents mentioned above, there are numerous others which have been quoted individually or in small groups in the Śrītiniśandhas. As they deal with miscellaneous topics of minor interest, they have been overlooked here. It is to be noted that all the verses referred to above were not known to and quoted by all the Nibandha-writers, but some of them

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409 Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, pp. 1003 (6 lines), 1004 (16 lines).
410 Ibid., I, pp. 1044-47 (54 lines).
411 Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 194.
412-3 Daṇḍa-viveka, pp. 270, 271; Vivāda-ratnākara, p. 631 (9 lines including the following two: tasmād rāja samāśāraṁ dharmādharne vyavasthitah / siddhānta-veda-

śāstrānāṁ pālanāya niyojayet //)
414 Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, pp. 462.
415 Ibid., p. 197; Grhaṇa-ratnākara, p. 433.
416 Aparārka’s com. (pp. 10-11) on Yāj. I.7.
417 Śrītī-śāstra, II, pp. 415, 417, 419.
418 Caturvarga-cintāmani, II, ii, pp. 964-9 (101 lines).
were current in some particular part or parts of India, while others were known in other parts. This shows that the text of the Devi-p. was not the same everywhere but differed considerably in different provinces. It is true that some of these untraceable verses simply went under the name of the Devi-p. but did not form actual parts of its text, while some others, actually belonging to other Purāṇas, must have been ascribed wrongly to the Devi-p.

We have already indicated that in spite of its Tantric elements the Devi-p. attained great prominence as an authoritative work. Its popularity became so much that some enthusiastic Śāktas gave it out to be the original ‘Bhāgavata’ Purāṇa on account of its dealing with the glory, exploits, and method of worship of ‘Bhagavatī’ (Durgā). As a matter of fact, on p. 349 of his Krītya-ratnakara Cāndesvara takes the word ‘bhāgavatān’, occurring in a verse of the ‘Bhaiṣya-p.’, to mean ‘bhagavatī-bhaktān’, and on pp. 357-8 he quotes Devī-p., chap. 21, by naming the work as ‘Devi-purāṇa’ at the beginning and as ‘Bhāgavata-p.:’ at the end and by giving the number of the chapter as ‘forty-eight’\(^{418}\). It is hardly necessary to say that this claim failed to earn general support\(^{429}\).

2. The Kālikā-Purāṇa.

The present Kālikā-p.,\(^{421}\) which is also sometimes called

\(^{418}\) 'bhāgavata-purāṇe devy-avatāre navami-kriyā-sūcanam aṣṭa-catavāriṃśo
\(\text{dhyāyaḥ} \)-Krītya-ratnakara, p. 358.
\(^{429}\) Cf. the verse
\(\text{‘bhagavatyā́ś ca durgāyā́ś caritaṁ yatra vartate} /
\text{tat tu bhagavatāṁ praktaṁ na tu devī-purāṇakam \|’}
\)

occurring in chap. 23 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bengali Śiva-p. and quoted by Śaiva Nilakaṇṭha in his commentary on the Devī-bhāgavata. (For further information on this verse see footnote 194 above).

\(^{421}\) The Veṅkaṭa ed., though consisting of 93 chapters, is practically the same as the Vaṅga ed. (of 90 chapters) published with a Bengali translation in Calcutta, 1316 B.S. The corresponding chapters in the two editions are the following:—

Chaps. 1-23 = Chaps. 1-23 respectively.  Chaps. 64-65 = Chap. 62.
' ' 24-25 = Chap. 24.  ' ' 66-67 = ' ' 63.
' ' 26-42 = Chaps. 23-41 respectively.  ' ' 68-79 = ' ' 64-75 respectively.
' ' 43-44 = Chap. 42.  Chap. 80 = Chaps. 76-77.
' ' 45-63 = Chaps. 43-61 respectively.  Chaps. 81-93 = ' ' 78-90 respectively.
'Kāli-purāṇa' and is regarded as one of the most authoritative works by the comparatively late Nibandha-writers especially as regards Śakti-worship, is begun, like the Devi-p.,

Besides the two editions mentioned above, there is another by Hrishikesh Shastri (Calcutta, 1910). The Bombay ed. of 1891 mentioned by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1191, is the same as the first ed. of this Purāṇa published by the Veṅkaṭ. Press in Śaṅkha. 1813.

For Ms of the present Kālikā-p. see:
(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1189-92 [No. 3339].—This is a complete Ms (No. 2943) of 91 chapters, written in Bengali characters and 'presenting on the whole the most correct text'. Eggeling's description of this Ms shows that it is practically the same as the printed editions mentioned above.] and p. 1192 [Nos. 3340-3343.—All these four Ms Nos. 952, 919, 1515 and 2563 respectively are written in Devanāgarī. No. 3343 is incomplete and reaches as far as chap. 45 of No. 3339 mentioned above.]
(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 78, No. 132 (written in Devanāgarī).
(3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 748 [No. 4088].—This is an old Nāgara Ms (No. 980), dated 1668 Śaṅka and complete in 90 chapters., and VIII (revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti), p. 70 [No. 5874].—This is an incomplete Nāgara Ms (No. 8753) dated Saṃvat 1929 and calling itself 'Kāli-purāṇa' and claiming to belong to the Mahā-kāla-saṃhitā of the Rudra-yāmala-tantra in the colophon, which runs as follows: iti rudra-yāmale tantre umā-maheśvara-samvāde mahākāla-saṃhitāyāṃ śrī-kāli-purāṇo 'yam samāpitam.]
(4) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 10-11, Nos. 13-14. [No. 13 is a very old, worn-out, worm-eaten, complete Newari Ms dated 202 Nepali era and calling itself 'Kāli-purāṇa' in the final colophon. No. 14 is an old, undated, complete Ms written in Bengali characters.]
(5) Mittra, Notices, I, p. 80, No. 149.—A complete Nāgara Ms deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society Calcutta.

All the above-mentioned Ms are generally the same as our printed editions. For other Ms of the present Kālikā-p. see (1) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, pp. 907-8 (its contents being generally the same as those of Eggeling, No. 3339); (2) Chakravarthi, Vaiṅgiya Saṅhitya Parijat Cat., pp. 69-70 (two complete Bengali Ms of 90 chapters each) and p. 70 (No. 1241—a very old Bengali Ms); (3) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 337 (two complete Nāgara Ms); (4) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 187; (5) Hiratal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Ms in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 81; (6) Roth, Tubingen Cat., p. 13; (7) P. P. S. Sastrī, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7163-64, No. 10565 (incomplete); (8) Dacca Univ. Ms Nos. 56 (dated 1684 Śaṅka and complete in 90 chapters), 383B (dated 1672 Śaṅka and complete in 96 chapters), 633 (dated 1676 Śaṅka and complete in 95 chapters), 877 (incomplete), 943 (consisting of 90 chapters but missing fols. 1-5), 2671 (incomplete), 2890 (complete in 90 chapters), 3268 (dated 1716 Śaṅka and complete in 90 chapters), and 4235 (incomplete); (9) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV, ii, pp. 1608-1610, Nos. 2342-43 (Telugu Ms, the first of which is complete in 90 chapters); (10) Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, p. 127, No. 447 (complete and written in Bengali script); and so on.

In the Preface, p. bxxix to his translation of the Viṣṇu-p. Wilson mentions a Ms of the Kālikā-p. of 98 chapters.

422 See Durgā-pūja-tattva, pp. 14, 18 and 20, wherein there are some verses from the 'Kāli-p.' which are found in the present Kālikā-p. See also Durgotsava-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi), p. 17 and Viśramitrodāya, Rājanīti-prakāsa, p. 39. In the final colophons of two Ms of the Kālikā-p. preserved in the Calcutta Sans. College and the Asiatic
by an unknown reporter with a salutation to Puruṣottama Hari and his illusive Māyā. This reporter informs us that once some sages, Kamaṭha and others, approached Mārkaṇḍeya who lived near the Himalayas, and requested him to speak on the following topics: How Kāli, as Sati, fascinated Śiva, the foremost of those who subdued their organs of senses; how Sati was born to Dakṣa; how Śiva was inclined to accept her as his wife; how Sati immolated herself through rage against Dakṣa and was reborn as the daughter of Himālaya; and how she occupied half of the body of Śiva, ‘the enemy of Smara’.

Consequently, Mārkaṇḍeya mentioned how he inherited these Purāṇa topics from Brahmā successively through the sages Nārada, Bālakhiyās, Yavakritā and Asita, and began with a salutation to Cakra-pāṇi (Viṣṇu), by worshipping whom, he said, Brahmā became the creator. Mārkaṇḍeya then went on narrating the above-mentioned topics with relevant digressions which are no less important and interesting than the main topics. Thus, the contents of the present Kālikā-p. are as follows:

Chap. 1.—Brahmā’s creation of Dakṣa and other Prajā-patis as well as of the ten sages named Marici, Atri etc.; and the birth of a beautiful damsel (named Saṃdhyā) and of a flower-missiled male of unparalleled beauty from Brahmā’s mind. Brahmā assigned to this person the duty of helping the eternal process of creation by influencing all, male and female, by means of his flowery shafts of love.

Chap. 2.—The sages gave this person the names Manmatha, Kāma, Manobhava, Madana, Darpaka and Kandarpa, and to the first-born woman the name of Saṃdhyā.

Society (Calcutta) the work is called ‘Kāli-purāṇa’ (see the immediately preceding footnote). In his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1192 (No. 3340) Eggeling describes a Ms (of the extant Kālikā-p.) which calls itself ‘Brhat-kāli-purāṇa’ on fol. 1 a; a ‘Kāli-p.’ is drawn upon in the Kāli-tattva-prakāśikā of Raghuṇāthendra-dīvayogi (Shastri, Notices, I, pp. 59-61, No. 65).

Ibid., 1. 16-18.
A summary of the contents of this work was published by V. Raghavan in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII, pp. 338-360.
Brahmā’s boon to Madana to be all-overpowering. Madana’s standing in the aśīṭha pose and testing of the power of his arrows on Brahmā, Saṃdhya, Dakṣa and the ten sages; and the consequent origin of 49 Bhāvas, the Hāvas such as ‘vivoka etc.,’ and the 64 Arts from the bodies of those who were influenced by Madana. Śiva’s appearance at the spot, and his censure on Brahmā and others, with the result that the Agniśvāta and Barhiṣad Pitṛs were born of the perspiration of the abashed Brahmā, a beautiful young girl was born from Dakṣa’s sweat, and the Somapa, Sukālin, Ājyapa and Havīṃanta (or Havirbhuj) Pitṛs were born from the sweat of Kratu, Vasiṣṭha, Pulastya and Anāgiras respectively.

Chap. 3.—Brahmā’s curse on Madana to be burnt to ashes by Śiva, but his assurance, on Madana’s entreaty, that he would regain his body through Śiva’s favour. Dakṣa’s offer to Madana of the girl born from his own sweat and named by him Rati; and Madana’s acceptance of that girl as his wife.

Chap. 4.—Brahmā’s request to Madana to bring Śiva under the influence of love. Birth of Vasanta from the sigh of Brahmā, when the latter was thinking of a female who could captivate Śiva’s mind. Brahmā’s assurance that Madana would be helped in his attempt by Vasanta, Śṛṅgāra, Bhāvas, Hāvas, and the sixty-four Arts.

Chap. 5.—Dakṣa’s penance, and Brahmā’s eulogy of Viṣṇu-māyā (also called Viṣṇu’s Yoga-nidrā), in order to induce her to fascinate Śiva and become his wife; Viṣṇu-māyā’s appearance in a beautiful and elevated form having a collyrium-dark complexion, four hands, and dishevelled hair, carrying a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands, and mounted on a lion.

Chap. 6.—Viṣṇu-māyā’s consent to be born as a daughter of Dakṣa and fascinate Śiva. Brahmā informed Madana of Viṣṇu-māyā’s consent and encouraged him to

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influence Śiva, but Madana hesitated and wanted to hear the glory of Viṣṇu-māyā. Brahmā felt discouraged at the words of Madana and began to sigh. Birth of Gaṇas of different forms and mien from Brahmā’s sighs; and the naming of these Gaṇas as Māras, because they shouted “Kill, kill” (māraya, māraya) as soon as they were born. Brahmā’s appointment of these Māras as Madana’s assistants; and his description of the glory of Yoga-nidrā who is called Viṣṇu-māyā and Mahāmāyā and is described as the cause of creation, preservation and destruction.

Chap. 7.—Being requested by Brahmā to induce Śiva to accept Viṣṇu-māyā (reborn as the daughter of Dakṣa) as his wife, Madana narrated how he followed Śiva to the Himavat, Meru, Nāṭakesvara and Kailāsa with Madhu (i.e. Vasanta), Rati and others in his train, and excited amorous sentiment even in the birds, animals and plants of these places but failed to influence Śiva and his bull. Madana, however, added that he would make a fresh attempt with the help of the Māras, after Viṣṇu-māyā was reborn to become the wife of Śiva.

Chap. 8.—Madana went with his retinue to Śiva’s place. In the meantime Viṣṇu-māyā (also called Yoga-nidrā), being pleased with Dakṣa’s penance, appeared before him as Kālikā who was mounted on a lion, had a dark complexion, heaving breasts, four hands, a beautiful face, dishevelled hair, and red eyes, and held a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands and assured boon and safety with the other two.428 Dakṣa’s eulogy of Kālikā; and the latter’s consent to be born as Dakṣa’s daughter and become the wife of Śiva. Kālikā’s warning to Dakṣa that she would forsake her body the moment the latter would neglect her. Dakṣa then repaired to his own house and created many mindborn sons. Next, with a view to creating children by sexual intercourse Dakṣa married Vīraṇa’s daughter named

428 Kālikā-p. 8, 9-10—
śiṃhasṭhāṁ kālikāṁ kṛṣṇāṁ pīnottuṅga-payodharāṁ //
caturbhujāṁ cāru-vaktṛāṁ nilōpaladharāṁ subhāṁ //
varādābhayadāṁ khadga-hastāṁ sarva-guṇāṅvītām //
ārakta-nayanāṁ cāru-mukta-keśiṁ manoharāṁ //
Viraṇi and Asakni. Viṣṇu-māyā was born to Viraṇi as a daughter and was named Satī. Satī's devotion to Śiva from her infancy. Nārada's blessing on Satī that she would be married to Śiva.

Chap. 9.—Satī attained youth and, with her mother's consent, worshipped Śiva with the offer of particular articles on particular days of different months (viz., on the Nandakā Tithi of Āśvina, and on the Kārttika-caturdaśī, Mārgaśīra-kṛṣṇāṣṭami, Pauṣa-kṛṣṇa-saptami, Māgha-paurṇamāsi, Phālguna-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī, Caitra-śukla-caturdaśī, Vaiśākhā-śukla-ṭṛitiyā, Jyaiṣṭha-pūrṇimā, Āṣāḍha-śukla-caturdaśī, Śrāvaṇa-śukla-ṇaṣṭami, Śrāvaṇa-śukla-caturdaśī, and Bhadra-kṛṣṇa-trayodasi). As soon as Satī began this Vrata, Brahmā and Viṣṇu went to Śiva with their wives, spoke on their unity and mutual relationship, and requested him to marry for the good of the world. Śiva agreed, and wanted to know whether there was any woman who might suit his nature. Brahmā named Satī. Madana was glad to hear this conversation and waited with Vasanta for the opportune moment.

Chap. 10.—Satī again performed the Nandā-vrata on the Āśvina-śukla-ṣṭami. Śiva appeared before Satī and, under the influence first of Madana's arrows named Harṣanā and Mohana and then of Māyā, granted her a boon that she would become his wife. Satī was glad, and with her collyrium-dark complexion shone before Śiva like the stain in the moon. She advised Śiva to make to her father Dakṣa a proposal of marriage, and went to her mother. Śiva also repaired to his own place in the Himālaya. Being anxious to have Satī, Śiva asked Brahmā to arrange the marriage. Brahmā met Dakṣa, had his consent, and returned to Śiva. Nārada, Marici and other sages also arrived there.

Chap. 11.—With Brahmā, Nārada and others as well as with the Gaṇas in his train Śiva arrived at Dakṣa's house. Dakṣa gave Satī in marriage to Śiva at an auspicious moment. Viṣṇu then arrived there, praised Śiva's union with the dark-complexioned Satī, and asked Śiva to kill the 'dasyus' as well as that person who would look passionately at Satī.
Brahmā became enamoured of Śatī, so much so that his energy (tejas) fell on the ground and gave birth to the thundering clouds named Saṃvarta, Āvarta, Puṣkara and Droṇa. Śiva got enraged and was about to kill Brahmā with his trident. Dakśa, Nārada and others tried to appease him, but Śiva persisted. Viṣṇu, however, pacified Śiva by pointing out that Brahmā, himself and Śiva were identical and not different from one another.

Chaps. 12-13.—Mārkaṇḍeya's elaborate reproduction of Viṣṇu's speech on the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, which is based on an explanation of the principles of the origin of the universe from Supreme Brahma (paraṁ brahma) which appears as Prakṛti (also called Māyā), Puruṣa and Kāla for the sake of creation. Śiva became absorbed in meditation; and Viṣṇu entered his body and made him realise Supreme Brahma, the whole process of creation, and the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Chap. 14.—Śiva sent away Viṣṇu and others, and went to the Himalaya and thence to Kailāsa with Śatī and the Gaṇas. Being asked to live in a different place and to present themselves before Śiva whenever required, the Gaṇas went to Mahākośi-prapāta in the Himalaya.

Description of Śiva's love-sports with Śatī in the caves and bowers of Kailāsa.

Śiva and Śatī then went to the Mahākośi-prapāta. Madana also followed them there with Vasanta and Rati.

Description of the beauty of the spring created by Vasanta.

In this beautiful place Śiva lived with Śatī for twenty-four divine years.

Chaps. 15-16.—At the advent of the rainy season (which is beautifully described in a few verses) Śiva went with Śatī to Kailāsa and lived there for ten thousand (divine) years.

In the meantime Dakśa made arrangements for the performance of a great sacrifice, in which all, except Śiva and Śatī, were invited. Śatī was enraged at this insult and
gave up her life with the intention of being reborn as the daughter of Himālaya.

Chap. 17.—Śiva determined to destroy Dakṣā’s sacrifice, and arrived at the latter’s house. The sacrifice assumed the form of a deer and tried to escape. As Śiva pursued the Sacrifice even to Brahmā’s region, it entered Sati’s corpse, at the sight of which Śiva forgot the Sacrifice and began to weep for Sati.

Chap. 18.—When Śiva was thus weeping, Makaradvaja struck him with his shafts. Śiva became mad with grief and lamented severely by mentioning Sati’s name. Tears rolled down and threatened to burn the earth. So the gods eulogised Śanaiscara and engaged him to hold up Śiva’s tears. The gods protected Śanaiscara by infatuating Śiva through Yogamāyā, but Śanaiscara was unable to hold Śiva’s tears for a long time. He deposited these in the ‘great mountain’ Jaladhāraka which was situated in Puṣkara-dvīpa on the west of the ocean of water. These tears rent the mountain also and finally reached Yama’s region, where these tears assumed the form of the river Vaitaraṇī and flowed into the eastern sea.

With Sati’s body on his shoulder Śiva went to the eastern provinces and roamed about like a mad man. In order to relieve Śiva of the corpse, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śanaiscara entered it, cut it into pieces, and made these pieces fall at certain places on earth.

At Devikūṭa fell Sati’s feet first of all; at Uḍḍiyāna fell Sati’s thighs; on the Kāma-giri in Kāmarūpa (kāmarūpe kāma-girau) fell Sati’s female organ; towards the east on the plane in Kāmarūpa fell Sati’s navel (tatraiva nyapatad bhūmau pūrvato nābhi-maṇḍalam); at Jālandhara fell Sati’s breasts adorned with a golden necklace; and on the Pūrṇagiri beyond Kāmarūpa fell Sati’s shoulders and neck (and head ?).

That part of the earth, which Śiva traversed with Sati’s
body on his shoulder, became known as the sacrificial country in the east (prācyēsu yājñiko deśāh). The other limbs of Sati were cut by the gods into small pieces and blown by the wind into the heavenly Ganges. Śiva resorted, in the forms of liṅgas, to those places where Sati’s feet and other limbs fell; and Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śani and other gods worshipped these limbs at these places. The great goddess Yoga-nidrā was called

Mahābhāgā at Devikūṭa,
Kātyāyanī at Uḍḍiyāna,
Kāmākhya at Kāmarūpa,
Pūrneśvari on the Pūrṇagiri,
Caṇḍi on the Jālandhara mountain, and
Dikkaravāsini and Lalitakāntā at the eastern border of Kāmarūpa.

Śiva sat down at the place where Sati’s head fell, and began to lament. Brahmā and others came to console Śiva, but the latter turned himself into a liṅga out of shame and grief. The gods eulogised the liṅga; and Śiva came out of it. Brahmā requested Śiva to overcome grief and assured him that Sati would be born again to become his wife. Śiva and Brahmā went to Kailāsa and thence to Oṣadhiprastha, where Himavat received them with due honour. Śiva met Vijayā, and the latter began to weep for Sati.

Chaps. 19-23.—Brahmā’s consolation to Śiva, and his taking of the latter to the solitude of the lake Śipra, which was situated on the west of Himavat’s capital and from which the river Śiprā came out.

[Digressions:—

(1) Story of the origin of the river Śiprā from the waters with which Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahādeva sprinkled Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī on the Mānasācālā at the time of their marriage and which flowed into the lake Śipra on the Himālaya. This extremely sacred river rushed out of that lake and fell into the southern ocean after going round the Mahendra mountain (pariśtya mahendram). Praise of bath in the river Śiprā in the month of Kārttika.
(2) Story of Vasiṣṭha's marriage with Arundhatī.—Brahmā's mind-born daughter Saṃdhīyā deemed herself polluted by the influence of Kāma as well as by the amorous glances of Brahmā and his mind-born sons and determined to expiate her sin. She went to the Candrabhāga mountain, took her residence at the side of a beautiful lake named Bṛhallohitā, and practised penance there for four yugas according to the instructions of Vasiṣṭha (who advised her to worship Viṣṇu and mutter the mantra 'om namo vāsu-devāya om'). She threw her body (which was converted into a cake) into the fire of the sacrifice instituted by Medhātithi and was reborn as the daughter of the latter. After she had received instructions from Sāvitṛi, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī, Drupadā and Bahulā on chastity, she fell in love with Vasiṣṭha and was duly married to him. From the nuptial waters of Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī arose seven rivers—Śiprā, Kauśikī, Kāveri, Gomati, Devikā, Sarayū and Irāvati, which flowed into the southern ocean.

(3) Märkaṇḍeya accounted for the name of the mountain Candrabhāga and explained the origin of the river Candrabhāga by narrating the story of Dakṣa's curse on the Moon. According to this story, the Moon neglected all his wives except Rohini and cursed them to be known as 'ugra', 'tīkṣṇa' and 'ayātrika' (inauspicious for start). Being unable to correct him by repeated warnings, Dakṣa cursed him to be attacked with the worst type of Phthisis. As a result of this curse the Moon began to wane. But Brahmā cured him of the disease by bathing him in the holy waters of the lake Bṛhallohitā. Brahmā then divided the Moon into sixteen parts for the benefit of the gods and the Pītrs. A stream named Sitā originated at the place where the gods met for saving the Moon. This stream first fell into the lake Bṛhallohitā. It then came out of this lake under the name of Chandrabhāga and flowed into the southern ocean by piercing the western side of the Himalayas.]

Chap. 24.—Finding that Śiva was trying to get composed, Brahmā and other gods eulogised Yoga-māyā and
prayed to her to withdraw herself from Śiva’s heart. Yogamāyā abided by the prayer. Viṣṇu then entered Śiva’s heart and gave him insight into the intricacies of creation, preservation and destruction as well as into all the incidents concerning Sati. Śiva got composed and remained absorbed in meditation for one thousand divine years.

[Chaps. 25-41.—Digressions:—

Description of ādi-sarga (primary creation).—Division of time into nīmeṣa, kāśṭhā, kalā, kṣaṇa, muhūrtā etc. according to divine and human standards; duration of the different yugas; description of pralaya (called prākṛta laya) preceding creation; account of primary creation (including Viṣṇu’s assumption of the forms of Yajña-varāha and Ananta for raising and supporting the earth respectively, origin of Rudra and Virāt, Brahmā’s creation of Svāyambhuva Manu, Dakṣa and the ten mind-born sons, and Varāha’s furnishing the earth with seven oceans and seven continents).—Chaps. 25-26.

Description of secondary creation (pratisarga) by Rudra, Virāt, Manu, Dakṣa, and Marīci and other mind-born sons of Brahmā.—Chap. 27.

Definition of ‘Manvantara’; and description of pralaya occurring at the end of a Manvantara. Viṣṇu’s sleep on the serpent-bed. Brahmā’s desire for creation, and his consequent eulogy of Yoga-nidrā to rouse Viṣṇu. Beginning of creation by Brahmā.—Chap. 28.

Worthlessness of everything except Brahmā. Praise of nivartaka dharma, by practising which one can attain the Permanent (nitya).—Chap. 29.

Viṣṇu’s continued amorous sports with the Earth by assuming the form of a Boar; and the birth of three powerful sons named Svṛttta, Kanaka and Ghora. Trouble created by these sons as well as by the Boar himself to the whole creation. Śiva and others’ prayer to Viṣṇu to give up his Boar-form. Viṣṇu’s instruction to Śiva to kill the Boar by assuming the form of a Śarabha. The Śarabha’s unsuccessful fight with the Boar and his sons, and its killing
of the Narasiṃha, after Viṣṇu had infused his own energy into it. Origin of the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa from the two parts of the body of the Narasiṃha. The Boar's request to the Śarabha to construct implements of sacrifice with his limbs, and to protect the son conceived by the Earth during the period of her menstruation and to kill him when he would become a burden to the Earth. The Śarabha's killing of the Boar and his sons, after the latter had transferred their own energy to Viṣṇu's body. Origin of innumerable pramathas of varied forms from the Śarabha's breaths. Classification of these pramathas; and description of their conduct.—Chaps. 30-31.

Origin of 1008 kinds of sacrifices (including Mahāmedha, Naramedha, Gomedha etc.)420 as well as of the sacrificial implements from the different parts of the body of Yajña-varāha severed by Viṣṇu. Origin of Dakṣiṇāgni, Gārhapatyāgni and Āhavaniyāgni from the bodies of Suvṛtta, Kanaka and Ghora respectively.—Chap. 32.

Description of ākālika pralaya (untimely deluge) which followed the Vārāha Kalpa and which was invited by sage Kapila by way of cursing Manu who had refused to grant to the sage a piece of land fit for the practice of penance. Story of the Fish incarnation, which saved Manu and the seeds of creation during the deluge.—Chaps. 33-34.

Story of the Tortoise incarnation, which supported the earth and levelled its surface at the end of the ākālika pralaya. Svāyambhuva Manu's saving of the seeds of creation. Creation by Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Descendants of Dakṣa, Marici and others.—Chap. 35.

Śiva's discarding his Śarabha-form. Origin of Kapāli-bhairava from the middle part of the body of the Śarabha. Mention of the rites and practices of the Kāpālikas (kapālavrata-dhārīṇaḥ):—They offer, into the fire, meat besmeared with brain and fat and placed in the skull of a Brahmin; they worship their deity with wine and offer to him human flesh; they always drink blood; after performing sacrifices

420 For the names of these sacrifices see chap. 32, verses 13-27.
they break their fast with wine; and they hold skulls in their hands, wear unclean tiger-skins, and have Kapāli-bhairava as their deity. Kapāli-bhairava, who is also called Śmaśāna-bhairava and Mahābhairava, is as red as the morning sun, has eighteen hands and red eyes, sports always with Kāli, Pracaṇḍā and other nāyikās, takes fresh-burnt human flesh, drinks blood, wears garlands of severed hands, and has a massive face (sthūla-vaktraḥ), dangling lips (lamboṣṭhaḥ) and short but swelled legs. He is cheerful, laughs out boisterously, and makes queer sounds with his mouth. He is seated on a human corpse and is worshipped by men on the Caitra-śukla-caturdāśi with the offer of wine, meat, fish, blood, honey, fruits etc.—Chap. 36.

Story of the demon (asura) Naraka.—The Boar begot an extremely powerful son on the Earth during the period of her impurity, but the birth of the son was very much delayed by Brahmā and others for the good of the world. The Earth, therefore, went to Viṣṇu and sought his protection. Viṣṇu requested the Earth to bear the son in her womb until the entire Satya-yuga and the first half of the Tretā-yuga expired. He assured her that she would deliver the son after Rāma killed Rāvana in the middle of the Tretā-yuga. The Earth, therefore, had to wait for the time of delivery.

In the meantime Janaka, the highly qualified but sonless king of Videha, felt a strong desire for a male child. Hearing from Nārada that Daśaratha got sons through a sacrifice, he instituted one with Gautama and his son Śatānanda as priests. As a result of this sacrifice, two sons and a daughter were born to him at the sacrificial ground (yajña-bhūmau).

438 Kālikā-p. 36. 11-15a—maddhyaṃ tu śāraḥṣṭam kāyaṃ śaṭṭkarasya mahātmanah//kapāli bhairavo bhūtā caṇḍa-rūpi durāsadāḥ///mastiṣkā-medasā yuktam māṃsaṃ juhvatī ye śucau//brahma-kapāla-pātṛasthaṃ surābhir deva-pūjānam///baliḥ manusya-māṃsena pānāṃ tu rudhiram sadā//surayā pāraņāṃ yajñe kapālodbhataḥ-dhāraṇam///vyāghra-carma-parīdhanam samalam trivali-vṛtam///evaṃ kurvanti satataṃ kapālavarta-dhāriṇāḥ//kapāli bhairavas teśāṃ devaḥ pūjyas tu nityasah//
As the daughter remained inside the earth, Janaka had to plough the sacrificial ground according to Nārada’s advice. As soon as the daughter came out of a furrow (sītā), the Earth appeared before Janaka and told him that she would give birth to a son at the sacrificial ground, after she was relieved of her burden through the destruction of Rāvana and other Rākṣasas for the sake of Sītā. She requested Janaka to bring up this son until he attained youth. She then handed over Sītā to Janaka and vanished. In course of time Viṣṇu assumed a human form and killed Rāvana. The Earth then went to the sacrificial ground (yajña-bhūmi) of Janaka and gave birth to a heroic son at the place where Sītā was born. Being thought of by the Earth Viṣṇu appeared before her and said that her son would prosper so long as he would possess human feelings and sentiments (mānuśa-bhāva), but as soon as he would cease to behave like a human being, he would cease to exist, and that he would become a king at the age of sixteen and rule over a concealed (nibhṛta) kingdom comprising the city named Prāgjyotīsa.431 Viṣṇu disappeared; and the Earth informed Janaka of the son born at dead of night (madhya-rātre). Janaka went at once to the place of sacrifice (yajña-vāṭa) and found there an extremely brilliant child ‘that possessed the splendour of the petals of a blue lotus’ (nilotpala-dala-cchavī) and was crying and throwing its hands and feet to and fro. It rolled beyond the boundary of the sacrificial ground, lay on its back by placing its head on the skull of a human being, and continued to cry.432 Janaka picked up the child and informed Gautama of the skull found under its head. Gautama consequently named it Naraka and performed its sacraments according to the

431 Kālikā-p. 38. 44b-45a—
etasya nibhṛtaṁ rājyaṁ yat prāgjyotīsa-saṅjñānakam/
puraṁ tatra ciram sāstā rājyaṁ eṣa sutas tava/

432 Kālikā-p. 38. 51b-53a—
udgacchana sa rudan bālo yajña-bhūmiṁ vyatītya e/a/
kiyad-duṇaṁ jagāmāśūttanālayi mahādyutih/
mānuṣyasya sīras tatra mṛtasya pṛápya bālakah/
svaśīras tatra vīnasya rudanuṁ taṭhau kṣaṇaṁ tadū/
method followed in the case of a Kṣatriya. Janaka brought up Naraka for sixteen years and trained him up as a human being. The Earth also looked after Naraka in the guise of a nurse named Kātyāyanī. When Naraka was about to complete his sixteenth year, the Earth took him to the Ganges and narrated to him the story of his birth. Being eulogised by the Earth Viṣṇu appeared before her and took Naraka as well as the Earth to the city of Prāgjyotisā through the waters of the Ganges. This city was 'situated in the middle of Kāmarūpa', which had Kāmākhya as the principal deity and 'was protected by Śambhu (Śiva) so that it might form his own kingdom.'\(^{432}\) The inhabitants of Kāmarūpa were the Kirātas, 'who looked like golden pillars, were devoid of knowledge, had shaved heads, and were solely bent on taking wine and meat'.\(^{431}\) Being ordered by Viṣṇu Naraka waged war against Ghāṭaka,\(^{435}\) king of the Kirātas, and killed him. Naraka then rode Ghāṭaka's white elephant, killed some of those unruly Kirātas who did not submit to him, and chased the rest beyond the place of goddess Dikkaravāsini in the east. Those Kirātas who were thus driven out, resorted to the eastern sea-coast. Viṣṇu then performed Naraka's coronation and assigned to him the city which was named Prāgjyotisā because Brahmā created the eastern star by residing in it.\(^{436}\) This city extended from the eastern side of the river Karatoypā to the place of Lalitakāntā; in it Mahāmāyā Yoga-nidrā remained always present in the form of Kāmākhya, and there was the Lauhitya, 'the chief of all

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\(^{432}\) Kālikā-\(^{a}\) p. 39. 103-105—
nimajya kṣaṇa-māitreṇa prāgjyotisā-purum gataḥ/
madhyagam kāmarūpasya kāmākhya yatra nāyikā//
sa ca desah svarājyatthe pūrvaṁ guptaṁ ca śambhunā/
kirātaṁ balībhīḥ krūrāṁ ajñāṁ api ca vāsthaṁ/
rukma-stambha-nibhāṃṣ tatra kirātaṁ jīna-vaṁśiṁ∕
anartha-munḍitaṁ madhyā-māṃpaśaṁaka-tatparaṁ//

\(^{434}\) For the relevant verse of the Kālikā-\(^{a}\) p. see the immediately preceding footnote.

\(^{435}\) The Vaṅga, ed, and many of the Mss of the Kālikā-\(^{a}\) p, give the name of the Kirāta chief as 'Ghaṭaka.'

\(^{436}\) Kālikā-\(^{a}\) p. 39. 126b-127a—
asya madhye sthitā brahmā prān-nakṣatraṁ sasārja ha/
tathaḥ prāgjyotisākhyaṁ purī śakra-puri-samā//
rivers’ (nada-rājaḥ) and the son of Brahmā; and it was resorted to permanently, for sport, by Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu, the ten quarter-guardians, Śri (under the name of Bhadrā), the Sun and the Moon. With Śiva’s consent, Viṣṇu settled all the Kirātas in the east on the sea-coast lying between the eastern side of the place of Lalitakāntā and the sea. Having thus purged the Kirātas out of the tract of land which extended from the west of the place of Lalitakāntā to the river Karatoyā and which was the dwelling place of Kāmākhyā, Viṣṇu settled many Veda-knowing Brahmins as well as the sages and the members of the four castes and made this tract of land fit for constant Vedic study and donations, and the result was that this part of the land (deśa) soon came to be known as Kāmarūpa. Viṣṇu then married Naraka to Māyā, daughter of the king of Vidarbha, appointed him ruler of Kāmarūpa, made all arrangements for the proper fortification of his capital, and gave him a weapon named Śakti. He enjoined on Naraka the following prohibitions:— The latter was not to use this weapon on anybody, especially on men, until and unless his life was in danger; he was not to quarrel with gods, Brahmins and sages; and he was not to worship any deity other than Kāmākhyā. Viṣṇu warned Naraka saying that he would breathe his last when he would violate any of these prohibitions. With proper attention to Viṣṇu’s instructions Naraka ruled his kingdom for long with justice and worshipped Kāmākhyā on the ‘great mountain’ Nilakūta. Hearing of Naraka’s prosperity Janaka payed a visit to ‘the city of Prāgjyotiṣa, which was situated in the heart of Kāmarūpa’.

Now, towards the end of the Dvāpara age Naraka (alias Vajradhvaja or Vajraketu) acquired friendship with Bāṇāsura, son of Bali and lord of Śoṇitapura. Bāṇa used to worship Mahādeva and had a demoniacal nature (āsura bhāva). His influence on Naraka was so great that he began to disrespect not only
the Brahmins but also Viṣṇu and Kāmākhya and had no attraction for sacrifices and donations. Once Vasiṣṭha came to Prāgjyotisā to visit Kāmākhya residing in the fort on the Nilakūṭa mountain, but Naraka refused to admit him. Vasiṣṭha became angry and cursed Naraka saying that his progenitor (Viṣṇu) would soon bring about his death by assuming a human form and that Kāmākhya would disappear with her retinue and would not be found there so long as Naraka lived. When the sage left the place, Naraka went to the temple of Kāmākhya and found it completely vacant. He thought of Viṣṇu and the Earth, but neither of them appeared before him. On the other hand, his city lost its splendour, knew no Vedic study and sacrificial rites and ceremonies, and had a very small number of pious householders left in it; and there were many calamities, numerous deaths, and extreme scarcity of water even in the great river Lauhitya.⁴³⁹ So, finding no other way of escape from death, Naraka informed Bāṇa of the situation through a messenger. Bāṇa at once came to Prāgjyotisā, denounced Indra and his best helper Viṣṇu, and advised Naraka to worship Śiva and Brahmapī for remedy. As Śiva was staying secretly in Prāgjyotisā, Naraka decided to worship Brahmapī.⁴⁴⁰ He went to the Brahmacala on the bank of the Lauhitya and practised severe austerities for one hundred human years. Brahmapī was pleased to appear before Naraka and grant him all the boons he asked for, but he advised Naraka not to have any physical connection with Tilottamā and other heavenly damsels, reborn on earth, before Nārada went to Vajradhvajapura (i.e. Prāgjyotisā). Although the boons received from Brahmapī did not make any real improvement in Naraka’s position, the latter felt secure through infatuation and returned to his capital with complete satisfaction.

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⁴³⁹ Kālikā-p. 40.28—
ītayo bahavo jātā mṛtās ca bahavo janāḥ/ 
lauhitya-nada-rāgo’pi hina-toyas tadābhavat///

⁴⁴⁰ Kālikā-p. 40.66—
naivārādhyas tathā saṃbhur antarguptaḥ sa me pure/ 
tasmād brahmapī samārādhya vacanāt tava mitraka///
Bāṇa heard from Naraka all about his austerities but did not feel encouraged in the least. He advised Naraka to attack Indra with the help of heroic Asuras and to procreate sons. Consequently, Naraka begot on his wife four sons named Bhagadatta, Mahāśīrṣa, Madavat and Sumālin. He secured the service of Hayagrīva, Muru and other powerful demons and began to oppress the gods, sages and others by assuming a demoniacal nature (āsura bhāva). He robbed Aditi of her ear-rings and perpetrated various atrocities in earth and heaven, so much so that the Earth was compelled to pray to the gods for relief. As a result of this prayer, Viṣṇu incarnated himself as Kṛṣṇa, and Tilottamā and others were born as mortals. Naraka abducted these damsels and waited for Nārada’s arrival. In the meantime Kṛṣṇa went to Prāgjayotīṣa and attacked Naraka. Though alarmed at the sight of Kālikā (or Kāmākhya) at the side of Kṛṣṇa, Naraka gave a tough fight, which resulted in his death. Kṛṣṇa installed Bhagadatta on the throne and gave him the weapon named Śakti. With Aditi’s ear-rings as well as with the maṇi-parvata and Varuṇa’s umbrella Kṛṣṇa repaired to Dvārakā. —Chaps. 37-41.]

Chaps. 42-46.—Menakā, wife of Himavat, wanted to have offspring. She worshipped Mahāmāya Yoga-nidrā for twenty-seven days from the Aṣṭami Tithi of the month of Caitra. This worship was repeated for twenty-seven years, and at the end of this period Kālikā appeared before Menakā and granted her a boon which resulted in the birth of one hundred sons including Maināka. Kālikā, who, in her birth as Sati, had already contemplated to become Menakā’s daughter, was born to the latter in the spring. As this new-born daughter had a dark-blue complexion and ‘resem-

441 Kālikā-p. 41.104b-105—
 sa yudhyat-kṛṣṇa-nikāte kālikāṁ kālikopamām//
 raktāsya-nayanāṁ dirghāṁ khadga-saktidharāṁ tatakam apāyaj jagatāṁ dhātṛm kāmākhyaṁ api mohinām//

442 Kālikā-p. 42. 41b-42a—
 vasanta-samaye devī navamīyāṁ rṣa-yogataḥ//
 ardha-rātre samutpannā gaṇgeva iṣāi-maṇḍalāt//
bled the petals of a blue lotus', she was named 'Kāli' by Himavat and 'Pārvatī' by the other relatives. Kāli (i.e. Pārvatī) began to grow up in Himavat's house to the delight of all. Once Nārada came to Himavat, explained to him how Satī was reborn as Kāli, and advised him to give Kāli in marriage to Hara. He further assured Himavat that by dint of her penance Kāli would be able to occupy half of Hara's body and that she would have a golden complexion and be known as Gaurī.

At this time Śiva went with his retinue to the place of Gaṅgā's descent (gaṅgāvatāra) and intimated to Himavat his intention of practising penance there. Himavat received him with due honour and appointed Kāli to serve him during the period of his penance. In the meantime the demon Tāraka became the lord of the three worlds and began to tyrannise all. As none but the son born of Śiva's energy could kill this demon, Indra requested Madana to manage to unite Śiva with Kāli. Madana remembered Brahmā's curse and agreed, though with fear, to comply with Indra's request.

[The remaining part of this story closely follows that of Kālidāsa's Kumāra-sambhava.

According to the Kālikā-p. Śiva besmeared his body with Kāma's ashes, Brahmā created Vaḍavāgni out of Śiva's wrath and threw it into the sea, and Kāli practised penance for three thousand years and muttered the six-syllabled mantra 'om namah śivāya' according to Nārada's instruction.]

[In chaps. 47-91 Mārkaṇḍeya reproduces the interlocution between Aurva and Sagara.]

Chap. 47.—Further stories about Kāli.—

Being addressed as 'bhinnāñjana-śyāmā' (black like powdered collyrium) before Urvaśī and other Apsarasas, Kāli became highly offended with Śiva and set herself to the practice of severe austerities. Śiva, therefore, furnished her with a golden complexion by bathing her in the waters of the celestial Ganges (ākāśa-gaṅgā).
Once Kāli saw her own image reflected on Śiva’s chest and took it to be that of another woman. She became angry; and Śiva had to please her by allowing her to occupy half of his body.

(For description of Ardhanārīśvara see verses 159-181).

Chaps. 48-53.—Story of the birth of Bṛṣṇī and Mahākāla, their appointment as Śiva’s Gaṇas, their rebirth as monkey-faced human beings named Vetāla and Bhairava, and their worship of Śiva and Pārvati.—

From Śiva’s energy, which was meant for procreating Skanda, two small particles fell on the Himālaya. From these particles originated two sons of Śaṃkara named Bṛṣṇī and Mahākāla. They were appointed by Śiva as heads of Gaṇas and were posted at the gate when Śiva was enjoying the company of Pārvatī after Skanda’s birth. (—Chap. 48).

Once Bṛṣṇī and Mahākāla chanced to see Pārvatī in slipt garment. They were consequently cursed by her to be born as monkey-faced human beings. As they insisted upon having Śiva and Pārvatī as their parents even in their birth as mortals, Śiva was born on earth as Candraśekhara, son of king Pauṣya, and Pārvatī as Tārāvatī, daughter of king Kakutstha. Candraśekhara, being born of three mothers, was also named Tryambaka. In course of time Candraśekhara attained youth, married Tārāvatī, and became king of Karavīrapura in Brahmāvarta. (—Chaps. 49-50). Once a sage named Kāpota saw Tārāvatī bathing in the waters of the Drṣadvatī and wanted to enjoy her person. As Kāpota could not be dissuaded, Tārāvatī saved herself by sending her unmarried sister Citrāṅgadā, who was born of Urvaśī and accompanied Tārāvatī as a maid-servant due to Aṣṭāvakra’s curse. After two sons named Tumburu and Suvarcas had been born to Citrāṅgadā, Kāpota saw through the deceit and cursed Tārāvatī that two monkey-faced sons would be begotten on her by an old and ugly skull-bearing (kapāli) person. As a result of this curse Bṛṣṇī and Mahākāla were born to Tārāvatī as Vetāla and Bhairava. Tārāvatī had three more sons
named Uparicara, Damana and Alarka by Candrasekhara. (—Chaps. 51-52). As neither Candrasekhara himself nor his three legitimate (aurasa) sons had much affection for Vetala and Bhairava, the latter left their paternal home and wandered about in melancholy. Once they met Kāpota and learnt from him the story of their birth. As they were bent on worshipping Śiva, Kāpota first spoke of Varanasi as a sacred Śiva-kṣetra where Śiva alone resides. He then distinguished between a ‘kṣetra’ and a ‘pītha’, and praised the extremely secret mahāpītha named Kāmarūpa, where both Śaṃkara and Pārvatī are always present. He described Kāmarūpa as a triangular and hilly tract of land extending from the Karatoyā to the place of Dikkaravāsini and measuring 100 yojanas in length and 30 yojanas in breadth, and spoke of a number of sacred places, hills and rivers including the following:—

(a) Six sacred places (in and around Kāmarūpa) where Śiva lives with Pārvatī.
(b) Nilaparvata, where Pārvatī resides with Śaṃkara.
(c) Nāṭaka-saila, where Śaṃkara lives permanently with Pārvatī.

As Vetala and Bhairava preferred to go to the Nāṭakācalā to worship Śiva, Kāpota advised them to see Vasiṣṭha on the Saṃdhyaśala (in Kāmarūpa) and learn from him the mantras and procedure of Śiva-worship. Vetala and Bhairava went to Kāmarūpa, bathed in the rivers Karatoyā and Jaṭodbhavā as well as in the Nandikuṇḍa, payed homage to the deity named Jalpiśa, bowed down to Śiva (Vṛṣabha-dhvaja) on the Nāṭakācalā, and thence went to the south to the Saṃdhyācala, which was situated on the

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443 Kālikā-p. 53. 72b-74a—
tapasā cātītvreṇa cirād bhavati mokesadas //
nacirāt kāmadaṃ punyam kṣetram pītham nigadyate /
cit tu kāmado devo nacirād yatra jñānadas //
tat kṣetram iti lokeṣu gadyate pūrva-bandibhi //

444 Kālikā-p. 53. 77b-79a—
karatoyā nadi pūrvam yāvad dikkaravāśīnim //
trīṃśad-yojana-visṭāras yojanaikā-śatāyatam //
trikonaṃ kṛṣṇa-varaṇaṃ ca prabhūtacala-pūritam //
nadī-sata-samāyuktam kāmarūpaṃ prakṛtiṃ /
bank of the river Kāntā brought down by Vasiṣṭha and which was so called because Vasiṣṭha used to perform his evening prayers on this mountain. Being requested by Vetāla and Bhairava to tell them the mantras and procedure of Śiva-worship Vasiṣṭha declared meditation and worship as equally necessary for the pleasure of Śiva and spoke on the following topics:— Description of the ‘five mantras’ (pañca-mantrāḥ), viz., Saṃmada, Saṃdoha, Nāda, Gaurava and Prāśāda; dhyāna of Śiva having five faces, ten hands, fifteen eyes, and a snake as a necklace; description of Śiva’s five faces, viz., Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna; performance of bhūta-śuddhi and mudrās; worship of Bālā, Jyeṣṭhā, Raudrī, Kāli, Kalavikarini, Balapramathini, Damani and Manonmathani; and so on. In accordance with Vasiṣṭha’s advice Vetāla and Bhairava went to the Nāṭaka-śaila, which had the form of an umbrella and which was so called because Śiva constantly danced on it in joy. They praised and worshipped Śiva there with devotion, and the latter was pleased to confer on them immortality and divinity. Śiva further advised them to worship Pārvatī and told them that without Pārvatī he alone was not able to fulfil their desire for the attainment of the status of Ganas. (Chap. 53).

Chaps. 54-58.—At the request of Vetāla and Bhairava, Śiva described to them the mantras and procedures of the worship of Mahāmāyā Pārvatī; and these, Aurva said, were later codified by Bhairava into a work called Śivāmṛta consisting of 18 Paṭalas and dealing with nirṇaya-vidhi and kalpa.444

As Sagara wanted to know what Śiva had said to Vetāla and Bhairava, Aurva agreed to describe ‘in brief the contents of the 18 Paṭalas’ and spoke on the eight-syllabled mantra of Mahāmāyā Vaiṣṇavi and the method of her worship in a māṇḍala with this as well as other Tantric mantras.

[The method of Mahāmāyā-worship, as described by

444 Kālikā-p. 54.5—
yad aśṭādaśabhiḥ paśeṭ paṭalaiś ca sa bhairavabah/
sanirṇaya-vidhīḥ kalpaṁ niḥhabhandha śivāṅtre ||
Aurva in chaps. 54-58, is called Vaiṣṇavi-tantra. It consists of the following operations:— Drawing of a *maṇḍala* with the figure of a *padma* in it; performance of bhūtāpasāraṇa, *dig-bandhana* and *śarīra-suddhi*; worship of Mahāmāyā's porters (dvārapāla), viz., Nandi, Bhringi, Mahākāla and Gaṇeṣa, as well as of other attendant deities; offer of different articles (*upacāra*) including various kinds of incense, viz., *yakṣa-dhūpa*, *pratīvāha*, *piṇḍa-dhūpa*, goloka, aguru and sindhuvāra; worship of Kāmeśvari, Gupta-durgā, Vindhya-kandara-vāsini, Koṭeśvari, Dirghikā, Bhuvanesvari, Kāmākhya, Dikkaravāsini, Mātaṅgi, Lalitā and other deities as well as of eight Yoginis named Śaila-putri, Caṇḍa-ghanṭā, Skandamāṭr etc.; sacrifice of animals (such as birds, tortoises, crocodiles, he-goats, boars, buffaloes, *godhikās*, deer, horses, elephants, *śarabhas* etc.) as well as of men to the goddess; muttering of the mantra with the use of a japa-mālā; and performance of *joni-mudrā*.

Description of the *aṅgi-mantra* and of the method of effecting self-protection with it (vaiṣṇavi-tantra-kavaca).

Chap. 54 has the following colophon:— iti śri-kālikā-purāṇe mahāmāyā-kalpe aṣṭādaśa-paṭale catuh-pañcāśattamo ’dhyāyah.

Verses 24b-36 of chap. 55 deal with Mahāmāyā-dhyāna and describe Mahāmāyā as ‘śoṇa-padma-pratikāśā’, ‘catur-bhuja’, ‘vivasanā’, ‘baddha-paryaṅka-saṃkalpa-niviḍāsana-rājita’ etc. and as having her body supported by a pillar of jewels (gātreṇa ratna-stambham ca samyag ālambya samsthitām).

Chap. 59.—On *uttara-tantra*.—Dissertation on the *aṅga-mantras*, mudrās, mediums of worship (viz., *sthaṇḍila*, agni, toya, *sūrya-marici*, *pratimā*, *śālagrama-silā* and *śiva-liṅga*), and so on.

Chaps. 60-63.—On *devi-tantra*.—Procedure of the special worship of Devī. Worship of Devī on the Aṣṭamī and Navami Tithis in any of the mediums *liṅga*, *pustaka*, *sthaṇḍila*, *pādukā*, *pratimā* etc. with the offer of one's own blood (nija-śoṇitaiḥ).

Praise of Devī-worship at Vārāṇasi, Puruṣottama,
Dvāravatī, Vindhya etc., especially in the different rivers, places etc. in Kāmarūpa.446

Praise of Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala. (Chap. 60).

Origin and description of the popular form of Mahiṣāsura-mardini of ten hands; and the method of worshipping this form in different parts of the year.

Making of different kinds of pavītras (viz., Ratnamālā, Nāgahāra, Vanamālā etc.); and the method of pavitrāropana (with the offer of fish, meat etc. and the performance of music and dance at night by bands of actors and dancers as well as by prostitutes). (Chap. 61).

Description of the methods of the autumnal worship of eighteen-handed, sixteen-handed and ten-handed Mahiṣāsura-mardini known respectively as Ugraçaṇḍā, Bhadrakāli and Durgā. (In this connection mention has been made of Durgā-worship during the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa and of the following operations:—Feeding of virgin girls; bodhana of Devi in a Bilva tree; performance of patrikā-pūjā; offer of wine and meat and of one’s own blood; and performance of Śāvarotsava and bala-nirājana).

Description of sixteen-handed Durgā (called Bhadrakāli); and the story of her appearance in a ten-handed form at the hermitage of sage Kātyāyana in order to bring about the destruction of Mahiṣāsura who was cursed by Kātyāyana to be killed by a female.

Story of Devi’s assumption of a terrible form for destroying Dakṣa’s sacrifice.

Stories about Mātaṅgi, Ugratārā, Kālikā and others.

Description of Śiva-dūtī; and the names of the Yoginis. (Chaps. 62-63).

Chaps. 64-65.—Praise of Kāmākhyā residing on the Nilakūṭa mountain.

Story of Madhu and Kaitabha.

Names and glorification of the different mountains.

446 Viz., in the waters of the Karatoya and the Lauhitya; in the Nandi-kuṇḍa; in the neighbourhood of Jalpiṣeṣvara; at the Siddheśvari-yoni; on the peak of the Nilakūṭa; and at the different places at Kāmarūpa (i.e. Prājyotisapura), especially at the Kāmā-khyā-yoni-maṇḍala.—Kālikā-p. 60, 37ff.
(viz., Śveta, Nila, Citra, Manikarna, Maniparvata, Gandhamadana, Pāṇḍunātha and Bhasmačala) in Kāmarūpa. In all these mountains Śiva lives constantly with Devī.

Chaps. 66-67.—On tripura-tantra. —Description of the method of worshipping Tripūra, with whom the sixty-four Yoginis, Kṣetrapāla, Heruka, Lauhitya\textsuperscript{447} and others also are to be worshipped.

Description of the different forms of Tripūra.\textsuperscript{448}

Chap. 68.—On kāmesvari-tantra. —Procedure of the worship of Kāmesvarī. Method of drawing a mandala, in the north-western, southern and eastern parts of which Jālandhara-pīṭha, Oḍra-pīṭha and Kāmarūpa are respectively to be painted. Description of the form of Kāmesvarī.\textsuperscript{449}

Directions regarding Devī-worship in different pīṭhas (viz., Oḍra-pīṭha, Jālaśailaka, Pūrṇa-pīṭha and Kāmarūpa) by the inhabitants of these places as well as by strangers;\textsuperscript{450} the position of these pīṭhas; and the names of the deities (including Jagannātha of Oḍra—jagannātham oḍreśam) to be worshipped at these places.\textsuperscript{451}

Chap. 69.—On śāradā-tantra. —Dissertation on the mantras and the method of the autumnal worship of Śāradā who has ten hands and mounts a lion.

Chap. 70.—Description of different kinds of namaskāra

\textsuperscript{447} Kālikā-p. 67. 41-42—
lauhityam rakta-gaurāṅgaṃ nila-vastra-vibhūṣitam /
ratna-mālā-samāyuktam caturbāhu-samanvītam //
pustakam śveta-padmaṃ ca bibhrataṃ daksīne kare /
vāme sakti-dhvaṇaṃ caiva śīśumāra-sthitam śubham //

\textsuperscript{448} See especially chap. 67, verses 55-68.

\textsuperscript{449} Kālikā-p. 68. 16-27.

\textsuperscript{450} Kālikā-p. 68. 33-37—
daśiśkaḥ pūjayed devim pīṭhe nādaśiśkah kvacit /
tasyaiva hi kara-sparśād devi nodvijate śivā //
yady desāntarād yātab pīṭhām desāntaram prati /
tad-daśiśiopadeśena tadā pūjāṃ samārabhīt //
yady anyataḥ samāyāttā kāmarūpād tret eśarāḥ /
tad-desājopeśeṇa sampūjya phalam āpnuyat //
yasmin deśe tu yah pīṭha odra-pāṃca-lakādīṣu /
tad-desājopeśeṇa pūjyaḥ pīṭhe suro naraib //
ito 'nyathā pūjane na samyak phalam avāpnuyat /
mahāvibhava-sampūrṇair vihitenaiva bhairava //

\textsuperscript{451} Kālikā-p. 68. 42ff.
(bowing down to the deity), viz., tríkoṇa, śaṭkoṇa, ardha-candra, pradakṣīṇa, danda, aśtāṅga and ugra, of which the last (i.e. ugra) is said to please Viṣṇu (viṣṇu-tuṣṭida) and to be the best of all.

Names and description of fifty-five kinds of mudrās which are to be performed in worship. Mention of the remaining fifty-three kinds of mudrās which are to be employed in dravyānayana, saṃketa, naṭana etc. Praise of performance of mudrās.

Chap. 71 (styled ‘rudhirādhya’).—On bali-dāna (sacrifice of animals to the deity).—Animals to be sacrificed to the goddess include the following:— Tortoise, crocodile, fish, buffaloes, godhikā, cow, boar, rhinoceroses, sarabha, ruru deer, lion, and tiger. Praise of human sacrifice (nara-bali) and of offering one’s own blood to the deity. Offer of a Kuśmāṇḍa, a sugarcane and different kinds of wine. Method and praise of bali-dāna. A Brahmin is not to sacrifice lions, tigers and men to the goddess, nor is he to offer wine or his own blood; and a Kṣatriya must not sacrifice an antelope. A Brahmin, who is to sacrifice a lion, a tiger or a man, should adopt the following process:— A figure of the animal to be sacrificed should be made with ghee, cake or barley-powder. It should then be consecrated with relevant mantras and severed with a sabre called candraḥāsa. Directions regarding human sacrifice to be made by kings. Rules about the offer of wine and one’s own blood. The worshipper’s good or evil as indicated by the animals sacri-

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452 Kālikā-p. 71. 48b-52a.
453 Ibid., 71. 52b-54a—
454 Kālikā-p. 71. 73ff.
455 Ibid., 71. 112-114a—
ficed. Method of śatru-bali on the Mahānavamī Tithi during the autumn season.466

Chaps. 72-75.—Offer of 16 upacāras (viz., āsana, pādya, arghya etc.) to the deity.—

Preparation of seats (āsana) with flowers, wood, cloth, skin and silk (kośa). Selection of wood for making seats. Different kinds of cloth (viz., vālkala, kośaja, śāna and romaja) with which seats may be made. Animals (including nine kinds of deer) whose skins may be used as seats. Seats made of metals (except iron, lead and bell-metal). Description of seats meant for different deities and their worshippers.

Method of offering pādya, arghya, ācamaniya, madhuparka and snāniya. (—Chap. 72).

Offer of clothes (made of cotton, wool, bark and silk), stitched and unstitched dress of five kinds each, forty kinds of ornaments,467 and various kinds of perfumes (gandha) and incense (dhūpa). Selection of flowers for the worship of the different forms of Devi. Preparation of various kinds of lamps. Different kinds of incense which please Devi in her different forms. Preparation of various kinds of collyrium for the deity. (—Chap. 73). Fruits and other materials for naivedya. (—Chap. 74). Methods of pradaksīna and namaskāra. (—Chap. 75).

Chap. 76.—Glorification of Kāmākhya (residing on the Nilakūta mountain). Story of Kāmākhya’s causing Viṣṇu and Garuḍa to worship herself. Description of Kāmākhya-kavaca.

Chap. 77.—Method of performance of mātrakā-nyāsa.

Chap. 78.—Performance of mudrās, mantra-śuddhi and nyāsa. Various kinds of yantras, and their efficacy. Worship of the particular forms of Devi, Brahmat, Viṣṇu, Bāla-gopāla, Lakṣmī, Sarasvati and others according to the right-hand (dakṣiṇa) and left-hand (vāma) methods.

466 Kālikā-p. 71.177ff.—

mahānavamyaśāriśātrauskandaviśākhayoh/
vaya-cūrṇamayakṛtvāripuṁmrūmayameva vā//
srīśāchitrībālinidadyaṁkrītvātasyatumbhātmantratah/ etc.

467 For the names of these ornaments see Kālikā-p. 73. 16-22.
Chap. 79.—Method of mantra-purāscaraṇa. Description of Tripurā-kavaca.

Chap. 80.—Dissertation on the four kinds of mantras, viz., siddha, susiddha, sādhyā and śātraṇa.

Being duly instructed by Śiva on the method of the worship of Mahāmāyā, Vetāla and Bhairava left Nāṭakācala and saw Vasiṣṭha on the Saṃdhyaśala. In accordance with Vasiṣṭha’s instructions they went to the ‘great mountain Nila’ and worshipped Kāmākhya, Tripurā and other forms of Mahāmāyā in the liṅga called Bhairava. Mahāmāyā appeared before Vetāla and Bhairava and conferred on them immortality and leadership of Gaṇas by making them drink the milk of her breasts. Śiva also appeared and showed Vetāla and Bhairava all the holy places and rivers in Kāmarūpa, viz., Kāmākhya-guhā, Kāma-guhā (of Śiva), Chāyācchatra (?), Śiva’s own residence, the place where Śiva’s five forms are situated (svakīyaṃ pañca-mūrtinām saṃsthānam), the river Karatoṭa (which is called ‘satya-gaṅgā’—the real Ganges), Jalpiśa-liṅga (situated in the north-west of Kāmarūpa), Nandi-kunḍa, Siddheśvari Yoni (which is adjacent to the Jalpiśa-liṅga), and the rivers Suvarṇa-mānasā, Jaṭodbhavā, Trisrotā, Sitaprabhā, Navatoyā, Agada and Yogada (all of which flow from the Himālaya and lie in the north-western part of Kāmarūpa).

Regarding the Jalpiśa-liṅga it is said that in ancient times the Kṣatriyas, being afraid of Jāmadagnya, disguised themselves as Mlecchas and sought the shelter of Jalpiśa. They gave up the Aryan tongue, always spoke in the language of the Mlecchas, and kept Jalpiśa concealed. As they worshipped Jalpiśa with devotion, they were made Śiva’s Gaṇas.458

Chap. 81.—The names, position and praise of the holy

458 Kālikā-p. 80. 155-157—
  jāmadagnya-bhayād bhītāḥ kṣatriyāḥ pūrvam eva ye /
  mleccha-echadmāny upādāya jalpiśaṃ śaraṇaṃ gatah //
  te mleccha-vācaḥ satatam ārya-vācaś ca sarvadā /
  jalpiśaṃ sevamānas te goṇāyanti ca taṃ haram //
  ta eva tu guṇās (?) gaṇās) tasya mahārāja manoharāḥ /
  toṣayitvā tathā sarvān jalpiśaṃ pujayet naraḥ //
rivers, mountains etc. of Kāmarūpa which Śiva showed to Vetāla and Bhairava.—

(1) Those lying in its south-western part.—(a) Rivers flowing towards the north:—Bahurokā (rising from the mountain Surasa), Candrikā (rising from the mountain Krīttivāsa), Phenilā, Sitā, and Sumadanā (rising from the mountain Sūtikṣṇa). (b) Rivers rising from the Himālaya and flowing towards the south:—Bhadra, Subhadra, Mānasā, Bhairavi and Varṇāśā. (c) Rivers rising from other mountains and flowing towards the south:—Kusumamālīni, Kṣīrodā, Līlā and Candikā. (d) The mountains named Surasa (in the proximity of which there is a Śiva-liṅga called Mahāvrṣa), Krīttivāsa (on which Śiva lived with Satī in ancient times), Sūtikṣṇa, Vibhrāṭa (where Śiva always remains present in the form of Bhairava), and Dhyāla (on which there are two Śiva-liṅgas called Goloka and Śṛṅga). (e) The Vasiṣṭha-kūṇḍa (where Vasiṣṭha cursed Naraka for not allowing him to go to the Nilakūṭa mountain). (f) Ravi-kṣetra (the region of the Sun), which lies on the east of the river Sumadanā and the west of Brahma-kṣetra and has the river Trisrotā flowing on the east and where there are a mountain called Tattva, two sacred pools called Kāpotaka-kūṇḍa and Kāraṇa-kūṇḍa, and a Sun-temple.

(2) Mountains etc. lying in the north-east of Kāmarūpa: (a) Mountains named Gandhamādana (on which there are a Śiva-liṅga called Bṛṛiga and a kūṇḍa called Antarālaka), Maṇikūṭa (on which Viṣṇu killed the demon of fever—Jvarāsura—by assuming the form of Hayagrīva), Bhadrakāma (on which there are a Śiva-liṅga named Kālahaya, a kūṇḍa called Apunarbhava, a lake known as Apunarbhū, and a piece of stone called Haravithī), and Madana. (b) The sea (sāgara) called Lauhitya (lying on the south of the river Varṇāśā). (c) The city called Bhogavatī.

Verses 75ff. deal with the praise of the worship of Hayagrīva on the Maṇikūṭa mountain.

Chap. 82.—Names, position and praise of a few more mountains, rivers, pools (kūṇḍa) etc. of Kāmarūpa, viz., (1) mountains named Darpaṇa, Agnimāla, Kamṣakara,
Vāyukūṭa, Cand rakūṭa, Nandana, Bhasmakūṭa, Sukānta, Rakṣāh kūṭa, Paṇḍunātha, Brahmagiri (on the east of which Ugratārā is to be worshipped), Karpaṭa, Kajjalacala, Durjava, Kṣobhaka and Bhagavat; (2) rivers named Darpana (flowing from the Himālaya), Sumaṅgalā, Śāsvati, Kapilagaṅga, Damanikā, Vṛddhā, Bhairava-gaṅga, Kānta, Saṃdhyā and Lalitā; (3) Vāruna-kunda, Soma-kunda, Vāsava-kunda and Urvaśī-kunda; (4) lakes Kāma-saraḥ, Brahmakūṭa-saraḥ, and Bhairava-saraḥ; and (5) 'the city named Varāsana on the east of (the mountain) named Durjaya' (durjayākhyaśya pūrvasyāṁ puraṇ nāma varāsanam—verse 159b).

This chapter contains description of Gaṇeśa, Agnivetāla, and the nine Planets.

Chap. 83.—Names, position and praise of a few other sacred rivers, mountains etc. of Kāmarūpa, viz., (1) rivers Śāsvati, Dīpavatī, Vṛddhavedikā, Bhaṭṭārikā, Dīkkarikā, Suvaṛṇaśravini, Kāmā, Somāśanā, Vṛṣodakā, and Sitagaṅga (flowing by the side of the place of Dīkkaravāsini), and (2) the mountain Śṛṅgāta (on which there is a Śiva-liṅga).

Description of the deities Lalitakānta (also called Māṅgalacanaḍikā), Tikṣṇakānta (also called Ugratārā), Brahmā, and Viṣṇu; and the methods of their worship.

Offer of wine and sacrifice of human beings are said to please Tikṣṇakānta.

After showing the entire Kāmarūpa-pitha to Vетāla and Bhairava, Śiva went to Kailāsa, and all became free from the curses.

Chap. 84.—Praise of Kāmarūpa which is said to be protected by the Gaṇas of Śiva and to confer immortality and divinity on its inhabitants.

Story of the spread of Vāmācāra Tantricism in Kāmarūpa as a result of Vasiṣṭha's curse.—Once Vasiṣṭha requested Śiva to bring Kāmarūpa under the influence of Yama who had lost his control over the inhabitants of that place. Consequently Śiva asked Ugratārā and his own Gaṇas to

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419 For description of Ugratārā see verses 78-81.
remove immediately from Kāmarūpa all beings including the members of the four castes. When, in course of their operations, Ugratārā and the Gaṇas laid hands on Vasiṣṭha on the Śaṅdhyaśācala mountain with the intention of driving him out of Kāmarūpa, the latter cursed the former saying that being perverse (vāma) in nature Ugratārā and other female deities as well as Śiva himself would be worshipped in Kāmarūpa according to the left-hand method (vāma-bhāvena), that by faring like Mlecchas the foolish Gaṇas of Śiva would turn Mlecchas in Kāmarūpa, that as Śiva behaved like a Mleccha in expelling from there an austere sage and a self-controlled master of the Vedas like himself, he would be fond of Mlecchas and hold bones and ashes on his person, that after Vasiṣṭha’s departure Kāmarūpa would be guarded (guptam) by Mlecchas until Viṣṇu himself came again (punaḥ) to this place, that the (Vaiṣṇava) Āgamas (of Kāmarūpa) would become rare (viralāḥ), and that the person who would study these rare (viralā) Āgamas of Kāmarūpa would get in due time the complete result (of studying the entire Āgama literature of Kāmarūpa praising Viṣṇu). After pronouncing this curse Vasiṣṭha disappeared; and the Gaṇas became Mlecchas in ‘Kāmarūpa, the abode of gods’, Ugratārā became ‘vāma’ (a deity worshipped according to the left-hand method), Śaṃbhū gave himself up to the Mlecchas (mleccha-rataḥ), the Āgamas praising Viṣṇu became rare and being bereft of (the pronunciation of) Vedic Mantras and the existence of the four castes, Kāmarūpa became in a moment such as could be ruled by Yama. In order that gods and men might not feel encouraged to live in that effective holy place (pītha) even after it had become free from Vasiṣṭha’s curse with Hari’s re-appearance there, Brahmā thought out a plan by which he could hide out (guptaye) all the pools (including Apunarbhava-kuṇḍa, Soma-kuṇḍa, Brahma-kuṇḍa and Urvasī-kuṇḍa) and all

109 See Kālikā-p. 84. 28b-31—
āgate’pi harau mukte sāpāt pīhe phala-prade //
yathā na samyak sāhāyanti tat-pīhe deva-mānuṣāḥ /
guptaye sarva-kuṇḍānāṁ brahmopāyaṁ tathākaroḥ //
the rivers of Kāmarūpa (including those which have not been mentioned in the Kālikā-p.) and create a situation in which these pools and rivers could not be distinguished from one another but would be considered to yield the same effect. In Śāntanu’s wife Amoghā he procreated a son having the form of water (jala-rūpam tanayam) and made Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) bring him down through Kāmarūpa which was quite at ease. That steady (dhīra) son of Brahmā flooded Kāmarūpa, covering all its pools and holy places and hiding them out. After this, those people who could distinguish the Lauhitya and take their bath in it, certainly attained the results of such bath, but it was impossible for them to find out the pools and the holy places, ‘which had begun to be hidden out as a result of Vasiṣṭha’s curse.’

After thus completely flooding all the rivers and holy places throughout Kāmarūpa the Lauhitya, son of Brahmā, flowed into the southern sea.

Chaps. 85-86.—Story of the birth of Lauhitya (i.e. the river Brahmaputra) from Amoghā, wife of the sage Śāntanu, who lived by the side of a lake named Lohita on the mountain Gandhamādana lying at the outskirt of Kailāsa and who transferred Brahmā’s energy into his wife after drinking it himself. Amoghā conceived, and at due time delivered through her nose a mass of water containing a son, who has been described as follows:

“... nila-vāsāḥ kiriṭa-dhṛk /
ratna-mālā-samāyuktos rakta-gaurāḥ ca brahmavat //
catur-bhūjaḥ padma-vidyā-dhvaja-sakti-dharas tathā /
śīsumāra-śīrastha śa ca tulya-kāyo jalokaraiḥ /”⁴⁴¹

“.....wearing blue clothes, a crown, and a garland of gems, being red-and-white like Brahmā, having four hands carrying a lotus, a book, a banner and [the missile]
Śakti, taking his stand on the head of a porpoise, and having a body resembling a mass of water rushing up.” After birth, Śāntanu placed the son in that very condition in the middle of four mountains, viz., Kailāsa on the north, Gandhamādana on the south, Jārudhi on the west, and Samvartaka etc. on the east. Here, the son of Brahmā created a kuṇḍa for himself and began to grow in volume until, after a long period, he covered five yojanas with his waters and looked like ‘a second sea’.

In course of time Rāma Jāmadagnya, who had killed his mother at his father’s order, came to that Kuṇḍa, named after Brahmā, for a holy bath and brought the son of Brahmā down to the earth by digging a channel with his axe.

Being requested by Sagara as to why Rāma Jāmadagnya killed his mother, who his mother was, and how, being the son of a sage, he could become so cruel and warlike, Aurva narrated the story of his birth as follows.

Bhṛgu’s son Rṣiṣika married Satyavatī, daughter of the sonless king Gādhi of Kānyakubja, by presenting to him, as nuptial fee, one thousand moon-white horses of a particular description,482a which he had procured by pleasing Varuṇa for the purpose. Sometime after the marriage, Bhṛgu came to see his daughter-in-law and expressed his desire to grant a boon to the latter. Satyavatī wanted for herself a highly austere master of the Vedas as a son and for her mother a male issue of unparalleled heroism. Hearing Satyavatī’s prayer Bhṛgu gave out a sigh, from which came out two kinds of Caru, one of which was white and the other red. Bhṛgu handed these over to Satyavatī with the instruction that after taking bath at the expiry of a period of menstruation her mother was to embrace an Aśvattha tree and then take the red Caru, while she herself was to take the white Caru

482a ekatra krṣu-varsānām avānām candra-varcasām / sahasram ekaṁ yo dadyāt tasmai putrī pradīyat //

Kālikā-p. 85.54 (=Vaṅga. ed. 82.53).
This verse is based on Mbh III. 115.23—
ekataḥ śyāma-karṇāṇaṁ pāṇḍurāṇaṁ tarasvinām / sahasraṁ vajrāṁ sulkam iti viddhi dvijottama //

(=Poona critical ed. III. 115.12, which reads ‘pāṇḍurāṇaṁ’ in the first half).
after embracing an Udumbara tree. But unfortunately Satyavatī and her mother did the opposite through mistake. Coming to know of this reversal, Bhṛgu saw Satyavatī again and told her about the unfortunate mistake, as a result of which, he said, she would deliver a son who would be a Brahmin by birth but a Kṣatriya by activities, and her mother would have one who would be a Kṣatriya by birth but a Brahmin by activities. As Satyavatī wanted her grandson to be of that nature, Bhṛgu assured her of the fulfilment of her wish and went away. Now, in course of time, Satyavatī and her mother gave birth to Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra respectively, both of whom became the masters of the Vedas and the science of archery from their very birth. (—Chap. 85).

Jamadagni grew up and married Reṇukā, a Vidarbha princess, by whom he had four sons Ruṣanvat,⁴⁸⁵b Susena, Vasu and Viśvāvasu, and also a fifth named Rāma, who was the same as almighty Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) born with an axe for killing Kārtavirya. As a result of his grandmother’s mistake in taking the Caru Rāma, though a Brahmin by birth, had the nature of a Kṣatriya and became the performer of cruel acts. Once his mother Reṇukā went to the river Ganges for a bath and chanced to see king Citraratha, who had come there with his wives for water-sports. Reṇukā felt a strong desire for the king and came back with an agitated mind. Jamadagni understood her mental condition and ordered his sons, one by one, to cut off her head. Ruṣanvat and the three others felt extremely confused and stood motionless like stone without carrying out the cruel order of their father, who, consequently, cursed them to turn dullards. When the turn of Rāma came, he took up his axe and cut off his mother’s head. Jamadagni was pleased, and wanted to grant boons to Rāma for his obedience. The latter prayed for his mother’s return to life, her forgetfulness of the incident of death, his brothers’ release from the curse, the removal of his sin arising from matricide,

⁴⁸⁵b’This name (Ruṣanvat) occurs in the Vaṅga. ed. (83.3 and 13) of the Kālikā-p., whereas the Veṅkaṭ. ed. (86.3 and 13) gives it as ‘Marutvat’. In the Mahābhārata (Vaṅga. ed. and Poona critical ed., III. 116.10) it has been given as ‘Rumaṇvat’.
and his victory in every war. Jamadagni granted all the boons and advised Rāma to go to the Brahma-kuṇḍa and take his bath in it after washing his axe with its waters. Rāma did so and got rid of his sin. Being convinced of the efficacy of the Tirtha Rāma dug out a channel with his axe and brought down the Brahmaputra. Thus issuing from the Brahma-kuṇḍa the Brahma-putra first fell into the lake Lohita on the Kailāsa mountain. It then rushed towards the east, broke through a peak of the Himalaya, and flowed through the heart of Kāmarūpa. It flooded the entire piṭha of Kāmarūpa and fell into the southern ocean. Brahmā named it Lohita-gaṅgā, and as it came out of the lake Lohita, it was named Lauhitīya also. This river became separated from the ‘divine Yamunā’ and then met it at a distance of twelve yojanas483 (?).

The above story (beginning from Rśīka’s marriage with Satyavatī and extending up to Jamadagni’s granting of boons to Rāma Jāmadagnya) has been taken, with some changes here and there, from chaps. 115-116 of the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, which makes no mention of the colour of the Caru and ascribes the reversal in taking it to Satyavatī’s mother’s cunning.

Chap. 87.—Śiva’s naming of the demons Andhaka and Bāṇa as Bhṛṅgī and Mahākāla respectively.

Aurva’s discourse on rāja-niṣṭa.—Indriya-jaya most essential for kings; qualities which a king should possess; application of the four expedients sāma, dāna, bheda and danda; winning of the six enemies kāma, krodha, etc.; avoiding of the seven vices mrgayā, dyūta etc.; proper time and occasion for the sadgunas; engagement of spies; qualifications of spies; protection of the harem; application of upadhās; method of deliberation in a well-formed council; construction of various kinds of forts—jala-durga, bhūmi-durga, vṛkṣa-durga, arāṇya-durga, maru-durga, śaila-durga, and parikhā-durga; the king’s duty towards his harem.

483 Kālikā-p. 36. 34b-35a—
prāg eva divya-yamunāṁ sa tyaktvā brahmaṇah sutahī/
punāḥ patati lauhitye gatvā dvādaśa-yojanam //
Chap. 88.—Aurva’s discourse on sadācāra to be observed by the king:—Definition of sadācāra. The duties which a king should perform as a householder. Establishment of varṇāśrama-dharma. Observance of the following religious rites:—Worship of Durgā on Śāradīyā Mahāṣṭami, and bala-nirājana on the Daśamī Tithi; Puṣyābhiseka on Pauṣa-trīṭīyā; worship of Śrī on Śrī-paṃcami; Viṣṇu-worship during Daśaharā in Jyaistha; and Śakra-pūjā on Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśi.

For detailed description of the ceremony of bala-nirājana see verses 15-77. Towards the end of this ceremony śatru-bali was performed.\(^{444}\)

Chap. 89.—Detailed description of the method of Puṣya-snāna which is meant for warding off various kinds of evil.

Chap. 90.—Method of performance, on Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśi, of Śakra-dhvaj-otsava, said to have been introduced first of all by king Vasu Uparicara.

Chap. 91.—Procedures of Viṣṇu-worship during Daśaharā in the month of Jyaistha, and of Lakṣmī-pūjā on Śrī-paṃcami with Kunda flowers and with presents made to Vāsava (Indra) mounted on his elephant.

Twelve kinds of sons (aurasa, kṣetraja etc.), and their legal position. Of these, the last one, viz., dāsa, born of a ‘dāsi’ purchased with money, does not deserve the throne.

Position of Śūdras, who are not entitled to study or teach Purāṇa, Dharma-sāstras and Saṃhitās, nor are they to be appointed for looking into legal disputes.

Acts which a king should do, and those he should not. Among the prohibitions there is one against his riding a camel, and the directions include one for his drinking water kept in a vessel made of copper, iron, gold or lead.

Chaps. 92-93.—Necessity of sons. Bhairava and Vetāla’s desire for having sons, and their consequent union with Urvaśī and Kāmadhenu respectively. Descendants of

\(^{444}\) Kālikā-p. 88. 61—
mṛyumayaṁ śatravaṁ kṛtvā cāhīcārika-mantrakaibh /
hrdi śūlana viddhvā taṁ śiraḥ khaḍgena chedayet //
Bhairava and Vetāla. Story of burning the Khāṇḍava forest which was created by king Vijaya, a descendant of Bhairava.

Praise of the Kālikā-प.

An examination of the contents of the present Kālikā-प. shows that this Purāṇa deals with the exploits and worship of Kāli or Kālikā who is primarily the yoga-nīḍā and māyā of Viṣṇu but who later became the wife of Śiva as the dark-complexioned Dākṣāyaṇī (Satī) and Kāli (or Kālikā, daughter of Menakā) for the good of the world. This Yoga-nīḍā or Māyā (or rather primordial Kālikā) is described as follows:—She is graceful and has four hands, a dark complexion, and dishevelled hair; and she mounts a lion, carries a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands, and assures boon and safety with the other two. She is the Śakti (Energy) and Prakṛti (Original Source) of the universe and has many forms, viz., Mahāmāyā or Kāmākhya, Durgā, Bhadrakāli, Ugracandra, Umā etc. The glory and worship of all these forms, especially of Kāmākhya, have been described elaborately in the Kālikā-प.; and in connection with these topics there have been introduced in this work many myths and legends which are of great importance especially from the point of view of the history of Śaktism. This work also contains valuable materials for the study of many other sects such as those of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā and others, topics relating to the glory and worship

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466 Kālikā-प. 5. 3-4, 14, 47-48, 51-52, 59-61; 6. 8-9, 61-63; and so on.
467 According to the Kālikā-प. (42. 45-48) Satī, reborn as Menakā’s daughter, had a dark complexion. So, she was named Kāli or Kālikā by her father, but her other relatives called her Pārvatī. She was also named Umā (because she could not be dissuaded from the practice of penance which was meant for the attainment of Śiva’s favour —Kālikā-प. 45. 22-23) and Aparṇā (as she did not take even leaves during her austerities —Kālikā-प. 45. 37). After her marriage she got rid of her dark complexion by worshipping Śiva and was called Gaurī (Kālikā-प. 47. 30ff.).
468 Kālikā-प. 5. 51-53; 8. 8-11.
469 Mahāmāyā, who is said to be identical with Kāmākhya, is called the mūla-mūrti (original form) of Yoga-nīḍā, and from her the other forms are derived.—Kālikā-प. 60. 48-52; 39. 123. For description of the form of Mahāmāyā see Kālikā-प. 55. 24-36.
469 Kālikā-प. 61. 10-22; 62. 9ff.
470-472 Ibid., 62.55ff.; 62.118ff.; and 63. 41ff. respectively.
472 Ibid., chaps. 81-83; 78. 204ff., and so on.
of these deities being introduced in connection with those of one or other of the various forms of Kālikā.

In spite of the fact that the Kālikā-p. speaks of many Śākta deities as well as holy places, mountains and rivers of different parts of India, especially of the region of the Candrabhāgā in the Punjab, its partiality for the east\textsuperscript{474} and more definitely for ‘Kāmarūpa’,\textsuperscript{475} is specially remarkable. It speaks of Devī’s bodhana by Brahmā and worship by the gods during the war between Rāma and Rāvana, and mentions the following rites in connection with Devī-worship in the month of Āsvina:— (i) The untying of Devī’s hair on the Śukla-caturthi Tithi, (ii) bodhana of Devī in a Bilva tree on the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhi Tithi, (iii) pātrikā-praveśa and nava-pātrikā-pūjā, (iv) Śāvarotsava, and (v) lustration of the army

\textsuperscript{474} According to Kālikā-p. 18. 28-34 the river Vaitaraṇī originated from Śiva’s tears, came ultimately to the east, and flowed into the ‘pūrva-sāgara’; in Kālikā-p. 18.37 Śiva is said to have gone to the eastern countries with Sati’s dead body on his shoulder; in Kālikā-p. 18. 40f. different holy places are said to have originated in the east from parts of Sati’s body which was cut to pieces by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śanaiscara; Kālikā-p. 18. 44-45 say that those regions in the east which were traversed by Śiva with Sati’s body on his shoulder, were known as ‘yājñika deśa’; and so on.

\textsuperscript{475} The name ‘Kāmarūpa’ for Prāṣājotisa is of comparatively late origin. Going to account for the origin of this name (Kāmarūpa) the Kālikā-p. (53. 79b-80a) says: “As, after being thoroughly burnt by the fire (issuing) from Śambhu’s eye, Kāma regained a form there through Śambhu’s favour, it became (known as) Kāmarūpa”. The Kālikā-p. (18.42; 60.54f.; and 39.4f.) further states that after Sati’s body had been cut to pieces by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śanaiscara, her female organ fell at Kāmakhā (in Kāmarūpa), that Devī resided in Kāmarūpa for satisfying her ‘kāma’ (desire for sexual enjoyment), and that Kāmarūpa was inhabited by Kīrtas after Naraka’s arrival there. The Mahābhārata also testifies to the fact that Kāmarūpa was originally inhabited by Kīrtas and other ‘Mleccha’ tribes (see Mbh I. 67. 9; II. 26.7.; II. 30.26-27; II. 34. 9b-10a; II. 51. 14-15; V. 130. 45; and so on). From the Daśa-kumāra-carita and the present Kālikā-p. we understand that Kāmarūpa became famous as a seat of Tantricism from early times; and Devī-p. 39. 142 (…… pulinda-savaradīṣu / lokāntareṇa mārgena vāmācāreṇa siddhis /) tells us that Vāmācāra Tantricism was prevalent among the aboriginal tribes. (See also the verse ‘sūrā-mānsādy-upahārār japa-yajñair vinā tu śa / vinā mantras tāmasā śa kīrtānāṃ tu saṃmatā /’ ascribed to the ‘Bhavisya’ and the ‘Skanda-p.’ in Śulapāṇī’s Durgotsava-viveka, p. 3, Raghu-ndana’s Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 68 and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 30, Gaddāhara’s Kālasāra, p. 111, and so on). So, it seems that Prāṣājotisa was, from very early times, a seat of Vāmācāra Tantricism and was consequently given the Sanskrit name ‘Kāmarūpa’ on the basis of the popular one, viz., ‘Kāmru-t’ (or ‘Kāmru-d’ mentioned by Alberūni and others) derived from the Avestic word ‘Kamru’ or ‘Kambur’ which is the name of a lesser divinity worshipped by the Santals. (For further information on this point see B.K. Kakati, Assamese, Its Formation and Development, pp. 53-54).
by the king (bala-nirajana). It deals elaborately with the different deities as well as the holy places, rivers and mountains of Kamarupa exhaustively and with special fervour, so much so that Kamakhya, the most prominent Sakta deity in Kamarupa, has been given the highest place as the chief form (mula-murti) of Mahamayi, and the holy places there have been glorified even over Varanasi, Purusottama-ksetra, Dvaravati, Brahmagarta, Prayaga etc., Kama-
khya being called the most sacred place of all. Moreover, in Kalika-p. 93.30-32 it is said that Vasistha, who had read and heard the ‘Kalika-p.’ from Markandeya, concealed it in Kamarupa, ‘the abode of gods’, until it was revealed to the sages by Markandeya. In his Durga-bhakti-taraanga, pp. 30-31 Vidyapati ascribes to the ‘Kalika-p.’ a few verses containing the names of fruits to be offered to Devi. These verses, which are all found in the present Kalika-p., chap. 74, include the name of a fruit called ‘Karu Na’, which, Vidyapati says, ‘was famous in GauDa’ (karunam gauda prasiddham).
On the other hand, this work was utilised first of all by Sulapani of Bengal and then by Vidyapati of Mithila in his Durga-bhakti-taraanga. Other non-Bengal Smritis-writers referred to or drew upon this Purana from about the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Hence there can be little doubt regarding the fact that the present Kalika-p. was composed either in Kamarupa (in Assam) or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it.

An examination of the story of Naraka (of Pragjyotisa) as occurring in the Mahabharata (V. 48 and 130), Harivansa (II. 63-64), Visnu-p. (V. 29), Bhagavata-p. (X. 59) etc., as well as a study of the present Kalika-p., shows that it was the Puranic Vaisnavas who first tried, towards the very close of the epic period, to bring the non-Aryan inhabitants

477 Ibid., 60. 34-48.
478 In the Mahabharata Naraka is called ‘Bhauma’ but not Varaha’s son. It is in the Harivansa, Visnu-p., Bhagavata-p. and other comparatively late works that Naraka is said to have been born of Bhumi (Earth) by Visnu.
In the Mahabharata, the word ‘Bhauma’ might have been used in the sense of ‘native’, ‘aboriginal’, or ‘local’.
of Prāgjyotiṣa into their fold by giving it out to be originally a place of Viṣṇu-worship and Vaiṣṇava Āgamas and also by fabricating a story that Naraka was born of the Earth by Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation. But in spite of this attempt of the Purānic Vaiṣṇavas the Śaiva (Kāpālika ?) cult (which was most probably already popular in Kāmarūpa) had a firm footing there, so much so that it influenced very greatly the more popular cult of Śakti (i.e. Devī). Hence those Śākta-vaiṣṇavas of Kāmarūpa who looked upon Viṣṇu as Brahma or Puruṣa and Devī as his Śakti (or Māyā or Prakṛti) wrote the present Kālikā-p. with a view to convincing the people that Kāmākhya is none but Viṣṇu's Yoga-māyā embodied, that Viṣṇu is superior to Śiva, and that everyone must be a Vaiṣṇava before he sets himself to Devī-worship. Such Vaiṣṇava influence on Śaktism is also found in the Brāhddharma-p. which says that one should not follow the course of a Śākta unless one has devotion to Viṣṇu and performs the duties of the Vaiṣṇavas. (See Brāhddha. II. 6, 144-6).

