CHAPTER II

SECTION I: SAIVISM AS FOUND IN EPIGRAPHICAL AND PURANIC RECORDS OF ASSAM.

The Puranas and the epigraphs of the kings of early Assam are most profitable in respect of the religious trends of the state in the remote past, as they have thrown, directly or indirectly, ample lights on the prevalence of various cults and their practices tinged with religious beliefs and philosophical speculations. The Puranas composed outside Assam cannot give a clear picture particularly about Saivism of Assam, as they merely touch at some fringes of it and remain silent by mentioning the names of a few kings, who had reverence to Siva. The Vismu Purana mentions Bana, king of Senitpura, as the worshipper of the Three-eyed god,¹ i.e., Siva. The Skanda Purana relates how a king named Jalpa, who ruled over Assam with his capital at modern Jalpaiguri, introduced the worship of Siva in ancient Assam.² But all these references are too insignificant to furnish a fair picture of the cult. The Kalika Purana, a local compilation composed between the 10th and the 12th century A.D., is the only work of importance bearing valu-

¹. Chap. XXXIII.
able materials on the cult of Siva, although the Purāna deals primarily and chiefly with the exaltation of the cult of Devī in early Assam.

But of all the sources available, the Copper Plate Land Grants of the early kings of Assam (from the 7th to the 12th century A.D.) are most valuable for the materials they contain on the cult of our survey. A reading of the inscriptions would lead us to construe that Siva was the tutelary deity of the kings and that Saivism or the worship of Siva was the popular form of religion of all sections of people. All the inscriptions, except the Puspabhadra Grant of Thamapala (1090–1115 A.D.) where adoration was made to Viṣṇu, bear benedictory verses, where Siva was highly propitiating by the kings. But it is surprising to note that Saivism in its compact form, like those of Kāśmir Saivism and Śiva-Bhata Saivism of the south, cannot be met with in Assam due to absolute absence of scriptures on philosophical interpretation. Still we would find that Saivism prevailed in Assam with great popularity from a remote past and it received wide prominence both among the aboriginal inhabitants and the HINDUS people. The widespread prevalence of the cult of Siva is proved not only by the epigraphs but also the extensive ruins of temples and icons of the deity found throughout the state confirm that "as early as the 5th century A.D., if not earlier, he was worshipped in his iconographic representations in temples and the faith was popular among all classes of people".

SECTION II: INSCRIPTIONS CONCERNING THE EARLY KINGS OF ASSAM.

The epigraphical records of the early kings of Kamarupa testify to the "widespread prevalence of the faith and the worship of Siva in his different mythological manifestations". Siva appears to be the tutelary deity of the kings of ancient Kamarupa. The prasasti or the benedictory verses found in many of the land grants of the kings confirm this and clearly indicate that Siva was the most exalted deity during the period under review. It is to note here that Saivism probably tended to become a sectarian faith in this period.

Historians likeait and others are of the opinion that the real political history of ancient Kamarupa begins with the foundation of the Varman line of kings by Pusyavarma. Fourth century A.D. has been ascribed as the date of foundation of the line. Bhaskarvarma (600-690 A.D.) was the 13th in this line of kings in descent from Pusyavarma. He made two Copper Plate Land Grants, - the Nidhanpur and the Doobi. In point of time the Doobi Grant is earlier than the Nidhanur Grant. Both the Grants were originally made by Bhutivarmana, known also as Mahabhutivarmana (554 A.D.), the great-great-grandfather of Bhaskarvarma. The latter renewed the grants owing to the destruction by fire of the original records.

Both the grants begin with the adoration of the Mahéśvara aspect of Siva. The opening verses of both the grants being the same run as follows:

"Having saluted the god who is lively with the moon as headgear, the wielder of the bow (pinaka) assumed with particles of ashes." 10

Apart from this the Nidhampur Grant adds the following words in praise of Siva.

"Victorious is the form of the Great Lord (Mahádeva), never forshaken (in contemplation by the devotees), beseeched with its own splendour.

"The Great Lord is Mahádeva with a girdle of snakes around his neck and destroyer of Kamádeva at a mere glance." 11

Thus the grants reveal unflagging devotion of Bháskarvarmá to Siva. Moreover, the Toobi Grant states in its contents about the founder king Pusyavarmá as equal to Siva in honour and fame, equal to Indra in sacrifice, an annihilator of enemies. 12 Here special importance has been attached to the honour and fame of Siva. In some respects it indicates the influence of the deity on the mental set-up of the king.

We have already mentioned that the original grants were made by Bhútivarman. Bháskarvarma had renewed the destroyed charters. The Bráhmaṇas, to whom Bhútivarman granted the land, were some Nágar Bráhmaṇas. It is observed by scholars that these Bráhmaṇas were worshippers of Hátakáśvara Siva, who is their principal family deity (Kuladevatá). 13

It is stated in the Nidhampur Grant that seven shares of the land were for the purpose of Bali, Cau and Satra. 14 J.C. Ghosh thinks that all

10. Toobi, v 1; Nidhampur, v 1.
11. v 2.
12. v 5.
these were meant for Hāttakeśvara Śiva.\(^{15}\) Further, the learned writer believes that Bhūtivarmā had probably built the first temple of Hāttakeśvara Śiva, which is very likely.\(^{16}\) Thus it is evident that the kings of the Varman line right from the founder king had the tradition of Śiva worship. It is also evident that one of the kings had showed his religious seal by erecting Śiva temple in his territory.

The two inscriptions of Bhāskarvarma further informs us that the period was marked by the prevalence of sectarian faith, i.e., Māheśvara Śaivism. It can be thought that all the kings of the Varman line were probably the followers of Māheśvara Śaivism.

In the political history of ancient Assam it is seen that the Varman line was supplanted by the Sālastambha dynasty.\(^{17}\) The new dynasty was probably founded by a non-Aryan chief, because it is found in the inscription that the new king called himself as Mlecchāchinātha.\(^{18}\) Mr. S.K. Chatterjee holds that he was a "Bodo chief of the Mech tribe (Sanskritised as mleccha)."\(^{19}\) The dynasty belonged to non-Aryan Mange-loid group.\(^{20}\) The first king of the dynasty transferred his capital from Prājyotispur to Hāruppesvara, modern Tezpur.\(^{21}\)

The kings of the Sālastambha dynasty also made grants to the Brāhmaṇas like the Varman line of kings. The inscriptions recording the grants made by them testify to their great reverence to Śiva. Harjarvarman, sixth in descent in the line, describes himself in the Tempur Rock Inscription as "Parasa Māheśvara", which means, according to Mr. H.P. Sastri, the great devotee of Mahādeva.\(^{22}\) In the Hāyungthal Inscription,

16. Ibid., p 68.

See Appendix, pp 187-188.
the same king has described himself as 'Parama Parameśvara Parama-
bhaṭṭāraka Parama Māheśvara'. Vanamālavarmān, who was the immediate
successor of Harjaravarmān, refers to his own self in his Tempur Grant
as a devotee of Śiva. The inscription begins with a benediction of
Śiva thus: "May the Pīndaka-holder Śiva, on whom the waters of Gangā
cast up by the wind are, as it were, the stars of the firmament, sanctify
you." The Nowgong as well as the Uttarbarbil Grants of
Balavarmān III, who ruled in between 875-890 A.D., refers to Vanamāla-
avarmān as a devotee of Śiva. Moreover, both the plates have recorded
that king Vanamālavarmān, with the help of observing a vow of fast
abstinence from food and drink, got merged in Mahādeva. Apart from this
the two grants made by Balavarmān bear the invocation of Rudra saying:
"May the lustre of Rudra, the dispeller of darkness of the world, be
the cause of peace to the world." Thus it appears from their inscrip-
tions that the kings of the Sālastambha dynasty were all worshippers
of Śiva at any rate.

Sālastambha dynasty was succeeded by the Pāla dynasty. The kings
of this dynasty ruled over Kāmarūpa from the ninth decades of the 10th
century A.D. to the 3rd decades of the 12th century A.D. These kings
were themselves of Assam Indo-Mongolid origin. With the Pālas the
political condition of Kāmarūpa had changed; but religious leanings of
the kings remained as it were like those of the kings of the Sālastam-
bha dynasty, for these kings were also staunch Śivas.

24. v 2.
25. v 12.
26. v 13. (This plate was published in the Aśāsālī Aśāsālī, Vol. XV,
part III.
27. B.E.K., p 85.
29. Ibid., v 1; Ibid., v 1.
31. Ibid., p 54.
The custom of granting lands to the Brāhmans by way of a charter remained in vogue in the days of the Pāla kings also. Except the Puṣṭabhadrā Grant of king Udravat, all other grants made by the kings of the Pāla dynasty available at present have recorded invocations of Śiva in his different manifestations. The Bargāo Grant of Ratnāpāla, who was second in descent in the dynasty and ruled in the first half of the 11th century A.D., opens with a description of Śiva’s Tāṇḍava dance. It states that Śiva, though like the Supreme Being, “is endowed with the quality of omnipresence, assumes numberless forms at his absolute will, shines forth as the Lord of the world for the sake of the welfare of that world.” Further it states that the water of Lauhitya was made beautiful by the reflection falling on it from the white dancing figure of Śāṅkara in association with Śāṅkari (female counterpart of Śiva) and his Sakti (energy), who was engaged in marking quick-time musik in its primeval form. The second Copper Plate Grant – the Śuṅkucj Grant of Ratnāpāla, the first plate of which has been lost, may possess the same benediction. However, his capital city – Purjayā – resembles the “summit of mount Kailāsa in being the residence of Paramesvara (Supreme ruler of Śiva, the Supreme God).” In the Gaubati Grant of Indrapāla, who succeeded directly his grand-father Ratnāpāla by about 1040 A.D., we find Śambhū and Pasupati along with Śiva’s consort Gaurī and Gāṅgā. Here Śiva has been identified with Mahāvarāha. The identification perhaps leaves no room for impropriety, which we have already discussed in another context. The inscription begins with an invocation of both Śambhū and Gaurī in an amusing manner. It states,

32. v 1, English translation taken from H.A., Appendix.
33. v 2.
34. Kāmākṣa, p 111.
35. Bargāo Grant, Line 33.
37. v 2.
"The club, axe, bull crescent and the rest, everything that is your own, 0 Kitava (gambler) has been won to-day by me (but) given back to you; only let Gangā remain as my water-bearer;" at this speech of Gaurī, 'the bent down head of Sambhu, (who was) vanquished in a feat of gambling, be victorious." 38 This manner of invocation is also repeated in the Guākuci Grant of the same king. 39 Both the Grants, referring to Ratnapāla, have informed us that the king had shrouded the earth with white Siva temples. 40 The Guākuci Grant records as many thirty-two surnames of Intrapāla. Of these 42 draws special attention, for the first epithet stands for the king as being like Siva going good to the whole world and the second refers to him as being the worshipper of Siva and Śakti always. Not only the king was a Śaivite, the Gaubati Grant records the name of a Brāhmaṇa, Haripāla by name, to whose descendant the king donated lands, as a devotee of Śiva. 43

Like his predecessor kings, Gopāla (1065-1085 A.D.) 44 also invokes Siva in penance in his inscription. 45 It says of Gangā as coming out of Śiva's matted hair.