The inclusion of the title ‘Kālikā’ or ‘Kāli-p.’ in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas which we have been able to collect from different sources, and the numerous quotations made from a ‘Kālikā-p.’ by many of the early Nibandha-writers, would certainly appear to show that the present Kālikā-p. is a work of considerable antiquity; but an

679 We shall see hereafter that there was an earlier Kālikā-p. which, unlike the present one, allowed a prominent place to Śiva. Even the present Kālikā-p. states that the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Śaktism was due to Sati's female organ which fell at Kāmākhya, that 'Śaṃkara, with Pārvati, remains always present at Kāmākhya, the great and most secret holy place', and that there was already a number of Śaiva temples and shrines at different places in Kāmarūpa (see Kālikā-p. 18. 42; 53. 74b-75a and 82ff.).

680 For these lists see Vol. I, Chap. I.

681 As a matter of fact, P. K. Gode finds fault with the date (14th century) assigned to the present Kālikā-p. by Mr. Payne in his work (The Śāktas), and places it before 1000 A.D. without trying to ascertain whether the 'Kālikā-p.' drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Lakṣmīdhara and other early commentators and Nibandha-writers is the same as the present one. See Gode in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. X, 1936, pp. 289-294. Also Gode, Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol. I, pp. 203-8.

For a similar view held by Dines Chandra Sircar see JASB, XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 12 footnote 5.
attempt to trace the quoted verses in the present Kālikā-p. creates grave doubts regarding the early origin of this Purāṇa by bringing to our notice the facts that not a single of the numerous quotations made in Nānyadeva’s Bharata-bhāṣya,482 Lakṣmīdharas’s Kṛtya-kalpataru, Aparārka’s commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Vallālasena’s Dānāsāgara, Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya’s Samayaprādīpa and Ācārādarśa (alias Kṛtyācāra), Caṇḍeśvara’s Kṛtya-ratnākara and Gṛhaustha-ratnākara, Madanapāla’s Madana-pārijāta, Mādhavācārya’s Kāla-nirṇaya and commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti, Vidyāpati’s Gaṅgāvākyāvali, Vācaspati-miśra’s Dvaita-nirṇaya, Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi and Śuddhi-cintāmaṇi, Madanasiṃha-deva’s Madanaratna-prādīpa, Rudradhara’s Śuddhi-viveka, Allādanātha’s Nirṇayāṁṛta, and Narasimha Vājapeyin’s Nityācāra-prādīpa483 is found in the present Kālikā-p., that none of the interlocutors, viz. (i) Tṛṇabindu and

482 Nānyadeva’s quotation from a ‘Kālikākhya-purāṇa’ in his Bharata-bhāṣya was pointed out by V. Raghavan in his article on ‘The Kālikā (Upa) purāṇa’ in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 331-360.

483 Narasimha Vājapeyin, who is one of the most noted Smṛti-writers of Orissa, mentions ‘Vidyākara Vājapeyin’ as well as ‘Vidyākara-paddhati’ in his Nityācāra-prādīpa. So, the Nityācāra-prādīpa must be later than the Nityācāra-paddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin.

Now, as Raghunandana mentions Vidyākara Vājapeyin as an authority several times in his Smṛti-tattva (I, pp. 355, 744, etc.; II, pp. 68, 75, 312, 505, etc.), the latter cannot be later than 1500 A.D.; and as Vidyākara himself mentions the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, which is apparently the older work of that name by Caṇḍeśvara and not the later one by Vācaspati-miśra whose literary activity lay between 1450 and 1480 A.D., he cannot be earlier than 1350 A.D. The Krama-dīpikā informs us that Vidyākara’s father declined a grant of land from Nṛsiṁha, king of Orissa, left the country with family and settled at Benares. (For the extract of the Krama-dīpikā see Nityācāra-paddhati, Preface, p. 2, footnote 2). Now, the only Nṛsiṁha, whose reign falls within this period, is the fourth king of that name, one of whose land-grants was made in 1395 A.D. in the 22nd aska or 18th year of his reign (see JASB, 1893, pp. 132f. and R.D. Banerji, History of Orissa, I, pp. 283-4). So, this Nṛsiṁha must have ascended the throne in 1377 A.D. Hence it is sure that Vidyākara’s father migrated to Benares after 1377 A.D. Again, Vidyākara says in one of the introductory verses of his Nityācāra-paddhati that he lived at Benares for 30 years and then wrote the Nityācāra-paddhati (cf. trimāṇdarśan sa kāśyām kṛta-vasatir abhūd dharma-āstrasya kartā paddhatyākhyasya...). So, the Nityācāra-paddhati must have been composed in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D.

Hence the Nityācāra-prādīpa of Narasimha Vājapeyin cannot be earlier than 1425 A.D. (According to Kane, Narasimha Vājapeyin was ‘later than 1400 A.D.’ See P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra I, pp. 572 and 706).
Anilōda, 484 (ii) Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvyakūta 485 (?), and (iii) Śūrya and his devotee, 486 mentioned in connection with some of the verses quoted from a ‘Kālikā-p.’ in the above-mentioned works, is found in the extant Kālikā-p., and that the present Kālikā-p., which is drawn upon by Śūlapāni, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya (in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini), Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghuṇandana, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, Gādādhara, 487 Mitra-miśra, Anantabhaṭṭa, Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa, 488 Nandapaṇḍita and others, first began to be used by the Bengal Śrīmti-writers and by Vidyāpati of Mithilā from the fourteenth century A.D. 489 but by other non-Bengal authors, from about


485 Mentioned in Kṛtya-kalpataru, Śanti-kāpoḍa.—See Raghavan, op. cit., p. 333.

486 See Nityācāra-pradipa, pp. 684-5.

Though the interlocution between Śūrya and his devotee is mentioned in the Śrīmti-tattva (I, p. 36) also, it need not be taken to have occurred in the present Kālikā-p., because those Nibandha-kārās who have drawn upon the extant Kālikā-p. are sometimes found to cite verses which belonged to the earlier Kālikā-p. and which they derived, as in the cases of many other Purāṇas, either direct from the earlier Kālikā or from the authoritative commentaries and Nibandhas which drew upon this earlier Purāṇa. See footnotes 494, 496 and 497 below.

487 In his Kālaśāra Gādādhara mentions not only the following works and authors, viz., Mādhavacārya, Kāla-mādhavīya, Kālādariśa, Kṛtya-kaumudi, Kṛtya-mahārvaṇa, Gauḍa-saṃvatsara-pradīpa, Madana-pārijāta, Śūlapāṇi, Śrīdāmava-viveka etc., but also 'Tīthi-tattvakāra' (sometimes distinguished with the adjective 'Gauḍa',—see Kālaśāra, pp. 421, 463, etc.—gauḍaī tīthi-tattvakāraī ... ... ) and Hari-bhakti-vilāsa in several places. That by the word 'Tīthi-tattvakāra' Gādādhara means none but Raghuṇandana is shown by the fact that the references made by Gādādhara to the opinions of the 'Tīthi-tattvakāra' are all found in the Śrīmti-tattva of Raghuṇandana. (For instance, Kālaśāra, pp. 105, 106-7 and 117-8 refer to Śrīmti-tattva, I, pp. 67-68, 67 and 60 respectively.) The references to the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa also are all found in the present Hari-bhakti-vilāsa ascribed to Gopāla-bhaṭṭa. (For instance, Kālaśāra, p. 118 refers to Hari-bh., p. 905; Kālaśāra, p. 140 to Hari-bh., p. 794; Kālaśāra, p. 165 to Hari-bh., pp. 895 and 897-8; and so on.) Hence the Kālaśāra must be dated not earlier than 1600 A.D. Haraprasad Shastri also includes Gādādhara among those Śrīmti-writers who flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, Preface, p. xxxvii.)

The date (1450-1500 A.D.), assigned to Gādādhara by P. V. Kane in his History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, pp. 530 and 692, requires modification.

488 Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa seems to have derived the verses of the present Kālikā-p. not direct from their source but from the Nibandhas of Bengal. Cf. Nīruṇya-sindhu, pp. 20, 63, 129 and so on.

489 The Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (Dacca Univ. Ma No. 4632) does not draw upon any Kālikā-p. even in its section on Durgā-pūjā.
the beginning of the seventeenth century. These facts create the impression that the present Kālikā-p., which certainly came to Bengal from Kāmarūpa either in the thirteenth or in the fourteenth century A.D., is a work quite different from the earlier Kālikā-p. mentioned in the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas and drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīndhara and others. This impression is finally established as true by an extract of ten verses which is quoted in Raghunandana’s Durgā-pūjā-tattva (pp. 8-9) with the words “duṣprāpakaḥ-kālikā-purāṇ-āntare’pi” but is not found in the present Kālikā-p. and in which Devi (or Kālikā) speaks to one, addressed as ‘putra’, on her own annual worship in the month of Āśvina. The expression “duṣprāpa-kālikā-purāṇāntare’pi” shows definitely that Raghunandana knew another Kālikā-p. which was different from the present one profusely drawn upon by him in his Tattvas, and that Mss of this older Kālikā-p. already became extremely rare in his time.

Before we try to determine the date of composition of the present Kālikā-p. we should like to say a few words on the contents, character and date of the earlier Kālikā-p. (which also was often called ‘Kāli-purāṇa’ and sometimes ‘Kāla-kanṭha’)490 on the basis of the quotations made from it in the commentaries and Nibandhas. These quotations and references show that the earlier Kālikā-p. contained, among others, the following interlocutors, viz., (i) Trṣabindu and Anilāda, (ii) Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvyakūṭa (?), and (iii) Sūrya and his devotee, and was a rich store of Smṛti materials. The multifarious Smṛti topics, dealt with in this Purāṇa, included the following: (a) donations (of gold, well furnished houses, a thousand cows, canopy, kṛṣṇājina, ghṛta-kambala, Narasimha, etc.)491

490 See the lists of Upapurāṇas in Vol. I, Chap. I.
491 Kṛṣṇa-kalpataru, III, pp. 366-7, and V, pp. 113-6, 185-6, 195-6, 311-2; Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., pp. 337-8; Dānasāgara, pp. 313, 417-8, 441-2, 527-8; Kṛṣṇa-ratnakara, pp. 493-4; Caturvarga-cintāmanī, I, pp. 34, 156, 258-261, 568, 575-6, 589, etc; Viḍhāna-pārśjāta, III, 359-360, 389, 394; and so on.

According to Vallālīsena, this Kālikā-p. dealt prominently with donations (uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca/ ādyam purāṇam śāmbaṁ ca kālikāhavyam eva ca // etc.—Dānasāgara, p. 3, verses 13ff.
(b) duties of castes and āśramas, 482 (c) worship of Kālika and Śiva, 484 (d) Vratas (viz., Aviyoga-vrata, Bhāskara-vrata, Soma-vrata, Śaṃkarārika-vrata, Iśāna-vrata, Kālarātri-vrata, Mahāvrata, etc.); 485 (e) Saura-dharmas, 486 (f) īṣṭā-pūrta, 487 (g) vyavahāra, 488 (h) śrāddha, 489 (i) tirtha (such as bhṛgu-prapatana), 500 (j) settling of Brahmins, 501 (k) praise of bath and other pious acts done in the Ganges, 502 (l) demerits of not worshiping the five deities Śiva, Sūrya, Agni, Keśava and Kauśiś, 503 and (m) purification. 504 Besides these, the earlier Kālika-p. also might have contained, among other topics, a song (gīta) called Rovindaka. 505

A careful examination of these quotations further shows

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483 Aparārka’s com. on the Yājñī, p. 15; Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 8-9. (One of the ten verses quoted in Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 8-9 is found in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 17).
484 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 237-9; Kṛtya-ratnakāra, pp. 175-8, 434-7; Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 694; Viramitrodaya, Pūjā-prakāśa, pp. 226-232. (These verses, dealing with mahāmāna, ghrābhīṣeka, ghrā-dhārā and Śiva-jāgara in Śiva-worship, are the same as those given in the Pūjā-kānda of Laksmldhāra’s Kṛtya-kalpataru. See also Kṛtya-kalpataru, Śaṅti-kānda for “rudra-japa-vidhi”.
486 Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 684-5. (This extract is also found in Viramitrodaya, Pūjā-prakāśa, pp. 308-9, See also Śmrī-tattva, I, p. 36 for two of its lines).
487 Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 8; Kṛtya-ratnakāra, p. 10; Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 44.
488 Kṛtya-kalpataru, XII, pp. 79, 205, 210-211, 221, 231, 238 (on different kinds of ordeals); Dīpa-kālika, p. 5 (on ordeal).
489 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Vol III, Parts i-ii (containing numerous verses on śrāddha and allied topics).
491 Ibid., V, pp. 254-6; Vidhāna-pārijāta, III, pp. 221-2.
492 Gaṅgā-vākyāvalli, pp. 202, 202-3, 204-5, 310; Śuddhi-cintāmaṇi, p. 81; Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgini, fols. 4b-5a.
493 Ācārādāsa, p. 32a; Gaṅgā-vākyāvalli, fol. 47b.
494 Kṛtya-kalpataru, X, p. 130; Ācārādāsa, p. 11a; Gaṅgā-vākyāvalli, p. 219; Śuddhi-viveka (of Rudradhāra), p. 28a.
500 By ascribing the song ‘śaṇḍaṁ śaṇḍaṁ jaga-pati etc.’ to both the ‘Bhagavati-p.’ and the ‘Kālikaḥkhyā-p.’ Nānyadeva makes a confusion between these two Purānic works, which, as we shall see afterwards, are quite different, and not identical, as Nānyadeva took them to be. This confusion may be due to the fact that, like the Bhagavati-p., the Kālika-p. also dealt with the exploits of ‘Bhagavat’ (cf. . . . bhagavatya īdām bhagavā tam iti kālikāpurāṇam bhagavata-padenoktam iti ye vadanti te nirastāḥ—Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18), or that due to its treatment of the exploits of Bhagavati the Kālika-p. was wrongly designated as ‘Bhagavati-p.’ by Nānyadeva.
that the earlier Kālikā-p., unlike the present one, had scarcely any Tantric element in its rituals. The long quotations given in the Kṛtya-kalpataru, Catuvarga-cintāmaṇi, Kṛtyaratnākara, Madana-ratna-pradīpa and other works on the details of the different devotional vows and worship are totally free from Tantric influence. The procedure is purely Purānic and the mantras to be used are very often Purānic and sometimes Vedic. A quotation made by Aparārka (com., p. 15) on the method of painting magic collyrium on the eyes for vaṣikaraṇa, however, shows that though the earlier Kālikā-p. rendered its rituals free from Tantric elements, it could not overcome the temptation for describing the method of attaining magic power, of which the Śāktas are so fond. That the earlier Kālikā-p. had little or no Tantric element can be further proved by another piece of evidence adduced by Vallālasena who was not at all favourably disposed towards the Tantriks and their scriptures and practices. By way of explaining why he rejected some of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas partly or wholly in his Dānasāgara Vallālasena says that the Devi-p. which was excluded from the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its treatment of sinful acts, was rejected by him because of its Tantric character, and that the Bhaviṣya-p. was utilised by him up to the chapters dealing with the Saptamī (-kalpa), while those on the Āstamī and Navamī (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence but he expresses no such opinion regarding the ‘Kālikā-p.’ known to him. On the other hand, he quotes 40 verses on gifts

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286 See Kṛtya-kalpataru, III, pp. 336-7, and V, pp. 113-6; Catuvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 738-9, 928-930, II, i, pp. 237-9, 439-444, etc., II, ii, pp. 149-151, 179-180, 326-332, etc.; Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 175-8, 434-7, 452-5 and 493-4; Madana-ratna-pradīpa, fols. 66b-68a; and so on.

287 Dānasāgara, p.7 (verse 67)—

tattat-puraṇ-opapurāṇa-saṃkhya-bahiśkṛtam kaśmala-karma-yogāt /
pāṣaṇḍa-fāstr-ānumataṁ nirūpya devī-puraṇam na nibaddham atra //

288 Dānasāgara, p.7 (verse 59)—
saptamī-saudhi purāṇam bhaviṣyam api saṃgrhiṭam aṭiyānāt /
tyaktv-āstamī-narāṇeḥ kalpau pāṣaṇḍibhir grastau //

For the reasons for our accepting the readings in italics in the above verse see footnoe 314 above.
from the ‘Kālikā-p.’ So, it is sure that the ‘Kālikā-p.’ known to Vallālasena must have been free from Tantric elements. Although Vallālasena names a set of spurious Purāṇas, viz., Tārksya (i.e. Gāruda), Brāhma, Āgneya, Vaiṣṇava of 23000 ślokas, and Laiṅga of 6000 ślokas, which were influenced by Tantricism, his silence regarding the existence of any second Kālikā-p. in his time, is remarkable and shows that the present Kālikā-p., which is full of Tantric elements, was unknown in his days.

The quoted verses further show that, unlike the present Kālikā-p. wherein Viṣṇu has been given a superior position by an identification of the primordial Kālikā with his Yoga-nidrā and Māyā, the earlier Kālikā-p. allowed Śiva a prominent place. It is for this reason that in one of the quoted verses Śiva is called the highest deity, and the worship of Śiva or his linga is ordained in many of the vows and worships.

The earlier Kālikā-p. was written most probably in Bengal. Among the ten verses (on Durgā-pūjā) ascribed to the ‘duśprāpa-kālikāpurāṇ-āntara’ in Raghunandana’s Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 8-9 there are three lines which run as follows:

aṣṭami-navami-saṃdhau tṛūyā khalu kathyate/
tatra pūjyā tv aham putra yogini-gaṇa-saṃyutā/
manoharaś ca balibhir upahāraś prthag-vidhau///

509 Dānasāgara, p.7 (verses 63-66)—
tārksyaṃ purāṇam aparāṃ brāhmaṃ āgneyam eva ca /
trayoviṃśati-saḥsraṃ purāṇam api vaśputam 
śat-saḥsra-mitaṃ laṅgam purāṇam aparāṃ tathā /
dīkṣa-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍa-yuktī-rajna-pariṣṭanāīṇī 
mitā-vaśānucaritaḥ koṣa-vyākaranādibhiḥ /
asampata-kathā-bandhau paraspara-viśuddhibhiḥ 
 tan-mina-ketanādinīṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-līṅginām 
loka-vāñca naṃ śokya sarvam eva vādhibhūtim ///

For the reasons for our emendations in the sixth line see footnote 316 above.

510 It is to be noted that nowhere in his Dānasāgara does Vallaśasena give the slightest indication of his knowledge of a Kālikā-p. different from that drawn upon by him.


and on the basis of these lines Raghunandana prescribes that at the āstami-navami-saṃdhi Devī (i.e. Durgā) should be worshipped, along with the Yoginis, with the offer of different articles and the sacrifice of animals.\textsuperscript{513} Now, Govindānanda informs us that it was a local custom (deśācāra) with the Gauḍiyās to worship Devī as well as the Yoginis at the āstami-navami-saṃdhi and to offer different articles and animals to Devī on this occasion.\textsuperscript{514} So, by recording this local custom in the above-mentioned lines the earlier Kālikā-p. seems to point to Bengal as the place of its origin.

Let us now discuss the date of the earlier Kālikā-p. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi Hemādri quotes from the ‘Kālikā-p.’ five lines which give a list of eighteen Purāṇas including the ‘Kālikā’ which is called the ‘original Bhāgavata’.\textsuperscript{515} So, the earlier Kālikā-p., which thus laid claim to the position of the Bhāgavata-p., must have been written at a time when the position of the latter had already become enviable. As the Bhāgavata-p. is to be assigned to the sixth century A.D. and most probably to the former half of that century,\textsuperscript{516} the earlier Kālikā-p. could not have been written earlier than 600 A.D. Again, the numerous quotations made from the ‘Kālikā-p.’ by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmidhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri and others, who flourished in different parts of India, show that the earlier Kālikā-p. must have been written not later than 900 A.D. In his

\textsuperscript{513} See Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 86 (wherein the first two lines only have been quoted) and Durgā-pūja-tattva, p. 36 (which quotes all the three lines).

\textsuperscript{514} Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 373—gauḍīyās tu āstami-navami-saṃdhaṃ cāmunda-rūpaṃ dhyātvā upacāraṃ abhyarcyā balī-dānāṃ kurvanātī desācāraḥ.
Also Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 447—gauḍīyās tu āstami-navami-saṃdhi-kāle bhūta-suddhī-ādikṣaṃ krtvā cāmunda-rūpaṃ cintayīvā śodācopacāraḥ sumpūya śaṣṭī-yoginiḥ ca pujāyīvā balīṃ tadāti.

\textsuperscript{515} saivam yad vṛyunti proktam vaiśācīcī vaikuṇṭhavam tathā / yad idām kālikākhyam ca mulaḥ bhāga-vatam smṛtam // saumam ca nārājyam ca mārkandyaṃ ca vaṁṣiḥ / vāmanam kauravaṃ māṣyaṃ ca saṁtadāsaṃ ca gārudaṃ / brahmaṃḍam astāda-saṃ jhīvaṃ purāṇaṃ ca na saṃṣayab //

Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 531.

The first two lines are also found quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 22 (with v. 1: ‘saumam eva ca’ for ‘vaikuṇṭhavam tathā’ and ‘yad’ for ‘ca’).

\textsuperscript{516} See Hazra, Purānic Records, p. 55.
Durgotsava-viveka Śūlapāṇi quotes two verses, viz., ‘upavāsaṁ mahāṣṭamyāṁ’ and ‘upavāsaṁ tu tasyāṁ vai’, and points out that the second verse was known to Śrikara.517 Of these two verses the first is the same as verse 16b-17a of chap. 63 of the present Kālikā-p., but the second, which is not found in the present Kālikā, is one of the ten verses quoted by Raghunandana in his Durgā-pūja-tattva (pp. 8-9) from a ‘dusprāpa-kālikāpurāṇ-āntara’. Hence Śrikara,518 who knew the second verse, must have been acquainted with the earlier Kālikā-p., which, therefore, must be dated not later than 800 A.D. We have already said that the group of eighteen Upapurāṇas was formed approximately between 650 and 800 A.D.,519 and as all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas contain the name of a ‘Kālikā’, or ‘Kāli-p.’, the earlier Kālikā-p. should be dated not later than 700 A.D., because the Purānic works generally take a fairly long time to attain a state of authority. It is highly probable that this work was composed sometime during the seventh century A.D.

This fairly early origin and the non-Tantric character of the earlier Kālikā-p. show that it was certainly composed by the Śmṛta Brahmīn sectaries, and most probably by the Śmṛta Śāktas, with its rituals rendered free from Tantric elements.520 But in course of time serious changes came

517 Durgotsava-viveka, p. 17—
yasmin dīne mahāṣṭamī-pūjā tasmīn dīnā evopavāso na tu samādhī-pūjā-dīnē, aṣṭamīteṇ-opavāsī-vidhāṇāt / jyeṣṭha-puṭravāto grasthāsya taniṣṭedhām āha kālikā-purāṇam—
upavāsaṁ mahāṣṭamyāṁ puṭravān na samācāret / yathā tathāiva pūtātmā vratī devīṁ prapūjaiyat //
puṭravān jyeṣṭha-puṭravān / tatraiva—
upavāsaṁ tu tasyāṁ vai mahāpātaka-nāśanām/
ghṛṇā na tu kartavyam jyeṣṭha-puṭravātā sadā //
... atra kāli-purāṇīya-vacanottarārdhe puṭravān upavāsetara-havisyānādānā pūjā-vidhāṇāt tasya pūjāṅgā-mahāṣṭamī-nimittak-opavāsasya nisēdhā na tu pratimāsa-kartavyaṣṭamī-nimittak-opavāsa-nisēdhā iti śrīkaraḥ (v. l. ‘śridattah’ for ‘śrīkaraḥ’; Dacca Univ. Ms have śrīkaraḥ’).

518 According to P. V. Kane, ‘Śrikara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A.D. and probably flourished in the ninth century’. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, I, p. 268.


520 For a discussion on the Purāṇas in the second stage of their development, see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 215-222.
over the Hindu society with the spread of Tantricism. Consequently, in spite of its great authority in the eyes of the comparatively early authors who had no regard for Tantricism, it could not hold ground very long among the people as it failed to satisfy their fresh needs, especially ritualistic, created by the spread of Tantricism. Consequently, it was replaced by the present Kālikā-Ś. which abounds in Tantric elements; and Bengal, which is adjacent to Assam, being a hot bed of Tantricism from fairly early days, the present Kālikā-Ś. had been accepted here first of all before it came to be regarded as authoritative by the Smṛti-writers of other provinces where the hold of the Brahmanical religion, at least upon the Smṛti-writers, did not become loose as early as in Bengal.

Though, as we have seen above, the earlier Kālikā-Ś. laid claim to the position of a ‘Purāṇa’, and more, to the status of the ‘original Bhāgavata’, and this claim was also supported by a section of people, it has not only been included in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas but has been classed among the secondary Purāṇas or expressly called an ‘Upapurāṇa’ by such noted Smṛti-writers as Lakṣmīdhara (author of the Kṛtya-kalpataru), Vallāla-

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221 It is to be noted that of the Maithila Smṛti-writers down to the end of the fifteenth century A.D., if not later, it is only Vidyāpati who is found to have known the present Kālikā-Ś. and to have used it only in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini and not in any other work. We have already stated that in writing this Nibandha Vidyāpati was influenced by the Smṛti-writers of Bengal.

222 See footnote 515 above.

223 Cf. the verse

‘bhagavaryāś ca durgāyāś caritanā yatra vartate /
   tat tu bhāgavataṁ proktam må tu devipurāṇakam’

occurring in the Uttara-khaṇḍa (chap. 23) which claims to belong to the Bengal Śiva-Ś.

(For further information on this verse see footnotes 194 and 420 above.)

That the above verse points to the Kālikā-Ś. is shown by the line ‘... ... bhaga-

vatyā śaṅkram bhāgavataṁ iti kālikā-purāṇaṁ bhāgavata-padenoktaṁ iti ye vaddanti...’

occurring in Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18.

224 See Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30—

aṣṭadalabhinas tu prthak purāṇaṁ yat tu dṛṣṭyate /
   vijanādharinaṁ muni-śreṣṭhaṁ tad eṣeṁ bhavo vinirgataṁ //
   vinirgataṁ udbhūtam / yathā kālikāpurāṇaṁ /

This passage has been quoted, under the name of ‘Lakṣmīdhara’, in Narasinha Vājapeyin’s Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18.
sena, and Narasimha Vājapeyin. Šaiva Nilakaṇṭha also calls it an ‘Upapurāṇa’.

From what has been said above it is clear that the present Kālikā-p. is a work quite different from the earlier Kālikā-p., that it was unknown in Bengal in Vallālasena’s time, and that in the western and southern parts of India it became known only from the end of the sixteenth century A.D.

We shall now try to determine the date of the present Kālikā-p.

The extant Kālikā not only knows the rāsis and weekdays and the ‘ten forms’ of Viṣṇu, of which the ‘Matsya’, ‘Kūrma’ and ‘Varāha’ have been dealt with elaborately in chaps. 25-35, but is remarkably indebted, for many of its ideas and expressions, to Kālīdāsa’s Kumāra-sambhava and Māgha’s Śīśupāla-vadha and most probably to the Devī-p. also. Hence the date of the present Kālikā-p.

535 Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 13ff.)—

uktāny upapurāṇāṇi vyakta-dāna-vidhini ca /
ādiṇaṁ purāṇaṁ śābaṁ ca kālikāhavayam eva ca //
estc.

536 Krtya-ratnākara, pp. 31-2—

matsya-purāṇe—

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

aśṭādaśabhya śa pṛthak purāṇaṁ yat tu dṛṣṭaye /
vijāṅkhvaṁ dvijā-āreṣṭhās tad etebhaya vinirgatam //

vinirgatam udbhūtam yathā kālikā-purāṇaḥ /

537 Nityācāra-pradipa, p. 18.

538 See Šaiva Nilakaṇṭha’s com. on the Devī-bhāgavata, p. 3a— ... devipurāṇa-kālikāpurāṇayor upapurāṇavasya niścitatvāt ... ...

539 As none of the verses quoted by Nāyadeva, Lakṣṇmidhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena and others from the earlier Kālikā-p. is found in our present Kālikā, it is extremely hazardous to say that the present Kālikā has retained chapters or verses from the earlier one, or that the present Kālikā is the result of a revision to which the earlier one was subjected.

540 Kālikā-p. 20. 130; 61. 25; 62. 6; 63.2 and 7; and so on.

541 Ibid., 90. 47 and 49.

542 Ibid., 34. 30 (yasva te daśadhā mūrtih ...).


For instance,

22. 7-8a = 62. 5b-6.
which, as we have already seen, was composed either in Kāmarūpa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it, cannot be placed before 750 A.D.

Again, by his mention that the 'Kālikā-p.' contained the story of Kālikā's manifestation in Kātyāyana's hermitage as a result of the latter's curse on Mahiṣa who fascinated a disciple of Kātyāyana by taking the form of a female, Śaiva Nilakaṇṭha, the commentator of the Devi-bhāgavata, points definitely to Kālikā-p. 62. 95f.; Anantabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chap. 91 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta (Vol. I), Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa from chaps. 57, 60, 62, 63, 69, 71, 73, 86 and 91 in his Niṁaya-sindhu, Mitra-miśra from chaps. 57, 59, 80, 91 and 92 in his Viramitrodaya, Gadādhara from chap. 69 in his Kālasāra, Raghunandana from chaps. 54, 57, 59-63, 66, 67, 69, 71-74, 83, 86, 90 and 91 in his Śruti-tattva and from chaps. 54, 57, 60-63, 69, 71-74 and 91 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīṣa from chaps. 57 and 71 in his Tantra-sāra, Govindānanda from chaps. 57 and 73 in his Dāna-kaumudi, from chaps. 57, 60, 62 and 73 in his Śuddhi-kaumudi, from chaps. 57, 71 and 73 in his Śrāddha-kaumudi, and from chaps. 55-57, 59-63, 66, 67, 69-75, 77, 83, 84, 86 and 89 in his Varṣa-kaumudi, Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmanī from chaps. 57, 60, 63 and 71 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava and from chaps. 60 and 63 in his Durgotsava-viveka, Vidyāpati from chaps. 57, 59-63, 69, 71, 73 and 74 in his Durgā-bhakti-taranāgini, and Śūlapāṇi from chaps. 61-63, 69, 71 and 73 in his Durgotsava-viveka and from chap. 91 in his Rāsa-yātrā-viveka; and the Brāhaddharma-p., by

Devi-p.  
Kālikā-p.  
65. 65f. = 89. 48f.  
66. 13f. = 89. 60f.  
Chap. 67 = 89. 73f.  
93. 104b-105 = 60. 31-32a.  
And so on.

Śaiva Nilakaṇṭha's com. on Devi-bhāgavata V. 8. 34-37—ayaṃ cavatārab purāṇantarā-prasiddhi: kātyāyanārāme kātyāyana-sīyam stri-rūpeṣa mahayantaṃ drṣṭvā kātyāyanāḥ stri tvām hanyāttī āptavān iti tad-ārāme eva rūpa-dhāraṇām iti kālikā-purāṇe saptaṃ.

For information about this Śaiva Nilakaṇṭha, who was quite different from Nilakaṇṭha, the Brahmin scholar of Mahārāṣṭra, who wrote his com. on the Mahābhārata at Benares in the last quarter of the 17th century, see footnote 779 below.
its mention of the ‘Kāli-p.’ as dealing elaborately with the greatest holy place created on the bank of the Brahma-nada by the fall of the female organ of Sati,\textsuperscript{538} refers definitely to the present Kālikā-p. Hence the present Kālikā-p. must be dated earlier than 1200 A.D.\textsuperscript{537} If a period of at least one hundred years be allowed for its attaining the position of a genuine and authoritative Purāṇa so that it could be recognised as such by Vidyāpati, Śūlapāṇi and the author of the Brhaddharmā-p. even without a shade of doubt, then the present Kālikā-p. must be dated not later than 1100 A.D. The large proportion of Tantric elements in its rituals, as compared with those contained in the other Purāṇas, tends to show that the present Kālikā-p. is a work of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.D.\textsuperscript{538}

K. L. Barua felt inclined to ‘tentatively assign this work to the eleventh century’ ‘when the capital was in the neighbourhood of the old city of Prāgjyotiṣapura and the shrine of Kāmākshyā and when Tantrikism was the prevailing tenet.’\textsuperscript{539} In the name ‘Dharmapāla’ given to the sword in the mantra

\begin{verbatim}
“asir viśasanaḥ khaḍgas tiṃśya-dhāro durāsadaḥ/
śrīgarvo (?śrīgarbho) vijayaś caiva dharmapāla namo’stu te/”
\end{verbatim}

in Kālikā-p. 57.17, he discovered a possible ‘reference to king Dharmapāla of the Brahmapāla dynasty’ and found reason

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tīrtha-cūḍāmaṇis tatra yatra yoniḥ papāta ha /
tre brahma-nadākhyasya mahāyoga-sthalaṁ hi tat //
kāli-purāṇe vijñeyam mune vivarāṇam tatāh //
māhātmyam tasya deśaya viśvur jānati nāparah //

According to Jogesh Chandra Roy the Brhaddharmā-p. was composed sometime after the 13th century A.D. [See J. C. Roy in Bhāratavarṣa (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677]. But it is highly probable that this Purānic work was composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. (See Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, VI, 1955, pp. 243-263; also the section on ‘Brhaddharmā-p.’ in Chap. II below).

\textsuperscript{537} Farquhar’s view that the present Kālikā-p. ‘probably comes from a date near the beginning of the period’ 1350-1800 A.D., is obviously wrong. See J. N. Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 354.

\textsuperscript{539} Jogesh Chandra Roy also assigns this Kālikā-p. to the tenth century A.D. See Bhāratavarṣa (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677.

\textsuperscript{538} K. L. Barua, Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 163.
‘to suppose that the Kālikā-purāṇa was compiled during his reign and perhaps under his auspices’.\textsuperscript{540} This view of Barua was followed by Tirthanath Sarma who tried to strengthen it with ‘certain internal evidences of the Purāṇa itself’ and was definitely of opinion that this work was compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla.\textsuperscript{541} As it has not been possible for us to agree with Barua and Sarma as regards the period of composition of this work, we examine critically in the following pages the evidences adduced by these two scholars in support of their views.

According to Barua, the position of the capital of Kāmarūpa in the neighbourhood of the old city of Prāgjyo-
tiṣapura and the shrine of Kāmākhyā and the prevalence of Tantricism there, as known from the Kālikā-p., point to the ‘eleventh century’ as the period of composition of this work. But these arguments are indecisive, because Barua himself says, on the authority of inscriptional evidence, that ‘about the end of the tenth century’ ‘the capital was transferred to Śrīduryajā by Brahmapāla’ who reigned approximately between 985 and 1000 A.D. and because the mention of king Indrapāla’s erudition in the various branches of learning including ‘Tantra’\textsuperscript{542} does not prove that Tantricism was unknown in Kāmarūpa before Indrapāla’s time, which falls between circa 1030 and 1055 A.D. On the other hand, the mention of ‘Tantra’ in both the inscriptions of Indrapāla shows that Tantricism attained popularity in Kāmarūpa to such an extent that even the king himself came to be influenced by it. So, the spread of Tantricism in Kāmarūpa must have begun much earlier than Indrapāla’s time.

The verse ‘asir viśasanaḥ khadgaḥ etc.’, in which both Barua and Sarma found a covert allusion to king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa, has an earlier history which goes very

\textsuperscript{540} Ibid., p. 164.

\textsuperscript{541} IHQ, XXIII, 1947, pp. 322-6.

\textsuperscript{542} See verse 16 of the Gauhati and Guakuchi copper-plate inscriptions of Indrapāla-varma-deva. This verse runs as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
sviṣṭṛtānām pada-vākya-tarkka-tantra-pravāh-ātitarasvininām
yaḥ sarvva-vidyā-saritām agādham antar-nimagnāś ca gataś ca pārim //
Padmanātha Bhaṭṭacārya, Kāmarūpa-sāsanāvall, pp. 121 and 136.
\end{verbatim}
seriously against the views of these two scholars. Going to speak on danda which forms the basis of royal power, Bhiśma mentions, in Mahābhārata XII. 121, its different forms and names (including ‘asi’ and ‘dharma-pāla’) in a number of verses including the following:

"asir viśasano dharmas tīkṣṇa-varmā durādharāḥ /
sṛigarbhō vijayaḥ sāstā vyavahāraḥ sanātanaḥ //
sāstraṃ brāhmaṇa-mantrās ca sāstā prāg-vadatāṁ varāḥ /
dharmapālo ‘ksaro devaḥ satyago nityago ‘grajah //
asāngo rudra-tanayo manur yjeṣṭhaḥ śivaṃkaraḥ /
nāmānī etāni daṇḍasya kirtitāni yudhiṣṭhira //"\n
In his Kṛtya-ratnākara Caṇḍēsvaṇa quotes from an ‘Āgama-āntara’ a large number of verses including the following four on the worship of a sword (khdga-pūjā) in human sacrifice:

"asir viśasanānī khadgas tīkṣṇa-dhāro durāsadaḥ /
sṛigarbhō vijayaś caiva dharmadhāras (v.l. ‘dharma-pālas’
in one Ms845) tathaiva ca //
ityā aṣṭau tava nāmānī svayam uktāni vedhasā //
nakṣatram kṛttikā tubhyāṃ gurur devo mahēśvarāḥ //
hiranyam ca sāriṇam te daivataṁ tu āνārdhanāḥ /
pitā pitāmaha devas tvam māṃ pālaya sarvādā //
iyam yena dhṛtā kṣauṇī hataḥ ca mahiṣāsuraḥ /
tīkṣṇa-dhārāya suddhāya tasmai khadgāya tenamaḥ //"846

Of these four verses, the first three are also found to occur in Viṣṇudharmottara II. 160. 26-28 and Bhaviṣyottara846 138. 65-67 with the readings ‘dharma-ccāra-’ and ‘dharma-dhāra-’ for ‘dharma-dhāra-’ (or ‘dharman-pāla-’) in the second line. The present Agni-p., which is a spurious work compiled sometime during the ninth century A.D.,847 has

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844 See Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 353, footnote 2.
845 Ibid., p. 353.
846 This work has been printed as the Uttra-parvan of the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Bhaviṣya-p.
847 Haiman, Purānic Records, pp. 134-140, and S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, I, pp. 102-4. See also De in JRAS, 1923, pp. 537-549; and P. V. Kane, History of Dharmāstra, 1, p. 172, and History of Sanskrit Poetics, pp. II-V.
derived from the Viṣṇudharmottara a large number of chapters including the three verses mentioned above but reads ‘dharmapāla’ for ‘dharmācāra’. In his Kṛtya-tattva Raghunandana anonymously quotes five verses including the above-mentioned four quoted by Caṇḍesvara from an ‘Āgamāntara’ but reads ‘dharmapāla namo ’stu te’ for ‘dharmādhāras tathaiva ca’ (or ‘dharmapālas tathaiva ca’). That neither Caṇḍesvara nor Raghunandana derived the said verses from the Kālikā-p. is shown by the facts that neither Caṇḍesvara nor Raghunandana names the Kālikā-p. as the source of these verses and that only the first of these verses is found to occur in this Purāṇa. So, it is sure that Caṇḍesvara and Raghunandana derived these verses from some famous ‘Āgama’, which must have been utilised in the Kālikā-p. also. Now, the occurrence of the reading ‘dharmapāla’ in the Mahābhārata, Agni-p. and other works shows that the verse ‘asir viśasanaḥ khaḍgāḥ etc.’, now found in the Kālikā-p., came to have this reading much earlier than the eleventh century A.D. It is highly probable that the Viṣṇudharmottara also had this reading in some of its manuscripts and that both the Agni-p. and the Kālikā-p. derived it from the Viṣṇudharmottara, which, as we have already said, was sufficiently known to these two works. So, this reading can by no means be said to contain a reference to king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa. It should be mentioned here that the part of the Śanti-parvan of the Mahābhārata in which the said verses containing the reading ‘dharmapālaḥ’ occur, can by no means be dated later than the fourth century A.D., and that the Viṣṇudharmottara, which preceded the Agni-p. by a fairly long time, was composed in Kāshmir between 400 and 500 A.D. So, the mention of the name of this work in the Kālikā-p. cannot be utilised to place the date of the latter work after the ninth century A.D.

It is true that in the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa there is no mention of the goddess Kāmākhyā or her shrine on

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the Nilakūṭa hill; but this silence cannot be taken to indicate that the Kālikā-p., which deals mainly with this goddess and her shrine on the said hill, was compiled at a date posterior to those of the inscriptions. The Devī-p., which, as we have already seen, cannot be dated later than the seventh century A.D., once says that ‘the son of Bhaumā worshipped Devī in the cave of the Kāmākhya [hill];’ at another place this Purāṇa speaks of the prevalence of the eight Vidyās at different places including Varendra, Rāḍhā, Bhōṭṭa-deśa, and the Kāmākhya hill; and on a third occasion it names the different places, including ‘Kāmarūpa’, in which Devī always remains in different forms. These statements about the worship of Devī on the ‘Kāmākhya’ hill in ‘Kāmarūpa’ are perhaps sufficient to show that the worship of Kāmākhya became prevalent in Kāmarūpa much earlier than the seventh century A.D. So, the absence of mention of this deity in the two copper-plate grants which Dharmapāla had inscribed in circa 1092 and 1110 A.D., cannot be made the basis of the statement that the Kalika-p. was compiled, after these inscriptions, during the reign of Dharmapāla, who ruled approximately between 1090 and 1115 A.D.

According to both the inscriptions of Indrapāla (who ruled approximately between 1030 and 1055 A.D.), the river Lauhitya was so named because its waters were coloured red by the thick blood washed off from (Jāmadagnya) Rāma’s battle-axe which severed the heads of kings; and

See Devī-p. 39. 6b—yajed bhaumātmajo devīṁ kāmākhye giri-kandare.
Ibid., 39. 144—
manodare varendre ca rāḍhāyaṁ kośale pure /
bhōṭṭa-deśe sa-kāmākhye kīshindhye ca nagottame //
Ibid., 42. 8b-9a—
kāmarūpe tathā kānčyaiṁ campâyāṁ atha vaidīśe /
varendre caḍdiyaiṁ ca manākṣe śikhare tathā //
yad vāri rāma-parasor nrpa-kaṇṭha-kaṇḍa-
śivasa dhauta-ghana-lohita-pāṇkam ālit /
lauhitya ity adhipatiṁ satiraiṁ sa eṣa
brahmāga-bhūr nūdatu vai kali-kalmaśaṁ //
Padmanātha Bhaṭṭācārya, Kāmarūpa-śasanāvall, pp. 117 and 183.

For the story of Rāma Jāmadagnya’s washing of his blood-stained battle-axe in a
this explanation differs remarkably from that given in the Kālikā-p. which derives the name of the river from the lake 'Lohita' through which it is said to have passed on its way from the Brahma-kuṇḍa. But this difference between the inscriptions and the Kālikā-p. cannot be used to place the date of the latter after the time of Indrapāla, because the entire portion of the Kālikā-p. from 84.28b to 86.39a, which begins with the description of a devastating flood in Kāmarūpa caused by the river Lauhitya, is undoubtedly spurious. Moreover, the Kālikā-p. itself says that it was kept concealed in Kāmarūpa until it was known to the sages. As a matter of fact, not a single Purāṇa has been found to attain a state of authority immediately after its compilation. So, if the Kālikā-p. preceded the inscriptions by fifty years or so, it was very natural for the composers of these inscriptions to be ignorant of the Purāṇa or to overlook its story.

In Kālikā-p., chap. 82 there is 'a passing notice of a city near a hill called Durjaya with a shrine of Bhairava' on it. In the same chapter there is also the mention that this shrine had an image of 'Bhairava sprung from the middle holy pool (kuṇḍa) lying 'inside a cave in the east' and the rushing out of the water of this pool after 'gathering momentum' in course of time and its flowing into the salt-ocean as the river Lauhitya through a channel created by itself, see Padma-p., Śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 52. 17b-56. In the earlier part of this story it is stated that Lauhitya was born of Śāntanu's wife Amoghā as a result of Śāntanu's drinking of Brahmā's energy discharged on a seat in Śāntanu's cottage at the sight of Amoghā and that Lauhitya was delivered by his mother in Yugaṃdhara (mountain) as a shining mass of pure water having inside it an effulgent male wearing blue clothes, a crown, and a string of gems. There can be little doubt about the fact that this story is made up of that given in the Kālikā-p. and another referred to in Indrapāla's inscription mentioned above.

It should be mentioned here that the part of the Padma-p., Śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, from chap. 43, verse 100 to chap. 82, verse 45 (with which the Śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa ends) is constituted of the Dharma-p., an independent Purānic work composed in Kāmarūpa sometime between 1250 and 1325 A.D. (This Purāṇa will be examined in details in another Volume of the present work).  

355 Kālikā-p. 86. 29b-33a.  
356 For the reasons for our taking this part of the Kālikā-p. as spurious see below.  
357 Kālikā-p. 93. 30b-32a—

adhitam ca śruṭam matto vasiṣṭhena mahātmanā /
idam purāṇam amṛṭam kālikāhvasyam uttamam //
tenā guptam idam sarvaṁ kāmarūpe surālaye /
tad idānīṁ samākhyātaṁ vyaktikṛtya mahāṛṣayāb //
part of the body of Śarabha, a form assumed by Śiva', and that the image was to be worshipped with the rites enjoined for the worship of Kāmesvara\textsuperscript{558}. Another image of Mahābhairava has been mentioned in chap. 64 as situated in the temple of Bhuvenēśvari (also called Mahāgaurī) on the top of the Kāmākhyā hill and sprung from the middle part of the body of Mahādeva in his Śarabha form\textsuperscript{559}. Tirthanāth Sarma takes the former image of Bhairava to be the same as, or at least a prototype of, the latter and says: "It may be that when Durjaya was abandoned for some reason or other by Dharmāpāla, Mahāgaurī and Kāmesvara were brought to the top of the Kāmākhyā hill and installed there, or the pīṭha and the Bhairava installed there had their prototype at Durjaya. In any case Durjaya and her presiding deity lost their former glory during the time when the Kālikāpurāṇa was compiled."\textsuperscript{560} Against this conclusion of Sarma it may be said that the city to the east of the Durjaya hill has been expressly named in the Kālikā-p. as 'Varāsana' (and not as Durjaya).\textsuperscript{561} If the Kālikā-p. was written after the capital of Kāmarūpa had been transferred from the city of Durjaya, there is no reason why this city should not be called by its popular name 'Durjaya' which is found to occur as late as in the Gauhati inscription of Indrapāla, the great-grandson of Brahmapāla. These is also no evidence to show that with the shifting of the capital from the city of Durjaya its name also was changed. It is, therefore, more probable that the Kālikā-p. had been written before the city of Durjaya was established by Brahmapāla or at least before Brahmapāla's new capital was named as such by his son Ratnapāla. It may be that when Brahmapāla transferred his capital to the new city near the Durjaya hill, he named it as 'Varāsana', which literally means 'the best seat (of the government).'. It is also not impossible that near the Durjaya hill

\textsuperscript{558} Ibid., 82. 155-158a.
\textsuperscript{559} Ibid., 64. 115-120.
\textsuperscript{560} IHQ, XXIII, 1947, p. 324.
\textsuperscript{561} See Kālikā-p. 82. 159b—
durjyākhyāsyā pūrvasyaṁ puraṁ nāma varāsanām.
there was already a city named Varāsana, to which Brahma-
pāla transferred his capital for its advantageous position.
Sarma refers to a tradition, current among the Basatta-
riya Brahmin families of lower Assam, 'that their ancestors
were settled by Dharmapāla with land grants' for conducting
the worship of Kāmākhya.\textsuperscript{562} But this tradition, which
merely testifies to the establishment of a few Brahmin
families for a definite purpose, does not prove that it was
Dharmapāla who \textit{first} introduced the worship of the goddess
Kāmākhya in Kāmarūpa and established her temple and
image on the Kāmākhya hill. The statements of the Devi-p.
that 'the son of Bhauma worshipped Devī in the cave of
the Kāmākhya [hill]', that the eight Vidyās prevailed at
different places including this hill, and that Devī always
remains at Kāmarūpa and several other places in particular
forms, show that the worship of Devī on the Kāmākhya hill
had begun much earlier than the time of Dharmapāla.

Chap. 29 of the Kālikā-p. is devoted to the praise of
'Dharma' (sacred law), and in this chapter Tīrthanath
Sarma not only detects 'frequent śleṣa on the word Dharma'
but finds out a number of passages which, in his opinion,
'bear a close comparison with a few in the inscriptions of
Dharmapāla'.\textsuperscript{563} As to the praise of 'Dharma' in chap. 29
it may be said that it is nothing new with the Kālikā-p.
The inscriptions and the comparatively early works of
Kāmarūpa show that preservation of 'Dharma' (i.e., varṇa-
śrama-dharma) there became a matter of great concern
with the kings at least from the time of Bhāskara-varman.
In the Nidhanpur inscription of this king there are mention
and praise of 'Dharma' on several occasions, and there is
no doubt that the word \textit{dharma} has been used in this inscrip-
tion to mean 'varṇaśrama-dharma', which also has been
mentioned expressly on one occasion; in the Tejpur inscrip-
tion of Vanamāla-varma-deva, Harjara-varman has been
said to be 'Yudhiṣṭhira' (and not the 'Buddha') in dis-

\textsuperscript{562} IHQ, XXIII, 1947, p. 324.
\textsuperscript{563} Ibid., XXIII, 1947, p. 325.
yāḥ)⁵⁴⁴; according to his Gauhati inscription Indrapāla-varma-deva rendered the Earth ‘samyag-vibhakta-caturāśrama-varṇa-dharmā’ (such as had the duties of the four castes and stages of life properly divided);⁵⁴⁵ in the Guakuchi inscription of Indrapāla-varma-deva a village of Brahmins in Sāvathī has been compared to a fort in which Dharma, being afraid of Adharma, took shelter in the Kali age⁵⁴⁶; in the same inscription Indrapāla has been given thirty-two names including the two, namely, ‘Kalikā-lajadhi-nimajjadosvundhar-ādivarāḥa’ and ‘Dharmma-virodhi-vartmadebhīru’⁵⁴⁷; in his Subhaṅkara-pāṭaka inscription Dharmapāla has been called ‘dharman-parā’⁵⁴⁸; and in his Pusabhadra inscription this king has been said to be ‘dharmmaika-dattāḥṛdaya’ (one who has given his heart solely to dharma) and an appeal has been made by him to future kings not to be led astray by the freak of royal fortune and forsake ‘Dharma’ which yields permanent pleasure (tyājyaḥ kadācid api nitya-sukho na dharmmah).⁵⁴⁹ In the latter half of the thirteenth or the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. a minor Purāṇa, called Dharma-p., was composed in Kāmarūpa to popularise the varṇāśrama-dharma which suffered a serious set back under the rule of the Mlecha dynasty, and this work inspired the composition of the Brhad-dharma-p. in Bengal for the same purpose. So, by praising ‘Dharma’ in chap. 29 the Kakā-p. did nothing new nor did it eulogise king Dharmapāla in a covert way, but it simply followed the old tradition which began perhaps much earlier than Bhāskara-varman. As a matter of fact, the local population of Kāmarūpa and its surroundings consisted much of non-Aryan tribesmen following Kāpālīka Śaivism and other faiths which discouraged the practice of varṇāśrama-dharma. So, the preservation of Dharma could not but be a hard task for the kings of Kāmarūpa.

⁵⁴⁴ Padmanātha Bhaṭṭācārya, Kāmarūpa-śasanāvali, p. 60, verse 12.
⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 121, verse 18.
⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 137, verse 20.
⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 139-140 (lines 64-65 and 69).
⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 153, verse 12.
⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 173, verses 6-7.
As regards the passages which Sarma found parallel between the Kālikā-p. and the inscriptions of Dharmapāla it may be said that the parallelism is very often negligible and points almost unmistakably to the independent character of the Kālikā-p.

From our examination of the evidences adduced by Barua and Sarma in support of their views we see that there is practically no reason for taking the Kālikā-p. to be a work compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla. On the other hand, as we have already seen, there are evidences which indicate that it was composed earlier, during the tenth, or at least not later than the first half of the eleventh century A.D. According to Jogesh Chandra Roy it is a work of the tenth century. 570

On the basis of the claim made in the colophon of a Ms of a ‘Kāli-purāṇa’ 571 that it belongs to the Mahākāla-saṁhitā of the Rudra-yāmala-tantra, D. C. Sircar says: “The Kālikā Purāṇa, quoted by Nānyadeva (c. 1097-1133 A. D.) in his Bharatabhāsyā and by Aparārka (c. 1115-40 A. D.) and Ballālasena (c. 1159-85 A. D.), seems to have been originally incorporated in the Rudrayāmala Tantra; ....... Some sections may, however, have been later added to the original Purāṇa.” 572 Thus, Sircar feels inclined to believe that the Kālikā-p. known to and utilised by Nānyadeva, Aparārka and Vallālasena originally belonged to the Rudrayāmala-tantra, and that the present Kālikā-p. (to which he refers for the names of the Śākta Pīthas) is the same as the earlier one with some additional sections of later dates. As ‘the Rudrayāmala is mentioned in the Brahmayāmala, a manuscript of which was copied in 1052 A.D.’, 573 Sircar agrees with P. K. Gode in placing the date of the present Kālikā-p. earlier than 1000 A. D. 574 It is hardly necessary to say that these views of Sircar do not stand scrutiny. There are a

571 For this Ms see Shastrī, ASB Cat., VIII (revised edition), p. 70, No. 5874 (Ms No. 8753). See also footnote 421 above.
572 See JASB, XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 12, footnote 5.
574 Ibid., XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 12, footnote 5.
number of facts which go very seriously against them. These facts are as follows:

(i) Many Mss of the present Kālikā-p. have been discovered in different parts of India up to the present time, but we know of no second Ms which contains a colophon in which this Purāṇa has been attached to the Rudra-yāmala or any other Tantric or non-tantric work; nor is there any Ms of the Rudra-yāmala which comprises the text of the present Kālikā-p. partly or wholly. There is also no indication anywhere in the text of the present Kālikā-p. (as found in the printed editions and the Mss hitherto discovered) that this Purāṇa belonged to the Rudra-yāmala-tantra or any other work. So, the above-mentioned claim, made only in the final colophon (and not in the chapter-colophons or the body of the text) of the said single Ms is perfectly unreliable and had clearly its origin at a later date from some individual’s personal view.

(ii) All the available Mss of the Rudra-yāmala show that this work is divided into Pātalas and not into Saṃhitās. It does not say anywhere that it consisted of Saṃhitās at any time. So, the Mahākāla-saṃhitā, to which the ‘Kāli-p.’ is attached, must have been an independent work of comparatively late origin deriving authority from the Rudra-yāmala.

(iii) By claiming to belong to the Rudra-yāmala-tantra the said ‘Kāli-p.’ gives itself out to be a Tantric work, and this character of this Purāṇa is quite evident from the fact that its incomplete text is practically the same as that of the present Kālikā-p. extending from a part of verse 10 of chap. 4 to verse 79 of chap. 62, which is full of Tantricism. On the other hand, as we have already seen, the earlier Kālikā-p., known to and drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Vallālasena and many others, had little or no Tantric element.

(iv) The earlier Kālikā-p., as we have already seen, had several groups of interlocutors including Trāṇabindu and Anilāda, Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvyakūta (?), and Sūrya and his devotee, of whom the first two appear to have been the most important. But the present Kālikā-p. makes no mention of any of these persons. Moreover, none of
the numerous references to or quotations from the ‘Kālikā-ṛ.’
in the works of Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri,
and several others (mentioned above) is traceable in the
present Kālikā-ṛ.

(v) From an examination of the verses ascribed to the
‘Kālikā-ṛ.’ by Nānyadeva and others we have seen that in
the earlier Kālikā-ṛ. Kālikā was associated with Śiva who
was given a prominent place and called the highest deity;
but in the present Kālikā-ṛ. this goddess has been connected
with Viṣṇu by identifying her with the latter’s yogo-nidrā
or māyā.

From what has been said above it is evident that the
Kālikā-ṛ. known to and utilised by Nānyadeva, Aparārka
and others was perfectly different from the present Kālikā
and had nothing common with the latter, that neither the
earlier Kālikā-ṛ. (which had little or nothing to do with
Tantricism) nor the present one ever formed a part of the
Rudra-yāmala-tantra, and that Nānyadeva and others’
quotations from the ‘Kālikā-ṛ.’ and the association of the
present Kālikā with the Rudra-yāmala-tantra in only the
final colophon of a single Ms, cannot be used to push up the
date of the present Kālikā-ṛ.

In spite of the numerous digressions which often create
serious interruptions in the main topics, the present Kālikā-ṛ.
is generally a unified work. The general integrity of its
contents is established not only by their close interrelation
but also by the absence of any irrelevance or incongruity in
the stories, by the frequent cross-references to different
topics872 dealt with in this Purāṇa, and by the use of the
word ‘nācira’ (for ‘acira’) throughout the whole work.873
Hence the above date of the Purāṇa can be taken to be that
of the entire work, especially except the verses from 84.28b to
86.39a, which must be taken as spurious for the following reasons:

872 For instance, Kālikā-ṛ. 19.58 refers to chap. 2; 25. 2-3 refer to chaps. 25 (verses
4ff.); 28; 30.1 refers to 27.28ff.; 32.1-4 refer to chaps. 32 (verses 5ff.); 36; 35.44 refers to
26.54-55; and so on.
873 See Kālikā-ṛ. 33. 30; 39. 134; 53. 61, 73, 75, etc.; 57. 104.
The word ‘nācira’, which is used in the form ‘nāciṛṇa’ or ‘nācīrā’, seems to have been
a very favourite one to the author of the present Kālikā-ṛ.
(i) Nowhere in the Kālikā-p., except in the part referred to above, there is any mention of any flood in Kāmarūpa or of any difficulty in finding out the sacred pools and rivers of that place.

(ii) Kālikā-p. 86.39b-41a, which mention the stories already narrated, totally ignore the highly interesting stories of the river Lauhitya and Rāma Jāmadagnya, although these two verses come immediately after these stories.

Besides the verses mentioned above, there may be some others here and there which were interpolated later, but these are not many and important.

Though the present Kālikā-p. is a late work, attempts have been made in it for giving it a garb of antiquity. It is said that the topics dealt with in this Purāṇa were handed down from Brahmā through Nārada, Bālakhilyas, Yavakrita and Asita successively until these reached Mārkaṇḍeya, the narrator of this Purāṇa,\(^{577}\) and that Vasiṣṭha, who had read and heard this ‘Kālikā-p.’ from Mārkaṇḍeya, concealed it in Kāmarūpa, ‘the land of gods’, until it was revealed by Mārkaṇḍeya to the sages.\(^{578}\)

In spite of the fact that the present Kālikā-p. very often calls itself ‘Purāṇa’\(^{579}\) but never ‘Upapurāṇa’, it contains very little of ‘vaṃśānucarita’\(^{580}\) and nothing of ‘vaṃśa’ and ‘manvantara’. On the other hand, it not only contains various interesting myths and legends,\(^{581}\) important materials for the study of Śākta iconography, the names and position of mountains, rivers and holy places chiefly of Kāmarūpa, and the like, but gives us valuable information regarding the literature known to it. It has already been said that the Kālikā-p. has utilised Kālidāsa’s Kumāra-saṃbhava, Māgha’s Śiśupāla-vadha, and most probably the Devī-p. It has derived verses from other earlier works also. For

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\(^{577}\) Kālikā-p. 1. 16-18.

\(^{578}\) Kālikā-p. 93. 30-32.

\(^{579}\) See Kālikā-p. 1. 3; 91. 72; 93. 28, 31, 34 and 35; and so on. See also the chapter-colophons.

\(^{580}\) It gives only the account of Nāraka and his descendants.

\(^{581}\) Such as those of the birth and exploits of Kāma and the Māras, of the birth of Arundhati and her marriage with Vasiṣṭha, of the birth and exploits of Nāraka, and so on.
instance, in chap. 61 this work has a large number of verses which occur in Matsya-p., chap. 260; the verses ‘antya-pādo divā-bhāge’, ‘bhaga-liṅg-ābhidhānaiś ca’, ‘parair nākṣipyate yas tu’, and ‘antya-pādo niśā-bhāge’, which are ascribed to Satya in Kālaviveka, pp. 514-5, are the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 18b-19a, 21b-23a, and 24b-25a; the verses ‘saptamyaṁ patrikā-pūjā’ and ‘samprēsaṇaṁ daśamyaṁ ca’, which have been ascribed to the ‘Liṅga-p.’ in Kālaviveka, p. 512 and Śrīnātha’s Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 and Kṛtya-tattvārnava, fol. 60a, are the same as Kālikā-p. 62.19-20; the verse ‘kanyāyāṁ kṛṣṇa-pakṣe tu’, which is ascribed to the Bhagavati-p. in Kālaviveka, p. 511, to the Devi-p. in Śrīnātha’s Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 43-44, and to the ‘Liṅga-p.’ in Śūlapāṇi’s Durgotsava-viveka, p. 5 and Raghunandana’s Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 74 and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 4, is the same as Kālikā-p. 62.17; the verse ‘sukla-pakṣe caturthyāṁ tu’, which is ascribed to the Bhagavati-p. in Kālaviveka, p. 511 and to the ‘Liṅga-p.’ in Śrīnātha’s Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 and Kṛtya-tattvārnava, fol. 60a, is the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 18; and so on. The present Kālikā-p. recognises the Āgamas, Purāṇas and Saṁhitās as sources of sadācāra and mentions a Nīti-śāstra ascribed to Brahmā, Dharmashastras ascribed to Dakṣa and Svayambhū, Rājaniti-śāstras of UŚanas and Brhaspati, the Nārada-paṇcarātra (?), the Viṣṇudharmottara spoken out by Mārkaṇḍeya, and a work called Śivāṁṛta, of 18 Paṭalas, which Bhairava compiled on the basis of the instructions he had received from Śiva and which dealt with the procedure of the worship.

\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{883} Kālikā-p. 88. 3.}}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{884} Ibid., 20. 42-43.}}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{885} Ibid., 20. 51.}}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{886} Ibid., 1. 8.}}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{887} Ibid., 87. 99 and 130.}}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{888} Ibid., 83. 141—}}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{889} Paṇcarāṭrodite bhāge nāradena yathoditaḥ / mantrāś cakra-gaḍādānāṁ grāhyāḥ sarvatra pūjane //}}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{890} Ibid., 91.70, and 92.1-2. Cf. also Kālikā-p. 1.4-9.}}\]

The ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’, mentioned in the Kālikā-p., is undoubtedly the same as the extant Viṣṇudharmottara which also deals with rāja-nīti, sadācāra etc. and is declared by Mārkaṇḍeya.
of Mahāmāyā. In the chapters on Devī-worship there is mention of kāmesvari-tantra, tripūrā-tantra, umā-tantra, kāmākhya-tantra, vaisnavī-tantra, devī-tantra, durgā-tantra, ugraśaṅḍā-tantra, bhairavī-tantra, and uttara-tantra; but all these, including ‘uttara-tantra’, mean the procedures of the worship of the respective deities named in these expressions, the deities Kāmesvari, Tripūrā, Umā and others being the different forms of Mahāmāyā. According to Govindānanda the word ‘durgā-tantra’, occurring in Kālikā-p. 62. 9b, means the ten-syllabled mantra of Jayadurgā which begins with the Praṇava and ends with the word ‘svāhā’; and in order to support this meaning Govindānanda cites a verse from the ‘Kālikā-p.’ But this verse is not found in the printed text of the present Kālikā-p.

It has already been said that besides the extinct and extant Kālikā-purāṇas mentioned above, a Ms has been found of another Kālikā-p. which is also called Kāli-purāṇa and Satī-purāṇa, and that this work and the Caṇḍī-p. and Bhagavati-p. which are quite different from the extinct and extant Kālikā-purāṇas, will be examined thoroughly in another Volume of the present work.

3. The Mahābhāgavata-purāṇa.

This work must be distinguished from the famous

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589 Kālikā-p. 54.5 and 7-9.
590 See Kālikā-p., chaps. 58-68 and 78.
591 ‘Uttara-tantra’ is also the name of a work. An Uttara-tantra is drawn upon in Tryambaka Mātē’s Ācārendu, p. 129.
592 Kālikā-p. 60.48-54.
594 See also Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 376 (durgā-tantranām āsākṣara-jayadurgā-antaraḥ) and p. 390 (mūla-mantras tu durgātantraṃ-saṃjñāko āsākṣara-durgā-antaraḥ).
595 tārō durgā dvayaṃ rephaḥ prāntō dhāntaḥ salocanāḥ // svāhānta jayadurgayaṃ durgā-tantram iti śūntaṃ //
596 Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 390.
597 For information about the Ms’s of these works see footnote 2 above.
598 The only printed editions of the Mahābhāgavata are those published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1913, and the Vaṅgavāśi Press, Calcutta, 1321 B.S.
Vaiṣṇava Mahāpurāṇa called Bhāgavata, which also is sometimes called ‘Mahābhāgavata’ (i.e. ‘the great Bhāgavata’). It is an interesting Upapurāṇa dealing with the praise of Devi and her worship. Although it is a com-

The latter edition appeared under the name of Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna as its editor.

Our analysis of the Mahābhāgavata-p. is chiefly based on the former edition (published from Bombay).

Although both these editions have the same number of chapters, the latter (published from Calcutta) has occasionally some additional verses which are wanting in the former. For instance, verses 10b-11a, 50-51, 67-68 and 93-94 of chap. 7, verses 28b-37 and 71b-81 of chap. 8, verses 24-35a of chap. 14, and verses 23-31a of chap. 28 of the Vaṅga. ed. do not occur in that published from Bombay. As regards readings the Vaṅga. ed. very often differs from that of Bombay.

For Mss of the Mahābhāgavata see

(i) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1280-82, No. 3547, Ms. No. 457 (written in Bengali script and consisting of 80 chapters).

(ii) Shastri, ASB Cat., V., pp. 772-4, Nos. 4112-16, Ms. Nos. 732, 680, 8119, 4490 and 4400 respectively. (All these Ms are written in Bengali characters. Only the first two are dated Śaka 1697 and 1731 respectively).

(iii) Roth, Tübingen Cat., p. 15.

(iv) Mitra, Notices, I, p. 203, No. 359 (incomplete; ending with a few verses of chap. 49; and written in Bengali script).


(vi) Bhandarkar, Report, p. 12 (No. 166—complete).

(vii) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 936 (complete; consisting of 80 chapters; dated Śaka 173), 1470 (complete; dated 1729 Śaka), 3278 (complete), 3280 (incomplete), 3818 (complete; dated 1774 Śaka), 4200 (complete; dated 1732 Śaka), 4432 (incomplete), 4645 (incomplete), 4646 (complete; consisting of 80 chapters; dated Śaka 1740), 4714A (complete; dated Śaka 1708), 4791 (complete), D.R. 113 (complete).

All these Dacca Univ. Mss are written in Bengali script. Of these, three were discovered in Sylhet and the rest in Eastern Bengal.

In their colophons many of these Mss claim to contain only the first part (prathama khaṇḍa) of the Mahābhāgavata, and this claim seems to be supported by the printed editions also (cf. chap. 81, verse 43 = Vaṅga. ed. 81.52 — etāvad uktam devena . . . . . / khaṇḍa’min jaśmine . . . . . . . . . . /). But as a matter of fact, the Mahābhāgavata consists of the first part only and does not contain any other part.

For Mss of the Bhagavati-gītā belonging to the Mahābhāgavata, see Shastri, ASB Cat., V., pp. 774-5, Nos. 4117-8 (Mss Nos. 117 and 135 respectively); Mitra, Notices, I, p. 249, No. 440; and Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 160C, 169T, 331E, 326B, 1500, 1611, 1836 and 2076A.

See, for instance, Sampatsara-pradīpa, fol. 41a-b—skāndे— . . . . . mahābhāgavatākhyasya sa cāndāla-samo mataḥ / mahābhāgavatākhyasya mahābhāgavata-purāṇasya / ata etad-dosa-paraḥārya bhāgavata-purāṇasya katicī ślokāni likhyante / tad yathā—yatam brahma vedāntavido vadanti param prādhānaṃ purusāṃ tathāyey / vīvogateb kāraṇam śvaruṇaṃ va tasmai nami vighna-vināyakaya /]

Kāvyā-saṅgraha (of Rājaīvavā Daśa), fol. 10b — atha śrimad-bhāgavata (?te) katicī ślokāni—jñāmādyasya yato’nvayād itarataś cārthīśv abhijñāḥ svarāt / etc. etc. (= Bhāg. I. 1. 1, 3 etc.; X. 14. 28 etc.; X. 4. 39f.; and so on).
paratively late work and is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas except the Brhaddharmā-p., it deserves to be studied for information about the contemporary state of Hindu religion and society in Bengal, especially in its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa.

The printed edition of the Mahābhāgavata opens with four maṅgala ślokas, of which the third contains a salutation to Devī and the fourth a benediction. According to these two verses Devī is the ‘Ādyā Prakṛti’ and is ‘parā’ and ‘svarg-āpavarga-pradā’; she created the universe of her own accord, subjected herself to births, and had Śambhu as her husband; and Śambhu, in his turn, had Devī as his wife through severe austerities and held her foot on his bosom.

Regarding the origin of the Mahābhāgavata and its introduction on earth it is said in chap. 1 that at the request of Śaunaka and others in the Naimiṣa forest to describe some ‘Purāṇa’ on the glory of Devī, Sūta spoke of the ‘most secret Purāṇa named Mahābhāgavata’ which was first declared by Maheśa to Nārada and then by Vyāsa to Jāimini. Sūta said that being unable to attain mental satisfaction even after writing ‘the eighteen Purāṇas’ Vyāsa wanted to become the author of a ‘Mahāpurāṇa’ that would deal elaborately with the praise of Bhagavatī. Consequently, he went to the Himālaya for realising the true nature of Devī by means of austerities. But being directed by Devī’s voice from the air, Vyāsa went over to Brahma-loka where he was told by the four Vedas that it was Bhagavatī Durgā herself who was ‘Parama Brahma’. Being eulogised by these Vedas Devī appeared in person before Vyāsa. In order to convince Vyāsa of her own identity with Supreme Brahma, Devī assumed various forms such as those of a thousand-handed female deity mounted on a lion and furnished with divine


The reading ‘upasīṁham ca tathā param’ of the Vaṅga. ed. of the Brhaddharmā-p. (for ‘mahābhāgavataṃ tathā’ of the ASB ed.) is erroneous, because the ‘Nāralīmha’ has been included in the list of Upapurāṇas given in verses 23-27 and the reading ‘mahābhāgavataṃ tathā’ of the ASB ed. has been found in all the Mss we have been able to examine.

The Brhaddharmā-p. includes the Mahābhāgavata among the ‘Mahat Purāṇas’.
weapons, a dark-complexioned and four-handed goddess standing on a corpse (śava-vāhanā), female deities having two, four, ten, eighteen, one hundred or innumerable hands, Viṣṇu-and-Kamalā, Kṛṣṇa-and-Rādhā, Brahmā-and-Vāni, Śiva-and-Gaurī, and so on. She then revealed to Vyāsa the Purāṇa named Mahābhāgavata, which Vyāsa found recorded on the thousand petals of the lotus lying under her feet. Thus, Sūta said, the Mahābhāgavata was revealed to Vyāsa.

In the remaining chapters Sūta is found to reproduce the dialogue between Mahādeva and Nārada on the glory of Durgā in the same way as it was reported by Vyāsa to Jaimini. The contents of these chapters are briefly as follows:

Chap. 2.—Being requested by Jaimini to speak on the glory of Durgā, Vyāsa praises topics on Durgā as well as the name of this goddess called ‘tāraka brahma’ and then begins to reproduce what Mahādeva, being insisted upon to divulge the name of the deity worshipped by himself and by Brahmā and Viṣṇu, said to Nārada on the Mandara mountain about the glory of Durgā.

Chap. 3.—Description of the origin of the universe as well as of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī from Parā Prakṛti, who, though formless, assumed at her own wish the form of a naked (digambarā) female having a collyrium-dark complexion, a beautiful face, four hands, red eyes, dishevelled hair, heaving breasts, and a lion as her mount. Prakṛti’s assumption of a dreadful form for testing the force of penance of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; her failure to disturb Śiva’s mind, and her consequent consent to become his wife in her fullness. Brahmā’s creation of his ten mind-born sons, of Dakṣa and other Prajāpatīs, and of Saṃdhya and Kāma. Birth of Svāyaṁbhuva Manu and Śatarūpā from Brahmā’s body. Descendants of Svāyaṁbhuva Manu and Dakṣa.

Chap. 4.—Story of Devi’s birth as Sātī (having eight

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601 See verses 15-17.
hands and a fair complexion)\textsuperscript{692} as a result of Dakṣa’s penance, Sati’s choice of Śiva as her husband by placing the garland (meant for selection of husband) on the ground after pronouncing the words ‘śivāya namaḥ’, and her marriage with Śiva.

Chap. 5.—Dakṣa’s lament for Sati, and his censure on both Sati and Śiva. Dadhīcī’s praise of Śiva and Sati as Paraṇa Puruṣa and Āḍyā Prakṛti respectively, and his advice to Dakṣa not to decry Śiva and Sati.

Chap. 6.—Śiva’s residence with Sati on the Himālaya. Daily worship of Sati by Menā, wife of Himālaya, for having Sati as her own daughter. Citation of a hymn of praise to Śiva by Nandin, an attendant of Dakṣa and a disciple of Dadhīcī, and his consequent appointment as the head of Pramathas.

Chap. 7.—Śiva’s amorous sports with Sati for ten thousand years. Menā’s worship of Sati by observing a vow which began on the Mahāśāmi Tithi and ended on the same day of the following year; and Sati’s consequent promise to be born as Menā’s daughter.

Dakṣa’s denouncement of Śiva; his arrangements for the performance of a sacrifice in order to get rid of the disturbance that Śiva would, according to Nārada’s information, create in Dakṣa’s city; and his insult to Dadhīcī for his advice to invite Śiva, to whom, as the Vaṅgavāsi press edition says,\textsuperscript{693} no invitation was accorded by Dakṣa for being a Kāpālīka (skull-bearer). Nārada’s persuasion of Śiva and Sati to attend this sacrifice and chastise Dakṣa.

Chap. 8.—Sati’s fruitless attempt to persuade Śiva to accompany her to Dakṣa’s house or to permit her to go there. Śiva’s reproach for Sati’s importunity. Sati’s consequent rage and assumption first of an extremely dreadful female

\textsuperscript{692} Verses 24-25—
\begin{verbatim}
... gaurāṅgilī ... ... ...
āṭābhir bāhu-vallibhir bhrājamānāṁ ... ... /
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{693} na mayā sa samāhūto yaṁī aṁin muni-sattama/
kāpālīkatāyā lokānarhatvēna mahēśituh //—7.58.

For the second line the Bombay ed. has ‘punya-karmanī labdhō na sa ityeṣā mahēś-
varaḥ’ (7.56a).
form⁴⁰⁴ and then of those of the ten Mahāvidyās, viz., Kāli, Tārā, Chinnamastā, Bhuvanesvari, Bagalā, Dhūmavati, Tripurasundari, Mātaṅgī, Śoḍaśi and Bhairavi.⁴⁰⁵ Sati’s statement that by assuming these forms she enabled her votaries to perform māraṇa, uccaṭaṇa, kṣobhaṇa etc. and that Śiva was to speak out works which would deal with mantras, yantras, stotras, kavacams etc. of these deities and would consequently be known as Āgamaśāstra. Śiva’s praise⁴⁰⁶ of Sati out of fear, and his permission to the latter to do as she liked. Sati’s start for Dakṣa’s house by assuming the form of Kāli.

Chap. 9.—Sati’s meeting with her mother Praśūti at Dakṣa’s house; and Praśūti’s narration of a dream in which she saw that Sati destroyed Dakṣa’s sacrifice by assuming the form of Kāli⁴⁰⁷ and caused Dakṣa’s head to be replaced by that of a he-goat. Sati’s meeting with Dakṣa; the latter’s lament for Sati’s dark complexion, dishevelled hair and naked body, and his denouncement of Śiva; Sati’s creation

⁴⁰⁴ Verses 50-52—

tyaktvā hema-paṭīm āśīd vṛddhāvasthā-sama-prabhā /
digambarā lasat-keśā lalaj-jīhā caturbhūjā //
kālānala-lasad-dehā svedāktena tanūrūhā /
mahābhimā ghora-rāvā munḍa-mālā-vibhoṣapā //
udyat-pracuḍa-kotyābhā candrārdha-kṛta-śekhāra /
udyat-śāḍīya-saṃkāśā kīrtījyvala-mastakā //

(For these verses see Vaṅga. ed. 8.60-62, which read ‘tyaktvā haimiṇi ruciṃ prāśād dhvastānājana-sama-prabhā’ (in the first line), ‘galat-keśa’ (for ‘lalat-keśa’ in the second line), ‘kāmālasa-lasad-dehā svedākta-tanur ulvanā’ (for the third line), and ‘saṃkāśa-kīrtījyvala’ (in the sixth line).

⁴⁰⁵ For the names of these Mahāvidyās see verses 57-71.

For the lines

‘kāli tārā ca lokeṣi kamalā bhuvanesvari //
chinnamastā śoḍaśi ca sundari vagalāmukhi /
dhūmavati ca mātaṅgī nāmāy āśā imānā vai’ //’

(8.62b-63) of the Bombay ed. the Vaṅga. ed. (8.72-3) reads:

‘kāli tārā mahāvidyā śoḍaśi bhuvanesvari //
bhairavi chinnanastā ca ... ... ... // etc.’

⁴⁰⁶ Verses 89-90—

jāne tvām paramesāṁ niḥruṇām prakṛtim uttamām /
... ... ... ... ... ... ... //

tvam ādyā paramā vidaṣa sarva-bhūteṣvar avasthitā /
svatantrā paramā śaktiḥ kas te vidhi-nilēṣṭhakaḥ //

⁴⁰⁷ A description of this form is given in verses 12b-13a as follows:

mahāmegha-prabhā-śyāmā mukta-keśi digambarā /
caturbhūjā aṭṭahāsā jvalanetra-trayojjvalā //
of a shadow (chāyā) resembling herself and disappearance in the sky; and Chāyā-Kāli’s rage against Dakṣa and entrance into the sacrificial fire in accordance with Sati’s instructions.

Chap. 10.—Śiva’s lament for Sati, who was taken to be dead. Origin of Virabhadra and the Pramathas from Śiva’s rage. Virabhadra’s fight with Viṣṇu who was conscious of his own identity with Śiva, his realisation, effected by a voice from the air, that Śiva and Viṣṇu are the same, his destruction of Dakṣa’s sacrifice; and his replacing of Dakṣa’s head with that of a he-goat. Dakṣa’s praise of Śiva; and his completion of the sacrifice by giving to Śiva a share of the sacrificial offerings.

Chap. 11.—Brahmā and Viṣṇu’s consolation to Śiva by explaining how, out of regard for her father, Sati created Chāyā-Sati and kept herself invisible. Their eulogy of Sati, who consequently appeared in the sky as Kāli and assured Śiva that she would be born again as the daughter of Himālaya and become his wife. Sati’s advice to Śiva to roam about on earth by taking Chāyā-Sati on his head, to cause mahāpiṭhas to be created by the fall of her limbs, and to practise austerities at that best piṭha which would contain her female organ. Śiva’s doing the same, and his assumption of the form of a mountain at Kāmarūpa in order to support Devi’s female organ. Śiva’s presence, in the form of liṅgas, in all the mahāpiṭhas, viz., Kāmarūpa etc., which were created by the fall of Chāyā-Sati’s limbs cut by Viṣṇu. Śiva’s curse on Viṣṇu to be born as a human being in the Tretā Yuga and suffer from mental agony due to the abduction of the shadow (chāyā) of his wife by a Rākṣasa.

**Verses 40-47—**

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viṣṇur nārāyaṇo mauni cintayāmāsa cetasa //
... ...
śiva-vidveṣaḥnaiva vidvīṣṭo 'smi na saṃsārayaḥ /
ahaṃ śivaḥ śīvo viṣṇur bheda nāstya āvayor yataḥ //
anena viṣṇu-rūpeṇa prārthito 'smi viśeṣataḥ /
nindito 'smi mahādeva-svarūpeṇāham eva hi //
... ...
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**Verse 64—**

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yo viṣṇuḥ sa mahādevaḥ śīvo nārāyaṇaḥ svayam /
nāmayor vidyate bhedaḥ kadācid api kutracit //
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Chap. 12.—Meeting of Brahmā and Viṣṇu with Śiva at Kāmarūpa. Śiva’s penance at Kāmarūpa for Devi’s favour; and Devi’s consent to be born of Menā as Gaṅgā and Durgā (Pārvatī).

Praise of Kāmarūpa, which is situated on the bank of the Lauhitya (also called ‘Brahmaputra’) and is said to be the best of the fifty-one pithas created by the fall of the limbs of Chāyā-Satī, and in which Devi resides as Kāmākhyā.

Results of worshipping Kāmākhyā according to the Tantric method (tantroktā-vidhi).

Chap. 13.—Devi’s birth as Gaṅgā (having a white complexion, three eyes, and four hands)\textsuperscript{610} on Vaiśākha-sukla-śrādhā. Nārada’s advice to Himālaya to hand over Gaṅgā to the gods. Gaṅgā’s divulging of her own identity and mission to Himālaya in a dream, and her advice to the latter. Brahmā and others’ approach to Himālaya, and their taking of Gaṅgā to heaven.

Chap. 14.—Menā’s curse on Gaṅgā that she would be compelled to come down to the earth in a liquefied form as she left for heaven without taking Menā’s permission. Gaṅgā’s marriage with Śiva, whom Nārada brought to heaven from Kāmarūpa.

Chap. 15.—Devi’s birth to Menā as Pārvatī (Durgā) having three eyes, eight hands, and a crescent moon on her head.\textsuperscript{611} Pārvatī’s divulging of her own original nature to Himālaya; and her furnishing the latter with divine eyes (divyaṃ cakṣuḥ) in order to enable him to realise herself. Description of Devi’s different forms\textsuperscript{612} which were shown to

\textsuperscript{610} Verses 7b-8a—

\texttt{gaṅgā samabhavat chukkā sucāru-mukha-paśkajā /}
\texttt{trinetrā asitāpāngī caturbāhu-visoḥhitā //}

See also verse 58b—

\texttt{suķkā tri-nayanā kācid devi makara-vāhanā //}

\textsuperscript{611} Verse 9—

\texttt{taruṇāditya-kotyābham trinetraṃ divyarūpinām /}
\texttt{aṣṭahastām visālākṣaṃ candrārdha-kṛta-śekharam //}

See also verse 40.

\textsuperscript{612} Verses 23-25—

\texttt{saśi-koti-prabhaṃ cāru-candrārdha-kṛta-śekharam /}
\texttt{trisūla-vara-haṣṭāṃ ca jatā-manjāta-mastakam //}
Himālaya by Devī herself. Himālaya’s eulogy of Devī; and the latter’s discourse on Brahma-vijñāna (which is said to be attainable through Devī-worship performed in accordance with the rules of varṇāśrama-dharma).

Chaps. 16-19.—Discourse on Brahma-vijñāna continued.
—Description of the nature of Ātmā and of the vidyā which gives one final emancipation; way of getting rid of rāga, dvesa etc.; origin of body (deha) from the five elements; cause and process of rebirths; enumeration of Devī’s sthūla forms (called Mahāvidyās, viz., Mahākāli, Tārā, Śoḍaśī, Bhuvanesvari, Bhairavi, Bagalā, Chinnā, Mahātripurasundari, Dhūmāvati and Mātaṅgi)⁴¹¹ which one must worship for being able to realise her sūkṣma form; praise of the study of the Bhagavatī-gītā.

[Chaps. 15-19 deal with the essence of yoga and are called Bhagavatī-gitopaniṣad.]

Chap. 20.—Nārada’s advice to Himālaya to give Pārvatī in marriage to Śiva, and his assurance that Pārvatī herself would be able to captivate Śiva’s mind.

Chap. 21.—Śiva’s arrival in Himavatprastha for the practice of austerities. Pārvatī’s determination to captivate Śiva’s mind through the practice of austerities and thus to give effect to Brahmā’s curse on Śiva (who had censured Brahmā for his passionate love for his own daughter

bhayañakaṁ ghora-rūpaṁ kālānala-sahasrabham /
paṇca-vaktraṁ trinetraṁ ca nāga-yajnopavitinam //
dvīpi-carmāmbara-dharam nāgendra-kṛta-bhūṣanam /
evaṁ vilokya tadrūpaṁ* * * * //
(See also verse 41).

Verses 27-29—
rūpaṁ anyan muni-kreṣṭha-visvarūpā sanātani //
sāra-candra-nibhaṁ cāru-mukta-ojvala-mastakam //
sāṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-hastaṁ netra-trayojjvalam //
divyā-mālyāmbara-dhāram divya-gandhānulepanam //
yogī-lābha-vṛnda-saṃvandaṁ sucāru-caraṇāmbujam //
sarvataḥ-pāṇi-pādam ca sarvato’kṣi-śiro-mukham //
(See also verse 42).

Verse 34—
nīlotpala-dala-śyānaṁ vanamāla-vibhūṣitam /
sāṅkha-cakra-gadā-padnam abhivyaktam caturdbhujam //
(See also verse 43).

⁴¹¹ Chap. 18, verses 26-28.
[This summary contains innovations, which are as follows:—

(a) Rāma started on his exile on the Śukla-daśami Tithi of Āśvina and remembered Devī at the time of starting.—Chap. 38, verses 20-21.

(b) Devī left Laṅkā as soon as Hanumān (who was none but Śiva himself) went there in search of Sītā and saw Devī in her temple.—Chap. 39, verses 18-29.

(c) The construction of the bridge to Laṅkā was begun on Śrāvana-paurṇamāsi.—Chap. 40, verse 6.

(d) Before starting war against Rāvana Rāma pleased Devī by performing pārvaṇa-śrāddha.—Chap. 40, verses 12-21.

(c) Finding that Rāma was terrified by the news of Kumbhakarṇa’s approach to the battle-field, Brahmā advised him to worship Durgā and spoke on her glory. He narrated how in ancient times Śiva tore away one of his five heads and how, being approached for redress, Devī furnished him with the fifth head and told him that it was she who thus punished him for having a strong desire for sexual union with his own daughter Saṃdhya. Brahmā assured Rāma that Devī forsook Rāvana because that demon abducted, with an evil purpose, Sītā who was his own kṣetrajā daughter born of Mandodari.616 He wanted to invoke Devī, though untimely, for the sake of Rāma and spoke of Devī’s Vaidikī, Paurāṇiki and Tāntrikī mūrtis as well as of the different regions, viz., Śiva-loka, Viṣṇu-loka (placed above Śiva-loka), Gaurī-loka (which is situated on the left side of Śiva-loka and in which there is Devī’s ‘daśa-bhujā vaidikī mūrti’), Goloka (in which Krṣṇa sports with Rādhā), and the region of Mahādurgā (which occupies the highest position and lies beyond the brahmāṇḍa and in which there is Devī’s Tāntrikī mūrti). Brahmā gave a long description of this last-mentioned region and said that Rādhā was an infinitesimally small part

616 Mahābhāg. 43. 64—
sītā mandodari-garbhe saṁbhūtā căru-rūpiḥ / kṣetrajā tanayāpy āṣya rāvaṇasya raghūttama //
THE ŚĀKTA UPAPURĀNAS

of Mahādurgā. 817 Brahmā described Mahādurgā’s Tāntrikī mūrti as follows:—She has four hands, wears red clothes, and mounts a big lion; on her left side stand Jayā and Vāni, and on her right there are Vijayā and Lakṣmī; she does not recognise any distinction of caste or position but favours those who are devoted to her. 818 Intending to invoke Devi in a Bilva tree on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi and to worship her by constructing an earthen image of her Paurāṇikī mūrti which is furnished with ten hands and mounted on a lion, Brahmā took Rāma to a Bilva tree on the sea-shore.—Chaps. 41-43.

(f) Rāma approached the Bilva tree and eulogised Devi, and the latter assured him with a voice from the air that he would attain victory over the Rākṣasas.—Chap. 44, verses 1-20.

(g) While Rāma was fighting with Kumbhakarṇa on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi, Brahmā invoked Devi in a Bilva tree by citing the Devi-sūkta as well as mantras containing Tantric symbols, and continued to worship her daily for Rāma’s victory.—Chap. 45, verses 1-25.

(h) Devi’s description of the method of her own worship in an earthen image during the three days from Śukla-saptamī to Śukla-navamī with the performance of patrikā-praveśa, saṃdhī-pūjā, paśu-bali (sacrifice of animals), śatru-bali 819 (sacrifice of enemies, on the Navamī Tithi) etc.; and the immersion of the image in a current of water on the Daśamī Tithi with great merriment (sumahotsava).—Chap. 45 verses 26-36.

(i) Devi’s praise of the annual worship of herself in the above-mentioned manner; and her description of sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa worship.—Chap. 46.

(j) Rāma worshipped Devi in an earthen image on the Saptami, Mahāstamī and Mahānavami Tithis after performing her adhvāsa (in the evening of the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhi

817 Mahābhāg. 43. 26—yat-kalā-koṭi-koṭy-amā rādhā kṛṣṇasya gehini.
818 For detailed description of Devi’s Tāntrikī mūrti see Mahābhāg. 43. 65-86.
819 Mahābhāg. 45. 33—tataḥ śatruṇ baliṇi dadyāt kṛtvā piṣṭamayaṃ mama.
Tithi) and *patri-praveśa* (on the Saptami Tithi), immersed the image in the sea on the Daśamī Tithi, and killed Rāvana with a missile received from Devī.—Chaps. 47-48.

Chaps. 49-58—Story of the birth of Kāli as Kṛṣṇa (son of Vasudeva and Devaki) and of Śiva as Rādhā (daughter of Vṛṣabhānu) in accordance with Śiva’s prayer to Kāli. The eight forms of Śiva were born as Rukmini, Satyabhāma and others; Vijaya and Jayā were born as Śrīdāma and Vasudāma respectively; and Viṣṇu was born as Halāyudha.

[Being approached by the Earth to relieve her of the tyrannical rulers such as Kamsa, Duryodhana and others, who were the same as the demons killed previously by Viṣṇu and Devī, Brahmā went to Kailāsa and eulogised Devī, who consequently promised to be born as Kṛṣṇa and said that Viṣṇu, in part, would be born as Arjuna, Dharma as Yudhiṣṭhira, Pavana, in part, as Bhīmasena, Āsvins as the sons of Mādri (i.e. as Nakula and Sahadeva), and Devī (Kāli), in part, as Kṛṣṇa.

Story of Viṣṇu’s birth as Haladhara and Arjuna, and of Kāli’s birth as Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva and Devaki who were respectively the same as Kaśyapa and Aditi reborn; Kṛṣṇa’s assumption of the forms of four-handed Kāli⁴²⁹ and ten-handed Devī (Durgā) in order to prove his own power to his parents; his killing of Pūtanā, Trāṇavarta and others by assuming temporarily the form of Kāli; his sports with Rādhā⁴³¹ who was the same as Śiva born sportively as a female ‘in the house of Vṛṣabhānu’ and who was married to a certain cowherd (named as ‘Āyāna’ in the Calcutta edition as well as in most of the Mss)⁴³² who became impotent at

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⁴²⁹ Mahābhāg. 50, 77-79

...

krṣṇāḥ kamala-locanaḥ
sahasā samahṛūt kṛṣṇā bhūmāyā śava-vāhanā//
caturbhujaṃ tri-nayanā jihvā-lalana-bhiṣanā /
galada-āyata-keśav-aścanna-prīṭhā kīrtitū //
tadābhavan mune sāpi vanamālī manorāmā /
muṇḍāli-racitā māla lumbamān-ātisobhanā //

⁴³¹ See especially chap. 53 in which there is mention of Kṛṣṇa’s playing on the flute, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā’s assumption of eight forms, the rāsa-krīḍā, vastra-haraṇa, and so on.

⁴³² See Vaṁga. ed. 51. 34—
Śiva’s wish immediately after marriage; his other sports and exploits; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma’s going to Madhupura (Mathurā); Kṛṣṇa’s help to the Panḍavas; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma’s further exploits; and so on.

Story of the birth of Dakṣa and Prasūti as Nandagopa and Yaśodā respectively.

Story of the Panḍavas, who are said to have seen Kāmākhyā at Yonipītha (i.e. Kāmarūpa) during their exile and to have been blessed by the latter on different occasions. (Chaps. 55-57).

Kṛṣṇa and others’ passing to heaven.

Towards the end of chap. 58 it is said that in another Kalpa Viṣṇu would be born as Kṛṣṇa towards the end of the Dvāpara age.]

Chap. 59—Description of the region of Mahākāli.

Chaps. 60-63—Story of Indra’s killing of Vṛtra, his performance of a horse-sacrifice for expiating the sin arising out of Dadhīci’s death, and his visit to the region of Mahākāli with the help of Śiva for getting rid of the remaining part of the sin.

[Chaps. 64-75—Story of Gaṅgā’s liquefaction and her descent on earth.]

Chap. 64.—After marriage Śamkara and Gaṅgā visited Vaikuṇṭha at the invitation of Viṣṇu. There, being requested by the gods, Śamkara sang three songs, of which the third turned Viṣṇu into water. This water, which was the second form of Gaṅgā, was placed by Brahmā in his Kamaṇḍalu and taken to heaven.

Chap. 65.—Story of Viṣṇu’s birth as Vāmana and of Gaṅgā’s attainment of Viṣṇu’s feet by being poured out of Brahmā’s Kamaṇḍalu when Vāmana raised one of his feet into the sky.

\[tāṇ ṛādhām upasaṁyamy-śyāna-gopo mahāmune / kilbatvaṁ sahasā prāpa śāmbhor ichchānaśārataḥ //
In the first line of this verse the Bombay ed. reads ‘upasaṁyeme ko’pi gopo.’
\[^22^\] Mahābhāg. 56. 1-32.
\[^23^\] For description of Mahākāli and Mahākāla see Mahābhāg. 63.28-36.
Chap. 66.—Bhagiratha’s austerities for bringing Gaṅgā down to the earth, Gaṅgā’s consent, and her advice to Bhagiratha to please Śiva also.

Chap. 67.—Bhagiratha’s eulogy of Śiva with the mention of his one thousand and eight names (including ‘Kāmadeva’, ‘Gajāsya’, ‘Matsya-priya’, etc.); Śiva’s permission to Bhagiratha to take Gaṅgā down to the earth.

Chap. 68.—Bhagiratha, with the Earth, mounted the peak of Meru and sounded a conch-shell. That sound reached Vaikunṭha and liquefied Gaṅgā who resorted to Viṣṇu’s feet. As Gaṅgā descended on the peak of Meru, she was eulogised by Bhagiratha and the Earth. As a result of this eulogy, Gaṅgā divided herself into four streams which flowed in different directions. Bhagiratha led one of these streams towards the south. At the prayer of the gods, this stream divided itself into two, of which one flowed in heaven and was known as Mandākinī, and the other broke through the southern peak of Meru on the Jyaiṣṭha-śukla-daśamī, which is known as Daśaharā.

Chaps. 69-70.—Gaṅgā then reached the Himalayas, where she descended on Śiva’s head and lost her way in his matted hair. By Śiva’s grace she found a way out and reached Haridvāra, where she divided herself into seven streams by following the sound of seven conch-shells blown by seven sages. She then rushed towards the south-east and met the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī at Prayāga. Taking an easterly course she reached Kāśi, where she flowed to a short distance towards the north and was challenged by a Bhairava. After leaving Kāśi she felt a desire to see Kāmākhyā and took an easterly course. Understanding her intention, Bhagiratha stopped his chariot and ceased from sounding the conch-shell. In the meantime, being led astray by Jahnu, Gaṅgā got enraged and flooded his hermitage. Jahnu drank up Gaṅgā, but the latter came out by piercing his thigh and was known as Jāhnavī. On account of this dissension with a sage, Gaṅgā gave up her idea of visiting Kāmākhyā and proceeded towards the south by following Bhagiratha. When, after going to a short distance, Bhagi-
ratha was taking rest, Padmā, daughter of Jahnu, wanted to see her sister (Gaṅgā) and blew a conch-shell. Hearing its sound, Gaṅgā rushed towards the south-east but was stopped by Bhagiratha. This excited Padmā, who consequently turned into water and, as a broad river, met the ocean. Gaṅgā also proceeded with great speed towards the south and flowed into the sea.

Chap. 71.—Gaṅgā then went to the nether world and delivered the burnt sons of Sagara by washing away their ashes. One of her streams remained there under the name of Bhogavatī.

Praise of reading or hearing this story of Gaṅgā.

Chap. 72.—Praise of Gaṅgā and of seeing her before death and residing on her banks.

Story of a sinful Śavara fowler named Sarvāntaka who chanced to see Gaṅgā during his arrest by king Citrasena and was consequently taken to Śiva-loka by the Śiva-dūtas after his death.

Chap. 73.—Praise of Gaṅgā; the results of bath in her waters on different occasions, and of the performance of śrāddha and mantra-puraścarana on her banks.

Chap. 74.—Praise of death in the Ganges.

Story of a robber named Dhanādhīpa who, though placed in a hell after death, was able to pass to the region of Śiva, because his flesh came in contact with the waters of the Ganges drunk by a tired jackal that had eaten up his body.

Praise of residence on the banks of the Ganges.

Chap. 75.—One hundred and eight names of Gaṅgā.

Praise of Gaṅgā.

Chap. 76.—Praise of Kāmarūpa, where Devi’s female organ fell and in which Devi resides as Kāmākhyā. Praise of bath in the Lauhitya.

Chap. 77.—Description and praise of Kāli, who is

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426 Mahābhāg. 70. 56b-57—
samabhūt tena padmātikruddhā jalamayi babhau //
sā tu pūrva-dīṣaṁ prāyād vistūro-salīlā nadī /
punyā vegavaṭā sindurājenāpi susaṅgatā //

426 Sec verses 5ff.
said to be the same as Kāmākhya and is called the presiding deity of Kāmarūpa, and who, being herself the chief of the ten Mahāvidyās, is surrounded by the remaining nine.

Description and praise of Devi-kavaca (in which there is mention of ‘Nilasarasvatī’ and ‘Ugratārā’ and the names of the Mahāvidyās).

Chap. 78.—Praise of worshipping Kāli and Śiva at Kāmarūpa. Praise of a Bilva tree and the waters of the river Lauhitya.

Chap. 79.—Glorification of Tulasī plants.

Chap. 80.—Praise of Rudrākaśas.

Chap. 81.—Moral degradation of people during the Kali age. Praise of Śiva-worship.

From the contents summarised above, it is evident that the Mahābhāgavata advocates Śāktism. According to this work, it is Kāli who is Parama Brahma as well as Parā Prakṛti (or Mūla-prakṛti). Though ‘saccidānanda-vigrahā’, ‘suddha-jñānamayi’, ‘nityā’ and ‘arūpā’, Kāli, as Prakṛti, assumed, for creation, the form of a young and beautiful female seated on a lion and having a collyrium-dark complexion, four hands, red eyes, dishevelled hair, and the quarters as her clothes (digambarā). She created a Puruṣa as an embodiment of the three guṇas and contaminated into him a wish for creation. From the three guṇas, viz., rajas, sattva and tāmas, of this Puruṣa were born Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. Prakṛti, on her part, divided herself into Māyā, Vidyā and Paramā, and became Satī, Gaṅgā, Durgā, Śāvitri, Lakṣmi, Sarasvatī and others.

Unlike the present Kālikā-p. and the Brhadhārma-p. the Mahābhāgavata conceives Kāli as the wife and Śakti of Śiva. It identifies Śiva with Puruṣa and says that Brahma consists of Śiva and his Śakti. It regards Kāsi and Kailāsa as the best holy places in earth and heaven.

\[\text{Māhābhāgā. 15.16—}
\text{janāhi māṁ parāṁ śaktiṁ mahēśvara-kṛtāsrayāṁ /}
\text{śāśvat-aśvarya-vijñāna-mūrtiṁ sarva-pravartikāṁ //}
\]

\[\text{Ibid., 18.14—}
\text{śivaḥ pradhānāḥ puruṣaḥ śakti ca paramā śivā /}
\text{śiva-sākyā-ātmakaṁ brahma* • • • • //}
\]
respectively and remarks that Vaikunțha and Brahma-loka do not deserve comparison even with a small part of Śiva-loka. It introduces several stories for establishing Śiva's superiority over other gods, especially over Viṣṇu. It praises Śiva-worship thus: "In the Kali age there is no work like Śiva-worship. A man, whether he is a Śākta, a Vaiśṇava or a Śaiva, should worship Śaṅkara first of all and then his own tutelary deity with a feeling of reverence. At first one should worship a linga with Bilva-leaves; otherwise all (his efforts), being bereft of Śiva-worship, will be like those of Śūdras. From this praise of Śiva and from the nature of some of the stories it is evident that the Śaiva-śāktas had the Vaiśṇavas and the Vaiśṇava-Śāktas as their most powerful rivals and tried hard to popularise their own ideas especially against those of the latter. But in spite of its outspoken inclination towards Śiva, the Mahābhāgavata follows the Vedānta in advocating the unity of all gods.

The Mahābhāgavata was written in Bengal and most probably in its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa, as the following evidences indicate.

(i) The Mahābhāgavata devotes a few chapters to the praise of Kāmarūpa which is called the best of the 'fifty-one' mahāpīṭhas created by the fall of Sati's limbs. (See especially chaps. 11-12 and 76-78).

(ii) According to this work Gaṅgā, when following Bhagiratha, intended to visit Kāmākhya but gave up her project as she chanced to displease the sage Jahnu at the very beginning of her advance eastwards. This shows that the author of the Mahābhāgavata had a special attraction for Kāmarūpa and wanted to add to it the same sanctity as it generally attached to those parts of the country which are watered by the Ganges.

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629 Ibid., 5. 12-15.
630 Ibid., B1. 13-14. See also Mahābhāg. 81. 32-34.
631 Viz., those of Gaṇeśa (who was Nārāyaṇa reborn—chap. 35) and of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (who were the same as Kālī and Śiva respectively—chaps. 49-58).
632 Mahābhāg. 7. 63-64; 10. 42 and 64; and so on.
(iii) The accounts of the Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā, as given in chaps. 69-70, shows that the author of the Mahābhāgavata was quite familiar with these rivers and regarded both of them as sacred.

(iv) In the Mahābhāgavata the autumnal worship of Durgā has been connected with the story of Rāma (son of Daśaratha). The method of Durgā-worship, as described in this work, includes the following operations:—bodhana of Devī in a Bilva tree; special worship of Devī for three days (viz., Saptami, Aṣṭami and Navami Tithis) in an earthen image after performing Devī's adhivāsa in the evening of the Śukla-śaṣṭhi Tithi; performance of pātrikā-praveśa on the Saptami Tithi and of śatrū-balī on the Navami Tithi; and the immersion of the image on the Daśami Tithi with great merriment (sumahotsava). It is to be noted that the custom of śatrū-balī (in which an image of the enemy is constructed with powdered rice and sacrificed before Devī on the Navami Tithi) is still surviving in some form or other in Bengal. (For information about śatrū-balī see pp. 80-85, under Devī-p. above).

(v) In the Mahābhāgavata there are some words and expressions which are clearly based on their parallels in Bengali, viz.,

(a) . . . . . . . garvaṁ tvam āsu pariścīrṇaya (9. 59a);
(b) ‘ā+√kśip’ used in the sense of ‘lamenting’— . . . . . . śambhuḥ. . . . ruroda ha / patnīm kśipyā bahudhā satīṁ prākṛta-lokavat /// (12. 4);
(c) sati tvam mama bhāryeti loka-lajjāṁ parityajan / mūrdhnā vahāmi te cchāyāṁ . . . . . . . . . . . . . /// (11. 61);
(d) ‘u mā!’ (used by females in expressing astonishment—cf. the Bengali expression ‘বিত্ত মা!’ uttered by women in modern Bengal)—u meti vismitā prāha . . . . . . (21. 59);
(e) peculiar use of the word ‘nikaṭa’—drutam āgacchata surā brahmaṇo nikatāṁ tataḥ (13. 50); nātra yāsyati vai kaścij janas tvan-nikaṭe prabho (21. 26); (for the use of this

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333 The word ‘sumahotsava’, occurring in Mahābhāg. 45. 35-36, may mean the famous Śāvarotsava mentioned in the Nibandhas of Bengal.
word see also Mahābhāg. 20. 15; 21. 10; 22. 5 and 44; 24. 4 and 50; 25. 30; 29. 18; and 33.10);

(f) kuputri duṣcaritrā tvam caksuṣor me bahir bhava—9. 73b (the second half of this line meaning ‘go out of my sight’);
sā tvam me caksuṣor bāhyam śīghram bhava durātmike (9. 76b);
aḥam te caksuṣor bāhyam bhavisyāmi na kevalam (9. 81a);

(g) apakarma svayaṁ kṛtvā param dūṣayate kudhiḥ (8. 43b).

(h) vācaṁ niyaccha kalyāṇam yadīcchasi sudurmate /
chinde jihvāṁ mahāmūrkha ............. \| (9. 65b-66a);

(i) use of Locative in place of Ablative—śrutvā tava
mukhāmbhoje kathāṁ ............. (2. 3a).

(vi) That part of the country which is watered by the Ganges has been praised in Mahābhāg. 74. 30ff. as follows:
“One, who leaves the banks of the Ganges and resides elsewhere, searches for hell by setting aside final emancipation lying in his hand. Blessed is that land in which there is the Ganges that sanctifies the three worlds. No country deserves to be called as such, if it is bereft of the Ganges. One should prefer begging and death on the banks of the Ganges to royalty elsewhere .............”. In another place the Mahābhāgavata says, “A sacrifice without Śiva is just like a country without the Ganges” (7. 61).

(vii) Almost all of the numerous Mss of the Mahābhāgavata, hitherto discovered, were found in Bengal, mostly in its eastern part, and are written in Bengali script.

(viii) So far as we have been able to find, it is only the authors of Bengal who refer to or draw upon the Mahābhāgavata. (For these references see below).

(ix) Independent Mss of the Navagraha-kavaca, Bhagavatī-gītā, Śiva-sahasra-nāma-stotra, Kāmākhyā-kavaca etc., claiming to be parts of the Mahābhāgavata, are found scattered all over Bengal. Some of these Mss have been collected by the Dacca University and the Asiatic Society of Bengal.634

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that

634 See Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 774-5, Nos. 4117-18; Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 645B
(found in Rangpur), 645C (found in Rangpur), 526P (found in Bogra), and so on.
the Mahābhāgavata is a work of Bengal and most probably of its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpā.

The Mahābhāgavata calls itself 'Purāṇa' but not 'Upapurāṇa', and this claim has been supported by the Bhaddharmâ-p. which includes its name among those of the eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas'. Yet it must not be taken to be an early work. It knows the names of rāśis and week-days, and mentions the Tulasī plant as well as Rādhā, the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. Its comparatively late date is further evidenced by the fact that it is not mentioned in any of the Purānic works except the Bhaddharmâ-p., which, as we shall see afterwards, cannot be dated earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. However, the Mahābhāgavata is certainly not a very modern work. In his Report, p. 12 R. G. Bhandarkar mentions a complete Ms of the Mahābhāgavata which he found in the Bombay Presidency. In the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Ms of the Mahābhāgavata which is dated Śaka 1697. Śrītīrtha-svāmin, who was most probably a court-poet of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇa-candra of Nadia (Bengal), wrote a philosophical treatise entitled Yathārtha-mañjarī in the middle of the eighteenth century. In this work he ascribes to the 'Mahābhāgavata' three lines 'jñānāt samjāyate muktih' etc. which are the same as Mahābhāg. 15. 63b-64. In the introductory portion of his Sāradā-maṅgala-kāvya Śiva-candra Sena, who lived a little later than Bhāratacandra (a vernacular poet of Bengal), refers to the 'Mahābhāgavata' as describing the autumnal worship of Durga.  

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636 See Mahābhāg., chap. 1, verses 6, 8, 13, 49, 51 and so on.
637 Mahābhāg. 1. 16. See also the chapter-colophons.
638 Bhaddh. (ASB ed.) I. 25. 20. See also footnote 600 above.
639 Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 772, No. 4112.
640 Dacca. Univ. Ms No. 4093, fol. 11b. (This is a complete Ms written in Bengali script and dated Śaka 1734. Its colophon runs as follows: इति श्रीलक्ष्मीत्रेष्वांस्मि-
कुलस्यवर्मनानां समाप्ति।
641 Sāradā-maṅgala-kāvya (Dacca Univ. Ms No. 3099)—
माकुण्डेन्दुपुराण श्राद्विपुराणंते।
पर्योप्य प्रमाण भाष्यं महासागरं।
शरत कालंते पूजा प्रकाशं सं मते॥
In the Dacca University collection there is a Ms (No. 1470) of the Mahābhāgavata which is dated 1729 Śaka and which, in its last leaf, contains a saṅkalpa-mantra for the study of the Mahābhāgavata. 641 In this collection there is another Ms (No. 4150) which contains a metrical Bengali translation of the Bhagavatī-gītā constituting chaps. 15-19 of the Mahābhāgavata. We have already said that independent Mss of the Bhagavatī-gītā, Śiva-sahasra-nāma-stotra, Nava-graha-kavaca, Kāmākhya-kavaca etc., claiming to be parts of the Mahābhāgavata, are found in all parts of Bengal. These evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the Mahābhāgavata became a highly popular work and was widely studied as an authoritative Purāṇa a few centuries ago. It has already been mentioned that the Brhaddharma-p. has included the name of the Mahābhāgavata in its list of eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas'. That the Mahābhāgavata mentioned in the Brhaddharma-p. is the same as the extant one, is shown definitely by the fact that the author of the Brhaddharma-p. has not only derived many of his stories from the present Mahābhāgavata 642 but has plagiarised a large number of verses from the latter. 643 As a matter of fact, a comparison between these two Upapurāṇas shows that the author of the


642 Compare, for instance, the chapters on the origin of creation, stories of Satī and Gaṅgā, and Rāma's autumnal worship of Durgā in the two works.

643 The verses, which are common to these two works, are the following:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. 26a</td>
<td>= II. 1. 56b.</td>
<td>5. 36a</td>
<td>= II. 5. 25b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. 42a</td>
<td>= cf. II. 1. 21b.</td>
<td>5. 37a</td>
<td>= II. 5. 26b.</td>
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<td>3. 45b</td>
<td>= II.1.25b.</td>
<td>5. 37b</td>
<td>= II. 5. 27b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. 46a</td>
<td>= cf. H. 1. 26a.</td>
<td>5. 38b</td>
<td>= II. 5. 28a.</td>
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<td>3. 56</td>
<td>= II. 2. 16b-17a.</td>
<td>5. 46-47</td>
<td>= cf. II. 5. 32-33.</td>
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<td>3. 64b-65a</td>
<td>= II. 2. 25a-b.</td>
<td>7. 24b-25a</td>
<td>= cf. II. 6. 4.</td>
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<td>4. 46a</td>
<td>= cf. II. 3. 22b.</td>
<td>7. 40b-41a</td>
<td>= II. 6. 10.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. 25-28</td>
<td>= cf. II. 5. 17-20.</td>
<td>7. 43</td>
<td>= II. 6. 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 29-34a</td>
<td>= II. 5. 21-25a.</td>
<td>7. 46b, &amp;c.</td>
<td>= II. 6. 12b, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bṛhaddharma-p. thoroughly utilised the language and contents of the Mahābhāgavata in his work. Hence the Mahābhāgavata must have preceded the Bṛhaddharma-p. by a fairly long time, otherwise it could not be regarded as an authoritative ‘Mahat Purāṇa’ by the author of the latter. We shall see afterwards that the Bṛhaddharma-p. was composed not later than the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Hence the Mahābhāgavata cannot be dated later than the twelfth century A.D. Its Śaiva tendency like that of the earlier Kālikā-p. and its silence about the present Kālikā-p. which is remarkably inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism, tend to show that it was written about the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

In describing the state of society during the Kali age the Mahābhāgavata (81. 8a) says: “kara-graha-ratā nityaṁ rājāno mleccha-rūpiṇaḥ.” But this mention of kings as Mlecchas must not be taken to mean that at the time of composition of the Mahābhāgavata Bengal came under the sway of the Muhammadans; because the Bṛhaddharma-p., which the Mahābhāgavata preceded by a fairly long time, was composed not much later than the advent of the Muhammadans in Bengal. It is probable that the author of the Mahābhāgavata used the expression ‘rājāno mleccha-rūpiṇaḥ’ only to characterise the kings of the Kali age as being regardless of all moral laws like Mlecchas. Or, it may be that this generalisation was based on the introduction of Muhammadan rule in other provinces outside Bengal.

A study of the Mahābhāgavata shows that the author of this work lived in a society in which the most powerful sects were those of the Śaivas, Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas and Sauras, and which was seriously influenced by Tantricism. People performed śaṭ-karma (the six acts, viz., vaśikaraṇa, māraṇa, uccātana etc.), studied the Āgamas, and followed Tantric manners, customs and methods of worship. Even in their conception of the forms of deities they were often guided

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444 For mention of the Sauras see Mahābhāg. 67. 61.
445 Mahābhāg. 8. 72ff. For Tantric mantras used in Durgā-worship, see chaps. 44-45. Kāmakhyā was worshipped according to the Tantric method (12.37).
by the Tantras. So, the author of the Mahābhāgavata praised varṇāśrama-dharma and prescribed the study of Vedānta. He did not decry Tantricism but tried to bring about a compromise between the two systems by making Devi say,

"O Śaṃkara, the Āgama and the Veda are my two hands with which I sustain the whole universe consisting of stationary and moving objects.

"If, out of ignorance, anybody violates [the directions of] these two, he is sure to slip down from my hands.

"It is true and undoubted that I am unable to deliver that person who worships [me] by violating [the directions of] the Āgama and the Veda. A wise man should practise dharma by taking these two as the same.

"Those, who worship these [forms of mine], are considered as Vaiṣṇavas in the assembly.

"Mantra, Yantra and Kavaca—whatever is given by the spiritual preceptor himself [to his disciple] has to be kept secret [by the latter] with much care and is not to be disclosed anywhere.

"From disclosure ensues loss of success, from disclosure comes misfortune. So, the best Sādhaka (follower of austere religious practices) should keep [them] secret with all effort."

We have already noted the Śaiva tendency of Śaktism advocated by the Mahābhāgavata. But in spite of its high praise of Śiva the Mahābhāgavata follows Vedānta in establishing the unity of all gods.
4. *The Devi-bhāgavata*.  

This work, as its title shows, deals with the praise of

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This work has been printed on more occasions than one, its chief editions being those published by the Saṃkṛta-pustakālaya (Benares), Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay), and Vaṅgavāsi Press (Calcutta). Of these three editions, which have practically the same text, the first is furnished with a ‘Devi-bhāgavata-māhātmya’ consisting of five chapters and claiming to belong to the Mānasā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. and the second, with the commentary Tilaka of one Saiva Nilakānta. There is also an English translation of this work by Svāmī Viśālānānanda, which was published in the Sacred Books of the Hindu Series (Allahabad).

Besides the editions mentioned above, there was another prepared by Haricharan Basu under the patronage of Roy Baradaprasad Basu Bahadur and published in three volumes in Bengali characters in Śaka 1809-1813 from the Saṅda-kalpadruma-kārākālaya at 71, Pathuriaghata, Calcutta, with Saiva Nilakanṭha’s commentary and a Bengali translation.

As the Benares edition, which we have mainly used here, contains numerous instances of careless editing, we have compared its readings with those of the Bombay and Calcutta editions before utilising them for our purpose.

For Ms. of the Devi-bhāgavata, see:

(i) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1207, Nos. 3363-6. (Of these four Ms, which are all incomplete, the first and the third are written in modern Bengali handwriting, and the rest in Devanāgarī. Skanda IV of the second Ms is dated Saṃvat 1861).

(ii) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 770, No. 4108, Ms No. 4061. (This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara and dated Saṃvat 1865 at the end of the seventh Skanda).

(iii) Shastri and Guh, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 28-29, No. 35 (written in Nāgara; dated Śaka 1726 and Saṃvat 1861; incomplete, containing the first six Skandhas and a part of the seventh), and p. 100, No. 181 (written in Bengali script; fresh; complete ‘as regards the first part only’).

(iv) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 79-81, No. 136 (written in Bengali script; incomplete).

(v) Weber, Berlin Cat., pp. 126-132, No. 1528 (a complete Ms dated Saṃvat 1867 and 1868). Also his Berlin Cat. of 1853, pp. 139-140, No. 479.


(vii) Ms No. 114 of A1881-82 and No. 115 of A1881-82 belonging to Government Museum Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. (Of these two Ms the former consists of two parts written in different hands and bearing the dates Śaka 1715 and Śaka 1734 respectively. Both these Ms are incomplete).

(viii) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, p. 913, No. 6608 (containing Skandhas I-V; written in Grantha characters; and dated about 1852 A.D.).

(ix) Adyar Library Cat., I, p. 151. (All the three Ms mentioned are incomplete. One of them is written in Grantha characters, another in Bengali script, and the third in Andhra).

(x) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 201. (This is a complete Ms furnished with Nilakanṭha’s commentary).

(xi) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 338, No. 2203 (incomplete; written in Devanāgarī; and dated Saṃvat 1848), and p. 339, No. 2204 (incomplete; containing Nilakanṭha’s commentary; and dated Saṃvat 1904).

(xii) Hirala, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Ms in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 211.

(xiii) Lewis Rice, Cat. of Sans. Ms, p. 72.

(xiv) Burnell, Classified Index, Tanjore, p. 188.
Devī as the highest deity and the Energy (śakti) of all gods and others. It consists of 12 Skandhas or Books divided into two halves of six Skandhas each\(^{631}\) and opens with a Devī-gāyatrī which runs as follows:

\[ \text{sarva-caitanya-rūpāṁ tām ādyāṁ vidyāṁ ca dhīmahi} \]
\[ \text{buddhiṁ yā naḥ pracodayāt} \] \(^{632}\)

In its first three chapters we are told that once Śūta went to the Naimiśa forest in Vinaśana\(^{633}\) and met a group of sages, of whom Śaunaka praised Śūta for his study of the ‘eighteen Purāṇas’ with Vyāsa, referred to the classification of all Purāṇas and other Śāstras into three classes, viz., sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa, and requested him to narrate the ‘fifth’\(^{634}\) Purāṇa called ‘Bhāgavata’. Consequently, Śūta saluted Bhagavati (whom he described as the Śakti of all including Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and as the primary cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe) and said that the ‘Śrimad-bhāgavata Purāṇa’ (i.e. the Devī-bhāgavata) contained 18000 ślokas divided into 318 chapters and 12 Skandhas, the first Skandha consisting of 20 chapters, the second Skandha of 12 chapters, the third of 30 chapters, the fourth of 25 chapters, the fifth of 35 chapters, the sixth of 31 chapters, the seventh of 40 chapters, the eighth of 24 chapters, the ninth of 50 chapters, the tenth of 13 chapters, the eleventh of 24 chapters, and the twelfth of 14 chapters. He then explained the five topics (viz., sarga, pratisarga, vanśa, manvantara and vanśānucarita) of this Purāṇa thus:

In sarga Bhagavati, who, in her supreme (turiya) state, is

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\(^{631}\) Dbbh. VI. 31. 57a—pūrvārdho'yaṁ purūṇasya kathitas tava suvratā. See also the post-colophon statement (ṣaṭṭha-skandhātmaṅkaḥ pūrvārdhāḥ saṃpūrṇah) of chap. 31 of Skandha VI of the Vaṁga. ed.

\(^{632}\) In some of the Ms of the Devī-bhāgavata, this line is given as 'jīvat-hṛt-kaññam kathitas tava suvrata'.—See Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3363; Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, No. 35; and Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., No. 136, p. 79.

\(^{633}\) The printed texts read 'viṃsanaṃ'. Aufrecht's Ms reads 'vinasanaṃ'.

\(^{634}\) In the list of Purāṇas given in Dbbh I. 3. 3-12 the 'Bhāgavata' occupies the fourth place.
'nirguṇā', 'nityā' and 'yoga-gamyā', takes to the guṇas and manifests herself, for the sake of creation, as Sāttviki, Rājasī and Tāmasī Śaktis in the forms of Mahālakṣīmi, Sarasvatī and Mahākālī respectively; by pratisarga is meant the origin of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra for creation, preservation and destruction respectively; vamśa means the genealogies of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, as well as those of Hiranyakaśipu and others; manvantara involves the description of the periods of reign of the different Manus; and vamśānucarita consists of the accounts of the descendants of these Manus. Śaunaka next narrated how all these sages came to Naimiśāraṇyā by following a wheel given to them by Brahmā at the advent of Kali, and asked Śūta to name the different Purāṇas before narrating the 'Purāṇa furnished with the name of Bhagavati' (bhagavatāṇa nāma-yuktam purāṇam). Consequently, Śūta named the eighteen Purāṇas with their extents, as well as the eighteen Upapurāṇas, and said that after writing the eighteen Purāṇas Vyāsa wrote the unparalleled Mahābhārata, magnifying it by means of the Purānic contents, that Viṣṇu took the form of Vyāsa in every Dvāpara age and compiled the Purāṇas, and that in the Dvāpara of the Vaivatsava Manvantara it was Vyāsa, son of Satyavatī, who wrote the Purāṇas, because in the Kali age Brahmins became short-lived and had little intelligence, and women, Śūdras and the unworthy members of the higher three castes were not entitled to hear the Vedas. Śūta then named the twenty-seven Vyāsas preceding

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655 Dbh I. 3. 2-12. In these verses the names and extents of the Purāṇas are given as follows: Mātsya of 4400 verses; Mārkandeya of 9000 verses; Bhavīṣya of 14500 verses; Bhāgavata of 18000 verses; Brahma-purāṇa of 10,000 verses; Brahmāṇḍa of 12100 verses; Brahma-vaivarta of 18000 verses; Vāmana of 10,000 verses; Vāyuvya of 24600 verses; Vaiṣṇava of 23000 verses; Vārāha of 24000 verses; Agni-purāṇa of 16000 verses; Nārada of 25000 verses; the voluminous (vipula) Pāmda of 55000 verses; the Līṅga of 11000 verses; the Gāruḍa, spoken out by Hari (hari-bhāsitam), consisted of 19000 verses; the Purāṇa declared by Kūrma consisted of 17000 verses; and the extremely wonderful (paramādābbhuta) Skandha consisted of 81000 verses.

656 Dbh I. 3. 13-16. For the names of the Upapurāṇas in this list, see Vol. I, Chap. I (p. 10).

Krṣṇadvaipāyana, son of Satyavatī, and said that the twenty-eighth Vyāsa (son of Satyavatī) wrote the ‘Śrīmad-bhāgavata-purāṇa’ (i.e. the Devī-bhāgavata) and taught it to his son Śuka who was born from an ‘arāṇī’ and was indifferent to the world from his very birth. This reference to Śuka roused curiosity in the sages to hear about Śuka’s birth and conduct; and in chaps. 4-19 we find Sūta narrating the story of Śuka, with relevant digressions, in the following way:

While living in his hermitage on the bank of the river Sarasvati, Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, once chanced to notice with interest the affectionate care of a pair of sparrows for their newborn offspring. This sight had such a great appeal to Vyāsa’s mind that he began to muse on the benefits of having a son. He felt in his mind a strong desire for one, and determined to practise austerities for the purpose. At Nārada’s advice he went to the mountain Meru and worshipped Devī and Mahādeva by muttering the monosyllabic Vāg-bija. Mahādeva granted to Vyāsa a boon, which resulted in the birth of Śuka from Vyāsa’s energy discharged on an ‘arāṇī’ at the sight of the nymph Ghṛtācī who had assumed the form of a female parrot (śuki). From his very birth Śuka was indifferent to worldly pleasures and wanted to lead the life of a celibate. Being unable to persuade Śuka to marry, Vyāsa asked him to study the ‘Bhāgavata-purāṇa’ (i.e. the Devī-bhāgavata) which Vyāsa himself wrote and of which the essence had been revealed in times of yore by Bhagavatī in a single line (viz., sarvam khalv idam evāham nānyad asti sanātanan—Dbh I. 15. 52b) to Viṣṇu when the latter was lying as a child on a Vaṭa-leaf. Śuka studied this ‘Bhāgavata Purāṇa’ but did not change his mind. So, Vyāsa sent Śuka to Janaka, king of Videha. Janaka pointed out to Śuka the dangers of spontaneous renunciation and convinced him that it was highly necessary for one to pass successively through all the stages of life, and that even in the second stage of life one can be free from all kinds of attachment by training up his mind. He praised the sacrificial religion of the Vedas, although it often required the killing of animals, drinking of Soma, playing with dice,
and similar other practices. Being fully convinced, Śuka returned to Vyāsa, married Pīvārī, daughter of the Pīṭrā, and begot on her three sons and a daughter. He muttered the Māyā-bīja and passed into the sky by means of yoga-practices.

The above story of Śuka has been interspersed with various digressions which are as follows:

Chap. 5.—Viṣṇu’s attainment, through Devī’s favour, of the form of Hayagrīva as a result of a curse of Viṣṇu’s wife Mahālakṣmī (who was under the influence of Tāmasī Śakti) as well as of the boon granted by the Tāmasī Śakti to the demon Hayagrīva who worshipped her by muttering the monosyllabic Māyā-bīja and desired to be killed by none but Hayagrīva.

Chaps. 6-9.—Brahmā’s rousing of Viṣṇu by eulogising Yogamāyā, and Viṣṇu’s killing of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, who had pleased Devī by muttering the Vāg-bīja and received from her a boon that their death would depend upon their own wish.

Chaps. 11-13.—Birth of Budha from Tārā by Soma; Sudyumna’s change into a female named Ilā, and the birth of Purūravas from Ilā by Budha; Sudyumna’s worship of Devī mounted on a lion; story of Purūravas and Urvaśī.

Chap. 18.—Story of king Saśabindu whose cow-sacrifice gave rise to the river Carmanvatī.

Chap. 19.—Story of the mutual curse of Nimi and Vasiṣṭha.

Chap. 20.—Śāntanu’s marriage with Satyavatī, mother of Vyāsa, and the birth of Citrāṅgada and Vicitrāṅgada’s death in a fight with a Gandharva of the same name. Vicitrāṅgada’s marriage with Ambikā and Ambālikā, daughters of the king of Kāśī, and his untimely death by consumption. Satyavatī’s appointing of Vyāsa to raise children on the childless wives of Vicitrāṅgada, and the consequent birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura.

The contents of the remaining Skandhas are as follows.

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659 In the Devī-bhāgavata Satyavatī is called ‘daughter of Dāśa’ and ‘daughter of Nīṣāda’.—Dbh II. 5, verses 3, 18 etc.; I. 20. 5; II. 3. 4; and so on.
Chap. 1.—Birth of Matsygandhā (also called Kālī and Matsyodarī) from an Apsaras named Adrikā when the latter assumed the form of a fish due to the curse of a sage and ate up the energy of Vasu Uparicara, king of Cedi.

Chap. 2.—Story of Parāśara’s union with Matsygandhā, and the birth of a part of Viśṇu as Vyāsa.

Chap. 3.—Brahmā’s curse on king Mahābhiṣa and Gaṅgā who became enamoured of each other, and the former’s birth as Śāntanu (son of king Pratīpa). Vasiṣṭha’s curse on the Vasus, especially on Dyauh, to be born as human beings, because Dyauh stole Vasiṣṭha’s cow Nandini with the help of the other Vasus.

Chap. 4.—Gaṅgā’s union with Śāntanu, and the birth of the eight Vasus as her sons. Gaṅgā’s drowning of all her sons except the last, viz., Gaṅgeya, who was Dyauh reborn and whom Gaṅgā handed over to Śāntanu after he had attained youth.

Chap. 5.—Gaṅgeya’s promise to renounce his right to the throne and to remain unmarried throughout his life. Śāntanu’s marriage with Satyavati.

Chap. 6.—Birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura. Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s marriage with Gāndhāri and Saubalī, and Pāṇḍu’s marriage with Kuntī and Mādri. Story of the birth of Karṇa and the five Pāṇḍavas. Pāṇḍu’s death at the time of embracing Mādri.

[The names of the different kinds of sons are given in this chapter as follows:— āṃśaja, putrikā-putra, kṣetraja, golaka, kunḍa, sahoḍha, kāṇīna, kṛita, vana-prāpta (prāptas tathā vane), and datta.—Verses 47-48. Dbh VII. 16.15 also speaks of ‘ten kinds of sons’—putrā daśa-vidhāḥ proktāḥ, but in Dbh VI. 13. 7-8 there is mention of ‘thirteen kinds of sons’, of which kṛita is one.—trayodaśa-vidhāḥ putrāḥ kathita dharma-samgraha / tasmāt kṛitaṁ sutam kṛtvā . . . . . . //]

Chap. 7.—Names of the wives and descendants of the Pāṇḍavas. Bhima’s ill treatment to Dhṛtarāṣṭra after his sons’ death. Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s performance of śrāddha cere-
monies for his deceased sons, and his retirement to the forest with Vidura, Gāndhārī and Kuntī. Vidura’s death. Kuntī, Gāndhārī and Subhadrā’s request to Vyāsa to show them Karna, Duryodhana and Abhimanyu respectively; and Vyāsa’s compliance with this request through the favour of Devī Śribhuvanesvari who lives in Manidvīpa.

Chaps. 8-9.—Extinction of the whole family of the Yādavas including Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and the sequence thereof. Pāṇḍavas’ death on the Himālaya.

King Parīkṣit’s hunting excursion, and his insult to a sage by putting a dead snake round his neck. The sage’s son’s curse on Parīkṣit to die of snake-bite.

Story of sage Ruru (a descendant of Bṛṛgu) who revived his snake-bitten wife Pramadvarā by giving her half of his own longevity. Parīkṣit’s precautions for avoiding the curse.

Chap. 10.—Story of the meeting of Kaśyapa and Takṣaka on their way to Parīkṣit’s residence, and the testing of their power on a Banian tree. Takṣaka’s entrance into a fruit and causing the death of king Parīkṣit.

Chap. 11.—Janamejaya’s accession to the throne, his marriage with the daughter of Suvarṇavarman, king of Kāśi, and his commencement of a snake-sacrifice at the advice of sage Uttaṅka who was troubled by Takṣaka. Uttaṅka’s narration of the story of Ruru, who set out for killing snakes and met a Duṇḍubha which, being relieved of its snakehood, turned a Brahmin and advised Ruru to practise aḥiṃsā except in sacrifices. Janamejaya’s snake-sacrifice stopped by Āśīka, son of sage Jaratkṛṣṇa. Vaiśampāyana’s recitation of the ‘Bhārata’ to Janamejaya, but the latter’s mental unrest and approach to Vyāsa for advice about the way of attaining peace.

Chap. 12.—Vyāsa’s proposal to narrate the ‘Bhāgavata Purāṇa’ (also called ‘Śrīmad-bhāgavata’) which he taught to his own son Śuka and which contained the essence of all the Vedas (sarvāgama-samuddhṛta). Vyāsa’s narration of the story of Jaratkṛṣṇa’s marriage with Vāsuki’s sister (named Jaratkṛṣṇa), and the birth of Āstīka. Story of Garuḍa’s
redemption of his mother Vinatā from slavery. Vyāsa’s praise of Devī and her worship.

Skandha III

Chap. 1.—Janamejaya’s wish to know about Devī and her worship. Vyāsa’s consequent description of his meeting with Nārada and of questioning the latter about the nature of that deity which occupies the highest position and is the primal source of the universe.

Chap. 2.—Nārada’s description of what he had heard from Brahmā on the same topic.—Brahmā’s confusion at the sight of the world immersed in water; his meeting with Mahāviṣṇu, who, being left by Devi Yoganidrā, awoke and killed Madhu and Kaitabha; and his start with Rudra and Mahāviṣṇu in an aerial car (vimāna) brought by Devī.

Chap. 3.—Passing of the car through a number of beautiful regions, in which they found Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva different from themselves. Arrival of the car in a region which was occupied by Devi Śribhuvaneśvari, who is called ‘kumāri’, ‘mahāvidyā’, ‘mahāmāyā’ and ‘pūrṇā prakṛti’ and is said to have preserved in her own body the seed of creation.

Chap. 4.—Devi’s transforming of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva into charming young girls; and the latter’s viewing of the whole universe (including themselves and the other gods

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859 This Śiva is described as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \ldots & \text{bhagavān chamblur vṛṣārūḍhas trilocanāḥ} / \\
\ldots & \ldots & \text{pāñcānano daśā-bhujāḥ kṛta-somārdha-śekharāḥ} // \\
\vdots & \text{vyāghra-carma-paridhāno gaja-carmottariyakab} / \\
\vdots & \text{pārvati-rakṣau mahāvīrau gajānana-ṣaḍānanau} // \\
\end{align*}
\]

Verses 21-22.

860 She is described in verses 38ff. as ‘rakta-mālāyāmbha-dhārā’, ‘surakta-nayanā’, ‘vidyut-koṭi-sama-prabhā’, ‘arunā’, ‘vāra-pāḍāṅkuśābhit-dhārā’, ‘sarva-śṛṅgāra-vēja-dhīyā’, etc. According to Viṣṇu, she is the mother (janani) of himself as well as of Brahmā and Śiva (verse 67).

For description of Devi Śribhuvaneśvari, the resident of Maṇidvīpa, see also Dbb VI. 5.50-56; VI. 8. 57-62; VII. 30. 3; VIII. 31. 31-41; and so on.

861 Dbb III. 3. 54-55—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{liṅgāni sarva-jīvānām svaśaṅge nīvēṣyā ca} / \\
\text{sarva-bījāmayi hy eṣā rājate sūnprataṇī surau} //
\end{align*}
\]
and goddesses) in the nail of her toe. Eulogy of Devī Śrībhuvanesvarī by Viśṇu who was 'yuvatī-bhāva-samsthitā'.

Chap. 5.—Śiva's eulogy of Devī, and his receipt of the nine-syllabled mantra from the latter. Brahmā's eulogy of Devī and prayer to her to explain her own self.

[In all the eulogies Devī is called the primal source of the universe.]

Chap. 6.—Devī's description of her own self. (—Devī is 'eka advitiya brahma', but she assumes 'dvaita-bhāva' in creation. She is neither male nor female, nor is she neuter. She appears as the Śaktis682 of the different gods and enables them to do their own duties). Devī's creation of the three Śaktis, viz., Mahāsarasvatī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahākāli from herself, and her giving of these Śaktis to Brahmā, Viśṇu and Śiva respectively. Her instruction to Brahmā and others to mutter her nine-syllabled mantra and do their respective duties. Unity of Brahmā, Viśṇu and Śiva advocated. Brahmā and others' attainment of malehood and return to their former place.

Chap. 7.—Description of Nirguṇa Śakti and Nirguṇa Puruṣa who are but one. The three guṇas (sattva, rajas and tamas) and their effects.

Chaps. 8-9.—A discussion on the nature of the three guṇas and the mode of their operation.

Praise of Mahāsarasvatī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahākāli, as well as of uttering even the syllable 'ृ' (which is bereft of the nasal) out of fear or otherwise:

Chaps. 10-11.—Story of Utathya (alias Satyatapās or Satyavrata), son of Devadatta of Kośala, who, being born as a fool in consequence of Gobhila's curse on his father, retired to the forest, became a renowned poet by unconsciously uttering the Sārasvata bija out of compassion for a boar wounded by a Fowler, and spontaneously pronounced, like Vālmiki, a sloka—

yā paśyati na sā brūte yā brūte sā na paśyati /

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682 Namely, Gaurī, Brāhmi, Raudrī, Vārahī, Vaiṣṇavī, Śivā, Vāruṇī, Kauverī, Nārasimhī, Vāsavī and others.
aho vyādha sva-kāryārthīn kim pṛchasi punaḥ punaḥ //
(chap. 11, verse 41).

[In chap. 11, verse 36 truth is defined as follows:
satyam na satyam khalu yatra himsā
dayānvitaṃ cānṛtama eva satyam /
hitām narāṇāṃ bhavatiha yena
tad eva satyam na tathānyathaiva //]

Chap. 12.—Vyāsa’s description of the method and result of performing Devī-yajña, which may be sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa according as the performers are sages, kings and Rākṣasas respectively. The necessity of dravya-śuddhi, kriyā-śuddhi and mantra-śuddhi in Devī-yajña.

Chap. 13.—Brahmā’s creation of the world as well as of gods, sages and others. Viṣṇu’s performance of Devī-yajña according to the instructions of Devī (the resident of Maṇīdvipa), and his attainment of the highest position among all the gods. Results of worshipping Devī in images according to the Vedic method.

[Chaps. 14-25.—Story of Sudarśana, eldest son of Dhruvasandhi, king of Kośala.]

Chaps. 14-23.—Sudarśana, being deprived of the throne after his father’s death by Yudhājit (the maternal grandfather of his step-brother Śatrujit), took shelter in Bharadvāja’s hermitage, won Devī’s favour by muttering the syllable ‘kri’ (named Kāmarāja, which Sudarśana chanced to gather, in his childhood, from the word ‘klīva’ applied by the young hermits to his old chamberlain), became fortunate enough to see Vaiṣṇavī Śakti443 even in his childhood, and was able to recover his kingdom by marrying Śaśikalā, daughter of Subāhu, king of Kāśi, in a ‘svayamvara’.

443 In Dbh III. 17. 42-43 Vaiṣṇavī Śakti, as seen by Sudarśana in his childhood, is described as follows:

... ... ... ... devi-rūpaṃ dādarśa ha /
rakta-rakṣitaṃ raktar-vāṇaṃ raktar-sarvānta-bhūṣaṇam //
ghurde vāhane sāṃsthāṃ vaiṣṇavīṃ sāktin adhitutām /
āatra prasannāna-vadanaḥ sa bābhūva sāptamajah //

444 According to Dbh III. 18. 42-43 there are three kinds of ‘svayamvara’—ichchā-
svayamvara, pāpa-svayamvara (such as Rāma’s winning of Sitā by breaking Śiva’s bow),
and kāmaśūkha-svayamvara.
of Durgā, who protected Sudarśana during his fight with the rival kings.

[In chaps. 16 and 17 the following stories occur as digressions:—

(1) Jayadratha’s abduction of Draupadi during the absence of the Pāṇḍavas from the hermitage.
(2) Vāmana’s chastisement of Bali.
(3) Viśvāmitra’s sad experience in his attempt to take Vasiṣṭha’s cow Nandinī by force.]

Chap. 24.—Durgā’s consent to Subāhu to remain constantly at Benares and protect the city. Sudarśana’s eulogy of Durgā, and the latter’s instruction to him to go to Ayodhya, establish her image there, worship her thrice daily, especially on the Āṣṭami, Navami and Caturdaśi Tithis as well as in the autumn season according to the Navarātra method, and observe great festivals in honour of her during the months of Caitra, Åśvina, Åśāḍha and Māgha. Sudarśana’s description of Devī as both Saguṇā and Nirguṇā, and his praise of the Kāma-bīja.

Chap. 25.—Sudarśana’s return to Ayodhya and consecration of an image of Devī (Ambikā) which became famous in Kośala. Subāhu’s consecration of an image of Durgā at Benares.

Chap. 26.—Vyāsa’s description of the Navarātra-vrata, which is to be observed in the months of Åśvina and Caitra in autumn and spring respectively, because these two seasons cause diseases and death to people and are thus known as ‘Yama’s teeth’.665

(In the Navarātra-vrata, which is to continue for ‘nine nights’ from Šukla-pratipad to Šukla-navami and in which the worshippers are to observe complete fast or to take only one meal at daytime, the priests should be ‘veda-vedāṅga-

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665 Dbh II. 26. 4b-7a—
dvāv rtō yama-damśtrākhyau nūnāṁ sarva-janeṣu vai /
śarad-vasanta-nāmānau durgamau prāpināṁ iha /
tasmād yatnād idam kāryāṁ sarvatra śubham icchatā //
dvāv eva sumahāghorav rtō roga-karau nrūmām /
vāsanta-śaradāv eva jana-nāśa-karau ubhau //
tasmāt tatra prakartavyam caṇḍikā-pūjanaṁ budhaiḥ //
pāraga’, ‘ācāra-nirata’ and ‘devī-tattva-viśārada’, and Devī may be worshipped either in an image or in a yantra furnished with the nine-syllabled mantra. An image of Devī should be mounted on a lion and furnished with four hands having a conch-shell (śaṅkha), a discus (cakra), a mace (gadā) and a lotus (padma) in them. It may also have eighteen hands. In Devī-worship, buffaloes, he-goats and boars may be sacrificed by those who take meat, and virgin girls, aged not less than two years or more than ten years, are to be worshipped and honoured with food, clothes, ornaments etc.

Chap. 27.—Qualifications of virgin girls eligible for worship; restrictions as regards their castes in case of Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra worshippers.

People, who are unable to observe the Navarātra-vrata duly, may worship Devī for three days from Saptami to Navami.

Praise of the performance of Navarātra-vrata.

Story of a poor merchant of Kośala, who attained prosperity by performing the Navarātra-vrata and muttering the Māyā-bīja in accordance with the instructions of a Brahmin.

The Brahmin’s reference to Rāma’s performance of this Vrata at Kiṣkindhyā for rescuing Sītā.

Chaps. 28-30.—A short summary of the story of the Rāmāyana, with the mention of Rāma’s performance of the Navarātra-vrata at Kiṣkindhyā in the month of

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664 Dbh III. 26. 18-21—

... devī caturhaśta-yudhānvitā //
śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-dharā śīnih śīnih śīva //
aṣṭādaśa-bhūjā vāpi pratīṣṭhāpyā sanātanī //
arcābhāve tathā yantram navārṇa-mantra-sāmyutam //
sthāpayet pīṭha-pūjārtham kalasāṃ tatra pāśvataḥ //

665 Virgin girls aged 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 years are called Kumārikā (or Kumārī), Trīmūrti, Kalyāṇī, Rohini, Kālikā, Candra, Śamba, Durgā and Subhadra respectively.—Dbh. III. 26. 40-43.

In verses 44-62, the results of, and mantras for, worshipping these virgin girls have been described.

668 Birth in a high family is one of the disqualifications of these girls.—Verse 1 (viśāla-kula-sambhāvām).

666 According to Dbh III. 28. 22 it was Rāma who cut the nose of Śurapāṇakhā.
Āśvina in accordance with Nārada’s advice. Devī’s appearance before Rāma by mounting a lion (śimhārūḍhā), and her mention that it is Nārāyaṇa who took the forms of the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, and the son of Jamadagni, and then appeared as the son of Daśaratha. Rāma’s worship of ‘Vijaya’ and start on the Daśamī Tithi for victory over Rāvaṇa.

Skandha IV

Chap. 1.—Janamejaya’s questions regarding the cause of the incidents in the lives of Vasudeva, Devakī, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī.

Chap. 2.—Vyāsa’s discourse on the inevitability of the fruits of actions (which are classified into ‘saṁcita’, ‘bhaviṣya’ and ‘prārabdha’).

Chap. 3.—Cause of Kaśyapa’s birth as Vasudeva and Aditi’s birth as Devakī.—Kaśyapa’s stealing of Varuna’s cows, and the consequent curse of Varuna and Brahmā on Kaśyapa to be born, with his wife, in the family of Yadu.

Birth of the Maruts; and Diti’s curse on Aditi to suffer the troubles of prison-life and to have her sons killed one after another.

Chap. 4.—Vyāsa’s speech on the power of māyā which urges creatures to do various kinds of impious acts.

Chaps. 5-6.—Story of the austerity practised by Nara and Nārāyaṇa at Vadarikāśrama in the Himalayas by meditating on the Mahāvidyā as well as on the Tantric syllables called Vāg-bija, Kāma-bija and Māyā-bija. Indra’s fear, and his unsuccessful attempt to dissuade the sages from their austere practices first by offering to them the best boon, then by creating wolves, lions and tigers, and rain, wind and fire by means of his magic power (māyā), and finally by sending Kāma (Cupid) with Rati, Vasanta (Spring) and 8050 Apsarasas headed by Rambhā and Tilottama. The reception given by Nārāyaṇa to the nymphs. His creation of Uravaśī by striking his thigh with his palm. His subsequent creation of other divine nymphs, who wanted
to have their creator as their husband. Nārāyaṇa's rage against these nymphs.

Chap. 7.—Effects of ‘ahaṃkāra’, the birth place of kāma, krodha etc.

Chap. 8.—Story of Cyavana, who entered the Narmadā for bath and was taken to the nether world by a Nāga. Cyavana's meeting with Prahlāda, his praise of manah-śuddhi, and his mention of Naimiṣa as the best holy place.

Prahlāda's visit to Naimiṣa and bath in the Sarasvatī.

In this chapter there is mention of the Niśādas, Kaivartas, Hūṇas, Vaṅgas, Khasas and Mlecchas as living along the banks of the Ganges.—Verses 31-32.

Chap. 9.—Prahlāda's fight with Nara and Nārāyaṇa, because, unlike the sages, they had bows and quivers.

Chaps. 10-14.—‘Ahaṃkāra’ as the cause of the fight as well as of all kinds of actions.

Bṛhaspatai's curse on Viṣṇu to be born again and again as a human being, because Viṣṇu severed the head of Kāvya's mother who tried to save the Daityas by overpowering the gods by means of her Yogic power.

Kāvya's penance in Kailāsa for getting a mantra from Mahādeva; his amorous sports with Jayantī for ten years; Bṛhaspatai's disguise as Kāvya and preaching of Jaina dharma among the Daityas; Kāvya's return and curse on the infatuated Daityas to be defeated by the gods; Bṛhaspatai's departure for heaven; Daityas' entreaty to Kāvya.

Chap. 15.—Gods' defeat in a war with the Daityas protected by Kāvya; Indra's eulogy of Devī (Vaiṣṇavi Śakti) as 'śūla-dhāriṇī', 'śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-khaḍga-hastā', 'daśa-tattvātmikā', 'mahāvidyā-svarūpiṇī' etc., and the latter's appearance before Indra by mounting a lion, wearing red clothes and having four hands holding 'śaṅkha', 'cakra', 'gadā', and 'padma' in them.670

Prahlāda's eulogy of Devī by calling her 'hrīṃ-mūrti',

670 Verses 22-23.
and his return to the nether world in accordance with Devi’s wish.

Chap. 16.—Viṣṇu’s incarnations (viz., Nara-and-Narāyaṇa, Dattātreya, Nrṣimha, Vāmana, Parasurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa-and-Arjuna, and others) in the different Yugas and Manvantaras under the influence of Parā Prakṛti.

Chap. 17.—Narāyaṇa’s promise to the love-smitten nymphs to become their husband when he himself and Nara would be born as Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna respectively in the twenty-eighth Dwāpara.

Chap. 18.—Indra and Brahmā’s prayer to Viṣṇu to be born on earth and relieve her by killing Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla, Kaṃsa and others. Viṣṇu’s mention of the sufferings undergone by him in his different incarnations, especially as Rāma, and his confession that he is not the master of himself but is a mere tool in the hand of Devī Yoga-māyā.

[In verses 41-58, the main incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa have been mentioned. These incidents include Rāma’s banishment of Sītā and the latter’s entrance into the nether world.]

Chap. 19.—Brahmā and others’ invocation of Devī Bhuvanesvarī Yogamāyā of Maṇidvipa with the citation of the mantra “mahālakṣmyai ca vidmahe sarva-śaktyai ca dhīmahi / tan no devi praṇodayāt //”, and the latter’s assurance that Kaśyapa, Aditi, Viṣṇu and others would be born on earth and accomplish their objects.

Chaps. 20-22.—Description of the power of Devī, who is both Vidyā and Avidyā.

Birth of Kaśyapa and Aditi as Vasudeva and Devaki respectively. Vasudeva and Devaki’s agreement with Kaṃsa at the time of their marriage, Kaṃsa’s killing of their first six sons at the advice of Nārada (who is described as ‘kalakah-priya’—chap. 22, verse 5). Accounts of the previous births of these sons. Names of gods and demons reborn on earth.

Chap. 23.—Transfer of Devaki’s seventh son to Rohini’s womb. Birth of Kṛṣṇa, and his transfer to Nanda’s house. Yogamāyā’s threat to Kaṃsa.
Chaps. 24-25.—Exploits of Krṣṇa and Balarāma in Gokula, Mathurā and Dvārakā. Story of Krṣṇa’s bringing about the death of Kālayavana, king of Mlecchas.

Story of Pradyumna, who was stolen by Śambara immediately after his birth, but whom Krṣṇa recovered through the favour of Devī Yogamāyā.

Krṣṇa’s penance for winning the favour of Maheśvara. Vyāsa’s praise of Devī, who was realised by Śvetāsvatara and other sages.

[In chap. 25, verses 10-20 the main incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa have been mentioned in exemplifying the power of māyā. These incidents include Sītā’s entrance into fire, Rāma’s banishment of Sītā, and Sītā’s entrance into the nether world.]

Skandha V

Chap. 1.—Cause of Krṣṇa’s penance for Śiva’s favour.—Superiority of Śiva (or Mūla-rudra) over Viṣṇu (of whom Krṣṇa is called only a partial incarnation—amṛśāvatāra); māyā and ahaṃkāra, which steep all in nescience.

Chaps. 2-19.—Devi-māhātmya.—Story of the birth of the demon Mahiṣa from a mahiṣī (female buffalo) by the demon Rambha; Mahiṣa’s occupation of heaven; gods’ meeting for bringing about the death of Mahiṣa; origin of an eighteen-handed Devī (called ‘Mahālakṣmi’) from the energy of the gods, who furnished her with ornaments, weapons, and a lion as her vāhana; Mahiṣa’s repeated proposal of marriage to Devī (who gave herself out as the mother of gods named Mahālakṣmi); Devī’s war with Mahiṣa and his generals; the latter’s death; gods’ eulogy of Devī; Devī’s disappearance after promising help to the gods in all crises.

Chap. 20.—Passing of Devī (Mahālakṣmi) to her own place Maṇidvīpa, which is situated in the ocean of nectar and where Devī, as Māyā-śakti, always sports in different forms.

\[471\] In describing the battlefield, Dbh V. 13. 33 refers to the use of gourd-shells by learners of swimming.
Chaps. 21-31.—Story of the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha.—Their penance at Puṣkara for Brahmā’s favour; their occupation of heaven; their muttering of the Māyābija and penance on the Himalaya for Devī’s favour; Devī’s appearance as Pārvati, from whose body came out Ambikā (called Kauśikī) of incomparable beauty; Pārvati’s consequent dark complexion and name Kālikā; Kauśikī’s and Kālikā’s war with and killing of Dhūmralocana, Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa and other demons; origin of Kāli (also called Cāmuṇḍā) from Devī’s forehead; Devī’s appellation ‘Śivadūti’ for sending Śiva as a messenger to Śumbha; death of Raktabija, Śumbha and Niśumbha.

Chaps. 32-35.—Story of king Suratha and a Vaiśya, who heard Devī-māhātmya from a sage, received the nine-syllabled mantra from him, and worshipped Devī by practising severe austerities.

The method of Devī-worship, as given in chap. 34, includes the following operations:— performance of bhūta-sūddhi and nyāsa; worship of Devī either in a metal image or in a yantra (diagram) which is to have six or eight corners and the syllables of the nine-syllabled mantra written in it, and is to be consecrated after the Vedic method; use of the nine-syllabled mantra in Devī-worship, which could be done either in the Tantric or in the Vedic method; ‘fast for nine nights’ during the Navarātra-vrata (which was open to Śūdras and in which virgin girls were to be worshipped and fed).

Skandha VI

Chap. 1.—Tvaṣṭr’s creation of a son named Viśvarūpa (also called Trisīras for having three heads) out of enmity against Indra; Viśvarūpa’s severe austerities, which could not be disturbed by Aprasases.

Chap. 2.—Indra’s killing of Viśvarūpa; Takṣan’s severing of Viśvarūpa’s heads in temptation for having a

672 She is said to have eighteen hands and a lion as her vāhana.—See DĪh V. 26.6; 25. 38; 26.4; 31.18; and so on.
share of the sacrificial offerings; origin of various kinds of birds from the severed heads; Tvasṭṛ’s rage and creation of Vṛtra from the sacrificial fire.

Chap. 3.—Vṛtra’s war against Indra, and the latter’s defeat.

Chap. 4.—Vṛtra’s receipt of a boon from Brahmā, and his occupation of heaven.

Chap. 5.—Gods’ eulogy of Devī (described as ‘pāśāṅkuśa-varāhīti-lasad-bāhu-catuṣṭayā’, ‘netra-traya-vibhūṣitā’, ‘raktāmbara-parīdhānā’ etc. in verses 50-56) for infatuating Vṛtra.

Chap. 6.—Indra’s treaty with Vṛtra, and his killing of the latter in the evening by means of a mass of foam containing the thunder as well as Viṣṇu’s energy.

Chap. 7.—Tvasṭṛ’s curse on Indra. The latter’s residence in a lotus-stalk in the Mānasā lake for escaping ‘Brahma-hatyā’. Appointment of Nahuṣa in place of Indra. Nahuṣa’s passion for Śaci.

Chap. 8.—Indra’s escape from ‘Brahma-hatyā’ by performing a horse-sacrifice at the advice of Viṣṇu. Śaci’s worship of Devī Śrībhuvanesvari, and the latter’s consent to infatuate Nahuṣa and degrade him from the position of Indra. Śaci’s meeting with Indra in the Mānasā lake.

Chap. 9.—Sages’ curse on Nahuṣa to become a snake.

Chap. 10.—Vyāsa’s discourse on different kinds of ‘karma’ (viz., sāttvika, rājas and tāmasa; and saṃcita, vartamāna and prārabdha).

Chap. 11.—Vyāsa’s description of yuga-dharma. [In the Satya-yuga Brahmmins remain engaged in Devī-worship and mutter the Māyā-bija; and the Rākṣasas of the previous Yugas are reborn as Brahmmins in the Kali age, mostly follow the Pāśāṅḍa-dharma, and serve Śūdras.]

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679 Dbb VI.2.44—
vrjīnāt trātum adhunā yasmāc chaḥkto ‘si putraka /
tasmād vytra iti khyātām tava nāma bhaviṣyati //
674 She is described as ‘haṁsa-vāhinī,’ ‘vidyut-koṭi-saṁnābhā,’ ‘pāśāṅkūlavahaya-varan dadhati,’ and ‘locanatraya-bhūṣitā’.—Verses 57-62.
673 See verses 36ff.
Praise of the power of Devi-worship in destroying sin.
Chap. 12.—Names of holy rivers,676 mountains, lakes,677 and places678 which are sacred to Devi.
Praise of dravya-śuddhi, kriyā-śuddhi and manah-śuddhi.

Story of king Hariścandra, who was attacked with dropsy (jalodarābhīdhā vyādhiḥ) due to his breach of promise of sacrificing his own son Rohita to Varuṇa.

Chap. 13.—Vasiṣṭha’s advice to king Hariścandra to perform the sacrifice with a ‘purchased son’, and Hariścandra’s purchase of Šunahṣepha from his father Ajigarta; Šunahṣepha’s prayer to Varuṇa in accordance with Viśvāmitra’s advice; and Varuṇa’s favour to both Šunahṣepha and Hariścandra.

Story of the fight between the āḍī (a kind of bird) and the vaka (crane) into which Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra had respectively been transformed by their mutual curse.

Chap. 14.—Story of Vasiṣṭha’s birth as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa as a result of Nimi’s curse on Vasiṣṭha who, in spite of Nimi’s request to help him in performing a sacrifice for the pleasure of Devi, went to heaven to attend a sacrifice instituted by Indra, and after return cursed Nimi to be ‘videha’ (bodiless).

Chap. 15.—Nimi’s residing, as nimiṣa, in the eyes of creatures through Devi’s favour. Birth of Janaka from a fire-producing stick (arıṇī).

Vyāsa’s speech on the bad effects of passions as well as on the results of śābdika and anubhavākhyā jñāna.

Chaps. 16-19.—Slaughter of Bhṛgus by Haihayas for the former’s refusal to render pecuniary help to the latter. Worship of Devi by the females of the Bhṛgu family, and the consequent birth of a son named Aurva who blinded the Haihayas by the brilliance of his body and thus saved the remaining Bhṛgus.

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676 Viz., Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Gaṇḍakī, Gomatī, Tamasā, Candrabhāgā, Vetravatī, Tāpī, Sābhratmatī, etc.
677 Viz., Mānasā and Bindusāras.
678 Viz., Puṣkara, Kurukṣetra, Dharmāraṇya, Prayāga, Arvudāraṇya etc.
Story of the origin of the family of the Haihayas.—Lakṣmi’s abstraction at the sight of Revanta (son of Sūrya), her birth as a mare in consequence of Viṣṇu’s curse, her union with Viṣṇu who approached her as a horse at the request of Śiva, and the birth of Ekavīra (alias Haihaya), from whom the Haihaya family started.

Chaps. 20-23.—Story of Ekavīra, who was given to Yayāti’s son Turvasu (alias Harivarman) by Viṣṇu. Ekavīra’s accession to the throne of his foster-father; his meeting with Yaśovatī, who narrated how her friend Ekāvali, daughter of king Raibhya, was abducted by a demon named Kālaketu, how she received a Devi-mantra from a Brahmin and worshipped Devī for three months with great devotion, and how, being instructed by Devī, she came to the bank of the Ganges in search of Ekavīra; Ekavīra’s receipt of a Yogeśvari-mahāmantra named Triloki-tilaka from Dattātreya and rescue of Ekāvali after killing Kālaketu; and his marriage with Ekāvali.

Chaps. 24-25.—Vyāsa’s description of his own appointment by his mother Satyavatī to raise children on the widowed wives of Vicitravirya; birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura; descendants of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu; incidents in the life of the Pāṇḍavas.

Power of ‘moha’ (delusion of the mind) in confounding even the wisest men.

Chaps. 26-31.—Nature and power of māyā explained and illustrated by means of stories.—Nārada and Parvata’s travel on earth; mutual love between Nārada and Damayanti, daughter of king Sañjaya; Parvata’s curse on Nārada to become monkey-faced; Nārada’s marriage with Damayanti in spite of the latter’s father’s protest; and Nārada’s attainment of his previous facial beauty.

Story of Nārada’s experience after turning a female named Saubhāgya-sundari by bathing, at Viṣṇu’s advice, in a lake near Kānyakubja.

Praise of Devī, who only is capable of releasing creatures from māyā.
Chap. 1.—Origin of Brahmā, his worship of Mahādevi, and his creation of his mind-born (mānasa) sons as well as of Vīrini who was married to Dakṣa. Creation by Dakṣa; Nārada’s sending away of Dakṣa’s sons to measure the earth before creation; Dakṣa’s curse on Nārada for doing so; and Nārada’s consequent birth as a son of Vīrini. Marriage of Dakṣa’s daughters with Kaśyapa, Dharma, Soma, Bhrigu and others.

Chaps. 2-5.—Kaśyapa’s descendants including Vivasvān, whose son was Vaivāsvata Manu. Descendants of Vaivāsvata Manu.

Story of Cyavana’s blindness caused by Sukanyā (daughter of king Śaryāti of the Solar race), his marriage with the latter, and his regaining of his eye-sight and youthful beauty through the favour of Aśvins pleased by Sukanyā. Cyavana’s promise to make Aśvins have a share of the Soma-drink in sacrifices.

Chaps. 6-8.—Śaryāti’s performance of a sacrifice at the advice of Cyavana (who is said to be a devotee of Devī), and the latter’s compelling Indra to recognise the Aśvins as sharers of the Soma-drink in this as well as in other sacrifices by benumbing him as well as his thunder-weapon and by creating a ‘kṛtvyā’ named Mada for his destruction.

Śaryāti’s descendants. Story of king Revata, who saw Brahmā in the Brahma-loka and gave his daughter Revatī in marriage to Baladeva at Brahmā’s advice.

Position of the different lokaś (such as Indra-loka, Vahni-loka etc.) on the peak of Meru.

King Mahābhiṣa and Gaṅgā’s looking amorously at each other, and Brahmā’s consequent curse on them to be born on earth.

Chap. 9.—Story of Vikuṣi (son of Ikṣvāku), who, while hunting animals for aṣṭakā-srāddha to be performed by his father, ate the meat of a hare, and was consequently named Śaśāda and forsaken by his enraged father.

Story of Kakutstha (son of Vikukṣi), who was a devotee
of Devi and fought the demons by mounting Indra transformed into a bull.

Names of Kakutstha's descendants including Kuvalayāśva (who was named Dhundhumāra for killing the demon Dhundhu) and Māndhātṛ (who is said to have constructed one thousand and eight Devi-temples at different holy places).

Story of Māndhātṛ's birth.

Chaps. 10-11.—Names of Māndhātṛ's descendants including Satyavrata (son of Aruṇa), who, being discarded by his father for marrying a Brahmin's wife by force, lived with the Śvapākas (who used to abduct the wives of the twice-born people), supported Viśvāmitra's wife and children during his absence, became known as Triśaṅku by killing Vasiṣṭha's cow, worshipped Devi by muttering the nine-syllabled mantra, and succeeded his father through Devi's favour.

Aruṇa's instructions to his son Triśaṅku.

Chaps. 12-14.—Story of Triśaṅku's attempt to ascend heaven with the human body through Viśvāmitra's help, and the result thereof.

Story of Viśvāmitra's eating the meat of a dog during a famine (chap. 13, verses 8-27).

Chaps. 14-17.—Story of king Hariścandra (son of Triśaṅku).—His dejection due to his sonlessness; his worship of Varuṇa for a son; Varuṇa's granting a boon on condition that this son would be sacrificed to him; birth of Rohita; Hariścandra's deferring the performance of the sacrifice under various pretexts; Rohita's escape from the capital; Varuṇa's curse on Hariścandra to have dropsy; Hariścandra's purchase of Śunahṣepha from his father Ajigarta; Śunahṣepha's eulogy of Varuṇa; and so on.

[For this story see also Dbh VI, chaps. 12-13.]

Chaps. 18-27.—Story of king Hariścandra's sufferings

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679 Dbh VII. 10. 16a—
śvapacasya kṛtaṁ karma dvija-dārāpahāraṇam/
brought on by Viśvamitra, to whom the king had given his whole kingdom.680

[The story runs as follows.—Vasiṣṭha praised Hariścandra for his munificence and other qualities. This excited Viśvamitra, who promised to lower the king in public opinion. Once Hariścandra met a beautiful young woman in a forest and learnt from her that she was troubled by Viśvamitra’s severe penance. Hariścandra approached Viśvamitra and requested him not to create trouble to others. This enraged Viśvamitra. He lured Hariścandra into an unknown forest by sending to the latter’s pleasure-garden a demon in the form of a boar ( ... dānavan ... / preṣayāmāsā ... vidhāya śūkarākṛtim // —chap. 18, verse 16b-17a). Finding that Hariścandra had lost his way, Viśvāmitra appeared before him in the form of an old Brahmin. Hariścandra requested this Brahmin to lead him out of the forest and promised to give him enormous wealth for his service. This gave Viśvāmitra a grand chance. On the pretext of marrying his son, whom he created by his magic power, Viśvāmitra asked the king to give him his entire kingdom. The king readily agreed and returned to Ayodhyā. Viśvāmitra also followed him there, accepted the whole kingdom, asked Hariścandra for proper ‘dakṣiṇā’, and ordered him out of his kingdom. Hariścandra went to Benares and paid up the ‘dakṣiṇā’ at the last moment by selling his wife Śaivyā and son Rohita to an old Brahmin (who was none but Viśvāmitra himself in disguise), and himself to Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra, in his turn, sold Hariścandra to a Cāṇḍāla (who was Dharma in disguise). Now, in course of time, Rohita was bitten to death by a cobra sent by Viśvāmitra. But Śaivyā was not allowed by her master to see her son till midnight. When, at dead of night, she went to her son’s dead body, people took her to be a fiend that used to kill children (bāla-ghātini) and handed her over to the Cāṇḍāla. The Cāṇḍāla ordered his servant

680 This story has been influenced by that in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, as is shown by the verses of the latter retained in Dbh VII. 18-27.
Hariścandra to kill Śaivyā. When, with great reluctance, Hariścandra got ready to carry out his master’s order, Śaivyā narrated the sad story of her son’s death and sought his permission to bring the dead body there for cremation. Then, with Hariścandra’s permission, the dead body was brought to the cremation ground; Hariścandra and Śaivyā recognised each other and decided to burn themselves with their son. They prepared a funeral pyre and meditated on Devī Śatākṣī (i.e. Śākambhari)\textsuperscript{681} before entering it. At this moment, the gods appeared there, revived Rohita, and allowed Hariścandra to ascend heaven with his wife and subjects.\[Chap. 28.—Story of Devī Bhuvaneśvari’s appearance as Śatākṣī (alias Śākambhari)\textsuperscript{682} during a famine for sustaining the creation by killing the demon Durgama on the Himālaya. [During her war with Durgama, Śatākṣī was helped by her Śaktis, viz., Kālikā, Tāriṇī, Tripurā, Bhairavī, Bagalā, Mātaṅgi, Kāmākṣī, Chinnamastā and others, who issued from her own body.—See verses 54ff.]\]Chaps. 29-30.—Praise of worship of Devī (Bhuvaneśvari), who is called the highest deity.

Story of the powerlessness of Viṣṇu and Śiva who felt proud of their own capacity in killing the demons called Hālāhala and were consequently forsaken by Mahālakṣmi and Gaurī respectively.

Dakṣa and others’ muttering of the Māyā-bija on the Himālaya, and their prayer to Devī Bhuvaneśvari, the resident of Maṇidvīpa (maṇidvīp-ādhivāsini); Devī’s assurance that one of her Śaktis would be born to Dakṣa as Sati and another would come out of the ocean and be known as Mahālakṣmi.

Story of Sati.—In course of time Devī’s energy was born to Dakṣa as Sati and was married to Śiva. Once Nārada gave to Dakṣa a garland which he had received from Devī by muttering the Māyā-bija, but Dakṣa did not show due

\textsuperscript{681} She is described as ‘raktāmbara-paridhānā’ and ‘nānāyudha-dhārā’.—Chap. 27, verses 2-3.

\textsuperscript{682} For description of Śatākṣī see verses 33-37.
regard to this garland and thus dishonoured both Śiva and Devī. So, Satī did not think it proper to retain her body which she had received from Dakṣa, but burnt it to ashes by means of Yogic fire. Though Śiva was very much excited at Satī’s death, he stopped Virabhadrā from destroying the three worlds, made Dakṣa goat-faced, lamented for Satī, and roamed about on earth with Satī’s body on his shoulder. Viṣṇu severed Satī’s limbs with his arrows. These limbs fell in different places and created one hundred and eight ‘siddha-piṭhas’, which were resorted to by both Devī and Śiva and in which Devī should be worshipped with the Māyā-bija. It is to be noted that though these piṭhas include Ekāmrakṣetra, Puruṣottama, Vāidyānātha and Puṇḍra-vardhana, most of them belong to the western part of Northern India.

Chap. 31.—Gods’ prayer to Devī (the resident of Mani-dvipa) to furnish Śiva with a wife, so that Śiva’s son born of this wife might kill the demon Tāraka. Devī’s assurance that her Śakti would be born to Himālaya as Gaurī and become Śiva’s wife.

Chaps. 32-34.—At the request of Himālaya, Devī described her own self and her relation to the world, and revealed her ‘virād-rūpa’, which was composed of the whole universe and which filled the gods with awe. Devī’s speech on karman and jñāna, and her explanation of the syllable ‘hrim’.

[These and the following few chapters deal with Śaktta theology and philosophy as conceived by the author of the Devī-bhāgavata.]

Chaps. 35-36.—Devī’s description of the method of practising yoga.—The different kinds of impediments to yoga; description of yama, niyama, āsana, prāṇāyāma, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi; number of veins (nādi) in the body; names and functions of the principal veins; names

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633 For the names of these piṭhas see chap. 30, verses 53-84. These verses are practically the same as Mat. 13. 25-53 and Pd (Śrīttī-kh.) 17.188ff., but neither in the Matsya-p. nor in the Padma does the name ‘siddha-piṭha’ for these holy places occur.

634 She is described as ’pāśākuśa-varābhiti-caturbāhu’, ‘trilocanā’ etc.—See verses 31ff.
and description of padmas in the body; method of practising yoga, which should be learnt from the spiritual preceptor and not from books (gurūpadeśato jñeyo nānyathā śāstra-koṭībhīḥ); realisation of Brahma.

Praise of a guru, who should give instructions on Brahmapāñāna to his eldest son or to a devoted disciple.

Chap. 37.—Devi’s description of the different kinds of bhakti, viz., tāmasī, rājasī, sāttviki and parā; and her praise of sāttviki and parā bhakti. [Devi explains the relation between jñāna and bhakti thus: bhaktes tu yā para kāśṭhā saiva jñānaṃ prakṛtītat.-Verse 28.]

Chap. 38.—Devi’s mention of the names of those holy places which should be visited by her worshippers.

[These places are the following:—Kolāpura, where Lakṣmi dwells permanently; Mātrpura; Tuljāpura; Kāncipura; places of Hiṅgulā, Jvālāmukhi, Śākambhari, Bhrāmari, Śrīraktaḍantikā, Durgā, Vindhyācala-nivāsinī, Bhīmādevī, Vimala, Śrīcandrala, Kautila, Nīlambā situated ‘on the peak of the Nilaparvata’, Jāmbhūnadesvarī ‘in Śrīnagarā’, Guhyakāli ‘in Nepāla’, Mīnākṣī ‘in Cidambara’, Mahālasa, Yogēśvarī, and Nilasarasvatī ‘in Cīna’; Vedāraṇya, the place of Sundari; Ekāmbarā; Vaidyanātha, the place of Bagala; Manidvīpa, the place of Śrīmac-chhrībhuvaneśvarī; Kāmākhyā-yoni-manḍala, the place of Śrīmat-tripurabhairavi; Puṣkara, the best place of Gāyatrī; Amaraśa; Prabhāsa; Naimiṣa; Mahāsthana; Nākula; Japyeśvara; Āmrātakēśvara; Mahākāla; Kedāra; Gayā; Kurukṣetra; Kanakhalā; Mākoṭa; and so on.]

Names of Devī-vratas which should be observed by males and females, viz., Ananta-tṛtiyā-vrata, Rasa-kalyāṇini-vrata, Ādrānandakari-vrata, Śukravāra-vrata, Krṣṇacaturdaśi-vrata, Bhaumavāra-vrata, Pradoṣa-vrata, Somavāra-vrata, the two Navarātra-vratas, and ‘many others’.

Names of festivals (utsava) to be performed in honour of

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685 One of these padmas is called ‘manipadma’.—Chap. 35, verse 38.
686 ratthā nilasarasvatayāḥ sthānaṃ cineṣu viśrutam.—Verse 13.
687 śrīmat-tripurabhairavyāḥ kāmākhyā-yoni-manḍalam.—Verse 15.
Devī, especially Dolotsava, Šayanotsava, Jāgaraņotsava, Rathotsava, Damanotsava, and Pavitrotsava.

Chap. 39.—Devī’s description of the different ways of her worship.—There are two kinds of worship, viz., outer (bāhya) and inner (ābhyantara). Outer (bāhya) worship is, again, of two kinds, viz., Vedic and Tantric. Outer Vedic worship may be performed in two different ways according to the difference in the forms of the deity. Persons, having Vedic initiation, are entitled to perform Vedic worship, but those, who are initiated according to the directions of the Tantras, must follow the Tantric method.

Description of the first type of outer Vedic worship (bāhya vaidikī pūjā), in which Devī’s ‘virāḍ-rūpa’ should be conceived and worshipped with the performance of sacrifices etc., and the directions of the Vedas should be followed. [In this connection it is said that Śiva composed the anti-Vedic (śruti-smṛti-viruddhāni) Āgamic literatures of the Vāmas, Kapālakas, Kaulakas and Bhairavas for deluding people, and that he wrote the Āgasas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Sauras, Śaktas and Gānapatyas for correcting those twice-born who had been cursed by Dakṣa, Bhṛgu and Dadhīca.]

In the second type of outer Vedic worship, Devī is to be worshipped in any of the following mediums,—image, altar, solar orb, lunar orb, water, Bāṇaliṅga, yantra and mahāpaṭa, and the worshipper is to meditate on her as ‘arunārūṇā’, ‘śrīgāra-rasa-sampūrṇā’, ‘candra-khaṇḍa-śikhaṇḍini’, and ‘pāśāṅkuśa-varābhīti-dhāraṇā’.

Description of inner worship (ābhyantara-pūjā).

688 Verses 26b-30—
anyāni yāni śāstrāni lokeśmin vividhāni ca
śruti-smṛti-viruddhāni tāmasāṇy eva sarvatah //
vāmaṃ kapālakaṃ caiva kaulakaṃ bhairavāgamaḥ /
śīvena mohanārthāya praṇīto nāṇya-hetukāḥ //
dakṣa-sāpād bhṛghoḥ sāpād dadhīcasya ca śāpatah /
dadhī ye brāhmaṇa-varā veda-mārga-bhikṣrāḥ //
tesām uddharaṇārthāya sopāna-kramataḥ sadā / 
saivā ca vaisnavā caiva saurāḥ śāktās tathāiva ca / 
gānapatyaḥ āgamaḥ ca praṇītāḥ śaṃkaraṇa tu //

689 Verses 38-43.
Chap. 40.—Method of outer Tantric worship (bāhyā tāntriki pūjā).—Meditation on the guru in the morning; performance of bhūta-suddhi, nyāsa, dig-bandhana, homa etc.; worship of the main deity as well as her attendants in a yantra; and so on.

Devi's birth to Himālaya as Gaurī and marriage with Śiva; birth of Skanda, and his killing of Tāraka.

Origin of Lakṣmī from the churned ocean.

Skandha VIII

[In Skandhas VIII—XII Vyāsa reproduces to Janamejaya what Nārāyaṇa said to Nārada on various topics.]

Chap. 1.—Brahmā's request to Manu to begin creation; and Manu's eulogy of Devi before doing so.

Chap. 2.—Viṣṇu's assumption of the form of a boar and his killing of Hiraṇyākṣa and uplifting of the earth.

Chap. 3.—Manu's sons (Priyavrata and Uttānapāda) and daughters (Ākūti, Devahūti and Prasūti), and their descendants. Praise of Kapila (son of Devahūti), who was the author of the Sāṁkhya system of philosophy and wrote the 'Kāpila-śāstra which destroys all nescience'.

Chaps. 4-20.—Geography of the earth. Solar system.

Chap. 4.—Priyavrata's descendants. Names and position of the seven dvīpas, and the names of Priyavrata's sons ruling over these dvīpas.

Chaps. 5-7.—Names and position of the nine varaśas of Jambudvīpa. Names of mountains and rivers in these varaśas.

Chaps. 8-11.—Worship of Devi as well as the different forms of Viṣṇu in the different varaśas. Names of mountains and rivers in Bhārata-varaśa. Praise of Bhārata-varaśa as

690 Sāmkaraṇa is said to have been worshipped in Ilāvṛta-varaśa, Hayagrīva in Bhadrāvīa-varaśa, Narasimha in Hari-varaśa, Smara in Ketumāla-varaśa, Matsya in Ramyaka-varaśa, Kṛṣṇa in Hiraṇmaya-varaśa, Varāha in Kuru-varaśa, Rāma in Kiṃ- puruṣa-varaśa, and Nārāyaṇa in Bhārata-varaśa.
‘karma-bhûmi’. Names of the eight upadvîpas comprised in Jambudvîpa.

Chaps. 12-13.—Description of Plakṣa and other dvîpas. —Their extent and position; names of their varṣas, mountains and rivers; conduct of the inhabitants; and so on.

Chaps. 13-15.—Position and description of the Lokâloka mountain. Movements of the sun in the different parts of the year, and the results thereof.

Chap. 16.—Movements of the moon and other planets and their distance from one another. Origin of the different kinds of vatsara, ayana, ātu etc.

Chaps. 17-20.—Position and description of Dhruvamandala, Râhu-mandala, and the worlds named Atala, Vitala, Sutala etc. The kings and inhabitants of these worlds.

Chap. 21.—Difference in śrâddha causing difference in the results of actions. Names of the twenty-eight hells.

Chaps. 22-23.—Actions which lead to the different hells. Sufferings of sinners in these hells.

Chap. 24.—Method of Devi-worship for attaining the highest state of existence.—Worship of Devî from Śuklapratipad to Pûrṇimâ with the offer of different articles; Devi-worship in a Madhûka tree on the Śukla-trîtyâ of every month from Caitra, with the offer of different kinds of food in different months.

Skandha IX

[Almost all the chapters of this Skandha have been taken from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the present Brahma-vaivarta-p.]

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312 STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS

For the list of chapters common to the Devi-bhāgavata and the Brahma-vaivarta-p., see footnote 775 below.
Chap. 1.—Description of Prakṛti’s five forms, viz., Durgā (mother of Ganesa), Lakṣmi, Sarasvatī, Śāvitrī and Rādhā, as well as of her chief parts, viz., Gaṅgā, Tulasī, Manasa, Śaṣṭhi, and Maṅgala-caṇḍi.

Innumerable other parts (kalā) of Prakṛti.—Śvāhā, Dakṣinā, Svadhā, Svasti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, Sampatti, Dhṛti etc.; Aditi, Diti, Rohini, Samjñā (wife of the Sun), Tārā (wife of Bṛhaspati), Arundhati, Gāndhāri, Draupadi, Śaivyā, mother of Rādhā, Mandodari, Sitā and others; all the rural goddesses, and all females (among whom some have sattva-guṇa and are uttama, some have rajo-guṇa and are classed as madhya, and some have tamo-guṇa and are called adhama).

In this chapter there is reference to (1) the worship of Durgā first by Suratha and then by Rāmacandra for killing Rāvana, (2) Devi’s birth first as the daughter of Daka and then as that of Himālaya, (3) birth of Kṛṣṇa as Ganesa and of a part of Viṣṇu as Skanda, (4) first worship of Lakṣmi by king Maṅgala, of Śāvitrī by king Aśvapati, of Sarasvatī by Brahmā, and of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa on Kārttikeya Paurṇamāsī in the Rāsa-maṇḍala in Goloka and by Suyajña on earth.

For description of Rādhā see verses 44-57, in which Rādhā is called sanāta, paramānanda-rūpā, nirguṇā, nirakkārī, and ātma-svarūpiṇī.

Verses 71-77.

Manasa is called saṃkara-priya-devī, viṣṇou-pūjā-parāyaṇā, and brahma-svarūpa.