Of all the inscriptions of the kings of the Pāla dynasty, the Grants most worth-mentioning Khoṇāmukha and Subhamśkaratapa Grants of Warapāla, an accomplished king of the line, who ruled between A.D. 1005 and A.D. 1120, 46 conceive Śiva as the embodiment of two unifying principles, called Aravayuvatīśvara or Aravamasīśvara Arvānārāśvara. The inscriptions begin with a salutation to the primeval Deva, Arvāmayuvatīśvara.

38. v 1.
39. v 1.
40. v 10.
41. Lines 62-63.
42. Lines 71-72.
43. v 21.
44. R.C.P.A., p 239.
"One side of whose neck is adorned by the blue lotus and the other side by the hooded snake; on one side of whose body is the raised breast of the woman and the other side is covered by ash; who is, therefore, the embodiment of both the Śringāra and the Raudra rasas."  

Thus a reading of the epigraphs, available at present, clearly indicates that the kings of ancient Kamārupa right from Bhagadatta to the last king of the Pāla dynasty were Śaivites. Of course, the last king of the Pāla line - king Kharis ṇāpāla - invokes Viṣṇu instead of Śiva in one of his inscriptions, which may be due to his religious toleration or he changed his religious views for some unknown reasons. However, two of his grants, as discussed above, definitely point to his due reverence to Śiva embodying two principles of creation.

Now let us examine the nature of Śaivism as revealed in the epigraphs of the kings of Kamārupa. For the help of a detailed discussion of the cult, we will deal the epigraphs of each dynasty separately.

Of the kings of the Varman dynasty we have only two inscriptions - the Kichanpur and the Teobi of Bhāskarvarman. Both the inscriptions indicate Bhāskara's devotion to Śiva. Śaivism flourished during his time was Māhesvāra Śaivism, as it is clearly mentioned in the Teobi Plates that Bhāskarvarman follows the doctrine of Māhesvāra. We have already discussed the doctrine of Māhesvāra or Māhesvāra-Pāsunata not only with reference to Bhāskarvarman alone but also with all other ancient kings of Kamārupa and have taken the view that the cult of Śiva in its early phase can be designated as Māhesvāra-Pāsunata.

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47. Subhāskarapāṇa Grant, v 1; Khonāmukh Grant, v 1.
49. v 55.
50. See section V under Chap. I of this work.
Now a confusion arises among scholars pertaining to the victory of Tharma proclaimed by Bhāskarvarman in one of his inscriptions. It is suggested that here Tharma may mean the Tharma of Hindu-Buddhism. The confusion gets a strong ground on Bhāskara’s felicitations to Hiuen-Tsang, which may otherwise indicate his favourable leaning towards Buddhism. But is is unwarranted by facts. Firstly, his attitude to Hiuen-Tsang was undoubtedly an expression of his catholic outlook. Secondly, the inscription itself goes to say that the king has revealed the light of the Aryan religion (राजवाङ्क्वदिश्रीत्रोधुः) by dispelling the accumulated darkness of this Kali-Yuga by making a judicious distribution of his revenues like the sun that dispels the accumulated darkness by spreading the mass of its pleasant rays. Furthermore, the inscription records that he was created by God for the well-establishment of the disordered Varnāśrama Dharma of the Hindus. More mention of the ‘Ārya Tharma’ and the ‘Varnāśrama Tharma’ definitely indicates Hinduism at and not Buddhism. The Ārya Tharma or Hinduism is a federation of various faiths, and of this federation Saivism is one of the members. Bhāskarvarman claims himself as the paramakṣa revealer of Ārya Tharma and the inscriptions have recorded his devotion to Śiva. As such we can safely assume that he revealed Saivism by revealing the light of the Ārya Tharma. Another Hindu source – the Harṣa Carita of Bāna, has confirmed this. Bāna has recorded Bhāskara’s firm promise not to pay any homage except to the two lotus-feet of Śtēṇu (Śiva).

Bhāskarvarman is said to have settled some Brāhmaṇas in his kingdom. The inscription mentions some 205 Brāhmaṇas of various gotras.

51. Mihhanpur Grant, v 3.
52. Ibid., Lines 36-37.
53. Ibid., Lines 34-35.

सन्मस्तः च शैलसन्दर्भम् कर्म सूक्ष्मः स्वेत्यात्मक्षणुपदार्थार्थोद्धय हते नायम्यं नमस्कुर्भिनिष्टः
and of various Veda-sākhās. Bhāskara's brother, according to Bāna is said to have given presents to many Brāhmaṇas. Scholars opine that the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Nidhanpur Grant were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, whose tutelary deity was Hattakesvara Śiva. Bhāskarvarman granted them the Mayurasmallā agrahāra. I.K.Barua holds that the agrahāra mentioned in the inscription was no other than that of a Śiva temple. J.C.Ghosh observes that the Brāhmaṇas, to whom the land was granted, probably installed the Hattakesvara linga in the temple, which was perhaps as old as Bhūtivarma. It can be suggested that there were numerous Śiva temples in ancient Kāmarūpā during the reign of Bhāskarvarman. We have been informed by Hiuen-Tsang that he saw some hundreds of temples in Kāmarūpā during his visit to the court of Bhāskarvarman. As the host king was a great devotee of Śiva, we can, therefore, think that most of these temples were perhaps dedicated to Śiva.

It is accepted that Tantrik rites spread over Kāmarūpā after the 6th century A.D. Then it can be pointed out here that Śaivism of the period probably had been leaning towards Tantrikism. Of course, the inscriptions of Bhāskarvarman speak nothing of it. We can, therefore, take into account that Śaivism of the period was as orthodox as it was in other parts of India.

The epigraphs of the kings of the Bālastambha dynasty distinctly bear some special features as regards the nature and development of the cult of Śiva.

55. Vide Nidhanpur Grant
59. I.H.Q., p 32.
It has already been mentioned that the capital-city of Kāmarūpa was transferred from Prāggyotispura to Haruppesvāra, modern Tezpur, during the reign of the Šālasambha dynasty. We have also referred to the kings of this dynasty as Śālvitas. It is thought that after transferring the capital-city the kings had to establish a temple of their Īṣṭadevata there at Haruppesvāra. Dr. P.C. Chaudhury thinks that it was Harjaravarman who built the Śiva temple at Haruppesvāra and erected there the Hāṭaka Śūlīn linga of Śiva. The Tempur Inscription of Vanamālavarman informs us that the Hāṭtakesvara temple had fallen on earth in course of time and Vanamāla rebuilt it, dedicated to it as many villages, elephants, prostitutes etc., thereby gathered reputations like a Mahāpura. Hāṭtakesvara was the name of the linga and it was made of gold, as the word 'Hāṭaka' means gold.

It is mentioned in the Bargao Grant that the first king of the Šālasambha dynasty, who had supplanted the Varman dynasty soon after the demise of Bhaśkarvarman, calls himself as the lord of the Mlecchas. In this particular point, Dr. Chaudhury finds a leaning of the dynasty towards Buddhism. His argument is based on the episode of the K.P., where it is said that the followers of Ugratārā were made mlecchas by the sage Vaiśistha. It is supposed that Ugratārā was not an Indian Goddess, she was borrowed from Mahāeśvara of the Buddhist Sākhanā, as the Bhāyanas

63. H.C.P.A., p 216.
64. v 24. J.C. Ghosh locates the temple at Pañcakhanda in Śrīkhetra. He observes that the temple built by Vanamālavarman was the temple of Hāṭtakesvara Śiva at Pañcakhanda. I.H.Q., Vol.VI, No. I (1030), p 69.
67. v 9.
68. H.C.P.A., p 104.
69. Ibid., p 102.
of this goddess and others like Tara, Skandata and Mahatma-Sarasvati of the Hindu Tantras literally correspond to those found in the Buddhist text. As Ugratara is supposed to be a foreign element and as the term Mleccha is interpreted also in the sense of a foreigner, one may suspect Salastambha’s leaning towards Buddhism, because it is stated in the inscription that the founder king of the Salastambha dynasty was one mleccha. But Mleccha always does not stand for a foreigner. We have already accounted for, on the testimony of competent authorities, the mleccha origin of the Salastambha dynasty. We have mentioned that the dynasty belongs to the Mleccha tribe of the non-Aryan Mongoloid group. As such the very primitive or non-Aryan tribal instincts have been prevailing in the society of the kings, for which they had to transfer their capital to a place, called Haruppeśvara, of non-Aryan origin. The place was perhaps inhabited mostly by non-Aryan people, while the former capital-city, Prāggjyotispura, was already teemed with Aryan or Aryanised people as the inscriptions of Bhaskarvarman and other Puranic sources testify to the settling of such people. And that is why in order to secure allegiance of the subjects of the remote place of Prāggjyotispura, as it appears from the inscription, the dynasty was enlivened with a heroic lineage and an Aryan origin assuming a common ancestry with the Varman dynasty. As such Mr. Chaudhury finds in the name of Haruppeśvara (Haruppeśvara) a good evidence of the admixture of the Aryan and

non-Aryan elements, and the extravagance, with which the place is associated, indicates the growing prosperity of the kingdom and the people. Thus we can safely say that the dynasty was neither foreign one nor it had an apparent leaning towards Buddhism.

However, it is Mahêdeva, the Great God, was the Iṣṭadevata of the kings of the Śalastambha dynasty. They were worshippers jointly of Śiva and Śakti. In the inscription Śiva is named as Kâmesvara and Śakti as Mahâgaurî, both reside in the Kâmakûta Hill identified with the Kâmakhyâ Hill near modern Silgat. Pandit Padmanâth Vidyâvina holds that Kâmesvara and Mahâgaurî were the tutelary deities of the kings of Bhagadatta line in Kâmarupa. Further he holds that the temple enshrined a YoniPitha or GaurîPitha, in which the enshrined Śiva linga was perhaps known as Kâmesvara. However, the devotion of the kings of Kâmesvara-Mahâgaurî jointly refers to a synthesis of Śiva and Śakti. It is said in the inscription that Harjaravarman was designated as Parama Mûhesvara. From the philosophical point of view Parama Mûhesvara is the state in which the existence of the Supreme entity is conceived and it is also the state in which Śakti becomes completely merged with Śiva. Thus recognising the synthesis, the worshippers worship them both in phallic symbol, conceiving it as the Transcendent Form of God. Therefore, the erection of the Hâtaka Sulîn linga and the Gaurî Itha with Kâmesvara linga cannot be suspected otherwise.

73. H.C.P.A., p 217.
74. Tempur Grant of Vanamala; कामस्वर महागूरि अनुगृहिका मार्गमेधिलिंगिकितिसिरसः कामकूटगृहः /
75. कामरुप शासनावली, p 204.
76. Ibid., p 131 in 3.
Now, to know the cult of Siva whether orthodox or Tantrik, we are to analyse the profitable points recorded in the inscriptions. The points to be discussed may be as follows:

Firstly, the inscriptions of the kings open with the sign अंजि (अंजि). The sign itself indicates its relation with the सृष्टि-क्रिया—six plexus spoken by the Tantras. It has other variations like ज ज and ज. Whatever may be the variations, it goes by the name अंजि and stands as the symbol of the Tantrik divinity—Kundalini or Kulakundalinī. Kundalini means 'a female snake—in a serpentine form found a linga (emblem of Siva). It resides in the मूलाच्छारा Cakra in a sleeping state. It is the duty of a devotee to awaken this Kundalini and lead her from मूलाच्छारा to Sahasrara to join there with Parama Siva (the Supreme God).

The inscriptions of Vanamala and Balavarman open with this sign. As the sign is indicative of a Tantrik conception, we can safely say that the form of Saivism that flourished during the reign of the Salastambha dynasty was influenced by Tantrikism. K.L. Barua rightly observes that "Saiva Tantrikism had then become the religious tenet favoured by the kings. This is evident from the use of the अंजि at the commencement of their copper plate inscriptions."82

Secondly, the Tespur Grant of Vanamala clearly mentions the dedication of Devadāsī to the temple of Hāṭṭakeśvara Siva by Vanamala. The dedication of Devadāsī or woman to the temple was regarded as a noble and meritorious deed. Devadāsīs are called Vesya, Taluhānganā and Nāti in other places of the inscription. Vesya means a prostitute, and Taluhānganā, according to Mr. Kakati, is an aṅgarā or woman of the

77. कामेश शास्त्री, p 55.
80. Ibid., pp 10-11.
82. Ibid, p 10.
83. v 24.
84. v 24.
Dalubā meaning temple in Austrie vocabulary. Ḍaṭī generally denotes a temple dancer. But the word otherwise means a strumpet, a prostitute and is used in the sense of contempt as in ṇaṭī. The ṇeṇaḍāsīs are regarded as virgins dedicated to a noble cause, but they were compelled to live the life of a prostitute within the ṭeṇ precincts of the temple. Therefore, the ṇeṇaḍāsīs can be called temple prostitutes living in "an orbour of sanctity".

The origin of the institution of ṇeṇaḍāl is lost in obscurity. It can be called a folk-dance having its association with religion. "All ancient cultures had at some time or other associated dance with religion. It grew ultimately of the fertility cult of primitive man who was awed at the reproductive capacity in the female. She became the nucleus for the conception of the supreme deity in the form of the Mother and mortal females too were regarded as possessors of some sparks of the energy of supreme Mother". It is, therefore, seen that primitive religion included dancing as possessor of magical significance in several countries of the world. The origin and necessity of the institution, observes Dr. Bāshām, lie in the motif that in the Middle Ages god in his temple was regarded like an earthly king, who wanted all paraphernalia of a court including his wives, ministers and attendant prostitutes. This led to the dedication of girls in their childhood ages to the god, and the process thus cultivated was regarded as pious deed. In different corners of India the dedication of girls to the temple was a common custom. The earliest record of ṇeṇaḍāl or temple-girl comes from the Cave Inscriptions of Yeṣāmārā deciphered by

86. दैवतप्राव, pp 542-543.
89. Ibid.,
90. W.I., p 185.
91. Ibid.
Dr. Bloch, 92 Dr. Basham observes that the inscriptions were written not long after the days of Asoka. 93 Mr. Altekar, while narrating the position of women in Hindu Civilization, holds that the custom of dedicating girls to temple had come into vogue by about the 3rd century A.D. 94 Further, he comments that "we are pained to find that some of the Purānas speak should have gone to the extent of recommending the purchase of beautiful girls for their dedication to temples. One Purāṇa goes to the extent of saying that the best way to win Šrī Suryaloka is to dedicate a bevy of prostitutes to a solar temple. Childless parents would often vow to dedicate their firstborn child to a temple, increasing the number of temple girls." 95 The southern part of India was particularly teeming with the practice. 96 Dr. Basham calls it a wild fertility cult of the early Tamilans and associates it with the Dravidians. 97 Sutton finds a link as regards the practice between the Dravidian Indians and the Mediterranean world. 98 The introduction of the institution in ancient Kamināta may be attributed to the Dravidians, who came to this province at a fairly early period. Here the Austrie

92. The inscription goes thus:

शुलानुक नाम
devadāśikā
शुलानुक नाम/देवदासिकेः
न कभीमेव बुधन श्रेये
dēvadāśikē nāma/nuḍḍe

Tr. = "Sutanūk's by name // A devadāśikā // Sutanūk by name, a devadāśikā // The excellent among young men loved her // devadāśikā by name, skilled in sculpture. // - Quoted in भारत संस्कृति ..., p 674.

93. W.I., p 185.
94. W.H.C., p 182.
95. Ibid., p 183.
97. W.I., p 185.
98. C.I., p 165.
predecessors might have extended their hands in moulding its growth.

However, in the growth of the practice there was a definite Tantrik influence. The Āgamas primarily mention two paths - Viṣṇa and Viṣṇa. Tantrikism upholds the Vāma-mārga or the left-handed path. In this path great emphasis has been laid on Sakti in formulating its philosophy. When Tantrikism, especially its Vama-marga, became powerful, the need for associating woman with magico-religious rituals was strongly felt. Therefore, we can see why the K.P. asserts importance on the exaltation of Sakti. Sakti is identified with Ugratara, who is said to have received offerings in Kamarupa by the Vama system owing to the imprecation of Vasistha befalling on her. The Vama system emphasises five things called Panaṃskāra, because the initial alphabets of all these things commence with 'm'. The things include wine, meat, sex-union, fish and gesture. The Kairata religion, an epithet given to designate the religion of ancient Kamarupa, recognises the five 'm's, giving particular stress on the performance of sex-union and sex-worship. Because women are regarded as in the Puranas and Tantras as forms of the Mother Goddess and as such a worshipping treats a maiden as an agent to drive away all evils, for herself is said to be the embodiment of all deities. The influence of such a motif can be traced behind the dedication of virgins to the temple. Thus they were dedicated, they became the Nara-Caṇḍikā or the

100. Ibid., pp 610-611.
102. K.P. 81/19ff.
103. नद्या भोस्तं तथा सयं सुखा मैथुनन्त्वम् / Y.T. 1/VI/14.
104. Y.T., 2/IX/23.
strumpet of the god to whom they were offered. They could easily mix up
and intercourse with any person.\footnote{107}

Thus it would be correct to assume that the institution of Deva-
dāsī developed in ancient Kamarūpa under Tantrik influence and it re-
mained as a part of Tantrik system of Saivism.

Thirdly, that Saivism of Kamarūpa was nothing but Saiva-Tantrikism
can be guessed from the application of Kāmesvāra and Mahāgaurī in the
inscriptions. There is a sex conception associated definitely with the
term Kāmesvāra, the lord of the goddess Kāma or Kāmadeśa. The K.P. narrated
that the Goddess Kāmakhyā was so named because she had satisfied
her amour (Kāma) secretly with Siva.\footnote{108} The Goddess is also known as
Kāma or Kāmadeśa.\footnote{109} According to Mr. Kakati the Goddess Kāma "might
have been originally a spirit of the graveyard and represented ancestor
worship in the form of an Ancestral Mother."\footnote{110} The belief in
ancestral worship is at the same time mystic as well as magical. It forms
a part of Tantrikism. On the other hand, Parama Siva of the Tripura
Siddhānta is also known as Kāmesvāra.\footnote{111} The Tripura Siddhānta is a
Tantrik conception. Hence Kāmesvāra may signify the same conception of
Tantrikism.