See verses 78-83a.

Śaṣṭhi Devi is called putra-pautrā-dātri and is said to be worshipped in the lying-in chamber on the sixth day after child-birth. Or she may be worshipped on the twenty-first day.

See verses 83b-96a.

Maṅgala-caṇḍi is called prakṛter mukha-saṃbhūtā and kṛṣṇa-bhaktā and is said to be worshipped every Tuesday.

Verse 136b-137a—

bahiyyat satyā kalā caiva prakṛter eva bhārata //
yā yā ca grāma-devyā syus tāb sarvāb prakṛte kalāh //

See also verse 157b-158a—
kālā yā yāb samudbhūtāb pūjitā tāb ca bhārata //
pūjitā grāma-devyā ca grāme ca nagare mou //

Verse 143b-146a—
pūjitā surathemadu durgā durgāri-nāsini //
tataḥ śrīśrīmacandreṣṭha rāvanassy vadhrīthinā //

Verse 146b—
ganesa ca svayaṃ kṛṣṇa skando viṣṇou-kulodbhavabh //
Chap. 2.—Origin of the universe from Kṛṣṇā and Rādhā.—Conception of Kṛṣṇa as Para Brahma and Paramātmā, and of Rādhā as his Śakti. Desire of supreme Kṛṣṇa (the Supreme Brahma) for creation, and the consequent origin of a male (i.e. primary Kṛṣṇa) from his right side and a young female (i.e. primary Rādhā) from his left. Primary Kṛṣṇa’s sports (rāṣa-kriḍā) with this female who is called his ‘cit-śakti’, and the origin of a golden egg (dīmba) from their union. Origin of water, the vital airs, Varuṇa and Varuṇāṇi from this female. Primary Kṛṣṇa’s curse on this female as well as on other goddesses to be childless, because this female had thrown away the egg into water. Origin of Sarasvatī from the tongue of this female. Division of this female into two halves, and the origin of Kamalā (Lakṣmi) from the left half and Rādhikā (i.e. secondary Rādhā) from the right. Division of primary Kṛṣṇa into two halves, and the origin of a two-handed being (i.e. secondary Kṛṣṇa) from the right half and a four-handed one (Nārāyaṇa) from the left. (Secondary) Rādhā was given to two-handed Kṛṣṇa, and Lakṣmi to four-handed Nārāyaṇa. Origin of four-handed attendants (pārśada) and crores of maid-servants (dāsi) from the bodies of Nārāyaṇa and Kamalā respectively. Origin of innumerable cowherds and cowherdesses from the pores of secondary Kṛṣṇa and secondary Rādhā respectively. Sudden appearance of Viṣṇumāyā (Durgā) before Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa’s assumption of the forms of Kṛṣṇa (the lord of cowherdesses) and Mahādeva (who came out of the left half of his body).

Chap. 3.—Origin of Mahāvirāṭ from the egg; his meditation on Kṛṣṇa (the Supreme Being) and muttering of the mantra ‘om kṛṣṇāya svāhā’; and Kṛṣṇa’s blessings on him. Origin of Kṣudra-virāṭ from Mahāvirāṭ, and of Brahmā from

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700 The etymological meaning of the word ‘kṛṣṇa’ is given as follows:

kṛṣi. tad-bhakti-vacano naś ca tad-dāśya-vācakaḥ//
bhakti-dāśya-pradātā yah sa ca kṛṣṇaḥ prakrititaḥ//
kṛṣi ca sarva-vacana nakāro bijam eva ca/
sa kṛṣṇaḥ sarva-arśaṭa ... ... ... 

Verses 24b-26a.

701 For description of Viṣṇumāyā and her relation to Kṛṣṇa see verses 64ff.
Kṣudra-virāṭ. Origin of Rudra from Brahmā’s forehead. Brahmā’s creation of mānasa sons and others.

Position of different lokas, viz., Vaikuṇṭha, Goloka, Brahma-loka, Bhūrloka, Bhuvarloka etc.

Chap. 4.—Mention of fivefold Prakṛti, viz., Durgā, Rādhā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī, and of Prakṛti’s parts, viz., Kālī, Vasundharā, Gaṅgā, Śaṣṭhi, Maṅgala-caṇḍikā, Tulasī, Manasā, Nidrā, Svāhā, Svadhā and Dakṣinā.

Sarasvatī’s birth from the tongue of Rādhā, and her desire for union with Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa’s worship of Sarasvatī and instruction to her to go to Nārāyaṇa for the purpose.

Description of the method of Sarasvatī-pūjā as followed in the Kāṇva school (of the White Yajurveda).—Worship of Sarasvatī either on the Māgha-śuklapaṇcamī or at vidyā-rambha; offer of different articles such as tila-laḍḍuka, havi-śānna, śrīphala, vadarīphala etc. with the use of the eight-syllabled mantra ‘śrīṁ hrīṁ sarasvatayai svāhā’; meditation (dhyāna) on Sarasvatī as ‘śukla-varṇā’, ‘vīṇā-pustaka-dhārini’ etc.; and so on. The worship of Sarasvatī must be preceded by that of Gaṇeṣa performed according to the Vedic or the Tantric method.

Description of Sarasvatī-kavaca, by wearing which Pāṇini, Śaṅkaraṇaya and others are said to have written books.

Chap. 5.—Eulogy of Sarasvatī by Yājñavalkya who lost his learning due to the curse of his guru.

Chaps. 6-8.—Story of the quarrel among Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā, the three wives of Viṣṇu.—Sarasvatī’s curse on Lakṣmī and Gaṅgā, and Gaṅgā’s curse on Sarasvatī; the consequent transformation of a part of Lakṣmī into the Tulasī plant as well as the river Padmāvatī, and of Gaṅgā and Sarasvatī into rivers of the same names; Gaṅgā and Sarasvatī’s attainment of wisehood of Śiva and Brahmā respectively at Viṣṇu’s order.

Viṣṇu’s mention of the means of getting rid of these curses.

Praise of devotees of Viṣṇu (who are said to sanctify
asi-jivins, masi-jivins, dhavakas and others, and even the rivers Gaṅgā, Padmā and Sarasvatī).708

Description of the evils of the Kali age. [In this connection it is said that during the Kali age the twice-born would give up samādhyā and the sacred thread (yajña-sūtra), read Mleccha-sāstras, and serve Śūdras, and people of all castes would sell their daughters, become Vāmācāras, and enjoy all women except their own mothers—mātr-yoniṁ pari-tyajya-vihariśyanti sarvataḥ.709]

Chap. 9.—Origin of the Earth from Mahāvīrāt, and her union with the Boar. Method of worshipping the Earth according to the Kāṇva school of the Śukla Yajurveda.

Chap. 10.—Results of bhūmi-dāna. Works (such as bhūmi-haraṇa, digging the earth during Ambuvāci, placing a lamp, a conch-shell, a Śiva-liṅga, a Śālagrāma, books etc. on the bare earth, and so on) which lead one to hell.

[Chaps. 11-14.—Story of Gaṅgā.]

Chap. 11.—Story of Bhagiratha’s worship of Gaṅgā according to the method of the Kauthumas, and his bringing Gaṅgā down to the earth.

Chap. 12.—Gaṅgā-dhyāna according to the Kāṇva school; and Gaṅgā-worship. Viṣṇupadi-stotra of Gaṅgā.

Story of Gaṅgā’s origin from the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā liquefied by Śiva’s song on Kṛṣṇa during the Rāsotsava on the Kārttiki Paurṇamāśi.

Chap. 13.—Story of Gaṅgā continued.—Rādhā’s rage against Gaṅgā, and her intention to drink the latter up; Gaṅgā’s entrance into Kṛṣṇa’s feet; Brahmā’s imparting of the Rādhikā-mantra to Gaṅgā; Gaṅgā’s worship of Rādhā according to the directions of the Sāmaveda, and her passing to Vaikunṭha; Brahmā’s taking into his kamaṇḍalu the water from which Gaṅgā came out.

Chap. 14.—Brahmā’s request to Viṣṇu to accept Gaṅgā as his wife, and Viṣṇu’s consequent marriage with Gaṅgā according to the Gāndharva form.

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708 Chap. 7, verse 29.
709 See chap. 8. For mention of the Vāmācāras see verses 16 and 43-45.
Chaps. 15-25.—Story of Tulasī.]

Chap. 15.—Vṛṣadhvaja, a descendant of Dakṣa-sāvarna Manu, was a devotee of Śiva. He had no regard for Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and stopped their worship. Sūrya was enraged at this, and cursed Vṛṣadhvaja to be bereft of fortune. Śiva got excited and rushed forward to kill Sūrya with his trident. Sūrya, with Brahmā, sought Viṣṇu’s protection. As Śiva was a great devotee of Viṣṇu, the latter could easily pacify Śiva with the assurance that Dharmadhvaja and Kuśadhvaja, the grandsons of Vṛṣadhvaja, would become prosperous and that Lakṣmī would be born in part to their wives.

Chap. 16.—Dharmadhvaja and Kuśadhvaja attained prosperity through Mahālakṣmī’s favour. Kuśadhvaja had a daughter named Vedavatī, who was a part of Lakṣmī reborn and was versed in the Vedic lore from her very birth. With a view to pleasing Nārāyaṇa she practised austerities first at Puṣkara and then on the Gandhamādana mountain, where she was touched perforce by Rāvana. Vedavatī cursed Rāvana to be destroyed for her sake, and left her body by means of Yogic power. She was reborn as Sitā and married to Rāma (described as ‘paripūrṇatama Hari’). When, during exile, Rāma was living with Sitā and Lakṣmaṇa on the sea-shore, Agni approached him privately in the form of a Brahmin and gave him a shadow (chāyā) of Sitā saying: “... . . . The time for the abduction of Sitā has come. ... . . . Place the mother of the world in my charge and keep this chāyā with you. I shall return Sitā to you at the time of the ordeal. ... . . .” Rāma accepted Chāyā-Sitā, but did not divulge her character even to Lakṣmaṇa. In course of time Rāvana abducted Chāyā-Sitā and was killed by Rāma. During Sitā’s fire-ordeal (vahni-parikṣā) in Laṅkā, Agni returned real Sitā to Rāma. At the advice of Rāma and Agni, Chāyā-Sitā practised austerities at Puṣkara for three lacs of divine years and became Svarga-Lakṣmī. Rāma installed Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā, ruled at Ayodhyā for eleven thousand years and then passed to Vaikuṇṭha with all his subjects.
Story of Chāyā-Sītā’s rebirth as Draupadī as a result of her prayer to Śaṅkara five times for a husband, and the latter’s boon to her to be born as Draupadī and have the five Pañḍavas as her husbands.

Chaps. 17-25.—Story of the birth of a part of Lakṣmī as Tulasī.—Tulasī’s birth from Mādhavi, wife of Dharmadhvaja; her receipt of a boon from Brahmā to be married to Sudāman reborn as Śaṅkhaḍūḍa through Rādhikā’s curse; her worship of Rādhikā with the sixteen-syllabled Rādhikā-mantra; her love for and marriage with Śaṅkhaḍūḍa, who received Kṛṣṇa-mantra from Jaigisavaya, wore a Viṣṇu-kavaca, and practised austerities at Puṣkara; her enjoyment of the pleasures of married life; gods’ approach to Viṣṇu for saving them from the tyranny of Śaṅkhaḍūḍa; Viṣṇu’s advice to the gods, with a description of the incident of Rādhikā’s curse to Sudāman to be born as Śaṅkhaḍūḍa; Śiva’s war with Śaṅkhaḍūḍa on the bank of the Puṣpabhadra (also called Candrabhāgā) in Southern India; Viṣṇu’s approach to Śaṅkhaḍūḍa in the form of an old Brahmin, and his begging of the kavaca from the latter; Viṣṇu’s enjoyment of Tulasī by assuming first the form of Śaṅkhaḍūḍa and then that of his own, and his transformation of Tulasī’s body into the river Gaṇḍakī and of her hairs into the Tulasī plant; Tulasī’s curse on Viṣṇu to turn into Śālagrāma-śilā; Śiva’s killing of Śaṅkhaḍūḍa with a lance (śūla) received from Viṣṇu; Śaṅkhaḍūḍa’s assumption of the form of two-handed Kṛṣṇa and passing to Goloka. Glorification of the Tulasī plant, and the classification and praise of Śālagrāma-śilās.

Story of the first worship of Tulasī by Viṣṇu; hymn of Tulasī.

[Chaps. 26-38.—Story of Sāvitri.]
Chap. 26.—King Aśvapati’s worship of Śāvitrī at Puṣkara with the muttering of gāyatrī and the offer of sixteen articles (ṣoḍaśopacāra) as well as with Śāvitrī-dhyāna and Śāvitrī-stava according to the Mādhyanandina recension of the Śukla Yajurveda.

Chap. 27.—Śāvitrī was born as the daughter of king Aśvapati and married to Satyavat, son of Dyumatsena. While collecting fuel, Satyavat died by a sudden fall from a tree. Yama took Satyavat’s soul and proceeded towards his region. As Śāvitrī also followed him, he spoke on karma (work) as determining the fate of creatures.

Chap. 28.—Yama’s praise of the Vedic dharma; his speech on karma; and his classification of bhakti and jñāna.

Chap. 29.—Yama’s boon to Śāvitrī, and his description of the results of niṣkāma and sakāma karma, especially of donation. [It is said that the dutiful worshippers of Śūrya, Śiva, Gaṅapati and other deities attain the respective regions but are forced to return to India, and that it is the devotees of Mūla-prakṛti who pass to Maṇidvīpa never to return.—Verses 32ff.]

Chap. 30.—Yama’s description of the results of (i) giving food, clothes, cows, Śālagrāmas, palanquin, young girls, land, śaktu (in the month of Vaiśākha) etc. to worthy recipients, and (ii) performing various kinds of vows and worship, such as Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭami-vrata, Śivarātri-vrata, Śaṅkara-pūjā (in the month of Māgha or Caitra) Rāma-navami-vrata, Śāradiya-mahāpūjā, Mahālakṣmi-pūjā (to be observed for a fortnight from Śuklaśṭami),

703 Verses 86-9—

bhaktiḥ ca dvividhā ...

nirvāpa-pada-dātṛ ca hari-rūpa-pradā nṛṣām /

hari-rūpa-svarūpāṃ ca bhaktim vānchanti vaiṣṇavāh //

704 In this worship, which is to be continued for a month, a fortnight, ten days, or seven days, the worshipper is to dance with a cane in his hand. This Śaṅkara-pūjā, as observed in the month of Caitra, may be the same as the modern Caitra-pūjā (also called Čaḍak-pūjā or Gājan) prevalent in rural Bengal.—Verses 74-75.

705 In this worship buffaloes, he-goats, sheep, rhinoceroses, frogs etc. are to be scarified.—Verses 78-82a.
Rāsotsava (on the Kārttikī Pūrṇimā), Śakra-pūjā (on the Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī), Sūrya-pūjā (on Sundays, Saṃkrāntis, and Śukla-saptami Tithis), Śāvitri-pūjā (on Śrīaśṭha-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī), and Sarasvatī-pūjā (on Māgha-śukla-pańcamī).

Yama’s praise of Devi-yajña (which is called the best of all sacrifices, Devi being described as nirgūṇa Para Brahma).

Chap. 31.—Śāvitri’s eulogy of Yama, and the latter’s imparting of Śakti-mantra (Māyā-bija) to the former.

Chap. 32.—Yama’s description of hells, which are not visited by Vaiśṇavas, Śāktas, Sauras, Gāṇapas and other pious people.

Chaps. 33-35.—Actions which lead to the different hells and cause various kinds of undesirable rebirths (as Yavanas, Rajakas, Mlecchas, Svarṇavaṇīks, Devalas, Gāṇakas, Vaidyas, Gopas, Karmakāras, Raṅgakāras etc.).

Chap. 36.—Yama’s praise of the worship of ‘five deities’ (pańca-deva), and his accounts of the sūkṣma and the kṛtrima deha.

708 Such as decrying Mūlaprabhṛti, the Vedas, Purāṇas and other Śastras, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods, Gaurī, Vāṇi and other goddesses, and so on; non-maintenance of one’s own parents, superiors, wife, children and other dependants; killing of animals; acceptance of food offered by Śādhas; carrying of the dead body of a Śuddha; serving as priests or cooks to Śuddhas; stealing of gold etc.; serving a Mleccha; following the profession of a scribe (maṇi-dvīna); distinguishing between Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā and other deities; showing disregard to devotees of Śakti and to Śaṅkata scriptures; non-observance of the five ārṇava, viz., Kṛṣṇa-jamāṣṭami, Rāma-navami, Śivarātri, Ekādaśi and Rāvīvarā; digging the earth during Ambuvaḍī; marking the body with ‘taptā-mudrā’ and ‘taptā-fūla’; cohabitation with the brother’s wife; non-initiation to Vaiśṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura or Gaṇapa mantras; acceptance of gifts at Vāraṇaṣi, Bādarī, Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, Puṣkara, Hariharakṣetra, Prabhāśa, Kama-rūthala, Haridvāra, Keda, Mātrpura, Vṛndāvana, Trivenī and Himācala, and on the banks of the Sarasvatī, Godāvarī and Kauśikī; following the profession of a Devala or a Daivajña Brahmī or of a Vaiśya; cohabitation with unchaste women (who are classified into kulaṭa, dharīṣṭi, puṃścali, veśyā, puṅgi and mahāveśyā); and so on.

The different types of unchaste women have been defined as follows:

pativrata caika-patau dvitye kulaṭa śrīf /
trītye dharīṣṭi jēeyā caturthe puṃścality api /
veśyā ca pańcane śaśhe puṅgi ca saptaṁeṣtarne //
tata urydhvamahāveśyā sāśprṣyā sarva-jātiṣu //

Chap. 35, verses 4-5.
Chap. 37.—Description and measurement of the different hells.

Chap. 38.—Yama's praise of Devi-bhakti (devotion to Devi) which was originally described by Krśṇa to Śiva at Goloka, his explanation of Devi's self as consisting of Puruṣa (pumās) and Prakṛti and thus constituting Supreme Brahma; and his advice to Śāvitrī to perform the Śāvitrī-vrata (on the Jyaiṣṭha-śukla-caturdaśī), Mahālakṣmī-vrata (on the Bhādra-śukla-stami), Maṅgalavāra-vrata (on every Tuesday), Saṣṭhi-pūjā (on the Śukla-śaṣṭhi Tithi of every month), Manasā-pūjā (on Āśāḍha-saṁkrānti), Rāsotśava, and Durgā- pūjā (on the Śukla-stami of every month), and to worship the respective deities in diagrams (yantra) or images.

[Chaps. 39-42.—Story of Lakṣmī.]

Chap. 39.—Origin of a Devī in Rāsa-maṇḍala from the left half of Krśṇa, the Paramātman; origin of Mahālakṣmī from the left side of the body of this Devī, and of Rādhikā from her right side; division of primary Krśṇa into two- handed Krśṇa and four-handed Nārāyaṇa for the sake of Rādhikā and Mahālakṣmī respectively; presence of Lakṣmī in different places in different capacities, viz., as Svarga- lakṣmī, Nāga-lakṣmī, Rāja-lakṣmī, Grha-lakṣmī etc.

Chap. 40.—Story of Durvāsas’s curse on Indra to be forsaken by Lakṣmī.—Durvāsas’s meeting with Indra on the Kailāśa mountain, and his presentation to the latter of a garland of Pārijāta flowers which he had received from Viṣṇu; Indra’s disregard for this garland, and the sage’s consequent curse on Indra.

Praise of devotion to Viṣṇu and of good actions, especially of donations made to Brahmins on particular occasions.

[In connection with the praise of Viṣṇu-naivedya, acceptance of food from a twice-born physician, a Devala, and a seller of his daughter has been regarded as an offence. —Verse 33.]

Chap. 41.—Brahmā and Viṣṇu’s censure on Indra for his conduct, and Viṣṇu’s mention of those persons of undesirable conduct and habits who are forsaken by Mahālakṣmī.
Viṣṇu’s request to Lakṣmī to come out, in part, of the ocean of milk. Gods’ churning of the ocean, and Lakṣmī’s consequent appearance out of it.

Chap. 42.—Description of the method of Indra’s worship of Lakṣmī, which was preceded by the worship of the six deities, viz., Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Agni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śivā, and in which sixteen articles including paramāṇna and misṭānna were offered.

[This chapter contains a Lakṣmī-stotra and Lakṣmī-dhyāna ‘as given in the Sāmaveda’—dhyānam sāmaved-oktam.]

Chap. 43.—Story of Svāhā, a part of Prakṛti.—Her penance for winning Kṛṣṇa’s favour; Kṛṣṇa’s instruction to her to become the Śakti of Agni; her consequent marriage with Agni; and the birth of her three sons named Dakṣināgni, Gārhapatyāgni and Āhavanīyāgni.

Praise of pronouncing the word ‘svāhā’ in sacrifices.

Method of worshipping Svāhā in a Śālagrāma or a pitcher at the beginning of all sacrifices, with the practice of ‘sāmavedokta dhyāna’, the recitation of a stotra, and the use of Svāhā-mantra (om hrīṁ śrīṁ vahni-jāyāyai devyai svāhā).

Chap. 44.—Story of Svadhā, the mind-born daughter of Brahmā and a part of Prakṛti, and her marriage with the Pitṛs.

Method of worshipping Svadhā. Praise of the utterance of the word svadhā in śrāddha ceremonies.

Chap. 45.—Story of Dakṣinā (a part of Prakṛti), who fled from Goloka for fear of Rādhā and entered the person of Mahālakṣmī and who was taken out by Nārāyana during the Rāsa-festival on the Kārttiki Pūrṇimā and married to Yajña.

Method of worshipping Dakṣinā in a Śālagrāma or a pitcher, with the ‘kāṇva-sākhokta’ dhyāna and stotra.

This chapter contains a few verses on the praise of devotion to the husband.

\[709-710\] For the constitutional difference between paramāṇa and misṭānna see verses 24 and 28b-29a.
Chap. 46.—Story of Śaṭṭhī, who is the sixth part of Prakṛti (saṭṭhāmsā prakṛteh) and is the same as Devasenā, wife of Skanda, and whose worship was first introduced on earth by Priyavrata, son of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu.

Goddess Śaṭṭhī is a guardian deity of children. She is said to have revived the dead son of Priyavrata and asked the latter to worship her. Consequently, Priyavrata worshipped Śaṭṭhī in the lying-in chamber on the sixth day after the birth of his son, and in doing so he followed the method of the Kauthumas.

Śaṭṭhī may be worshipped in the Śālagrāma or a pitcher or at the root of a Baṭa tree or in a human figure drawn on a wall.

Chap. 47.—Story of Maṅgala-caṇḍī, who is the same as Durgā and who was first worshipped by Śiva after the manner of the Mādhyaṁdinas every Tuesday for the destruction of Tripura.

Story of Manasā (also called Viṣahari), who was the mind-born daughter of Kaśyapa and the wife of sage Jarakāru.

Chap. 48.—Method of worshipping Manasā and meditating on her according to the directions of the Śāmaveda.

Story of Manasā.—Her origin from the mind of Kaśyapa; her penance first at Kailāsa for pleasing Śiva and then at Puṣkara for winning the favour of Krṣṇa; her marriage with sage Jarakāru; birth of Āstīka; penance of Jarakāru and Āstīka at Puṣkara; Āstīka’s saving the lives of snakes by stopping the snake-sacrifice begun by king Janamejaya.

Description of the method of Manasā-pūjā, which is to be performed especially on the Manasā-paṅcamī and is to be preceded by the worship of the six deities, viz., Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Agni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śīvā.

Chap. 49.—Story of the origin and worship of Surabhi. While sporting with Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, Krṣṇa felt a strong desire for drinking milk and created Surabhi, who was worshipped according to the directions of the Yajurveda on the day following the Dīpānvitā.

Chap. 50.—Glorification of Rādhā as one of the two
creative Śaktis of Mūla-prakṛti and as ‘Krṣṇa-prāṇ-ādhidevi’. Method of worshipping Rādhā, who is to be meditated upon as twelve years old in accordance with the directions of the Sāmaveda.

Glorification of Durgā; and description of the method of her worship.

Skandha X

Chaps. 1-7.—Origin of Svāyambhuva Manu from Brahmā’s mind, and his worship of Devī in an earthen image with the use of the Vāg-bija. Devī’s blessings on Manu and her residence on the Vindhya mountain as Vindhyavāsini.

Story of the Vindhya mountain.—Being informed by Nārada of the pride of other mountains, Vindhya became jealous of Meru and obstructed the path of the sun by raising his peaks. Finding that the world was in danger, the gods, with Brahmā and Śiva at their head, went to Viṣṇu and eulogised him with the mention of his ten incarnations (including Krṣṇa, Buddha\(^\text{111}\) and Kalki). At Viṣṇu’s advice the gods went to Benares and saw Agastya, a devotee of Devī. Agastya stopped the rise of the mountain.

Chap. 8.—Other Manus (viz., Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa and Vaivasvata), and their worship of Devī with the Vāg-bija and Kāma-bija on the banks of the Yamunā, Gaṅgā and Narmadā.

Chap. 9.—Cākṣuṣa Manu’s penance on the bank of the Virajā by muttering the Vāg-bija.

Chaps. 10-12.—Story of Sāvarnī Manu’s worship of Devī. Devī-worship by king Suratha, to whom the account of Devī’s manifestation as Mahākāli, Mahālakṣmi and Sarasvatī was related by a sage. As Mahākāli, Devī roused Viṣṇu who was to kill Madhu and Kaitabha; as Mahā-
lakṣmī, she killed the demon Mahiṣa; and as Sarasvatī, she killed Śumbha and Niśumbha.

Chap. 13.—Names of the six sons of Vaivasvata Manu, and their worship of Devī on the bank of the Yamunā.

Names of the remaining Manus, and their worship of Devī.

Story of Devī’s manifestation as Bhrāmarī for killing the demon Aruṇa. [In eulogising Bhrāmarī the gods call her Kālikā, Nilasarasvatī, Ugratārā, Tripurasundarī, Bhairavī, Mātaṅgī, Dhūmāvatī, Chinnamastā, Śākambhāri, Rakta-dantikā etc.]

Skandha XI

Chap. 1.—Description of sadācāra which pleases Devī. —Mention of Śrauta and Smārta dharma; praise of ācāra; classification of ācāra into ‘śāstrīya’ and ‘laukika’, and of dharma into grāma-dharma, jāti-dharma and deśa-dharma; three sources of dharma, viz., Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa, of which the first is the most authoritative and the basis of all other Śāstras; acceptability of those directions of Tantras which do not go against the Vedas; denunciation of certain sectaries (viz., Kāmācāras, Pāṣupatas, Liṅga-dhārins, those who mark their bodies with ‘tapta-mudrā’, and the followers of the doctrine of the Vaikhānasas)112 who are ‘veda-mārga-bahiṣkṛta’ and influence the people with bad śāstras; method of performing prāṇāyāma for the destruction of sins; mental worship of guru.

Chaps. 2-3.—Description of sadācāra continued.—Rules of performing various daily duties such as study of the Vedas, answering the call of nature, cleansing the mouth, bathing in the morning, muttering of gāyatrī, performance of prāṇāyāma, and wearing of Rudrākṣas on different parts of the body.

Chaps. 4-7.—Story of the origin of Rudrākṣa trees from

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112 See verses 30-31.
Śiva's tears; classification of Rudrākṣas; rules of making garlands with these; praise of wearing Rudrākṣas.

Story of an ass and a sinful Brahmin named Guṇanidhi, who were liberated by virtue of Rudrākṣas.

Chap. 8.—Method of performing bhūta-śuddhi.

Chaps. 9-10.—Description and praise of Śirovrata and Pāśupata-vrata (in which the body is to be painted with ashes in different ways).

Chap. 11.—Methods of preparation of three kinds of ashes.

Chaps. 12-15.—Method and praise of painting Tri-puṇḍra marks with these ashes as well as of besmearing the body with these. Method of painting Ūrdhva-puṇḍra according to 'Vaiṣṇavāgamas'; difference in its painting in the case of Ekāntins, Paramaikāntins and 'other Vaiṣṇavas';\textsuperscript{113} prohibitions to Vaiḍikas with regard to certain kinds of Ūrdhva-puṇḍra; praise of Ūrdhva-puṇḍra.

[Bath in ashes—bhāsa-snāna—is said to cure various kinds of diseases including 'eighty kinds of rheumatism, sixty-four kinds of bile-complaints and fifteen kinds of phlegm-complaints'.—Chap. 14, verses 20-22.]

Chaps. 16-19.—Methods of performing Vedic and Purānic prātaḥ-saṃdhyā with gāyatri-japa and prānāyāma. (In Purānic saṃdhyā, various kinds of nyāsas and mudrās are to be performed).

Method of Paṅcāyatana-pūjā, in which Śivā, Śiva, Gaṅapatī, Sūrya and Viṣṇu are to be worshipped.\textsuperscript{114}

Method of the special worship of Devī. (In such worship Devi is to be bathed with various things including juice of sugarcanes growing in Puṇḍravardhana).

Method of performance of Madhyāhna-saṃdhyā.

Chap. 20.—Performance of brahma-yajña, tarpana, vaiśva-deva, entertainment of guests, giving of food to cows, and so on.

Performance of sāyaṃ-saṃdhyā.

\textsuperscript{113} Chap. 15, verses 64-66.

\textsuperscript{114} Chap. 17, verses 35ff.
Chap. 21.—Method of gāyatri-puraścaraṇa, preceded by purification of one’s own self and food (ātma-suddhi and anna-suddhi) according to Tantric and Vedic processes.

[In this chapter as well as in chap. 16 it is said that ‘all twice-born people are neither Śaivas nor Vaiṣṇavas but are Śāktas inasmuch as they worship Gāyatrī, the primordial energy (ādi śakti) and the mother of the Vedas’. In verse 32, Kaśīpurī, Kedāra, Mahākāla, Nāsika and Tryambaka are called the ‘five lamps’ (pañca-dipāḥ) on earth.]

Chap. 22.—Mention of the ‘five great sacrifices’ (pañca mahāyajñā); and description of vaiśvadeva-vidhi.

Chap. 23.—Penance (viz., Cāndrāyaṇa, Kṛcchra, Tapta-kṛcchra etc.) and other ways of removing sins caused by violation of śāstric directions as regards food, cohabitation with the wife, etc.

Chap. 24.—Different methods of performance of śāntika and pauṣṭika homas for curing various kinds of diseases, attaining prosperity, and so on.

Effects of repeating gāyatrī with the practice of various kinds of austerities.

Skandha XII

Chaps. 1-5.—Dissertation on gāyatrī.—Praise of gāyatrī; names of sages, metres, deities, Śaktis and colours of the different syllables of the gāyatrī; names of mudrās (viz., saṃmukha, saṃpuṭa etc.) for the different syllables; gāyatrī-kavaca; gāyatrī-dhyāna; gāyatrī-hṛdaya; gāyatrī-stava.

(Gāyatrī has been regarded as Deī herself).

Chap. 6.—One thousand and eight names of Gāyatrī. (All these names have been arranged alphabetically from च to ष).

Chap. 7.—Method of initiation to Deī-worship. (Though this method is full of Tantric elements, the mantra to be imparted to the disciple may be Vedic or Tantric according to circumstances).

Chap. 8.—Glorification of Deī by repeating, with
modifications, the story of 'Umā Haimavati' (as found in the Kena-upaniṣad).

Identification of Devī with Gāyatri; and the necessity and effect of Gāyatri-upāsanā.\textsuperscript{115}

Chap. 9.—Story of Gautama’s curse on some sages to be irreverent to Devī and Śiva, to be averse to Advaita philosophy, to go against Śrauta and Smārta dharma, to worship deities other than Devī, to mark their bodies with ‘tapta-mudrā’, and to turn Kāpālikas, Baudhhas, Jainas, Vāmācāras, Kaulikas, Pāncarātras and other anti-Vedic sectaries.

[This story runs as follows. Once there was a great famine, which caused a number of sages to seek Gautama’s shelter. Gautama received these sages very cordially and accommodated them in his hermitage. He pleased Gāyatri with worship and eulogy and received from her a ‘pūrṇapātra’ which supplied him with all things necessary for their maintenance. At the end of the famine these sages left Gautama by creating a pretext through a magic cow. Being offended at their conduct Gautama cursed them in the above-mentioned manner. He then worshipped Gāyatri and returned to his hermitage. In the meantime the cursed sages forgot the Vedas and the gāyatri. They appeased Gautama, and the latter told them that they would have to live in the Kumbhipāka hell up to the end of Kṛṣṇa incarnation and then be born on earth. Consequently, the cursed sages lived in that hell and were then born on earth as Brahmīns after Kṛṣṇa had left it. These Brahmīns had no regard for the Vedas or gāyatri, and followed the views of the Pāśaṇḍas. Some of them marked their limbs with ‘tapta-mudrā’, some followed the practice of the Kāmācāras, and some became Kāpālikas, Kaulikas, Baudhhas or Jainas.

Chaps. 10-12.—Detailed description of Maṇīdvipa, the place of residence of Devī Bhuvanesvari, which is situated above all other regions.

Chap. 13.—Initiation of king Janamejaya to Devi-\textsuperscript{114} See especially verses 88-89 and 91-92.
worship, and his performance of Devī-yajña, during which he caused Brahmins to read the Devī-bhāgavata. Parīkṣit’s passing to Manidvīpa in consequence of Janamejaya’s actions.

Praise of the Devī-bhāgavata as the best Purāṇa and as the essence of all Vedas and Purāṇas.

Chap. 14.—Praise of the Devī-bhāgavata, which is said to be the epitome of a much bigger work (of one lac of verses) based on a half-verse716 uttered by Devī.

According to the Devī-bhāgavata, the Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas, Sauras and Gāṇapatyas should study it for pleasing the Śaktis of their respective gods, and the Vaidikas should do so for pleasing Gāyatri.

The above contents show clearly that the Devī-bhāgavata is avowedly a Śākta work, and not Śivaite as Winternitz takes it to be.717 It conceives of a central goddess called Devī Śrībhuvanesvari, and describes her as follows: She is a maiden (kumārī) having four hands and three eyes; she has a complexion as bright as coros of lightning-flashes (vidyut-koti-sama-prabhā) and wears red clothes and a red garland (rakta-mālāmbara-dharā); she holds a noose (pāša) and a goad (āṅkuśa) in two of her hands and assures boon and safety with the other two; and she lives in a region called Manidvīpa, which is situated above all other regions such as Goloka, Brahma-loka, Śiva-loka etc.718 Following the doctrine of monism of the Vedānta719 the Devī-bhāgavata says that in her supreme state this Devī is ‘nirguṇā’, ‘saccidānanda-rūpiṇī’ and ‘nirādhārā’ and is identical with Para Brahma and Paramātman, but in creation she takes to the gunas and divides herself into Puruṣa and Prakṛti. It is

716 sarvam khalv idam evāham nānyad asti sanātanan—Dbh I. 15. 32b.
717 Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 555.
718 Dbh III. 5. 37ff.; VI. 8. 55ff.; VII. 30. 2ff.; VII. 31. 31ff.; and so on.
719 Dbh III. 6.4—ekam evāvid hi vāī brahma nityaṃ sanātanan / dvaita-bhāvaṃ punar yāti kāla upatti-samjñake // See also Gautama’s curse on the sages in Dbh XII. 9. 66—advaita-jñāna-niṣṭhāyaṃ śānti-dāntyādi-sādhane / bhavatānunmukhā yūyaṃ sārvadā brāhmaṇaḥdhamāḥ //
this Mūla-prakṛti who is Mahāmāyā and creates Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Rudra out of herself and enables them to perform their respective duties by furnishing them with her own Sāttvikī, Rājasī and Tāmasī Śaktis in the forms of Mahā-lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Mahākālī respectively. Nay, she is the mother of the whole universe and the Śakti of all. Nothing exists beyond her, and it is she who appears as Durgā, Rādhā, Śāvitri, Gāyatri, Gaṅgā, Tulasī and others for accomplishing different objects.

The Devi-bhāgavata praises Devī as the highest deity, regards Devī-yajña as the best of all kinds of worship, and says that the Sauras, Śaivas, Śāktas, Gaṅapatyas and the devotees of other deities, who faithfully perform their own duties, attain the regions of their respective deities but are forced to be reborn in India, whereas the dispassionate and dutiful devotees of Devī go to Maṇḍīvīpa never to return.\textsuperscript{720} It lays special stress on bhakti\textsuperscript{721} as a means of realising Devī and takes jñāna to be the same as bhakti in its highest state.\textsuperscript{722} It holds that as soon as a devotee realises Devī, he attains jñāna bereft of all sense of dualism.\textsuperscript{738}

A study of the Devi-bhāgavata shows that at the time of composition of this work the most prominent deities were Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṅeśa and Devī, and their worshippers were divided into different classes following different ideas and practices, viz., Vaiṣṇavas, Pāṇcarātras, Sauras, Gaṅapatyas, Śaivas, Pāṣupatas, Kāpālikas, Liṅgadhārins, Trīṣūladhārins, Bhairavas, Vāmācāras, Kaulakas, those who marked their bodies with 'tapta-mudrā', and the followers of the system of the Vaikhānasas.\textsuperscript{744} Though almost all these sectaries imbibed Śākta ideas more or less,\textsuperscript{735} some of

\textsuperscript{720} Dbh IX. 29. 33-36.
\textsuperscript{721} In Skandha IX, the Devi-bhāgavata speaks of 'dāśya-bhakti'.
\textsuperscript{722} Dbh VII. 37. 28—bhaktes tu yā para kāśṭhā saiva jñānāṁ prakṛttitam.
\textsuperscript{723} Cf. Dbh VII. 37. 35—mama loke bhave jñānāṁ dvaita-bhāva-vivarjitaṁ.
\textsuperscript{724} Dbh VII. 37. 26b-30; XI. 1. 29-31; XII. 8. 3-4; XII. 9, verses 71-72, 75 and 95-96. (For the texts of these verses see footnote 727 below).
\textsuperscript{725} Dbh XII. 14. 21-24a—
vaśajāvaiś caiva saivaiś ca ramomā-prītaye sadā / sauraiś ca gaṇapatayoaiś ca sveṣa-sakti ca tuṣṭaye //
them followed the directions of the Vedas and the Smṛtis, but the majority was guided by the Āgamas (i.e. Tantras). Among the followers of the Āgamas, again, there were some who did not recognise the superiority of Śakti, while there were many others, especially the Kāpālikas, Kaulakas, Bhairavas, Taptamudrāṅkitas, and the widely spread Vāmācāras, who had no regard for the Vedas and followed non-Vedic and anti-Vedic ideas and practices. Besides

pathitavyaṁ prayatnena navarātra-catuṣṭaye /
vaṭihkaiṁ niśā-gāyatri-prītaye niśyaśo mune //
pathitavyaṁ prayatnena virodho niśra kasyacit /
upāsanā tu sarveṣaṁ śakti-yuktāsti sarvādā //
tac-chaktery eva toṣārthaṁ pathitavyaṁ sādā dvijaṁ //

Cf. also Dbh XI. 16. 17—

tasmāt sarve dvijaṁ śākta na śaiva na ca vaisṇavāḥ /
ādi-śaktim upaśante gāyatrīṁ veda-mātaram //

and Dbh XI. 21. 6—

sarve śākta dvijaṁ prakātā na śaiva na ca vaisṇavāḥ/ etc.

Dbh V. 19. 24-25—

manye guṇāṁ tava bhuvī prathita-prabhāvāḥ
kurvanti ye hi vimukhāṁ nanu bhakti-bhāvāt /
lokāṁ svā-buddhi-racitaṁ vividhāgamaṁ ca
vīṣy-viśa-bhāskara-ganena-parān vidhāya //
kurvanti ye tava padād vimukhāṁ narāgryān
svaktāgaman irhi-harācana-bhakti-yogaiḥ /

tesiṁ na kupyasi dayāṁ kuruseṁbike tvam

tāṁ mohā-mantra-nipuṇāṁ prathayaṁ alaṁ ca //

Dbh VII. 39. 26-30—

anyāṁ yāṁ śastraṁloke 'śmin vividhāṇi ca /
śrutī-śrīm-viduddhāṇi tāmasāṁ eva sarvaśāḥ //
vāmāṁ kapālakaṁ caiva kaulakaṁ bhairavāgamam //
śivena mohanārthāya prāṇita nānā-hetukaṁ //
dakṣa-lāpād bhṛgoḥ śapād dadhiṣasya ca śapataḥ //
dagdhā ye bhraṁṇa-vaṁ veda-mārga-bahiṣṣkṛtāḥ //

tesiṁ uddharanārthāya sopāna-kramataṁ sadā //
śaivaṁ ca vaisṇavāṁ caiva saurāḥ śaktas tathaivca /

gāṇapatyaṁ āgamaṁ ca prāṇitāṁ sāmākarmena tu //

Dbh XI. 1. 29-31—

ye kuśāstraḥbhiyogena vartyantiham manavān /
adhomukh-orδvapādās te yasyanti narakārṇavaṁ //

dharmārāḥ pāṣupatāṁ tathā vai liṅga-dhārīṇāḥ /

tapta-mudrāṅkitāṁ ca sa vaikānasa-matānugāṁ //
te sarve nirayaṁ yānti veda-mārga-bahiṣṣkṛtāḥ //

Dbh XII. 8. 3-4—

dṛṣṭyante vaisṇavāḥ kecid gāṇapatyāṁ tathāpāre /
kāpālikāṁ cīna-mārga-ratā vyākala-dhārīṇāḥ //

digambarāṁ tathā bauddhāṁ cāvāṁ evamādayāḥ /
dṛṣṭyante bahavo loke veda-śraddhā-vivarjītāḥ //
these, there were the Bauddhas (including the Cīna-mārgaratas), Jainas (including the Digambaras) and Cārvākas, who also did not recognise the authority of the Vedas.\

Among all these sectaries, again, there was constant quarrel.\[728\] They respected their own deities but decried those of others, and the result was that the Hindu society was divided into a large number of mutually quarrelling religious groups. So, the author of the Devī-bhāgavata advocates the unity of all gods saying that Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā and others are not different and that those, who decry these gods and goddesses or differentiate between them, go to hell.\[729\] He does not try to dissuade people from respecting deities other than Devī but prescribes the worship of the six deities Gaṇeśa, Dīneśa (Sūrya), Vahni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śivā at the beginning of all kinds of worship.\[730\] He even advises them to be initiated to the worship of any of the gods and goddesses they like.\[731\] But being himself a staunch Śākta, he claims

Dbh XII. 9. 93-96—

bhuvi jātā brāhmaṇās ca ārpa-dagdhaḥ purā tu ye /
saṁdhyā-traya-vihināḥ ca gāyatri-bhakti-varjītaḥ //
veda-bhakti-vihiṇāḥ ca pāṣaṇḍa-maṭa-gāminah //
agnihotra-ādi-śat-karma-svadīh-svabhā-vivarjītaḥ //
mūla-prakṛtiṃ avyaktāṃ naiva jānanti karhiṣcit /
tapta-mudrā-ākṣitaḥ kecit kāmācāra-ratāḥ pare //
kāpaliṅkāḥ kaulikāḥ ca bauddhā jāināṣa tathā pare /
pāṇḍiṇā api te sarve durācāra-pravartakāḥ //

Dbh XII. 8. 3-4; XII. 9. 71-72 and 75; and XII. 9. 95-96.

The Bauddhas and the Jainas have been denounced on several occasions (see Dbh I. 18. 46; V. 15. 12; VI. 7. 28; and so on); and in Dbh VII. 11. 42-43 it has been said that the Rākṣasas of the previous Yugas have been born as Brahmins in the Kali age, and that these Brahmins follow the faiths of the Pāṣaṇḍas, decry the Vedas, and serve Śūdras.

Dbh VI. 18. 35-36a—
mad-bhaktā vāudevasya nindakā bahavas tathā /
viṣṇu-bhaktās tu bahavo mama nindā-parāyaṇāḥ//
bhavanti kāla-bhedena kalau devi vīḍeṣataḥ // (said by Śiva).

See also Dbh XI. 15. 37-39 which speak of persons denouncing Śiva, Devī, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Gaṇeṣa.

Dbh III. 6. 53-56; VI. 18. 30-31 and 44-47; IX. 33.8-11; IX. 34. 32-33, 37 and 40; and so on.

Dbh IX. 11. 72ff; 26. 47; 42. 3; 48. 120-121; and so on.

Cf. Dbh IX. 34. 83—

vaṁśpavaṇ ca tathā śaivaṁ śaktam sauram ca gāṇapam /
yo 'hamkārān na gṛṇatī mantraṁ so'dikṣitaḥ smrtaḥ //
(An uninitiated person is said to visit hells).
that it is only Śakti-worship which is advocated by the Vedas⁷²⁸ and that all twice-born people are Śāktas and not Śaivas or Vaiṣṇavas, inasmuch as they worship Gāyatrī, the primordial energy and the mother of the Vedas.⁷²⁹ He tries to infuse his own ideas of Śakti into the members of different sects by adapting his work as far as practicable to the views of these sectaries. Hence we see that in some parts of the Devī-bhāgavata Viṣṇu is glorified as the highest deity,⁷³⁰ and Śiva is said to meditate on Viṣṇu and sing his praise;⁷³¹ in some places Śiva is described as greater than Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa;⁷³² in some portions, especially in Skandha IX, Kṛṣṇa has been regarded as Para Brahma, and Viṣṇu as one of his parts; and in many places Sāavitri, Gāyatrī, Manasā, Maṅgala-cāṇḍi, Gaṅgā, Tulasī and other female deities have been pictured and praised as parts of Devī. As a matter of fact, the author of the Devī-bhāgavata claims that this Purāṇa should be constantly studied by the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas for the pleasure of Ramā and Umā respectively, by the Sauras and the Gāṇapatyas for the satisfaction of their own favourite Śaktis, and by the Vaidikas for the pleasure of Gāyatrī, and that all these sectaries would not find in this Purāṇa any statement that would go against their own views.⁷³³ But in spite of his assigning each of the chief gods alternately to a position higher than that of the rest, he makes Devī the life and energy of all.

Although a Śākta work, the Devī-bhāgavata holds the Vedas in high esteem and tries its best to establish their authority among the people, especially among Brahmins. It calls itself ‘veda-sammita’ and claims to contain the essence of the Vedas (veda-sāra).⁷³⁴ It regards ‘Śruti’, ‘Smṛti’ and ‘Purāṇa’ as sources of dharma and looks upon the first

⁷²⁸ Dbh XII. 8. 1—dvijātīnām tu sarveṣaṁ śakty-upāstih śrutirītā.
See also Dbh XII. 8. 88-89, 91, and XII. 9. 98-99.
⁷²⁹ Dbh XI. 16. 17, and XI. 21. 6 (quoted in footnote 725 above).
⁷³⁰ Dbh III. 13. 36b-37 and 39b.
⁷³¹ Dbh IX. 15. 28.
⁷³² Dbh V. 1, verses 3, 20-21, 25 and 27.
⁷³³ Dbh XII. 14. 21-24a (quoted in footnote 725 above).
⁷³⁴ Dbh I. 1. 16; I. 2. 2; I. 16. 15; II. 12. 4; and so on.
as the highest authority; but it does not totally ignore the Tantras. At one place Devi has been made to say: "That which is said by Śruti and Smṛti, is called dharma; what is declared by other śāstras, is called pseudo-dharma. The Veda has originated from my omniscient and omnipotent self; and due to complete absence of nescience in me the Veda is not unauthoritative. The Smṛtis have come out by taking the meanings of Śruti, and it is for this reason that the Smṛti-works of Manu and others are to be regarded as authorities. In some places [these authorities] hint, on certain occasions, at the meanings of Tantras and declare as dharma the statements of others, but those portions are not to be accepted by the Vaidikas. As the authors of other śāstras have sprung from ignorance, their statement, being made defective by it, is not regarded as authoritative. Hence one, striving for final emancipation, should, for the sake of dharma, take to the Veda by all means. ... Those various other śāstras, which [exist] on earth and go against Śruti and Smṛti, are tāmasa, pure and simple. The Āgamic literatures of the Vāmas, Kāpālikas, Kaulakas and Bhairavas were written by Śiva for deluding [people] and not for any other reason. For the deliverance of those best Brahmins who were burnt by the curses of Dakṣa, Bhṛgu and Dadhica, and were caused to stray from the path of the Vedas, the Āgamas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Sauras, Śāktas and Gānapatyas were written as steps (sopāna) by Śaṅkara. In some places of these works there are some portions which do not go against the Vedas. By accepting these [portions] the Vaidikas do not incur sin. A twice-born man is by no means entitled to do what is not supported by the Vedas; but one, who is not privileged to study the Vedas (vedādhikāra-hīnaḥ), is qualified for performing such actions. Hence a Vaidika should zealously take to the Veda. Knolwedge, [accompanied] with dharma, reveals Para Brahma".740 At another place of the Devi-bhāgavata Nārāyaṇa is found to declare: "Śruti and Smṛti are regarded

740 Dbh VII. 39. 15-33.
as the two eyes, and Purāṇas as the heart. The prescriptions of these three only should be taken as dharma, and not what is found in other works. In case of disagreement among these three, śruti should be deemed as authoritative.

... ... ... ... In the Purāṇas there are certain matters which, though derived from the Tantras, have been regarded as dharma, but one must not follow them [blindly]. If the Tantra does not go against the Veda, it is undoubtedly to be regarded as authoritative, but if it goes clearly against śruti, it must not be taken as an authority. By all means, it is the Veda which is the authority with regard to the path of dharma. That, which does not contradict it, becomes authoritative, and not otherwise. In the realm of Yama there are hells for chastising one who, after forsaking the Veda-dharma, fares on the authority of other śāstras. So, one should strenuously follow the dharma declared by the Veda. Every śāstra, be it Smṛti, Purāṇa, Tantra or anything else, should be regarded as authoritative, in case it is based on the Veda, and never otherwise. Those, who direct people by means of bad scriptures, will plunge into the hell with their legs up and faces down. The Kāmācāras, Pāṣupatas, Liṅgadhārins, those who mark their limbs with hot seals (taptamudrāṅkita), and the followers of the systems of the Vaikhānasas (vaikhānasa-matānuga)—all these people fare outside the pale of the Vedic dharma and go to hell. Hence one should always practise the faultless dharma declared by the Vedas.\textsuperscript{741} The Devī-bhāgavata recognises both the Vedic and the Tantric initiation but says that a dutiful Vedic Brahmin should mutter only the Vedic mantra and not a ‘laukika’ one.\textsuperscript{742} As regards the ashes meant for use by the Śiva-worshippers, it says that the Vedic Śaivas should prepare their own ashes and should not use those prepared according to the Tantric process.\textsuperscript{743} It describes

\textsuperscript{741} Dbh XI. 1. 21-32a.
\textsuperscript{742} Dbh XI. 3. 12b-13a—
brāhmaṇaḥ śruti-sampannaḥ svadharma-nirataḥ sadā /
sa vaidikaṃ japaṃ mantraṃ laukikaṃ na kādacana //
\textsuperscript{743} Dbh XI. 12. 10-12.
both the Vedic and the Tantric method of worship\textsuperscript{744} but says that the Vedic method should be followed by those having Vedic initiation, whereas the Tantric method is meant for persons initiated in the Tantric process.\textsuperscript{745} These and similar other statements made in the Devi-bhāgavata show that its author tried his level best to popularise the Vedas as authorities in all matters and to make the members of the Vedic fold immune from Tantric influence as far as possible. But he could not fully ignore the influence of the age in which he lived. The spread of Tantricism was so wide in his days and its hold on himself and the people so great that he did not hesitate to prescribe the \textit{yantra} (diagram) as a medium even in the Vedic method of worship,\textsuperscript{746} to furnish the \textit{mantras} of different deities with Tantric bijas, and to glorify these bijas (especially the Vāg-bija, Māyā-bija and Kāma-bija) with various stories.

The Devi-bhāgavata calls itself a \textquote{Purāṇa} in the body of the text and a \textquote{Mahāpurāṇa} in the chapter-colophons, and claims to have \textquote{five characteristics}.\textsuperscript{747} In its own opinion, it is the best \textquote{Purāṇa} (purāṇottama), with which other Purāṇas do not in any way stand comparison.\textsuperscript{748} It styles itself mostly as \textquote{Bhāgavata}\textsuperscript{749} or \textquote{Śrīmad-bhāgavata},\textsuperscript{750} and once as \textquote{Sati-purāṇa}.\textsuperscript{751} It is only in the chapter-colophons of especially the printed editions as well as in several places of its last two chapters that the name \textquote{Devi-bhāgavata} occurs. But except in only one Ms\textsuperscript{752} nowhere does this

\textsuperscript{744} Dbh V. 34, and VII. 39-40.
\textsuperscript{745} Dbh VII. 39. 4b-5a—
\textit{vaiddīk vaiddikāśī kāryā veda-dīkṣā-samanvitaḥ /
\textit{tantrokta-dīkṣāvadbhia tu tāntrikā samprātā bhavet //
\textsuperscript{746} See Dbh III. 26. 21; V. 34. 7-8; and VII. 39. 39.
\textsuperscript{747} Dbh I. 1. 16; I. 16. 32; II. 4. 68.
\textsuperscript{748} Dbh I. 2. 3 and 11; I. 3. 40; and so on.
\textsuperscript{749} Dbh XII. 13. 25b-26a—
\textit{sanyāṁ anyāni purāṇāni hari-rudra-mukhāni ca /
\textit{devibhāgavatasyasya kalām nārhati śoḍaśāṁ //
\textsuperscript{747} Dbh I. 1, verses 16, 18, 21, 25; I. 2. 37; I. 15, verses 47, 49, 54; I. 16. 15; and so on.
\textsuperscript{748} Dbh I. 2. 11; I. 3. 34 and 39; II. 4. 68; and so on.
\textsuperscript{749} Dbh I. 3. 41.
\textsuperscript{750} No. 115 of A1881-82, preserved in the Government Mss Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
work call itself 'Bhagavati-purāṇa'.

As the Devī-bhāgavata calls itself 'Bhāgavata' or 'Śrīmad-
bhāgavata', conforms to the definitions of the 'Bhāgavata'
contained in the Matsya and other Purāṇas,\textsuperscript{138} includes its
own name (Bhāgavata) in its list of the eighteen principal

\begin{quote}
By examining the chapter-colophons of this incomplete Ms S. N. Tadpatrikar comes
to the following conclusion:

"The Purāṇa was originally called, fittingly, Śrībhāgavatī-purāṇa, and each of its
parts was called 'āmsā'.

Then with the growing popularity of Śrīmad-bhāgavata comes in the period of
controversy, when the devotees of Devī at once went to the other extreme, and named
this Purāṇa Śrīmad-bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa with the name 'skandha' for its parts. The
name was boldly asserted to be grammatically derived from 'bhagavati' as 'bhagavatyā'
idaṃ bhāgavatam'.

Then the two extremes mixed indiscriminately, and we come across all different
sorts of adhyāya-colophons, as in the present fragment before us.

And last comes the present order of things, where, to distinguish this Purāṇa from
its rival, the word 'devī' was added to the name Bhāgavata and we have the adhyāya-
colophons, as we find them, in this last stage, in printed editions". (ABORI, XXIII,
1942, p. 562).

This conclusion, though apparently attractive, is based more on 'imagination'
than on facts. It should be rejected for the following reasons:

(1) Not a single of the other Ms of the Devībhāgavata gives its name as 'Bhagavati-
purāṇa' either in the body of the text or in the chapter-colophons.

(2) In his Bikaner Cat., p. 187, R. L. Mitra describes a Ms of the 'Bhagavati-purāṇa'
which is quite different from the Devī-bhāgavata.

(3) A large number of verses has been ascribed to the 'Bhagavati-purāṇa' in Jīmūt-
vāhana's Kālaviveka (pp. 320, 322, 381, 382, 511), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī
(I, pp. 667, 982; II, pp. 606, 678-9, 692, 704, 717, 728-9, 671; III, pp. 313-4,
314, 316), Mādhavācārya's Kāla-nīrṇaya (pp. 311, 313), Gadadhara's Kālaśāra
(pp. 103, 109-110, 465, 610), and Mitra-miśra's Vīramitrodāya (Āhikā-prakāśā, p. 186);
but not a single of these verses is found in the Devī-bhāgavata, which is, therefore, quite
different from the 'Bhagavati-purāṇa'.

(4) Even in the Ms (No. 115 of A1831-82) utilised by Tadpatrikar for his conclusion,
the name 'Bhagavati-purāna' occurs only in a few chapter-colophons and not in
the body of the text.

(5) That the chapter-colophons of this Ms are not at all dependable for any conclusion,
is shown by the fact that in the colophon of chap. 29 of its third Skandha, the name
of the work is given as 'Devī-purāṇa'.

(6) The names 'Bhāgavata' and 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' occur in a large number of verses
of the Devī-bhāgavata, and these names cannot be replaced conveniently with the name
'Bhagavati-purāṇa' without effecting considerable changes in the verses containing
these names.

\textsuperscript{138} The 'Bhāgavata' is defined in the different Purāṇas as follows:

\begin{quote}
Matsya-p. 53. 20-22—

\begin{quote}
yatrādhiśāktyena gāyatriṃ vāryate dharmavistaraḥ /
vṛtrāśura-vadhopetaṁ tad bhāgavatam ucaya //
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
... aśṭādaśa-sahasrāṇi puruṇaṁ tat praṃakṣate //
\end{quote}

(These lines are the same as Skanda-p. VII. i. 2.39-42).
\end{quote}
Purāṇas, and regards the Vaiṣṇava ‘Bhāgavata’ as one of the eighteen Upapurāṇas, the question naturally arises as to which of these two works is the real Bhāgavata. There is a band of scholars, both European and Indian, who hold that the Devī-bhāgavata is the real Bhāgavata and that the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata is a spurious work written by Vopadeva, a contemporary of Hemādri.  

But this view is untenable for the following reasons:

1) The Nibandha-writers are all in favour of the authenticity of the Bhāgavata (i.e. Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata). Many of them (such as Vallālasena, Madhvācārya, Hemādri, Agni-p. 272, 6-7—
yatradhikṛtya gāyatriṁ kirtyate dharma-vistaraḥ /  
vṛtrāsura-vadhopetaṁ tad bhāgavatam ucyate //
...  
āṣṭādaśa-sahārāṇi  
Skanda-p. V. iii. 1. 37—
navamaṁ bhāgavan-nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitam /  
tad āṣṭādaśa-sāhasraṇaḥ procyate grantha-saṃkhyāyā //

In his commentary on the Bhāgavata-p. (I. 1.1) Śrīdhara Śvāmin gives, from a ‘Purāṇāntara’, the following definition:

grantho ‘ṣṭādaśa-sāhasra dvādaśa-skandha-saṃpratīṇaḥ /  
hayagriva-brahma-vidyā yatra vṛtra-vadhas tathā /  
gāyatryā ca samārambhas tad vai bhāgavatam vidūḥ //

According to these definitions, that Purāṇa which begins with the gāyatri, deals elaborately with dharma as well as with brahma-vidyā, contains the stories of Hayagriva and the killing of the demon Vṛtra, and consists of twelve Skandhas divided into two parts and of 18000 slokas, is to be known as the ‘Bhāgavata’.

All these characteristics are found in the Devī-bhāgavata, which begins with a Devī-gāyatri, deals elaborately with dharma in most of the Skandhas and with brahma-vidyā especially in Skandha XII, contains the story of Hayagriva in Skandha I (chap. 5) and that of the killing of Vṛtra in Skandha VI (chaps. 1-6), consists of twelve Skandhas divided into two parts of six Skandhas each, and professes to have 18000 verses.


At the beginning of his commentary on the Devī-bhāgavata Śaiva Nilakanṭha tries to prove that this Devī-bhāgavata is the real Bhāgavata-p.

There is a polemic treatise, viz., Durjana-mukha-capetikā of Kālīnātha Bhāṭṭa, a Dakṣiṇācāra Tantrik of Benares, which strongly supports the claim of the Devī-bhāgavata to be the real Bhāgavata. (For this treatise see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1207-8, No. 3367; Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 771-2, No. 4111; Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 63, Nos. 1385-86).

See also the articles on the Devī-bhāgavata in ABORI, XIV, 1932-33, pp. 241-9, and XXIII, 1942, pp. 559-62.
Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa, and others) quote verses from a ‘Bhāgavata’ in their respective works; and most of these verses are found in the present Bhāgavata-p., but not a single occurs in the Devi-bhāgavata.

(2) None of the comparatively early Nibandha-writers is found to mention even the name of the Devi-bhāgavata. Among the late Nibandhas even, we have found only one work which draws upon the Devi-bhāgavata.

(3) Although Devi-bhāgavata IX. 29 deals with gifts, Vallālasena does not refer to or draw upon it, nor does he include its name among those of the spurious or rejected Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. That Vallālasena knew the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata as the real Bhāgavata, is shown by his statement, made in his Dānasāgara, that he did not draw upon the ‘Bhāgavata Purāṇa’ because it did not deal with the method of making gifts.\(^{785}\) As a matter of fact, the present Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata, unlike the Devi-bhāgavata, contains no chapter on this topic. Vallālasena’s recognition of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata is further shown by the fact that he does not include the ‘Bhāgavata Purāṇa’ among those works which he rejected for imbibing Tantric elements. (We have already seen how greatly the Devi-bhāgavata has been influenced by Tantricism).

(4) The contents of the Bhāgavata are more befitting a principal Purāṇa than those of the Devi-bhāgavata.

(5) Alberūnī mentions the ‘Vaiṣṇava’ Bhāgavata as one of the principal Purāṇas but does not betray his knowledge of the Devi-bhāgavata.

(6) The chapters on Bhāgavata-māhātmya found in the Purāṇas such as the Pādma (Uttara-khaṇḍa), Skānda (Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa), etc. relate to the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata and not to any other work claiming to be the Bhāgavata-p.

(7) By way of describing the contents of the eighteen principal Purāṇas the Nārādiya-p. gives, in chap. 96 of its

\(^{785}\) See Dānasāgara, p. 6 (verse 57)—

bhāgavatam ca purāṇam brahmāṇḍam caiva nārādiyaḥ ca
dāna-vidhi-sūnyam etat trayam iha na nibaddham avadhārya //
Pūrva-bhāga, the contents of a ‘Śrīmad-bhāgavata’ which agree with those of our present Bhāgavata-p.

(8) In the Bhāgavata-p. there is no mention of the Devi-bhāgavata, nor is there any attempt to prove its superior position, but the Devi-bhāgavata gives out its knowledge of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata and thus acknowledges its own comparatively late origin by including this work among the Upapurāṇas obviously with a view to establishing its own claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa. Further, in the Bhāgavata Śūka is presented as given to complete renunciation of the world from his childhood. But the author of the Devi-bhāgavata saw that an ideal character like Śūka might encourage others, having much less indifference, to renounce the world and thus disturb the discipline in society. Hence he painted Śūka in a quite different colour in the Devi-bhāgavata. Here Śūka, who is about to give up the world, goes to Janaka at the request of his father Vyāsa. Janaka proves the benefits of hiṃsā as practised in Vedic sacrifices and convinces him of the necessity of passing successively through all the stages of life before entering into the life of a saṃnyāsin. Consequently, Śūka returns to his father and becomes a householder.

(9) The Bhāgavata regards Kṛṣṇa as Bhagavat himself and makes no mention of Rādhā. But the Devi-bhāgavata, though recognising the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, subordinates him to his Śakti Rādhā and thus tries to infuse Śāktism into the followers of the Bhāgavata religion.

(10) By its inclusion of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas and by its statement that the Purāṇas on Hari and Rudra do not, in any way, stand comparison with it, the Devi-bhāgavata clearly betrays its knowledge of the Bhāgavata-p.

(11) The Śāktas are not unanimous about the identity of the ‘Bhāgavata’ named in the lists of eighteen principal Purāṇas. Some of them say that it is the Kālikā-p. which, on account of its treatment of the birth and exploits of

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756 Dhū XII. 13. 25b-26a (cited in footnote 748 above).
Bhagavati, is called 'Bhāgavata'; some are inclined to regard the Devī-p. as the real Bhāgavata; and some, again, are in favour of the Devī-bhāgavata. Besides these, there is another work, named Bhagavati-purāṇa, which also tries to be known as 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata'. Hence there is little doubt about the fact that the Śāktas, being jealous of the position and influence of the Bhāgavata-p., tried to substitute it by works of theirs.

The above arguments are perhaps sufficient to show that the Devī-bhāgavata cannot be regarded as the real Bhāgavata. In point of age also it is much younger than its rival. We have seen elsewhere that the Bhāgavata-p. is a fairly early work. But the Devī-bhāgavata cannot reasonably be assigned to an early date. It repeatedly names the Mahābhārata (mostly as 'Bhārata'), bases some of its stories on those of this great epic, and has a good number of verses from it. It also mentions the Dharmaśāstras of Manu and Yājñavalkya, and knows the names of rāsis and week-days. It utilises the contents of the Mārkaṇḍeya-canḍi, mentions that work under the title

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757 See footnotes 515 and 523 above (under 'Kālikā-p.').
758 For a Ms of this work see Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 187. In this Ms the Bhagavati-purāṇa ends with the following verse:

santy anyānī purāṇānī vistarāṇī purāṇī ca / śrīmad-bhāgavatasyāya na tulyānī me matiḥ //
(This verse is the same as Dbh III. 30.63. The Devī-bhāgavata reads 'bāhūni' for 'purāṇī'.)
759 Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 52-57.
760 Dbh I. 3.17; II. 11.61; II. 12.53; XI. 20.20 (bhāṣya-bhārata-pūrvaṇ ca mahābhārata ity api).
761 For instance, the story of Śuka's birth and meeting with Janaka in Dbh I. 14ff. is based on Mahābhārata, Śanti-parvan, chaps. 324-7, from which the Devī-bhāgavata has taken a few lines.
762 For instance, Dbh I. 14.5, 6b (first half), 7a (second half), 7b, 9b, etc. = Mbh XII. 324.6, 7a (first half), 7b (second half), 8a, 10b, etc.; Dbh VII. 2. 43b-44, 45b, 48b, 52b (first half), 54b, 56a, 58b (first half) = Mbh III. 122. 3-4a, 5b, 7b, 12b (first half), 13b, 14a, 15a (first half); Dbh VII. 3.1b (first half), 9a (first half), 10b, etc. = Mbh III. 122. 19a (first half), 22a (first half), 23a, etc.; and so on.
763 Dbh I. 4.16; IV. 21.10 and 12.
764 Dbh V, chaps. 21-35 are undoubtedly based on the Mārkaṇḍeya-canḍi. At the end of chap. 35 Sūta says: 'tistva kathitaḥ saraḥ purāṇānāṁ munivarāḥ', thus referring to the Mārkaṇḍeya-p.
'Saptaṣatī-stotra',\(^765\) and has, in its story of king Hariścandra as given in Skandha VII, chaps. 18-27, a good number of verses from the relevant chapters of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. It gives the names of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations including the Buddha,\(^766\) and speaks of the Hūnas as living on the banks of the Ganges.\(^767\) It praises the worship of the 'five deities' (pañca-deva),\(^768\) includes 'pañcāyatanas-pūjā' (i.e. the worship of the five deities—Viṣṇu, Śūrya, Gaṅapati, Śiva and Śivā) among the daily duties of the twice-born people,\(^769\) speaks of 'nine' Rasas including 'Śānti-rasa',\(^770\) and knows the ten Mahāvidyās.\(^771\) By its mention of 'people following the Cina-mārga' and of 'the place of Nilasarasvatī in Cina' as 'widely known',\(^772\) it indicates that Tantric Buddhism had spread into China much earlier than the date of its compo-

\(^{765}\) Dbh IX. 50.86—tataḥ saptaṣatī-stotrama deveṇu agre tu sampāthet.

\(^{766}\) Dbh X. 5. 4-15.

\(^{767}\) Dbh IV. 8. 31-32.

\(^{768}\) Dbh IX. 36. 10 and 14.

\(^{769}\) Dbh XI. 17. 35—

pañcāyatanas-pūjām ca tataḥ kuryat samāhitaḥ /
śivāṁ śivām gaṇapatīṁ sūryāṁ viṣṇuṁ tathārcaḥ //

The custom of Pañcāyatanas-pūjā is not of very early origin. For information about this worship see Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 179-180.

\(^{770}\) Dbh V. 24.7—

śrūgāraḥ sarvathā sarvaiḥ prāṇibhiḥ parayā mudā /
svamyo buddhimadbhir navānāṁ uttama yataḥ //

Dbh V. 27. 56-57a—

rasānāṁ ca navānāṁ vai dvāv eva mukhyatāṁ gatau /
śrūgāraḥ sānti-rasā vidvaj-jana-sābbhācu ca //
tayoḥ śrūgāra evādau nrpa-bhāve pratiṣṭhitah //

Dbh V. 27. 60b-61a—

asamāra-rasajñaḥ te vaṁcitā vaṁcana-paraṁ /
madhurālpa-nipunai ratāḥ sānti-rase hi te //

For the recognition of the Quietistic (śānta) as the ninth Rasa, see S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, II, pp. 346ff.

The stage-direction 'sa-nirvedaṁ', used with respect to Jīmūtavāhana in Nāgānanda, Act I (verse 1) tends to show that Harṣavardhana wanted to make Śānta (which has 'nirveda' as its 'sthāyi-bhāva') the predominant sentiment in his drama.

\(^{771}\) Dbh IV. 15. 12. The Benares edition wrongly reads 'mahābindu'- for 'mahāvidyā'.

\(^{772}\) Dbh XII. 8. 3 (cited in footnote 727 above).

Dbh VII. 38. 13—tataḥ nila-sarasvatīḥ sthānāṁ cineṣu viśrutam,
sition. The way in which the Mlecchas\(^{773}\) and the Yavanas\(^{774}\) have been mentioned repeatedly in the Devi-bhāgavata, tends to show that the author of this Purāṇa was quite familiar with the spread of the Muhammadans in India. Devi-bhāgavata VII. 39 is clearly based on Kūrma-p. I. 12, from which it has borrowed a few lines\(^{775}\) and which cannot be dated earlier than 800 A.D. Almost all the chapters of Skandha IX of the Devi-bhāgavata have been taken from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the present Brahma-vaivarta-p.,\(^{776}\) which is a work of Bengal and which, in its present form, cannot be dated earlier than the tenth century A.D.\(^{777}\) Hence the upper limit of the date of the Devi-bhāgavata can by no means be placed earlier than 950 A.D.

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\(^{773}\) Dbh IV. 8. 31 (Mlecchas as living on the banks of the Ganges); IX. 8. 24 (people as following Mlecchaśāra and studying Mlecchaśāstra during the Kali age); IX. 8. 52-53 (all becoming Mlecchas—sārvam mlecchamayam); IX. 33. 104 (a Brahmin, who serves Mlecchas, is condemned to hell—mleccha-sevī māsi-jīvi yo vipro bhārate bhuvī/vaset... maśikunḍe...//).

For mention of Mlecchas see also Dbh IX. 33. 64; 34. 20; and 35. 42.

\(^{774}\) Dbh IX. 33. 45 (yāvanāṃ yonim) and 72 (jātī ca yāvanī).

\(^{775}\) Dbh VII. 39, verses 7a, 8a, 9b, 10a, 11a, 13, 14a, 15a, and 26b-27a = Kūr. I. 12, verses 244a, 244b, 245, 246a, 246b, 249, 251b and 257.

\(^{776}\) The chapters common to the Devi-bhāgavata and the Brahma-vaiwarta-p. II (Prakṛti-khaṇḍa) are as follows:

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<tr>
<td>IX. 1-5</td>
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<td>8-10</td>
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<td>11-12</td>
<td>10 (except verses 40b-57).</td>
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<td>13-17</td>
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<td>18-19</td>
<td>16.</td>
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<td>20-32</td>
<td>17-29 respectively.</td>
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The Devi-bhāgavata omits or changes those verses of the Brahma-vaiwarta-p. in which the Vaiśnavas have been praised. For instance, Bv II. 10. 40b-57 (on the praise of Vaiśnavas) do not occur in the Devi-bhāgavata; for 'kṛṣṇasya paramātmahan' of Bv II. 7. 77, Dbh IX. 8. 75a reads 'śrīdevyāḥ procyate mune'; for 'harer nīmeṣa-mātreṇa' of Bv II. 8. 1, Dbh IX. 9. 1 reads 'devyā nīmeṣa-mātreṇa'; for 'vaiśnāvāya' of Bv II. 16.97, Dbh IX. 18.85 reads 'sādhava'; for the line 'nivasanti hi goloke vaikuṇṭhe va harēḥ pade' occurring in Bv II. 27.53b, Dbh IX. 30.53b reads 'nivasanti mani-dvīpe śrīdevyāḥ parame pade'; and so on.

On the other hand, the Devi-bhāgavata adds here and there a few verses (mainly on the praise of Devi) which have not been taken from the Brahma-vaiwarta-p. For instance, Dbh IX. 29.34 and IX. 33.8-11 do not occur in the Brahma-vaiwarta.

\(^{777}\) Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 166-7.
Again, a Ms of the Devī-bhāgavata is dated Saṃvat 1848.\textsuperscript{778} Šaiva Nilakantha,\textsuperscript{779} a disciple of one Śrīdhara who was different from Śrīdhara-svāmin, the famous commentator of the Bhāgavata-p., wrote his well-known commentary Tilaka on the Devī-bhāgavata not earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century A.D., and this commentary has been printed in the Bombay and Bengal editions of this work. The Śivārcanā-dipikā, which was written later than the first half of the seventeenth century A.D., draws upon the Devī-bhāgavata.\textsuperscript{780} Going to prove the authenticity of the Bhāgavata-p. in the introductory portion of his commentary on the same, Śrīdhara-svāmin makes a remark which tends to indicate that in his days attempts had already begun to be made to establish the reputation of the Devī- bhāgavata as the real Bhāgavata-p.\textsuperscript{781} In his commentary on the Dharma-saṁhitā of the Šiva-p., Gaṅgādhara quotes

\textsuperscript{778} See footnote 650 (xi) above.

\textsuperscript{779} In his introduction to his commentary Tilaka Nilakaṇṭha informs us that he had the surname ‘Śaiva’ (śaivopanāmaka), that he was born in a family of Śaivas (śaiva-kulotpanna), and that both his father Ranganātha and mother Lakṣmī were staunch followers of Āgamic Śaivism (desikottama). He names Kāśinātha and Śrīdhara among his teachers (guru) and says that he was induced by one Ratnaji to write the Tilaka on the Devī-bhāgavata which was going without a commentary (vyākhyāna-rāhita).

Śaiva Nilakantha’s mention of Śrīdhara as one of his teachers has led Farquhar to take this Śrīdhara to be the same as Śrīdhara-svāmin, the famous commentator of the Bhāgavata-p. (see Farquhar, Outline, p. 359). But the identification is perfectly wrong. Śrīdhara-svāmin flourished between 1350 and 1450 A.D. (see ABORI, XXX, 1949, pp. 277-283; Farquhar, Outline, pp. 231, 269, 297, etc.; S. K. De, Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement, p. 13; ABORI, XIV, 1932-33, p. 168; and so on), whereas Śaiva Nilakantha, who names Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (circa 1565-1672 A.D.—see ABORI, XXX, 1949, pp. 326-331) as the author of the Sarva-śatārātha-saṃgraha and Nāgoji-bhaṭṭa (1700-1750 A.D.) as a Dharmaśāstra-writer (see Tilaka, p. 1b), cannot be placed earlier than 1750 A.D.

Our Šaiva Nilakantha must be distinguished from Nilakantha, the famous commentator of the Mahābhārata. The latter was born of Govinda Śūri and Phullambikā and was a Brahmin scholar of Mahārāstra. He wrote his commentary on the Mahābhārata at Benares in the last quarter of the seventeenth century A.D.—See Mahābhārata (ed. V. S. Sukthankar, Poona), Adi-parvan, Prolegomena, p. LVX, and P. K. Gode’s Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol. II, pp. 476-478; also Printz, “Bhāṣā-wörter, in Nilakantha’s Bhārata-bhāva-dīpā”, Einleitung, KZ. 44. 77ff.

\textsuperscript{779} ASB Ms No. 2187, fol. 14a.—See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, No. 2853, p. 866.

\textsuperscript{780} See Śrīdhara-svāmin’s commentary on Bhāgavata-p. I. 1. 1. It is to be noted that the Devī-bhāgavata begins with a Gāyatrī, contains the stories of the killing of Hayagrīva, Vyṭra and others, deals elaborately with Dharma, and consists of 12 Skandhas and 18000 verses.
from ‘Padma-p., chap. 19’ a line (also quoted in Śaiva Nilakantha’s commentary Tilaka on the Devi-bhāgavata) which includes the Devi-bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas. The name of the Devi-bhāgavata occurs in the verse

‘devi-bhāgavatam nityam pathed bhaktyā samāhitah / navarātre viśeṣena śridevi-prītaye mudā //’

which was derived by Śaiva Nilakantha from Maheśa Ṭhakkura’s Durgā-pradīpa in which this verse was ascribed to the Devi-yāmala. These show that the Devi-bhāgavata must have preceded Śrīdhara-svāmin and others by a few centuries. Hence it cannot be dated later than 1200 A.D. Although the Devi-yāmala has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka and is thus a fairly early work, we cannot push the lower limit of the date of the Devi-bhāgavata much farther up, because, in the absence of any Ms of the Devi-yāmala, we are not sure that the said verse really belonged to this work. On the other hand, it is much more probable that, like the line ‘śaivam ādipūranaṃ ca devi-bhāgavatam tathā’ (which has been ascribed to the Padma-p. by Gangādhara and Śaiva Nilakantha but is not found in the present text of that work) and many others (including those mentioned in connection with Durgā-pūjā towards the beginning of this Chapter), the above verse was

\[782\] Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 3550, p. 289—

\[783\] Iti parigaṇañād iti cēna//...//

(See also Śaiva Nilakantha’s commentary Tilaka, p. 1b—

tathā pādme bhāgavata-māhātmye ekonavimśe ‘dhyāye upapuruṣeṣu ‘śaivam ādipūranaṃ ca devi-bhāgavatam tathā’ iti /

The line ‘śaivam ādipūranaṃ ca etc.’ does not occur in the chapters on Bhāgavata-māhātmya in the Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-p.).

\[784\] See Tilaka, p. 3b—

tathā—‘devi-bhāgavatam nityam pathed bhaktyā samāhitah /

navarātre viśeṣena śridevi-prītaye mudā //’

iti maheśa-ṭhakkura-krta-durgāpradīpa-dhṛta-deviyāmala-vacanena /

\[785\] Ahnika III, p. 82 (verse 70), and Ahnika VIII, pp. 12 (verse 16) and 149 (verse 212).
only a later creation made with a definite purpose. The lines ‘purāṇaṃ bhāgavatam dauṛgaṃ nandi-proktam tathaiva ca’ and ‘saivaṃ bhāgavatam dauṛgaṃ bhavisyottaram eva ca’, ascribed by Śaiva Nilakaṇṭha to the ‘Guruḍa Tattva-rahasya’ and the ‘Pādma’ Purāṇa respectively,784 may be taken to mean the earlier Kālikā-p. or the Bhāgavati-p., which, as we have already seen, was looked upon by some as the real Bhāgavata. The value of these lines as well as the verses quoted by Śaiva Nilakaṇṭha from the Āditya-p., Śiva-p. (Uma-samhita), etc.785 dwindles to nothing when we find that the Devi-bhāgavata itself mentions the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata and includes it among the Upapurāṇas, thus presupposing this work and giving itself out as its younger rival.

From what has been said above it is highly probable that the Devi-bhāgavata was compiled in the eleventh or twelfth

784 See Tilaka, p. 1b—

tathā gaurude tattva-rahasye dvitiyamśe dharmāṅke prathamādhyāye

... uktam

‘purāṇaṃ bhāgavatam dauṛgaṃ nandi-proktam tathaiva ca /
pāupatyaṃ rānukaṃ ca bhairavaṃ ca tathaiva ca /’

iti /.../ tathā pādme śakuna-pariksāyāṃ

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vāraṇaṃ brahmavaivartaṃ śakuneṣu praśasyate /

saivaṃ bhāgavatam dauṛgaṃ bhavisyottaram eva ca /’ iti /

The last verse (vāraṇaṃ brahmavaivartaṃ etc.) is the same as Padma-p. (Patañjali-khaṇḍa 1)100.53.

785 These verses are the following :

(1) āditya-purāṇe raktasura-vadha-prastāve

‘yā jaghne mahiṣaṃ daityaṃ krūrama vrtrāṣuraṃ tathā /
sādyā raktāṣuraṃ hatvā svārāṣaṃ te pradāyaṃ /’

iti vacanam /...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ......

anantaraṃ ca tatraiva purāṇa-dāṇa-prastāve

‘dādītī sūrya-bhaktāya yas tu bhāgavatam dvijā /
sarva-pāpa-vinirmuktaḥ sarva-vyādhi-vivarjitaḥ /
jived varṣa-satam sāgramante vaivasvataṃ padam /’

iti paṭhitam /

(2) kiṃ ca śiva-purāṇe umā-samhitaśīyaṃ

‘brahmaṇe samstutaḥ seyaṃ madhu-kaṇṭhabha-nāśane /

mahāvidyā jagad-dhātri sarva-vidyā-ādhidivaṭa /

dvādaśyāṃ phālgunasyaiva śuklāyāṃ samabhun nṛpa /’

iti vacanāt phālguna-suklā-dvādaśyāṃ desyaḥ udbhavas tad-dine eva sāravata-kalpo-dhbhavaḥ, tad uktam hemādравa kalpa-śraddha-prakaraṇe nāgara-khaṇḍe

‘sāravatas tu dvādaśyāṃ śuklāyāṃ phālgunasya ca’ iti /

And so on.
century A.D. Farquhar takes this Purāṇa to belong to the period ranging from 900 to 1350 A.D. This date of compilation of this work is fully supported by its Tantric elements as well as by the non-utilisation of its contents by the commentators and Nibandha-writers.

T. N. Ramachandran places the date of the Devi-bhāgavata ‘not later than the 6th century A.D.’ by taking the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa’s penance, as given in ‘Devi-bhāgavata, Skandha IV, adhyāyas 5-10’, to be the basis of the scenes of penance of these two sages in the eastern niche of the Gupta temple of Deogarh in the Jhansi district. As the relief is of considerable antiquity, being dated ‘about 600 A.D.’ by Coomaraswamy and in ‘the second half of the 5th century A.D.’ by Smith and Codrington, and as an unduly early date for the Devi-bhāgavata means not only the same for the state of religion and society reflected in it but also a better claim of this work to the status of a genuine Mahāpurāṇa than that of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata, which some scholars are inclined to date not earlier than the 8th century A.D., it is necessary to compare the story of the Devi-bhāgavata with the said relief a little more carefully to see whether this story can be taken as the basis of the relief and whether the date of compilation of the Devi-bhāgavata can thus be pushed up to such an early period.

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786 Farquhar, Outline, p. 269.
787 See IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 191-6.
788 As a matter of fact, the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa’s creation of Urvasī is narrated in Dbh IV, 5-6, 7 (verses 1-16), and 17, the intervening verses and chapters being given to other matters (such as the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa’s fight with Prahlāda) which were introduced by way of exemplifying the bad effects of ahamkāra (pride).
789 A. K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 80.

Wilson, Mardonnell, Colebrooke and Burnouf date the Bhāgavata-p. in the 13th century A.D.
In order to explain some of the figures in the said relief Ramachandran gives a short summary of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story of the Devī-bhāgavata, but as his summary suffers from omission of facts and unwarranted stretch of imagination, we briefly narrate the story below with all its notable points. This story, as given in Devī-bhāgavata IV. 5-7 and 17, is as follows:

Brahmā’s son Dharma was born from his father’s heart. Dharma married Dakṣa’s daughters and had four sons named Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Of these, the first two took to Yoga practices and the last two, who are said to be parts of Viṣṇu, went to Vadariṅkāśrama in the Prāleyādri (Himalayas) and practised severe austerities there on the bank of the Gaṅgā for full one thousand years. The thousand-eyed Śakra got frightened at their activities. He came down to the Gandhamādana mountain by riding his elephant and tried to allure the two sages by offering to grant the best boon to them. As the latter could not be moved from their meditation, Śakra took to his magic power (mohini māyā) and created wolves, lions and tigers and then rain, wind and fire for terrifying them. Finding that none of his attempts proved effective to the sages who were meditating on Ādi-śakti Mahāvidyā as well as on the Vāg-bija, Kāma-bija and Māyā-bija, Śakra (also called Indra) returned to heaven and sent Kāma (Cupid) with Rati, Vasanta (Spring), and the Apsaras as such as Rambḥā and Tilottamā to divert the sages (—chap. 5). Vasanta first made his appearance in the mountain, with the result that Āmra, Vakula, Tilaka, Kimśuka, Madhuka and other trees and creepers were in full bloom, cuckoos gave out their sweet notes from tree-tops, the gentle southern breeze began to blow, and all creatures were smitten with passionate love for their beloved. Next, Kāma, with Rati and his five arrows fully prepared, took his abode in Vadariṅkāśrama, and Rambḥā, Tilottamā and other Apsaras began to sing sweet songs. The sudden appearance of the spring season in all its splendour did not fail to attract the notice of the sages, but the latter, though astonished, could easily discover the machination of Indra
behind all these unexpected happenings. As soon as the sages looked at the well-dressed nymphs, who were 8050 in number,\footnote{Dbb IV. 6.28.} the latter bowed down to them, stood in their front, and sang love-exciting songs. The sages, however, were not moved. Nārāyaṇa calmly received the nymphs as guests. In order to show the power of his penance he struck his thigh with his palm and created a perfectly beautiful female who was called Urvaśī due to her birth from Nārāyaṇa's thigh (uru) and was looked upon with wonder by the nymphs sent by Śakra. Next, for service of these nymphs Nārāyaṇa brought into being the same number of extremely beautiful females, who put the celestial nymphs to confusion. Being struck with wonder to see the power of penance the celestial nymphs eulogised the sages, admitting their own folly and giving out that they had come there not to serve them but to accomplish the work of Śatakramu. The sages were pleased at their eulogy. They asked the nymphs to return to heaven, taking Urvaśī as a present from them to Maghavat (Indra). But the nymphs refused to go to heaven and wanted to have Nārāyaṇa as their husband. They earnestly requested Nārāyaṇa to send Urvaśī and the other females created by him to heaven and to allow 1650 of them to remain there to serve him and his brother. But Nārāyaṇa did not like to spoil his fame and austerities by giving indulgence to sexual passion (—chap. 6). He refused to have them as wives and intended to ward them off by taking to anger. Being, however, prevented by Nara from doing so (—chap. 7), Nārāyaṇa attained tranquillity of mind, explained the impossibility of what they wanted from him, and assured them that he would become their husband in the 28th Dvāpara when he would be born again for the accomplishment of the work of gods and the nymphs would be born as daughters of different kings. Feeling relieved at the words of Nārāyaṇa the nymphs returned to heaven and informed Indra of the whole situation. Indra was highly pleased with the sage and praised him at the sight of Urvaśī (—chap. 17).
In the summary of the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa given above, the following points are to be specially noted:

(i) In his second attempt to divert the sages by terrorising them Śakra is said to have created wolves, lions and tigers by means of his magic power, there being no mention of deer anywhere in the whole story.

(ii) There is nothing in the Devī-bhāgavata which may indicate that the wild beasts created by Śakra were ‘subdued’ by the sages.

(iii) Cuckoos are said to have given out sweet notes from tree-tops with the appearance of Vasanta in the Gandhamādana mountain.

(iv) Kāma is said to have taken his position in Vadarikāśrama with Rati and his five arrows, there being no mention of Kāma’s bow.

(v) Nymphs, and no Gandharvas, are said to have been sent with Kāma to divert the sages.

(vi) Nārāyaṇa is said to have created not only Urvaśī but also a large number of beautiful females for attending upon the celestial nymphs sent by Śakra.

(vii) The nymphs from heaven, and not Urvaśī, are said to have eulogised the sages, and there is nothing in the whole story to indicate that Urvaśī bowed down or in any way paid respect to the sages before leaving for heaven.

(viii) There is no mention of the presence either of any sages (other than Nara and Nārāyaṇa) or of Brahmā and other gods and goddesses in the hermitage.

The said Deogarh relief, on the other hand, has the following peculiarities:

(i–ii) It contains the figure of a single lion crouching indifferently with its front legs crossed in a pose of non-

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794 The relevant verses of the Devī-bhāgavata are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tato vai mohiniṃ māyāṃ cakāra bhayadāṃ vrñabh} & // \\
\text{vṛkāṃ śīśhām ca vyāghrām ca samutpādyābhīṣayat} & / \\
\text{vitraṃ vātam tathā vahiniṃ samutpādaḥ punāḥ punāḥ} & // \\
\text{bhīṣayāmāsa tau śakro māyāṃ kṛtvā vimohinīm} & /
\end{align*}
\]

Devī-bhāgavata IV, 5.25b-27a.

795 It is to be noted that the face of the lion is turned away from the deer and his eyes are closed.
violence and also those of three deer lying at ease with an air of complete safety and tameness very near to the lion, to which they form a very favourite food. The presence of these two kinds of animals very near to each other without the least expression of violence in the one or fear in the others, clearly gives out the spirit of Ahiṃsā (non-violence) prevailing all around the two sages. It cannot be taken to indicate the submission of ferocious beasts sent by Śakra, because in that case the presence of a single ferocious beast (viz., lion) and three timid and innocent animals (viz., deer) lying unconcerned near it, cannot be explained satisfactorily.