Fourthly, history tells us that Saṅkarācārya, the great Vedānta
philosopher of ancient India, came to Kamarūpa in the ninth century A.D.
during the days of the Salastambha dynasty.\footnote{112} His mission was to defeat
Abhinavagupta, the well-known Tantrik exponent of Kamarūpa\footnote{113} and to

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{107} Puriṣṭa Kamarūpa Tāṁsā, pp 97.
\item \footnote{108} M.G.K., p 34; Puriṣṭa Kamarūpa Tāṁsā, pp 22.
\item \footnote{109} M.G.K., p 34.
\item \footnote{110} Ibid., p 38.
\item \footnote{111} Puriṣṭa Kamarūpa Tāṁsā, pp 97.
\item \footnote{112} J.A.R.S., Vol. III, p 4; Puriṣṭa Kamarūpa Tāṁsā, p 102.
\item \footnote{113} J.A.R.S., Vol. III, pp 4 & 116.
\end{itemize}
propagate the religious views of Vedanta. Abhinavagupta was a great Saka scholar and he is said to have written a Saka commentary on the Vedanta Sutras.\textsuperscript{114} Saikarasarya defeated Abhinavagupta in sastraic discussion, and, in turn, the latter tried to kill the former by imposing on him a disease called Bhagandar with the help of Tantrik Abhisara or evil mantras.\textsuperscript{115} From this account also it can be said that "Kamarupa had become a stronghold of Tantrikism during the ninth century."\textsuperscript{116}

Now it appears from the above analysis that Saivism that flourished in the days of the Salastambha dynasty was no other than a Tantrik-Saivism.

The religious tendency of the Pala kings remained the same like that of the Salastambha line and Saivism of this period had also got mixed up with Tantrikism.

We can meet first the synthesis between Siva and Sakti in the inscriptions of the Pala kings. Except the Puspabhadra Grant of Vamanapala, all other grants available at present mention Siva and Sakti directly or in an amusing way at the commencement of each grant. The Guhaku Grant of Indrapala mentions "Mahâ-Gaurî Kâmesvara"\textsuperscript{117} reversely against "Kâmesvara Mahâ-Gaurî" of Vamanâ's grant.\textsuperscript{118} The grant also records as many 32 sur-names of Indrapala, out of which the last one indicates his propitiation of Siva and Sakti jointly.\textsuperscript{119} It was not the kings of the Pala dynasty, as it appears to Dr. Kakati,\textsuperscript{120} the first among the kings of ancient Kamarupa to adore Siva and Sakti jointly.

\textsuperscript{114} Puruliya Kamarupa Dakshin, p 102.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., p 102.
\textsuperscript{117} Lines 49 & 60.
\textsuperscript{118} Tempur Grant.
\textsuperscript{119} Lines 71-72.
\textsuperscript{120} M.G.K., 59-60.
In this context, Vamanśālavarsena of the Śālāstambha dynasty would be credited to be the first among the joint worshippers of Śiva and Sakti. Of course, this can be said that the cult of Śiva had reached the zenith of prosperity during the days of the Pālas. During this period Saivism had become rich with the influence as well as personification of the principle of Sakti. The inscriptions bear testimony to this assumption.

It is seen in the benedictory verses of the inscriptions of the Pālas that Śaṅkāri-Sakti or Gaurī assures for herself a high position side by side with Mahādeva or Sambhu. The Sanskritākapyrus as well as the Khaṇḍakādi Granth of Thamapāla shows special attention, for both the grants have conceived the Aṇḍhakārisvāra principle which is highly philosophical as far as Tāntrikism is concerned. This is one of the most majestic forms of Śiva. It is in this aspect he assumes the form of half male and half female. It has a long history of development from the Vedas to the Tantras and in all through its stages of development it becomes more and more abstract and highly philosophical.

It is said, Śiva has two aspects - one is gharā (destructive), terrific and the other is Śivā (auspicious, gracious or samaya). The Aṇḍhakārisvāra form falls in the second category and it is said to be his 'anugraha' aspect. Its conception develops in the Tantras to be the union of Śiva and Sakti, which resulted in a state of neutrality in infinite bliss and tranquillity.

The Aṇḍhakārisvāra aspect suggests that Śiva is beyond sex. From the viewpoint of Tāntrikism each and every bodily being is a symbol of an image of Aṇḍhakārisvāra. The left-half of the image is

121. S.M.C.O., p. 47.
122. I.K., p. 505, et "कृत्राठम तन्स्त्र इंत्रकया ...... चोरायस अन्याय स्वामु अन्याय".
123. Ibid., p. 305.
125. Asia, 9, June, 1953, p. 35.
126. भारतीय राजविद्यां, p. 112.
being considered to be nārītattva or saktitattva and the right half as being Purusatattva or Sivatattva. In the state of Ultimate Truth or in the state of Parama Siva, both the halves can neither be separated nor they are independent of each other. \(^{127}\) This is the Highest Truth and it is the state of Neutrality produced through the union of Siva and Sakti. The state of Neutrality thus produced is conceived in the form of Anāharāśvara in Tantrik rites. Further, this form is otherwise conceived by the Tantrik Sādhakas of the Saktas as pantheon, particularly by the worshippers of Maī Triparāsadari, as Devi sitting on the lap of Siva in the Mahāpāmadhavāna. \(^{128}\)

The union of Siva and Sakti is variously conceived in the inscriptions of the Pāla kings. It is perhaps the synthesis of the two achieved great prominence under the patronage of the kings. It was perhaps in the days of Indrapāla, Tantrikism had become much powerful with the growing prominence of Saktism. The amalgamation of Siva and Sakti became inevitable at that period and, therefore, the doctrine of unified creation of both amorous and dreadful sentiments \(^{129}\) was firmly established. Sakti was much more personified at the period and her importance in the cult of Siva can be seen all through the inscriptions of the Pāla kings. We, therefore, find the reverse application of Mahā-Gaurī Kāmesvara in the Guākui Grant of Indrapāla instead of Kāmesvara Mahā-Gaurī of the Tempur Inscription.

As regards the Tantrik nature of Saivism we have already noticed the Tantrik manifestation of the Anāharāśvara aspect. In addition to it, we find the Tantrik sign Aṇji at the commencement of each inscription excepting the inscriptions of Ratnapāla. Thus the evidences themselves

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127. उपमा कालिन्दिस्स्य, p 10.
128. C.A., p 440; V.S., p 146.
129. Opening verses of Maṇi Khenamsukh and Subhakarapāṭaka Grants.
stand for a form of Saiva-Tantrikism to be the flourishing religious
tenets of the Pāla kings of ancient Kāmarūpa.

It appears from the foregoing discussion that Saivism was a
flourishing religion during the days of the kings of ancient Kāmarūpa
from early days to the 12th century A.D. and it passed through three
stages of development.

In the first stage of its development it was more orthodox in
nature during the days of the Varman dynasty. The inscriptions and other
Hindu sources refer to Bhāskara's relation with Northern India both politi­
cally and culturally. Naturally his leanings towards orthodox Hinduism
can easily be detected. Perhaps Bhāskara had patronised the religion
influence by orthodox motifs and ideals of Northern India. Inscription
testifies him as the revealer of Arya Dharma and also as the follower
of the Aastrine of Māheśvara-Saivism, which, in all probability, was
within the fold of orthodox Hinduism.

Of course, we cannot deny that the kings coming after Bhāskara
did not have any relationship with the rest of India. But it is apparent
that they called themselves "mlecchas" in the inscriptions, which may
signify a natural predominance of the primitive or tribal instincts among
them. As they came of a tribal block, the very primitive instinct as well
as also the tribal customs and behaviour of this group of people might
had entered into the orthodox Saivism. This is the second stage in the
development of the cult of Śiva and in this stage it had got mixed with
Tantrikism. Sakti was made associated with Śiva for the first time during
the Sālastambha dynasty. Thus Śaivism of this period tended to become
and amalgamation of both Śiva and Śakti.

The third stage of development marks the grand amalgamation most
characteristic in its nature during the days of the Pālas. It was becoming
extremely Saiva-Tantrikism with Aruṇācarāśvara as the emblem of propitia­
tion.
Further, the epigraphs have recorded that the kings of ancient Kāmarūpa followed the doctrine of Māheśvara. We have already discussed all about the historical supports for its spread in the later and post-Gupta India. We have also discussed how the kings of ancient Kāmarūpa followed the doctrine. We can, therefore, reasonably assume that Saivism of the period up to the 12th century A.D. tended to become a sectarian faith.
SECTION III: SAIVISM IN THE KĀLIKA PURĀṆA.

The Kālikā Purāṇa is a valuable source for the materials it contains in respect of the cult of Śiva flourishing in ancient Kāmarūpa. The Purāṇa was a local composition. It was composed not later than the 12th century A.D.

It appears from the narration of the K.P. that Śiva, as the head of the pantheon, was a guardian deity of the Kirāta people of Assam. The Purāṇa declares that the land, known by its name Kāmarūpa, in the centre of which Kāmākhyā was the Nāyikā, was formerly protected by Sambhū (Śiva) as his own domain. The devotees of this prepossessed land of Sambhū were evidently the Kirātas, as it is apparent from the text that Kṛṣṇa had to seek the permission of Sambhū to oust the Kirātas from the middle land in order to make it free from their habitation for enthroning Naraka, whom the former guile in his adventure. Now in order to have a glimpse of the exact nature of the cult of Śiva flourishing before Naraka had settled in Kāmarūpa, we are to deal first with the following points: who were the Kirātas? and what were their social manners and customs?

130. 39/100-101.
131. 38/125.
Ethnologically the Kirātas were Mongoloid people. The classical literatures, both indigenous and foreign, have left a good deal of account of these people. From these accounts it appears that the Kirātas were the dwellers in the hills. The hills of Assam were and still are teemed with the Mongoloid or the Kirāta people. The Mahābhārata and a few other Purāṇas refer to their habitation in the east.

About the manners and customs of these people, the K.P. narrates that the Kirātas were brave, frantic and devoid of knowledge. They were always with shaven heads and yellow skins. They were addicted to wine and flesh. They were said to be ज्ञानवृजित्तान्, which may refer to their unculture society. The society in which they were living had its own system of tribal organisation with various dialects and that in their society wine and flesh accepted as common food and drink.

These people of the Kirāta tribe had taken Śiva as their guardian deity. Archaeological findings go to prove that the Kirātas or the Mongoloid people were the followers of Śiva. The tribes of Assam belonging to both Austro- speaking group and Tibeto-Burman family had erected numerous phallic memorials — representing both linga and yoni symbols. Moreover, findings of numerous Śiva lingas widely distributed in the hilly tracts all over Assam is a clear proof of the worship of Śiva by the dwellers of the hills. All these testify to the unfading devotion of the Kirātas on Śiva.

Now we come again to the narration of the K.P. The Purāṇa furnish—

133. Kirāta., pp 19-20; M.G.K., p a.
134. 38/101-102.
135. K.P. 38/102.
she's were or less a connected history of the cult of Siva from the time of Baraka till after his demise. This can be traced as follows:

(1) In getting the throne of Prāgjyotisha-Kamarupa, Naraka had to come to the confrontation of the Kirāta inhabitants of the country. The K.P. states that these people were the inhabitants of Prāgjyotisha. They were said to have been protected by Sambhū. The K.P. also associates some Gānas and Pramathas with Siva. They were described in several of its verses. According to their activities, the Gānas were said to be of four categories. In one context they were described as of (i) the shape of dog-boar and camel, (ii) of the faces of monkeys, jackals and cows, (iii) of the faces of bear and cat and (iv) of the faces of lions and tigers. In another context they were said to be of various six faces and complexions similar to some animals. They were said to have been born from the breath of Sārabha, an incarnation of Siva. The warrior Gānas of Siva, numbered nine crores, were known as Pramathas. The number of Gāna-Gānas were thirty-six crores. The Gānas do whichever is pleasing to Siva. They were constantly busy in the service of Siva. They lived on wild fruits. They ate whatever was eaten by Siva himself. They ate flesh generally, and therefore they took non-vegetarian food on all days except on the day of Cātra-Cāturthi, while Siva's food was non-vegetarian even on this

137. 38/101.
138. Ib. 9.
139. 6/31ff, 11/36; 14/5; 26/23; 30/65ff; 42/51ff.
140. 26/28-29 of क्वत्वरेष्ट्रं चलङ्कुलं; 30/150 of वद्भक्ति भक्ति; 30/183.
141. 26/28-29 of क्वत्वरेष्ट्रं चलङ्कुलं प्रवक्तौस्मायायोगमुर्वः; //
कस्य मातार अन्द्रा: सिंहं ताण्डु: सुत्वः प्रे
142. 30/37ff.
143. 30/95.
144. 30/265.
From above it appears that the Ganas and the Pramathas were no other than some follower-worshippers of Siva. The very nature of these people and the society as revealed from the K.P. testify to their habitations in the hills. That they lived on fruits, waters, flowers, roots and leaves collected in the hills also testify to their association with the hills. It is stated in the K.P. that these people formed four Bhūtagrāmas or clans of the Bhūtas. They all followed Siva and worshipped him with the objects they used for their daily usages. Their observances include musical concert, because they were said to be good musicians. They were delightful and sportive, always accompanied Siva with dance, song and music. All these characteristics of these people definitely stand for their affinities with the Kirātas. The Kirātas were also dwellers of the hills like the Ganas. They were also addicted to wine and flesh, or to say non-vegetarians, like the Ganas. They were also followers of Siva. As such this can be inferred that the very behaviours and practices, manners and customs and natures and characteristics of the Kirātas were associated with the Ganas of Siva and hence the Ganas were no other than the Kirātas. The four Bhūtagrāmas of the Ganas were evidently the four clans of the Kirātas.

From the above discussion we can have a clear picture of the real nature of the cult of Siva practised by the Kirātas. The nature and characteristics of a religion can be known from the prakāś:—

149. 30/279.
150. 26/28-29; 30/150-183.
151. 6/40; 11/3-4; 14/5; 30/115-116; 166-67.
152. 30/167.
ees observed by its followers. The K.P. purports the view that whatever be the eatables of the Munis or the Brāhmaṇas or the low-grade creatures should be offered to Mahādeva with devotion. It is stated in the K.P. that the things which the Kiratas used constantly were wine and flesh. Naturally these two things might have been the objects of offering to their god of devotion, i.e., to Śiva. In support of this we have a few other references in the K.P.

In the epics and the Purāṇas, Śiva is depicted both in his malignant and benevolent characters. Apart from these two aspects, the K.P. includes a third feature into the character of Śiva. It is the Bhairava aspect of the deity. The K.P. describes two forms of Bhairava, viz., Kapālibhairava and Mahābhairava or Śamaṇabhairava. In his Kapālibhairava aspect he is dreadful and impassable. He is associated with graveyards. He wears garlands of human skulls and eats human flesh. Bad smell odour is emitted from the skull's and he appears odd-looking. The worshippers of this aspect of the deity were generally known as Kapālikas. The Kapālikas had to propitiate the deity with wine and human flesh both being placed on a skull. They had to drink the blood of the sacrificed human being. The breaking of the fast should have to be observed only with drinking wine. The performers of the Kapāla vow wore tiger-skin and painted their forehead with trivali.
In the Mahābhairava aspect Siva appeared to be as equal to the sun having eight hands, red eyes and always accompanied by the nāyikās or female mates for sporting. The nāyikās with whom he always sports were Kali, Pracāndā and six others. He eats still-burnt human flesh. He wears the garland of human skulls and stands on a dead body. He has a flat face, thick lips, short and flat legs. He remains engaged in playing on musical instruments and creates a ghoulish sound of laughter. He roams about the world being accompanied by his Gāpas. It is said that the Bhairava aspect of Śiva was born from the middle part of Sarabha. Devotees are advised to propitiate Bhairava in the Sukla-Caturdāśī day in the month of Cātra with offerings of honey, wine, meat, fish and blood. One who worships Bhairava according to the rites mentioned above would surely go to the abode of Sambhu after having enjoyed all kinds of earthly things.

From above it seems that the worship of Śiva in his Bhairava aspect was conducted according to the left-handed practices. Śiva in the aspect of Bhairava, according to the Sākta Tantras, is associated with the vīti. The four principal pithas of Kāmarūpa, viz., the Kamakhya Pitha, Bhubanesvari Pitha, Durjaya hill and the hillock Bibhratā on the out-skirt of the Himalayas contain Bhairavas and their worships were all conducted according to the left-handed rites. The offerings comprise of buffalo, goat, human flesh and blood, honey and spirituous drink.

163. 35/15-18.
164. 35/10, 18.
165. 35/22.
166. 35/22.
168. 79/156-157.
169. 78/34.
170. 35/22, Chap. 67.
To resume the above, we can say that the Kirātas as well as
the Genas were the worshippers of Śiva and they followed a system of
Śaivism, which was akin to the Kapālīka school of Tāntrik Śaivism.
The K.P. incidentally mentions the performers of the Kapāla vow. It can
be thought that the adherents of the Kapālīka school of Tāntrik Śaivism
were the various tribes of ancient Assam, speaking a language uninte-
ligible to the Aryans and also following a distinct social custom
oppose to the Aryans. For these reasons, Naraka with the help of
Vīru had to make the middle land free from the habitations of
these people culturally opposed to the Aryans. Naraka drove these peo-
ple away from his territory which extended to Mekaravāsinī in the
east. All the Kirātas were placed in the region where the eastern
ocean ends. Thus the land of Kāmarūpa became free from the Śaivite
followers, for which Naraka could establish a new cult, the mother
cult of the Deī, in ancient Assam. The new cult thus installed by
Naraka got easy exaltation perhaps with the help of the Brāhmaṇas,
whom Naraka had settled within his kingdom. The influence of the
cult of Śiva had to diminish from the society.

(ii) The episode relating to the expulsion of the Kirātas by
Naraka from the land he occupied is taken to mean as a ban on the
cult of Śiva by Dr. B.K.Kākati. But it is unwarranted with facts.
Firstly, it appears from the K.P. that Vasiṣṭha, the Aryan Brāhmaṇa,
worshipped Śiva at Śāmbhavatī during Naraka's reign. Secondly, Naraka
himself confessed that Śiva was lying concealed in his own kingdom.
Thirdly, it is also seen that Naraka could not get rid of the influence

171. 38/115.
172. 38/125.
173. 38/128-130.
from some of the aboriginal Saivites such as Auru and Åg Hayagriva, who were engaged in the works of defence.

The K.P. makes Naraka responsible for the settlement of some high caste Aryan Brahmans in his territory. Vasiṣṭha was one such Brahma. The K.P. states that Vasiṣṭha was engaged in the worship of Śiva at Sanāhyaśala. He was well-versed in the mantra and tantra relevant to Śiva-worship. It appears that Vasiṣṭha was a devoted Saivite. As he was an Aryan Brahma, he might have followed Aryan modes of practices in the worship. Thus it can be said that the rites which Vasiṣṭha had observed in worshiping Śiva were not in the line of the Kirātas; the rites he had introduced were undoubtedly similar to those of orthodox Saivism.