(iii) There is no figure of any bird in the relief.

(iv) The male and female figures hovering to the right of Nārāyaṇa (the four-handed sage) must be those of Kāma and Rati. But Kāma has in his hand the stringless rod of the flowery bow (which indicates his absolute powerlessness), whereas according to the Devī-bhāgavata Kāma appeared in Vadarikāśrama with Rati and his five arrows.

(v) Of the two human figures hovering to the left of Nara (the two-handed sage) the male one is rather obscure and may be that of Vasanta. It is more probable that this male figure is that of a Gandharva carrying some musical instrument (Vasanta being represented in the relief by vernal beauty noticeable in the trees); and the female one, reclining beside him and showing signs of utter helplessness and disappointment, must be that of a celestial nymph who not only failed to tempt the sages but was discomfited by Urvaśī’s matchless beauty. These two seem to have been meant for representing the multitude of Gandharvas and Apsarases who came from heaven to divert the sages.

(vi) The female figure hovering between the two sages must be that of Urvaśī, but beside her there are no figures of any other females who might represent those created by Nārāyaṇa for attending upon the celestial nymphs sent by Indra.

(vii) It is Urvaśī (and not the celestial nymphs, as said in the Devī-bhāgavata story) who pays respect to Nārāyaṇa with folded palms.
(viii) The two human figures standing behind Nara and Nārāyaṇa are undoubtedly those of two sages meant for representing the large number of sages who used to come to Vadarikāśrama to visit Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

From the above-mentioned peculiarities of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story of the Devī-bhāgavata on the one hand and the Deogarh relief on the other, it will be evident that the story has more points of difference from the relief than those of agreement with it. So, it can never be taken to be the source of the relief. As a matter of fact, this story comes from a very late period and is a definitely later version, with certain striking innovations and mention of Ādi-śakti and Tantric Bijas, than that found in Vāmana-p., chaps. 6-7, with which the Devī-bhāgavata has a good number of verses in common. As the present Vāmana-p. cannot be dated earlier than 700 A.D., the Devī-bhāgavata must have been written later than at least 750 A.D.

It is difficult to say at present what exactly formed the basis of the Deogarh relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa. The story of the Vāmana-p. to which we have already referred, does not mention any wild animals or sages (other than Nara and Nārāyaṇa) being present in the hermitage, nor does it say that Kandarpa (Cupid) was accompanied by Rati or that Rambhā, whom Śatakratu sent with Kandarpa and Mādhava (Spring) to disturb Nara and Nārāyaṇa, had with her any other Apsaras or Gandharva. There is also no mention of Urvasī’s paying respect to her creator before leaving for heaven.

A story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa is also found in the Skanda-p., Revā-khaṇḍa, chaps. 192-193. Although this story mentions ‘lions, tigers and other wild beasts as leaving off their ferocity and moving about in the mountain with deer’706 it contains a number of other peculiarities which go definitely against its being the source of the relief.

Accounts of the penance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa as occurring in the Mahābhārata, Viṣṇudharmottara, and some

706 simha-vyāgrādayah saumyāś cerub saha mṛgair girau./ 192. 15a.
other works, do not meet all the points in the relief. So, it is probable that the sculptor of the relief used some early Purānic or epic story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, which is now lost to us; or he derived his ideas from various sources then available to him, one of these sources being the Mahābhārata.

As regards the provenance of the Devi-bhāgavata, there are several indications which appear to connect this work with Bengal. These are as follows:

(1) The Devi-bhāgavata contains a number of words and expressions which are clearly based on their parallels in Bengali, viz.,

(a) some un-Sanskritic idioms such as

‘...dūṣaṇam kasya diyate’—Dbh I.17.24 (—cf. the colloquial Bengali expression—‘kār dōṇh ṛṣṭ’—‘whom shall I blame?’—note the use of the sixth case-ending in ‘kār’),

‘...te sphiṭayişyāmi mūrdhānaṃ’—Dbh IV.9.18 (—cf. Bengali—‘tār māṣa kāṭa’—‘I shall break your head’),

‘...taṇ vaśam kuru’—Dbh IV.12.21 (—cf. Bengali—‘tāk vṛṣa kāṭ’—‘win over him’),

‘nāham grhaṃ kariṣyāmi’—Dbh I.15.1 (—cf. Bengali—‘vāṃ prāsh karv na’—‘I shall not marry,’ or ‘I shall not become a house-holder’),

‘māna-cūraṇam kariṣyāmi tava...’—Dbh IX.29.30 (—cf. Bengali—‘vīmaṁ māṇ prun ṛṣṭ’—‘I shall crush your pride’);

(b) the word ‘nikaṭa’ used generally with the seventh case-ending in the sense of ‘to’ or ‘near’—

jātau pramuditaus kāmaṃ nikaṭe gamanāya ca
—Dbh III.4.4. (cf. Bengali—‘nikaṭe gatn karvār jānav...’),

yakṣasya nikaṭe gatvā prashaṭavyam kas tvam ity api
—Dbh XII.8.23 (cf. Bengali—‘vātermin nikaṭe vaiṣya...’);

(c) the word ‘nā’ (meaning ‘not’) used with the root ‘kr’ in the sense of refusing—

kathāṃ karom nā-kāraṃ...—Dbh VII.20.3 (cf. the colloquial Bengali expression—‘nā’ kār kēmaṇ karṇa’—‘how can I refuse?’);
(d) the word ‘ai’ (meaning ‘yonder’ or ‘there’) used in shouting out of fear—
ai ai iti bhayārtena dṛṣṭvā vyāghrādikāṃ vane
—Ddbh III. 9. 43;
(e) the word ‘he’ used in place of ‘bhoḥ’—
he nirlajje he sakāme svāmi-garvaṃ karosī kim
—Ddbh IX. 6. 29,
dattaḥ samucitaḥ sāpo mahyaṃ māttāya he prabho
—Ddbh IX. 40. 45;
(f) the word ‘svikāra’ used in the sense of ‘consent’ or ‘promise’—
brahmaṇo vacanaṃ śrūtvā jñāneṣo jñāniniṃ varaḥ /
gāṇgā-toyam kare kṛtvā svikāraṃ ca cakāra saḥ //
......
veda-sāraṃ kariṣyāmi pratijñā-pālanāya ca //
—Ddbh IX. 12. 72-74,
brahmaṇo vacanaṃ śrūtvā svicakāra ca sasmitā
—Ddbh IX. 13.119,
tulasīṃ svakare kṛtvā svikāraṃ yo na rakṣati
—Ddbh IX. 24.26,
śālagrama-śilam dhṛtvā svikāraṃ yo na pālayet
—Ddbh IX. 24. 90,
rāja cakāra svikāraṃ pūjārtham ca priyavrataḥ
—Ddbh IX. 46. 42;
(g) the words ‘prathame’ and ‘pare’ (with the seventh case-ending) in the sense of ‘at first’ and ‘afterwards’ respectively—
kena vā pūjitā loke prathame kaiś ca vā pare
—Ddbh IX. 26.2,
brahmaṇā veda-janani prathame pūjitā mune
—Ddbh IX. 26.3,
prathame pūjitā sā ca śaṁkareṇa parātpara
—Ddbh IX. 47. 7,
prathame pūjitā devi śīvena ...... ......
—Ddbh IX. 47.33,
prathame pūjitā sā ca kṛṣṇena ...... —Ddbh IX. 48. 22;
(h) peculiar ungrammatical compounds still used in Bengal—
sā ca bhūmiṣṭha-kālena jñānayuktā babhūva ha—Dbh IX. 16. 4 (the Benares ed. wrongly reads ‘bhūyiṣṭha’), veda-dhvanim cakāra sā jāta-mātreṇa kanyakā—Dbh IX. 16.5, jāta-mātreṇa susnātā jagāma tapase vanam—Dbh IX. 16. 6, vipro daivajñajivi ca vaidyajivi cikitsakaḥ / ... ... yāti narakam ghoraṃ ... ... ... ... —Dbh IX. 35. 55, ... svāmi-garvanī karosi kim / adhikam svāmi-saubhāgyaṃ vijñāpayītum icchasi /// —Dbh IX. 6. 29;
(i) the word ‘dvārā (used at the end of a compound) in the sense of ‘with’ or ‘by’—
tāṃ vārtāṃ presayāmāsa dūta-dvārāmarāvatim
—Dbh XI. 15.51.

[It is to be noted that although many of the instances given above occur in Skandha IX, which, as we have already seen, consists mostly of chapters derived from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the present Brahma-vaivarta, there are a few which have been taken from other Skandhas.]

(2) The Devī-bhāgavata regards ‘kṣ’ as a separate ‘varṇa’ like ‘a’, ‘a’ etc.—

In Dbh III. 30. 37 the letters of the alphabet have been said to begin with ‘a’ and end in ‘kṣ’ (a-kārādi-kṣa-kārāntaiḥ svarair varnaiś ca yojitaiḥ / asaṃkhyaeyānī nāmāni ... ///); and in Dbh XII. 6. 10-154 Devī’s one thousand and eighty names have been arranged alphabetically from ‘a’ to ‘kṣ’.

(3) The Devī-bhāgavata mentions the Padmāvatī (modern Padmā) as a holy river in many of its verses, and gives a long story to show that this river (Padmāvatī) is a part of Lakṣmī come down to the earth and is therefore as sacred as the Gaṅgā.\(^797\)

(4) It praises ‘Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala’ (in Kāmarūpa) as the best holy place.\(^798\)

\(^797\) See Dbh IX, chaps. 6-8; 13. 3; 30. 48.
\(^798\) Dbh VII. 38, 15-18—
śrīmat-tripurahairavyāḥ kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍalām / bhūmaṇḍale kṣetra-ratnam mahāmāyādhirāvastam ///
nātaḥ parataraṃ sthānaṃ kvacid asti dharātate / pratimāsaṃ bhaved devī yatra sāksād rajasvala ///
tatratāyā devatāḥ sarvāḥ parvatāmakaṭām gatiḥ / parvateṣu vasanty eva mahatya devatā api ///
(5) It mentions the word 'puñgi' several times and takes it to mean those unchaste women who are guilty of adultery for the seventh or eighth time.\(^{799}\)

[It is to be noted that the word 'puñgi' is very popularly used in Eastern Bengal in the expressions 'पुङ्जीर भार' (brother of a 'puñgi') and 'पुङ्जीर पुत्र' (son of a 'puñgi'), which are applied there as terms of rustic abuse.]

(6) Just like the Mahābhāgavata and the Bhṛaddharmap. (which are undoubtedly works of Bengal) the Devi-bhāgavata refers to and describes the story of Rāma's worship of Durgā for killing Rāvaṇa.\(^{800}\)

(7) The story of Chāyā-Sitā, as given in Dbh IX. 16. 30ff., resembles, in idea, the story of Chāyā-Satī occurring in Mahābhāgavata, chaps. 11-12.

(8) Like the Mahābhāgavata and the Bhṛaddharmap., the Devi-bhāgavata contains a story of Gaṅgā's origin from the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā liquefied by Śiva's song about Kṛṣṇa (śrī-kṛṣṇa-saṃgīta).\(^{801}\)

(9) In describing, in Devi-bhāgavata XI. 18, the results of bathing Devi with various articles during her special worship, the author of the Devi-bhāgavata mentions 'paunḍreksu-rasa' saying: "One, who bathes Maheśānī with a hundred pitchers full of juice of sugarcanes growing in Paunḍra, is not born again."\(^{802}\)

It is to be noted that in the Devi-bhāgavata there is no mention of sugarcanes growing in any other place.

(10) Like the Mahābhāgavata, Bhṛaddharmap. and other works of Bengal, the Devi-bhāgavata speaks of the
creation of *siddha-pithas* by the fall of Sati’s limbs severed by Viṣṇu and of Śiva’s making Dakṣa goat-faced.⁸⁰³

(11) Goddess Maṅgala-cañḍī has been praised as one of the forms of Devī and her worship advocated in Devī-bhāgavata IX. 1. 83ff. and IX. 47.1-37.

[Maṅgala-cañḍī figured as a prominent deity in Mediaeval Bengal, so much so that a good number of poetical works called Cañḍi-maṅgala-kāvya was written there on her origin and exploits.]

(12) The observance of the ‘five parvans,’ viz., Kṛṣṇa-janmāśṭami, Rāma-navami, Śiva-rātri, Ekādaśī and Rāvīvāra, has been highly praised in Dbh IX. 34. 46-47, and these ‘five parvans’, are particularly observed in Bengal even at the present day.

(13) A study of the Mahābhāgavata, Brhadārāṇyaka-p., and other works of Bengal shows that the people of this province had a very low opinion about Kīkāṭa (Magadha). In the Devī-bhāgavata also Kīkāṭa is referred to as an unholy country.⁸⁰⁴

Against the above evidences may be adduced a few others which tend to show that the Devī-bhāgavata was written outside Bengal. These evidences are as follows:

(1) Mss of the Devī-bhāgavata are very rare in Bengal. The great majority of the Mss of this work, hitherto discovered, was found in provinces other than Bengal.

(2) Unlike the Mahābhāgavata and the Brhadārāṇyaka-p., the Devī-bhāgavata says that Rāma performed the ‘Navarātra-vrata’. The procedure of this Vrata, as given in this work,⁸⁰⁵ agrees with that followed in Western and Southern

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⁸⁰³ Dbh VII. 30.

In Bhāgavata-p. IV. 2. 22-23 and 7.3 Dakṣa has been mentioned as ‘goat-faced’ (vasta-mukha, aja-mukha). But in this work the reason for such change of Dakṣa’s face has been given as Nandikeśvara’s curse, and there is no mention of the creation of *Siddha-pitha*.

⁸⁰⁴ Dbh IV. 8. 28—tathā malina-cittanāṁ gaṅgāpi kīkāṭādhiḥ ṛkā: XI. 13.20—kīkāṭesv api desēṣu . . . . . . .

⁸⁰⁵ Dbh III. 26ff.; V. 34,
India but is quite different from the method of Durgā-pūjā described in the Mahābhāgavata and the Brhadādharma-p. and followed in present-day Bengal.

(3) Though, like the works of Bengal, the Devī-bhāgavata (VII. 30) speaks of the creation of ‘siddha-pithas’ by the fall of Sati’s limbs, it gives the number of these pithas as 108 and not 51, as traditional in Bengal and Assam. Moreover, of these 108 siddha-pithas it is only ‘Pundāravardhana’ which is situated in Bengal, the rest belonging mostly to the western part of Northern India. The list of these 108 holy places, which the Devī-bhāgavata calls ‘siddha pithas’, has been taken from the Matsya (or the Padma-p.) and not from any work of Bengal.

(4) None of those scholars who supported the claim of the Devī-bhāgavata to be the real Bhāgavata-p., belonged to Bengal. Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Durjana-mukha-capaṭikā, was an inhabitant of Benares. Śaiva Nilakanṭha, who wrote the commentary Tilaka on the Devī-bhāgavata, was a non-Bengali. So also was Gaṅgādhara, who, in his commentary on the Dharma-saṁhitā of the Śiva-p., quotes, from the ‘Padma-p.’, a line which includes the Devī-bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas. The Śivārccana-dīpikā, which draws upon the Devī-bhāgavata, is a non-Bengal work.

(5) Most of the holy places and rivers, mentioned in the Devī-bhāgavata, belong to Northern India. Except Pundāravardhana, Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, Kāmākhyā-yonimandala and the river Padmāvatī, none of the holy places and rivers of Bengal have been mentioned in this work.

(6) According to Devī-bhāgavata VIII. 24. 36ff., Devi is to be worshipped in a Madhūka tree on the Śukla-trtiya Tithi of every month from Caitra; and Devī-bhāgavata III. 20. 56 refers to the decoration of the bride with a ‘madhūka-mālā’ at the time of marriage. The ‘Bubūla’ tree, mentioned in Devī-bhāgavata VI. 27. 10, is unknown in Bengal.

Further, the Devī-bhāgavata praises Benares as the best
place of residence for a Devi-worshipper\textsuperscript{806} and says that king Subâhu first worshipped Durgâ at Benares and that it was from this place that the worship of this deity spread out among the members of different castes in different parts of India.\textsuperscript{807}

From all the evidences adduced above we may conclude that the author of the Devi-bhāgavata was a Smārta Śākta Brahmin of Bengal and that he migrated to Benares (probably because it was the best place of residence for a Devi-worshipper), lived there for a long time, and then wrote the Devi-bhāgavata. The repeated mention and praise of Puṣkara in the Devi-bhāgavata need not be taken to go against the above conclusion. The reason for such mention and praise is as follows. The author of the Devi-bhāgavata tried to popularise the Vedas as authorities in all matters as well as to infuse Śākta ideas into the followers of the Śrauta and Smārta religions. So, he deified gāyatrī, the soul of the Vedas, and made her a partial incarnation of Devi and the Śakti of Brahmā. Consequently, he had also to praise Puṣkara, which was sacred to Brahmā.

The author of the Devi-bhāgavata seems to have been a well-read scholar. He mentions the Sāma-veda (Dbh XI. 20. 49), Yajurveda (Dbh XI. 19.13), Atharva-veda (Dbh VI. 2. 33), ‘Jāvāla-śruti’ (Dbh XI. 5. 18), Mahābhārata,\textsuperscript{808} Kāma-śāstra,\textsuperscript{809} ‘Bārhaspatya-praṇīta Śāstra’ (Dbh I. 11. 57), ‘Śaiva-śāstra’,\textsuperscript{810} ‘Śakti-tantras’ (Dbh VII. 40. 12), and the Dharma-śāstras of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others (Dbh I. 4. 16; IV. 21. 12). He utilises the contents of the Kena-upaniṣad\textsuperscript{811} and the Caṇḍi\textsuperscript{812} and plagiarises verses

\textsuperscript{806} Dbh VII. 38. 32b-33a—
\textsuperscript{807} Dbh III. 25. 41-44.
\textsuperscript{808} Dbh XI. 20. 20; II. 11. 61; II. 12. 53.
\textsuperscript{809} Dbh I. 11. 32; V. 11. 21 and 47; so on.
\textsuperscript{810} Dbh VII. 32. 10—
\textsuperscript{811} Dbh XII. 8 (containing the story of Umā Haimavati).
\textsuperscript{812} See footnote 764 above,
from the Śvetāśvatara, Munḍaka, Mahānārāyaṇīya and other Upaniṣads\(^{813}\) as well as from the Bhagavad-gītā,\(^{814}\) the Matsya (or the Padma-p.),\(^{815}\) the Kūrma-p.,\(^{816}\) the Śaiva-sāstras and the Śakti-tantras. He must have studied the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras,\(^{817}\) the Vedāṅgas (such as Śiksā, Kalpa etc.)\(^{818}\) and Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī, from which he quotes the rule ‘vrddhir ād aic’ (Pāṇini 1.1.1).\(^{819}\) In poetics also our author was widely read. He speaks of ‘Rasa’ (especially Śrṅgāra) in many places of his work and refers to ‘the experts in the works on poetics’ (rasa-grantha-vicākṣaṇa).\(^{820}\) Following the rhetoricians he defines ‘Rasa’ thus: kavibhih kathitam śāstre sthāyi bhāvo rasah smṛtaḥ (Dbh. IV. 17. 12), and says that Rati is the sthāyi bhāva of Śrṅgāra-rasa (Dbh. IV. 17. 11). He enumerates the Rasas as nine, actually mentions the Śrṅgāra, Vīra, Hāsa (i.e. Hāṣya), Raudra, Adbhuta and Śānti Rasas, reckons the Śrṅgāra and the ‘Śānti’ as chief of all,\(^{821}\) and speaks of ‘Rasābhāsa’,\(^{822}\) ‘Hāva,’ ‘Vakrokti’,\(^{823}\) etc.

Skandha I of the Devi-bhāgavata contains some proverbial lines, viz., ‘jātasya hi dhruvo mṛtyur dhruvam janma

\(^{813}\) Dbh. VII. 29. 10b-11 = Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad 1. 3a.
\(^{814}\) VII. 34. 34 — 
\(^{815}\) VII. 36. 2-14 = Munḍaka-upaniṣad II. 2. 1-11.
\(^{816}\) VII. 31. 45 = Mahānārāyaṇīya-upaniṣad 6. 3.
\(^{817}\) See Dbh. III. 13. 42b; VII. 34, verses 2, 32-33 and 35; VII. 39. 10 and 22b-23a; and so on.
\(^{818}\) See footnote 683 above.
\(^{819}\) See footnote 775 above.
\(^{819}\) Cf. Dbh. XI. 20. 10— athāto dharma- jijñāsā athāto brhma ity api.
\(^{819}\) Dbh XI. 20. 9.
\(^{820}\) Dbh XI. 20. 8.
\(^{821}\) Dbh. V. 11. 28.
\(^{822}\) Dbh V. 9. 54—śṛṅgāra-vīra-hāsaḥṣa ṛaudr-ādhbutha-ṛasāñvitaḥ. Dbh. V. 24. 7; 27. 56-57a; 27. 60b-61a.—For the texts of these verses see footnote 770 above. See also Dbh V. 30. 18 (for mention of Raudra Rasa) and V. 10. 22 (śṛṅgāra tad viruddhaṁ hi rasa-bhaṅgād bibhemy aham).
\(^{823}\) Dbh V. 23. 33-34—
upāyaḥ dvau praya-vyayaḥ kāniśau suvicāśanaṁ /
sāma-dānāv iti prāhuḥ śṛṅgāra-rasa-kovidaḥ //
bheda praṣyuyamāne 'pi rasābhāsaṁ ca jāyate /
nigrahe rasa-bhaṅgaḥ syāt tasmāt tau dūṣitaṁ buddhaiḥ //
\(^{824}\) Dbh V. 11. 20—
hāvo 'yaṁ mānīnīnāṁ vai tāṁ veitti rasa-vīśitaṁ /
vakroktir eṣa kāminyāṁ priyaṁ prati parīyānam //
mṛtasya ca' (Dbh I. 5. 98), 'aputrasya gatir nāsti svargo naiva ca naiva ca' (Dbh I. 4. 15 and I. 14. 29), 'jālukeva sādā nāri rudhiram pibhiti vai' (Dbh I. 15.18), etc.; and Skandha IX (which must have been written in Bengal) informs us that Daivajñas, Gaṇakas, Vaidyas, Devalas and Rajakas were looked down upon, Asi-jīvins (professional fighters), Masī-jīvins (scribes) and Dhāvakas (washermen) were regarded as sinners, selling of daughters (kanyā-vikraya) was considered as a grave social crime, eating of fish was decried, and Brahmīns were strictly prohibited from rendering service to Śūdras by officiating as priests, carrying their dead bodies, cooking their food, and so on. Females wore an upper and an under garment, used bracelets made of conch-shells and decorated their cheeks with lines of sandalpaste and drops of safron and their nails with red lac (alaktaka).
CHAPTER II

THE NON-SECTARIAN UPAPURĀṆAS

Hinduism is certainly to be extolled for its exceptional catholicity and spirit of religious syncretism, but sectarian rivalry has, from early times, formed a dark blot on its reputation. We sometimes read of the different sectaries reviling each other and belittling each other’s deity and even hear of kings who were guilty of perpetrating religious persecution on the people. Thus, the Māgha-māhātmya, as preserved in the Bengal Mss, records a story of Citrasena, a Kṣatriya king of ‘Drāviḍa viṣaya’, according to which Citrasena ruled over a tract of land lying on the coast of the southern ocean and attained great fame by his performance of Vedic rites and munificence to Brahmins. Once he met some extra-Vedic (veda-bāhya) pāṣāṇḍa Śaivas who had matted hair and besmeared their bodies with ashes. These Śaivas, who were undoubtedly Āgamic, denounced the Vedas and the caste system, excited anti-Vaiṣṇava feelings in Citrasena, and initiated him to their own faith. At the instigation of these Śaivas Citrasena prohibited the worship of Viṣṇu in his realm, ordered his officers to persecute the Vaiṣṇavas, and had the images of Viṣṇu thrown into the ocean. As a result of such tyranny some of his subjects turned Śaivas and others left the country bag and baggage. Equally violent attitude is shown by the Liṅga-p. (I. 107. 41-42) when it declares:

1 It claims to be a part of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-p.
2-3 See Dacca University Mas No. 931 (fols. 44ff., chaps. 10ff.), No. 2332 (fols. 22b ff., chaps. 10 ff.), and No. 2675 (fols. 32b ff., chaps. 21ff.).

In some places of these Mss the name of Citrasena has been given as ‘Citra’ or ‘Mitrasena.’

In the AnSS ed. of the Padma-p. (Uttara-khaṇḍa, chap. 250, verses 1ff.) the story of Citrasena (who is named there simply as ‘Citra’) is given in a concise form.

The Cola king Kulottuṅga I started persecution against the Vaiṣṇavas in 1098 A.D., and Kulottuṅga II, who reigned about 1140 A.D., is said to have uprooted the image of the god Govindarāja (of the Viṣṇu temple at Cidambaram) and thrown it into the sea.
“śrutvā nindāṁ bhavasyātha tatksaṅād eva samṛtyajet /
sva-deham tam niḥatyāśu śiva-lokaṁ sa gacchati //
yo vā cotpāṭayej jihvāṁ śiva-nindā-ratasya tu /
trih-sapta-kulam uddhṛtya śiva-lokaṁ sa gacchati ||”

“That [man], who, after hearing the dispraise of Bhava, at once forsakes his own body after murdering the censurer, passes to the region of Śiva.

“Or, one, who tears out the tongue of a habituated censurer of Śiva, goes to the region of Śiva after delivering twentyone generations.”

It is hardly necessary to say that these excesses were due, on the one hand, to the growing importance of personalised deities or deified persons and their exclusive devotional worship as the best means of attaining final release, and, on the other, to the hazy conception of the principles of Sāmkhya and Vedānta as related to the origin and nature of these deities and a lack of capacity for bringing about a perfect compromise between these principles and the mental discipline required for the practice of unswerving devotion (aikāntikī or avyabhicārinī bhakti) for the realisation of the Self. Fortunately, references to such sectarian excesses are not of frequent occurrence in the Purānic literature, but it can hardly be denied that in spite of high idealism inspired by the Upanisads there were many cases of regrettable outburst of practical narrowness in religious outlook, so much so that these concerned many of our best thinkers and prompted them to devise means for the eradication of these social evils. It was most probably for some such reason that the daily worship of the group of the five deities Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā, which is popularly known as ‘pañcā yatana-pūjā’, was started at a fairly early date, firmly established on a Vedāntic basis, and popularised with great zeal. Tradition adds the credit of inventing this new system of worship very often to Śaṅkarācārya and sometimes to Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, but a study of the Purānic works

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shows that even earlier than the introduction of the pañcāyatana-puṣṭa the worship of a particular deity had to be attended with that of other prominent deities also. For instance, Kūrma-p. II. 18, which is to be dated about the beginning of the eighth century A.D., says that after bath a Brahmin is to worship Brahmā, Śaṃkara, Sūrya, Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) and other favourite deities with the citation of their respective Mantras and the offer of flowers, leaves and water. In Matsya-p., chaps. 266, 52 and 58, which must be dated earlier than 650 A.D., we are told that in erecting an image of any of the deities such as Nandi-mahākāla, Bhṛṅgiriṇī, Guha, Devi, Vināyaka, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Rudra, Śakra, Jayanta, Lokapāla, Apsaras, Gandharvas, Guhyakas, etc., the erector is to think of the rest as surrounding the principal deity, that in worshipping Śiva with the offer of cows, land, gold, clothes, scents, garlands etc. one is to look upon this deity as identical with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Arka (the Sun), the Rudras and the Vasus, that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mārtanda (the Sun), Viṣa-vāhana (Śiva), the eight Vasus, the eleven Gaṇāḍhipas, the Lokapālas, the Pitṛs, the Maṭṛs, and others are to be regarded as the manifestations (vibhūtayāḥ) of Vāsudeva, that the four principal

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1 nisāḍya snāna-vastrāṁ tu samācamya ca vāg-yatāḥ / svair mantrair arcayed devān puṣṭaṁ patrair aṭhāṁbhūhiḥ // brahma-muṣaman śaṃkaram sūryaṁ tathaiva madhusūdanam // anyāṁ cābhimatāṁ devān bhaktyā cākrodhano naraḥ // Kūr. II. 18. 90-91.


3 go-bhū-hiranyaṁ-vāsobhir gandha-māly-odakena ca / pūjayed brahma-viṣṇu arka-rudra-vasv-āṭmakaṁ śivam // Mat. 52. 19.

4 vāsudevo jagan-mūrtis tasya sambhūtayāḥ hy amī // brahma viṣṇu ca bhagavān mārtanda vṛṣa-vāhanaḥ / aṣṭau ca vasvas tadvad ekādasa gaṇāḍhipaḥ / lokapālāḍhipai caiva pitaro mātaraś tathā //
deities, viz., Brahmā, Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Śiva, are to be worshipped without making any distinction between them, and that in consecrating a pool one is to place Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Vināyaka, Kamalā and Ambikā on the alter. From these and similar other statements made in the Purāṇas it is evident that the attempt to create a sense of unity and the spirit of religious toleration among the sects worshipping different deities had begun much earlier than Śaṅkarācārya and Kumārila-bhaṭṭa. That in early times the difference between the various Purāṇic gods was much less than in later days, is shown by the names of the four Saṃhitās of the Kūrma-p., which are given in Kūrma-p. I. 1. 21-23 as Brāhma, Bhāgavati, Sauri and Vaiṣṇavi and are thus connected with the four deities Brahmā, Bhagavati, Sūrya and Viṣṇu respectively. That a similar naming of parts was also made in the earlier form of the present Bhaviśya-p. is shown not only by this Purāṇa itself which claims to have consisted of five Parvans named Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga but also by the Nāradiya-p. (I.

imā vibhūtayaḥ proktāḥ carācara-samanvītāḥ / brahmādyāḥ catuḥ mūlam avyakt-ādhipatiḥ smṛtaḥ // Mat. 52. 20c-22.

brahmaṇaḥ cāthā sūryaṇaḥ viṣṇuṇ-ātha śivena vā / abhedadāt pūjītena syāt pūjitaḥ sa-carācaram // Mat. 52. 23.

vedyāś copari ........ ...... ...... ...... ...... / .... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... / ..

brahmāṇaḥ ca śivaṃ viṣṇuṇaḥ tatraiva śhāpayed budhāḥ / vināyakaṃ ca vinyasa kamaṃ ambikāṃ tathā /

sānty-arthaṁ sarva-lokānāṁ bhūta-grāmaṁ nyaset tataḥ // Mat. 58. 23-27.

The contents of these four Saṃhitās, as given in Nāradiya-p. I. 106. 1-22, show that the Brāhma Saṃhitā, as known to this Purāṇa, consisted of 6000 verses and was exactly the same as the extant Kūrma-p., that the Bhāgavati Saṃhitā, which was termed 'Pañca-padi' for its five Pādas or parts, contained 4000 verses and dealt, separately in these five parts, with the means of livelihood of the Brahmiṣas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiṣyas, Śūdras, and the mixed castes, that the Sauri Saṃhitā had an extent of 2000 verses and consisted of six parts dealing with the 'six acts' (ṣāt-karma), viz., vaśikaraṇa, māraṇa, ucēṭana, etc., and that the Vaiṣṇavi Saṃhitā consisted of 5000 verses and four Pādas dealing with mokṣa-dharma for the twice-born people.

The above contents of the four Saṃhitās point definitely to a late age and do not appear to represent the Kūrma-p. in its original form.

See Bhav. I. 2. 2-3.
100), which differs from the Bhaviṣya only in that it names the ‘Tvāṣṭra’ Parvan as ‘Saura’. According to Nārādiya-p. I. 105 the Vāmana-p. consisted of two parts, of which the second was divided into four Saṃhitās, of which the first was associated with Kṛṣṇa and his worshippers, the second with Devi and her incarnations, the third with the Sun-god, and the fourth with Gāṇeṣa. From the nature of these and similar other Purāṇas it is evident that a broad and liberal outlook characterised a number of the early Purāṇas which did not attach themselves to any particular sect but inculcated with equal zeal the worship of the different deities of the Hindu pantheon. These works aimed chiefly at creating harmony among the rival sects and organising them mainly against the heresies by infusing their ideas, rites and practices with Brahmanical elements. The tradition of catholicity, set up by these mostly lost Purāṇas, has found appreciative expression in many places, but of the extant Purāṇic works it is only the Bhaviṣyottara and the Bṛhadārṇava-p. which are found to carry this tradition into practice. In order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of these works we shall examine and analyse them below.

1. The Bhaviṣyottara.

Though the Mss\(^1\) of the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’, which have

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\(^1\) For Mss. of the Bhaviṣyottara see—

[No. 76.—This is a Devanāgarī Ms beginning from Bhav. IV (Uttara-parvan). 1.4 and containing, among others, the following chapters which are not found in the Uttara-parvan of the printed Bhaviṣya:
Chaps. 166 (on guda-dhenu-dāna), 167 (on kaśṇa-dhenu-dāna), 168 (on dadhi-dhenu-dāna), 169 (on madhu-dhenu-dāna), 170 (on śarkara-dhenu-dāna), 171 (on phala-dhenu-dāna), 172 (on kārāṇa-dhenu-dāna), 173 (on navamita-dhenu-dāna), 174 (on rasa-dhenu-dāna), and 175 (on gāṇeṣa-durgā-viśṇu-gaṅga-stuti-varṇana).

On the other hand, the following chapters of the printed Uttara-parvan do not occur in this Ms:
Chaps. 24 (on Rāmaḥ-svāt to be observed in a different way), 50 (on Kamala-saptami-vrata), 51 (on Śubha-saptami-vrata), 52 (on Snapanā-saptami-vrata), 64 (on Āśā-dasami-vrata), 75 (on Śravaṇa-dvādaśi-vrata), 144-150 (on Gaṇa-nātha-sānti, nākṣatra-bhuja, Aparādhā-sāta-vrata, Kāñcana-pruti-vrata, Kayā-pradiḥa, Brāhmaṇa-śūrṣā, and 175a-dāna), 206 (on Rohini-candra-śayana-
been discovered up to the present time, are all found to exist independently and are not attached as parts to the Mss

vratā), 207 (on Kṛṣṇa’s start for Dvārakā), and 208 (list of contents, and conclusion).

It is to be noted that chaps. 166, 170, 172 and 173 of this Ms occur neither in the printed Uttar-parvan nor in the Ms noticed by R. L. Mitra.]


[No. 2582.—This is a Nāgara Ms dated Sm. 1620. It begins from verse 3 of Bhav. IV. 1; and its colophon runs as follows: iti bhaviṣyottarac dāna-dharāc sarvva-sāstro
ddṛte sarvva-dānanā śaṃśtāḥ (? sarvva-dāna-niyamaḥ śaṃśtāḥ).

The following chapters of this Ms are not found in the printed Uttar-parvan:

Chaps. 38 (on Śaṃśīla-vratā), 49 (on Somāstami-vratā), 117 (on kśira-dheu-
dāna—chap. 167 of Aufrecht’s Ms), 118 (on daddhi-dheu-dāna—chap. 168 of Aufrecht’s Ms), 119 (on madhu-dheu-dāna—chap. 169 of Aufrecht’s Ms), 121 (on phala-dheu-dāna—chap. 171 of Aufrecht’s Ms), 122 (on navaṇita-dheu-dāna—
chap. 173 of Aufrecht’s Ms), 123 (on rau-dheu-dāna—chap. 174 of Aufrecht’s Ms), 126 (on kṛṣṇa-go-dāna), 130 (on aśa-dāna), 131 (on kartavya-nirṛitya), 132 (on pretatva-parthīraka-dāna-vidhi), 133 (on śrūddha-tattva-nirṛitya), 134 (on śrūddha-
vidhi), 135 (on Brāhma-vivahādhi-lākaṇa), 173 (on the names of vratas), 174 (on Matsya-purāṇa-tīla-pitrā-dāna), 175-177 (on Śrī-paścāmi-vratā).

On the other hand, the following chapters of the printed Uttar-parvan do not occur in this Ms:

Chaps. 9 (on Aśoka-vratā), 11-12 (on Kokilā-vratā and Bṛhat-tapvi-vratā), 14 (on Yama-dvitiyā-vratā), 16-18 (on Madhūka-trītyā-vratā, Meghapālī-trītyā-
vrata, and Ramāhā-trītyā-vrata), 56 (on Dūrvaśātami-vratā), 60 (on Bilva-
navaṇi-vratā), 65 (on Tāraka-dvādaśi-vratā), 70 (on Govinda-sāyanottāpana-
dvādaśi-vratā), 73 (on Malla-dvādaśi-vratā), 76 (on Vījaya-śravaṇa-dvādaśi-
vrata), 79 (on Akhaṇḍa-dvādaśi-vratā), 87-88 (on Aḥādhaka-vrata and Mandāra-nimb-ārka-karavīr-vratā), 95-97 (on Śravaṇikā-vratā, naktapāna-
vidhāna, and Śiva-caturdaśi-vratā), 101 (on Yuga-diti-vratā), 109 (on Śiva-

It should be mentioned here that chaps. 38, 49, 126, 130-135 and 173-177 of this Ms occur neither in the printed Uttar-parvan nor in Aufrecht’s Ms described above.]


[Nos. 3450-51 (Mss Nos. 2562 and 1928 respectively).—The former of these two Ms is written in Devanāgarī characters and ends with chap. 206 of the printed Uttar-parvan. It contains chap. 206 (on Rohini-candra-sayana-vratā) of the Uttar-parvan.]


[In this Ms the work styles itself ‘Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa’ and consists of 199
of the Bhaviṣya-p., the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’ has not yet been printed separately with its real title but is found to form the fourth part, named Uttarā-parvan, of the Venkaṭeśvara Press edition of the Bhaviṣya-p. That this Uttarā-parvan

chapters, of which chaps. 11 (on Nara-vratā), 38 (Mahātapaḥ-saptani-vratā), 50 (Umā-saptami-vratā), and 158-162 (on Ardhodaya-vratā, Gurvāstami-vratā, etc.) do not occur in the printed Uttarā-parvan. On the other hand, chaps. 9-10, 13-17, 112, and 159-160 of the printed Uttarā-parvan are not found in this Ms.]

(6) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 207.
(7) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 304.
(8) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 190.
(9) P. P. S. Sastrī, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6697-6899, Nos. 10037-38.

The Ms of the Bhaviṣyottara - Pūrvaḥāga, as described by H. P. Shastri in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 443-446 (No. 3752), shows that it contains a work which is of late origin and quite different from the Bhaviṣyottara preserved in the Ms mentioned above.

For the short texts (on stotra, dāna, māhātmya, vrata, vrata-kathā, pājā, etc.), claiming to be parts of the Bhaviṣyottara, see

   (a) No. 3452—Sūrya-sahasra-nāma-stotra.
   (b) Nos. 3453-55—Āditya-hṛdaya-stotra.
   (c) No. 3456—Sōḍaśa-cola-caritra.


(iv) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 146 (Mukutēśvara-māhātmya) and p. 148 (Saṅgamēvara-māhātmya).

(v) Chakravartī, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., pp. 81-82 (Āditya-hṛdaya).


is the same as the 'Bhaviṣyottara' known to and drawn upon by the Śruti-writers of different climes and ages, is shown definitely by the facts that this 'Uttara-parvan' calls itself 'Bhaviṣyottara' in more places than one, that it agrees very closely with the extant Mss of the 'Bhaviṣyottara', that the large majority of the verses ascribed by the Śruti-writers to the 'Bhaviṣyottara' occurs in the present Uttaraparvan, and that in none of the Mss of the Bhaviṣya-p. there is even a single mention of any 'Uttara-parvan' as forming a part of the Bhaviṣya-p., which, in its Brāhma-parvan, is said to have consisted of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga. So, we have often referred to the Uttaraparvan (of the Bhaviṣya-p.) under the title 'Bhaviṣyottara' and have used it in these pages for our analysis of the Bhaviṣyottara-p.

By way of explaining why he did not utilise the contents

Some of these texts once did occur in the Bhaviṣyottara. For instance, in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, ii, pp. 303-8 Hemādri quotes from the 'Bhaviṣyottara' a whole chapter on Go-triśtrā-vrata, but at present this chapter does not occur in the Bhaviṣyottara but exists in separate Mss (for which see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 471-2, Nos. 3792-93).

14 Bhav. IV. 2. 7 (bhaviṣyottaram etat te kathayāṃ yudhiṣṭhira); 207. 4 (bhaviṣyottaram etat te kathitaṃ pāṇḍu-nandana); 207. 10 (khyātaṃ bhaviṣyottara-nāmadheyaṃ mayā purāṇam tava saubhṛdena).

For the title 'Bhaviṣyottara' see also the colophons of the Mss of the Bhaviṣyottara described by Eggeling (Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1255), R. L. Mitra (Notices, VIII, p. 37), Weber (Berlin Cat. of 1853, No. 468, p. 137), P. P. S. Sastri (Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6897-99), Stein (Jammu Cat., p. 207), and others.

It is only in the chapter-colophons of the so-called Uttaraparvan of the Venkata ed. of the Bhaviṣya-p. that there is no mention of the title 'Bhaviṣyottara'. These colophons run thus: iti śrībhaviṣye mahāpurāne uttara-parvanī......adhyāyaḥ.

13 See footnote 13 above.

A complete list of these verses will be given at the end of the final Volume of this work.


For Mss of the Bhaviṣya-p. see H. P. Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 424-430 (No. 3738), which consists of five Parvans—Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga; No. 3739; and No. 3740, which is divided into two parts—Pārva and Upani, the former part consisting of the Brāhma and Vaiṣṇava Parvans and the latter containing the Madhyama-tantra, and Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Second Series, Vol. II, No. 151 (same as ASB Cat., V, No. 3740); Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1254 (No. 3447); Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 30-33 (No. 75); Shastri and Gù, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 94-96 (No. 176, which speaks of three parts—Vaiṣṇava, Śiva and Śakti, gives the lives of Jiva Gosvāmin and other followers of Caitanya, and thus resembles the Pratisarga-parvan of our printed Bhaviṣya-p.).
of some of the Purānic works in his Dānasāgara, Vallālasena says regarding the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’:

“bhaviṣyottaram ācāra-prasiddham avirodhi ca / prāmāṇya-jñāpak-ādṛṣṭer granthād asmāt prthak kṛtām ///”\(^{18}\)

“Though the Bhaviṣyottara is famous for its customary laws (or, is popularly followed) and is not contradictory [to good customs], it is avoided in this work for want of [sufficient] evidence to prove its authority.”

As a matter of fact, the name of the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’ is not included in any of the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas known to us. But this exclusion has not stood in the way of its recognition as an authoritative work. Although, like Vallālasena, Lakṣmidhara also does not utilise its contents in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, evidently for the same reason, most of the remaining Smṛti-writers of prominence (such as Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Madanapāla, Śūlapāṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Anantabhaṭṭa, Gadādhara and others) are found to draw profusely upon this work without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity and authority.

In spite of its exclusion from the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas the Bhaviṣyottara (which, as we have already said, has been printed as the Uttara-parvan of the Veṅkaṭ. edition of the Bhaviṣya-p.) calls itself a distinct ‘Purāṇa named Bhaviṣyottara’.\(^{19}\) The Smṛti-writers also regard it as a Purānic work. For instance, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Anantabhaṭṭa and Mitra-miśra call it a ‘Purāṇa’,\(^{20}\) and according to Narasimha Vājapeedin it is an Upapurāṇa and a part of the Bhaviṣya-p.\(^{21}\) In most of

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\(^{18}\) Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verse No. 61).

\(^{19}\) Bhav. IV. 207.10—khyātam bhaviṣyottara-nāmadheyam mayā purāṇam tava sauḥṛdena.

\(^{20}\) Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, i, p. 604; Kāla-nirāaya, p. 137—bhaviṣyottara-purāṇaṁ vikramṣeṣa rāthana-saptamū-vratene; Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, p. 514—atra iti-kartavyatā-viśeṣo bhaviṣyottara-purāne; Viramitrodāya, Āhika-prakāśa, p. 432—atra eva bhaviṣyottara-purāṇe—aharaḥḥ kriyate yat tu tan nityam iti kīryate ///

\(^{21}\) Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19.
the short texts on *vrata, pūjā, māhātmya* etc., which attach themselves to the Bhaviṣyottara for authority; this work is called a ‘Purāṇa’,22 and in some of these texts it is even called a ‘Mahāpurāṇa’23 and an ‘Ādi Mahāpurāṇa’.24

Though from the title of the Bhaviṣyottara-p. we are tempted to suppose that it is a continuation of the Bhaviṣya-p. and though Narasiṃha Vājapeyin expressly calls it a part of the latter,25 the present Bhaviṣyottara does not attach itself to the Bhaviṣya-p. for authority.26 Its distinct character is further established by the facts that most of the Nibandha-writers draw as profusely upon the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’ by naming it independently as upon the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ and that none of the verses, ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ or ‘Bhaviṣya’ by the comparatively early commentators and Nibandha-writers except Hemādri and the author of the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, is found in the Uttaraparvan, although it is full of various Smṛti materials. The few cases, in which the verses ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa are found in the Bhaviṣyottara or *vice versa*, must be due to the confusion, made either by the authors of these works or by the scribes, between the titles of the ‘Bhaviṣya’ and the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’ (of which the latter work was probably taken by them to be a part of the former). For instance, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 432-4 and 1031-33 and II. i, pp. 537-543 and Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, fols. 13a-14a, 15b-16b and 17a-18b long extracts (which really belong to the Bhaviṣyottara, in which Kṛṣṇa speaks to Yudhiṣṭhira) have been ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.;’ on the other hand, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 604-5, 669-671 and 705-717 and II. ii,

22 For these texts see footnote 13 above.
26 The chapter-colophons (viz., iti śrībhaviṣye mahāpuraṇe uttara-parvaṇi . . . . . . adhyāyaḥ) of the Uttara-parvan of the Vaiṣṇava, ed. of the Bhaviṣya-p., in which the Bhaviṣyottara has been called the ‘Uttara-parvan’ of the ‘Bhaviṣya Mahāpuraṇa’, cannot be supported by any of the Ms of the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’.
pp. 526-7, verses, which really belong to the Bhaviṣya-p., have been ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’.²⁷ In the Saṃvat-sara-pradīpa, a metrical line has been ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ in one place (viz., fol. 2b) and to the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’ in another (viz., fol. 56a).

The present Bhaviṣyottara begins with salutations to Gaṇapati, Vāgadhidevatā (goddess of speech), Vāsudeva, Śiva, Parameśṭhin (Brahmā) and Bhānu (the Sun) and says that once Vyāsa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Māṇḍavya and other sages came to see Yudhiṣṭhīra after he had ascended the throne. Yudhiṣṭhīra, with Kṛṣṇa and Dhaumya as well as his own brothers in his train, received the sages with due respect. When the sages took their seats, Yudhiṣṭhīra, who deemed himself guilty of causing the death of his own kinsmen, asked Vyāsa to narrate to him, in a general way (aviśeṣataḥ), the essence of the entire Dharma (-sāstra),²⁸ so that he might expiate the sin he had committed. He also added that none but Vyāsa and Kṛṣṇa was able to give him proper instructions in this respect. Vyāsa referred him to Kṛṣṇa and departed for his own hermitage. (-Chap. 1). Yudhiṣṭhīra then requested Kṛṣṇa to speak on the origin of the universe, the geography of the earth, the final destruction of the world, the causes of worldly prosperity, and so on. In answer to these questions Kṛṣṇa spoke out the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’ (-purāṇa), the contents of which, Kṛṣṇa said, had already been narrated by ‘the lord of Luminaries’ (i.e. the Sun) to the sage Yājñavalkya, when the latter asked the former about futurity.

²⁷ In Mādhavacārya’s com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, p. 189 and II. ii, p. 210 and Hemādri’s Catuvarga-cintāmāni, II. i, pp. 381-2 and 604-5 some verses have been ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’, but these verses are found not in the Uttarā-parvan but in the Brāhma-parvan of the printed Bhaviṣya-p. On the other hand, the verses, which have been ascribed to the ‘Bhaviṣya-p.’ in Catuvarga-cintāmāni, I, pp. 663, 671 and 673, are found not in the Brāhma-parvan but in the Uttarā-parvan. We may explain these cases by saying that either these Smṛti-writers made mistakes in naming the sources of the verses mentioned above, or the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’, known to these Smṛti-writers, had these verses borrowed from the Bhaviṣya-p. (We shall see hereinafter that the present Bhaviṣyottara has incorporated a good number of chapters of the Bhaviṣya-p.).

²⁸ Bhav. IV. 1. 20b—mamādyā dhat a-sarvasvaṃ prajñā-dipena darśaya.
Consequently, the contents of the Bhavisyottara are as follows.

Chap. 2 (verses 7ff.)—Unity of the three gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, who are distinguished from one another only due to their different names and functions. The four Pādas (viz., Prakriyā, Anuṣaṅga, Upodghāta and Upaśamaḥra) and the five characteristics (viz., sarga, pratīsarga, etc.) of the Purāṇas. Description of the origin of the world mostly according to the principles of Sāmkhya philosophy, and Āditya’s appearance in it as Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and Rudra under the influence of the three gunas; origin of the nine Brahms (Marici, Atri, Āṅgiras and others) as well as of Dakṣa and Prasūti from Prajāpati; Dakṣa’s sons and sixty daughters. The temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva on the three peaks of the mountain Meru; the kula-parvatas of Jambu-dvīpa; the names of the seven dvīpas and of the seven oceans surrounding them; the names of the fourteen lokas (worlds) and the residents of these lokas. The names of different Manus. The gods in the Vaivasvata Manvantara. The four kinds of dissolution (laya).

Chap. 3.—Description of the nature of Viṣṇu-māyā which deludes the world, and Kṛṣṇa’s narration, in this connection, of the story of Viṣṇu’s assumption of the form of a Brahmin named Yaḻnaśārmā, his coming down, with Nārada, to the city of Vaidiśa on the Vetravati, where he blessed a resourceful Vaiśya farmer named Sirabhadrā with a long and prosperous life and a large number of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, his meeting, in the village Veṇikā on the Bhāgīrathī, with a poor but highly hospitable Brahmin agriculturist named Gosvāmin, who was tired out by the work of cultivation and pressed hard by a ‘methi’ (a post for binding cattle with) and other agricultural implements and whom he blessed to be relieved of his farming, because, he said, a ploughman acquires in a day the same amount of sin as that earned by a fisherman in

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29 brahmā viṣṇur vṛṣṇākās ca trayo devāḥ satāṁ matāḥ
nāma-bhedaiḥ kriyā-bhedaiḥ bhidyante nātmanā svayam

Bhav. IV. 2, 9b-10a.
a year, his arrival, with Nārada, at Kānya Kubja and bath in a beautiful lake, Nārada’s transformation into an extremely charming lady immediately after his bath, the marriage of this beautiful lady with king Tāladvāja, her bringing forth of a pumpkin from which fifty powerful sons were born, her mourning for the sudden destruction of these sons and their descendants, Viṣṇu’s appearing in the form of a Brahmin and explaining the nature of Viṣṇu-māyā, and Nārada’s regaining his previous form.

Chap. 4.—Karma-vipāka (the results of actions, with a grim description of the manifold troubles of life from birth to death).—Birth of creatures (—stages in the development of the child in the mother’s womb till delivery; sufferings undergone by the child in the womb; impurity of the body; the child’s retention of the power of remembrance of the events of the previous birth, while residing in the mother’s womb); troubles in childhood, youth etc.; insignificance of the pleasures arising from enjoyment of women; inevitability of death.

Chap. 5.—Different kinds of sins which lead one to hell. Classification of sins into mānasā, vācika and kāyika. Classification of sinners into (a) mahāpātakins (such as those who kill Brahmins, drink wine, and do similar other acts), (b) brahmaghnas (such as those who refuse to give anything to a poor needy Brahmin after calling him with a promise—verse 11; those who, being proud of their learning, do not show proper respect to Brahmins in a meeting—verse 12; those who create obstruction to those hungry or thirsty Brahmins who are eager for food or drink—verse 14; those who make false reports of other’s faults to the king—verse 17; those who misappropriate the landed property already dedicated to gods, Brahmins or cows—verse 18; and so on), (c) pātakins (such as those who do not marry their marriageable daughters to proper persons—verse 14), (d) upapātakins (such as those who sell their wives or children—verse 34; those who do not pay their debts, and those who accept interests on food materials lent out to others—verse 36; teachers who accept remuneration, and students who read
with such teachers—verse 38; and so on), and (e) other greater sinners—pāpatarāh—who go to hell (such as those who fight unfairly; the manufacturers of bows, arrows and other weapons, as well as the dealers in these things—verse 53; those who do not support their wives, children and other dependants with maintenance—verses 55-56; those twice-born men who enjoy Śūdra women or smell wine intentionally—verse 48; those kings who are bad rulers—verses 67-71; and so on).

Chap. 6.—The ways in which the donors of different articles (such as shoes, umbrellas, clothes, bed, gardens, temples, poor-houses, lamps, asylums, medicine, land, food etc.) proceed comfortably to the region of Yama and thence to heaven. Praise of anna-dāna (gift of food). The paths by which the sinners go to Yama’s residence. Description of hells as well as of the sufferings of the sinners there.

Chaps. 7-126, 129-130, 132-140, 146-147 and 206.—Praise of donations (dāna) and vows (vrata) as the only means of attaining happiness, power, peace and prosperity and getting rid of the sufferings in hells. Description and praise of various kinds of vratas which are to be observed on different lunar days from Pratipad and in which various deities, viz., Brahmā, Viśnu, Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Kārttikeya, Vināyaka and other gods and goddesses, are to be worshipped. (These vratas have been arranged in the Uttara-parvan in the order of the Tithis on which they are to be observed). Description and praise of various kinds of festivals, such as Nīrājana-dvādaśī (chap. 71), Phālguna-pūrṇimotsava (chap. 132), Āndolaka-mahotsava (chap. 133), the Sun’s Ratha-yātrā (chap. 134), Madana-mahotsava (chap. 135), Bhūtamātrutsava (chap. 136), Mahānavamī (chap. 138), Mahendra-dhvaja-mahotsava (chap. 139), and Dipālikā (chap. 140). Methods and praise of various kinds

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39 Bhav. IV. 6. 10——

devāyatana-karti ca yatinām āśramasya ca/
anātha-maṇḍapāṇām ca kriḍan yāti gṛhottamaṁḥ
of bath, viz., māgha-snāna (bath in the month of Māgha), nitya-snāna, rudra-snāna (a special kind of bath meant chiefly for progeny), and grahaṇa-snāna (bath during eclipses).

Chaps. 127-128.—Methods and benefits of dedicating wells, pools and tanks and of planting trees for the good of others.

Chap. 131.—Dedication of bulls especially for the good of the departed forefathers.

Chaps. 141-145.—Methods of performing ayuta-homa, lakṣa-homa, koṭi-homa, mahāśānti and nakṣatra-homa for the pacification of planets. Methods of pacifying Vināyaka for allaying impediments and getting rid of evils indicated by bad dreams.

Chap. 148.—Praise of giving one's own daughter or a helpless girl in marriage to a worthy bridegroom either of the same caste as that of the girl or of a higher one, without accepting any money from the bridegroom.

Chap. 149.—Praise of Brahmins as the highest gods on earth as well as in heaven. They are said to be the makers and unmakers of gods and non-gods, and the sources of origin of the universe.\(^{21}\)

Chaps. 150-204.—Methods and praise of making various kinds of donation, viz., gifts of cows, bulls, female buffaloes, sheep etc. and of cows made of gold, gems, sesamum, water, ghee, salt, etc.; gifts of ploughs fitted with bulls, and of houses, food, utensils, maid-servants,\(^{22}\) and manuscripts of the Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa etc. after having them copied by scribes; donation of hillocks made of gold,

\(^{21}\) Bhav. IV. 149. 2-3—

adevaṁ daivatam kuryaḥ kuryur devam adaivaṭam/

brāhmaṇeḥbhyaḥ samutpaṇṇā devāḥ pūrvaṁ iti śrīdhiḥ/

brāhmaṇeḥbhyo jagat sarvaṁ tasmāt pūjyataṁ dvijāḥ //

(For praise of Brahmins see also chap. 69, in which verse 23 runs as follows:

brāhmaṇā caiva gavās ca kulaṁ ekaṁ dvidhā kṛtam /

ekatra mantras tiṣṭhanti havir anyatra tiṣṭhati //).

\(^{22}\) The Bhavyottara emphasizes the necessity of maid-servants for comfort and cleanliness and says (in verse 8) that the house which lacks gold, maid-servants, sufficient food and ghee as well as milk is a veritable hell.
silver, gems, rice, salt, sesamum, sugar etc.; bigger donations, such as those of tulā-puruṣa, hiranya-garbha, brahmāṇḍa, hiranyāśva-ratha, hema-hasti-ratha etc.; donation of one’s own iron statue after decorating it with proper ornaments and furnishing it with various articles; and so on.

Chap. 205.—Good manners, customs and usages. (Of the numerous prescriptions and prohibitions the following are noteworthy: One, who wants a long life, should not see one’s image in a mirror at night; one may dine at the house of a goldsmith but must never believe him or make friends with him; one should not take food from a dish placed on a stool; while taking one’s meal one should eat mild things first, pungent things in the middle, and liquid things at the end; one should not take fried rice and barley at daytime and curd and barley meal—saktu—at night; one, who wants freedom from disease, should sleep with the head turned preferably towards the east or towards the south; one should maintain in one’s house pigeons, parrots and sārikās but not cockroaches, because the presence of the first three brings in wealth, whereas the last are creative of evils).

Chaps. 207-8.—Krṣṇa’s departure for Dvārakā. Enumeration of the topics dealt with in the Bhaviṣyottara. Conclusion.

The above contents of the Bhaviṣyottara show clearly that it is practically a work on vows (vrata), festivals and donations and has almost nothing of the five characteristics of the ‘Purāṇa’. The vows dealt with in this work are various and numerous, some being Vaiṣṇava, some Śaiva, some Śākta, some Gāṇapatya, some Saura, and so on. There is also a good number of vows in which lesser deities like Sarasvatī, Kārttikeya, Yama, Varuṇa, Budha, Nakṣatras, and the Earth, and even trees, grass and animals, are

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33 See Bhav. IV. 205. 91b-93a, 109-112, 122, and 143b-144a.
34 See Bhav. IV. 35 (Sārasvata-vrata), 42 (Kārttikeya-pūjā-saṣṭhi-vrata), 89 (Yamadarśana-trayaḍaśi-vrata), 91 (Pāli-vrata), 54 (Budhāṣṭami-vrata), 65 (Tāraka-dvādaśi-vrata), and 105 (Viśoka-pūrṇimā-vrata). In the Tilaka-vrata (chap. 6) the figure of a man is to be painted on the ground to represent the year and then worshipped.

In connection with the worship of Kārttikeya (in the Kārttikeya-pūjā-saṣṭhi-vrata) the Bhaviṣyottara says:
to be worshipped, but there is not a single vrata which requires the worship of Brahmā as the principal deity. Among the Vaiṣṇava vratas there are some which seem to be Pāñcarātra and some appear to be Bhāgavata. This distinction seems to be indicated by the Mūla-mantras mentioned in connection with them. For instance, in the Govinda-sayan-otthāpana-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 70), Sukṛta-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 82), Dharaṇī-vrata (chap. 83) and Kāma-dāna-veśyā-vrata (chap. 111) the Mūla-mantra 'ōṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' is directed to be used, but in the Bhīṣma-paṇcaka-vrata (chap. 72), Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 75) and Śanaiscara-vrata (chap. 114) the Mūla-mantra to be used is 'ōṃ namo vāsudevāya' or 'ōṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'. The Saura Vrata, on the other hand, differ in their media of worship of the Sun-god. Thus, in the Viṣoka-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata and the Kamala-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata the medium of worship is a golden lotus (kāñcana padma, haima-padma),38 in the Kalyāṇa-saptami-vrata and the Śarkara-saptami-vrata, as described in Bhav. IV. 48 and 49 respectively, the figure of an eight-petalled lotus has to be painted on the ground with powdered rice dried in the sun or with saffron for the worship of the Sun-god in the different petals and the pericarp with

"kārtikeyād rē nānyo rājñāṃ pūjyah pravakṣyate ///
saṁgrāmaṁ gacchamāno yoḥ pūjyaḥ kṛṣṭikā-sutum /
sa sarvaṁ jayate viro yathendro dānavān raĉe ///
(Bhav. IV. 42. 24b-25).

"No [deity] other than Kārtikeya is said to deserve worship by kings.

"That hero who, when going out for war, worships the son of the Kṛṣṭikā, conquers all, just as Indra defeats the Dānavas in war."

38 For instance, in the Aiokā-vrata, Karavira-vrata and Madhūka-vrata the respective trees (Aioka, Karavira and Madhūka) are to be worshipped (chaps. 9, 10 and 16); in the Dūrvāṣṭamī-vrata Dūrvā grass has to be worshipped (chap. 56); in the Kokilā-vrata the form of a female cuckoo is to be made with powdered sesame, furnished with eyes of gems and wings of gold, placed on a copper dish, duly worshipped, and then given to a Brahmin (chap. 11); in the Go-vattas-dvādaśī-vrata a cow is to be regarded as Gaurī herself and worshipped (chap. 69); in the Mandāra-nimb-ārka-karavira-vrata Śveta-mandāra, Nimba, Śveta-arka, and Rakta-karavira plants are to be worshipped (chap. 88); and so on.

38 See Bhav. IV. 38. 6——

kṛtvā tu kāñcanaṁ padmam arko 'yam iti pūjyat /
karavireṇa rakteṇa rakte vastra-yugena ca ///

(Bhav. IV. 39. 2 (ṣaṣṭhīm upoṣya kamalaṁ kārayitvā sukāñcanaṁ), and 10 (śarkara-kalasāṁ dadyāddhaima-padma-phaḷānvitam).
the mention of his different names; and in the Mandāra-şasṭhī-vrata an image of a male, made of gold and furnished with a golden lotus in one of its hands, is to be placed on an eight-petalled lotus made with black sesamum, and the Sun-god is to be worshipped in the eight petals with Mandāra flowers with the mention of his eight names (Bhāskara, Śūrya, Arka, Aryaman, Vasu-dhātr, Caṇḍa-bhānu, Pūṣan and Ānanda) and in the pericarp as Puruṣa (Bhav. IV. 40).

Though there are a few vratas in which sectarian spirit is noticeable,³⁷ there are many which are free from all kinds of narrowness and in which more deities than one are to be worshipped or respected. For instance, in the Aviyoga-vrata Hari-and-Lakṣmī, Hara-and-Gauri, Brahmā-and-Sāvitrī, and Ravi-and-Rājñī are to be worshipped in a mandala (chap. 68); and in the Nīrājana-dvādaśi, as described in chap. 71, first Hari and then Lakṣmī, Brahmā, Caṇḍikā, Āditya, Śaṃkara, Gaurī, Gaṇeśa, Nāgas, planets, cows, buffaloes etc. are to be illustrated.

The powers of these vratas have been shown by means of stories, some of which are based on those of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas,³⁸ but most of which are later fabrications. In these fabricated stories even, the central figures are in most cases some renowned princes or princesses of the epics or the Purāṇas [viz., Nahuṣa, Ilā, Sagara, Aja, Dilīpa, Yayāti, Haihaya, Kārtaviryārjuna, Kuśadhvaja (of Mithilā), Sītā, Sāvitrī, Damayantī and others] or some ancient sages or their wives. The fabricators of these stories have, in many cases, cared very little for the limits of possibility. For instance, in chap. 13 the story of a Vaiśya is given in connection with the Bhadropavāsavrata. It is said that this Vaiśya was reborn as the son of Saṅjaya, king of Kuśāvatī, and his spittle, stool, urine etc.

³⁷ Viz., Brhat-tapovrata (chap. 12), Umā-maheśvara-vrata (chap. 23), and Rambhā-trīlyā-vrata (chap. 24), all of which are Śaiva. In these vratas the devotees of Śiva are given preference.

³⁸ Viz., the stories of Vīnātā and Kadrū and of Jāratkāru in chap. 36; the story of the abduction of Tārā by Soma in chap. 99; the story of Sāvitrī in chap. 102; the story of the birth of Agastyā, and his exploits, viz., his consumption of the demon Vātāpi, his drinking of all the waters of the oceans, etc.; and so on.
turned into gold as soon as these fell on the ground. So he was named Svarṇaṣṭhīvī. He was later on killed by the robbers from the Deccan but was revived by Nārada. Among the other stories of interest the following may be mentioned: Nārada and Parvata’s mutual curse for the former’s marrying the daughter of king Saṃjaya of Kuśāvati with the promise that he would cause to be born to the king a son whose spittle, stool and urine would turn into gold (chap. 13); indifference of Indumati, a harlot of Magadha, to her sinful life, her approach to Vasiṣṭha for religious instructions, and the latter’s advice to her about the observance of the Acalā-saptami-vrata (chap. 53); Datta’s practice of Yoga in his hermitage on the Vindhyā mountain, his saving of the gods from the hands of Śumbha, Jambha and other Daityas, and his granting of four boons to Kārtavīryārjuna, who, consequently, became extremely powerful, performed numerous sacrifices at Māhiṣmati, his capital, and introduced the Anaghāṣṭami-vrata (chap. 58); and Indra and other gods’ defeat in a war with the demon Raktāsura and coming down to the city of Karacchatrā (?) for seeking the shelter of Devī Bhagavati, who, as a virgin deity having twenty hands and a lion as her mount, resided there with Cāmuṇḍā and the nine Durgās named Mahālakṣmī, Nandā, Kṣemaṁkarī, Śivadūti, Mahātunḍā, Bhrāmari, Candramaṇḍalā, Revatī and Harasiddhi, and who saved the gods by killing the demons and snatching away their flags for the gods (chap. 61—Dhvaja-navami-vrata).

An examination of the vratas dealt with in the Bhaviṣyottara shows that though some of these vratas and worships might have a popular origin, many of them are the productions of the fertile brains of the Brahmins who are rightly

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38 He was also called Anagha.—Bhav. IV. 58, 2b-3a (dātō nāma māhāyogī viṣūr amśo mahātale / dvitiyo nāma loke ‘śmin anaghaś ceti viṣūtāb’).  
40 For the names and description of these deities see Bhav. IV. 61, 9-21.  
The names ‘Mahātunḍā’ and ‘Candramaṇḍalā’ occur in verses 17b and 19b respectively, but in verse 10a these two names have been given as ‘Mahārīnḍā’ and ‘Candraṇāṅgallā’.
called ‘the makers and unmakers of gods and non-gods’. In some cases the Brahmins support popular vratas by fabricating relevant stories, but there are numerous cases in which they are found to take the advantage of Puranic stories for the creation of new vratas.41

Though these vratas might be observed by all without distinction of caste or sex, they were meant mainly for women,42 probably because it was through women, or rather mothers, that the teachings of the epics and the Puranās could be successfully spread among the people. It seems that the vratas were multiplied and encouraged by the Brahmins not only to counteract the influence of Buddhism and Jainism43 on the varnasrama-dharma, but also to facilitate the distribution of wealth especially among those who were engaged in intellectual pursuits,44 to make the mothers painstakingly and fit for giving birth to healthy children,45 to raise the moral standard of the people, and to make the family and the social life more enjoyable.46

Among the festivals described in the Bhaviṣyottara there are a few which were to be observed in the spring season, viz., Phālguna-pūrṇimotsava (chap. 132), Āndolaka-mahotsava (chap. 133) and Madana-mahotsava (chap. 135). During

41 See, for instance, the Hara-kāli-trītyā-vrata, which is based on the following story: Kāli, daughter of Daśa, was married to Śiva. Once, being mortified at the mention of her dark complexion by Śiva, she burnt herself in a fire and was reborn to Himālaya as Gauri. (Chap. 20).
42 See, for instance, Bhav. IV. 29. 1b-2a—
ānantarya-vrataṃ brūhi......................../
hītāya sarva-bhūtānām lalanānām viśeṣataḥ //
43 Jainism is indirectly described as ‘vrata-bhūyaṣṭha’ in Devi-p. 13. 10.
44 All the vratas are to be followed by gifts to Brahmins and the poor. Sometimes these gifts are very costly.
45 Various kinds of austerities were to be observed in the vratas. (See, for instance, chaps. 11, 26 and 76). So, the performers of these vrata had little opportunity to give themselves up to luxury and to have a fatty and case-loving body.
46 Festivities, interdining, songs, dance etc. formed parts of some of the vrata. See, for instance, the Bhrat-tapasya-vrata, Bhaḍrapavāṣa-vrata, Yama-dvītiyā-vrata, Śripañcamā-vrata, Dūrvaṣṭamī-vrata, Anaghaṣṭami-vrata and Aranya-dvādaśi-vrata, in which the devotees were to dine with their friends and relatives as well as employees and guests. (See Bhav. IV. chaps. 12-14, 37, 56, 58 and 66).

Bhav. IV. 58.68 refers to music and dancing by experts; and in the Devī-vrata (such as Dhwaja-navami and Ulkā-navami) virgin girls are to be fed (see, for instance, Bhav. IV. 61.51 and 62.6).
the Phālguna-pūrṇimotsava, which was also called Holikā and which was to be observed in every town and village\(^{47}\) at the close of the winter,\(^{48}\) a cottage was to be constructed with posts and straws and burnt. Children were to rush out of their houses with pieces of wood in hand, go thrice round the fire, shout, laugh and sing. It was believed that these acts of children brought about the destruction of the female goblin (rākṣasī) Dhaunḍhā (also called Aḍāḍā). In order to explain who this goblin was and why she was defeated by turbulent children, the Bhaviṣyottara gives the following story. During the reign of king Raghu a goblin named Dhaunḍhā began to give trouble to children, although his subjects were otherwise very happy. Being informed of this trouble Raghu asked Vasiṣṭha as to who this goblin was and how she could be got rid of. Vasiṣṭha said that this Dhaunḍhā worshipped Śiva and received from him a boon that none but unruly children could overpower her. He then described the method in which this Dhaunḍhā could be killed. (It may be mentioned here that the goblin Dhaunḍhā is nothing but the personified spirit of the winter season which troubles children with diseases and of which the latter get rid at the advent of spring). During the Āndolaka-mahotsava, which was enjoyed equally by men and women, a swing was to be set up at the side of a tank, and the image of the deity to be worshipped was placed in it and swung. People threw dusts of saffron and took part in water-sports which they considered to be due to the influence of Cupid.\(^{49}\) In the Madana-mahotsava, Madana was to be worshipped in temples, and wives were to worship their husbands by identifying them with Cupid. The worshippers were to pass the night without sleep, have feasts, present scented betels, and see dances and dramatic and other performances. Besides these spring-festivals mentioned above, the Bhaviṣyottara describes a few more which seem to have been widely observed. Of these, the most interesting

\(^{47}\) Cf. Bhav. IV. 132. 1b—utsavo jāyate loke grāme grāme pure pure.


\(^{49}\) Bhav. IV. 133. 55-56.
one is that of Bhūta-mātā (‘mother of evil spirits’, also called Bhrātrī-bhāṇḍā) who is said to have originated from Pārvatī’s urine. The image of Bhūta-mātā, who had a very ugly and hideous look⁵⁰ and was believed to be a form of Bhagavatī herself, was to be worshipped under an old tree, in order that no trouble could be caused to children by evil spirits. While taking the image to the tree, people were to make various interesting demonstrations⁵¹ such as those of taking a murderer to the place of execution for impaling him, and of a cruel Śabara with jet-black complexion and blood-shot eyes. This Bhūta-mātrutsava, which must have had a popular origin, was to be observed in every town and village, and during this festival people were to behave like wild men, sing, laugh and dance at random, distort their faces and cover their bodies with mud. The Nirājana-dvādaśī (chap. 71) was a festival to be observed by kings. The Mahānavami-vrata (or Durgotsava—chap. 138) was to be performed in every house, especially in royal palaces. Even the Mlecchas and others are said to have celebrated it. During this festival the worshipper was to pass the night, on the Aṣṭamī Tithi, by hearing songs and seeing dances and theatrical performances. On the Navami Tithi he was to worship the virgin Vindhyavāsinī with the offer of 100, 50 or 25 buffaloes and sheep and of pitchers full of wine. After the worship had been over, the image was to be taken out in a procession in which the king himself and his army were to take part. The Mahendra-dhvaja-mahotsava (chap. 139) also was a state festival, in which all people took part. This festival was to be observed for nine or seven days, and during it people were to amuse themselves by witnessing dramatic performances, wrestling competitions, etc. and by

⁵⁰ For description of this Bhūta-mātā see Bhav. IV. 136.10-14—

\[ \text{nārī niśdāritodarā} / \\
\text{kṛṣṇa kāraśa-vaḍana pīngāksā mukta-mūrdhajā} / \\
\text{kapāla-mālābharanā baddha-piṇḍordhva-piṇḍakā} / \\
\text{khatvāṅga-kāṅkāladharā mudrāṅkita-karā śivā} / \\
\text{vyāghra-carmāmbara-dharā raṇat-kīkīni-mekhalā} / \\
\text{damād-damād-damarukā phūtārāpūrātāmbarā} / \text{ etc. etc.}

⁵¹ For description of these demonstrations see Bhav. IV. 136. 26ff.
gambling to their heart’s content. During the Dipālikotsava (chap. 140) lamps were to be lighted in the evening in every house and monastery, in the temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Siddhārtha-Buddha, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhairava and others, in gardens, in stables, and so on. In the following evening the king was to make a declaration permitting his subjects, both male and female, to enjoy themselves according to their own choice. Consequently, people decorated their houses as well as their own persons and enjoyed the pleasures of gambling, drinking, etc.

From what has been said above it is evident that the present Bhaviṣyottara is not a work of any particular sect. It is for this reason that at the beginning of chap. 8 we find Yudhiṣṭhira to request Kṛṣṇa to speak on the Vratas relating to Brahmā, Īṣa (i.e. Śiva), Keśava, Gauri, Gaṇapati, Durgā, Śūrya, Agni, Soma and others. As a matter of fact, the present Bhaviṣyottara deals with the vratas on almost all these deities.

Though the Bhaviṣyottara tries to pass as an independent Purāṇa, it has got little which it can claim as its own. In the final colophon of R. L. Mitra’s Ms the Bhaviṣyottara is described as ‘sarva-śāstroddhṛta’ (collected from the entire śāstra). As a matter of fact, it is a loose collection of chapters taken from different sources, and its indebtedness to some of these sources has been clearly admitted in several places. For instance, in chap. 1, verse 20 Yudhiṣṭhira requests Vyāsa to narrate to him the essence of the entire Dharma (-śāstra), and in chap. 8, verses 1-2 he requests Kṛṣṇa to speak to him on vratas relating to Brahmā, Īṣa, Keśava, Gauri, Gaṇapati, Durgā, Śūrya, Agni, Soma and others which are found in other works; being requested by Yudhiṣṭhira to describe an easy method of attaining the proximity of Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa promises, in chap. 8, to tell

\[\text{See footnote 13 above.}\]
\[\text{brahmeśa-keśavadīnāṃ gauri-gaṇapateś tathā/}
\text{durgā-śūryāgni-somānāṃ vratāni madhūsūdana/}
\text{śāstrāntareṣu dṛṣṭāni tava buddhi-gatāni ca/}
\text{tānī sarvānī me deva vada devaki-nandana/}\]
him what the Earth did in ancient times, when she lay immersed in water;\footnote{Bhav. IV. 83. 6-7 (...)dharanyā yat kṛtaṁ pūrvaṁ majjantyā vasudhā-tale (...).} the eighty-five vratas, dealt with in chap. 121, are said to have been ‘collected from the Bhaviṣya, Mātsya, Mārtaṇḍa and Vārāha Purāṇas’\footnote{Kṛṣṇa uvāca—} (and as a matter of fact, most of these vratas have been taken verbatim at least from Mātsya-p., chap. 101); in chap. 128 (on vrksodāpanavidhi) Kṛṣṇa is said to have described after Caraka, Atri and the Purāṇas the sacraments of the trees to be planted by the dedicatory;\footnote{In chap. 131 the method of dedication of bulls, especially for the good of one’s departed forefathers, is said to have been described after Garga;\footnote{The Bodleian Ms reads ‘varāheṇa’ for ‘vārāheṇa’.—See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 35a.} the method of tiladhenu-dāna, as given in chap. 152, is said to have been described by the Boar (Vārāha) in ancient times;\footnote{Yudhiṣṭhira uvāca—} being requested by Yudhiṣṭhira, in chap. 161, to speak on the method and results of kapila-dāna, Kṛṣṇa reproduces the speech of Vinātaśva, in which the latter reported to his royal patron (whose name is not given in the Bhaviṣyottara) the interlocation between the Boar and the Earth on this topic;\footnote{Yudhiṣṭhira uvāca—} regarding

\footnote{Kṛṣṇa uvāca—}

\begin{verbatim}
śṛṣṭu bhārata vakṣyāmi paścāiti-vratāni ca
noktāni yāni kasyāpi munibhir dharma-darśibhib //
bhaviṣya-matsya-mārtaṇḍa-purāṇeṣu ca varṇitam //
vārāhaṁ caiva saṃgrhya kathyante tāṁ pāṇḍava //
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Bhav. IV. 121. 1-2.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
jāta-karmādikās tasya yāḥ kriyāḥ kila buddhiman //
caraka-ātri-purāṇoḥktaṁ tāḥ śṛṣṭaṁ yudhiṣṭhira //
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Bhav. IV. 128. 18.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
yad uvāca purā gargo gokule 'nagha-pāṇḍava //
tat te 'haṁ ca pravakṣyāmi vidhiṁ garga-pracoditam //
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Bhav. IV. 131. 3b-4a.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
ity uktaṁ garga-muninā vidhānāṁ vṛṣa-mokṣaṇe //
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Bhav. IV. 131. 13a.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
tila-dhenuṁ pravakṣyāmi śṛṣṭu pārthiva-sattama /
vārāheṇa purāḥ proktāṁ mahāpātaka-nāśinīm //
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Bhav. IV. 152. 5.
\end{verbatim}
the method and results of 'ādi-varāha-dāna' Kṛṣṇa says in chap. 194, "I shall speak to you, Oh Yudhiṣṭhira, on the donation of Ādi-varāha which was described to the Earth by myself in the form of the Boar"; being requested by Yudhiṣṭhira, in chap. 195, to speak on the praise of donations Kṛṣṇa proposes to report what Rudra said to Nārada in ancient times and the Fish said to Manu. From these references it is evident that the present Bhaviṣyottara utilised the contents of the Matsya-p., Bhaviṣya-p., Mārtaṇḍa-p., Varāha-p. as well as the works of Atri, Garga and others. (It should be mentioned here that in the Matsya-p. the Fish speaks to Manu and reports to the latter, in chaps. 83-92, what Rudra said to Nārada on the different kinds of gifts, and in the Varāha-p. the Boar speaks to the Earth). A comparison between this Bhaviṣyottara, on the one hand, and the Matsya-p., Bhaviṣya-p. etc., on the other, shows how extensively the former has incorporated the chapters and verses of the latter. The chapters common to some of these Purāṇas are the following:

vinatāśva uvāca—

ataḥ paraṁ mahārāj-Obhayāmukhyāḥ saṁśataḥ /
vidhānaṁ yad varāhaṇa dharanyai kathitaṁ purā //
tad ahaṁ sampravakṣyāmi nava-punya-phalan ca yat //

dharaṇy uvāca—
yat tvayā kapilā nāma pūrvaṁ utpāditā prabho /
......etad icchāmy ahaṁ śrotuṁ vistarān madhusūdana //
varāha uvāca—

śrūṣva bhadre tattvena pavitrāṁ pāpa-nāsinim /
......etc.——Bhav. IV. 161. 1ff.

See also Bhav. IV. 161. 80b-81——

idam rahasyam rājendra varāha-mukha-nirgatam /
dharaṇyai kathitaṁ pūrvaṁ sarva-pāpa-praṇāhanam //

ādi-varāha-dānaṁ te kathāyāṁ yudhiṣṭhira /
dharaṇyai yat purā proktāṁ varāha-vapaṣā mayā //

Bhav. IV. 194. 1.

yudhiṣṭhira uvāca—

bhagavaṁ chrotum icchāmi dāna-māhātmyam ottamanam /
yad aksayaṁ pare loke devaśri-gana-pujitaṁ //

śrikṛṣṇa uvāca—
rudreṇa yat purā proktāṁ nāradāya mahātmane /
matyena manave tadvat taeva śrūṣva kurūdvaha //

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Chaps. 195-204 (Dhānyācala-, Lavaṇācala-, Guḍācala-, Hemācala-, Tilācala-, Kārpāsācala-, Ghṛtācala-, Ratnācala-, Raupyācala-, and Śarkarācala-dāna)
Chap. 206 (Rohini-candra-sayana-vrata) etc.
Chaps. 83-92

II
Bhaviṣyottara
The chapter on Puṣpa-dvitiyā-vrata, though not found in the Bhaviṣyottara at present, has been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣyottara' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmani, II.i, pp. 381-2
Chap. 15 (Āṣūnya-sayana-vrata)
Chap. 31 (Aṅgāraka-caturthī-vrata)
" 36 (Nāga-paṇcamī-vrata, containing the stories of Viṣṇu and Kadrū and of Jaratkāru)
" 43 (Vijaya-saptami-vrata)
etc.
Chaps. 19 I. 19 (Puṣpa-dvitiyā-vrata)
I. 20
I. 31
I. 32
I. 81
etc.

III
Bhaviṣyottara
Chap. 83 (Dharaṇī-vrata, in which the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are worshipped) (verses 15ff.-50)
" 161 (Kapilā-dāna) Chaps. 39
Chap. 111
(It is, however, not known definitely whether the Bhavi-
syottara derived chaps. 152-154 from the Viṣṇudharmottara
or from some other source).

According to Weber’s Ms, chaps. 146 (on Aparādha-
sata-vrata), 147 (on Kāṇcanapurī-vrata), and 161 (on Kapilā-
dāna-māhātmya) were derived from the Brahma-p.,
Garuḍa-p. and Ādi-vārāha-p. respectively. 62 Bhaviṣyottara,
chaps. 32 and 144 consist mostly of verses taken from the
Gaṇapati-kalpa-prakaraṇa of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti
(Ācārādhyāya). Verses 7-8a, 10b and 12a of Bhaviṣyottara,
chap. 140 are found ascribed to the ‘Laiṅga’ in Śrīnāthā
Ācārya-cūḍāmani’s Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (fol. 69). So, at
least chap. 140 might have been derived from the Liṅga-p.
In his Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 44-45 Raghunandana quotes
from chap. 55 of the present Bhaviṣyottara a few verses which,
he says, were common to the Garuḍa-p. and the Bhaviṣyot-
tara. Hence chap. 55 of the present Bhaviṣyottara seems
to have been taken from the ‘Garuḍa-p.’, which must be the
earlier one. In his Caturvarga-cintāmani, III. i, p. 1079
Hemādri quotes an extract which he found common to the
Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa, Brahma-vaiṣvarta,
Brahma-purāṇa, Vāyu-purāṇa, Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa and Bhavi-
syottara, and on p. 1095 he ascribes an extract to Yama,
Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇudharmottara, Brahma-vaiṣvarta, Bhavi-
syottara and Kūrma-purāṇa. Hence it is probable that the
Bhaviṣyottara incorporated verses of many more Purāṇas
than those already mentioned. In Weber’s Ms the sources
of some of the chapters have been named.

The Mārtanda-p., mentioned in Bhaviṣyottara, chap.
121, must be different from the present Saura-p., because
not even a single of the numerous vrataś described in the

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Bhaviṣyottara is found in the latter. This Mārtana-p., was most probably the same as the Āditya-p. or the earlier Saura-p. But as none of these two last-mentioned Purāṇas is now found to exist in Mss, we cannot be sure about the identification of the Mārtana-p.

We do not know which works of Atri and Garga have been utilised in Bhaviṣyottara, chaps. 128 and 131 respectively.

The Bhaviṣyottara has borrowed chapters from different sources not without any alteration. The chapters derived from the Matsya-p. have, in most cases, been developed with relevant stories concocted for glorifying the vows or donations dealt with in those chapters. Reverse is the case with regard to the chapters now traced in the present Varāha-p. These chapters have been shortened by the elimination of the stories.

Though Bhaviṣyottara, chaps. 83 and 161 have their parallels in the Varāha-p., we have reasons to feel inclined to believe that these chapters were taken from the earlier Varāha-p. which is now extinct. These reasons are as follows: (1) The eighty-five vratas described in Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 121 are said to have been ‘collected from the Bhaviṣya, Matsya, Mārtana and Vārāha Purāṇas’, but not a single of these vratas is found in the present Varāha-p. (2) The method of tila-dhenu-dāna, as given in chap. 152, is said to have been described by the Boar in ancient times, but the present Varāha-p. has a chapter on tila-dhenu-dāna which is quite different from chap. 152 of the Bhaviṣyottara. (The Bhaviṣyottara, used by Aparārka, contained a chapter on tila-dhenu-dāna which was quite different from the present chapter on the same topic and in which Vinītāśva spoke to a king.—See Aparārka’s commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, p. 306). (3) The method and results of ādi-varāha-dāna, as found in chap. 194, are said to have been described originally by the Boar; but no chapter on ādi-varāha-dāna is found in the present Varāha-p. (4) In Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 161 Vinītāśva reports to a king the interlocution between the Boar and the Earth on kapilā-dāna. Vinītāśva,
as speaking to a king, is also found in the sections on tila-
dhenu-dāna and śarkarā-dhenu-dāna, ascribed to the ‘Bhavi-
śyottara’ in Aparārka’s commentary, pp. 306 and 312-3
respectively. But in Varāha-p., chap. 111 (which cor-
responds to Bhaviśyottara, chap. 161) one Hotṛ is the speaker.
This Hotṛ is introduced in Varāha-p. 99. 75 ff. as speaking
to his royal patron Vinītāśva. Now, as Bhaviśyottara,
chap. 161 has its parallel in Varāha-p. chap. 111 and as the
verses on śarkarā-dhenu-dāna, ascribed to the ‘Bhaviśyottara’
in Aparārka’s commentary, pp. 312-3, are found in Varāha-p.,
chap. 103 (in which Hotṛ is the speaker, and not Vinītāśva),
it is highly probable that Vinītāśva was the speaker in the
earlier Varāha-p., that the Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-kh., chap. 31,
verses 105ff.) borrowed some portions of this earlier Varaha-p.
and changed the position of Vinītāśva to a king to whom his
priest spoke on the different kinds of donations, and that
the present Varāha-p. borrowed these portions from the
Padma-p. and developed these borrowed portions with
further additions. We have already said elsewhere that
chaps. 99-112 of the present Varāha-p. seem to have been
added later. So, we may hold that the present Varāha-p.
derived its chap. 111 not direct from the earlier Varāha-p.
but through the Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-kh.).

As regards Varāha-p., chaps. 39 (verses 15ff.)-50, which
agree with Bhaviśyottara, chap. 83 and which were added
to the present Varāha-p. at the time of its composition, or
rather compilation, we may suppose that they were taken
direct from the earlier Varāha-p., from which verses must
have been retained in the present Varāha. It is, however,
more probable that Bhaviśyottara, chap. 83 was taken at a
later date from the present Varāha-p., because in Mitra and
Aufrecht’s Mss of the Bhaviśyottara we find a few chapters
which have been taken from the present Varāha-p.

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43 For the probable indebtedness of the present Varāha-p. to the Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-
kh.), see Hazra, Purānic Records, p. 101.
47 For these chapters see infra.
As the Bhaviṣyottara is a loose collection of chapters derived from various sources, it is very difficult to find out the spurious portions. However, a comparison of the printed Uttara-parvan with Mitra and Aufrechte’s Mss of the Bhaviṣyottara shows that chaps. 144-150 and 206-208 of the Uttara-parvan occur neither in Aufrechte’s Ms nor in that noticed by Mitra. These chapters are also not drawn upon by any of the Nibandha-writers. Even Hemādri, who draws profusely upon almost all the chapters of the present Bhaviṣyottara, is silent about them. Hence these chapters must have been added in later times. The spurious character of chap. 206 (on Rohiṇi-candra-sayana-vrata) is also proved definitely by its position as well as by the speaker Nārada who begins to speak without any introduction.

Chaps. 166-174 of Aufrechte’s Ms deal with the donations of cows symbolically represented by molasses, milk, curd, honey, sugar, fruits, cotton, butter and juice of sugarcanes. These chapters do not occur in the printed Uttara-parvan. Of these, chaps. 167-169, 171 and 173-174 are respectively the same as chaps. 117-119 and 121-123 of Mitra’s Ms. It is highly probable that these chapters were derived at a later date from the present Varāha-p. in which chaps. 101-107 and 109 deal with the same topics. Chap. 175 (dealing with ‘ganeśa-durgā-visṇu-gaṅgā-stuti-varṇana’) of Aufrechte’s Ms occurs neither in the printed Uttara-parvan nor in Mitra’s Ms. Similarly, chaps. 173-177 (dealing with the enumeration of the names of vrataś etc., and the description of the methods of giving a pot full of sesame and performing the Rṣi-paṇcamī-vrata) of Mitra’s Ms are found neither in the printed Uttara-parvan nor in Aufrechte’s Ms. There are also a few more chapters (viz. 38—on Śaṅdilya-saptami-vrata, 49—on Somāṣṭami-vrata, 126—on kṛṣṇa-go-dāna, and 130-135—on aśva-dāna, kartavya-nirṇaya, śrāddha, and brāhmādi-vivāha-lakṣaṇa) in this Ms which are peculiar to itself. Of these chapters, all, except those on śrāddha, seem to be later additions. Verses on śrāddha are found quoted from the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’ in some of the Nibandhas, especially in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi.
We shall now proceed to determine the date of composition of the present Bhaviṣyottara.