But Vasiṣṭha is also made responsible for the introduction of Vāmācāra Tantrikism in ancient Kāmarūpa. The Yāmala texts have related how Vasiṣṭha had introduced Vāmācāra Tantrikism. In this regard we find support in the K.P. also. The K.P. eloquently speaks that Tantrik form of worship of Śiva was known to Vasiṣṭha. Further, it goes to describe how the sage initiated Bāṭāla and Bhairava in Tantrik rites to worship Śiva. Thus Vasiṣṭha appears to be a Tantrik sādhaka.

In this regard we are to deal with the curse of Vasiṣṭha on Śiva and his followers. According to the curse, Śiva and his followers became mlecchas. Śiva had to assume mleccha mantras and customs. He had to wear garland of bones and ashes. We have already mentioned that Vasiṣṭha was a Tantrik sādhaka, who followed Vāmācāra Tantrikism. Then

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175. 33/126–130.
176. 51/90.
177. 51/90.
179. 51/90.
180. 51/119ff.
181. 51/19ff.
why he had to pronounce his curse on the followers of Vāmśēcāra Tāntrikism? The reason is obvious. Coming to Kāmarūpa the Aryans could not accept first the cult of the aboriginal Kirātas, for which they tried to suppress it with the help of the royal hands of Naraka. For this, some of the Kirātas had to withdraw from the midland, where Naraka had installed the Rāj cult thoroughly Aryanised with the help of the Aryan Brāhmaṇas. The grounds behind the withdrawal on the part of the Kirātas were that they were culturally of low-grade having their own system of tribal organisation; therefore, they could not stand face to face with the more cultured Aryans. The Aryans saw that Śiva was degraded in the society of the Kirātas. They could not sit tolerate this. Therefore, the curse shows symbolically the detestations of the Aryans to the cult of Śiva of the Kirātas. Moreover, the curse itself shows the exact nature of the cult prevailed during the period. From the curse it appears that the cult of Śiva was at that time mixed with and influenced by the Vāmśēcāra Tāntrikism. The cult was notorious for its association with rites apparently revolting as well as sensuous in nature.

The hatred of the Aryans on the cult of Śiva of the aboriginal Kirātas disappeared gradually. When these people were subjected by the Aryans, their religion, rites and observances were relegated behind the cultured and civilized society. But all these came to prominence again in course of time. Historically it is a tendency that the culture of the invaded influences the culture of the invaders. Constant association of the Aryans with the Kirātas, who were still residing with the Aryans, generally influenced the former and various rites and observances of the latter got easy entrance to the Aryan society. Therefore, we find RVaṣiṣṭha as the torch-bearer of Vāmśēcāra rites in the country. Thus Vaṣiṣṭha appears to be a Tāntrik exponent.
We have pointed out that some people of the Kirāta tribe were still residing with the Aryans during the days of Naraka. Therefore, Naraka and the Aryan society patronised by him could not get rid of the influence of the Kirāta culture. In support of this we find in the K.P. that at the time of invasion of Kāmarūpa Naraka had killed those who opposed him and gave protection to those who came under his influence. 

Visnu also gave him instruction to push the fleeing ones and to shield those who sought shelter. Moreover, it is also stated that Naraka had taken control of some of the soldiers of the Kirāta king. Narāś and Hayagrīva were two among those soldiers. Naraka engaged them in the service of defence of his territory from any foreign aggression. with them came also Misunda, Sumā and Birūpaka. They were also engaged in defence purpose. We have every ground to believe that all those Asuras were undoubtedly Saivites, because they were aboriginal Kirātas. Naturally the subject—servant might had influenced Naraka and the society he patronised, for which we can believe that the influence of Saivism did not totally extinguished from the society during the days of Naraka. Incidentally, the K.P. records that Simā was lying hidden in Naraka's kingdom.

The K.P. mentions that Naraka had introduced a new cult, the Devī cult in Kāmarūpa. With the installation of the cult, the aboriginal Saivites of the land including Sānipura scented danger of their own cult. Therefore, the Saivites formed a conspiracy against the Devī

182, 38/110-111.
183, 38/113.
184, 38/155.
185, 40/21.
186, 40/7-8.
187, 39/64.
188, Chap. 38.
under the leadership of Bāna, the king of Śānitpura. Bāna was a Śalivite
king and the K.P. designates him as the friend of Śambhū. He was a
worshipper of Mahādeva. He patronised the cult of Śiva at Śānitpura
adjacent to Nakha's territory. It is said to have constructed the Mahā-
bhairava temple of Śiva in his kingdom and erected there a huge
Śiva linga. He was perhaps the first king to introduce the linga-
worship in Kāmarūpā. Bāna was known as the Asura king. The Asuras
in Indian literature were known to be the worshippers of Rudra or
Śiva. Bāna propitiated Śiva in the symbol of a bāna; an iron arrow.
The linga, which he erected in the Mahābhairava temple, is, therefore,
known as Bāna-linga. It is suggested that Bāna is not a proper name
to designate a person but an epithet, and he was so named because he
adored Śiva in the emblem of a R bāna.

Bāna or the Śalivites scented danger at the introduction of the
new cult by Nakha. His friendship with Nakha helped him in
suppressing the new Mother cult. He could create confusion in the
mind of Nakha against the devas and the Brāhmaṇas. Thereupon 2 Nakha
began to disregard the Brāhmaṇas, showed no respect to Viṣṇu or Pṛthivī
and abandoned the performance of Śajña. Moreover, he disfavoured
the adoration of Kānakhya. He accepted the Asura manners and kingly
traits. He became very arrogant and began to oppress the people,
the munis and the gods. Meanwhile Vasiṣṭha cursed Nakha and also

189. 59/3, 31.
190. 59/3.
193. Ibid., p 176.
194. भारत संस्कृति, pp 30-31.
196. Ibid., p 31.
197. M.G.K., p 16.
198. Chap. 50.
199. 39/7.
200. 30/8.
201. 40/10.
202. 40/11.
the Devi, for he was oppressed by Naraka at the moment when the former came to adore the Devi. The imprecation of the sage led to the destruction of Naraka. According to the curse, the cult of the Devi lost its prominence with the extinction of Kamakhya. No sooner Naraka was deposed Saivism again came into prominence. The curse of Vasistha is significant for it symbolised how the Aryans gradually began to disfavour the cult of the Devi and approved the cult of Siva originated in the soil of the Kiratas with whom they had been residing. Thus it is seen that the Aryans had extended their hands in restoring the cult of Siva. Therefore, we could find later on that the newly Aryanised king Bhagadatta and also Vajradatta followed the cult of Siva during their rule.

(iii) Vanacara Tantrikism had greatly influenced the cult of Siva of the period under review. The K.P. narrates two aspects of Bhairava-Siva and some of the performance as well as the performers. As it appears from the narration, the performances were evidently Tantrik in character and the performers were some Kapalika Siddhas. Betala and Bhairava were two other Kapalika Siddhas, who had been propitiating Siva according to Tantrik rites. The episode relating to Betala and Bhairava testifies that the cult of Siva observed during the period was Tantrik-Saivism or Saiva-Tantrikism.

Betala and Bhairava were two monkey-faced sons of Taravatil born of her seduction by Siva in the form of a Kapalika.

203. 39/15-17.
206. Tespur Grant, v 5; Nowgong Grant, v 8; Uttarbarbil Plates, v 0.
207. 35/10 ff.
208. 55/ff.
209. 50/56-58.
They were instructed by the sage Kapota, who once desired Tārāvati,210 wife of Candrasekhara, to proceed to Kāmarūpa for worshipping Śiva there.211 Accordingly they came to Kāmarūpa and accepted initiation first from Vasiṣṭha, who at that time remained preoccupied with meditation of Śiva at Sāndhyāsala.212 Vasiṣṭha gave them the Paṃcākṣara Mantra, relevant dhāraṇa and other procedures of Śiva worship and instructed them to go to Kāṭaka Hill to adore Śiva there.213 Batala and Bhairava made Śiva pleased with their devotion.214 But Śiva informed them that he could not grant them the desired boon until and unless they could please his divine consort, Pārватī, with their propitiation.215 The two sons of Tārāvati requested Śiva to confer on them the processes and practices of Devi worship. Accordingly Śiva gave them the Antākṣara Mantra and other processes.216 Moreover, he showed them the principal sacred places of Kāmarūpa. The last forty-nine chapters of the K.P. (Chapters 52-90) describe various Tantrik rites associated with the worship of Śiva and Śiva.

Excepting the geographical and topographical importance, the episode of Batala and Bhairava bears great significance for more than one reason. In the first place, it enriches the worship of both Śiva and Devī on the line of Tantrikism. We can take Batala Ā and Bhairava as two Tantrik Siddhas. The Tantrik Siddhas were well-known for their yogic practices and esoteric performances. We have found that Batala and Bhairava were ascetics and associated with the performance of penances according to the advice of Śiva. Moreover, we can assign Kapālikism

211. 51/73ff.
212. 51/119ff.
213. 51/28.
214. 51/123ff.
215. 51/179ff.
216. 51/212-213.
217. 52/10ff.
to them.