It has already been said that the present Bhaviṣyottara has been drawn upon profusely by the Nibandha-writers of different parts of India. Of these, Anantabhaṭṭa quotes almost all the verses of chaps. 124 and 142 in his Vidhānapārijāta I, Gadādhara quotes verses from chaps. 18, 24, 55, 70, 72, 94, 117, 122, 138-140 and 172 in his Kālasāra, Raghunandana from chaps. 18, 36, 55, 56, 70, 76, 94, 138, 139 and 141 in his Smṛti-tattva and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, Govindānanda from chaps. 36, 55, 70, 94, 102 and 118 in his Varṣa-kaumudi, Vācaspati-miśra from chaps. 15, 54, 55, 70, 102 and 103 in his Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya from chap. 138 in his Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, Śūlapāni from chap. 55 in his Tithi-viveka, from chap. 102 in his Vṛata-kāla-viveka, and from chaps. 141 (?) and 138 in his Durgotsava-viveka, Mādhavācārya from chap. 100 in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti and from chaps. 8, 40, 55, 99 and 117 in his Kāla-nirṇaya, Caṇḍeśvara from chap. 55 in his Tithi-nirṇaya, Hemādri from chaps. 8-10, 13-21, 23, 24, 28-30, 37-42, 44-45, 53, 54, 57-67, 69, 72-76, 87-90, 93, 94, 96, 99-103, 111, 113, 114, 119, 121, 130, 132, 135-138, 154, 155, 160, 162, 163, 166, 167, 170, 172, 173, 181, 184, 185, 190, 191, 193-199 etc. in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Aparārka from chaps. 130, 155, 160, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 181, 184 and 192 in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, and Jīmūtavāhana from chaps. 55, 75, 118, 138 and 139 in his Kāla-viveka. In his Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 44-45 Raghunandana quotes from chap. 55 of the present Bhaviṣyottara a few verses which, he says, were quoted in the Rājamārtanda and the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi (garuḍa-bhaviṣyottara-vacanāni rājamārtanda-kṛtyacintāmaṇi-dhṛtāni...). The Saṃvatsara-pradīpa has a large number of verses from chaps. 15, 42, 46, 54-56, 70, 94, 102 and 140. Vallālasena, though not quoting any verse from this work, mentions it

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48-49 Complete lists of these verses will be given in the final Volume of the present work.
in his Dānasāgara and testifies to the fact that it attained the position of an authoritative work in his time. Hence the present Bhaviṣyottara must be dated earlier than 900 A.D. As this work is remarkably free from Tantric influence, it should be dated not later than 800 A.D., because from an examination of other Purānic works we have found that Tantric influence began to be imbibed appreciably by the Purāṇas from about 800 A.D.

Again, the Bhaviṣyottara mentions the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa, knows the names of the zodiacal signs (rāṣi) and the week-days, and gives the list of Viṣṇu’s ten incarnations (including Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin) in more places than one. From an examination of the different lists of Viṣṇu’s incarnations we have seen that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu from about 550 A.D. In Bhav. IV. 8. 1-2 Yudhiṣṭhīrā requests Kṛṣṇa to speak on the vratas relating to Brahmā, Iṣa, Keśava, Gaurī and others, but in the present Bhaviṣyottara there is not even a single vrata in which Brahmā figures as the principal deity. On the other hand, he is found to occupy a secondary position in many of the vows and donations. So, at the time of compilation of the present

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70 Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verse 61)—bhaviṣyottaram ācāra-prasiddham avirodhi ca / prāmānya-jāhīpak-adhyē granthād asmāt prthiḥk kṛtam //

71 The mantras to be used in worship connected with vows, donations etc. are, in all cases, Vedic or Purānic or both. In a few cases the use of the sectarian mantras such as ‘om namo nārāyaṇaya’ and ‘om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya’, has also been prescribed, but in no case there is even a single mention of any Tantric mantra. Performance of nāma has been prescribed only in one place, viz., in Bhav. IV. 83. 14, but we have already said that this chapter (83) might have been taken at a later date from the present Varāha-p.


73 Bhav. IV. 58. 63 (praduryumādi-putra-vargām harivaṃśe yathoditam); 74. 47 (harivaṃśadikām sarvaḥ . . . . / saapruṣikām athākhyānaṃ bhāratākhyānam eva ca//); 140. 71 (rāmāyaṇam iva subhagam . . . . ); 174. 15 (purāṇaṃ bhāratam vāpi rāmāyaṇanam athāpi vā).

74 Bhav. IV. 55. 15-16; 70. 4; 118. 56b-57a; 122. 20; 125. 2; 138. 13; and so on.

75 Bhav. IV. 30. 5; 32. 12; 59. 2; 75. 4; 89. 25; 103. 28; 111. 49; 113. 2; 115. 3-4; 170. 21; and so on.

76 Bhav. IV. 63. 23 (this list excludes Paraśurāma but includes Rāma i.e. Balarāma); chap. 83; 190. 6b-7a. See also Bhav. IV. 83. 10 (daśāvatāra-rūpāṇi . . . . . . . . . . . ); and 76. 44 (in which all of the ten incarnations, except Buddha and Kalkin, have been mentioned).

77 See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 41-42.
Bhaviṣyottara Brahmā seems to have been thrown into the background. Bhav. IV. 4. 95b-97a (yasya yāvad bhaved āyur dehināṁ pūrva-karmabhīḥ / tasyārddhamānuṣo (?-ārddham āyuṣo) rātrir harate mṛtyu-rūpīṇi // bāla-bhāvena mohena vārdhakye jara-yā tathā / varśaṁ viṁśatir yāti dharma-kāmārtha-varjita //) seem to be based on Bhartṛhari's Subhāṣita-trīśatī 3. 49 (āyur varśa-satam nṛṇāṁ parimitam rātrau tadardham gatam etc.); and Bhav. IV. 4. 121 (arthasy-opārjane duḥkham arjītasyāpi rakṣane / āye duḥkham vyaye duḥkham arthebhyaś ca kutahl sukham //) was most probably taken from the Pañcatantra (I. 163). We have already seen that the Bhaviṣyottara not only mentions the Matsya-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p. as sources of some of its chapters but derives a large number of chapters from these two Purāṇas. Hence the date of compilation of the present Bhaviṣyottara cannot be placed earlier than 700 A.D.

Thus the date of this Purāṇa falls between 700 and 800 A.D. It is highly probable that it was compiled towards the end of the 8th century A.D. The catholic spirit, which this Purāṇa entertains regarding the different deities, and the secondary position to which it lowers Brahmā, tend to support this date, because it was at this time that Śaṅkarācārya began his activities and the pañcāyatana-pūjā was gaining ground.

The present Bhaviṣyottara has not only gained by incorporating new chapters but has also sustained loss. For instance, this work does not contain any chapter on Ekādaśi-vrata, although in chap. 8 (verses 1-3) Yudhiṣṭhira requests Kṛṣṇa to describe the vrataś of different gods in the order of the Tithis (beginning with the Pratīpad—pratipat-kramaṇa) on which these are to be observed. That the Bhaviṣyottara once contained one or more chapters on Ekādaśi-vrata is proved by the fact that Hemādri, Mādhabācārya, Govindānanda and others quote a large number of

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78 As we have not yet been able to trace Bhaviṣyottara, chap. 4 in any other work, it seems to have been written by the compiler himself.
79 For dates of the Matsya-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p. see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 26ff. and 167 ff.
verses on Ekādaśi-vrata from the ‘Bhaviṣyottara’. Besides these, there is mention of Mahālakṣmilī-vrata, Haritālikā-vrata, Somavārānvita-amāvāsyā-vrata, Ravi-rotā-vrata, Dharma-karma-vrata, Saptama-dhūlikā-vrata, and Nāga-paṃcami-vrata (of a different type) in Rudradhara Upādhyāya’s Varṣa-kṛtya, of Ratha-saptami-vrata and Phala-śaṣṭhi-vrata in Mādhavācārya’s Kāla-nirṇaya (pp. 137 and 190), and of galantikā-dāna, maṇīkā-dāna, Jaya-paṃcami-vrata, Sūrya-śaṣṭhi-vrata, Kṛṣṇa-śaṣṭhi-vrata, Tapaś-caraṇa-vrata, Amuktābharaṇa-saptami-vrata, Ratha-saptami-vrata, Vaiśākha-navami-vrata, Vaitarani-vrata, Ubhya-dvādaśi-vrata, Guhyaka-dvādaśi-vrata, Caturdaśi-vrata, Santānada-vrata, Go-trirātri-vrata, Jāti-trirātri-vrata, Kaumudimahotsava, Sadā-vrata, Sukha-vrata, Čandikā-vrata, Tripura-sūdana-vrata, Nandāditya-vrata etc. in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi. But no chapter on these vows and donations occurs in the present Bhaviṣyottara, some of them being found to occur in separate Mss.

Except chap. 112 (on Vṛntāka-vrata) and a few lines here and there, the whole of the present Bhaviṣyottara is written in verse.

2. The Brhadārāṇyaka-pūrṇa.

This work,68 which richly deserves careful study for the

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68 Only two editions of this Upapuṇa have hitherto been printed, viz., the Vaṅga-vaśī edition printed in Bengali characters and the ASB ed. printed in Devanāgarī. These two editions differ in readings in numerous cases. Their corresponding chapters are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vaṅga. ed.</th>
<th>ASB ed.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pūrva-khaṇḍa, chaps. 1-30</td>
<td>= chaps. 1-30 (called Pūrva-khaṇḍa).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya-khaṇḍa, chaps. 1-30</td>
<td>= chaps. 31-60 (called Madhya-khaṇḍa).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>chaps. 15-21</strong></td>
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Though both these editions show numerous signs of careless editing, we have preferred the Vaṅga. ed. mainly for two reasons, viz., (i) the ASB ed. does not contain the last seven chapters (i.e. chaps. 15-21) of the Uttar-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅga. ed., and (ii) it does not number the chapters of its Pūrva-khaṇḍa and Madhya-khaṇḍa separately.

Chaps. 15-21 of the Uttar-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅga. ed., which are wanting in the ASB ed., must not be taken as spurious. They occur in almost all the Mss of the Brhadārāṇyaka-pūrṇa. Moreover, the final chapter of the ASB ed. (which is the same as chap. 14
reconstruction of the social and religious history of Bengal, calls itself a 'Dharma-samjñita' or 'Dharma-nāmakā' Purāṇa in three of its verses (viz., I. 1. 12 and 22, and III. 21. 1) and is thus liable to be confused with the Dharma-p.,\(^{81}\) which is a quite different work. But its real title is 'Brhadhdharma-p.', and this title occurs in all its chapter-colophons as well as in many of its verses\(^{82}\).

Though the Brhadhdharma-p. calls itself an Upapurāṇa and claims the highest position among the Upapurāṇic works\(^{83}\), it is included in no list of eighteen Upapurāṇas except that contained in chap. 25 of its Pūrva-kh. Yet, we

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of the Uttara-kh. of the Vaṅga. ed.) clearly shows that it is not the concluding chapter of this Upapurāṇa. It does not contain a single word on the praise of this work, nor does it mention Sūta who is the main reporter. On the whole, this chapter (14) shows no sign of conclusion of the work.

For Mss of this work, see
(i) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1226-9, No. 3402 (Ms No. 1313a).
This is a complete Ms written in ‘modern Devanāgarī’ script. Its contents are the same as those of the Vaṅga. ed.]
(ii) Dacca University Mss Nos. 319, 4199 and 4649.
[All these Mss are complete and are written in Bengali characters, and the number of their chapters and their contents are the same as those of the Vaṅga. ed. Of these, Ms No. 319 consists of fols. 1-164 and is dated Śaka 1763, and the chapters of its first two Khaṇḍas are numbered continuously; No. 4199 consists of fols. 1-239 and appears to be much older than the preceding Ms; and Ms No. 4649 consists of fols. 1-347 and must be the oldest of these three.]
This is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script.]
(iv) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 781-4, Nos. 4123-7 (Ms Nos. 4590, 2537, 4406, 4464, and 4505 respectively).
[All these Mss are written in Bengali characters. Of these, No. 4127 is complete and contains all the seven concluding chapters of the Vaṅga. ed., and No. 4126, which is incomplete, contains only three of these seven chapters.]
(v) Chakravarti, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., p. 116 (Ms No. 309).
This is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script and dated 1212 Vaṅgābda.]
(vi) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 205.
[This Ms is written in Devanāgarī script and dated 1801 Vikrama Era.]

\(^{81}\) For Mss of this Dharma-p., which also is an Upapurāṇa, see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 777-781, Nos. 4121-2 (Ms Nos. 3309 and 3657 respectively); Roth, Tübingen Cat., 13; Mitra, Notices, VI, pp. 244-7, No. 2182; Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 217; and so on.

This work is found incorporated in the Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa of the Padma-p. as published by the Ānandāśrama Press (Poonā), Veṅkateśvara Press (Bombay) and Vaṅgāvāsi Press (Calcutta). More detailed information about this Upapurāṇa will be given later in course of our analysis of this work.


\(^{83}\) Ibid., I. 30. 49-50; III. 20. 17 and 20; III. 21. 6.
should not neglect this work for reasons which we shall see hereinafter.

The present Brhadhaddharma-p. consists of three Khaṇḍas or parts, viz., Pūrva, Madhya and Uttara. The Pūrva-khaṇḍa begins with the gāyatrī adapted to Viṣṇu and states in its introductory chapter that once Sūta, ‘son of Romaharṣaṇa’, came to the Naimiṣa forest where Saunaka and some other sages were engaged in performing a long-continued sacrifice. At the sight of Sūta the sages asked him why he came there, what holy discourses he had heard from Vyāsa ‘born of the son of Śaktivṛ’, and who were Vyāsa’s audience. In reply to their question, Sūta said that being requested by Jávāli at Vadarikāśrama to speak on topics relating to dharma and artha, Vyāsa spoke out to Sūta and other sages the ‘holy Purāṇa named Dharma’ (punyaṃ purāṇam dharma-saṃjñitam) which was characterised by the following topics:

Description of varṇāśrama-dharma; praise of dharma, and its nature in the different ages; enumeration of gurus; eulogy of parents; enumeration and praise of holy places; praise of different gods and their worship; benefits of performing religious ceremonies on particular Tithis; enumeration of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas; glorification of cows and Brahmans; dialogue between Śuka and Jaimini on creation etc.; stories on the glorification of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa; description of luminaries; glorification of the Ganges; summary of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa; various relevant stories. Next, at their request to narrate this ‘Dharma-nāmaka Purāṇa’ (purāṇam dharma-nāmakam), Sūta saluted Vyāsa and reproduced what Vyāsa had said to Jávāli at Vadarikāśrama on the above-mentioned topics.

Thus the subject-matters of the Brhadhaddharma-p. have been introduced. As a matter of fact, the Brhadhaddharma-p. deals with all the above-mentioned topics, and this will be evident from the following analysis of its contents.\[^{44}\]

\[^{44}\] We shall see hereinafter that the Brhadhaddharma-p. is a work of Bengal and reflects the condition of Hindu religion and society in this province in the days of its author. So, the contents of this work have been given a bit elaborately in the following pages.
Chap. I—Praise of dharma, and the necessity of its practice. Advice to people not to forsake their own dharma even under great difficulties. The four constituents of dharma, viz., satya, dayā, sānti and ahimsā.

Chap. 2—Qualities to be classed under each of the categories satya, dayā, sānti and ahimsā. Relatives (viz., mother, father, elder brother, paternal grandfather, father-in-law, maternal uncle, maternal grandfather, paternal uncle, elder sister, father’s sister, mother’s sister, and wives of paternal grandfather and others) who can be called gurus. Eulogy of father and mother (piṭ-śtava, māṭ-śtava), who are given the highest position among the gurus. Manifold benefits of implicit obedience and service to parents.

Chap. 3.—Story of a fowler who attained knowledge of distant things and events by rendering whole-hearted service to his parents and who referred a Brahmin named Kṛtabodha to another pious fowler named Tulādhāra at Benares for instructions on dharma after reproaching him (i.e. Kṛtabodha) for practising austerities by forsaking his old parents and young wife at home and for feeling proud of being able to burn, by means of his angry glance, a crane which passed stool on his body. Story of Tulādhāra who, being inspired by the sight of a bird’s attainment of a divine body as a result of giving water to its dying father, rendered respectful service to his parents and attained divine knowledge. Tulādhāra’s instructions to Kṛtabodha to return home, serve his parents, and do the duties of a householder.

Chap. 4—Praise of a spiritual preceptor (i.e. Tāntrika guru), who is to be regarded as superior even to parents and who should preferably be a householder belonging to the Brahmin caste. Acceptance of mantras by generations from the members of a single family. Respect to be shown to a

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48 tasmād guror vaṁśa-jātaṁ vayo’pam api paṇḍitam/ gurun kuryat tu dikṣāyām avicārya gurub kulam// (Verse 10).
spiritual preceptor by drinking the water with which the feet of the preceptor are washed, by regarding him as the same as the Tantra and the deity, and by various other acts. Permission to women to be gurus. Strict secrecy to be observed with respect to one's guru, Tantra and mantra. Three births of Brahmins, viz., śaukra (i.e. natural birth from the parents), sāvitra (i.e. investiture with the sacred thread), and daikṣa (i.e. initiation to Tantric worship); and two births of women and Śūdras, viz., śaukra and daikṣa. Bad effects of distinguishing between the spiritual guide (guru), the (relevant) Tantra and the deity to be worshipped (devatā) and also between Gaṅgā, Durgā, Hari and Īśā. Religious and household duties of an ideal wife. Duties of a widow.

Chap. 5.—Being requested by Jávāli to speak on tīrthas Vyāsa says that tīrthas exist in various forms, viz., speech, water, land, body, limbs, time, trees, places resorted to by gods, places where there are images of gods, and so on. He then reports in chaps. 5-30 the interlocution between Devi and her attendants Jayā and Vijayā. This interlocution was made on the following topics:

Praise of Gaṅgā (the Ganges) as the best of all tīrthas. Jayā and Vijayā's eulogy of Gaṅgā (gaṅgā-stava), who is described as moon-white, four-handed, three-eyed, dressed in white garments, seated on a shark, and holding a lotus and a golden pitcher of nectar in two of her hands and assuring safety and confection of boons with the other two. Origin of all holy places from Gaṅgā. Eulogy of Gaṅgā by these holy places.
[In this chapter Gaṅgā is called abheda-buddhi-rūpā, abheda-buddhimat-priyā, mahāmallā, kokāmukhi, viṣahari, daśa-harā, hriṇi-svarūpiṇī etc. and is identified with Brahmāṇi, Vaśnavi, Rudrāṇi and Kāli, the last being said to be fond of fish, meat and wine. She is also identified with the river Sītā on the east, Bhadrā on the north, Vaṃkṣu on the west, and Alakanandā on the south.]

Chap. 6.—Names of different holy places including Śītalaka (on the east), Alakālaka (on the south), Vaṃkṣubhadra (on the west), Bhadrottara (on the north), the four Gaṅgā-dvāras, Prayāga (‘where the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī fall into the Ganges’), Vāsantaka-kṣetra, Vārāṇasi, the meeting place of the Gaṅgā with the Padmāvatī (i.e. the river Padmā of Bengal), Trivenī (where the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī are separated from the Ganges), the Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṃgama (where the Ganges falls into the ocean by dividing herself into a thousand streams)92, and the houses of Brahmins, the temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the seats of Devī (devī-pīṭhāḥ) situated on the banks of the Ganges.

Chap. 7.—Sanctity caused to a place by the presence of lotus-plants, Tulasī plants and Bilva trees. Story of the origin of the Tulasī plants at Vṛndāvana from the dead body of Vṛndā (wife of Dharmadeva residing on the Kailāsa mountain), who became a Rākṣasi as a result of her husbands’ curse and died by fasting for a week and listening all the while to the names of Hari sung by the Brahmins. Praise

92 tais ‘pi kathitam tīrtham padmāvatyāḥ samāgamaḥ / trivenī näma tīrtham ca prthagbhūte ca yatra vai / sarvasvai ca yamunā prayāga-phala-dāyakam / gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgai ca tīrtham paramakam matatam / yatra dhārā-sahaṣreṇa gaṅgā sāgaragā bhavet / (Verses 33-35a).
of the Tulasī plants, in every leaf of which the twelve-syllabled mantra 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' is said to remain.

Chap. 8.—First origin of the Tulasī plant on the Kārttikeya Amāvāsyā. Description of Tulasī as a youthful goddess adorned with various kinds of ornaments and a vermillion-red garland and having a dark-blue complexion (śyāmāṅgi), a beautiful face covered with swarms of bees, and two hands, in which there are a conch-shell and a lotus. Results of worshipping Viṣṇu with Tulasī-leaves during the different months of the year. Praise of the Tulasī plant and of service rendered to it.

Chap. 9.—Going to narrate the story of the origin of the Bilva tree Devī speaks on the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the respect shown to each other by these two gods on their way to each other’s residence.

[In this connection the following regions have been mentioned as being situated one above the other, viz., Brahma-loka, Śiva-loka, Vaikuṇṭha, Durgā-loka and Goloka, the highest position being said to be occupied by the last-mentioned one. Of Durgā-loka and Goloka it has been said that on earth ‘the former exists under the name of Kāmarūpa which is the best of all places’, and the latter is known by the name of Vṛndāvana.]

Chap. 10.—Viṣṇu’s confession to Lakṣmī that Śiva is not only dearest to him but is identical with himself. Names of flowers with which Śiva is to be worshipped. Lakṣmī’s worship of Śiva with a thousand lotuses, of which two, being found missing, were going to be replaced with her own breasts. Origin of the Bilva tree from that breast of Lakṣmī which was severed by her and offered to the Śiva-liṅga, Lakṣmī’s eulogy of Śiva.

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94 durgā-lokas tataś cordhvam yatra sarvāh striyāḥ subhāḥ/ yaḥ prthivyāṁ kāmarūpa iti deśottamah sakhi/ tata urydhvam ca goloko lasat-tejomayaḥ parah// yaḥ prthivyāṁ samākhyaṭo nāmnā vṛndāvanābhidhāḥ// (Verses 5b-7a).
Chap. 11.—Origin of the Bilva-tree on the Vaiśākha-
śukla-tṛtiyā. Praise of the Bilva tree and of service rendered
to it. Benefits of worshipping Śiva with Bilva-leaves. 
Holiness of Haridrā-nagaraa (where Śiva resides as Vaidya-
nātha), Kāmarūpa, Kāśi and Kāncipura in consequence of
the presence of Bilva trees there.

Chap. 12.—Origin of four Āmalaki trees, on Māgha-
sitaikādaśī, from the four clear drops of tears (āmalāni
kāni) fallen from the eyes of the joyous Devī and Lakṣmī
who wanted to worship Viśṇu and Śiva respectively with
things selected by themselves (sva-kalpitena dravyeṇa).
Praise of Āmalaki trees, and the results of using their leaves
in the worship of Viśṇu and Śiva.

Chap. 13.—Names of holy places, viz., Prabhāsa,
Prthūdaka, Vindusaras, Brahmatirtha (‘where the Sarasvatī
flows towards the east’), and Naimiśāraṇya. Story of the
origin of the Vaiṣṇava holy place Naimiśāraṇya from the
disappearance of the divine being named Nimiṣa who was
born of Brahmā.

Chap. 14.—Names of holy mountains, rivers and places,
The names of the holy places include the following:

Gokarnā, which is called ‘Śiva-sthala’; Kāmarūpa,
which is situated on the bank of the Brahmanada and where
Devi’s female organ fell; ‘the pīṭha named Maṅgalakośṭhaka46
in the city (pūrī) of Ujjayinī where Devī dwells as Maṅga-
la-candī and grants boons to her worshippers’; the place
where one’s paternal blood-relations live47; Vaidyanātha; Vakre-
śvara, where there is the sacred river named Pāpaharā and
which is said to have been dealt with elaborately in the

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46 It is the same as modern Deoghar in Santal Parganas.
47-48 ujjajinīnaṁ tathā puryām pithaṁ maṅgalakośṭhakam/
subhā maṅgalacandvyākhyā yatrāham vara-dāyin//
(jñātayo bahavo yatra matāṁ tat tūṁhām uttamam/ (Verses 14-15a).

The city of Ujjayini, mentioned above, is the same as the ancient town of Ujānī
which comprised the modern villages of Kogrām, Maṅgalkoṭ and Ārāl situated on the
bank of the river Ajaya in Katwa subdivision in the district of Burdwan in Bengal.
Ujānī, which is one of the fifty-one pīṭhas, is mentioned in Trikāṇḍaiṣa, Tantra-
cudāmini, etc.

For further information about this holy place see Chap. I, footnote 125 above.
'Brahmāṇḍākhyya Purāṇa'; Śrīpuruṣottama situated on the side of the salt-ocean; and Kāmākhyā, which is one of the best tīrthas.

Chaps. 15-16.—Mention of various other tīrthas, viz., feet of a Brahmin, the back of a cow, the limbs of one's own wife, one's own eyes and the right ear, and so on.

Description of Kāla-tīrthas (i.e. tīrthas in the form of auspicious time), which are said to be Vaiṣṇava, Śākta Śaiva, Saura etc.—Identification of kāla (time) with Nārāyaṇa; division of kāla into bhūta, bhavisaṅgam and vartamāna, as well as into paramānu, kṣaṇa, daṇḍa (sixty of which make one human day-and-night), ahūtra, tithi, pakṣa, māsa, ēka, ayana and samvatsara; counting of māsas from Āśvina, and their classification into saura and cāndraya; description of four months, viz., Āśādha, Kārttika, Māgha and Vaiśākha, as tīrthas. Benefits of the performance of various pious acts during these four months and of residence at Kāśi in Vaiśākha, at Śrīpuruṣottama in Āśādha, at Kāmarūpa in Kārttika, and at Prayāga in Māgha. Praise of death in these four months at Kāśi, Puruṣottama, Kāmarūpa and Prayāga, and especially in the Ganges. Description of various religious rites and ceremonies to be observed on particular Tithis in different months (especially in Vaiśākha, Kārttika and Māgha), viz., Aksaya-tīrthiyā, Jahnusu-saptami, Nāga-pañcamī, Dyūta-pratipad, Bhrātrdvitiyā, Raṭantī Caturdaśī, Śrī-pancamī (in Māgha and Caitra), Mākāri Saptami, Bhīṣmāstāmi, Śiva-caturdaśī, Mahāstami, Asokāstamī, Rāma-navami, Damana-caturdaśī, Daśaharā, Mahājyāśthi, Āśādha-krṣṇapāṇcamī (for upākarman of the Vaiṣāsaneyins), Krṣṇa-janmāstamī, Śravanadvādaśī, and many others. Methods of worshipping Viṣṇu (under different forms and names), Gaṅgā, Śūrya, Nāgadevi, Śiva, Yama, go (cow), Lakṣmī, Mahākāli, Sarasvatī, Devī,
Rāmacandra, Kāma, Umā, Indra-and-Śacī, and Agastya in different parts of the year.

Chap. 17.—Performance of śrāddha on the different Tithis in Āśvina-krṣṇapakṣa.

Chaps. 18-22.—Devi’s brief narration of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa (up to Rāma’s return to Ayodhya from Laṅkā with Sitā) in order to explain the introduction of the autumnal worship of herself.

[This story contains some innovations such as Hanumat’s talk at Laṅkā with Caṇḍikā (also called Kāli and described in a hymn as having two, four, six, eight, ten or eighteen hands), who protected Laṅkā but left for Kāmarūpa as soon as Hanumat set fire to Laṅkā, god’s invocation of Caṇḍī on a Bilva tree according to Caṇḍī’s advice, and Caṇḍī’s consequent blessings on Rāma and description of the method of her own worship in the month of Āśvina.

The method of Devī-worship, as given in chap. 22, consists of the following operations: bodhana of Devī in a Bilva tree on the Kṛṣṇa-navami Tithi; worship of Devī in the Bilva tree up to Śukla-ṣaṭṭhi; bringing of Devī to the house constructed for her worship, on the Śukla-saptami Tithi, and her worship; fasting, Devī-worship, performance of homa, sacrifice of animals, and keeping awake at night on on ‘Mahāṣṭami’ Tithi; saṁdhī-pūjā at aśtami-navami-saṁdhi; performance of homa, Devī-worship, animal-sacrifice, and sitting up at night during the ‘Mahānavami’ Tithi; and singing of amorous songs containing words denoting male and female generative organs and sexual intercourse, on the ‘Vijaya Daśami’ Tithi. The Brhadādharmap. states that though this festival is to be continued for fifteen days, Devī should be specially worshipped on two days, viz., on the Mahāṣṭami and the Mahānavami Tithi, and that during this festival people should, without distinction of caste and

101 In Brhadādh. I. 22. 14 Brahmā says:

aim rāvanasya vadhārthāya rāmasya-nugrahāya ca /
akāle tu śive bodhas tava devyāḥ krto mayá //
bhaga-liṅgābhidhānaiś ca śringāra-vacanaiś tuḥtāḥ /
gānaṁ kāryaṁ bhujayec ca brāhmaṇāms toṣayet striyaḥ //
(I. 22. 33).
sex, give up their usual works (such as teaching, study, trade, agriculture etc.), be liberal in spending money, and have brotherly feelings\textsuperscript{103}.

Chap. 23.—Description of a few more religious rites and festivals, viz., worship of Lakṣmī during the Āsvina-paurṇa-māsī; Dīpānvitā, to be performed on the Amāvāsyā following the Āsvina-paurṇamāsī; Rāsotsava (Rāsa festival) on the Kārttikī Paurṇamāsī; (holy) baths, donations, and funeral ceremonies to be performed during Ardhodaya-yoga (in the months of Agraḥāyaṇa, Pauṣa and Māgha under particular nakṣatras); Govinda-dvādaśi-vrata (which is to be performed on the Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśi and in which Vāsudeva is to be worshipped under the names of Govinda, Nārāyaṇa etc. with the use of the twelve-syllabled mantra, the performance of homa twelve times, the offer of twelve kinds of flowers, twelve Tulasī-leaves and twelve kinds of offerings, and the citation of a hymn of twelve verses, and twelve Brahmins are to be fed with twelve kinds of palatable food); observances during the Phālguna-paurṇamāsī (called Manvantarā), Caitra-kiṣṇa-trayodashi (called Vāruṇī, Mahāvāruṇī and Mahā-mahāvāruṇī under different conditions), and Caitra-śukla-trīṭyā (called Manvantarā).

Story of Varuṇa’s determination to worship Govinda on the Bhādra-dvādaśi Tithi, his fruitless search for ‘Bhādriyā Dwādaśi’ all over the world, his consequent threat to Dwādaśi to flood ‘the whole earth’ every year on the Bhādra-dvādaśi Tithi\textsuperscript{104}, his meeting with Dwādaśi Devī (who is described as ‘gaurāṅgi’, ‘pīta-vasanā’, ‘dvi-bhujā’ and ‘śyāma-}

\textsuperscript{103} sarvasvair api me pūjā kartavyā tu dina-dvayam / brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyo vaiśyaḥ śūdraḥ bhakti-saṃyutah //
\textsuperscript{104} tyaktvā viṣaya-karmaṇi hiṃsā-kalaha-matsarāṇ / svacchā-cittā aparacaye lābha-buddhi-yutah sadā //
nādhayapanāṁ nādhayayanāṁ na yuddhaṁ kraya-vikrayayā / na cārgho na ca kāṣādi kartavyam tatra vai kvacit //

(I. 22. 30-32)

tithe dvādaśi re mūrke kiṁ na jānāi mām api /
tvad-dine dharaṇāṁ sarvāṁ pāvaye pratīvatvāram /
yathā tvayi na pūjā syāddhareḥ sarveśvāraḥ hi //

(Verse 49).
prṣṭhikā\(^{106}\) in the bright half of Phālguna, and his worship of Govinda on that Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśī, with the result that the custom of the worship of Govinda on the Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī was changed thenceforward to that of his worship on the Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśī.

[In this chapter the methods of performing Lakṣmī-pūjā, Dīpānvitā and Rāsotsava have been described as follows:

In Lakṣmī-pūjā, Lakṣmī is to be worshipped at dusk (pradoṣa), and the worshippers are to fast at daytime, drink the water contained in cocoanuts after worshipping Lakṣmī, and avoid sleep at night.

During the Dīpānvitā lamps are to be lighted and goddess Kālī (also called Śyāmā and Mahākālī) is to be worshipped in an image at dead of night. The description of the goddess\(^{106}\), as given in this chapter, shows that she has a dark complexion, dishevelled hair, a lolling tongue, heaving breasts, and four hands, in two of which she carries a sword and a severed head and with the other two she assures safety and the conferment of boon. She stands naked on Śiva who remains lying on his back like a dead body\(^{107}\). She has

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106 Verse 51a.

106 Going to explain why Śiva lies prostrate under the feet of Kālī, the Bhaddharmap. says that when, at dead of night on a newmoon day, Kālī came down to the earth for killing the Asuras, the earth trembled under the weight of her feet, and consequently Śiva, as a corpse, held her on his bosom.

(rātrau niśṭhā-vyāśṭāyām amāvāsyām ihaiva tu) / prthvī-talaṃ samāyātā kālī dig-vasanāmbikā //

asurāṇāṃ vadhārthāvān bhavāya ca suparvaṇāṃ / yathā cakampe prthvī tad-bhārāsahanena hi //
a smiling face, and is engaged in drinking wine and blood, so much so that blood trickles from the ends of her lips. She is adorned with ornaments and is surrounded by Yoginis who dance and drink blood and wine. During the worship of this goddess, which is to be performed ‘either after the method followed (in worshipping Durgā) on the Mahāśtami Tithi or according to the Tantric method’ (mahāśṭamī-vidhānena vidhināgamikena vā), the worshippers are to sing ‘Mālasī songs’¹⁰⁸, and utter words expressive of male and female generative organs, animals are to be sacrificed, clothes, ornaments, pāyasa etc. are to be offered, and music, dancing etc. are to be held. In the following morning the image is to be immersed in water at the brāhma muhūrta,¹⁰⁹ and fees are to be paid to the priests for worshipping the goddess for four praharas (12 hours).

During the Rāsa festival¹¹⁰, the devotee is to observe fast at daytime, and at nightfall worship Kṛṣṇa along with the gopīs. In this worship, juvenile Kṛṣṇa, having ‘ujiyala bhāva’ (ujjvalaṁ bhāvam āśritam) and eager to strip the gopīs of their garments out of passion,¹¹¹ is to be represented by as many images as there are images of the youthful and passionate (rasāḍhyā) gopīs, and all these images are to be placed alternately and arranged into a circle, so that every image of Kṛṣṇa may have an image of a gopī on each side. The images of Kṛṣṇa must be adorned with garlands (called

¹⁰⁸ tadā śivaḥ śavo bhūtvā täm dadhāra trilocanām /
  tadā sarve sthirabhūtah kūrma-īśa-dharādayah //
  (Verses 6-8).

¹⁰⁹ mālasī-gāna-niratā bhaga-līngābhīṣābdināḥ /
  jīteṇḍriyā jītyahārā jīta-nidrā mahāśayaḥ //
  pūrayeyur mahākālinti * * * // (Verses 11-12a).

¹¹¹ The ‘brāhma muhūrta’ is the third of the four parts of the last quarter of the night.

¹¹⁰ Particular kinds of songs about goddess Kāli are popularly called ‘Mālsī gān’ (Mālasī gāna) in Bengal.

¹¹¹ kāma-bhāvena sītkāra-vāsa-skhalana-lālasam. (Verse 27b).
vanamālā), armlets, anklets, tilaka marks etc., dressed in yellow garments, and furnished with an amorous look. During this worship Brahmins are to be honoured with clothes, ornaments etc., and songs, music and dancing are to be enjoyed. After the payment of fees to the priests, the images are to be immersed in water on the following day with merriment, and Brahmins are to be fed.]

Chap. 24.—A few more days and occasions which may be regarded as kāla-tīrtha, viz., Varāha-dvādaśī in Mārgaśīrṣa-sukla-pākṣa, Ananta-caturdāśī in Bhādra-sukla-pākṣa, the day for the worship of Kārṭtikeya in the month of Kārttiika, the time for study of the Purāṇas, and so on.

Chap. 25.—Brahmā’s first creation of words (vācaḥ), letters and fifty-six languages and his subsequent authorship of grammatical works, philosophical treatises, Purāṇas etc. Classification of Purāṇas into Upapurāṇas and ‘Mahat Purāṇas’. Names of the eighteen ‘Mahat Purāṇas’: Brahma-p., Pādma, Brahmacandra, Vaiṣṇava, Brahma-vaivarta, Mahābhāgavata, Bhavisya, Gāruḍa, Laiṅga, Śaiva, Vārāha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Skanda, Kuśa, Matsya-purāṇa, Āgneya, Vāyavya and Śrī-bhāgavata. Names of the

The verses containing the list of eighteen ‘Mahat Purāṇas’ are given in the Vaṅga. ed. (I. 25. 20-22b) as follows:

It is to be noted that the reading 'nṛṣimha ca tataḥ param' in the second line is erroneous, because the ‘Nṛasimha’ has been included in the list of Upapurāṇas given in verses 23-27. (For this list see Vol. I, Chapter I, p. 10). As a matter of fact, this erroneous reading of the Vaṅga. ed. is found replaced by the correct reading ‘mahā-bhāgavatam tatha’ in the ASB ed. as well as in all the three Ms of the Bhṛddharma-p. preserved in the Dacca University Library. (See Ms No. 319, fol. 43b-44a; Ms No. 4199, fol. 71b-72a; Ms No. 4649, fol. 96a-b). The India Office Ms (No. 1313a) also reads ‘magābhāgavatam tatha’ (see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1229). The words ‘śrī-bhāgavatam eva ca / evam aṣṭādaśaivāluḥ purāṇāni mahānty uta’ occurring in the last two lines, are wanting in the ASB ed.

In the Dacca University Ms of the Bhṛddharma-p. the following variations in readings are found in their lists of ‘Mahat Purāṇas’: ‘laṅgau’ (for ‘laṅgaṁ’ in line 3) in Ms No. 319; ‘skandaṁ’ (for ‘skandaṁ’ in line 4) in Ms No. 319; ‘matsyaṁ purāṇakam’ (in line 4) in Ms No. 319 and ‘matsya-purāṇakam’ in Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649; ‘mahāmate’ (for ‘mahānty uta’ in line 6) in Ms No. 4199.
eighteen Upapurāṇas\textsuperscript{113} as well as of 'other Saṃhitās such as Mārīca, Kāpila etc. which are said to be equally authoritative in all matters concerning dharma'. Praise of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa as the first 'Mahākāvyā' and as the source of all Kāvyas as well as of the Itihāsa, Purāṇas and Saṃhitās in which dharma has been dealt with. Vyāsa's composition of the Mahābhārata by taking the Rāmāyaṇa as the model. Brahmā's creation of grammars and the metres such as Jagatī, Anuṣṭubh etc. Origin of Sarasvatī, who is said to be richly adorned with various kinds of ornaments and to have a white complexion, three eyes, and four hands having sudhā (nectar), vidyā (book), mudrā and ākṣa-guṇa in them.\textsuperscript{114} Brahmā's advice to Sarasvatī to live in his four mouths as well as in those of poets. Sarasvatī's taking her residence in the mouth of Vālmiki as soon as the latter was overpowered with grief at the sight of the sad plight of a female bird whose male mate was killed by a fowler. Vālmiki's utterance of a śloka, and his composition, in the Tretā-yuga, of the 'Mahākāvyā' called Rāmāyaṇa at Brahmā's advice. Brahmā's praise of poets as creators.\textsuperscript{115}

Chap. 26.—Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa of seven Kāṇḍas—a code of the duties of the four castes and stages of life (varṇa-śrama-dharma). Praise of the study of the entire Rāmāyaṇa or its different parts on different occasions (including the Śāradīya-mahāpūjā) and in different months. Names of all the Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa, except that of the second.

Chap. 27.—Brahmā requested Vālmiki to compose the Mahābhārata, but the latter refused to do so saying that

\textsuperscript{113} For the names see Vol. I, Chap. I, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{114} See verses 39b-40—

\begin{verbatim}
tataḥ sarasvatī jātā śukla-varṇāśarātmikā / nānālaṃkāra-bhūsādhīyā trinetrā śaśi-maulini /
caturbhujā sudhā-vidyā-mudrāśaguna-dhārini //
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{115} Verses 81-83—

\begin{verbatim}
kavir brahmā kavir viṣṇu kavir eva svayaṃ śivaḥ / kavir vai dharma-vaktā ca kaviḥ sarva-raśakavit // na kaver varṇanaṃ mitihyā kaviḥ śṛṣṭikaraḥ parāḥ / sarvopary eva paśyanti kavayo 'nye na caiva hi // kavināṃ vaśagā devā indr-opendra-yāmādayaḥ / kavināṃ vaśagā martyāḥ kavayo deva-gocarāḥ //
\end{verbatim}
the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas would be composed in the Dvāpara-yuga by Vyāsa, to whom he would give the seed of poetry. Brahmā mentioned the Rāmāyaṇa as consisting of seven Kāṇḍas and 25000 ālokas, and wished to know who, among the sages present in his assembly, was able to compose the Mahābhārata and the Purānic works. Nārada mentioned the name of Vyāsa, who, he said, was capable of doing this work. The other sages protested against Nārada’s selection, and claimed to be authors of the Purāṇas. Brahmā, therefore, referred the sages to Janaka for decision of their dispute.

Chap. 28.—Janaka tested the capacities of the sages by asking them to describe the glory of the name of Bhagavat (god) and decided that none but Vyāsa should compose the Mahābhārata. He narrated to them what Vālmiki had already said to Brahmā regarding the composition of the Mahābhārata and the thirty-six Purānic works and advised them to have Vālmiki’s opinion on this point.

Chap. 29.—The sages met Vālmīki on the bank of the Tamasā, narrated to him what Nārada and Janaka had said to them regarding their point of dispute, and requested him to make all of them poets. Vālmīki praised Nārāyaṇa as the highest god and said that it was Nārāyaṇa who created Vyāsa and destined him to become the author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Vālmīki added that Veda-vyāsa would write the Mahābhārata first of all, then Parāśara would become the author of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Vyāsa would then write the Mahāpurāṇas, and Vyāsa and some other sages would compose the Upapurāṇas, that all the ālokas of all the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas would be composed by Vyāsa, that the other sages would copy, reproduce or explain these verses, and that, of the twenty sages, viz., Manu, Atri and others,116 some were to write Dharmaśastras, some were to

116 Verses 24-25—

manv-atri-viṣṇu-hārīta-yājñavalkya-ośano-‘āgirāḥ
yamāpastamba-saṃvarāḥ kātyāyana-bṛhaspati
parāśara-vyāsa-śāṅkha-likhitā dakṣa-gautamau
śatātapho vasiḥśa ca dharma-śāstra-prayojakāḥ

These two verses are the same as Yāj. I. 4-5.
reproduce them, and some were to elucidate them, and the rest were to write different kinds of śāstras according to their own choice. Vālmiki then sent these sages off by saying that he would impart the seed of poetry to Vyāsa, so that they might become poets by Vyāsa’s favour.

Chap. 30.—Being requested by Vyāsa to speak on the nature of the Mahābhārata and the benefits of studying and possessing it, Vālmiki referred to the origin and duties of the four castes as well as to his versification of the Rāmāyaṇa which Brahmā, after receiving it from Nārāyaṇa, had given to Vālmiki. He then advised Vyāsa to compose the Mahābhārata on the model of the Rāmāyaṇa, praised the possession and study of the Mahābhārata, enunciated the Mahābhārata-kavaca (armour in the form of the Mahābhārata), and assigned the Śrī-bhāgavata and the Bṛhad-dharma-p. to the highest position among the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas respectively.117 Vālmiki requested Vyāsa to write the Purāṇas also. Vyāsa agreed and read the Rāmāyaṇa with Vālmiki. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas appeared in forms before Vālmiki and bowed down to him. Vyāsa saw these and then went to Vadarikāśrama with the sages.

Madhya-khaṇḍa

In this Khaṇḍa Vyāsa reports to Jāvāli what Śuka said to his pupil Jaimini. Its contents are as follows:

Chap. 1.—Origin of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva from Supreme Brahma when connected with Prakṛti of three guṇas, viz., sattva, rajas and tamas. Prakṛti (also called Bhagavati) tested the force of penance of these three gods by turning herself into a dead body. Śiva and Prakṛti’s assumption of the forms of a linga and a triangular yoni respectively for the sake of creation. Prakṛti’s assurance to Brahmā and Viṣṇu to be born as Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

117 mahāpurāṇeṣu mune śrībhāgavatam uttamam/
brhad-dharma-purāṇam ca purāṇeṣv itareṣu ca //
Verses 49b-50a.
Chap. 2.—Brahmā’s residence in the great lotus issuing from Viṣṇu’s navel, and his creation of the elements as well as of the bodies, in which Viṣṇu, having egoism under the influence of Prakṛti, dwelt as creatures. Classification of Prakṛti into Vidyā and Avidyā, the former consisting of Gaṅgā and others. Brahmā’s creation of the ten mind-born sons, viz., Vasiṣṭha, Atri, Dakṣa and others. Origin of Śatarūpā and Śvāyambhuva Manu from the two parts of Brahmā’s body, and of Kandarpa from Brahmā’s heart (hṛt). Descendants of Śvāyambhuva Manu and Śatarūpā who took to sexual intercourse for multiplication of creation. Dakṣa’s descendants, of whom Sati was given in marriage to Śaṁkara. Descendants of Dakṣa’s daughters. Brahmā’s passion for his mind-born daughter Saṁdhya, and his rage against Cupid. Origin of the dreadful Mahārūdra from Brahmā’s rage. Division of this Mahārūdra into eleven Rudras. Dakṣa’s pacification of these Rudras by means of his Yogic power.

Chap. 3.—Being asked by Dakṣa to choose her husband from among the gods present, Sati was disappointed at not finding Śiva there. So, she placed the garland on the ground by pronouncing the mantra ‘namah śivāya’. Śiva suddenly appeared and accepted the garland. Dakṣa got enraged at Sati’s conduct and denounced Śiva against Dadhīci’s protest.

Chap. 4.—Śiva’s appearance in Dakṣa’s house in the form of an old beggar and denouncement of Śiva. Story of the transformation of Nilakuntalā (a female attendant of Sati) into Śiva’s bull. Śiva’s boon to Nandin (a logician and attendant of Dakṣa) to become his own constant attendant.

Chap. 5.—Śiva’s escape with Sati through the sky. Dakṣa’s lament for Sati’s bad choice of husband. Dadhīci’s praise of Śiva. Dakṣa explained why he looked down upon Śiva.

Chap. 6.—Hearing from Nārada that Śiva would create disturbance in his city, Dakṣa determined to prevent Śiva, made arrangements for the performance of a sacrifice,
and invited all the gods and goddesses except Śiva and Sati. Though uninvited, Sati wanted to attend the sacrifice, but Śiva tried to prevent her by referring to Dakśa’s attitude towards him. Consequently, with a view to showing her own power of destroying Dakśa’s sacrifice Sati took the form of Śyāmā (also called Mahākāli) who had four hands, a dark complexion, shining eyes, heaving breasts and dishevelled locks, and was young and naked. Śiva got frightened and tried to escape. Sati assumed ten forms called Mahāvidyās in order to surround Śiva. Sati then narrated the story of the origin of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and explained her true self as the Mūla-prakṛti to the confounded Śiva. She named these ten Mahāvidyās as Kāli, Tārā, Śoḍaśī, Bhu-vanesvarī, Bhairavi, Chinna-mastā, Sundari, Vagalamukhi, Dhūmāvatī and Mātaṅgī, and said that these Mahāvidyās confer on their devotees final release as well as other desires such as the power of māraṇa, uccāṣaṇa, kṣoṣaṇa, mohana, drāvaṇa, jṛmbhaṇa and stambhāṇa. She then asked Śiva to speak out mantras, tantras, kavacas etc. for the worship of her own different forms (viz., Kāli, Tārā, etc.). She added that the Āgama and the Veda were her two splendid hands, with which she supported the three worlds.

Chap. 7.—After reassuming her previous form, Sati came to Dakśa’s house where her mother received her with great affection and narrated to her a dream in which she had seen some goblins killing Dakśa and Sati saving him by assuming the form of Śyāmā. Sati then went to the place of sacrifice and urged her father to invite Śiva. Dakśa refused to do so and reproached Sati. He decried Śiva and called him ‘vasta’ (he-goat). Consequently, Dakśa had the face and voice of a he-goat through Sati’s curse. Sati then went to the Himalayas and quitted her body.

Chap. 8.—Hearing from Nārada about Sati’s death, Śiva assumed the extremely dreadful form of Mahārūdra, went to Dakśa’s sacrificial pandal, and asked for Sati. Being

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118 For an idea of the behaviour which a son-in-law expects in his father-in-law’s house, see verses 24-32.
119 Verses 125-126.
refused and insulted by Dakṣa Śiva destroyed the sacrifice with the help of the eleven Rudras living in Dakṣa’s house as well as of Virabhadra born from Śiva’s sighs. Being pleased with the devotion of Dakṣa’s wife Prasūti, Śiva revived Dakṣa, to whose headless body the head of a he-goat was already set by Nandin.

Chap. 9.—Dakṣa pleased Śiva with a long eulogy, in which he called himself ‘paśu’ and styled Śiva Kāli-pati, Nandin, Kālāgniudrātman, Koṅka-veṅkaṭavāsaka etc. Being favoured by Śiva, he completed the sacrifice by allotting two shares of the sacrificial offerings to Śiva and Sati in accordance with the instructions of Brahmā and Viṣṇu who said, “Kāli and Śiva—these two are regarded as being composed of all the gods. People should not worship any other [god], after these two have been worshipped. Hence one should worship these two at the end, after worshipping all other gods.”

Chap. 10.—Dakṣa, Prasūti and Śiva lamented for Sati (also called Kāli). After proceeding northward Śiva found Sati’s dark body lying uncovered on its face, took it up on his head, and began his tāṇḍava dance, in great joy. Finding the whole world jeopardised by Śiva’s dance, Viṣṇu, with his Sudarśana disc, cut Sati’s body into pieces, which fell in different places and created siddha-pithas. “The best tīrtha (tīrtha-cūḍāmanī) arose at the place where [Sati’s] female organ fell. That [tīrtha] is situated on the bank of the [river called] Brahmanada and is a place of great yoga-practice. An account of this [place] can be known from the Kāli-purāṇa. None but Viṣṇu knows its glory.”

When Śiva felt lighter at the removal of Sati’s body, Nārada approached him, informed him how and why Viṣṇu cut Sati’s body into pieces, and pointed out to him ‘the mahā-

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120 Verses 51b-54.
121 Verses 37-38—

\[
\text{tīrtha-cūḍāmanī tatra yatra yoniḥ papāta ha/} \\
\text{tire brahmanadākhyasya mahāyoga-sthalaṁ hi tat //} \\
\text{kālīpurāne viṇēyaṁ mune vivaranat tatāḥ /} \\
\text{māhātmyam tasya deśasya viṣṇur jānati nāparab //}
\]
piṭhas such as Kāmarūpa etc., which were created by the fall of Sati’s limbs. At the sight of Sati’s female organ at Kāmarūpa Śiva turned himself into a mountain and supported it. He also resorted, in the forms of liṅgas, to those places where Sati’s limbs fell. Nārada then requested Śiva to remain at Kāmarūpa, and went to find out Sati. Brähmā, Indra and other gods went to Viṣṇu and eulogised him. They as well as Viṣṇu then came to see Śiva.

Chap. 11.—Brähmā and Viṣṇu met Śiva at Kāmarūpa and consoled him. They described themselves as well as Śiva as Paramātman and Sati as Mūla-prakṛti, and said that it was Mūla-prakṛti who vested them (Brähmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) with guṇas and that Sati resorted to Śiva in her fullness and to the other two in parts. Then, in order to find Sati at ‘the mahāpiṭha named Kāmarūpa’ without delay, Brähmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva eulogised Sati as ‘cid-rūpiṇi’, ‘parama-sūkṣmatarā’ etc. Consequently, Sati appeared before them first in a thousand enchanting female forms and then in one single body and cursed Brähmā to be subject to death again and again, Viṣṇu to remain asleep continually for four months every year, and Śiva to become poor and fond of cemeteries. Sati again granted boons to Brähmā to become a creator, and to Viṣṇu to establish the varṇāśrama-dharma and to be incarnate as Brahmacārin (during the Kṛta-yuga), Nārada (for writing many Tantras), Varāha (for killing Hiranyākṣa), Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Kapila (for the promulgation of Sāṃkhya-yoga), Dattātreya, Yajña (son of Ruci and Kṛti), Ṛṣabha, Prthu, Śaphara (for saving the Vedas), Kūrma, Dhanvantari (for preaching Āyurveda), Narasimha, Rāma (for killing Rāvana and Kumbhakarṇa), Vāmana, Bhārgava-rāma, Vālmiki (for writing the Mahākāvya), Vyāsa (for writing Purāṇas etc.), Buddha (for deluding people), and Kṛṣṇa-and-Rāma (for killing Putanā, Kaṃsa and others, for upholding the Govardhana mountain, for fulfilling the desires of the gopīs eager for śrīgāra-rasa and for doing many other similar acts, which have been mentioned in the Brhaddevā-p). Next, Sati gave a list of the different names of Kṛṣṇa, spoke on the unity of Brähmā,
Viṣṇu, Śiva and herself, and said that as she dwells in all females, no Śākta, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva should misbehave with them, that Śiva would speak out the Tantras and mantras, and that she would again resort to Śiva after being reborn to Himālaya as Umā and Gaṅgā. Śiva waited for Nārada at Kāmarūpa and practised austerities there.

Chap. 12.—At mid-day of Vaiśākha-śukla-ṛṣṭiyā Sati was reborn as Gaṅgā to Himālaya’s wife Menā. This Gaṅgā was seated on a shark (makara) and had three eyes, a white complexion and four hands carrying nectar and a lotus in two of them and assuring the conferment of boon and safety with the other two. She revealed herself to Himālaya in a dream, requested him to hand her over to the gods who would come to take her to heaven, assured him that she was none but Sati reborn in a half and that Sati’s other half also would be born to him as a daughter, and advised him to give this second daughter in marriage to Śiva. Accordingly, Himālaya gave Gaṅgā to those five gods who came to take her to heaven. As Gaṅgā did not take Menā’s permission before going to heaven she was cursed by the latter to be compelled to come down to the earth as a river and to be known as Gaṅgā. Nārada informed Śiva of the whole matter regarding Gaṅgā and accompanied him to heaven.

Chap. 13.—Śiva met Gaṅgā in heaven and held on his head the garland offered by the latter. Śiva explained to the gods why he did so with regard to the garland and promised to hold Gaṅgā always on his head. Gaṅgā then promised to the gods to remain, with her invisible part, in Brahmā’s kamanḍalu and then followed Śiva to Kailāsa with her formal part (mūrti-bhāgENA).

Chap. 14.—After Śiva had gone to Kailāsa with Gaṅgā on his head, Nārada went to Vaikuṇṭha and saw Nārāyaṇa with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī at his sides. Nārāyaṇa (also called Hari, Viṣṇu and Krṣṇa) learnt from Nārāda all about Gaṅgā but was unable to decide whether he himself should

122 Verses 6, 21-23 and 73.
go to Kālāsa to see Śiva and Satī or the latter should come to him. Nārada suggested that Śiva and Satī should come to Vaikuṇṭha. Nārāyaṇa then requested Nārada to sing a song, and, at the latter's request, spoke on the number and classification of nādas (sound) and svāra with the mention of their respective places of origin. Nārāyaṇa further spoke on the names and classification of the rāgas and rāginiś (in which Gauḍī is one of the Rāginiś of 'Kāmada' Rāga, and the Rāga called Gauḍarāja is one of the attendants of Gāndhāra-rāga).¹³² Thus instructed by Nārāyaṇa on the

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¹³² According to the Bhāvadharma-p., there are six principal Rāgas, viz., Kāmada, Vasanta, Mallāra, Vibhāsaka, Gāndhāra and Dīpaka. Each of these Rāgas has his wives, servant and maid-servants, as the following table will show:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the principal Rāga</th>
<th>Names of his wives</th>
<th>Names of his wives' maid-servants</th>
<th>Name of his own servant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. Gāndhāra.</td>
<td>Śrī, Rūpavati, Gaurī, Dhānaśi, Maṅgalā, Gāndharvī.</td>
<td>Paṭamaṇjarī, Maṅjīrā, Gauḍarāja Mahāpadmāvatī, Velāvalī (v.l. 'Veḷāvaṭi' in the Dacca University Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649), Bhūpāli, Gandhīni.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Dīpaka.</td>
<td>Uttari, Pūrvikā, Gurjari (v.l. 'Gurjari' in the ASB ed., and 'Gujjari' in the Dacca University Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649), Kāla-gurjari (v.l. 'gujjari' in the ASB ed. and 'gujjari' in the Dacca University Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649), Gooḍakari, Mālā.</td>
<td>Dīpahastā, Dīpavarṇā, Pradīpaka-roṭā, Pradīpikā, nābha.</td>
<td>Dīpākṣi, Dīpavakīrā.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
science of music Nārada began to sing but marred the Rāgas and Rāginis and was laughed at by Sarasvatī. Nārāyaṇa then encouraged the confused Nārada and showed him the different parts of Vaikuṇṭha. At a certain place Nārada found some deformed beings, whom he learned from Nārāyaṇa to be the Rāgas distorted by himself. He then returned to Nārāyaṇa’s assembly hall, and took his seat. Being remembered by Nārāyaṇa Śiva came there with Gaṅgā. Brahmag and other gods also attended the meeting. At the request of Nārāyaṇa Śiva first extolled the names of Kṛṣṇa (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) as the only means of attaining bliss and then sang Kṛṣṇa-nāma-mahātmya with the Gāndhāra-rāga, which consequently appeared in the assembly by assuming a form. At that very moment a female messenger (dūtikā) of Kṛṣṇa came in and began to sing the 'dhruva' (i.e. a line of a song meant for being sung in a chorus) “kesava kamalamukhi-mukha-kamalam etc.” (which is concerned with Kṛṣṇa’s sport with his gopikā at Vṛndāvana). So, Śiva sang “surucira-hema-latānavalamā etc.” When Śiva’s song charmed all in the assembly and compelled the wife of the Gāndhāra-rāga also to present herself there, the dūtikā, already mentioned, took the form of Hari’s beloved (priyā) and began another dhruva “rasikeśa kesava he/ rasa-sarasim iva mām upayojaya rasamaya rasam iva he //”. Hari was so much moved by the song that he turned into rasa, of which his own self was constituted (raso ’bhūd rasa-tādātmyāt). Finding that Hari, thus liquesfied, flooded Vaikuṇṭha, Brahmag touched him with the kamaṇḍalu containing Gaṅgā. As a result of this touch, liquesfied Hari entered into Gaṅgā and made her watery and sanctifying. Brahmag then returned with his kamaṇḍalu (containing Gaṅgā) to Brahmaloka; and Śiva and other gods repaired to their respective places of residence.

Chap. 15.—Bali, grandson of Prahlāda, attained supremacy and wrested the kingdom of heaven from Indra. Finding that Aditi began to practise penance for delivering Indra and other gods from the domination of Bali, the Daityas first tried to dissuade her but, being unsuccessful in their
attempt, set fire to the forest in which Aditi was living. Hari saved Aditi and granted her a boon that he himself would be born to her as Vāmana for reinstalling Indra in his former position. As Aditi deemed herself quite incapable of carrying Hari in her womb, the latter encouraged her by saying that he constantly lived in those persons who were devoted to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Bhadrakāli and Caṇḍikā, read the Caṇḍi, and possessed various other qualifications which made them Bhāgavatas.

Chap. 16.—In due course, Viṣṇu was born to Aditi as Vāmana having a red complexion. After the ceremony of nāmakarana124 Brahaspati invested Vāmana with the sacred thread and taught him Vyākarana, the six systems of philosophy (viz., Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Pātañjala, Sāmkhya and Vaiśeṣika), all the Smṛtis, Āgamas, Nigamas, Purāṇas and the six Vedāṅgas.

[In this chapter Aditi praises the new-born Vāmana with a hymn which resembles the Devī-stava of the Caṇḍi].

Chap. 17.—After taking leave of Brahaspati Vāmana went to Bali on the northern bank of the Narmadā and begged of him three steps (pāda) of land for practising penance there. Bali consented to grant his prayer, but Śukrācārya tried to dissuade him by divulging Vāmana’s identity and mission. Bali was not to be deterred. He called his wife Vindhvāvali and offered to Vāmana the land wanted by him. Consequently, Vāmana raised his foot made of sattva-guṇa into the sky, but Brahmā stopped its progress by pouring on it the water of Gaṅgā residing in his kamanḍalu. Vāmana then placed his third foot on Bali’s head and sent him down to the region called Sutala, where Viṣṇu always remained at Bali’s gate as Gadādhara.

Chapter 18.—After sending Bali to the nether world Vāmana vanished, but his sāttvika foot continued to remain in the sky with Gaṅgā resorting to it. Genealogy of Sagara. Story of the burning of 60,000 sons of Sagara by Kapila, the author of the Sāmkhya system of philosophy, in whose

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124 Among the names of Vāmana, Rakta is one.—See verse 44.
hermitage the Nāgas tied the sacrificial horse of Sagara. Aṃśumān and others’ unsuccessful attempt to bring Gaṅgā down to the earth for the deliverance of the burnt sons of Sagara.

Chap. 19.—Being requested by Bhagiratha, son of Dilīpa, to tell him how he could bring Gaṅgā down to the earth, Vasiṣṭha identified Gaṅgā with Supreme Brahma and described her as being seated on a shark, wearing ornaments, and having a smiling face, a white complexion, three eyes and four hands, in two of which she carried a lotus and a pitcher of nectar and with the other two she assured the conferment of boon and safety. Vasiṣṭha then advised Bhagiratha to go to the Himalayas and practise austerities, and assured him that if he could succeed in his mission, people would worship him after worshipping Gaṅgā. In accordance with this advice Bhagiratha went to the Himalayas and began his austerities. Being alarmed at the sight of Bhagiratha’s efforts gods eulogised Śiva, and the latter assured them of Bhagiratha’s harmlessness. Śiva then insisted upon Gaṅgā to be kind enough to fulfil Bhagiratha’s wish. Gaṅgā, though unwilling to go to the sinful earth, at last agreed to do so on condition that Śiva would hold her on his head when she would come down to the earth. Śiva was glad and assured her that any person, who would die in the Gaṅgā, would attain Śiva.

Chap. 20.—Gaṅgā’s appearance before Bhagiratha, and the latter’s eulogy of Gaṅgā with the mention of her thousand names, of which more than 250, occurring at the end, have

125 Verses 11-12—

126 These names include the following: Nārāyaṇi, Durgā, Durgamaniyā, Durodara, Śaṅkarā, Jaleśi, Sarasvatī, Yamunā, Godāvari, Vṛkaśasthā, Vṛka-sundāri, Varuna-

jyeṣṭhā, Rāghavī, Tantrumāyi, Śiva-gāṇamṛt-odbhavā, Mahākāli, Mahāśīrā, Digambhari,

Padmā, Padmīvatī, Mahāṣadha-jalā, Pāpa-roga-cikitsā, Vīra-sādhana-vśini, Kula-
vṛka-sthitā, Kaulī, Kāli, Tārā, Mātānī, Dhumāvatī, Chinmamāstā, Kāmākhyā, Kṣīra-

grāma-nivāsinī, Śyāmā, Mahākāvyā-svarūpini, Haridrā-nagarasthā, Vaidyanātha-priyā,

Vakreivarapura-sthitā, Tulasī-taru-saṃsthā, Bilva-vṛka-nivāsa, Aśokā, Aśoka-vṛka-
been arranged according to the alphabetical order of their initial letters, viz., क to क, च to श, and ष and ष. Praise of reciting this hymn on different occasions, especially after worshipping Gaṅgā according to the method of Durgā- pūjā or in the Āgamic method on the Daśaharah Tithi in the month of Jyaiśṭha. Gaṅgā’s consent to come down to the earth, and her granting of a boon to Bhagīratha that she would be known as Bhagīrathī. Her advice to Bhagīratha to worship Śiva and to blow a conch-shell by mounting the summit of Sumeru, so that she might follow him.

Chap. 21.—Bhagīratha went to Sumeru, ascended its summit, and began to blow the conch-shell. Hearing the sound Gaṅgā came out of Viśnu’s feet and rushed downwards. At Bhagīratha’s prayer, Gaṅgā divided herself into four streams, viz., Sitā, Bhadrā, Vaṃkṣu and Alakanandā, of which the first three flowed through Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla and Kuruvarṣa respectively, and the fourth rushed towards the south and came out of the mount Meru through a passage made by Indra’s elephant Airāvata which was terrified by Gaṅgā because it wanted to enjoy her. She then alighted on Śiva’s head on the Himalayas but lost her way in his matted hair. Being allowed a passage by Śiva after full one year, Gaṅgā descended on earth on Jyaiśṭha-śukla-daśami.\(^{127}\)

Chap. 22.—On the Himālaya Gaṅgā was divided into seven streams by the sound of the seven conch-shells of seven sages. Gaṅgā collected all these streams into one near Haridvāra and rushed towards the south-east. At Prayāga she joined the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī and flowed towards the east. By keeping Kāśi (Benares) to her left and flowing towards the north there, Gaṅgā again rushed eastward. On the way, being misled to a distance by the sound of Jahnu’s conch-shell, Gaṅgā became enraged and intended to wash away Jahnu’s hermitage. The sage understood Gaṅgā’s motive and drank her up. At last being released through

\(^{127}\) Verses 72-73.
his thigh, Gaṅgā became known as Jāhnavī and proceeded on her way. Bhagiratha, who untiringly led Gaṅgā, found that his steeds were extremely tired. So, he halted on the way. In the meantime, Padmāvatī, daughter of Jahnū, wanted to see her sister Jāhnavī and sounded a conch-shell. On hearing its sound Gaṅgā advanced to a distance towards the south-east but was stopped by Bhagiratha. Gaṅgā understood her mistake and became angry with Padmāvatī. As a result of this anger Padmāvatī turned into a broad river, flowed towards the east, and met the eastern ocean. Understanding that the ocean was near, Gaṅgā narrowed herself, took a southerly course, separated herself from the Ganges and the Yamunā, and flowed into the ocean. She then reached the hermitage of Kapila in the nether world, liberated the sons of Sagara and became known as Bhogavatī.

Praise of Gaṅgā; and the results of listening to the above-mentioned story.

Chap. 23.—In course of time Sāti’s other half was born to Menakā as Umā. This Umā, who had a complexion like burnished gold, began to practise austerities for having Śiva as her husband. Being informed by Nārada of Umā’s enterprise, Śiva saw Umā in the form of a Brahmin celibate (brahmacārin) and began to decry Śiva. Next, being earnestly requested by Umā, he praised Śiva and was at last known by Umā to be Śiva himself. He, then, left her with the assurance that she would have him as her husband. At Nārada’s advice Himālaya sent Umā to serve Śiva, who was again absorbed in meditation. In order to excite passion in Śiva’s mind Brahmā sent Kandarpa, but Śiva burnt him to ashes. Śiva besmeared his limbs with these ashes and

128 Verse 37—

cukrodha padmāvatyai sā sā tat-krodhān nādi babhau /
sā ca padmāvatī devi vistirōja-salilā punaḥ /
pūrva-mukham yauvau pūrvaṃ samudram api samgatā //

129 Verses 38-39—
gāṅgā tu velāṁ samksipy aṃgatvam samupacakrame /
babhūva daksīna-srotāḥ buddhvābdhi-nikaṣṭāḥ iva //
gāṅgā-yamunayoḥ saṅgaṃ paritvajya surāpāgā //
rājanaṃ daksīnaṃ kṛtvā samhibbhaṇa samhitve samhitaḥ paritva //
felt attracted towards Umā. Consequently he married her and took her to Meru in the Ilārvṛta-varṣa. From Śiva’s energy, which was thrown by Fire into the Śiva-kāñcana, was born Kārttikeya (also called Guha and Śaḍ-vaktra), who killed the demon Tāraka. Śiva returned with Umā to Kailāsa and spoke out to her the mantras and Tantras of all the gods.

Chap. 24.—Glorification of Gaṅgā. Names of the seven holy places which can give final release, viz., Ayodhyā (which is the town of Rāma and is situated on the tip of Rāma’s bow), Mathurā (which rests on Kuṇa’s Sudarśana disc and is protected by Kuṇa), Māyā (named Kāmarūpa, which rests on a Śiva-liṅga and is resorted to by Brahma, Viṣṇu and others), Kāśī (which rests on Śiva’s trident), Kāñcī (which is twofold, viz., Śiva-kāñcī and Viṣṇu-kāñcī), Avanti (which rests on Hari’s lotus and is the same as Śrīpuruṣottama situated on the sea-coast), and Dvāravatī (which is a town constructed by Kuṇa in the sea and resting on Kuṇa’s conch-shell named Pānicajanya). Praise of Gaṅgā as being equal in glory to these seven holy places together. Works (viz., making gifts, acceptance of gifts, telling of tales, etc.) to be avoided on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Extents of the ‘tīra’ (bank), ‘garbha’ (bed), ‘tīra-kṣetra’ and ‘garbha-kṣetra’ of the Gaṅgā.130 Works to be done on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

Chap. 25.—Preliminaries (viz., bowing down to the spiritual preceptor and to Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sarasvati, cows, Brahmīns, chaste women, Bilva tree, Tulasī plant etc., smelling of Bilva leaves,131 and so on) to be done by a person starting on a pilgrimage to the Gaṅgā (gaṅga-yātriṇa). The hymn of Viṣṇu, which is to be cited by the pilgrim when he comes near the Gaṅgā. Praise of residing on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Works to be avoided there. Results of sinful acts done. Sinners who are carried by Gaṅgāpiśācas and are not allowed to die on the banks of

130 Verses 45-47.

131 Verse 7b—bilva-patram upāghrāya gaṅgā-yātrāṇi samācaret /
the Gāṅgā. Śiva’s attendants called Gāṅgā-bhairavas, who protect the Gāṅgā from pollution.

Chap. 26.—High praise of death in the Gāṅgā. Effects of coming in contact with those who live on the banks of the Gāṅgā. Story of a just but impious king named Kākakarna of Kīkāta, who, after death, was freed by a Gāṅgā-bhairava from the hands of two Yama-dūtas and sent to heaven, because he became sinless by living for some time with a merchant who used to bathe in the Gāṅgā. No distinction of caste with respect to the waters of the Gāṅgā.

Chap. 27.—Method of worshipping Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā, Lakṣmi, Sarasvatī, Śaṣṭhi, Manasā and others in the waters of the Gāṅgā with the offer of different articles and the performance of mudrās. Directions regarding the worship of Śiva according to the ‘Tantric’ method. Non-eatability of the naivedya offered to Śiva. Story of Brahmā’s worship of Śiva and his curse to the latter that those who will eat the naivedya offered to Śiva, will become dogs. Praise of Śiva-worship.

Chap. 28.—Performance of śrāddha with sesameum, Tulasī leaves etc. on the banks of the Gāṅgā. Different kinds of food and work to be avoided before śrāddha. Obeisance to be made to Brahmins, cows, Tulasī plants, khaṇḍana birds, red kites (saṅkha-cilla) etc., if seen on the banks of the Gāṅgā. Results of constructing temples of Durgā and Viṣṇu there. Bad effects of leaving the Gāṅgā. Glorification of death in the Gāṅgā by means of a story which states that Brahmā, who was willing to learn the glory of Gāṅgā, found Śiva serving Gāṅgā at Kailāsa and met an eight-faced Brahmā, a sixteen-faced Brahmā, and four Viṣṇu-like divine beings, of whom one was a rat (unduru) in his previous birth, another a dog, and the remaining four were worms in a dead body lying in the Gāṅgā, and who attained their respective states by dying in this holy river.

Chap. 29.—Extent of a Manvantara. The fourteen Manus named as Svāyaṁbhava, Svārociṣa, Auttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cāksuṣa, Śrāddhadeva, Sāvarṇi, Brahma-sāvarṇi, Viṣṇu-sāvarṇi, Rudra-sāvarṇi, Dharma-sāvarṇi,
Veda-sāvarṇi and Indra-sāvarṇi. Names and extents of the four yugas.

Names of kings of the Solar dynasty successively from (Manu) Śrāddhadeva to Rāma, son of Daśaratha. These names, as given in verses 20-32, are as follows:

Śrāddhadeva (son of Sūrya), Ikṣvāku (whose brothers were Nṛga and others), Śaśāda, Purāmjaya, Anenas, Prthu, Viśvagandhi, Candra, Yuwanāśva, Śrāvasta, Bṛhadāśva, Kuvalayāśva, Drṛhāśva, Haryaśva, Nikumbha, Bahulāśva, Kṛṣāśva, Śyenajit, Yuwanāśva, Māndhāṭṛ, and Ambariṣa (who was sonless); Yauvanāśva, Niṣadha, Bāhuka, Sagara, Asamaṇjas, Aṃśumat, Dilīpa, Bhagīratha, Bhīma, Satya, Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha, and Rāma (and his brothers Bharata, Śatrughna and Laksmaṇa).

Names of kings of the Lunar dynasty down to Kṛṣṇa. These names have been given in verses 33-60 as follows:

Purūravas (son of Budha and daughter’s son of Śrāddhadeva), Āyus, Rantināra, Viyati, Kṛti, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Puru (who had four brothers, of whom Yadu was the most important), Janamejaya, Pracinvat, Manasyu, Cārupada, Sudyu, Bahugava, Saṃyāti, Ahaṃyāti, Raudrāśva, Ṛteyu, Rantināra, Sumati, Medhātithi, Duṣmanta, Bharata, Vitatha, Manyu, Bṛhatksatra, Hastin, Ajamīḍha, Nila, Śānti, Susānti, Puruja, Arka, Bharmyāśva, Muddgala, Divodāsa (whose daughter Ahalyā had, from Gautama, a son named Satānanda), Mitrayu, Cyavana, Sudāsa, Saudāsa, Sahadeva, Somaka, Pṛṣata (who was one of the hundred sons of Somaka), Drupada, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, and Dhṛṣṭaketu (Pṛṣata and his descendants being known as Bhārmya Pāṇcālakas); Rkṣa (another son of Ajamīḍha), Saṃvarana, Kuru, Jahnu, Suratha, Vidūratha, Sārvabhauma, Jayatsena, Āyāvin, Ayutāyas, Akrodhana, Atithi, Rkṣa, Dilīpa, and Pratīpa, who had three sons Devāpi, Śāntanu and Bāhlika, of whom the first left his father’s kingdom and went to the forest; Bāhlika, Somadatta, and Somadatta’s descendants Bhūri, Bhūrisravas and Śāla (?); Śāntanu, Vicitrāvira (whose uterine brother was Citrāṅgada born of Satyavati and step-brother Bhīṣma born of Gaṅgā), Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Duryodhana
(and his brothers); Pāṇḍu (another son of Vicitravīrya) had five sons Yudhiṣṭhīra and others, of whom the third named Arjuna had the following descendants: Abhimanyu, Parikṣit, and Janamejaya. Yadu (another son of Yayāti) had the following descendants: Nala, Kṛtavīrya, Arjuna (who had a thousand hands and whose memory leads to the recovery of lost things), Viśā, Śaśabindu, Jyāmagha, Babhru, Bhoja, Sumitra, Śīni, and Nighna, who had two sons named Satrājīt and Prasena and in whose family were born Śūra, Vasudeva, and the latter’s son Kṛṣṇa.

Chap. 30.—Glorification of Śiva and Śakti. Story of the birth of Gajānana. In spite of Śiva’s indifference to the pleasures of conjugal life, Pārvatī expressed her strong desire for a son. Śiva was annoyed, and told Pārvatī that her son would be averse to marriage. Pārvatī was sorry. In order to divert Pārvatī Śiva placed a part of her red cloth on her lap out of fun, as if it were a child. Curiously enough, a male child was born of it. As soon as Śiva took this child on his lap, its head, being turned towards the north, dropped down to the ground. Śiva was perplexed. He was, however, directed by a voice from the air to join to its body the head of one who would be found lying with his head turned towards the north. Śiva ordered Nandin accordingly. Nandin brought the head of Indra’s elephant Airāvata. Śiva revived the child by joining it to its body. A pen, a rosary of beads (japa-mālā), a tusk, a lotus, a tiger-skin, a sacred thread, and a rat (to serve as a vāhana) were given to the child by Sarasvatī, Brahmatā, Indra, Padmavatī, Śiva, Bṛhaspati and the Earth respectively. This child was named Lambodara, Gaṇādhipa, Gajānana, Heramba and Vighneṣa.

Sages’ eulogy of Gaṇeṣa with the mention of his fifty names including Ekadanta, Lipīśvara, Śuklāsya, Mūṣikārohin, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Pañca-pāṇi, Pañca-vaktra, Sāmudra, Vārinātha etc.

Uttara-Khaṇḍa

In this Khaṇḍa Sūta reports to Śaunaka and
others what Vyāsa said to Jāvali on varṇāśrama-dharma. The contents of this Khaṇḍa are as follows.

Chap. 1.—Origin of the four castes from Viṣṇu. Two ways of dharma, viz., Āgama (i.e. Tattva-mārga) and Nigama (i.e. Karma-mārga). Attainment of the status of the immediately higher caste by the faithful performance of the duties of the respective castes. Bad effects of doing the duties of the higher castes. The eight qualities of the mind (viz., anasūyā, dayā, kṣānti etc.) to be practised by all. Service to be rendered by the members of lower castes to those of the higher castes. Śūdras to be maintained by the higher castes. Surnames for the members of different castes, viz., ‘Deva-sarman’ for Brahmins, ‘Rāya’ and ‘Varman’ for Kṣatriyas, ‘Dhana’ (i.e. such words as are indicative of wealth) for Vaiśyas, ‘Dāsa’ for Śūdras, ‘Devi’ for women of Brahmin and Kṣatriya castes, and ‘Dāsi’ for women of Vaiśya and Śūdra castes. Respect to be shown to Brahmins by the members of other castes. Sanskrit to be used by Brahmins in blessing. Rules about making reverential salutations to males and females. A male should not face his younger brother’s wife, son’s wife, student’s wife, and his own mother-in-law, nor should he use the word ‘tvad’ with respect to them, touch their body, or give them the remnants of his food. Female relatives who are to be respected like one’s mother. (Among these relatives the mother-in-law is given a position higher than that of the mother’s sister, maternal uncle’s wife, and father’s sister).

Chap. 2.—Conduct of Brahmins. Rules about the
performance of sanḍhyā and the repetition of gāyatī, the
form and colour of which should be known from the
‘Ādityākhyā-purāṇaka’.

Rules to be observed in bathing and in answering the call
of nature. Praise of Brahmins (who are called ‘gods of
the earth’ and from whose feet all ārthas are said to have
issued).

Chap. 3.—Duties of kings (viz., protection of subjects;
possessive of virtues such as truthfulness, benevolence, devo-
tion to Viṣṇu, and readiness to serve Brahmins; possession
of a high sense of self-respect; constant hostility; collection
of war materials; digging of trenches; appointment of spies
for knowing the tendencies of the subjects; deliberations in
well-formed councils; possession of the qualifications of Agni,
Candra, Yama and others; collection of rents from non-
Brahmins; infliction of punishment for different kinds of
offences committed by the members of different castes; admi-
istration; consultation of the opinions of Brahmins versed
in the Vedas, Āgamas and Purāṇas and of physicians and
astrologers and astronomers; formation of the army; appoint-
ment of ministers; constant performance of svastyayana and
worship of Brahmins; and so on).

Chap. 4.—Duties of Vaiśyas, which include the follow-
ing: names of commodities in which the Vaiśyas may deal;
determination of the limits of profit and interest; use of

136 Verse 31—
gāyatrayā varna-rūpādi ādityākhyā-purāṇake /
jāye man tenārtham ājñāya gāyatrīṁ prajapet kṛit //

137 The expression ‘rājā kṣatriya ity uktah’, used at the very beginning of this chapter,
tends to show that to whatever caste a king might belong, he was always regarded as a
Kṣatriya.

138 Verses 7-10—
kriṣṭa yaṁ mūlyena tasya ṣoḍhaṁ amṛtakam /
vikṛta-labhyaṁ kuryāṁ tu hy adhike dharma-lāṇi-kṛt //
ṛṇaṁ dattvā māsi māsi datta-ṣoḍha-pādakam /
grhūryād vrddhim ivy evaṁ vinśadau t[i] prthak prthak //
ito’dhikāṁ ced grhūryād tādā bhogāya naiti tat /
śodhyate tu ṛṇaṁ yatra māse tatrādhiṁyaṁ tyajat //
brāhmaṇaṁkhyā ṛṇaṁ dadyād grhūryāṁ nādhiṁyaṁ tataḥ /
The text of these verses, as given in the Viṣṇa, ed., is defective. Hence, for the text
of these verses we have used the ASB ed., most of the readings of which are supported
by the Dacca University Ms of the Brhaddharma-p.
different standards of measurement, viz., *droṇa* and *āḍhaka* (for measurement by heaping), *aṅguli* and *hasta* (for measurement of length), *kudava* etc. (for measurement of land), and *māṣa*, *tāmra*, *tolaka* and *seraka* (for measurement of weight); and so on.

Duties of Śūdras. (—A Śūdra is to serve the twice-born but should not read the Purāṇas or teach the members of the higher castes. He is allowed to hear the Purāṇas and read that Āgama, i.e. Tantric work, which is prescribed to him by his spiritual preceptor. The *mantra*, to be imparted to a Śūdra, must be bereft of *svāhā* and *praṇava*. It is only in times of distress that a Brahmin is allowed to instruct *mantras* to Śūdras and to read out the Purāṇas to them. “None but a Brahmin should instruct *mantra*, Tantra and beneficial knowledge to the members of the four castes. So, a Brahmin should give these to a Śūdra also”. A Brahmin should not give to a Śūdra such food as has been dedicated to a deity. A Śūdra should drink the water with which the feet of a Brahmin have been washed. He must not commit the mahāpātakas. Water, flowers etc., brought by those Śūdras who live on food given by Brahmins, may be used by the latter in worship. A Śūdra should not call a Brahmin ‘grandfather’, ‘uncle’ etc., and *vice versa*).

Rules of purification of the body. Method of *ācamana* (sipping of water) and of painting *tilaka* marks. (Brahmins are to paint the ārdhva-puṇḍra on their forehead).

Chap. 5.—Duties of students. Requisites for *haviṣyāṇa*.

139 Verses 11-12—

droṇāḥ-kāṅgūrī-hasta-kudavāḥ-tathaiva ca /
māṣa-tolaka-buddhyarthāṁ mānaṁ kuryāt prthak prthak //
kuryāt tāmrāṁ serakāṁ ca triṃśatā śajhīr eva ca /
tadārdhāṁ tolakāṁ jācyayam etena kraya-viśravya //

In the third line the Vāṅga. ed. reads ‘setakām’ and not ‘serakām’; but the reading ‘serakām’ is found in the ASB ed. as well as in all the three Dacca University Mss of the Bhāddharma-p. (Ms A, used in the ASB ed., and Ms No. 1649 of the Dacca University spell this word as ‘serakām’).

139 Verses 43b-44—
brāhmaṇasā cordhva-tilakāṁ āśīkhāntam sadā dharet //
dvīpāhaṁ madhya-sūnyaṁ tu tilakāṁ mṛṣṭikādiḥbhīḥ /
hāhoi ca bhūdaye caiva grīvāyaṁ pariśvayaṁ api /
brāhmaṇasā tilakāṁ eva kuryād vai sarva-κarmasu //
(for both students and widows). Daily duties of householders, including worship of the nine planets, offer of fodder to cows, selection of food, observance of certain rules about eating, and so on. "One should not eat fish and meat on Amāvāsā, Paunāmāsī, Caturdaśī, Aṣṭami, Ravi-vāra, Bhānu-saṃkrānti, Dvādaśī Tīthi, and on all the auspicious days (puṇyāha). One should never take fish, meat, masūra, māṣa, nimba, ginger and oil on Sundays. A Brahmin may eat fish such as Rohita, Śakula, Śaphara etc. and also such fish as are white and have scales". "At first rice mixed with ghee, then vegetables, next soup etc., and at last rice mixed with milk should be taken. Salt must not be mixed with milk, nor molasses with sour things". Copper wares should be used under certain restrictions.

Chap. 6.—Further directions and prohibitions for the householders. Some of these directions and prohibitions are as follows. After taking the mid-day meal a householder is to take rest for a while, and then read or listen to the Purāṇas. He may see the king in the afternoon. In the evening he should perform saṃdhyā but refrain from certain acts, viz., deliberation on śāstras, eating, sleeping, consorting etc. He should sleep on wooden bedsteads and on beds furnished with bed-covers, with his head turned preferably towards the east or towards the south but never towards the north.

140 In Bengal the 'Śakula' fish is popularly called 'Śaul māch'.
141 Verses 44-46—

amāvāsā-paurṇamāsī-caturdaśī-aṣṭamiṣu ca /
ravi-vāre tathā bhānu-saṃkrāntyāṁ dvādaśī-śaṁthau /
puṇyāhaṁ ca saṁveṣa maññata-māṁsaṁ na bhakṣaye //
matyaṁ māṁsaṁ māṣuraṁ ca māṣaṁ nimbam tathādrakam /
tailaṁ ca ravi-vāreṣu na gṛhoṣta kadāca //
śukla-varṇam saśalkaṁ ca maññyaṁ bhunjita brāhmaṇaḥ //

The ASB ed. reads 'śapharaṁ śapharādhipam' for the second half of line 6, and this reading seems to be supported by the Dacca University Ms, of which Ms No. 319 reads 'śapharaṁ śapharādikam' and Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'śapharaṁ śapharādhiṣam'.

142 Verses 48-49a—

āduḥ gṛ̤̇tānaṁ āhāryaṁ vyañjananā śakam ṣālitaḥ /
tatāḥ śūpaṁ bhunjiṭa kṣīrāṇaṁ-bhojananām caritaḥ //
na kṣīre lāvaṇaṁ dadvānaṁ nāṁsṛṣu guḍam eva ca /

The ASB ed. as well as Dacca University Ms No. 4199 reads 'kṣīrāntaṁ' for 'kṣīrāṇa-' in the second half of the second line.
or west. He should salute Nandiśvara, Padmanābha, Nāgadevi and the household deity before sleep at night. He should avoid particular days in cohabiting with his wife, using oil, and taking meat. He should wear his cloth by tucking its hem at his navel. Clothes washed by women or washermen must not be worn by him in worshipping deities and in performing śrāddha ceremonies etc. He should serve cows daily, and take milk, curd and ghee which are like nectar. In cultivation he should not work his bulls for more than one prahara and a half daily. At the time of starting on a journey he should see cows with calves, curd, white flowers, red kites (śaṅkha-cilla), khaṇjana birds etc. He should not take food offered by physicians (cikitsaka), Bhikṣus, usurers, Pāṇaṅgadas, and non-believers (nāstika). He should marry girls having auspicious signs. He may have one or more of the following twelve kinds of sons, viz., aurasa, kṣetraja, datta, kṛtrima, gūḍhaja, apaviddha, kānīna, sahodha, kṛta, paunarbhava, svayamdatta and śaudra (or pārasava), of whom the first six are entitled to inherit his property in order of preference, and the rest deserve maintenance only. Except during the Durgā-pūjā in the month of Āsvina, he should not utter before others words expressive of male and

143 Verse 6—
prācyāṁ dīśī śīrāḥ sāstam yāmyāyām athava dvija /
sadaiva svapatāḥ sāstam viparitam tu rogadām //
Verse 9b—
na vottaraśrā vipra na nagno’pi śayita ha //
(The ASB ed. reads the last line as follows: naivottaraśīrā supyen na nagno’pi śayita ca. The Dacca University Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649 support the readings of the ASB ed.).

144 Verse 22a—
paridadhyān naro vastraṁ daśāṁ nābhau prayojayet /

145 For the names and definitions of these sons and their right to inheritance see verses 68-78. The texts of some of these verses are given below.
aurasaḥ kṣetrajo dattaḥ kṛtrimo gūḍha-sambhavāḥ /
apaviddhaḥ ca kānīnaḥ sahodhaḥ kṛta eva ca //
paunarbhavāḥ svayamdattaḥ śaudro dvādaśa putrakāḥ /
dāyāda ādiṁāḥ sat syur laghuvaṁ cottarottaram //

... kaipyāḥ parikriṣṭapāthī paśca-varṣādbhikāḥ krītāḥ /
na bhavanti hi te putra bharanārthāḥ tu kevalam //

... putreyv eteṣu yāḥ putra aurasaḥ pīr-dāya-bhāk /
śeṣāṁ ānṛṣāṁyārthāṁ pradadyāt tu praśīvanam //
female generative organs. Even during the Durgā-ḥūjā he should not utter these words before his mother, daughters or such female disciples as are not initiated to Śakti-worship. He must regard his elder brother’s wife as his mother and look upon his younger brother’s wife and sister’s daughter as his own daughters, and must not cohabit with these relatives even unwillingly. If he cohabits with any Mleccha or Yavana woman without being a Śakti-worshipper, he will lose his caste and be an object of curse of gods. A Brahmin should not worship Śiva with the offer of wine, fish, meat and his own blood and with human sacrifice in times not prescribed by śāstras.