The forms of worship associated with Śiva and Śakti were apparently revolting and sensuous. They definitely belonged to the Vāma mārga of Tāntrikism. The modes and the practices of worship as revealed from the text plainly indicate their Tāntrik character. The K.P. deals with all the paraphernalia of the Tāntrik form of ritualism. It speaks of bhūtasūdā, nyāsa, śatrubali, mudrā and āsanas and several other relevant practices of Tāntrikism. In several verses charms and amulets find mention with their efficacies. Tāntrik mantras are constantly mentioned. So also image and ghaṭa are mentioned in some verses. As regards sacrifices, the K.P. prescribes a list of sacrificial objects, which includes all kinds of birds, tortoise, crocodile, fish, deer of nine kinds, buffalo, iguana, goat, ruru (a kind of deer), tiger, lion, Sarabha (eight-footed animal), man and the blood of one's own body. Buffaloes are prescribed for the worship of Bhairava and Bhairavi. The K.P. advocates the sacrifice of human being in the graveyard. The graveyard is considered as a form of Śiva and it is also known as Bhairava. It is stated in the K.P. that Śiva in the form of Bhairava could be satisfied with sacrifices of buffalo and goat, honey and meat. It is also stated that Śiva in the aspect of Bhairava is cruel and immoral; he eats human flesh and blood; he could be pleased with wine, blood, meat and fish. He appears to be a

\[\begin{align*}
218. \text{53/38-40; 65/13.} \\
219. \text{63/25ff, 51ff; Chap. 73; 74/14ff.} \\
220. \text{67/145; 85/61.} \\
221. \text{57/157-158; Chap. 66; 74/1ff.} \\
222. \text{43/8-9, 51/127ff, 52/10ff, 53/2ff; Chap. 55; 56/40ff, 57/12ff; Chap. 76;} \\
223. \text{57/103ff, 83/37ff; 75/16ff.} \\
224. \text{67/3-5; 55/3ff, 67/176.} \\
225. \text{67/57.} \\
226. \text{67/71ff.} \\
227. \text{67/70.} \\
228. \text{67/104.} \\
229. \text{35/10ff.}
\]
Kāpālika bearing garland of skulls. The K.P. mentions a class of Kāpālikas, who, as it appears from the narration, practised no religion but enjoyed sensual pleasures under the mask of religion. Mr. B.K. Kākati aptly remarks that 'Saivism mixed with varied forms of Tantrik rituals attained great popularity' during the period under review.

Secondly, the importance of the episode of Bṛṇāla and Bhairava lies in the fact that it goes to narrate the places sacred to Śiva, Devi and Viṣnu. According to the narration, the places sacred to Śiva outnumbered those sacred to Devi and Viṣnu. The K.P. assigns fifteen places sacred to Śiva against five sacred to Devi and five sacred to Viṣnu. Moreover, in narrating the locations of the places, the K.P. describes some of the religious beliefs and practices associated with the places.

The K.P. describes Śiva more often as a Bhairava. In this aspect he is, according to the Śakti Tantras, associated with the Devi. We have already mentioned that in all the four principal pithas described in the K.P., Śiva resides in the form of a Bhairava. The association Śakti with Śiva in the aspect of a Bhairava leads us to construe that by the time of the composition of the K.P. Saivism was mixed with and influenced by Saktism. The K.P. itself testifies that Śakti in the person of Pārvatī stayed always with Mahādeva under his subordination. The abode of Śiva in was Nāṭakācala and Pārvatī stays there under his lordship.

The assimilation of Śiva and Śakti, in all probability, may

230. 50/58.
231. 35/11ff.
233. Ibid., p 10.
234. 62/101-105; Chaps. 72-80.
236. 51/81-82.
be a later occurrence. Formerly Siva alone was worshipped by the people, and when Sakti was personified the adoration of both came into use. In this context, the K.P. informs us that the sage Vasiṣṭha propitiated Siva only and not his Sakti. It would, therefore, be probable that before Saktism came to prominence, the cult of Siva was the dominating religion in the state. It was Sakti, who came herself to assimilate with Siva. As regards this, the K.P. states that Kamakhya was so named, because she came to satisfy her amour with Siva in the Milākuṭa mountains. After the assimilation we find Pārvatī not only as the wife of Siva, but also as his Sakti. And as Sakti was associated with him, Siva alone could not grant boon to a devotee, for which a devotee had to adore Sakti too. The K.P. incorporates also this particular aspect in the history of Sāivism in Kāmarūpa. From this we can construe that former rivalry between Sāivism and Saktism came to a happy assimilation of both, at least in the days of composition of the K.P., and this particular tendency remains as it were in subsequent years.

In the history of Sāivism of Assam we have two sects in ancient Kāmarūpa. The K.P. mentions the sects as the Kāpālikas and the Pāṣupatas. The Kāpālikas perhaps represent the terrible aspects of the joint Sakti Siva-Sakti cult. They practise no religion but enjoy sensual pleasure under mask as the mask of religion. They worship Bhairava and Gāmunā. The K.P. records the adherents of this type and their sensuous practices in details. It also mentions the followers of Pāṣupata vow and states that the Ganas of Siva favour those practising Pāṣupata vow and remove the obstacles from the path of the yatis.

237. 51/89.
238. 62/1.
239. 51/212-213.
242. 35/1012.
243. 30/172.
The K.P. records two curses of Vasiṣṭha. According to the second curse, both Ugratārā and Mahādeva were implored to be worshipped in accordance with the Vāmācāra rites.²⁴⁴ Ugratārā, it is believed, was a goddess of Tantrik-Buddhism. According to the testimony of a few Tantras, it is also thought that Vāmācāra and Kulācāra were imported from China or Mahācina.²⁴⁵ Mr. Kakati holds that "Goddesses of Tantrik Buddhism like Aparājita and Ugratārā got mixed up with Śaiva rites and veritable orgies took place in Śiva temples."²⁴⁶ But the influence of Buddhism in Assam before the 12th century A.D. is a point of controversy and not accepted by all.²⁴⁷ However, Mr. Kakati is right in commenting that the cult of Śiva then enjoyed great popularity having mixed with the satyanalā of the Vāmācāra rites.²⁴⁸ "Both the aboriginal and the Aryanised people practised these rites."²⁴⁹

Description of Śiva in the K.P. — The K.P. describes Śiva both as a personal god as well as a Supreme Being. He is said to have been born from the lower part of the cosmic purusa.²⁵⁰ From the upper and the middle part of the cosmic purusa were born Brahmā and Viṣṇu respectively.²⁵¹ The three Śiva gods thus form the Great Trinity.²⁵²

Śiva is also described in his anthropomorphic form. In this aspect he is said to be five-faced,²⁵³ white as crystal²⁵⁴ and also as moon.²⁵⁵ Sometimes he appears to four-armed²⁵⁶ and sometimes ten-armed.²⁵⁷

²⁴⁴. 81/9-23.
²⁴⁶. M.G.K., p 19.
²⁴⁸. M.G.K., p 19.
²⁴⁹. Ibid., p 19.
²⁵⁰. 12/31.
²⁵¹. 12/29-30.
²⁵². 9/31f. 11/51f., 12/34f.f.
²⁵³. 12/31; 51/137ff.
²⁵⁴. 12/31; 51/143.
²⁵⁵. 44/14.
²⁵⁶. 12/31.
²⁵⁷. 51/138.
The K.P. calls Siva as both Aryan and Amārya. This definitely indicates the assimilation of Aryan and non-Aryan elements in him. Siva is a god of the tāmāsa quality. The K.P. narrates the tāmāsa qualities of the deity in several verses. According to the narration, he is besmeared with ashes. His lower garment is a tiger-skin, while his sacred thread is made of elephant-skin. While he is entwined with snakes - his necklace and ear-rings are all snakes. He is a Kāpāla with a kapāla in hand and also with a hideous-looking body - wretched in age having a garland of skulls emitting bad odour. He wanders always in the graveyard accompanied by hideous-looking bhūtas. He has no kith and kin and he is devotee of the sentiment of love.

In the K.P., Siva appears also to be a Yogi par excellence. There are numerous epithets to distinguish this aspect of a Yogi. His companions are the eight steps of yoga. He is said to have possessed of the eight-fold supernatural powers. He is the object of meditation of the yatis.

Siva is also described in the aspect of an ascetic. His indifference to worldly affairs are variously described in the K.P. He himself says that his primary duty is to meditate on the Supreme Being, for which he always remains absorbed in deep meditation.

The K.P. describes eight forms of Siva. His eight forms are the sun, moon, fire, water, air, earth, sky and the sacrificer. It is
stated in the K.P. that Siva transcends the whole universe, moveable and immovable, by his eight forms. The eight forms of Siva are associated with the eight legs of Sarabha, an incarnation of Siva himself. It is said that the eight legs disappeared in eight directions when Siva discarded his Sarabha form.

In some verses, Siva is described as the Ultimate Cause of creation, preservation and dissolution. He is all pervasive, omnipotent and omnipresent. He can grant liberation to the soul.

The K.P. describes one of the most majestic forms of Siva. It is his Ardhanārīśvara form. In this connection it refers to an incident in which it is said that once Gaurī saw herself reflected in the crystal-like chest of Mahādeva. She mistook her own reflection for another woman, whom, she thought, her husband kept secretly in his bosom. Later on she could realise the unreality of her suspicion. She requested her husband to keep her embracing always in his body. Accordingly Siva complied with her request. Gaurī became the left-half of Siva. In this aspect, Siva became a male in the right-half and a female in the left-half with all the prominent qualities of both male and female. The Ardhanārīśvara manifestation of Siva and Gaurī bears great significance, for it reveals the most significant non-dual principle. The manifestation is more significant from Tāntrik view-point. In the Tāntriks every bodily creature is thought in the form of Ardhanārīśvara: the left-half of the body is known as Saktitattva and the right-half is known as Net Purusa.
From the narration of the K.P., Siva appears both as transzen-
dental and immanent. In the second aspect he is worshipped in his anthro-
pomorphic forms. In this form he is five-faced. His faces are — Sadyojaša,
Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusa and Īśāna.281 Sadyojaša is white and crystal-
like; Vāmadeva is of yellow colour and placid; Aghora is ash-blue and the
teeth are fierce-looking; Tatpurusa is red having celestial beauty; Īśāna
is dark-blue.282 The Sadyojaša aspect of Siva is represented by the face
facing the west; the Vāmadeva, by that facing the north; the Aghora, by
that facing the south; the Tatpurusa, by that facing the east and the
Īśāna, by that facing the top.283 However, he is of endless forms.284 Not
even Brahma and Viṣṇu, it is said, can measure the linga of Siva, which
is eternal.285