Chap. 7.—Study of the Čaṇḍī which contains 700 verses and belongs to the ‘Mārkanda-ya-puraṇa’, as well as of the Gītā belonging to the Mahābhārata—essential to all Brahmins.

Duties of forest-hermits (vānaprastha) and wandering mendicants (yati).

Praise of the gārhaṣṭḥya-śrama as the prop of all.

Chap. 8.—Duties of women (stri-dharma).—They are to serve their husbands and remain faithful to them even after their death. They should not forsake their husbands

146 Verses 81-83—

bhaga-liṅg-ādi-śābdaṃ ca noccaret para-gocaram /
uccareś āśvine māsi mahāpūjā-dīneṣu hi //
māṭṛūṃ ca suṭānāṃ ca samīpe na kadāpi ca /
a-saktī-dilṣītāyā ca śisyāyāḥ saṃnīdhau na ca //
devī hi bhaga-rūpaiva bhaga-liṅga-rasa-priyā /
tasmāt tat-priya-kāmyāyai tat-pūjārhas tadā vadet //

147 Verses 89-91—
mlecchāṃ ca yavaniṃ cāpi gatvā jātyā parītyajet //
kālāv etāu saṇgamya devatā-dāpam śpuvyāt /
durvahāḥ śaṭky-anuṣṭhānaṃ tatra muhyanti sūrayāḥ //
alaṅghyaṃ śiva-vākyaṃ ca yoga-paṇṭhānam uttamam /
tasmād yoga-priyāṃ deviṃ bhajana kurvan na doṣabhāk //

148 Verse 98—
vipraḥ sva-raktair madyaiś ca manuṣya-halinā śīvāṃ /
nārcayen matsya-māṇḍabhyāṃ kāle śastra-nāṣedhite //

The Viṃga, ed. as well as Daccā University Ms No. 319 of the Brhadhārma-p. wrongly reads ‘suraktaḥ’ for ‘sva-raktaḥ’.

149 Verse 2—
mārkanda-ya-puruṣaḥ caṇḍi-satśaṭi-stavaṃ /
gītā-śastraṃ bhāratīyaṃ vipraḥ sarvāśramaḥ paṭhet //
under any circumstances nor should they fast or perform any "vrata" without their permission. "A devoted wife should follow her husband in his death. By doing so she delivers him even from great sins. Women have no work greater than this, because [by virtue of this work] they enjoy pleasures in heaven in company with their husbands for a Manvantara. A wife, who, with her mind absorbed in [the thoughts of] her husband, dies by entering the fire with a favourite thing of his, even if he died long ago, attains the same state". Widows must live a highly restricted life and abstain from wearing red clothes, sleeping on bedsteads, and indulging in all other kinds of luxury. Childless widows are called avīrā. There are two kinds of avīrās, viz., adattā and dattā.

Signs of women which indicate their future widowhood. Chap. 9.—Due worship of the five deities, viz., Gaṇeśa, Śūrya, Viṣṇu, Durgā and Śiva, the ten Dikpālas, and the nine planets—essential in all auspicious ceremonies.

Description of different kinds of Gaṇeśa-"vrata, Śūrya-"vrata, and Śiva-"vrata.

[Among the Śiva-"vratas, there is mention of a Śivotsava which is to be performed outside the village.

150 Verses 8-10—

|mṛtaṃ|patiṃ|cānumṛtiṃ|kuryān|nāri|pativrata|//
|mahādhyo'pi|ca|pāpebhyaḥ|patim|uttārayet|tu|sā|//
|nātaḥ|parataram|karma|yosītāṃ|vidyate|dvīja|//
|yato|manvantaraṃ|kālaṃ|modate|patinā|divi|//
|patyuś|cira-mṛtasyāpi|priya-dravyena|tanmanah|//
|praviśy-āgniṃ|cānumṛtā|tathāgatim|avāṃpyāt|//

151 Verses 39-45—

caitre śivotsavaṃ kuryān nṛtya-gīta-mahotsavaḥ|//
|snātāṃ|tri-saṃdhyāṃ|rātrau|ca|haviṣyāṣi|jitendriyaḥ|//
|śiva-svarūpaṭāṃ|yāti|śiva-priti-karaḥ|parah|//
|ksatriyādiṣu|yo|martyo|deham|saṃplḍya|bhaktitaḥ|//
|āsvamedha-phalaṃ|tasya|jāyate|ca|pade|pade|//
|sarva-karma-parityāgī|śivotsava-parāyaṇaḥ|//
|bhaktair|jāgaranam|kuryād|Rātrau|nṛtya-kutūhalaḥ|//
|nānā-vidhair mahāvādyair nṛtyaś ca vividhair api|//
|nānā-veśa-dharair nṛtyaś priyate śaṅkaraḥ prabhuh|//
|kim alabhyaṃ bhagavati prasanne nila-lohite|//
|tasmāt sarva-prayatnena toṣaṇṭyo maheśvarah|//
|śaṅkha-vadyaṃ śaṅkha-toyaṃ varjayec chiva-saṃnādha|//
|grāmād bahiḥ śivam (v.1. 'imaṃ' in ASB ed.) śaṃbhhor utsavaṃ kārayen mudā|//
|upoṣya huvā śaṅkraṇtyāṃ vratam etat samāpayet|//
during the whole month of Caitra and concluded on the Caitra-saṃkrānti with the performance of homa. In this Śivotsava the worshippers are to bathe thrice daily, fast at daytime, take havisyāna at night, live a highly restricted life, and practise various kinds of self-mortification. The devotees of Śiva are to pass the nights without sleep, disguise themselves in various ways, sing songs, perform different kinds of dance with the sound of various kinds of high-sounding drums and other musical instruments, and take part in other kinds of merriment. They are not to blow conch-shells before Śiva or offer to him water with these.]

Chap. 10.—Description of Vaiṣṇava vrataś, such as Ekādaśi-vrata, Dola-yātrā (to be performed in Phālguna-paurṇamāsi), Rathotsava (in the month of Āśāḍha), etc.

[During these vrataś, which are to be attended with music, dance and other merriments, Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped in fire, water, Śālagrama-śilā or image, and different kinds of food materials are to be offered to him during the different months. For instance, śāli rice cooked with mudga and māsa, mixed with ghee, and specially scented with leaves of Hiṅgu (Asa foetida) etc., and leaves of Vāstūka fried with ghee, are to be offered to Kṛṣṇa in the month of Pauṣa along with other things; cakes of māsa, and vegetables cooked with canaka and scented with Hiṅgu155 etc., are to be offered to him in Phālguna; mangoes, having soft stones, are to be offered with sugar in the month of Caitra; ripe mangoes, with milk and sugar, are to be offered in Jyaistha; jackfruits are to be offered in Āśāḍha; palms in Bhādra; and so on. Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped with nine kinds of bhakti including dāṣya and sakhyā.]

Short description of Durgā-pūjā (in Āśvina) and Nāga-pūjā (in Śrāvaṇa). Relative position of the stars and planets. Worship of planets by planet-worshipping Brahmins (graha-vipra) called Gaṇakas.

Chap. 11.—Hymns to the nine planets, viz., Sūrya-stotra (containing a hundred names of the Sun, such as

155 This and other references to the use of Hiṅgu show that its use for creating an odour in food was very common with the Bengalis.
Rogahan, Ruk-cikitsaka, Śiva-pūjaka-suprīta, Viṣṇu-pūjaka-supriya, Gaṅgā-snāna-priya-prīta, Durgā-pūjā-suḥṛd-vara etc.), Śaśi-stotra (containing one hundred and eight names of the Moon, such as Kṣudhāha, Nāḍa-janaka, Madana, Hamas-svāmin, Śrīṅgāra-bhāva-karṣaṇa, Jaivātrika, Hāsyakarṭṭ, Jyotiḥ-sāstra-pramāṇaka, Vaidya, Saura-bhānu etc.), Maṅgala-stava (containing twenty-one names of Maṅgala), Budha-stotra (containing twenty-one names of Budha), Bṛhaspati-stotra (containing twenty-seven names of Bṛhaspati), Śukra-stava (containing twenty-one names of Śukrācārya), Śani-stotra (containing fourteen names of Śani), Rāhu-stotra (containing eight names of Rāhu), and Ketustava (containing nine names of Ketu).

Praise of the worship of Śani on every Saturday.\(^{133}\)

Recitation of the above-mentioned hymns is said to give to the reciter all the desired objects including death in the Gaṅgā and the highest position among the jñātis (paternal blood relations).\(^{134}\)

Discussions on week-days, sanvatsara, and intercalary month.

Chap. 12.—Extents of the four yugas, and the condition of dharma and the people in these yugas. Names of the principal deities in these yugas. Story of the origin and spread of envy, old age, diseases, death etc. Praise of Hari-bhakti as the only remedy for these.

Chap. 13.—Genealogy of Veṇa. Story of Veṇa’s creation of mixed castes (saṃkara-jāti).—Veṇa, son of Aṅga, was a tyrannical and impious ruler. He prohibited the practice of varṇāśrama-dharma by beat of drums. Finding that people were growing impious, some sages approached Veṇa and requested him not to encourage the spread of immorality and the consequent creation of mixed castes. But Veṇa was not a man to listen to any good advice. He

\(^{133}\) Verse 69—

\(^{134}\) Verses 79c-80a—
determined to go against the words of the sages. He forced
the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras to cohabit
with the females belonging to the castes different from their
own in the natural as well as in the reverse order, and thus
created a large number of mixed castes. He then repeated
the same practice with respect to the males and females of
these mixed castes and added to their number. The mixed
castes, thus created by Vena, were as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father (Brahmin)</th>
<th>Mother (Vaiśya)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Karaṇa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Vaiśya</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Ambaṇṭha</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Gāndhika Vaiśik</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Kṣaṇakāra</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Śaṇkhakāra</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Ugra</td>
<td>Kṣatriya</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Rājaputra</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Kumbhakāra</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Kṣatriya</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Tantuvaśya</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Karmakāra</td>
<td>Śūdra</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Dāsa</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Māgadhaka</td>
<td>Vaiśya</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Gopa</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Nāpita</td>
<td>Kṣatriya</td>
<td>Śūdra</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Modaka</td>
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<td>Brahmin</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Vārajetvi</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Sūta</td>
<td>Kṣatriya</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Mālikāra</td>
<td>Vaiśya</td>
<td>Dvija (i.e.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Tāmbdil</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

108 The ASB ed. (verse 35) reads 'gāndhiko vāṇik' for 'gāndhiko vāṇik'. The Dacca University Ms No. 319 (fol. 150a) wrongly reads 'gāndhivālakah' (which is clearly a mistake for 'gāndhiko vāṇik').

109 The ASB ed. (Uttara-khaṇḍa) 13.36, and 14.63) and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 (fols. 150a and 153a), 4199 (fols. 220b and 224a), and 4649 (fols. 319b and 325a) give the name as 'Tantravāya' and not 'Tantuvaśya'.

110 Ms B and D, used in the ASB ed., wrongly read 'kṣatriyāc chaṅkha-kanyāyāṃ jātā nāpita-modakau' for 'kṣatriyāc chūdra-kanyāyāṃ etc.' It is to be noted that the Uttama Śaṅkaras are said to have been born of the four principal castes and not of any mixed caste (caturbhyeva varnebhyo jāyante te kilottamāḥ—chap. 13, verse 49a).

111 In the ASB ed. (verse 39) the name 'Sūta' is found, but in verse 66 of chap. 14 (of the Uttara-khaṇḍa) this name is spelt as 'Suta'. So also in the Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 (fol. 150a—'Sūta', fol. 153a—'Suta'), 4199 (fol. 220b—'Sūta', fol. 224b—'Suta'), and 4649 (fol. 320a—'Sūta' and fol. 325a—'Suta').

112 The Vaṅga. ed. (III. 13.38a) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 read 'vaiśyāt tu śūdra-kanyāyāṁ,' but the ASB ed. and the Dacca University Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'vaiśyāt tu dvija-kanyāyāṁ'.

113 Both in III. 13.38a and 14.59b the Vaṅga. ed. reads 'tauliika'; but the ASB ed. has 'taulika' in the former and 'tauliika' (v. 1. 'taulika' in Ms C used in the ASB ed.)
In the latter, whereas the Dacca University Mss read 'tailika' in the former and 'taulika' in the latter.

As 'Tailakaraka' is mentioned as one of the Madhyama Samkaras, the reading 'taulika' seems to be the correct one.

141 The ASB ed. names this caste as 'Savaka' (see Uttarakh., chap. 13, verse 43). It was most probably the Buddhist Sravakas who formed the 'Savaka' caste among the Hindus.


142 The list of Antyaja castes, given in Bṛhadh. III. 13. 43b-47a, does not seem to be exhaustive. The word ‘ityādi’ occurring in the line ‘ityādi ye’ntyajāḥ proktāḥ’ (verse 47b) which immediately follows the list of the Antyaja castes, indicates that at the time of composition of the Bṛhadharmap. the number of the Antyaja castes exceeded eight.

(‘The ASB ed. and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read ‘ityādayo ‘ntyajāḥ proktāḥ’).

143 For the reading ‘mune ghrih ajāyata’ of the Vaṅga, ed. (III. 13. 43b) and the Dacca University Ms No. 4199, the Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 and 4649 read ‘mune grahīr ajāyata’.

The caste named ‘Gṛhi’ (or ‘Grahi’) may be the same as the वद्ध caste mentioned in Mukundarāma’s Kavikañkaṇa-caṇḍī (ed. Dinesh Chandra Sen and others, Part I, p. 272).

144 The Vaṅga. ed. (verse 44b) gives the name of this caste as Cāṇḍāla.

145 The Vaṅga. ed. (verse 45a) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 read ‘vaḍurāḥ’ for ‘varuṇāḥ’.
These were 'the thirty-six castes with a few additional ones'. Of these, the first twenty had Śrotriya Brahmans as their priests, and the last eight (i.e. the Antyaja castes) were 'outside the pale of varṇāśrama-dharma' (varṇāśrama-bahīṣkrtaḥ). The principle which was followed in classifying the above-mentioned castes, was as follows. The mixed castes, which originated from the four principal castes (viz., Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra), were called Uttama Saṃkharas; those which were created by the Uttama Saṃkharas on women not belonging to their own castes, were called Madhyama Saṃkharas; and the remaining mixed castes as well as those which were created by mixed castes only, were

168 The ASB ed. (verse 47a) reads 'ghaṭṭājvī' (v. 1. 'ghaṭṭājvī' in Mss B, C and D used in the ASB ed.). The Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 and 4649 read 'ghaṭājvī', and Ms No. 4199 reads 'ghāṭājvī'.

It is probable that 'Ghaṭṭājvī' is the same as the modern पाती caste of Bengal.

169 The Vaṅga, ed. (verse 46a) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 wrongly read 'dharākāt' and 'varakāt' respectively (for 'rajakāt').

168 Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 (fol. 221a) and 4649 (fol. 320b) read 'jānavāhī' for 'dolāvāhī'.

168 The Vaṅga, ed. (verse 47a) as well as the Dacca University Ms No. 319 wrongly reads 'mattā-jātiḥ' for 'malla-jātiḥ'.

The 'Malla' caste must be the same as the 'Mala' caste, which is mentioned as Antyaja along with 'Cāṇḍāla' in the ASB ed. (verse 51—sa-cāṇḍāla-malādayāḥ) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 (fol. 150b—sa-cāṇḍāla-malādayāḥ). The Dacca University Ms No. 4199 (fol. 221a) reads 'sa-cāṇḍāla-malādayāḥ'; and the Vanga, ed. (verse 50b) and the Dacca University Ms No. 4649 read 'sa-cāṇḍāla-manādayāḥ'.


170 Verse 48a—

ṣaṭṭrisaj-jātayas tv ete sādhikāḥ kathītās tava.

The Vaṅga, ed. and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'ṣaḍvinśa jātayaḥ' in the corresponding line. That the reading 'ṣaḍvinśa jātayaḥ' is wrong, is shown by the fact that in chap. 14 of the Uttara-kh. both the printed editions and all the three Dacca University Ms have a line 'ṣaṭṭrisajjātayaḥ śūdra yūyam bhūtās tu saṃkāraḥ' in which there is mention of the 'thirty-six castes'. The reading 'ṣaṭṭrisajjāta-karmāṇi', given in the ASB ed., is obviously erroneous. The Mss B, C and D, used in the ASB ed., read 'ṣaṭṭrisaj-jātayas tv etc'.

The word 'sādhikāḥ' (lit. meaning—'with a few more') shows that among the names of the forty mixed castes mentioned in the Bṛhadṛṣṭi-dharma-p. there is none which can be taken as a later addition, and that the tradition of 'thirty-six castes' must have originated much earlier than the date of composition of the Bṛhadṛṣṭi-dharma-p.
called Adhama Saṃkaraś. 171 “The Devala (Image-worshipper), who was brought by Suparna from Śāka-dvīpa, became famous as Śākadvipī Brahmin on the surface of the earth. From Devala was born Gaṇaka as well as Vādaka in a Vaiśyā (female). From Venā’s own limb a son named Mleccha was born. This Mleccha, again, had sons, viz., Pulinda, Pukkaśa, Khaśa, Yavana, Suhma, Kamboja, Śavara, Khara and others, who formed the different classes of Mlecchas.” 172 Seeing all these, the sages killed Venā with a roar, rubbed both his hands, and brought Pṛthu and his wife into existence. They placed Pṛthu on the throne.

Chap. 14.—Due to the presence of the mixed castes, which were ‘adharma-sambhava’, Pṛthu himself could not attain peace of mind, and his subjects began to suffer from scarcity of food. Consequently, in accordance with the advice of Brahmins, Pṛthu stopped the further multiplication

171 Verses 49-50—
caturbhya eva varnebhya jāyante te kilottamāḥ/
tato ye 'sva-saṃgamaṇa saṃkaraṇtara-kārakāḥ/
te coktaā madhyamā vipra adhamāḥ saṃkaraṇtaram/
saṃkaraṇtara-saṃbhūtāḥ sa-cāṇḍāla-mālādayāḥ/
The Vaṅga. ed. wrongly reads ‘sa-caṇḍāla-manādayāḥ’ for the second half of the fourth line.

172 Śāka-dvīpā suparṣena cānīto yaś ca devalaḥ/
Śākadvipī dvījaḥ so 'bhūd višhyāto dharanī-vaṇe/
devalād gaṇako jāto vaiśyāyaṃ vādako 'pi ca/
veśasya śvāṅgat sambhūto mlecscho nāma suto varah/
pulindah pukhaśa caiva khaśo vai yavanas tathā/
suhma-kamboja-savaraḥ kharā cetyādayāḥ sutāḥ/
mlēcchasya sambhūvui ca mleccha-bhedās ta eva hi/
The Vaṅga. ed. reads the third line as follows:
tsamād vai gaṇako jāto homa-pūjā-parāyaṇāḥ.
But this reading is supported neither by the ASB ed. nor by any of the Daceca University Mss.

In the sixth line the Vaṅga. ed. reads ‘kamboja,’ (for ‘kamboja-’) and the Daceca University Mss No. 4199 reads ‘kāmbuja-’.

172 Verse 5a—adharma-sambhavaś te vai saṃkaraḥ pṛthivī-vaṇe.

The facts that the mixed castes are called ‘adharma-sambhava’ in the above-mentioned line, that the Antyaja castes are called ‘varṇāśrama-bahiśkṛta’ (ityādi ye ‘ntyājah prɔktā varṇāśrama-bahiṣkṛtāḥ—verse 47b of chap. 13), that in verses 17 and 22 the members of the mixed castes are called ‘vikṛtākara’ (ugly), and that these members are said to have looked upon Brahma, Viṣṇu and other gods as inferior to themselves (cf. verse 19c—‘brahma-visvādāyō devā nāmātto by adhikāḥ kvačīt’, uttered by the members of the mixed castes), tend to indicate that according to the author of the Brhad-dharma-p. the above-mentioned mixed castes were mostly non-Aryan in origin and heretical in faith.
of mixed castes, chastised the defiant members of these castes, and asked the Brahmins to determine their ‘varṇa’ (caste)\textsuperscript{174} and ‘vṛtti’ (profession). The Brahmins styled all the ‘thirty-six castes’ as Śūdras, asked them what professions they would like to adopt according to their own capacity, and told them that they would be classified by names in accordance with their respective professions.\textsuperscript{175} The Kāraṇas came forward first of all (ādau)\textsuperscript{176} and said to the Brahmins, ‘We are ignorant, belong to no caste (jāti-hīnāḥ), and are specially devoid of wisdom. People like yourselves are all-knowing. [So], make us as we deserve to be.’\textsuperscript{177} The Brahmins found that these Kāraṇas were ‘nītijña’ and ‘vinayācāra-sampanna’. So, they classed them as ‘Saucchūdra’ (clean Śūdras)\textsuperscript{178}, asked them to give up ‘mātsarya’, and assigned to them the work of the state as well as that of the scribes. The Brahmins then took up the case of the Ambaśṭhas, who were known as such because of the fact that they created mixed castes (viz., Svarṇakāra and Svarṇa-vaṇik) on women belonging to the same caste as that of their

\textsuperscript{174} The statements that at the request of the people of mixed origin, Pṛthu asked the Brahmins to determine their castes (‘varṇa’—verses 23-24), that the Brahmins styled the ‘thirty-six castes’ (‘jāti’) as Śūdras (verse 26), and that the Kāraṇas called themselves ‘jātiḥnā’ (casteless—verse 28), tend to indicate that before the classification of the non-Brahman population (of Bengal) into ‘thirty-six castes’, the inhabitants of this province had little sense of caste distinction. Such a state of society was most probably due to the spread of Buddhism.

\textsuperscript{175} Verse 26—

brāhmaṇā ūcuh—
ṣaṭṭriṇāsaj-jāṭayāḥ śūḍrā yūyaṁ bhūtās tu sarśkarāḥ/
kaḥ kiṁ kariṣyate karme sa tad brūtāṁ sva-śaktitab/
karmānurūpa-nāmāno yūyaṁ sarve bhaviṣyatha/

\textsuperscript{176} This shows that according to the Brahmādharmac-p. it was the Kāraṇas who imbibed Brahmanical influence first of all, and that they commanded the highest respect among the non-Brahmins.

\textsuperscript{177} Verse 28—

kāraṇa uvāca—
vayaṁ mārkha jāti-hīnāḥ prajānā-ūnyā viśeṣatah/
ḥhavat-viḍhāḥ tu sarvajānāḥ kurudhavāṁ no yathocitaḥ/

The Vanga. ed. reads ‘ḥhavat-viḍhāṁ tu sarvajānān kurudhavāṁ tu yathocitaḥ’ for the second line.

\textsuperscript{178} Verse 32—
eṣa eva hi saucchūdro bhavaty eva na sarśayāḥ/
brāhmaṇe bhaktimattvāṁ tu devatārādhane maṁ/
amātsaryaṁ suśīlatvam etat saucchūdra-lakṣaṇāṁ//
mother (ambā), and who were consequently looked upon as great sinners and despised. The Brahmins gave these Ambaṣṭhas ‘almost a rebirth’ by performing their saṃskāra (ceremony of purification), named them as ‘Vaidya’, and gave the ‘Āyurveda’ to them through Nāsatya and Dasra. Thus the Ambaṣṭhas were made sinless (pāpa-sūnya) and good-looking (cāru-rūpadhara). The Brahmins asked these Ambaṣṭhas (i.e. Vaidyas) to adopt the course of Śūdras in their ordinary life, to perform the Vedic rites, to study the ‘Āyurveda’ only and not any other work such as the Purāṇa etc., and to follow the profession of Vaiśyas in the manufacture and distribution of medicines; the Ugras, who were strong and brave, were asked to follow the profession of Kṣatriyas; and the Māgadhas, who were unwilling to

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179 Verses 38-39—
brāhmaṇaḥ āucib—
ayam anyaḥ saṃkaro hi veṣasya vaśagaḥ purā/
vaiśyāṁ saṃpasaṃgamyā cakre’nyam api saṃkaram//
tasmād ambaṣṭha-nāmāsta saṃkaro’yaṁ dharāpate/
pāpam eva mahac cakre nindatyāṁ gatam aavyayam//
The fourth line (pāpam eva etc.) is wanting in the Vaṅga.ed. Mss A and C, used in the ASB ed., wrongly read ‘pādham’ for ‘pāpam’.
180-81 Verses 39-42a—
brāhmaṇaḥ ūcib—

...asmābhir asya saṃskāraḥ kartavyo vipra-jānmanāḥ/
yenāsau saṃskṛto bhūtvā punar-jāta ivāstu ca//
vṛṣa uvāca—
ity utevā te dvija-ganaḥ sṛtvā nāsatya-dasrakau/
tayor anugrahaḥ vipra dayāvanto dvijatayah//
āyurvedan dadau tasmāi vaidya-nāma ca puṣkalam/
tenāsau pāpa-ūnyo’bhūḍ ambaṣṭhaḥ khyāti-saṃvyutah//
cāru-rūpa-dhahar bhūtvā viprājñāṁ śiraśkarot//
The Dacca University Mss read ‘vaidya-nāma’ and the Vaṅga. ed. reads ‘vaidya-nāmne’ for ‘vaidya-nāma’ in line 5.
182 Verses 44-46—
brāhmaṇaḥ ūcib—
cikitsā-kuśalo bhūtvā kusāli tiṣṭha bhūtale/
sūdra-dharmān samāśrita vaidikānī karīṣyasi//
āyurvedas tu yo dattās tubhyam ambaṣṭha bhūṣuraibh/
tena prasakto naivānyat purāṇādi vādiyasi//
āyurvedāt param nānyad yuṣmākasi vākyam arhati/
vaiyā-vṛtyā bhaisajānī kṛtvā dāsyasi sarvataḥ//
183 Verse 50a-b—
ayam ugrābhīdhiḥ’py astu balavān sāhasānvitaḥ/
yuddhe kuśalatāyāstū kṣatra-vṛttar mahāmate//
become professional fighters like Ugras, were to work as bards (vandi) to Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, to carry their letters to the addressees, and to study the Kṣatra-veda (i.e. works on the science of war). The other castes were given the following professions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Profession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tantuvāya</td>
<td>Manufacture of cloth (vastrasṛṣṭi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gandha-) Vaṇik</td>
<td>Sale of scents (gandha-vikraya).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāpita</td>
<td>Shaving and dressing of hair (kṣaura-karma).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopa</td>
<td>Writing (lihana).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karmakāra</td>
<td>Work of a blacksmith (lauhakarma).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taulika</td>
<td>Sale of betel-nuts (guvāka-vikraya).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāmbūli</td>
<td>Sale of betels (tāmbula-vikraya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhakāra</td>
<td>Manufacture of earthen wares (mṛdām śilpam).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṃsakāra</td>
<td>Work connected with copper, bell-metal etc. (tāmra-kāṃsyādi-karma).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṅkhika (i.e. Śaṅkhakāra)</td>
<td>Manufacture of ornaments from conch-shells (śaṅkha-bhūṣā).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāsa</td>
<td>Agriculture (kṛṣi-karma.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūta(^{165})</td>
<td>Rendering help to Dāsas (most probably by manufacturing ploughs and other implements for cultivation. Cf. verse 61b—dāse tu kṛṣi-karmāṇi sūte tadvapayogitām).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{164}\) Verses 50c-56.  

\(^{165}\) The profession of the Sūtas show that they were most probably carpenters. It seems that Sūta and Taṅkān formed two distinct sections among the carpenters (Sūtra-dhara caste). Taṅkān may be the same as the Patīta (fallen) Sūtra-dhara caste mentioned in Brahmaśaivarta-p. I. 10.
Caste | Profession
---|---
Modaka | Preparation of sweetmeats with molasses (guḍa-karma).
Mālākāra | Supply of flowers for worship of deities.
Kānaka Vaṇīk\textsuperscript{186} (i.e. Svarṇa-vaṇīk) | Testing of the purity of gold and silver.

The Brahmins gave works on astronomy and astrology to the Ganakas and made them Graha-vīpras. At the prayer of the members of the mixed castes for priests for the performance of ‘Vaidika, Smārta and Āgamika (i.e. Tantric) rites’, the Brahmins said, ‘We, Śrotiṇya Brahmins, are priests to the [first] twenty castes. The priests of the remaining sixteen castes are the fallen Brahmins, who will attain the same position as their clients and become Brahmins in name only (brahma-bandhu).’\textsuperscript{187}

Thus king Puru put a stop to the further growth of mixed castes, and the world attained peace and prosperity.

[In this chapter there are indications that the members of the non-Brahmin castes were originally non-Aryan, that they had a mixture of Aryan blood in their veins, that they were heretical in faith and had little sense of caste distinction before their classification into the above-mentioned castes,

\textsuperscript{186} For ‘kānako vaṇīk’ (ASB ed., verse 68), the Dacca University Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649 read ‘svarṇako vaṇīk’; the Dacca University Ms No. 319 reads ‘kālako vaṇīk’; and the Vaṅga. ed. has ‘kaliko vaṇīk’.

\textsuperscript{187} viṇītatiṣṭhaṁ tu jātīnāṁ purodhāḥ śrotiṇyā vayam/
anyeṣaṁ śodāsāṁ tu purodhāḥ patito dvijah//
tajjātī-tulyatāṁ yāyād brahma-bandhur bhaved api/
(ASB ed., verses 74-75).

The text of these lines, given in the ASB ed., is supported by all the Dacca University Mss.

The Vaṅga. ed. reads these lines as follows:
uttamāṇāṁ tu jātīnāṁ ... ... ... /
anyeṣaṁ caiva jātīnāṁ purodhāḥ ...//
... ... yāyād anyathā-karaṇād dvija/
and that it was the Kāraṇas who imbibed Brahmanical influence first of all.]

Chap. 15.—Incarnation of Supreme Brahma (i.e. Viṣṇu) as Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Mention of Vāsudeva’s exploits.

Praise of gift of gold, cows, food (anna), land and clothes which pleases Kṛṣṇa. Praise of donation.

Chap. 16.—Story of Kṛṣṇa’s birth.—Vasudeva’s agreement with Kaṃsa to hand over to him every child of Devaki immediately after its birth; Kaṃsa’s killing of six children of Devaki; Viṣṇu’s eulogy of Devi (Kāli) at Kāmarūpa for saving his own life when he would be born of Devaki; Devi’s consent to transfer the seventh child of Devaki into Rohini’s womb and to be born of Yaśodā; Viṣṇu’s entrance into the womb of Devaki, and his birth as Kṛṣṇa on the Bhādra-kṛṣṇāṣṭami Tithi; Kaṃsa’s attempt to kill Devi, born of Yaśodā but transferred to Devaki; Devi’s slipping into the sky, her assumption of a dreadful form, and her threat to Kaṃsa.

[In the above-mentioned eulogy, Devi is described as follows: She is dark-blue like the new cloud, wears a tiger-skin which is tied round her waist with a snake, has three eyes and four hands, and holds a khadga (sceptre), a pāśa (noose), and a skull. As Maṅgala-caṇḍikā she is said to have granted a boon to Kālaketu by assuming the form of a ‘godhikā’, and to have saved, by sitting on a lotus and devouring and vomiting out elephants, a merchant and his son from the rage of king Śrīśālavāhana.]

—Verses 95-96—
asaṭa-hastā khadga-carma-sūlāsī-bāṇa-pāśakaib/
paraśu-yaśṭi-saṃyuktair deva-devibhir arcitā/
ghanā-śaṅkha-dhanur-nādaiḥ śabdāyantī diśo daśa/

—Verse 45—
tvaṃ kālaketu-varadā cchala-godhikāsi
yā tvaṃ śubhā bhavasi maṅgala-caṇḍikākhyā/
śṛśālavāhana-nṛpaṃ vanijāḥ saṣuṇo
rakṣāmbuje kari-cayam graṣatī vamaṁti//

For ‘rakṣāmbuje’ (in the second line) the Dacca University Ms. Nos. 4199 and 4649 read ‘rakṣās̄jye’ and the Vaṅga, ed. reads ‘rakṣe’mbuje’.

The above-mentioned verse refers to the stories of Kālaketu and Śrīmanta Sadāgara found in the Caṇḍi-maṅgala-kāvyas of Bengal.
Chap. 17.—Merriment at Gokula on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa’s birth. Gopīs’ blessings on Kṛṣṇa with paddy, Dūrva grass etc.; Rāma and Kṛṣṇa’s sports and exploits, viz., killing of Baka and other demons, chastisement of the snake Kāliya, stealing of clothes of Gopīs, performance of the Rāsotsava, upholding of the Govardhana hill, killing of Kaṃsa and Jarāsandha, bringing about the destruction of Kālayavana, and so on.

Chap. 18.—Names of Kṛṣṇa’s wives, sons and grandsons. Story of the gem called Syamantaka, which was recovered by Kṛṣṇa from Jāmbavat. Kṛṣṇa’s friendship with the Pāṇḍavas, and his killing of Śiśupāla, Śālva, Pauṇḍraka and others.

Chap. 19.—Description of the state of religion and society in the Kali age.

[This chapter contains valuable information regarding the contemporaneous state of religion and society in Bengal. It is said that during the Kali age people would be at daggers drawn, and the Brahmins would scarcely study the Vedas. The Śūdras would read the Purāṇas and explain their meaning. “They would teach the Brahmins grammar and other śāstras.” The Vedic religion would be eclipsed by the faiths of the Pāśaṇḍas (pāśaṇḍa-dharmaśāstra). “The Pāśaṇḍas would create their own gods by dint of their own intellect, compile śāstras in the Prakrit language on the basis of non-śāstras and preach their own faiths with a spirit of rivalry.” They would forsake Kṛṣṇa and worship their non-śāstric god. These Pāśaṇḍas and the Yavanas would destroy the varṇāśrama-dharma. People would become licentious (bhaga-liṅg-opajīvinaḥ), disguise themselves as Vaiṣṇavas, and impart mantras to dishonest people for the sake of money. They themselves would hate the gods and make the honest twice-born people irreverent towards them. 190 “When Kṛṣṇa would leave the earth, the reviling Baudddhas would establish their own faith which was outside the pale of all religions. There would be serious disagree-

190 This seems to be a censure on the followers of Madhva.
ment among the Purāṇas as well as among the different systems of philosophy, and Sarasvatī would be weeping out of agony. In order to remove this mental agony of Sarasvatī, Śiva and Viṣṇu would be incarnate somewhere on earth in families having the surname ‘Ācārya’. Viṣṇu, being incarnate as an Ācārya,191 would have Sarasvatī as his wife, and the Ācārya, named Śaṅkara, would become a saṃnyāsīn. These two would refute the views of the Buddhists by means of the Nyāya system of philosophy and the latter would suffer great mental agony. After suppressing the Baudhās, Ācārya Śaṅkara himself would write divine stavas and kavacas of deities and become the author of many beneficial philosophical works. By virtue of the ‘mṛta- saṃjīvanī vidyā’ he would assume different bodies and write excellent books on Kāvyā, Vyākaraṇa etc. When these two Ācāryas would leave this earth, Kali would be predominant and deprive the people of their spirit, and Dharma would decrease day by day.”192 “Brahmins would forsake the Vedas and take intoxicants, and the earth would yield scanty crops and shrink day by day.” “The Yavanas would become powerful, and the gods would leave this earth which would be crowded only by Mlecchas.” Hari would be incarnate as Kalki and exterminate all these Mlecchas. Then the earth would be covered by water, and the Satyayuga would begin again.]

Chap. 20.—Crimes (such as killing of Brahmins, drinking of wine, etc.) which are called mahāpātakas. But a Śūdra

191 This perhaps refers to Kumārila-bhaṭṭa.
192 Verses 20-29a—

tyakte krṣṇena bhū-khaṅde bauddhāḥ kecid vidūṣakaḥ/
sva-matāṁ sthāpayasyanti sarva-dharma-bahiṣkṛtam/
tadā puraṅe sarvasmiṁ darśaneṣu ca sarvaśaḥ/
vibheduḥ tatā duṣkhād rodamānā sarasvatī/
tasya hi duṣkhīśa-sāntyarthaṁ śivo viṣṇu ca bhūtale/
ācāryopādihi-goṣṭhyāṁ tu kutrāpy avatariṣyataḥ/
vīṇor aćārya-rūpasya sā ca bhūryā bhaviṣyati/
ācāryaḥ śaṅkarakākhyo hi kṛtvā saṃnyāsam āśramam/
uhbhau tau bauddha-saṅghasya naiyāyika-matena ha/
nivāryasiṣyanti balāt te marīṣyanti dāhitāḥ/

... ... ... ... ... ... ...

The expression ‘te marīṣyanti dāhitāḥ’ does not seem to refer to religious persecution.
does not become guilty of mahāpātaka by drinking wine. Mahāpātakas in the case of Śūdras (viz., reading of Purāṇas, non-salutation of Brahmins, sexual intercourse with Brahmin women, and so on). Crimes (viz., plagiarism, misinterpretation of śāstras, interpolation of verses into Purāṇas, and so on) which are equal to the mahāpātakas. Spread of sins among the people through conversation, touch of the body, breaths, inter-dining, riding the same vehicle, and sitting on the same seat. Denouncement of association with Yavanas, use (or study) of their language, and taking food from them.

Praise of the ‘Bṛhadharma-purāṇaka’ as the best ‘Upapurāṇa’, just as the ‘Śrīmad-bhāgavata’ is the best of all ‘Mahāpurāṇas’.

Chap. 21.—Praise of the ‘Bṛhadharma-purāṇa’, which is called a Vaiśṇava, Śaiva and Śākta work and is said to occupy a unique position among the ‘Upapurāṇas’ just like the ‘Śrīmad-bhāgavata’ among the ‘Mahāpurāṇas’.

The above analysis of contents shows how important the Bṛhadharma-p. is from various points of view. In this work there are numerous evidences which point to Bengal as the place of its origin. These evidences are as follows:

(i) In Bṛhadharma-p. III. 13 there is a list of ‘thirty-six [mixed] castes with a few additional ones’ (ṣaṭṭriṃśaj-jātayaḥ ... sādhikāḥ ...) which are all non-Brahmin and include the name of Vaidya; and in Bṛhadharma-p. III. 14 these ‘thirty-six castes’ have been called ‘Śūdras’, and their vocations have been given. In these two chapters the Brahmins also have been divided into two main classes, viz.,

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103 Verses 14-15—

ālāpād gātra-saṃsparśan niḥvāsāt saha-bhojanāt/
eka-yānāsanābhyaḥ ca pāpaṃ saṃkramate nṛpām//
saṃsargo yāvanās caiva bhāṣā ca yāvanī tathā/
surā-tulyaṃ dvayaṃ proktam yavanānmaḥ tato 'dhikam//'  
104 Verse 5a—

idam hi vaiṣṇavaṃ śastraṃ śaivaṃ śāktaṃ tathaiva ca.

105 Some of these evidences were noted by Jogesh Chandra Roy in his short analysis of the Bṛhadharma-p.—See Bhāratavāraṣa (a Bengali monthly journal published from Calcutta), XVII, Part II, 1336-37 B.S., pp. 673-81.

106 Verse 26—ṣaṭṭriṃśaj-jātayaḥ śūdrāḥ .......
Srotriya and Patita. It is to be noted that the tradition of 'thirty-six castes' (छत्रिय जाति) is very popular in Bengal,¹⁹⁷ that all the castes (including Gañaka), mentioned in Brhadhaddhara-p. III. 13-14, still exist only in Bengal and follow the same professions as mentioned in the Brhadhaddhara-p., that Vaidya, as a caste, is found in no other province than Bengal, and that even at the present day the non-Brahmin castes of Bengal are called Śūdras.¹⁹⁸

(ii) Brhadhaddhara-p. III. 1. 23-24 prescribe the following surnames to be used by the members of the different castes:
(a) 'Deva-ṣarman' for Brahmins, (b) 'Rāya' and 'Varman' for Kṣatriyas, (c) 'Dhana' (i.e. words indicative of wealth) for Vaiśyas, (d) 'Dāsa' for Śūdras, (e) 'Devi' for females belonging to the Brahmin and Kṣatriya castes, and (f) 'Dāsi' for females of the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes. These surnames, especially 'Devi' and 'Dāsi', are still used in Bengal.

(iii) The Brhadhaddhara-p. uses the word 'mā' in the sense of 'mother'¹⁹⁹ and the word 'bhagnī' in the sense of 'sister' (bhaginī).²⁰⁰

(iv) Some Sanskrit words and verbal roots have been used in the Brhadhaddhara-p. in such peculiar senses as are found attributed to them in Bengali, viz.,
(a) the root 'vas' in the sense of 'sitting'²⁰¹ and the phrase 'mukhe jagāda' for 'mukhena jagāda',²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ The mention of 'छन्लिय जाति' is found in Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara and Mukundarāma's Kavikānkaṇa-caudī (both written in Bengali). 'छन्लिय जातिर भाग्य' is a very popular saying in Bengal.
¹⁹⁸ In Brhaddh. I. 4. 21, only two castes have been mentioned, viz., Brahmīn and Śūdra.
²⁰⁰ Brhaddh. II. 30. 30—
tadā sa jīvito hālab prāṇaṁ prāpya ca tatātāntat/
pārvatīṁ harṣayaṁśa mām eti kṛtya rodanam//
The ASB ed. reads 'mametyasyakta-rodanah' for the second half of the second line.
²⁰ⁱ Brhaddh. II. 7. 28—
atha dakṣo dadaśaināṁ kālīṁ kamala-locanāṁ/
bhagni-gaṇasya madhyastham tārṇāṁ rohiprini iva/
²⁰² Brhaddh. I. 3. 75—
atiṣher nikaṭaṁ gatā jīnāṁ uṣīo'bhavat.
II. 14. 66- ityuktas tena haripā nārādo laj̣jayānīvitaḥ/
na jagāda mukhe kinciddharinā saha cāvasat//
II. 14. 67- uvāsa naraśad cāpi pūrva-kalpiṣa āsane.
III. 4. 32- brāhmaṇasyāsane śūdra na vace cā kādācana.
(b) the word ‘śvīkāra’ in the sense of ‘promise’,
(c) the word ‘vilakṣaṇa’ in the sense of ‘sufficient’,
(d) the word ‘kṣati’ in the sense of ‘loss’,
(e) the word ‘dvārā’ in the sense of ‘with’ or ‘by’,
(f) the word ‘nikaṭa’ in the sense of ‘to’ or ‘near’,
(g) the word ‘he’ in place of ‘bho’,
and (h) the word ‘pārita’ used in the sense of ‘capable of being done’ but without any word ending in the suffix ‘tum’.

(v) The form of goddess Kālī and the method of her worship with ‘Mālasī’ songs, as described in Brhad-
dharma-p. I. 23, is peculiar to Bengal (and also perhaps to Assam).

(vi) The method of the autumnal worship of Durgā, as given in Brhadhārma-p. I. 22, is followed in Bengal. It includes certain rites which are peculiar only to Mithilā, Bengal and Kāmarūpa, viz., bodhāna of Devi in a Bilva tree on the Āśvina-krṣṇa-navami, worship of Devi in the Bilva tree up to the following Śukla-śaṣṭhi, special worship of Devi on the Mahāṣṭami and Mahānavami Tithis, and the singing of amorous songs containing words denoting male and female organs of generation (i.e. the performance of Śāvarotsava) on the Vijayā Daśāmi Tithi.

(vii) The method of performing the Rāsa-festival on the Kārttiki Paurṇamāśi, as described in Brhadhārma-p. I. 23, is still followed in Bengal.

(viii) The Śivotsava, described in Brhadhārma-p. III. 9, is the same as the modern Caitra-pūjā (also called Caḍak-pūjā or Gājan) which is performed by the Hindu villagers in the month of Caitra in all parts of Bengal.

(ix) In the story of the introduction of the custom of observing the Govinda-dvādaśi-vrata on Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśi we find Varuṇa threatening Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśi (a deity) thus: "Oh foolish Dvādaśi Tithi, don’t you know me? Every year I shall flood the whole earth on your day, so that no worship of Hari, the lord of all, becomes possible in you."\footnote{Brhadh. I. 23. 49—
tithe dvādaśī re mūrkhe kiṃ na jānasi mām api/
tvad-dine dharaṇiṁ sarvāṁ plāvya pratīvatsaraṁ/
yathā tvayai na pūjā syāddhāreḥ sarveśvarasya hi //}

We know that in Bengal the level of water of annual flood during the rainy season reaches its highest point in the month of Bhādra.\footnote{See also Brhadh. II. 24. 45—
bhādra-krṣṇa-caturdaśiṁ yāvad ākramate jalam/
tvad garbhāṁ vijānyāt tad-ūrdhvaṁ tiram ucyate //}

Hence in the above-mentioned threat of Varuṇa, there is unmistakable reference to the condition prevailing in Bengal.

(x) Among the names of the principal holy places situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā from Gaṅgā-dvāra to
Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṃgama, mention is made of Prayāga, Vārāṇasi, the confluence of the Gaṅgā with the Padmāvatī, and Trivenī where the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā become separate from the Gaṅgā, in the same order as given above. Hence the Padmāvatī must be identical with the river Padmā, and Trivenī with Muktaveṇī near Hughli in Bengal.

In Bhaddharmā-p. II. 20. 49 the names ‘Padmā’ and ‘Padmāvatī’ are mentioned among the thousand names of Gaṅgā.

In connection with the description of the course of the Gaṅgā from the Sumeru mountain to the ocean it is said in Bhaddharmā-p. II. 22 that after leaving Jahnū’s hermitage the Gaṅgā followed the course of the Padmāvatī to a distance, then took a southerly course, and, after being separated from the Yamunā, met the ocean, and that the Padmāvatī attained broadness, rushed towards the east, and flowed into the ocean.

These references to the Padmāvatī, Trivenī, and the course of the Gaṅgā show how greatly the author of the Bhaddharmā-p. tried to identify the river Hughli with the Gaṅgā and to pass the Padmā as a sacred river.

(xii) In two places of the Bhaddharmā-p. the sight of a Śaṅkha-cīla (red kite, popularly called Śaṅkha-cil) is mentioned as auspicious; and this belief exists in Bengal even at the present day.

(xii) In Bengal, the use of paddy and Dūrvā grass in blessing on ceremonial occasions has become a custom with women; and this custom has been referred to in Bhad-
dharma-p. III. 17,²¹⁴ wherein gopīs are found to bless the new-born Kṛṣṇa with paddy and Dūrvā grass.

(xiii) By way of praising the goddess Kāli in Bṛhad-
dharma-p. III. 16. 37-45, the author calls her 'subhā
maṅgala-caṇḍīkā' and refers to the stories of Kālaketu and
Śrīmanta Sadāgara in the verse 'tvam kālaketu-varadā
cchala-godhikāsi etc.' Now, these stories are peculiar to
Bengal only and are found to occur elaborately in the
Caṇḍi-maṅgala-kāvyas of medieval Bengal. So, this
reference shows that the author of the Bṛhadharma-p. must
have been a Bengali, otherwise he could never make such
brief, and to non-Bengalis unintelligible, reference to these
stories.

(xiv) The peculiar stories of Dakṣa-yajña-dhvaṁsa,
Haragauri-vivāha, Gaṇeśa-Janma and Gaṅgotpatti, occurring
in the Bṛhadharma-p., are almost the same as those
given in the Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍī. So, it seems that in versifying
these stories the author of the Bṛhadharma-p. followed
the popular tradition of Bengal.

(xv) The influence of Jayadeva's Gita-govinda is clearly
discernible on the style, metre and spirit of the song (on
Kṛṣṇa-līlā at Vṛndāvana) which is given in Bṛhadharma-p.
II. 14. 88ff. as follows:

"dūtikovāca—keśava kamala-mukhi-mukha-kalam
kamala-nayana kalayātulam amalam/
kuṇja-gehe vijane'tivimalam //
dhruvaḥ //
surucira-hema-latānvalambi taruṇa-tarum bhagavan-
tam /
jagad-avalambanam avalambitum anukalayati sā tu
bhavantam //

²¹⁴ Verses 4-5—
gopyo..............................//
dhānya-taṇḍula-dūrvāda-dadhi-pātra-kāraḥ subhāḥ //
āgataya dadṛṣṭaḥ kṛṣṇaṃ..............................//
Verse 6—
svaryā sā dhānya-dūrvādyair āśiṣo yuyuṣuḥ striyaḥ //
priyovāca — rasikeśā keśava he /
rasa-sarasīṃ iṣa mām upayojaya rasa-
maya rasam i va he //
dhruvaḥ //

This song itself is Bengali in character.
(xvi) Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 5. 48\textsuperscript{316} contains direction about the sequence in which different kinds of food are to be eaten; and this sequence is followed in Bengal even at the present day.
(xvii) The Bṛhaddharma-p. contains some of the Sanskrit proverbs which are still very popular in Bengal, viz.,
(a) nāmno’ṣya yāvati śaktiḥ pāpa-nirharaṇe hareḥ/
tāvat kartuṃ na śaktah syāt pātakaṃ pātaki janaḥ //
(Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 28. 19) which has its parallel in the Bengali saying—

एकबार हरिनाम यत पाप हरे।
जीवेर कि साध्य प्राप्ते तत पाप करे॥

(b) yasya nāsti grhe mātā bhāryā vā priyavādini/
arāṇyaṃ tena gantavyaṃ yathāraṇyaṃ tathā
grham //
(Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 15. 14).

(c) āvṛttih sarva-sāstrāṇāṃ bodhād api gariyasi//
(Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 5. 6).

(xviii) In Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 5. 44-46\textsuperscript{317} Brahmins are allowed to eat particular kinds of fish except on some particular days. It is to be noted that it is only some Nibandha-writers of Bengal (such as Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa, Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇī and others) who allow the Brahmins to eat fish under certain restrictions. In his Prāyaś-citta-prakaraṇa, pp. 67-68 Bhavedeva has strained every nerve to prove that by eating fish under certain restrictions the Brahmins do not incur sin.

(xix) From an examination of the names of the trees, plants and flowers mentioned in the Bṛhaddharma-p.
Jogesh Chandra Roy thinks that the author of this Upapurāṇa lived in the eastern part of the district of Burdwan.218

(xx) Of the mahāpīṭhas created by the fall of the different parts of Satī’s body the Brhadhṛṣṭartha-p. (I. 14) mentions only three, viz., Kāmarūpa, Vakreśvara (in the district of Birbhum) and Ujjayinī (modern Maṅgalkot, in the district of Burdwan), of which the last two belong to Western Bengal.

(xxii) Almost all the Mss of the Brhadhṛṣṭartha-p., hitherto discovered, belong to Bengal and are written in Bengali script.

(xxii) The peculiar method of composition called ‘वीरिश’, which is so favourite with the vernacular poets of Bengal,219 is found in Brhadhṛṣṭartha-p. II. 20. 134-171 (in which more than 250 names of Gaṅgā have been arranged according to the alphabatical order of their initial letters, viz., क to र, र to श्र, and श्र and च). It is to be noted that in this arrangement ‘च’ has been regarded as a separate च.

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the author of the Brhadhṛṣṭartha-p. was an inhabitant of Bengal. It is highly probable that his paternal blood-relations lived at Maṅgalkot in the district of Burdwan, but he migrated from that place to the bank of the Gaṅgā and took his residence somewhere near Triveni in the district of Hughli. In course of naming some holy places in Brhadhṛṣṭartha-p. I. 14 he mentions Ujjayinī (modern Maṅgalkot) and says abruptly that the place, where many of one’s paternal blood-relations (ज्ञातयाह) live, is the best holy place for him. He then speaks of the duties of a ‘ज्ञाति’ in more than a decade of verses, and, before mentioning the names of the other holy places such as Puṣkara, Gayā, Vaidyanātha etc., says that the duties of a ‘ज्ञाति’ have been mentioned in connection with Ujjayinī.220 He regards the Gaṅgā as the

218 See Bhratavarṣa, XVII, ii (1336-37 B.S.), p. 676.
219 For instance, see Mukundarāma’s Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍi (ed. Dinesh Ch. Sen and others), pp. 321-8.
best holy place\textsuperscript{221} and even as Brahma itself,\textsuperscript{222} and looks upon the part of the country lying along the banks of the Gaṅgā as the best of all places.\textsuperscript{223} He decries those who do not migrate to the banks of the Gaṅgā\textsuperscript{224} and extols one whose paternal home is there.\textsuperscript{225}

We shall now try to determine the date of composition of the Brhaddharma-p.

This work knows the Mahābhārata in its present form\textsuperscript{226} as well as the Gītā belonging to it,\textsuperscript{227} indirectly refers to the Vāyu-p. as dealing with tīrthas,\textsuperscript{228} and speaks of (i) Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa of seven Kāṇḍas,\textsuperscript{229} (ii) ‘the Purāṇa proclaimed by Matsya’ (i.e. the Matsya-p.) as dealing elaborately with the Śiva-śīlās and holy places at Benares,\textsuperscript{230} (iii) ‘the

\textsuperscript{221} Brhaddh. I. 2.34—nāsti gaṅgā-saṃśāna tīrthāṃ.

\textsuperscript{222} Ibid., II. 14.101—

\textsuperscript{223} Ibid., I. 2.38—deśo gaṅgānītikaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ.

\textsuperscript{224} Brhaddh. I. 6.37—

evam yatra ca yastraiva gaṅgā-tire dvaye śubhe /

\textsuperscript{225} Ibid., II. 25.45—

\textsuperscript{226} Ibid., II. 25.51—

\textsuperscript{227} Ibid., III. 7.2.3—

\textsuperscript{228} Brhaddh. I. 25.30.

\textsuperscript{229} Ibid., I. 5.3—

\textsuperscript{230} Brhaddh. I. 1.18. For the names of the different Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa see Brhaddh. I. 26. 9.17.

\textsuperscript{231} Ibid., I. 5.3—

\textsuperscript{232} Brhaddh. I. 6.30.32—

\textsuperscript{233} Ibid., I. 30.43—pramāṇam bhagavat-gītā.

\textsuperscript{234} Ibid., I. 30.44—

\textsuperscript{235} Ibid., I. 30.44—

\textsuperscript{236} Ibid., I. 30.44—

\textsuperscript{237} Ibid., I. 30.44—
Purāna named Brahmāṇḍa' as containing an account of the holy place named Vakresvara,²⁸¹ (iv) the 'Viṣṇu-purāṇa' as spoken out by Parāśara,²⁸² (v) the 'Cāndi' as containing 700 verses and belonging to the 'Mārkandeya-purāṇa',²⁸³ (vi) the Āditya-purāṇa as having described the appearance of Gāyatri personified,²⁸⁴ (vii) the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu,²⁸⁵ (viii) the great teacher Śaṅkaraçārya as having eulogised Gaṅgā (i.e. composed a Gaṅgā-stava),²⁸⁶ defeated the Baudhhas in debates, and written stāvas, kavaças and many poetical works as well as treatises on philosophy, grammar etc.,²⁸⁷ and (ix) the 'Kālī-purāṇa' (i.e. the present Kālikā-purāṇa) as dealing with that best holy place (i.e. Kāmarūpa) which is situated on the bank of the Brahmanada

²⁸¹ Bṛhadh. I. 14. 29-30—vakresvara-sthalaṁ caiva sutirthaṁ samudāḥṛtam //
yatra pāpaharā nāma nadit puṇya-jalā subhā //
brahmāṇḍākhye purāṇe'sya jñeyan vimaraṇaṁ subham //

These lines refer to a work named 'Vakresvara-tirtha-māhātmya' which claims to be a part of the Brahmāṇḍa-p. (For a Ms of this 'Vakresvara-tirtha-māhātmya' claiming to belong to the Brahmāṇḍa-p., see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 696-7, No. 4060 (Ms No. 5010).

Jogesh Chandra Roy wrongly takes the 'Brahmāṇḍākhyya Purāṇa', mentioned in the Bṛhadharma-p., to be an Upapurāṇa named Brahmāṇḍa. The fact is that some scholar or scholars of Bengal wrote the 'Vakresvara-tirtha-māhātmya' and ascribed it to the Brahmāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa for authority.

²⁸² Bṛhadh. I. 29.20—tato viṣṇu-purāṇasya kartā bhāvi paraśaraḥ.

In the present Viṣṇu-p., Parāśara is the main speaker.

²⁸³ Bṛhadh. III. 7.2-3—
mārkandeya-purāṇasthānaṁ caṇḍi-saptasatī-stavam /
............. caṇḍin gītāṁ ................. //

²⁸⁴ Ibid., III. 2.31—
gāyatryā varṇa-rūpādi ādityākhyya-purānaṁ /
jñeyan ...................... //

²⁸⁵ Ibid., II. 11.72—tato loka-vimohāya buddhas tvam hi bhavisyasi.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., II. 20.129—śaṅkaraçārya-praṇatat śaṅkaraçārya-saṣṭutatā.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., III. 19. 24-27—
ubhau tau bauddha-saṅghasya naivyāyika-matena ha //
nivārayāyanti balāt te marisyanti dāhitāḥ //
tām nivārya tato bauddhān śācāryah śaṅkarah svayam //
devaśāmān stāvan divyān kavacañi kariyati //
darśanānām ca subhadān granthān api kariyati /
mṛta-saṁjñivānāṁ vidyāṁ samārthya punah punah //
ḥiṃa-ḥiṃnaśaṟfrās tu kavya-vyākarapāddikān /
kariyati ubhān granthān punyāṁ ca pañhatāṁ nṛṣām //
and where Sati’s female organ fell. 238 It includes the name of the Mahābhāgavata in its list of Mahāpurāṇas 239 and must have based some of its stories on those of the latter. 240 Among the standards of measurement of weight it mentions ‘seraka’241 (modern ‘शेर’) which was introduced by the Muhammadans; and in verses 88ff. of chap. 14 of its Madhya-khaṇḍa it clearly betrays the influence of Jayadeva’s Gītāgovinda. It knows the spread and tyranny of the Yavanas (Muhammadans) in Bengal. 242 Hence the date of this work cannot be placed earlier than 1200 A.D.

Again, the Ms of the Bṛhad-dharma-p., preserved at Jammu, was copied in the year 1801 of the Vikrama Era; and Ms No. 4649, which is the oldest of the three Ms of this work preserved in the Dacca University, must be at least 250 years old. In his Caṇḍikā-maṅgala-kāvyā, Lālā Jayanārāyaṇa, a Bengali poet of the eighteenth century, gives the Bengali rendering of the verse ‘tvam kālaketu-varadā cchala-godhikā etc.’ (Bṛhad-dharma-p. III. 16. 45) and says that this verse ‘occurs in Viṣṇu’s eulogy of Mahāmāyā in the Uttarā-khaṇḍa of the Bṛhad-dharma-p.’ 243 A Tantric

238 Ibid., II. 10. 37-38. For the texts of these verses see footnote 121 above.
239 See footnote 112 above.
240 For the stories and verses common to the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhad-dharma-p., see footnotes 642-643 in Chap. I above.
241 Bṛhad-dh. III. 4. 11-13. For these verses see footnote 138 above.
242 Ibid., III. 6.89—mlecchaḥ ca yavanaṁ capi gatvā jātyā parityajet.
III.19.16—yavanais tasī ca pāṇḍalīḥ svadharman nāśayiṣyate.
III.19.43—tatas tyaksyanti vai varṇā yavanasya balaṁ sadā / devās tyaksyanti prthivīṁ mleccha-mātra-samāvyām //
III.20.15—samsargo yāvanaś caiva bhāṣā ca yāvani tathā / surā-tulyaṁ dvayaṁ proktam yavanānnaṁ tato ’dhikam //

243 In Charu Chandra Bandyopadhya’s Kavikaśikaṇa-caṇḍi (Caṇḍi-maṅgala-bodhini), Part I, p. 225 the relevant extract of Lālā Jayanārāyaṇa’s Caṇḍikā-maṅgala-kāvyā is given as follows:

बृहद्धर्मपुराणेऽर्ताकश्चेति।
लिखा महामाया-प्रति विश्वर रावणे।
प्रवत्तीषय हृदया तुम्मी यवोदार गम्ये।
कोप छलि विश्ववासी हुवे निजगये।
एवः रा गद्य विस्तरण।
ततो एक श्लोक एवंप्रणे लिखन।
भारतमृते चण्डी सीता प्रकाशय।
कालकेतु उद्गारिने गोविका हृदया।
work called Śakti-ratnākara names and utilises the Brhad-
dharma-p. Three verses (which are the same as Brhad-
dharma-p. III. 20. 14-15, and 5. 54) have been ascribed to
the ‘Brhad-dharma-p.’ in a work named Kavya-samgraha which
was written by Rāja-jivana De Dāsa in 1655 Śaka
during the regime of Nawab Galeb Ali Khan of Dacca. In
his Yathārtha-maṇjarī, Śrītirtha Svāmin quotes from
the ‘Brhad-dharma’ or ‘Brhad-dharma-purāṇa’ a large number
of verses, almost all of which are found in our printed text.
In the Dacca University Mss Library there is a Ms of a work

= Bṛhad-dharma-p.

fol. 3a = III. 20. 9.
fol. 5b-6a = II. 15. 58b, 63a, 64a, 70-71, 75 etc.
fol. 9b = III. 2. 11a.
fol. 47a = II. 11. 10b.
fol. 48a = II. 1. 6a-b.
fol. 61a = III. 16. 44.
fol. 64a-b = I.4.22b; I.8.1c; I.7.62a; I.9.42, 44-45, 47 and 48b-49a;
I.10.16-17; II.11.96a and 97a; III. 20. 6b.
fol. 66a-b = III.12.19a and 20; II.16.119.
fol. 66b-67a = I.25.18; I.30.48b-49a.
fol. 72a = II.3.39a and 41a; II.5.18b and 21b; II.9.51b-52a.
fol. 74a-75a = II.1.38-39, 54b etc.
fol. 78a = II.2.11b-12.
fol. 83a = II.6.138b-143.
fol. 84a = I.25.12b.
fol. 84b = III.12.15b-16, 19-20 and 22b.

And so on.
entitled Śiva-pūjā-krama\(^{247}\) which claims to be a part of the Brhaddharma-p. These evidences show that the Brhaddharma-p. attained a position of wide recognition by 1600 A.D. So, it must have been written not later than 1450 A.D. Though the Brhaddharma-p. glorifies Viṣṇu and his worship and names many of the holy places situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā, it does not mention Navadvipa, which grew up into an important holy place of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas after Caitanya. In chap. 15 of its Pūrva-khaṇḍa it speaks of four months, viz., Āśaṅga, Kārttika, Māgha and Vaiśākha, as the best of all and names the principal rites to be performed during these months, but it does not mention the Rāsa festival. As a matter of fact, the Rāsa festival, though described in chap. 23 of the Pūrva-khaṇḍa and mentioned in chaps. 10 and 17 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa, is not regarded as important. Further, the Brhaddharma-p. praises Devī (Caṇḍī) and her worship and does not distinguish between the Śāktas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Hence this work must have preceded Caitanya of Navadvipa. In Brhaddharma-p. III. 3 the Kṣatriya kings are advised to have ‘*darpa*’ (pride), to collect war materials, and to make all kinds of preparation for self defence;\(^{248}\) according to Brhaddharma-p. III. 6. 89-90 one, who has sexual intercourse with Mleccha and Yavana women, is to be regarded as an out-cast;\(^{249}\) in connection with the description of the nature of the Kali age it is said in Brhaddharma-p. III. 19 that the Yavanas and the Pāśaṇḍas would destroy the Hindu religion,\(^{250}\) the four castes would disappear, the Yavanas would become powerful, and the gods would leave the earth finding it

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\(^{247}\) Ms No. 1388. It begins as follows:  

*om namah śaṁbhav∥*  

dharmapurāṇe śiva-pūjā-krama∥  

śiva-pūjā-viḍhiṁ vipra tad haika-manāḥ śṛṇu / etc.  

Its colophon runs thus: *iti brhaddharma-purāṇe vyāsa-aimimini-saṁvāde . . . (the remaining portion of the colophon has become blurred).*

\(^{248}\) Brhaddh. III. 3.2—  

darpo virodho niyataṁ yuddha-sāmāgya-saṁgrahāḥ /  

parikṣā-karaṇaṁ caiva cāreṇa rāja-darśanam∥

\(^{249}\) For the text of these verses see footnote 147 above.

\(^{250}\) Brhaddh. III. 19. 16—yavanais tait ca pāśaṇḍaiḥ svadharma nāśayaiṣyate,
crowded only by Mlecchaś;231 and in Brhadāranyaka-p. III. 20, 15 the author says, “Association with the Yavanas and the use of their language—these two have been said to be equivalent to [drinking] wine; [acceptance of] food from the Yavanas is worse than these.”232 It is clear that at the time of composition of the Brhadāranyaka-p. the Muhammadans spread into Bengal but could not bring the whole province under their power, that the insult of defeat at the hands of these aliens was still fresh in the mind of the people, and that there were Hindu monarchs who were expected by the people to drive out these undesirable elements and become the saviours of the Hindus and the Hindu religion.

Hence it is highly probable that the Brhadāranyaka-p. was composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. Jogesh Chandra Roy thinks that it was composed a little after the thirteenth century.233

We have already seen234 that chaps. 15-21 of the Uttarākhanda of the Vaṅga, ed. are not spurious. Among the remaining chapters also there is none which seems to have been added later. Hence the above general date of the Brhadāranyaka-p. can safely be taken to be that of all its chapters. In some cases the subsequent chapters refer to the contents of the previous ones.235 There are, of course, a few isolated verses which must have been added later. For instance, in Brhadāranyaka-p. II. 9. 30 Śuka says, “Prajāpati Dakṣa saluted Śiva with devotion by reciting [the following] six verses,” but as a matter of fact, the number of verses given is eight, and not six.

A study of the Brhadāranyaka-p. shows that at the time of composition of this work the position of varṇaśrama-dharma became extremely critical in Bengal as a result of the

231 Ibid., III. 19. 43—
tatas tyākṣyantā vai varṇaḥ yavanasya balam sādā /
devāḥ tyākṣyantā prthiviṃ mleccha-mātra-samāvṛtām //
232 For the text of this verse see footnote 193 above.
234 See footnote 80 above.
235 For instance, Brhadār. II. 1.1 refers to the contents of the Purva-khaṇḍa; II.2.9 (prakṛtis trividhā prakṛtā etc.) refers to II. 1. 56-57; III. 1. 36 (guravaḥ pūrvam evoktaḥ) refers to I.2.13ff; III. 5.1. refers to III.2.2ff; and so on.
wide spread mainly of Tantric Buddhism,\textsuperscript{288} Tantric Śaivism,\textsuperscript{287} and Tantric Śāktism,\textsuperscript{288} on the one hand, and the tyranny of the Muhammadans,\textsuperscript{289} on the other. These Buddhists, Śaivas and Śāktas, who had great affinities, followed the practice of the Vāmas\textsuperscript{260} and ignored the rules of varṇāśrama-dharma.\textsuperscript{281} Many of them embraced Muhammadanism without any scruple. Moreover, among the different sects of Bengal there was constant quarrel.\textsuperscript{283} The Muhammadans took advantage of this unfriendly feeling and often got the upper hand in the field of politics as well as religion. Hence the followers of varṇāśrama-dharma felt the necessity of creating a feeling of religious toleration among the rival sects which were all influenced by Śāktism and of bringing about a compromise between the ideas of Brahmanism and Tantricism. In Bṛhaddharma-p. II. 6, 135-146\textsuperscript{285} Satī is made to say: “See me, the mother of the world, O all-mighty [Siva], with your divine knowledge, and yourself write śāstras for my worship. Speak out the highly effective mantras, stāvas and kavacas of my different

\textsuperscript{286} Cf. Bṛhaddh. III. 19.12-16.
\textsuperscript{287} Ibid., II. 27.43—tāntrikaṇa vidhānena śivaṃ sampōja yaśadhakā.
II.23.62— ..... ..... maheśvarah /
                 jagāda mantra-tantrāṇi sarva-daivatakāṇi ca //
I.10.61— pācākāraṇa mantreṇa ...... (i.e. with the mantra ‘namah śivāya’).
\textsuperscript{288} Ibid., I.23.19 (goddess Kāli is to be worshipped in ‘mahāṣṭamī-vidhāna’ or ‘āgamika vidhi’); I.21.58 (Devi is described as ‘yantra-rūpā’); II.20.175 (worship of Gaṅgā on the Daśaharā Tithi according to ‘durā-pūjā-vidhāna’ or ‘āgamika vidhi’); II.6.133ff. (for the contents of these verses see below); I.4.20 (guru tantrāṣ ca mantraś ca gopāṇyaḥ prayatnatah); I.4.22 (guruṃ tantrāṃ devatāṃ ca bhedayan narakāṃ vragat); I.5.70b (Gaṅgā is addressed as ‘bali-māṁsa-priye kāli masyāsava-sukha-priye’);
I.5.80-81 (Gaṅgā is praised as ‘... hṛṣṭa-svarūpiḥ... isṭa-siddhi-kare śpṛṃ sphaum hraum hṛām ... //’); I.19.28 (tataḥ stā suradhuṇāḥ nātvā stutvā ca bhakti taḥ / balibhir māṣya-māṁṣādyair gaṅgā-pāram tato yavya //’); II.11.62 (dviyāvī rātra bhūtvā bhūṁga tantrāṇi kariyasi); and so on.
\textsuperscript{285} Bṛhaddh. III. 19.16 (yavānah...svadharma nāśayasyate) and 43 (devāṃ tyakṣyaṇī prthivinī mleccha-mātra-samāyātaṃ).
\textsuperscript{286} Bṛhaddh. III. 6.81-83, 89-91 and 98 (for the texts of which, see footnotes 128-130 above); III. 19. 16—kalau naraḥ bhaviṣyaṇī bhagaṁ-ōpajvinah); I. 5.70b and I. 19. 28 (for which see footnote 258 above).
\textsuperscript{287} See Bṛhaddh. III. 19 (especially verses 3, 9-11, 38, 40 and 43).
\textsuperscript{288} Bṛhaddh. III. 19.5b (baddha-vairā bhaviṣyaṇī paraspara-vidheṣitaḥ), 19b (devatā-dveṣakās te vai dveṣayasyantī sarvadā), and 44b (paraspara-virodhena te mariṣyaṇī sarvaśaḥ).
\textsuperscript{289} Some of these lines are the same as Mahābhāṣyagavata 8.77ff.
forms such as Kāli, Tārā etc. ... ... ... You are to become the author of the Āgama, and Hari himself is to write the Veda. You were intended to become the author of the Āgama first of all, and it was afterwards that Hari was engaged to write the Veda. Āgama and Veda are my two splendid hands. With these two I support the three worlds. O Dhūrjaṭi, one, who violates [the directions of] the Āgama and the Veda, falls down from my hands for ever. I am unable to save with my defective hands that person who transgresses one of these two (i.e. Āgama and Veda) and follows the other. These are the two difficult ... ... but auspicious ways which one should never differentiate.

... ... ... Those, who follow the manners of the Vaiṣṇavas, should preserve the secrecy of my formulae (mantra) and procedures (tantra). Hence, O Śambhu, those who are to initiate others to my worship, should be Śākta-vaiṣṇavas. He alone, and not any other person, is a Śākta who has devotion to Śakti and Viṣṇu. How can one follow the course of a Śākta, if one has no devotion to Viṣṇu? I am the [presiding] deity of the Vaiṣṇava mantras. So, a worshipper of myself should be the preceptor in matters of initiation to Viṣṇu-worship.” According to the Bṛhadārāma-p. a Bhāgavata is required to worship Śiva, Durgā and other deities and to read the Caṇḍi284 regularly. It advocates the unity of Brahmat, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Kāli and Gaṅgā and censures those who differentiate between them.285 It

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284 Bṛhadārāma. II. 15.61ff. (...) rudra-visṇu-prapūjakah / ... yaś caṇḍi-pāthaha-nirata gaṇḍi-japa-parāyaṇah / ... durgeti bhadrakālīti vaiṣṇavat caṇḍiketi ca / mudā gāyati yo nityam ... ... ...).

285 Ibid., II. 11. 96-97 (śivo brahma tathā tvau ca na bhīmā vai kadācana / ... abhināmaka ca bhaddārthi nārakī paramo maṭaḥ / ... ... ...); I. 2. 34 ( ... nāsti viṣṇu-samāḥ prabhuḥ / nāsti śambhu-samāḥ pūjyaḥ ... ... ...); I. 4. 22 (gaṅgā-durgā- hariśānām bhedakrī nārakī yathā); I. 5. 31a (aham esa śivo visṇu tattvenaśāṁ bhīda na hi); I. 9. 40-47 (yuvagor yādrā prāti dṛṣṭe hy anupādhi-kā / manye tayā pramāṇena na bhinna-vastā yuvām // yādṛśi darsita prātri yuvābhayaṁ nātha kevala / manye tayā pramāṇena ātmika nyas tanur mithāḥ // ... ... bhārye śvaṁ prāthaṁ na vāṁ // ... dveṣa ekasya ca dvayoḥ // ... ekā pūja dvayaṁ maṭaḥ // ... apūjai kasya ca dvayoḥ // ... bhedakrī vāṃ ciraṁ patet // ... ...); I. 10. 16-17 (sa evaṁ mahādevaḥ sa evaṁ janārdaṇaḥ / ubhayaṁ antaraṁ nāsti ghaṭastha-jalayor iva // śivād ananyāḥ priyō me 'sti bhakto yaḥ śiva-pūjakah // śivasya- āpūjako lakṣmī na kadāpi priyo mama ]); and so on.
says that Viṣṇu constantly dwells in those persons who worship Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Bhadrakāli and Caṇḍikā, constantly read the Caṇḍi, and possess various other qualifications.\textsuperscript{266} It praises those persons who do not forsake their own dharma even under great difficulties.\textsuperscript{267} It regards the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata as codes of varṇāśrama-dharma\textsuperscript{268} and tries to popularise their study.\textsuperscript{269} It extols filial devotion, conjugal fidelity, and fraternal affection, so that people may have a happy home and give a united stand before their enemies in times of danger.

Though the Brhadārāma-p. preaches the doctrine of unity of gods and calls itself a Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva as well as Śākta śāstra,\textsuperscript{270} it shows decided inclination towards Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism. It begins with the Gāyatrī adapted to Viṣṇu, mentions the mantra ‘om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya’ in more places than one,\textsuperscript{271} and tries hard to infuse Śāktism with Vaiṣṇava ideas. According to this work, the Śāktas should be ‘vaiṣṇav-ācāra-sāli’ and be devoted to both Viṣṇu and Śakti, because one is not entitled to follow the course of a Śākta unless one has devotion to Viṣṇu. Kāli is said

\textsuperscript{266} Ibid., II. 15. 566f.
\textsuperscript{267} Ibid., I. 1. 37 (sā cāturī cāturī yā dharma-rajakāri bhāvet / sahasr-opadravair yuktod na dharmaṃ jahāti hi / sa dhūra uciyate sadbhīr dharmahā tv ātmahā matalḥ // ); I. 1. 42 (nādharmne rāmatāṃ buddhāḥ / . . . ); II. 15. 73 (mahāvān-puti-yukto’pi yo na dharmaṃ jahāti vai / sa vai deva-priyo nityām / . . . )
\textsuperscript{268} Ibid., I. 1. 18 (sarveṣām khalu dharmānāṃ kāraṇan pāvanaṃ matim / rāmāyaṇan / . . . ); I. 26. 1 ff. (rāmāyaṇaṃ mahākāvyaṃ kṛtam vālmikinā svayam / tatra rāma-caritrasya vyapadeśena sarvasaḥ / sarve dharmāḥ samuddhiṣṭā varṇāśrama-vibhāgaśaḥ // stri-dharmā rāja-dharmāś ca brahma-dharmāś ca puṣkalāḥ / vaiśya-dharmāḥ śūdra-dharmāḥ dharmāś ca grīhimāḥ tathā // . . . . itihāsa-śarvaṃ pūraṃ sarve dharmā nirūpītaḥ // etat pāthyaṃ ca bodhyaṃ ca smaranīyaṃ śām icchāta / . . . . yasya nāsti gṛhe sakhyau kāvyaṃ rāmāyaṇaṃ subham / śmaśāna-bhūmis tadvāji / . . . ); I. 30. 32 (bhārate vividhā arthāḥ / . . . . bhārate dharma-sanṣcaṣayāḥ // ); I. 25. 33-34a (rāmāyaṇaṃ purāṇāni mahābhāratam eva ca / manvādhi-dharmāṣṭrāni dharmārthāni sadaiva hi / pañcat samābhyaṣet tāni pāthhayet ācared api /)

That an attempt was made in Bengal to popularise the varṇāśrama-dharma by encouraging the study of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, is also evidenced by Kṛttivāsa who, in his autobiography (ātma-viviṣaya) attached to his Bengali Rāmāyaṇa, says that he wrote his work for instructing the people ( rashamāraham ca vashiṣyaṃ śāstraṃ śaivaṃ śāktaṃ tathaiva ca.\textsuperscript{272} Bhāraddh, III. 21. 5a—idaṃ hi vaiṣṇavaṃ śāstraṃ śaivaṃ śāktaṃ tathaiva ca.

\textsuperscript{272} Ibid., I.7.52 and 54; I. 30. 41.
to be the presiding deity of the Viṣṇu-mantras, and consequently a Śakti-worshipper is entitled to act as a spiritual preceptor in initiating people to Vaiṣṇavism. Devotion to Viṣṇu is reckoned as one of the duties of kings and as the means of escaping the sufferings brought on by the Kali age. The regions called Vaikunṭha (of Hari) and Goloka (of Nārāyaṇa) are placed above Śiva-loka, Purusottama-ksetra is described as the best place of liberation (mokṣa-kṣetra), the 'Śri-bhāgavata' (i.e. the present Bhāgavata-p.) is called the best Mahāpurāṇa, and Gaṅgā is said to have attained her sanctity by coming in contact with liquefied Nārāyaṇa. From the description of Kīkaṭa (Magadha) as a 'pāpa-bhūmi' and from the repeated mention and praise of Kāmarūpa as the best holy place it seems that Bengal fully recognised the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Śakti-worship and imbied from there the spirit of infusing Śāktism with Vaiṣṇava ideas in order to bring about a reform in the religious and social outlook of the Hindus.

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272 Ibid., II.6.144-6—
sarveśām eva devānāṁ mantra-tantrādi-kṛd bhavān/
tantra-mantrāḥ ca me gopyā vaisṇav-ācārā-sālībhīḥ ||
tasmān mad-dikṣākāḥ sambhā bhaveyuḥ śākta-vaisāvatāḥ /
śaktāu viṣṇau yasya bhaktib sa śāktāḥ syān na eśārāh //

273 Bṛhaddh. III. 3. 1.
274 Ibid., III. 19. 30.
275 Ibid., I. 9. 2-7.
276 Ibid., I. 14. 32.
277 Ibid., I. 30. 49; III. 20. 20; III. 21. 6.
278 Ibid., II. 14. 101-104.
280 Ibid., I. 9. 5b-6a (durgā-lokaḥ . . . yah prthivyāṁ kāmarūpa iti deśottamaḥ sakhi ||); I. 11. 40; I. 14. 12-13; I. 15. 20; I. 20. 66-67; I. 14. 33 (vāraṇasi ca kāmākhyā . . . . . . . . tirthottamāṁi ca ||); II. 10. 37-38; II. 10. 48 (mahā-pālīḥ ca te bhūrīṁ kāmarūpa-pādaśya haraḥ); II. 11. 1, 13 and 105; II. 20. 68 and 136 (Kāmākhyā, one of the thousand names of Gaṅgā); III. 16.36 (Viṣṇu’s eulogy of Devī at Kāmarūpa for saving the seventh child of Devaki).
CHAPTER III

THE LOST ŚĀKTA UPAPURĀṆAS

During the long course of its popularity in India, Śāktism made its influence felt and recognised more or less by almost all the religious faiths including even Buddhism, and there were changes in the conception of Devī and the methods of her worship in different ages and climes. As we have already said, female deities were not rarely brought into existence by interested people, and goddesses of local importance were pulled up to the status of Devī or an incarnation of hers, and for these purposes many new myths were fabricated and the relevant old ones were changed conveniently to suit the occasions. But the existing Purānic works could not, in many cases, be made to accommodate these innovations. So, new works in the forms of Upapurāṇas had to be composed to place these goddesses and the methods of their worship on a Śāstric basis. But unfortunately, many of these works, being of minor importance, could not continue their existence for long and became extinct without leaving any trace at all. It is only about a very few of a little more interest that we can have some information from the existing works, and this will be evident from our accounts of them as given in the following pages.

1. The Bṛhan-nandikesvara-purāṇa.

This Upapurāṇa is mentioned, along with the Nandikesvara-p. (also called Nandiśvara-p. and Nandikeśa-p.),¹ in the lists of Upapurāṇas given in the Bṛhadārtha-p. and the Ekāmra-p. The former work names it as ‘Bṛhan-nandīśvara’, and the latter as ‘Bṛhannandi’². In the list of Upapurāṇas, ascribed to the Kūrma-p. in Raghunandana’s Malamāsa-tattva and in the Śabda-kalpadruma, there is

¹ For information about the Nandikesvara-p. see below.
mention of the ‘Nandikesvara-yugma’ (i.e. ‘two Nandikesvaras’), which Kāśirāma Vācaspati, in his commentary on the Malamāsa-tattva, takes to mean the ‘Bṛhan-nandikesvara-p. and the Nandikesvara-p.’ In one of the two lists of Upapurāṇas given by Hemādri in his Catuvarga-cintāmaṇi, the alternative reading ‘nandikesvara-yugmam ca’ for ‘caturtham śivadharmākhyam’ is found in some Mss. So, it seems that it was only at a comparatively late date that an attempt began to be made to raise the Nandikesvara-p. and the Bṛhan-nandikesvara to a position of authority and antiquity by inserting their names even into the established list of Upapurāṇas.

As the Bṛhan-nandikesvara is drawn upon in Gadādhara’s Kālasāra, Raghunandana’s Durgā-pūjā-tattva and Śūlapāṇi’s Durgotsava-viveka, and is mentioned, along with the Nandikesvara-p., only in the Ekāmra-p. and the Bṛhadharma-p., and as Jīmūtavāhana mentions neither the Nandikesvara-p. nor the Bṛhan-nandikesvara in the section on Durgā-pūjā in his Kālaviveka, it must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D. but most probably not before 830 A.D.

Both the Nandikesvara-p. and the Bṛhan-nandikesvara must have been written in Bengal. It is only the authors of Bengal and Orissa who are found to have recognised these two works as Upapurāṇas first of all and who utilised their contents in their respective Nibandhas. Moreover, the Nandikesvara-p. speaks of the performance of Devi’s adhivāsa in a Bilva tree on the day preceding that of patrikā-praveṣa,

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3 Catuvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21. See also Vol. I, Chap. I (p. 5) of the present work.
4 Of the Smrī-writers of Orissa, it is only Gadādhara who is found to quote, in his Kālasāra, pp. 151-2, three metrical lines from the Bṛhan-nandikesvara-p.
5 See Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 2—
thāt ca nandikesvara-purāṇam—
purvedyur adhivāsaīva bilva-vrksē tathāṃbikām/
saptamyāṃ mūla-yuktīyāṃ patrikāyāḥ praveṣanam //
etc.
6 etc.

We have already noted Govindānanda’s remarks that the performance of Devi’s adhivāsa in a Bilva tree on the day preceding that of patrikā-praveṣa was nothing but a custom (ācāra) prevailing in Bengal and having no Sāstric injunction in its support, and that
the immersion of Devi's image in a current of water, and the performance of the Sāvarotsava on the Daśamī Tithi; and the Brhannandikesvara-p. mentions the worship of the nava-patrikā on the Saptamī Tithi. Much more important in this connection is the fact that the method of Durgā-pūjā, given in these two Upapurāṇas, is followed only in Bengal.

As regards the contents of the Brhannandikesvara-p. we know almost nothing. In his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 8 Raghunandana quotes 25 metrical lines, in which Devi (i.e. Durgā) herself speaks to some one (Nandikesvara?) addressed as 'putraka' and 'nara-puṃgava', on the method and results of her own worship in the month of Āśvina. According to these verses, of which some are found quoted in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, an earthen image of Devi is to be worshipped for three days from the Saptamī to the Navamī Tithi during the bright half of Āśvina. On the Saptamī Tithi the Nava-patrikā is to be constituted with different plants named in a verse, and worshipped. On the Aṣṭamī Tithi, Devi's great bath (mahāsnāna) is to be performed with different articles (viz., the five products of cows, holy waters from the Ganges and the different holy places, waters into which certain herbs, gems, flowers etc. have been thrown, and so on), this rite being attended with vocal and instrumental music as well as with dancing (gīta-vāditra-nātyena); and the deity is to be worshipped with the offer of different articles as well as of jet-black he-goats, buffaloes etc. and with the performance of homa. On the Navamī
Tithi also, Devi is to be specially worshipped with the offer of animals and the performance of vocal and instrumental music as well as other kinds of merry-makings.

In his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 3 Raghunandana quotes the following four verses with the mention of the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' as their source:

\[
\text{nau-yānair nara-yānair vā nītvā bhagavatīm śīvām / sroto-jale prakṣipeyuh kriḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaih // parair nākṣipyate yas tu param nākṣipate tu yaḥ / tasya ruṣṭā bhagavatī sāpaṁ dadyāt sudārunam //}
\]

and

\[
\text{ṛkṣa-yogānurodhena rātrau patri-praveśanam / visarjanaṁ vācayed yaḥ sa-rāṣṭraḥ sa vinasyaṭi // bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-visargāntās ca yāḥ kriyāḥ / tithāv udaya-gāminyāṁ sarvās tāḥ kārayed budhaḥ //}
\]

All these verses are again quoted by him on p. 44 but are ascribed to the 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' Śūlapāṇi also quotes the first two verses in his Durgotsava-viveka, p. 24 and ascribes them to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. But this ascription to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. must be wrong, because (1) in these verses Devi is not the speaker, and (2) the third verse is ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.' in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8, and the fourth verse is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 9 and Vāsanti-viveka, p. 28. The line 'bilva-patrair gṛhṭākaṭaś ca tila-dhānyādi-samyutaiḥ' is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. in Durgā- pūjā-tattva, p. 38 but to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 22.

Though no tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. is found to claim to be a part of the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p., there are Mss of an anonymous Smṛti-work called Bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhāti.¹⁰

¹⁰ In the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 938D, 1642, 2115A (dated 1746 Śaka) and 4332 (dated 1753 Śaka) of the Durgotsava-viveka, this verse is ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.'

¹¹ Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 836, No. 2828. Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., II, p. 309, No. 334 ('a very old' Ms). Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2261 (modern and complete) and 4055 (worm-eaten, and missing some of its folios; dated 1678 Śaka). In the Dacca Univ. Mss the work is called 'Bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇānugrhitā-bhaviyapurāṇokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhāti'.

It should be mentioned here that all these Mss are written in Bengali characters.
2. The Kālikā-purāṇa.

Besides the present Kālikā-p. available in more printed forms than one, there was an earlier Kālikā which is now lost. For information about this lost Kālikā-p. see Chap. I (under ‘Kālikā-p.’) above.

3. The Nandā- or Nānda-purāṇa.

This is the same as the Nandi-p., for which see below (under ‘Nandi-p.’).

4. The Nandikesvara-purāṇa.

It has already been said that the Nandikesvara-p. (also called Nandiśvara-p. and Nandikeśa-p.) is mentioned, along with the Brhān-nandikesvara, in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Ekāmra-p. and the Brhaddharma-p., that in the Śabda-kalpadruma and in Raghunandana’s Malamāsa-tattva a list of Upapurāṇas has been given from the ‘Kaurma’ with the mention of the ‘Nandikesvara-yugma’ (i.e. two Nandikesvaras), and that in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21, there is a list of Upapurāṇas in which the ‘Nandikesvara-yugma’ is found mentioned in place of the Śivadharma in some of its Mss. So, the Nandikesvara-p. cannot possibly claim an early origin. On the other hand, it is mentioned in the Ekāmra-p. and the Brhaddharma-p. and is drawn upon in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa and in Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa’s Nirṇaya-sindhu, Nīlakanṭha-bhaṭṭa’s Ācāra-mayūkha, Mitra-miśra’s Vīramitrodaya, Govindānanda’s Varṣa-kaumudī, Raghunandana’s Tīthi-tattva, Āhnika-tattva, Jyotis-tattva, Ekādaśī-tattva and Durgāpūjā-tattva, Vācaspati-miśra’s Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, Vidyāpati

12 See under ‘Brhān-nandikesvara-p.’ above.
13 The Vaṅga. ed. of the Brhaddharma-p. (I. 25. 24) names the Nandikesvara-p. as ‘Nandīśvara-p.;’ the ASB ed. and the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4199 (fol. 71b) mention it as ‘Nandikesa-p.;’ and the Dacca Univ. Ms Nos. 319 (fol. 44a) and 4649 (fol. 96a) name it as ‘Nandikesvara-p.’ In Saṃvatsara-pradīpa, fol. 47b, a verse is quoted from the ‘Nandīśvara-p.’
Upādhyāya’s Gaṅgā-vākyāvali, and Śūlapāṇi’s Durgotsavaviveka and Vāsanti-viveka; and Mitra-miśra, who lived far away from Bengal, not only drew upon it but also described it as a work of wide acceptance (mahājana-parigṛhitā). Hence the Nandikesvara-p. cannot be dated later than 1100 A.D. As it must have preceded the Bṛhan-nandikesvara (of which the very title is indicative of a comparatively late date and which must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D.), it cannot be dated later than 950 A.D. It is highly probable that this Upapurāṇa was composed between 850 and 950 A.D. Such a late date of this Upapurāṇa is supported not only by its nonmention in the section on durgā-pūjā contained in Jīmūtavāhana’s Kālaviveka but also by the fact that the method of Durgā-worship, given in it, had Tantric elements.

We shall see afterwards that the Nandikesvara-p. was a work quite different from the Nandi-p. It must also not be taken to be the same as the Śivadharma and the Śivadharmottara, with which we shall deal in Vol. III of the present work.

As to the contents of the Nandikesvara-p., our know-

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   mātsya—
   ... ...
   ... ...
   aśtādaśabhyaṃ tu prathak purāṇam yat tu dṛṣṭaye/
   vijānīdhyam dvija-śreṣṭhās tad eteḥhyo vinirgatam//
   ... ...
   vinirgatam samudbhātam / yathā mahājana-
   parigṛhīta-nandikesvarapurāṇo-ādipurāṇa-devipurāṇaṃ samīkṣe pāḥ/

16. Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 420—
   nandikesvarapurāṇo tu ‘dāka-yajña-vināśinyai mahāghorāyai yogini-koti-
   parivṛtṭiyai bhadra-kālīyai hrīṃ durgāyai namaḥ’ iti mantrah.

17. This point has been dealt with in the section on the ‘Nandi-p.’ below.

18. R. L. Mitra, in his Notices of Sanskrit MSs, VI, pp. 272-4 (No. 2208), describes a MS of a work which he styles as ‘Nandikesvara-saṃhitā alias Nandikesvarapurāṇa alias Śivadharmottara’. But actually this is a MS of the Śivadharma and Śivadharmottara combined. It is for this reason that the final colophon of this MS runs as follows: iti nandikesvara-saṃhitāyām śivadharmottare ekavijnātātām ‘dhyāyah. This MS is the same as Haraprasad Shastri’s MS of the Śivadharma and Śivadharmottara described in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 718 and 723-733, Nos. 4084 (I and II) and 4085 (I and II); and it has nothing to do with the Nandikesvara-p.

In Vāsavoṣa, IX, pp. 546-7 and 549 also, the Nandikesvara-p. has been wrongly identified with the Śivadharma and the Nandi-purāṇ.
ledge is very meagre. Of the 53 lines quoted from this
Upapurāṇa in the Samvatsara-pradīpa18 and in the works
of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa,20 Nilakaṇṭha-bhaṭṭa,21 Mitra-miśra,22
Govindānanda,23 Raghunandana,24 Vācaspati-miśra,25
Vidyāpati26 and Śūlapāṇi,27 two are concerned with Devī-
worship in the spring,28 and twenty deal with the proper
time and method of Devī-worship in autumn. The method
of worship, as given in these 20 metrical lines, consists mainly
of the following operations:—bodhana and adhivāsa of Devī
in a Bilva tree on the Šukla-śaṣṭhi Tithi; patrikā-praveśa on
the following day; Devī-worship with animal sacrifice etc.
on the Aṣṭamī and the Navami Tithi; immersion of the image
of Devī in a current of water after having it carried there
on boats or by men, and the subsequent merry-making by
using abusive words against one another on the Daśami
Tithi.29 The mantras to be used in this worship had often
Tantric symbolism.30 The remaining 31 lines, contained

18 Samvatsara-pradīpa, fol. 47b—
nandīvara-purāṇa—
kṛtvā liṅgam mahesasya sarva-pāpalī pramucyate /
sapta-jann-ārjītaīr dehī mano-vāk-kāya-karmabhīḥ //

20 Nīrṇaya-sindhu, p. 118—
'bhaṅgavatīyāḥ praveśādī-visargaṁtaṁ ca yāḥ kriyāḥ /

21 Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 97.

22 Vīramitrodaya, Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 219.


24 Śmṛti-tattva, I, pp. 69, 76, 86-7, 91, 131-2, 457, 612; II, p. 85. Durgā-pūjā-
tattva, pp. 2-3, 7 and 38.

25 Ārṇa-cintāmaṇi, p. 60.

26 Gāṅga-vākyavali, pp. 201-202, 262.


28 Vāsanti-viveka, p. 29.

29 See Śūlapāṇi’s Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 7, 8, 9, and Vāsanti-viveka, p. 28; Govindānanda’s Varṣa-kaumudi, pp. 367, 375; Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa’s Nīrṇaya-sindhu, p. 128; Raghunandana’s Śmṛti-tattva, I, pp. 76, 86-87, and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 7, 38, and particularly pp. 2-3, in which as many as sixteen metrical lines, including the
following four, have been ascribed to the ‘Nandīkēśvarā-purāṇa’:

sravaṇena daśamyaṁ tu prānipatya visarjayer
nau-yānaṁ nara-yānaṁ vā nītvā bhaṅgavatīṁ śīvāṁ /
sroto-jale prakāśeyuh kṛḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaṁ /
parair nākṣipate yas tu paraṁ nākṣipate tu yaḥ /
tasya rūṣṭā bhaṅgavatī śaṇam dadyāt sudāruṇam //

30 See footnote 16 above.
in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (fol. 47b) and in Mitra-miśra's Vīramitrodāya (Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 219), Nilakaṇṭha's Ācārāmayūkha (p. 97), Raghuṇandana's Tithi-tattva, Āliniktattva, Jyotis-tattva and Ekādaśi-tattva,31 Vācaspati-miśra’s Krṣṭya-cintāmani (p. 60), and Vidyāpati Upādhyāya’s Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī (pp. 201-2, 262), deal with the following topics:—Benefits of preparing and worshipping a Śivaliṅga, especially on the Krṣṇa-caturdaśi Tithi, and of offering various kinds of food to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra; sanctifying effect of uttering the name ‘Mahādeva’; benefits of repeating hundred times a hymn called ‘Indrākṣi-stava’, which was given in the Nandikesvara-p., and of telling others about the results of avoiding meat; and the characteristics of marriageable and non-marriageable girls.32

From these contents of the quoted verses it appears that the Nandikesvara-p. was concerned not only with the praise and worship of Devī but also with those of Śiva and that it was not strictly sectarian. It is to be noted that in none of these 53 verses Devī appears as the speaker. The title of this Upapurāṇa, however, shows that it was most probably Nandikesvara who narrated the contents of this work.

Mss are found of a work called ‘Kālāgnirudr-opanisad’ which claims to be a part of the Nandikesvara-p.33 This work, which is practically a Tantric text, deals with the worship of Kālāgnirudra and 'the propriety of putting across the forehead three carved horizontal marks called Tripundra in Sanskrit, this being indispensable to the

32 Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 612—
śyāmā sukeṣṭa tanu-loma-rājī
subhrā suśīlā sugatiḥ sudantā /
vedi-vimadhya yadi paṅkajākṣī
kulena hināpi vivāhanīyā //
dhṛṣṭā kudantā yadi pīgalākṣī
lomā samākīrṇa-samāṅga-yaṣṭī //
madhīye pūṣṭā yadi rāja-kanyā
kule 'pi yogyā na vivāhanīyā //
33 Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 800, No. 4145; Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, i, pp. 913-4; P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7175-76, Nos. 10582-83; Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 50, Nos. 1064-67; and so on.
worship of Kālāgnirudra'. In his Jammu Cat., p. 201 Stein notes an early Ms of the 'Śiva-stotra' belonging to the Nandikesvara-p.

The Nandikesvara-p. seems to have derived a large number of verses from other earlier works. For instance, the verse 'ārdrayāṃ bodhayed devīm', which is quoted as from the Nandikesvara-p. in Varṣa-kaumudī, pp. 367 and 375, is ascribed to the Devī-p. in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 4 and to Vyāsa and Satya in Kālaviveka, pp. 511 and 514 respectively; the line 'saptamyāṃ mūla-yuktāyām', of which the source is mentioned as 'Nandikesvara-p.' in Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 2, is ascribed to the Devī-p. in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8; the line 'mūlabhāve 'pi saptamyām', which is ascribed to the Nandikesvara-p. in Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 367, is quoted as from 'Laiṅga' in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8; and so on. It should be mentioned here that the sections on Durgā-pūjā in the Devī-p., Linga-p. etc. were written much earlier than 1000 A.D.

For further information about the Nandikesvara-p. see under 'Brḥan-nandikesvara-p.' above.

5. The Nandi-purāṇa.

No Ms of this work has been discovered up to the present time. There is a work called Kedāra-kalpa34 which, in one Ms,35 claims to be a part of the Nandīśvara-p. or Nandi-p., but it can be little doubted that this Kedāra-kalpa is really an independent work having nothing to do with the Nandīśvara-p. or Nandi-p. The total absence of any Ms of the Nandi-p. has compelled us to base our present account of this Purāṇa on the information contained in the

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34 Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 794-799 (No. 4143) and pp. 792-794 (No. 4142). In the former Ms the work consists of three parts of which the first part claims to belong to the Rudra-yāmala; but in the latter Ms the work claims to be a part of the Vikhyāda-purāṇa.

35 Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 81-82, No. 137. In this work Śaṅkara speaks to Nandikesvara on Mahāpatha. It is the same as Pataśas I1ff. of Shastri's Ms No. 4143, but in Shastri's Ms Isvara (i.e. Śiva) speaks to Kārttikeya.
extant Purāṇas and the Smṛti-Nibandhas as well as on the verses quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' in the latter works.

In all the printed editions of the Matsya-p., the Nandi-p. is described as follows:
nandāyā yatra māhātmyam kārttikeyena varṇyate /
 nandi-purāṇam tallokair ākhyātam iti kirtyate

'It is said that [the Purāṇa], in which the glory of Nandā (i.e. Gaurī) is declared by Kārttikeya, is called Nandi-p. by the people'.

The above verse of the Matsya-p., of which the second line has obviously defective readings, occurs in Aufrecht’s Ms of the Matsya-p. with the reading ‘nandāpurāṇam’ for ‘nandi-purāṇam’ in the second line. This verse is also found quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21, Kṛtya-ratnakara, p. 32, Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18, and Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15; but in these four Smṛti-Nibandhas the text of the second line is given respectively as follows:

‘nandi-purāṇam talloko nandākhyam iti kirtyate’,

‘nandi- (v.l. nandi-) purāṇam talloko nandyākhyam iti kirtyate’,

‘nandi-purāṇam talloko nandākhyam iti cocyate’,

and

‘nandā-purāṇam talloko nandākhyam iti kirtyate’.

It is obvious that the text of the second line of the above verse, as preserved in the Smṛti-Nibandhas, is better than that found in the printed editions and in Aufrecht’s Ms of the Matsya-p. The Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa (i. 2. 81) of the Skanda-p., on the other hand, describes the Nandi-p. as follows:

nandine yatra māhātmyam kārttikeyena varṇyate /
 loke nandi-purāṇam vai khyātam etad dvijottamāḥ //

‘Oh best of the twice-born, [that Purāṇa], in which

\[28\] Matsya-p., Vaṅga. ed., 53.60; AnSS ed., 53.61; Venkaṭ. ed., 53.60 (v.l ‘ākhyā-
nam’ for ‘ākhyātam’); Jīvānanda Vidyāśāgara’s ed., 53. 60.

\[29\] Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 40, No. 95.

\[28\] This line, as quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533, reads ‘tallokair vyākhyā-
tam’ in place of ‘talloke nandākhyam’.
the glory is described by Kārttikeya to Nandin, is well-known as Nandi-p. on earth.'

In Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 15 the twelfth Upapurāṇa is called 'Nandi-kṛta', and there is no mention of any 'Nandi-p.', 'Nandi-p.', 'Nandā-p.', 'Nānda' or 'Skānda' in the Devī-bhāgavata.

An examination of the texts of the verses mentioned above shows that the Nandi-p. was originally declared by Kārttikeya to Nandin\(^{39}\) (who, then, narrated it to some other person addressed as 'king' in some of the quoted verses),\(^{40}\) that it dealt primarily with the glorification of Nandā (or Nandi, i.e. Gaurī), and that it was also called 'Nandi-p.' and 'Nandā-p.'\(^{41}\)

The Nandi-p. (or Nandā-p.), being originally declared by Kārttikeya, was also called 'Skānda'. In giving a list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas the Kūrma-p., the Garuḍa-p., and the Saura-saṁhitā of the Skanda-p. name the third Upapurāṇa as 'Skānda' and describe it as follows:

'tṛtiyaṁ skāndam uddiṣṭaṁ kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam.'\(^{42}\)

'But the third [Upapurāṇa] which was spoken out by Kumāra (i.e. Skanda), is called Skānda'.

That this 'Skānda' Upapurāṇa is the same as the Nandi-p. (or Nandā-p.) is shown by the following facts: (1) the chief speaker in both these Upapurāṇas is Kārttikeya; (2) the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Vīramitrodāya quote all the verses of the Kūrma-p. containing the list of Upapurāṇas but reads 'tṛtiyaṁ nāndam uddiṣṭaṁ kumāreṇa

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\(^{39}\) Cf. Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 15 in which the twelfth Upapurāṇa is called 'Nandi-kṛta'. In Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 917 two of the quoted verses are ascribed to a work called 'Nandi-proktā', but this 'Nandi-proktā' Upapurāṇa may be the same as the Śivadharma which is called 'Nandi-proktā Śivadharma' or 'Nandikeśvara-proktā Śivadharma' in its chapter-colephons. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 718 and 723-8, Nos. 4084 and 4085 respectively).

\(^{40}\) Dāna-kaumudi, p. 40 (nṛpa); Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 131 (rājan); Caturvargacintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 668 (vīśāmpate); and so on.

\(^{41}\) In Viśvakoṣa (a Bengali encyclopedia), IX, p. 546 the Nandi-p. and the Nandā-p. have been regarded as different works.

\(^{42}\) Kūrma-p. I. 1. 17b; Garuḍa-p. I. 227. 18a; Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382. All the printed editions of the Kūrma-p. read 'skāndam'; but in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition (I. 215. 18a) of the Garuḍa-p. the reading is wrongly given as 'skandam'.

tu bhāṣītam’ for the above line of the Kūrma-p.;43 (3) in the lists of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given in the Parāśara-
upapurāṇa, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī’s Prasthāna-bhedā, and the Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa of the Sūta-samhitā
of the Skanda-p., the third Upapurāṇa is named ‘Nānda’
(i.e. the Purāṇa on Nandā);44 (4) ‘Skānda’ is the name for
the third Upapurāṇa in some of the Mss of the Prabhāsa-
khanda of the Skanda-p., but ‘Nānda’ in the rest;45 and
(5) Narasimhā Vājapeyin, who quotes Kūrma-p. I. 1. 16
(anyāny upapurāṇāni etc.) and then gives, in his Nityācāra-
pradīpa, p. 19, the titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas
according to the list contained in the Kūrma-p., names
the third Upapurāṇa ‘Nandī-purāṇa’ and not ‘Skānda’.

The Nandi-p. was also called ‘Vāyaviya’. In his
Malamāsa-tattva Raghunandana quotes the line ‘anyāny
upapurāṇāni etc.’ with the mention of the Kūrma-p. as its
source and then says that this line refers to the ‘Narasimha-
p., Nandi-p., Āditya-p., Kālikā-p. etc.’46 Raghunandana
then reproduces those lines of the Kūrma-p. which contain
the list of the Upapurāṇas. According to the second of
these quoted lines ‘the third Upapurāṇa is the Vāyaviya
spoken out by Kumāra’,47 there being no mention of any
of these quoted lines. So, it is evident that according to
Raghunandana the Vāyaviya-upapurāṇa (spoken out by
Kumāra) and the Nandi-p. were the same. The mention

43 Caturvarga-cintāmani, II. i, p. 21, and Viramātrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāsa,
p. 13. In Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, p. 532, the erroneous reading ‘nāradaṃ’ is found in
place of ‘nāndaṃ’.


In the list of Upapurāṇas given from the ‘Brahmaavarta’ in Gopāladāsa’s Bhakti-
ratnākara, the second Upapurāṇa is called ‘Nānda’. (See Mitra, Notices, IX, p. 32).

45Skanda-p., VII. i. 2. 11b—‘trīyaṃ skāndam (v. 1. ‘nāndaṃ’ in the Vedkant, and
Vaṅga. editions) uddiṣṭam kumāreṇ-ānubhāṣītam.

46 Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—

kaurme—‘anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhibh kahitāny api/tāni ca narasimha-nandy-
āditya-kālikāpurāṇādīni, yathā—‘ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktam……’

47 ‘trīyaṃ vāyaviyaṃ ca kumāreṇa ca bhāṣītam.—Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 793.
The Vaṅga. ed. of the Malamāsa-tattva (p. 264) reads ‘kumāreṇābhībhāṣītam’. So also
does Canditcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣana’s edition (p. 213).
of the ‘Vāyaviya narrated by Kumāra’ as the third Upapurāṇa is also found in the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given from the Kūrma-p. in Śabda-kalpadruma.

In the Revā-māhātmya,48 the third Upapurāṇa is named ‘Nandā-p.’, and is connected with the Viṣṇu-p. thus:

nandā-purāṇaṃ ca tathā tṛtīyaṃ vaisnave matam.

But in the Revā-khaṇḍa (of the Skanda-p.), which is practically the same as the Revā-māhātmya mentioned above, the above line occurs with the mention of the ‘Śaukeya’ as the third Upapurāṇa.49 So, it seems that the Nandi-p. was also sometimes called ‘Śaukeya-p.’

Thus, the Nandi-p. was known under different titles, viz., Nandi-p., Nandi-p., Nandā-p., Nānda-p., Skānda-p., Vāyaviya-p. and Śaukeya-p. For some of these titles we find clear reasons; viz., it was called Nandi-p., because it was reproduced by Nandin; its title ‘Skānda’ was due to its original narrator Skanda; and it was called Nandā-p., Nānda-p. or Nandi-p., as it dealt primarily with the praise of Nandā or Nandi (i.e. Gaurī). But we do not know how it came to be known as ‘Vāyaviya’ and ‘Śaukeya’ also. Whatever different titles our Nandi-p. might have had in early times, the Smṛti-writers refer to it very often as ‘Nandi-p.’, and sometimes as ‘Nandi-p.’50

Numerous verses are found quoted from the ‘Nandi-p.’ (or ‘Nandi-p.’) in Nilakaṇṭha’s Ācāra-maṇḍuka, Gadādhara’s Kālasāra, Gopālabhāṣṭṭa’s Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, Narasimha Vājaipyin’s Nityācāra-pradīpa, Raghunandana’s Smṛti-tattva, Govindānanda’s Dāna-kaumudī and Varṣa-kaumudī, Gaṇapati’s Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, Vidyāpati’s Durgā- bhakti-taraṅgini and Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, Mādhavācārya’s commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti, Caṅḍesvara’s Kṛtya- ratnakara and Gṛhastha-ratnakara, Śridatta’s Ācārādāra,

48 Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65.
49 Skanda-p., V. iii (Revā-kh.). I. 48b—śaukeyaṃ hi tṛtīyaṃ tu purāṇe vaisnave matam.
50 See, for instance, Ācāra-bhūṣana (of Tryambaka Okha), p. 183; Smṛti-ratnaḥāra (of Brahmṇapati Rāyamukta), fol. 56b (Shastri, ASB Cat., III, No. 2138, p. 228); Gaṅgā-vākyāvali (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya), pp. 206, 212, 213, 230; and Ācārādāra (of Śridatta Upādhyāya), p. 37b (twice).
Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Vallālasena’s Dānasāgara and Adbhuta-sāgara, Aparārka’s commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, and Lakṣmīdhara’s Krśya-kalpataru. Vallālasena, who was extremely cautious about the authenticity of the Purāṇas he used in his Dānasāgara, utilised its contents without the least shade of doubt. Further, a ‘Nanda-p.’ is mentioned by Alberūnī in that list of Purāṇas which he committed to writing from dictation. In his Rāja-taraṅgini Kalhana says that ‘having heard the Nandi-purāṇa from some pupil of Vyāsa the king (Jalauka) frequented Sodara and other [sacred springs] as ying [in holiness] with Nandiśa’. These evidences, as well as the facts that the Nandi-p., as known from the quoted verses, was non-Tantric, and that its name is mentioned in the Matsya-p. and is found included in all the early lists of the eighteen Upapurāṇas, show definitely that it was an early work and must have been written before 700 A.D. As not even a single Ms of this work has been discovered up to the present time, it is not possible to say anything definitely about the upper limit of its date. From an examination of the quoted verses, however, we feel inclined to take it as a work of the sixth or seventh century A.D.

It has already been said that the Revā-māhātmya and the Revā-khanḍa of the Skanda-p. connect the Nandi-p. with the Viśṇu-p. as a part of the latter and are thus inclined to regard it as a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. This Vaiṣṇava character of the Nandi-p. is supported by a verse which has been quoted from the ‘Nandi-p.’ in the Nityācara-pradīpa and in which Krśṇa appears as an object of worship.33 There is another verse, quoted in Hari-bhakti-

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31 Sachau, Alberūnī’s India, I, p. 130. That this ‘Nanda-p.’ was the same as the ‘Nandi-p.’ is shown definitely by Alberūnī himself when he says: ‘Nanda-p. i.e. a servant of Mahādeva’.
32 Rāja-taraṅgini, I. 123—
śruta-nandipurāṇam sa vyāsāntevāsino nṛpaḥ/
sevanam sodarādinām nandiśa-spardhaya vyadhāt//
33 na śallakāyaṁ na traṁ
na sikhā-vasā-samībhūtam/
dhūpaṁ pratyaṅga-nirmuktam
vilāsa, p. 677, which says that sinners may attain the highest abode of Viṣṇu by singing his name.\textsuperscript{64} But this last-mentioned verse must not be taken seriously, because there are other quoted verses in which the regions of Brahmā, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Rudra and others have been mentioned as places capable of being attained by certain pious acts.\textsuperscript{65} On the other hand, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin calls the ‘Nandi-p.’ a part of the Skanda-p.,\textsuperscript{66} which is pre-eminently a Śaiva work. More detailed information in this direction is furnished by Kalhana when he says that after hearing the Nandi-purāṇa from a pupil of Vyāsa, king Jalauka frequented Sodara and other holy springs with a view to being equal with Nandiśa. We know that Nandiśa (or Nandikeśa) was an attendant of Śiva; and Sodara (in Kashmir) has been shown by Stein to have been situated in close proximity to the temple-ruins of Bhūtesvara,\textsuperscript{67} which is a Śaiva Tīrtha. Hence, it is clear that according to Kalhana the Nandi-p. was a Śaiva work; otherwise, it could not be said to make the king so much zealous in his devotion to Śiva. The Śaiva character of the Nandi-p. is also shown by a large number of quoted verses in which Śiva (also called Sarva, Rudra, Śaṅkara, etc.) is regarded as the object of worship,\textsuperscript{68} the Liṅga-worship is prescribed,\textsuperscript{69} the sectarian mantra ‘om

dādayāt kṛṣṇāya buddhimān/  
(quoted in Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 647).
\textsuperscript{64} sarvadā sarva-kāleṣu ye 'pi kurvanti pātakam/
nāma-saṃkīrtanāṃ kṛtvā yānti viśpoṇ paraṇaḥ padam/  
(Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 677).
\textsuperscript{65} See, for instance, the verses quoted from the ‘Nandi-p.’ in Gaṇapati’s Gaṅga-bhakti-taraṅginī, p. 49b; Viḍyāpati’s Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī, p. 172; Caṇḍesāvara’s Kṛṣṇa-rainākara, pp. 366-7; Aparaṅkara’s com. on the Yājñavalkya-sūtrī, p. 366; Kṛṣṇa-kalpataru, V. p. 251; Dānasāgara, pp. 280, 312, 410, 437, etc.; and so on.
\textsuperscript{66} Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18—mātaye—‘... nandīya yatra māhātmyam kārttikeyena varṇyate / nandi-purāṇaṁ talleko nandākhyam iti cecayet’; taccā skāndākadelab/
\textsuperscript{67} M. A. Stein, Kalhana’s Rāja-taraṅginī, I, pp. 20-21 and 23-24. See notes on verses 107 and 123 of Chap. I.
\textsuperscript{68} For such verses see Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 685-6; Dānasāgara, pp. 312, 476, 477, etc.; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, I, pp. 907, 957; Kṛṣṇa-kalpataru, V, pp. 212, 213, etc.; and so on.
\textsuperscript{69} Śmṛti-tattvā, I, p. 129; Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 685-6; Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 243; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 94.
namaḥ śivāya’ is praised, and the Śiva worshippers are given preference to other sectaries. In his Caturvarga-cintāmani (III. ii, p. 691) Hemādri quotes from the ‘Nandi-p.’ an extract in which Īśvara (i.e. Śiva) speaks on the result of avoiding meat; and in the Adbhuta-sāgara Vallālasena quotes from the same Purāṇa seven metrical lines on Śiva’s burning of Tripura. So, the Śaiva character of the Nandi-p. is unmistakable. But as we have already seen that the Matsya-p. describes the Nandi-p. as a work dealing with the praise of Nandā, it seems that the Nandi-p. was originally a Śākta work dealing with the praise of Nandā and that, like the Nandikeśvara-p., it had also chapters on the praise and worship of Śiva, to whom Nandā was associated as his Śakti. The prevalence of Śaiva elements in this Upapurāṇa must be due to the interfering hands of the Purānic Śaivas, who appear to have utilised this work for popularising Śiva-worship. The Vaiṣṇava character of the Nandi-p. was most probably the last stage in its change.

The Nandi-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Nandikeśvara-p. (also called Nandiśvara-p.) The distinct character of these two Purānic works is shown by the following facts. (1) In the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given by Raghunandana in his Malamāśa-tattva there is mention of a ‘Vāyaviya Upapurāṇa’ (which we have already found to be the same as the Nandi-p.) and the ‘Nandikeśvara-yugma’ (i.e. the two Nandikeśvara-purāṇas, which the commentator Kāśirāma Vācaspati takes to mean the ‘Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.’ and the ‘Nandikeśvara-p.’); (2) the Śabdakalpadruma quotes from the ‘Kūrma-p.’ a few verses on the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas which includes the ‘Vāyaviya’

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60 Smrti-tattva, I, pp. 130-1; Nirnaya-sindhu, p. 243; Ācāra-mayukha, p. 95.
61 Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., p. 399; Dānasāgara, pp. 476-7.
62 For the verses of this extract see also Kṛṣṭya-kalpataru, III, pp. 359-360, Kṛṣṭya-ratnakara, pp. 548-9, and Gṛhasṭha-ratnakara, p. 390.
63 Adbhuta-sāgara, p. 485.
64 In Viśvakoṣa, IX, pp. 547 and 549 the Nandi-p. has been wrongly identified with the Nandīsvara-p. or Nandikeśvara-p.
and the 'Nandikesvara-yugma'; (3) the Caturvarga-cintāmani, Vrata-khaṇḍa, gives from the Kūrma-p. a list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas in which the third Upapurāṇa is the 'Nānda', but the fourth is named as 'Śiva-dharma' in some Mss and as 'Nandikesvara-yugma' in others; (4) the same Smṛti-writers are found to draw upon both the Nandi-p. and the Nandikesvara-p., but there is not a single verse which has been ascribed by any one of them to the Nandi-p. in one place of their work and to the Nandikesvara-p. in another, nor is there a second instance in which the same verse has been ascribed to the Nandi-p. by one writer and to the Nandikesvara-p. by another. It is only in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka (p. 8) that the verse 'ṛkṣa-yogāṇurodhena', really belonging to the Nandikesvara-p., has been ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.' That Śūlapāṇi's ascription of this verse to the Nandi-p. is wrong is shown by the facts that this verse occurs only in some of the Mss on which the printed edition of the Durgotsava-viveka is based, and that the verse 'bhagavatyāḥ pravesādi-', which belongs to the group of those eight verses (including the verse 'ṛkṣa-yogāṇurodhena' mentioned above) which are found quoted as from 'Nandikesvara-p.' in Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva (pp. 2-3), is ascribed to the Nandikesvara-p. by Śūlapāṇi himself in his Durgotsava-viveka (p. 9) and Vāsanā-viveka (p. 28). A similar instance of wrong ascription is found in the ASB edition of the Dāna-kaumudi (p. 46) in which there is a verse which is ascribed to the 'Nandikesvara-p.' in only one Ms and to the 'Nandi-p.' in the rest. But this difference in ascription is simply due to scribal mistake, because this verse is found quoted in many other Nibandhas with the mention of only the 'Nandi-p.' as the source.

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    yo 'pi kaścit trṣṭārta jala-dānam prayacchati/
    sa niya-trṣṭo vasati svarge yuga-śatam nṛpa/
69 See Kālasāra, p. 584; Dānasāgara, p. 345; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 989; and
   so on.
It has already been said that not a single Ms of the Nandi-p. has been found as yet. So, we do not know exactly what its contents were. We shall, however, try to give an idea of its Smṛti contents from an examination of those of its verses which are found quoted in the Smṛti-Nibandhas.

Regarding the Ādya-p., Sāmba-p., Kālikā-p., Nandi-p., Āditya-p., Narasimha-p., Viṣṇūdharmanottara etc., Vallālasena says in his Dānasāgara that these works dealt prominently with donations.79 As a matter of fact, the great majority of the verses quoted from the Nandi-p. in the commentaries and Nibandhas deal with various topics on gifts; viz., praise of donations;71 results of following the right procedure in making donations;72 bad effects of making gifts to an unworthy person;73 benefits of giving water (to a thirsty person for drinking, or to a Brahmin for washing his feet), horse, elephant, chariot, cows which are well-decorated or are in the course of delivery (the best recipients of such cows being the spiritually developed persons, the Agnihotris and the deities), well-furnished house, clothes, umbrella, turban (uṣṇiṣa), shoes (especially to a Brahmin going on a journey), collyrium (to the eyes of a Brahmin), stick (to an old man), ornaments, sacred thread, coins called Survarṇa as daksinā (a Suvarṇa being said to be equivalent to 16 Māṣas), land (which is productive or is shining with crops such as sugarcane, wheat, barley etc.), food (to all without distinction of castes, except in śrāddha ceremonies), drink (pānaka, prepared with water mixed with molasses), milk, ghee, curd, molasses, fruit-bearing trees, orchards, gardens, pleasure-

79 kūrma-purāṇ-ādhipurāṇayoh/ uktāny upapurāṇāt vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca // ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ sāmbaṃ ca kālikāhavyam eva ca/ nānām āditya-saṃjña ca nārasimhaṃ tathaiva ca// Dānasāgara, p. 3.
72 Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, p. 102.
73 Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., p. 296; Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, pp. 102, 450; Krtya-kalpataru, V, p. 170.
gardens etc.; results of making gifts of land, cows, elephants and gold on the bank of the Ganges; and so on. It is needless to say that, except in a very few cases, the recipients of these gifts are only the Brahmins.

More interesting is the topic on Vidyā-dāna, on which about 300 metrical lines are found quoted in Lakṣmīdharā's Kṛtya-kalpataru, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, Govindānanda's Dāna-kaumudi, and Anantabhaṭṭa's Vidhāna-pārijāta. According to these verses, there are fourteen kinds of Vidyās, viz., the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Mīmāṃsā, and Tarka (Logic). Besides these, there are other secondary sciences which have grown out of the principal Vidyās mentioned above, viz., Āyurveda (medical science), Sasya-veda (science of agriculture), Kalā-vidyā, Śilpa-vidyā etc. All these sciences (including Sasya-vidyā) have been highly praised; and though the benefits of teaching these Vidyās as well as Ślokas, Prāheliṅas, Gāthās etc. to worthy students and of giving books on these sciences (including Sasya-vidyā) to gods or worthy Brahmin recipients have been described elaborately, greater importance has been attached to donation of books on Ātmavidyā (i.e. philosophical treatises), Paurāṇi Vidyā (i.e. Purāṇas) and Dharmaśāstrātmikā Vidyā (i.e. Dharmaśāstras).

The whole procedure of copying and giving books, which has been elaborately described in these verses, consists

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75 Gangā-bhakti-taraṅgini, fol. 49b.

mainly of the following operations:— the donor’s selection of an able scribe (whose qualifications have been given in some of the verses) as well as of an auspicious day; preparation of ink of different colours; preparation of pens; construction, in the prescribed manner, of a Sarapatra (also called Vidyādhara, i.e. a stool, on which a book to be copied is placed) with gold, silver, ivory or durable wood; collection of leaves (patra) required for the manuscript and furnishing their margins with lines drawn in black and red ink; construction of wooden covers for the Ms and furnishing the outer sides of these covers with ornamental paintings; decoration of the house in which the copying is to be made; honour to be shown to the scribe by presenting to him money, ornaments etc. before he begins his work; furnishing the scribe with knife and other requisites; the scribe’s ceremonious beginning, with the sound of musical instruments, of his work of copying in the appointed house on an auspicious day after duly performing Puṇyāha-vaçana and Svasti-vaçana and worshipping Brahmā, Viñnu and Śiva; feeding of Brahmans at the completion of the work of copying; comparison of the copied Ms with its original, and making necessary corrections in it; furnishing this new Ms with covers of wood and cloth; taking this Ms with pomp and ceremony to a temple of Śiva, and dedicating it to the deity; appointment of qualified Brahmin readers (vaçaka, pāṭhaka, whose qualifications have been mentioned in a number of verses) for reading out the Ms and explaining its contents to the audience, the language used in explaining being Sanskrit, Prakrit, a local dialect, or a mixture of all these according to the language of the book;78a presents to be made to the readers and to the donor’s teacher, who is to attend the function; decorations and merry-makings in towns and villages on this occasion. If the Ms is to be given to some worthy Brahmin, it should be taken to his house in the manner described above, and formally given to him. One may also acquire the merits of Vidyā-dāna by building a house, inviting a learned teacher

78a For the relevant verses see Chap. I, footnote 344 above.
there, honouring him with wealth, raiments etc., and making him teach a number of students.

Equally interesting are the 25 metrical lines, quoted by Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri and Anantabhaṭṭa,77 on the praise of foundation of hospitals (ārogya-śālā) for the suffering humanity and the poor. According to these lines, these hospitals should be furnished with qualified and experienced physicians and powerful medicines, and food, honey, ghee etc. should be supplied to the patients free of cost.

There are also a large number of verses on the benefits of the following acts:— digging of tanks and wells, and dedication of these to a Brahmin or a deity, or for public use;78 giving of food to cows;79 feeding of a Brahmin who is visiting holy places;80 avoiding of meat in the month of Kārttika and under different Rāṣis, viz., Tulā, Makara and Meṣa;81 worshipping of an earthen Śiva-liṅga;82 offering of incense and flowers to gods and Brahmins;83 furnishing of temples and houses of Brahmins with lamps;84 muttering of the six-syllabled Mantra ‘ōṁ namaḥ śivāya’, and the use of this Mantra in worship, donations etc.;85 curing of a person of his disease with the help of one’s knowledge of Āyurveda;86 assuring of safety to a person distressed with fear;87 offering of incense to Kṛṣṇa, gold to a Śiva-liṅga, and madhuparka

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77 See Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, pp. 250-1; Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., pp. 363-6; Dānasāgara, pp. 558-9; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, I, pp. 892-4; Vidhāna-pārijāta, III, p. 375.
78 Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., pp. 408-9; Śruti-tattva, II, pp. 514, 516; Dānakauṃudi, p. 164; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, I, pp. 1002, 1004-5.
79 Dānasāgara, pp. 312-3.
80 Dānasāgara, pp. 366-7.
82 Śruti-tattva, I, p. 129; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 94.
83 Dānasāgara, pp. 400, 405; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, I, p. 922.
84 Dānasāgara, pp. 459, 460; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, I, p. 491; Durgā-bhakti-taran-giṇḍ, p. 164.
85 Śruti-tattva, I, pp. 130-1; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 95.
86 Śruti-tattva, I, p. 678.
87 Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., p. 385; Dānasāgara, pp. 563-4; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, I, p. 946; Kṛtya-kalpataru, V, p. 252.
to Śiva;** shaving of the feet of a tired Brahmin traveller, and offering of ointments to him for use on his feet;*** singing of the names of Viṣṇu;**** and so on.

In Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III (Pariśeṣa-khandā) a large number of verses** have been quoted from the Nandi-p. on the various topics connected with Śrāddha; viz., classification of Pitrās; mention of the different classes of Pitrās whose satisfaction is created by the worship of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva; determination of proper time for the performance of funeral ceremonies; persons who deserve to be invited and fed in a funeral ceremony; enumeration of the various objects to be given to Brahmans in a funeral ceremony, viz., gold, silver, ornaments of various kinds (such as armlets, necklace, earrings, waist-bands, anklets, bracelets etc. all set with gems), foot-wears (pādukā), palanquins, vehicles, various kinds of food, clothes, fans, umbrellas, scents and other articles for toileting, cows, buffaloes, young elephants, bulls etc.; praise of giving gold coins (called Suvarṇa) and silver as daksīṇā; origin of silver from the drop of tear fallen from one of the unblinking eyes of Śiva when he was looking at Tripura with the intention of destroying it; and so on. In his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (II. ii, p. 242) Mādhavacārya quotes from the Nandi-p. seventeen metrical lines on the innumerable rebirths (first as shrubs, plants etc., and next as various lower animals and members of lower castes) which a murderer of a Brahmin has to pass through after residence in hells for Kalpas, before he is born as a Brahmin. That the Nandi-p. contained the story of Śiva's burning of the city of Tripura, is shown not only by the above account of the origin of silver but also by the seven metrical lines, quoted in Vallālasena's Adhūta-sāgara (p. 485), on the omens foreboding the destruction of Tripura.

In some of the quoted verses Śiva speaks most probably

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** Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 647, 685-6.
*** Dānasāgara, p. 396; Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 936.

** Some of these verses have been given in Nirvaya-sindhu, pp. 279 and 307 with the words 'hemādrasau nandi-purāṇe'.
to a king (who is addressed as ‘viśāmpate’ and ‘vatsa’ in some other verses).  

The Nandi-p. seems to have been a non-Bengal work. The crops mentioned in connection with bhūmi-dāna exclude rice.

### 6. The Sāradā-purāṇa.

This Upapurāṇa is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas; but it is drawn upon in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Gopālabhaṭṭa’s Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, and Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Ādavalya’s Purusārtha-cintāmaṇi (Kāla-khaṇḍa). So, it must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D.

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82 See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 571-2; III. i, pp. 45, 64 and 668; and III. ii, p. 691.
83 See the verses of the Nandi-p. in Dānasāgara, pp. 331-2.
84 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 202—

‘sāradā-purāṇe—

dina-karma dīn sarvam karthavyam yadi tad dīn/
naiśīdhāṃ avāpnoti tādī rātrau vidhīyate/’

and

‘kālikā-sāradā-purāṇayoh—

svalpaiva dvāsīta yatra snāna-dānādikā kriyā/
rajanyāṃ eva kartavyā dāna-homādi-samyyutā/’

pp. 223-4—

‘sāradā-purāṇe—

uposyā dvāsīta śudhā ekādasyāṃ dīna-kṣaye/
mumukṣubhir daśāviddha neposyyikādaśī tithīh/’

p. 238—

‘sāradā-purāṇe—

ekādasya aśtaṃ śaṣṭiḥ pūrṇamāśī caturdaśī/
trīyā ca caturthī ca amāvāsyāstamī tathā//
uposyāḥ para-samyyuktā neposyyā pūrva-samyyutāḥ/’

and p. 286—

‘sāradā-purāṇe—

purāṇa-nāya-māṃsāda-dharmaśāstrārtha-cintakāḥ/
sadācāra-parā ye vai tad-uktam yatnataś care/’

85 Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 776—’sāradā-purāṇe—ekādasi tathā śaṣṭhi pauruṣamāśī caturdaśī etc.’ (same as in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 238);

p. 840—’sāradā-purāṇe—dīna-karma etc.’ (same as the first verse in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 202);

p. 841—’kālikā-sāradā-purāṇayoh—svalpaiva dvāsīta yatra etc.’ (same as the second verse in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 202), and

saṅkṣeṣa viṣame prāpte dvāsīyaṃ pārayet katham/
adbhis tu pāraṇaṃ kuryāt punar bhuktam na dosakri/’

86 Shastri, ASB Cat., III. p. 332. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Ādavalya was a Sout Indian author and flourished after Raghunandana.
This Upapurāṇa, as its title shows, was a Śākta work. But the verses quoted from it in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa relate only to rules about the selection of the proper day and time for taking bath, observing fasts, making donations etc. on those Ekādaśi and other Tithis which are contaminated with others.

The Sāradā-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Kālikā-p. In Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 202 and Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 841 the same verses have been ascribed to both the Kālikā and the Sāradā-p.97 Nor is the Sāradā-p. to be identified with the Devī-p. or the Devi-bhāgavata. These two latter Purānic works do not contain the verses ascribed to the Sāradā-p. in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa.

7. The Śaukeya Upapurāṇa.

This is the same as the Nandi-p. (for which see under ‘Nandi-p.’ above).

8. The Skānda Upapurāṇa.

This is the same as the Nandi-p., for which see under ‘Nandi-p.’ above.

9. The Vāyaviya-upapurāṇa.

We have seen above98 that the ‘Vāyaviya’, mentioned in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Smṛti-tattva and the Šabda-kalpadruma, was the same as the Nandi-p. Narasiṃha Vājapeyin includes a ‘Vāyu-p.’ among the Upapurāṇas;99 and this ‘Vāyu-p.’ may be the same as the ‘Vāyaviya’ Upapurāṇa mentioned in the Smṛti-tattva and the Šabda-kalpadruma.

97 See footnotes 94 and 95 above.
98 See under ‘Nandi-p.’ above.
99 Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18—yac ca vāyupūrāṇa-devi-pūrāṇādi tad apy eteśv antargatam.
Chapter IV

Some Lost Upapurāṇas of Non-sectarian or Unknown Origin

Besides the lost Upapurāṇas dealt with in the immediately preceding Chapter and in Chap. V of Vol. I of the present work, there were many others, about which our information is in most cases so meagre that we are in absolute darkness about the sects to which these works originally belonged. Most of them are now known to us only by name; and as regards the religious views of those very few Upapurāṇas about which we can gather some information from external sources and quotations, our knowledge is no better than in the case of the rest.

It can hardly be denied that clash of religious interest and sectarian rivalry in the mediaeval period of Indian history were responsible for the composition of many more Upapurāṇas than we know of at present. The few works, about which we have been able to gather some information, are the following.

1. The Āditya-purāṇa.

This is one of the earliest and most popular Upapurāṇas. But unfortunately its name does not occur in any of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except those contained in three comparatively late works, viz., the Devi-bhāgavata, the Vindhya-māhātmya, and the Br̥hadhārma-p. The list of Upapurāṇas,¹ which Raghunandana derived from the ‘Kaurma’ (i.e. Kūrma-p.), contains the name of a ‘Bhāskarāḥvaya’ Upapurāṇa. According to Kāśīrāma Vācaspati and also perhaps Raghunandana himself, this ‘Bhāskarāḥvaya’ Upapurāṇa is the same as the Āditya-p.² We do not

¹ For this list see Vol. I, pp. 4-5.
know whether this identification is right or wrong. The ‘Bhāskarāhvaya’ Upapurāṇa may as well be the same as the ‘Saura-p.’ which is not mentioned in Raghunandana’s list. However, the nonmention of the name of the Āditya-p. in the majority of the lists has not in any way minimised the importance of this work. Almost all the Nibandha-writers are found to quote numerous verses from it, some of these writers being the following: Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (author of the Tristhali-setu), Anantabhaṭṭa (author of the Vidhānapārijāta), Gadādhara, Narasimha Vājapeyin, Gopālabhaṭṭa, Raghunandana, Govindānanda, Vidyākara Vājapeyin, Vācaspati-miśra, Caṇḍesvara, Mādhavācārya, Vidyāpati, Madanapāla, Hemādri, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Aparārka and Lakṣmīdhara. In his account of India Alberūni names the ‘Āditya-purāṇa’ in that list of major Purāṇas which he heard and committed ‘to writing from dictation.’ Alberūni further says, “Of all this literature I have only seen portions of the Matsya, Āditya and Vāyu Purāṇas”, and gives the translation of a few verses of the Āditya-p.

That the Āditya-p. is an early work cannot be denied. The manner in which Alberūni and the Nibandha-writers of different parts of India name and utilise it without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity and antiquity, shows that it must have been written not later than 700 A.D. As the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 2. 79-83) and the Matsya-p. (53. 59-63) name the Narasimha-p., Nandi-p., Sāmba-p. and Āditya-p. and say that all these Upapurāṇas were ‘well established in society’ (loke ... sampratīṣṭhitāḥ), the Āditya-p. must have been written not later than the sixth century A.D. From

Just before giving the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas in his Malamāsa-tattva Raghunandana writes:

kaurme—

“anyāṇy upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api”

tāni ca narasimha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīnī, yathā ... ... /

(Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3). It is to be noted that Raghunandana names the Āditya-purāṇa as an instance, although the list, which he gives from the ‘Kaurma’, contains the name of a ‘Bhāskarāhvaya’ Upapurāṇa (and not that of the ‘Āditya-p.’). Hence Raghunandana seems to take the ‘Bhāskarāhvaya’ and the Āditya-p. to be identical.

* Sachau, Alberūni’s India, I, p. 130.
the mention of the Mahābhārata and the names of the zodiacal signs and week-days in some of the verses of the Āditya-p., it appears that this work is to be dated not earlier than 400 A.D. It is highly probable that it was written in the fifth century A.D. This early date of the Āditya-p. is fully supported by the remarkable absence of Tantric rituals.

We have said elsewhere that the ‘Bhāskara-purāṇa’, mentioned in Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 199. 4-5, may be the same as the present Sāmba-p. The Āditya-p. must not be taken to be identical with the earlier Saura-p. which is now lost. The former is found mentioned in the Matsya-p. (53. 62), Brhadārthā-dharma-p. (I. 25. 23) and Devī-bhāgavata (I. 3. 15) and drawn upon by Alberūnī and the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. The distinct character of these works is shown by the facts that the Devī-bhāgavata mentions both these Purānic works in its list of Upapurāṇas and that whenever Alberūnī and others have to refer to or draw upon the Āditya-p., they do so under the title ‘Āditya-p.’

In a few chapter-colophons of some of the Mss of the present Saura, this Purāṇa is called the ‘Mānavi-samhitā belonging to the Āditya-p.’ So, it is liable to be taken as a part (Samhitā) of the Āditya-p. As a matter of fact, in many of the catalogues of Sanskrit Mss this Purāṇa is mentioned under the title ‘Āditya-p.’ But this connection of the present Saura with the Āditya-p. is totally unwarranted; because the Āditya-p., which is mentioned in the Matsya-p.,

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4 See the verses ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 382, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, pp. 86 and 67, Mādhavācarya’s com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, pp. 280-281, Kālāśāra, p. 610, and so on.


6 We shall record our information about this earlier Saura-p. in Vol III (under ‘Saura-p.’).

7 Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 13-16.

8 iti śri-āditya-purāṇe mānavi-samhitāyaṁ brahmāṇda-goloka-varanaṇaṁ nāma pañca-ṣaṭṭīmam ‘dhyāyaḥ.—Weber, Berlin Cat., No. 1526 (pp. 115-119); Mitra, Bikaner Cat., No. 406 (pp. 182-3); Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 4096 (pp. 758-761). Also P.P.S. Sastrī, Tanjore Cat., XV, No. 10566 (pp. 7165-66); and M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV, ii, Nos. 2338-39 (pp. 1599-1604).
Bṛhadāranyaka-p. and Devī-bhāgavata and drawn upon by Alberūṇī and the Smṛti-writers, both early and late, is certainly a much earlier work. Moreover, nowhere in the body of its text does the Saura-p. connect itself with the Āditya; and of a few hundreds of metrical lines quoted from the ‘Āditya-p.’ in the Smṛti commentaries and Nibandhas, only about five are found in the present Saura. But this coincidence must not be taken very seriously, because stray verses are often found common even to independent Purānic works which might have taken these verses from a common source such as the Mahābhārata or some early Purānic or Smṛti work. The above-mentioned connection of the present Saura-p. with the Āditya-p., however, seems to be based on Saura-p. 1. 6 in which the sages ask Śūta to tell them how ‘Āditya’ declared the Saura-p. (kathāṃ bhagavatā pūrvam ādityen-ātmarūpinā / purāṇaṃ kathitaṃ sauraṃ tanno vaktum ihārhasi //).

The Bhaviṣyottara mentions a ‘Mārtanda-purāṇa’ and says that it dealt with Vratas. But as we are quite ignorant of the nature and other contents of this ‘Mārtanda-p.’, we do not know whether it was the same as the Āditya-p. or the earlier Saura-p. which is now lost.

The Śūrya-p. mentioned by D. R. Bhandarkar, and that drawn upon by Caṇḍeśvara and named in the Berlin Mss of the Kṛṣṇa-paṇcami-śrāddha-vidhi and the Bhaviṣyottara as the source of the former and of the ‘Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-

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10 See, for instance, the five lines, quoted from the ‘Āditya-p.’ in Mādhavacārya’s com. (I. i. p. 177) on the Parāśara-smṛti, which agree with Saura-p. 10. 3 and 5-6a.

11 Bhav. IV. 121. 1-2—

śrī-kṛṣṇa uvāca—
śrīṣu bhārata vakṣyāmi pañcāṣṭi-vratāni ca/
noktiṇi yāni kasyāpi munibhir dharma-darśibhibh//
bhaviṣya-matya-mārtanda-purāṇoṣu ca varpiṭam/
vārāḥaṃ caiva sansārībhya kathyaṃ tāni pāṇḍava//
pañcamī-vrata' in the latter, must be quite different from our Āditya-p.¹²

We do not know definitely to which sect the Āditya-p. originally belonged or whether it was a non-sectarian work. In the comparatively early Nibandhas there is a large number of extracts, quoted from the Āditya-p., in which the worship of the Sun has been prescribed.¹³ On the other hand, Viṣṇu-worship is recommended and praised in some of its verses;¹⁴ according to one line, it is the adherents to the Pāñcarātra system who escape all kinds of sufferings;¹⁵ and one verse states that a worthless Brahmin, who is not marked with Śaṅkha, Cakra, ērdhva-punḍra etc., is to be placed on an ass and banished by the king from his kingdom.¹⁶ In Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II. ii, p. 915) eight verses on Śyāmā-mahotsava have been quoted; Vidyāpati and Gadādhara have four and two metrical lines on Durgā-pūjā in their Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī (p. 160) and Kālasāra (p. 105) respectively; and in Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Tristhalisetu (pp. 211, 294-5, 296-7, 308, 313) there are a few verses which praise Benares and the different types of Śiva-liṅga. From all these quotations it appears that the Āditya-p. was a non-sectarian work dealing with the praise and worship of Śūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā and other deities.

Regarding the provenance of the Āditya-p. we have got no clear idea. That it is a non-Bengal work, is certain. It is probable that this Upapurāṇa was written in Northern India.

It will be interesting to note in this connection the varied contents of the Āditya-p. on the basis of the references and quotations made in Alberūni's work and in the different

¹³ See, for instance, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 738-740, 792-804, and so on.
¹⁴ For such verses see Kṛtya-kalpataru, VI, pp. 348-351, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 326-7, II, i, pp. 1145-7, and so on.
¹⁵ 'pañcarātra-prasaktā ye na te durgatim āpnuyab' (quoted from the Āditya-p. in Nityācāra-paddhati, p. 509).
¹⁶ Śāṅkha-cakr-ordhvapunḍr-ādi-rahitaṁ brāhmaṇādhamami/
gardāhaṁ tu saṁāropya rājā rāstrāt pravāsayet /
(quoted from the Āditya-p. in Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 184).
Purāṇas and Smṛti-Nibandhas. According to the Devi-bhāgavata (I. 3. 15) and the Vindhyamāhātmya (chap. 3) the Āditya-p. was a ‘very extensive’ work (ādityam cāтивistaram); from Brhadādharma-p. III. 2. 31 we understand that it dealt elaborately with Gāyatri and gave a description of Gāyatri’s appearance, colour etc., most probably in connection with gāyatri-dhyāna;17 and Alberūnī’s quotations show that it contained a large number of verses on the geography of the earth, the names and position of the seven nether worlds (viz., Tala, Sutala, Pātāla etc.), the names and position of the seven worlds (viz., Bhuḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Svāh, Mahaḥ etc.) of the mortals and the immortals, the description and measurement of the mountain Meru, and a discourse on ‘Kalpa’.18 Much more interesting are the verses ascribed to the Āditya-p. in the Smṛti-Nibandhas. A study of these verses show that the Āditya-p. dealt elaborately with various topics concerning religion and society. Some of these topics are the following.

(1) Śrāddha.—The right procedure of its performance. Determination of proper time. Necessity of performing śrāddha during the rainy season when the Pitṛs are expelled by Yama from his abode and sent down to the world of mortals. Praise of dedicating a ‘nīla-vṛṣa’—an act which causes great satisfaction to the Pitṛs and ensures plenty of food and enjoyment to the dedicator.19 Bad effect of the non-performance of śrāddha on the belief that there are no Pitṛs.

(2) Death, and cremation of the deceased.20 Causes of death determining the regions to be attained by the deceased. Praise of death in war. Praise of committing suicide in case of suffering from incurable diseases. Persons

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17 For the text of the verse of the Brhadādharma-p. see Chap. II, footnote 135 above.
deserving cremation (viz., those who have invited sudden death through mistake; those who have been killed by wild beasts, snakes, poison, lightning etc.; those who have been murdered by Gaṇḍālas or thieves; and so on). Method of cremation; and use of different kinds of fire for different persons. Praise of throwing the bones of the deceased into the Ganges.

(3) Impurity.—Rules of impurity caused by birth, death and miscarriage.

Rules of purification of the body under different conditions, (viz., after touching undesirable persons; while travelling on the way or suffering from some disease; and so on). Method of purification.

(4) Marriage, and duties of married life.—Praise of the Gāndharva form of marriage and of accepting ṣulka for the girl.21 Praise of marrying a daughter according to the Daiva form.22 Salutary effects of Kanyā-pradāna on the Pitṛs (patriarchs).23 Respect to be shown to a son-in-law, who is to be regarded as Viṣṇu himself; and advice to the father not to dine at the house of that daughter who has not attained motherhood.24

Duties of married women.25—They are to serve their husbands and obey them in all matters. They should not undertake any religious rite without the permission of their husbands or other guardians.

Method and praise of sahāmarāṇa and anumaraṇa.26

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21 gāndharvena vivāhena yas tu kanyāṁ prayacchati/
gandharva-lokaṁ vrajati gandharvaiḥ pūjyate ca sah//
ṣulkena dadyād yaḥ kanyāṁ varāya sadṛśāya ca/
kimpmaraiḥ saha giyeta gāndharvam lokam eti ca//
(quoted in Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 575).

In Dāna-kaumudi, p. 80 these verses have been ascribed to the ‘Ādi-purāṇa’.


23 Kṛtya-kalpataru, II, p. 81, Gṛhaṣṭha-ratnākara, p. 68.


26 See ibid., II. ii, pp. 957-960.
Dining with the wife of one's own caste—permissible during journey.27

(5) Duties of people.28—Advice to the people of the Kali age not to practise the dharma of the Kṛta-yuga. During the Kali age they are to avoid the following acts:— remarriage of girls, allotment of the largest share to the eldest son, killing of cows, marrying of one's own brother's wife, practice of celibacy for a long time, intercaste marriage, killing of a Brahmin even in war, entrance into the Vāna-prasthāśrama, prescription of such penances to a Brahmin as may cause his death, recognition of sons other than the dattaka and the aurasa, and so on.

Praise of morning bath during the month of Kārttika and of performance of tarpana.

Proper time for taking food, viz., morning (prātaḥ) and evening (sāyam).

Study of the Mahābhārata.29

(6) Donations.30—Praise of giving various things to proper recipients, especially to worthy Brahmins, viz., gold, land, well-furnished house, bed, lamp, fan (made of peacock-feathers), clothes, seat, umbrella, footwears, chariot, boat, elephant, horse, cows of different numbers and colours, cows known as Kapilās, calves, food, salt, sesamum, artificial cows made of sesamum, ghee or water, skins of black antelopes, water-pots, sacred thread, sacred books such as the Veda, stick, and so on.

Qualifications of donees. Proper time for making gifts. Right procedure of the same. Gifts which can please particular gods and spiritual preceptors.

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27 brāhmaṇyā bhārtyā śārdham kvaic bhūjīta cādhvani/
asavarnā-striyā śārdham bhuktvā patati tatκṣapāt/
(quoted in Mādhavacārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, p. 425).
28 For the relevant verses see Mādhavacārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, pp. 83-84; and 280-1, and I. ii, p. 91; Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 112-3, and 362; Mādana-pārījāta, p. 331; and so on.
29 Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 382.
30 Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 107, II, pp. 242, 247; Aparārka's com. (on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti), pp. 363, 370, 374, 378-9; Dāmasāgara, pp. 46, 60,259, etc.; Caturvarga-cintāmani, I; Mādhavacārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i, p. 177; Kṛtya-ratnakara, pp. 179-180, 367, 561; Gṛhastha-ratnākara, pp. 463, 466; Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, p. 181; and so on.
(7) Various kinds of public work.—Praise of constructing dams, planting trees, digging wells and tanks, and so on. Dedication of orchards, gardens, parks etc.

(8) Measurement of land by Paramāṇu, Trasareṇu, Rathareṇu, Bālāgra, Likśa, Yūkā, Yava, Ānguli, Vitasti, Prādesa, Tāla, Gokarna, Ratni, Tusta, Visku, Dhanurdaṇḍa, Nāli etc., the extents of which are as follows:

| 8 Paramāṇu    | 1 Trasareṇu  |
| 8 Trasareṇus   | 1 Rathareṇu  |
| 8 Rathareṇus   | 1 Bālāgra   |
| 8 Bālāgras     | 1 Likśa     |
| 8 Likśas       | 1 Yūkā      |
| 8 Yūkās        | 1 Yava      |
| 8 Yavas        | 1 Ānguli    |
| 12 Āngulis     | 1 Vitasti   |

and so on.

Measurement of a ‘gocarma’.

(9) Vratas and festivals.—Selection of proper Tithis for the performance of these. Rules of self-restraint that one should observe on these occasions. Description of various Vratas and festivals, some of which are the following:

(a) The Putra-saptami-vrata, in which the Sun is to be worshipped on the Saptami Tithis of every month, especially on the Māgha-sukla-saptami.

(b) The twelve Saptami-vratas, in which the Sun’s twelve forms, viz., Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhāskara, Indra, Vivasvat, Aryaman, Mitra, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu and Bhaga are to be worshipped during the twelve months (from Caitra) respectively.

On the Āṣadhā-sukla-saptami, which is called Vijaya-saptami, Sūrya is to be worshipped in a maṇḍala by one

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31 Krṣya-kalpataru, V, p. 276; Dānasāgara, pp. 544-5, 661-2; Krṣya-ratnākara, p. 561; and so on.
32 See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 120-1, and Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 140-1.
33 gavam'i sataṁ vṛṣā citka yatra tiṣṭhayā ayantritaḥ/ tāṁ vai gocarma-mātraṁ tu maṇur āha prajavaṭāḥ/ (quoted in Dānasāgara, p. 330).
34 See Krṣya-kalpataru, VI, pp. 348-351; and especially Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, i, pp. 738-740, 792-804, 873-6, II, ii, pp. 168, 341-3, 649-650, 915, and so on.
who must wear white clothes, have a sacred thread, and be a brahmacārin, and must not speak with women. The offerings are to consist of fruits, vegetables, meat, pāyasa etc.; and the ‘Daivajñas’ are to be honoured and fed. The things to be given away on this occasion are wine, condiments, honey, Śāli rice, meat, vegetables etc. It is said that those women, who worship the Sun on this Tithi, become fortunate and live happily in the Sūrya-loka with their husbands, and that after the expiry of the period of enjoyment they are reborn in high and rich families.

In connection with the description of Sun-worship on the Śrāvaṇa-śukla-saptami, which is called Marīca-saptami, reference is made to the Sun’s power of curing various diseases including those of the skin (viz., Kuṣṭha, Dadru, Kaṇḍu, Śvitra, Ślipada, Jalodara, Gulma, Atisāra, Hṛd-rogā, Vidradhi, Pāṇḍu, Ānāha, Galagraha, Śiraḥśūla, Pārśvaśūla, Aksiśūla, Vīśúcikā, Vāta, Kṣaya etc.). The Sun is to be worshipped with the six-syllabled mantra ‘ōṁ namaḥ sūryāya’; and the worshipper is to take his seat before the deity by facing the east.

During the Bhādra-śukla-saptami, which is called Phalasaptami, the Sun is to be worshipped with the offer of various fruits; and the cultivators, merchants, bankers and others, who observe the Phala-saptami-vrata, have their efforts immensely rewarded.

During the Āśvina-śukla-saptami, which is called Anodanā, a cart is to be given away with food materials, and Brahmins and Bhojakas are to be fed.

(c) Śyena-grāsana-vidhi.—On the Caturthī, Aṣṭamī, Navami, or Caturdāśī Tithi of the white half of the month of Kārttika, a married woman, who is the mother of one or more sons, is to take her bath and worship Yoganidrā in a fruit-bearing tree outside the house, where she is to go without taking any companion with her. At this place she is to offer food to a Śyena bird, return to the house, take her meal even before the head of the family takes his own, and worship her husband.

(d) Śyāmā-mahotsava.—On this occasion Śyāmā, who
is said to have been churned out of the ocean of milk and who was known by three more names Nārāyaṇi, Sati and Drākṣā (because the gods and demons said “manojñā sumukhi caīṣā hanta drakṣyāmahe vayam”, when she was churned out), is to be worshipped on well-ripe Drākṣā fruits. Two boys and two old men are to be honoured on this occasion, the fruits are to be given to spiritual preceptors, and music and dancing are to be performed.

Besides these, there is copious description of Aśokāṣṭami-vrata, Vaiśākhi-vidhi, Putrotpatti-vrata, Deha-tyāga-vidhi, Dūrvāṣṭami-vrata, Vijaya-dvādaśi-vrata, and so on.

(10) Description of different deities, such as Agni (who rides a goat), Śiva (who has four hands), Lākṣmī, Indra, the eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas, and so on.\(^{35}\)

(11) Miscellaneous topics, such as those relating to 
(a) numerals, (b) praise of Benares, and the method of worshipping Śiva there, (c) adbhutas concerning svāpaṇa and kāya-riṣṭa,\(^{36}\) (d) names of the seven sages of the Vaivasvata Manvantara, (e) names of dig-gajas, enumeration of ratnapaṇcaka, and names of the nine things known as ‘kautuka’,\(^{37}\) (f) vaiśvadeva-bali following pitṛ-tarpaṇa, (g) bad effects of making hurry in homa and of offering homa in a fire with inauspicious signs,\(^{38}\) (h) giving of salt and fodder to cows, and so on.

An examination of the quoted verses shows that in many of the chapters of the Āditya-p. the Sun (Bhānu or Āditya) spoke to the ‘great sage’ (mahāmuni) Durvāsas,\(^{39}\) in some chapters Vasiṣṭha reported to a king what Pitāmaha had said to the gods and sages,\(^{40}\) in some chapters Vasiṣṭha

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\(^{36}\) See Adbhuta-sāgara, pp. 507, 517, 519-520, 520, 521, 524, 525, 527-9, 534, 537, 538, 540, 542-4, 546.
\(^{38}\) Krīya-ratnākara, pp. 59-60.
spoke to Bhārgava Rāma,\textsuperscript{41} and in some others Vyāsa was
the speaker.\textsuperscript{42} In a large extract of 130 verses Nārada is
spoken to,\textsuperscript{43} and in another Āditya speaks to Brahmā.\textsuperscript{44}
From all these it appears that in the Āditya-p. Vyāsa re-
ported to some sages what the Sun (Bhānu or Āditya) had
said to Durvāsas on diverse topics.

We do not know whether the Āditya-p. cared to claim
to belong to any Mahāpurāṇa, but the Matsya-p. (53. 62)
and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 2. 83) take it to be a part of the
Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa. It is needless to say that this connection
between the two Purāṇic works must have been meant for
subordinating the Āditya-p. to a principal Purāṇa, viz., the
Bhaviṣyat.

2. The Ākheṭaka-upapurāṇa\textsuperscript{45}.

This work has been mentioned only in that list of
eighteen Upapurāṇas which occurs in the Ekāmra-p.\textsuperscript{46} No
second mention of this work is found anywhere else, nor
have we been able to find out a single Smṛti or non-Smṛti
work which draws upon this Upapurāṇa. So, we do not
know what its contents were, or when it was composed.
Its peculiar title also does not render us any help in these
respects. However, its mention in the Ekāmra-p. shows
that it must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. but
most probably not before 900 A.D.

3. The Auśanasā-upapurāṇa.

This Upapurāṇa has been mentioned in all the lists of
eighteen Upapurāṇas, except those contained in the Ekāmra-
p. and the Bhaddharmā-p. In some of these lists it is

\textsuperscript{41} See Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 378-9.
\textsuperscript{42} See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 341-3.
\textsuperscript{43} See ibid., II. i, pp. 792-804.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., II. i, pp. 738-740.
\textsuperscript{45} The title of this work is peculiar, the word 'Ākheṭaka' meaning 'hunter'.
\textsuperscript{46} For this list see Vol. I, p. 13.
mentioned as 'Auśanasa',\(^{47}\) in most of them it is called 'Uśanaserita' (i.e. the Purāṇa spoken out by Uśanas),\(^{48}\) and in one it is named as 'Auśanasa-prokta'.\(^{49}\) In those lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas which Mitra-miśra and Gopaładāsa derived from the 'Brahma-vaivarta', this Auśanasa-upapurāṇa is called 'Śaukra'.\(^{50}\)

The mention of this Upapurāṇa in almost all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas shows that it was a fairly early work and must have been written before 800 A.D. But unfortunately not a single Smṛti or non-Smṛti work is found to draw upon or refer to it. It is probable that either this Auśanasa-upapurāṇa became extinct at an early date, or it became unpopular with the authors of Smṛti and other works from the tenth century A.D.

The Auśanasa-upapurāṇa must not be taken to be the same as the Brhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa, which was a much later work. For this Brhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa see below.

4. The Bārhaspatya Upapurāṇa.

It is mentioned as the fourth Upapurāṇa in the list of Upapurāṇas contained in the Revā-kh. (I. 49) of the Skanda-p. No other list contains its name, nor does any commentator or Nibandha-writer draw upon or refer to it. So, we are quite ignorant of its date and contents. According to the Revā-kh., this Bārhaspatya Upapurāṇa belonged to the Vāyu-p. (bārhaspatyaṁ caturthaṁ ca vāyavyaṁ saṁmataṁ sadā.—Skanda-p. V. iii. 1. 49a).

5. The Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa.

The Devī-bhāgavata mentions a 'Bhāgavata' in its list

\(^{47}\) See Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19 (which derived its list from the 'Kārma-p.'), Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 13-16.

\(^{48}\) For these lists See Vol. I, pp. 4-10 and 12.


\(^{50}\) See *ibid.*, p. 12.

Śukra and Uśanas are names of the same person.
of Upapurāṇas, but we have seen elsewhere\textsuperscript{81} that this ‘Bhāgavata’ is nothing but the famous Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata, whose position as a Mahāpurāṇa the Devi-bhāgavata tried to occupy by calling itself ‘Śrīmad-bhāgavata’\textsuperscript{82} or simply ‘Bhāgavata’.\textsuperscript{83}

The Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya, which mention a Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa in their lists of the eighteen principal Purāṇas,\textsuperscript{84} include a ‘Bhāgavata’ in their lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas. So, it is clear that according to these two works the Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa was quite different from the famous Bhāgavata-p. But as in their lists of Upapurāṇas there is mention of the Kālikā-p. also (which, as we have already seen,\textsuperscript{85} claimed to be the ‘original Bhāgavata’), we do not know whether this ‘Bhāgavata’ Upapurāṇa of the Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya is the same as the Devi-bhāgavata or the Devi-p.\textsuperscript{86} In the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas, which was derived by Hemādri from the ‘Kūrma-p.’, there is mention of ‘two Bhāgavatas’.\textsuperscript{87} But as this list contains the name of the Kālikā-p. also, we do not know which works are actually meant by these ‘two Bhāgavatas’.

No ‘Bhāgavata-upapurāṇa’ is drawn upon or referred to by any of the numerous commentators and Nibandha-writers known to us.

6. The Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa.

That, besides the Brahmāṇḍa Mahāpurāṇa, there was

\textsuperscript{81} Hazra, Purānic Records, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{82} Dbh I. 2: 11; 3. 34 and 39; and so on.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., I. 1. 25, 2. 37, 15. 47; II. 12. 2; and so on.
\textsuperscript{84} Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 31-44— .... navamaṁ bhagavan-nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitaṁ/ .... Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65, Nos. 114-116 (Revā-māhātmya)— .... tathā bhāgavatam nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitaṁ/ .... . The Revā-māhātmya, which claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p., is much the same as the Revā-kh. of the Skanda-p.
\textsuperscript{85} See Chap. I (under ‘Kālikā-p.’) above.
\textsuperscript{86} For the claim that the Devi-p. was the real Bhāgavata, see Chap. I (under ‘Devi-p.’) above.
\textsuperscript{87} For this list see Vol. I, pp. 5-6.
an Upapurāṇa named ‘Brahmāṇḍa’, is shown by its mention in the majority of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas. It is only in the Devī-bhāgavata, Bṛhadharmā-p. and Ekaṁra-p. as well as in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the Smṛti-tattva and the Śabda-kalpadruma from a text of the Kūrma-p. that the Brahmadāṇḍa is not included among the Upapurāṇas. After giving two lists of Upapurāṇas (one from the ‘Kaurma Mahāpurāṇa’ and the other from the ‘Brahma-vaivarta’), in both of which there is mention of a Brahmadāṇḍa Upapurāṇa, Mitra-miśra says that the Nāradiya and Brahmadāṇḍa Upapurāṇas were different from the Mahāpurāṇas of the same titles.88

Though, by reason of its mention in most of the comparatively early lists of Upapurāṇas, the Brahmadāṇḍa-upapurāṇa seems to have been written at an early date, it is not drawn upon by any of the Nibandha-writers. Even Mitramiśra, who distinguishes between the two Purānic works named ‘Brahmadāṇḍa’, does not appear to have seen the ‘Brahmadāṇḍa-upapurāṇa’ with his own eyes. It is probable that the Brahmadāṇḍa-upapurāṇa became extinct even before the tenth century A.D.

H. P. Shastri’s proposed identification of the Brahmadāṇḍa-upapurāṇa with the Uttara-kh. of the Brahmadāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa,89 does not seem to be convincing. In Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 44a and in the Revā-māhātmya90 the Brahmadāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa is said to have consisted of two parts (bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣīta).


This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, nor is it drawn upon or referred to by any comparatively early author. Even among the late Nibandha-writers we have not found one who betrays his knowledge

89 Shastri, ASB Cat., V, Preface, p. ccvi.
90 Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65.
of this Upapurâna. So, it seems to have been composed at a late period. There are, of course, Mss of a Vindhyamañhâtya\(^{61}\) which claims to be a part of this Upapurâna. As one of these Mss is dated Samvat 1924, our Upapurâna must have been written earlier than that date.

8. The Ekâpâda-upapurâna.

It is only the Ekâmra-p. which mentions this work in its list of Upapurânas. So, it seems to have been written at a comparatively late date. Its mention in the Ekâmra-p., however, shows that it was composed earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

As none is found to draw upon or refer to it, we are quite ignorant of its nature and contents.


This work is mentioned only in the Ekâmra-p., but we do not know definitely whether by ‘Gâruḍa’ the Ekâmra-p. means the present Gâruḍa-p., which was a much later work than the earlier Gâruḍa,\(^{62}\) and which was regarded as a spurious work by Vallâlasena.\(^{63}\)

10. The Kûrma-upapurâna.

A ‘Kaurma’ Upapurâna is mentioned in the lists of Upapurânas contained in the Revâ-kh. (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revâ-mañhâtya.

\(^{61}\) For Mss of the Vindhyamañhâtya, with the commentary of Vaidyanâtha, see Shastrî, ASB Cat., V, pp. 745-747, Nos. 4086 (dated Samvat 1940) and 4087 (dated Samvat 1924); and Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 306-8, No. 1285.

According to Mitra the Vindhyamañhâtya deals with the ‘topography of certain sacred places on the Vindhyâ Hills, and the religious merit to be acquired by pilgrimage to them’. It also contains the names of the eighteen Purânas and Upapurânas (in chaps. 3 and 4 respectively), the praise of Devi Vindhyavâsini, Târakesvara and the Gangés, the stories of Târakâsura, of the demons Hûnda and Tuhuûnda and of Šumbha and Niûmbha, and the description of the method of Devi-worship, which is imbued with Tantric elements.

\(^{62}\) See Hazra, Purânic Records, pp. 141-145.

\(^{63}\) See Dânasâgara, p. 7, verses 63-66, for which see Chap. I. (under ‘Devî-p.’ above).
No Ms either of this work or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to be a part of it has been discovered as yet, nor is there a single author who is found to draw upon or refer to it. So, we do not know for certain whether there was at all any work called ‘Kaurma-upapurāṇa’, and, if so, what its date and contents were.


In his Nirṇaya-sindhu, p. 50 Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa quotes two verses from this work with the remark ‘atra mūlaṃ cintyam’. As these two verses, dealing with the praise of gifts made at Benares during eclipses etc., do not occur in the present Brahma-vaivarta-p., the Laghu-brahmavaivarta (if at all there was any work of this title) must have been a separate work written before 1400 A.D. It should be mentioned here that we do not know any second author who refers to or draws upon this work.


This work is mentioned only in that list of Upapurāṇas which is contained in the Ekāmra-p. No Ms of this work or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to belong to it, has been found up to the present time, nor does any Smṛti-writer in any way betray his knowledge of this Upapurāṇa. So, we are in absolute darkness as regards its date, character and contents. We can only say that it was composed earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.


A verse is found ascribed to a ‘Mādhavi-purāṇa’ in Bhairava’s Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha,⁴⁴ which is

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⁴⁴ Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms No. G5946, fol. 71b—

mādhavi-purāṇe—

‘rātris tu nāyet (? rātri-sūktam jāpet) smṛtvā etc.’
later than the Tantra-sāra. As in no other work known to us there is any reference to or quotation from the ‘Mādhavi-purāṇa’, we do not know whether there was at all any Upapurāṇa bearing this title. It is highly probable that the reading ‘mādhavi-purāṇe’ in Bhairava’s work is a scribal mistake for ‘mādhaviye purāṇe’ and that the verse, ascribed to the ‘Mādhavi-purāṇa’, was derived from some work of Mādhavācārya. This probability gains ground when we see that this verse has been quoted in Mādhavācārya’s commentary (I. i, p. 441) on the Parāśara-smṛti with the words “purāṇe ’pi”, and that at another place (fol. 1b) in the Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-samgraha a verse (brahma-murāris tripurāntakārī etc.—Vāmana-p. 14. 23) has been quoted with the words ‘mādhaviye purāṇe’, evidently to mean that the verse was derived from Mādhavācārya’s commentary (II. i, pp. 220-221) on the Parāśara-smṛti, where it has been quoted with the mention of the Vāmana-p. as its source. The derivation of Purānic verses from Mādhavācārya’s works with the words ‘mādhaviye purāṇe’ is not peculiar to Bhairava alone. There are other Nibandha-writers who have used the same words in the cases of some of the Purānic verses derived from Mādhavācārya’s works. See, for instance, Nilakantha-bhaṭṭa’s Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 107—

mādhaviye purāṇe—

‘yat phalam soma-yāgena prāpnoti dhanavān dvijāḥ / samyak pānca-mahāyajñair daridras tad avāpṇuyāt ///’

It is to be noted that this verse (yat phalam soma-yāgena etc.) is found quoted by Mādhavācārya in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (Ācāra-kāṇḍa, Adhyāya I, p. 413) with the words “purāṇe ’pi.”


This work has been mentioned in two lists only, viz., those ascribed to the ‘Brahma-vaivarta’ in Mitra-miśra’s Viramitrodaya and Gopāladāsa’s Bhakti-ratnākara. Though derived from the same source, these two lists differ
in texts as well as in the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In Mitra-miśra’s list both the Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga and the Māheśa have been mentioned, but in Gopāladāsa’s list the Vāsiṣṭha and the Māheśa have been named. In spite of this difference, we can safely take the Māheśa to be different from the Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga (which was known as Vāsiṣṭha also and perhaps as Māheśvara too). It was also not identical with the Śivadharma, which is mentioned in Mitra-miśra’s list under the name of ‘Śaiva-dharma’. The mention of the ‘Śaiva’ or ‘Śaivaka’ (i.e. Śiva-p.) in the lists of Purāṇas given by Mitra-miśra from the ‘Viṣṇu-p.’ and the Śrībhāgavata, shows that this ‘Śaiva’ (or ‘Śaivaka’) Purāṇa and the ‘Māheśa’ Upapurāṇa were not the same.

As to the date of this Upapurāṇa, we can only say that it must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D.

15. The Mrtyunjaya-upapurāṇa.

It is only the Ekāmra-p. which mentions a Mrtyunjaya-upapurāṇa. No commentator or Nibandha-writer is found to draw upon or refer to it. Its mention in the Ekāmra-p. shows that it must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

16. The Nāradiya Upapurāṇa.

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas. In the majority of the lists it is called ‘Nāradiya’; but in a few it is mentioned as ‘Nāradokta’, and in one, as ‘Nāradiyaka’.

According to Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, the ‘Nāradiya’ Upapurāṇa is the same as the ‘Bṛhanñāradiya’. But this view is not at all acceptable. Had the ‘Nāradiya’ Upapurāṇa and the ‘Bṛhanñāradiya’ been identical, there

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66 Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 12.
67 For these lists see Vol. I, pp. 4-13.
would be at least one list of Upapurāṇas in which the name of the 'Bṛhmaṇārādiya' would occur in place of the 'Nārādiya'. On the contrary, the Bṛhaddharma-p. and the Ekāma-p. mention both the 'Nārādiya' and the 'Bṛhmaṇārādiya' in their lists of Upapurāṇas.

The Nārādiya Upapurāṇa must also not be taken to be the same as the present Nārādiya-mahāpurāṇa. The latter was compiled mainly with the chapters of the Bṛhmaṇārādiya. Moreover, Mitra-mīśra says that the 'Nārādiya', included among the Upapurāṇas, was different from the Nārādiya-mahāpurāṇa.

As the 'Nārādiya' Upapurāṇa is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas, it must have been a popular work written at an early date. Yet no commentator or Nibandha-writer is found to utilise or refer to its contents. It is highly probable that this Upapurāṇa became extinct quite early. According to the Revā-kh. (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revā-māhātmya, it belonged to the Bhaviṣya-p.

17. The Puṣkara-purāṇa.

None of the lists of Upapurāṇas contains the name of this work, but nine metrical lines are found ascribed to it in Gadādhara's Kālasāra, two in Gopālabhāṭṭa's Hari-

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88 Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 127ff.
70 Note, in this connection, the word 'purā' in the line 'bhaviṣye nāradoktaṁ ca sūrihiṁ kathitaṁ purā' (occurring in the Revā-kh. of the Skanda-p. and in the Revā-māhātmya) in which the 'Nārādiya' Upapurāṇa has been attached to the Bhaviṣya-p.
71 Kālasāra, p. 601—
citra-kṛṣṇa-caturdasi puṣkara-purāṇe—
kārttike bhauma-vāre tu yadā kṛṣṇa-caturdasi/
tasyām ārādhitaṁ śhāṣur nayēc chivapuraṁ dhruvam//
yām kāmpeit saritaṁ prāpya kṛṣṇa-pakṣe caturdasiṁ/
yamunāśyaṁ visēṣaṁ niyataṁ tarpayed yamān//
yamāya dharmārājyaṁ māryave cāntakāya ca/
audumbaraṁ dadvatyaṁ nilāya parameṣṭhine//
vṛkodarāya citrāya citraguptāya vai namah/
ekaikāya tilāṁ mūrīṁ triṁśī tu dadyāj jalānjaliṁ/
saṁvatsara-kṛtāṁ pāpaṁ tatkṣanād eva naṣyati//
bhakti-vilása, six in Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa’s Nirñaya-sindhu (which derives three of its lines from the ‘Nirñayāṁṛta’), and five in Anantabhaṭṭa’s Vidhāna-pārijāta. So, this Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D. Its nonmention in the lists of Upapurāṇas shows that it was a comparatively late work.

This Puṣkara-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Padma-p. None of the quoted verses, mentioned above, is found in the latter work.

18. The Rudra-purāṇa.

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas. A verse (on the result of fasting on the Ekādaśī Tithi) is found quoted from this work in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi. So, it must have been written not later than 1000 A.D.

The Rudra-p. does not seem to be the same as the present Śiva-p., because the quoted verse, mentioned above, smacks of Vaiśṇavism and does not occur in the latter work.

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72 Hari-bhakti-vilása, p. 1064—
... puṣkara-purāṇe—
  ‘yasya yasya tu devasya yan nakṣatraṁ tithiḥ ca yā/
  tasya devasya tasmāṁ ca śayan-āvartan-ādikam//’

73 Nirñaya-sindhu, p. 145—
  tathā ākāśa-dīpa ukto nirñayāṁṛte puṣkara-purāṇe—
  ‘tulāyaṁ tila-tailena sāyamkāle samāgate/
  ākāśa-dīpaṁ yo dadyāṁ māsāṁ ekam harīṁ prati/
  mahatīṁ śrīyam āpnoti rūpa-saubhāgya-saṁpadam/’

p. 148—
... tad uktaṁ puṣkara-purāṇe—
  ‘svātī-sthīte ravaṁ indur yadi svātī-gato bhavet/
  paśca-tvag-udaka-snāyī kṛtābhyaṅga-vidhir naraḥ/
  nirṛjito mahālakṣmim arcayaṁ śrīyam aṁśute//’

74 Of the five metrical lines ascribed to the ‘Puṣkara-p.’ in Anantabhaṭṭa’s Vidhāna-pārijāta, II, p. 676, the first three are the same as those quoted from the ‘Puṣkara-p.’ in Nirñaya-sindhu, p. 148, and the last two are the following:
  ‘indu-kṣaye ’pi saṁkṛntau ravau pāte dina-kṣaye/
  tatrābhyaṅgo na doṣāya prāṭaṁ pāpāpanuttaye//’

75 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii, p. 152—
rudra-purāṇe—
  ‘yāḥ karoti naro bhaktyā ekādaśyām upoṣaṇam/
  sa yāti viṣṇu-sālokyaṁ yāti viṣṇoḥ sarūpatām//’

Besides the present Saura-p. which is a Śaiva work, there was an earlier Saura which is now lost. Full information about this lost Saura-p. will be given under ‘Saura-p.’ in Vol. III of the present work.


This work is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas nor drawn upon or referred to by any of the commentators and Nibandha-writers. It is only Alberūnī who mentions it in that list of eighteen Purāṇas which he committed to writing from dictation. So, this Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than 850 A.D., otherwise it could not attain so much prominence as to be included among the ‘Purāṇas’ in Alberūnī’s time.


This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas. Of the commentators and Nibandha-writers it is only Devaṇabhaṭṭa who is found to quote one verse from this Upapurāṇa in his Smṛti-candrikā. So, this work must have been written earlier than 950 A.D.

22. *The Īrdha-purāṇa.*

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but it is drawn upon in the Vākya-ratnākara of Govinda (son of Gaṇaka Sadāśiva Miśra). So, it must be dated earlier than 1550 A.D.

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76 Sachau, Alberūnī’s *India*, I, p. 130— . . . . . . (11) Soma-purāṇa i.e. the moon, . . . . .

77 Smṛti-candrikā, V, p. 182—

sarpa-hatā tv ayaṁ viśeṣāniva tvāsīt-purāṇe darsītah—

‘sauvarṇa-bhāra-niśpannam nāgaṁ kṛtvā tathaiva gām/
vīprāya vināvad dattvā pitur ānūyam āpunyāt//’

78 Shastri, ASB Cat., III, No. 2799, p. 811.
23. *The Uttara-saura*.

Four metrical lines\(^9\) are ascribed to this work in Kālanirṇaya, pp. 54-55, Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 92, and Kālasāra, p. 230. So, this work must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D.

From the title of this work it appears that it claimed to form the latter part (uttara-bhāga) either of the present Saura-p. or of the earlier one. But, as a matter of fact, neither of these two Saura-purāṇas is known to have had any such part.

24. *The Vāmana-upapurāṇa*.

In their lists of Upapurāṇas the Garuḍa-p., Bṛhad-dharma-p. and the present Kūrma-p. name a ‘Vāmana’ Upapurāṇa instead of the ‘Mānava’ mentioned in the other lists. Narasimha Vājapeyin also mentions a ‘Vāmana’ Upapurāṇa (in place of the ‘Mānava’) in his list which he derived from the ‘Kūrma-p.’

The occurrence of the name of the ‘Vāmana’ in place of the ‘Mānava’ in these lists, was due either to the ignorance of the people about the real title and nature of the Upapurāṇa which they called ‘Vāmana’ or ‘Mānava,’ or to the fact that the Mānava-upapurāṇa was replaced by the Vāmana-upapurāṇa, or vice versa, at an early date. But as neither the ‘Vāmana’ nor the ‘Mānava’ is drawn upon or referred to by any author, we are quite ignorant of these two works.


This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but five verses have been ascribed to the ‘Yama-p.’

\(^9\) These lines are the following:

\[\text{guror madhyama-saṃkrānti-hīno yai cāndra-vatsarāh/}\]
\[\text{adhīsāṃvatsaras taśmin kārayen na saya-trayam/}\]
\[\text{varjanīya pratyanena pratiṣṭhā sarva-nākinām/}\]
\[\text{sphuṣṭa-saṃkrānti-hīnaḥ cet ke ‘py āhur adhimāsavat/}\]

(These lines, as quoted in the Nityācāra-pradīpa and the Kālasāra, differ in readings in some places).
at different places in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi.\textsuperscript{88} Though the reading ‘padma-’ for ‘yama-’ occurs in two places in some of the Mss of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi,\textsuperscript{81} and five of the quoted lines are found in the Śrīṭi-kha. of the present Padma-p.,\textsuperscript{82} the name ‘Yama-p.’, occurring in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, must not be taken to be merely a scribal mistake for ‘Padma-p.’ The existence of a distinct Upapurāṇa named ‘Yama-p.’ is proved definitely by Sūramiśra who draws upon a ‘Yama-p.’ in his Jagannātha-prakāśa (fol. 71a).\textsuperscript{83} The occurrence of some of the verses of the ‘Yama-p.’ in the Śrīṭi-kha. of the present Padma-p. must be due either to the utilisation of the contents of the latter work by the former, or to the use of a common source by both these works. As a matter of fact, the verse ‘āmena vartayan nityam’ (of which the second line is the same as Padma-p., Śrīṭi-kha., 10. 32b) is ascribed to both the Kūrmā-p. and the Yama-p. in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 1528.

The verses quoted from the Yama-p. show that this work dealt, among other topics, with Vrata, Śrāddha etc.

\textsuperscript{88} Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 23-24—
\textsuperscript{81} yama-purāṇe (v. 1. ‘padma-purāṇe’)—
\textsuperscript{82} ‘bahutvāda iha śāstraṇāṁ dharmā-mūlaṁ śrutī-amṛtī /
\textsuperscript{83} itihāsa-purāṇāṁ tasmāt teṣu manah kṛtthāḥ’;

and p. 568—
\textsuperscript{84} ‘lakṣmīn abhyārcya pañcanyāṁ upavāśi bhaven nrpaḥ /
\textsuperscript{85} samānte hema-kamalaṁ dadyād dhenu-samanvitam/
\textsuperscript{86} sa vaisvā-padaṁ yāti lakṣmī janaṁ janaṁ/
\textsuperscript{87} etal lakṣmī-vratam nāma duḥkhā-śoka-vināśanam’/

iti yama-purāṇaṁ lakṣmī-vratam.

\textit{Ibid.}, III. i, p. 960—yad uktam yama-purāṇe (v. 1. ‘padma-purāṇe’ in Ms ध)—
\textsuperscript{88} ‘caṇḍāśāṁ jape home dṛśvantāmed dvijottamaḥ/
\textsuperscript{89} śvādīn dṛśvā tathāvāpi karaṇam vā dakaṇṇam śpṛṣṭaḥ’;

and p. 1528—
\textsuperscript{90} kūrmāpurāṇa-yamapurāṇayob—
\textsuperscript{91} ‘āmena vartayan nityam brāhmaṇo vyasanānvitah/
\textsuperscript{92} tenāgniukaraṇam kuryāt piṇḍāna teṇaiva nirvapei’/

\textsuperscript{84} See the immediately preceding footnote.

\textsuperscript{85} The two verses, ascribed to the ‘Yama-p.’ in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 568, are the same as Padma-p., Śrīṭi-kha., 20. 63-64; and the second line of the verse ascribed to both the Kūrmā-p. and the Yama-p. in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 1528, is the same as Padma-p., Śrīṭi-kha., 10. 32b.

\textsuperscript{86} Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 137 (No. 2041).
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*Many of the printing mistakes noted here (especially those created by the dropping of types of letters, diacritical marks, etc.) occurred under circumstances beyond the author's control.
†fn. = footnote.