280. भारतेर शक्तिसाधनों, p 112.
281. 51/142.
282. 51/143–145.
283. 51/185–186.
284. 51/191–192.
285. 51/196.
SECTION IV: \( \text{SAIVISM IN THE JOGINI TANTRA.} \)

The \( \text{Yogini Tantra, like the K.P., was composed locally in not later than the 16th century A.D. It is a Saktta Tantra dealing primarily with the Devi-cult. Moreover, it deals only with the rites and practices of worship of Devi in general and Siva and Vasudeva much more incidentally. It incorporates the manners and customs of various grades of people, both aboriginal and Aryanised, describes Tantrik Sāhanā called abhicāra including Saṭkarma, virgin-worship and some other revolting practices attached to Tantrikism. As such we cannot hope to have a clear and compact history of Saivism, its development in ancient Assam from the work. Of course, we can have a glimpse of some of the nature of Saivism from it. } \)

In the \( \text{Yogini Tantra the religion of ancient Kāmarūpa is assigned as Kairatāja or as born from the Kirāta people, who according to the K.P., were the aboriginal inhabitants of the state. It is said because the ingatherings of the religion were collected from the society of the Kirāta people teeming with various animistic beliefs and fetish worship. The Kirāta people were non-Aryan Mongoloids and owing to their } \)

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286/286. 2/IX/13(a)ef
non-aryan behaviour as well as un-Vedic performances in the worship of goddesses, the religion of these people was given a new name other than Hinduism in the context of the name of the people. The nature of the religion as given in the Yogini Tantra is as follows:

"Long celibacy is disfavoured in Kamarupa. As eating of non-vegetarian diet is not given up, so there is no devotion to religious duties or protracted vows. Free association with woman is no vice, so also sexual intercourse after puberty. The teeth of the women are black and they are constantly addicted to betelnut chewing. In Kamarupa eatable objects are gander, pigeon, tortoise and pig, and one who does not take these will suffer the consequences on the spot. In the region called Sauvara the people are devoid of customs, eater of all things and they sell everything; women are kept in confinement there always and the kings are pious. In the region called the Kolva people follow laws framed by their own tribesmen. In Mahendra there live Yogis intelligent and wise in spiritual wisdom. Srifattra is famous for drinking and there is no act of purifying rice." 287

Mr. Kakati aptly remarks that ancient Assam thus "presents the picture of a land of natural instincts free from all rigours of self-mortification". 288 Although the Yogini Tantra obviously furnishes chiefly the rites and functions of the Sakti cult, yet it would be proper to identify the Kirata religion with the federation of various cults, such as, the cults of Sakti, Siva and Vasudeva and other minor cults. The other sources of Hindu India and the K.r. refer to the Kiratas as followers of Siva. As such Saivism, as one of the members of the federation, was of the same nature with the Kirata religion. Hence we can say that the cult of Siva as portrayed in the Yogini Tantra was nothing but having

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287. 2/I/13-19.
288. A.G.K., p 47; see also Y.T. 1/IV/28ff.
the Tantrik form of Vāmācāra system.

In this particular system the companionship of a woman is the prime requisite to a devotee. We can, therefore, see that the Y.T. has given special emphasis on the worship of virgins and prostitutes. It goes to the extent of saying that one should engage himself in intercourse with all women except his mother. Moreover, it gives sex-licenses categorically to the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. In Tantrik Sāhāna women are regarded as the manifestations of Śakti. The Y.T., therefore, speaks of woman in Kāmarūpa as an image of Śakti herself. From this point of view, it gives so much stress on the cult of Śakti. It is a point to note that Siva is the revealer of all the secrets of this female deity. He is also associated with her. Although he is getting a subordinate position in the cult, but his importance as an independent deity and as an associated member of Śakti in worship cannot be denied at all. We, therefore, find his identity as an Īśvara, Paramēśvara or Viśvesvara. Gross sensuality and practices utterly revolting in nature had been attached to his worship. It is clearly mentioned that Siva could be pleased through viciousness. He could also be pleased by performing the six black rites (which include santi rites performed with a view to attaining welfare in cases of calamity, e.g., disease etc.), vāsikarana (subduing), stambhana (paralysing), viśvesana (enemy-causing),

290. M.G.K., p 47.
291. 1/XII/20, 27-54.
292. 1/IX/651ff.
293. 1/III/44a.
294. 1/VI/152.
295. Because it is said that Siva without Śakti is like a corpse. Y.T. 1/VIII/13; 1/IX/70.
297. 1/XIV/41.
298. 2/IV/80.
usātana (exciting) and mārana (killing). The I.T. mentions that the performances of these rites require women of various grades. Further, some of the rites require bhūtabali. It is said that the adorers of male gods in the graveyard with offerings of buffaloes attain Brahmāśāka.

The I.T. refers to mantras of three kinds, yantras, burnt offering of fish and meat and wine, bali, blood of one's own body, purāṇascarana, which are definitely Tāntrik. As such we can construe that the cult of Śiva was no other than Tāntrik Saivism.

As to the history of the cult, the I.T. has thrown a thin light much more symbolically. It says that while Naraśa was engaged in worshipping Devi at Kamākhyā, Varīṣṭha, the sage, came there to worship Tārā, who is identified with Kālī. Naraśa did not allow the sage to worship her, for which the sage cursed not only Naraśa but also Kamākhyā. In accordance with curses of the sage Kamākhyā disappeared from the Mahāpitā and lost her prominence. Kamākhyā went to Kailāsa, where Śiva having learnt the incident consoled her. Śiva then came to Māheśa Mīlāśala and engaged himself in meditation by muttering the Kālikā mantra for the re-installation of the Devi in the Yoni-pitā. Thus she was re-installed. This incident symbolically refers to the disappearance of the Śiva Devi cult for some time. This shows the re-appearance of Śiva and Saivism. Perhaps a compromise between the two cults was
established and with the extended hands of Siva, Saktism again came to prominence. We can otherwise think that compromise between the two cults was achieved in terms of assimilation.

That Saktism remained as a living religion even after this assimilation can be construed from more than one reason. The Y.T. says that Kāmakhya is surrounded by scores of lingas.\(^\text{314}\) Hundreds of rivers abound in lingas numbering some scores.\(^\text{315}\) But in the Kali age, three hundred lingas out of one and a half crore are being visible.\(^\text{316}\) Others are being concealed — one lakṣa under the earth, one and half lakṣas in water, two lakṣas in mountain, five lakṣas in caves, seven lakṣas in the earth's surface and one lakṣa under the trees.\(^\text{317}\)

According to the Y.T., there are nine pithas or sacred places known as Navayoni in Kāmarūpa. They are Upabitha, Bithi, Pitha, Upapitha, Siddhapitha, Brahmaḥpitha, Mahāpitha, Vīṣṇupitha and Rūṭrapitha. Here separate identities of Mahādeva and Viṣṇu cannot be discerned, because both of them reside in every pitha.\(^\text{318}\) So also in all places where Siva resides Pārvatī is seen always with him.\(^\text{320}\) As such a devotee has to worship both Siva and Śakti jointly. In this connection we can mention three classes of devotees, who worshipped both Siva and Śakti jointly. According to the Y.T. they were the Kaulas, the Avadhūtas and the Nāthas. The Y.T. enumerates the rites of these people elaborately.

The Kaulas, according to the Y.T., were the followers of kriyā two kinds of Yogas— Nivya and Vīra.\(^\text{321}\) In the former, one's own self is

\[^{314}\text{1/II/36.}\]
\[^{315}\text{2/III/3.}\]
\[^{316}\text{2/V/29.}\]
\[^{317}\text{2/V/20-31.}\]
\[^{318}\text{1/II/24-26.}\]
\[^{319}\text{2/I/3.}\]
\[^{320}\text{2/III/1; 2/IV/23.}\]
\[^{321}\text{1/VI/3.}\]
to be thought as Paramabrahma and in the latter it should be treated as
a means of sexual attainment.\textsuperscript{322} In both the yogas stress has been given
to the performance of five Ms, especially to\textsuperscript{323} the women and female organs
of generation. It is said that the Vīra Yogi is Rudra himself.\textsuperscript{324} It
is also stated that any devotee who follows the two systems mentioned
above would get whichever he desires from Siva indiscriminating of his
devotion to the forms of the deity.\textsuperscript{325}

Of the second group of people - the Avadhūtas - the Y.T. mentions
that they are to drink all kinds of wine and eat aquatic animals, birds,
terrestrial animals and fish and meat.\textsuperscript{326} In the affairs of sexual rela-
tionship, they are all free to make salliances with all women except one's
own mother. Of course, they are not allowed to accept virgins. After
attaining the age of twelve the female organ is regarded as developed
fully and from this period it inclines to engage in sexual affairs out
of its own accord. Therefore, copulation is treated to be excellent only
in this period.\textsuperscript{327} The Avadhūtas are all known as Sāras.\textsuperscript{328}

As to the third group of people, the Y.T. refers only to
Ādīnātha, who is Mahesvara.\textsuperscript{329} The Nāthas are the descendants of Ādīnātha.
They follow the rites of the Kaulas.\textsuperscript{330} As such they are also Kaulas or
they follow the rites of Divya and Vīra Yoga in which performance of five
Ms including sexual salliances with females play a prominent role.\textsuperscript{331}

The Avadhūtas and the Nāthas belong to two sects. They are

\textsuperscript{322} 1/VI/12. \textsuperscript{323} 1/VI/22.
\textsuperscript{324} 1/VI/32.
\textsuperscript{325} 1/VI/42-43.
\textsuperscript{326} 1/VI/42-43.
\textsuperscript{327} 1/VI/44ff.
\textsuperscript{328} 1/VI/46.
\textsuperscript{329} 1/XI/18ff.
\textsuperscript{330} 1/XI/40ff.
\textsuperscript{331} 1/VI/29ff.
worshippers of Siva-Sakti. From the narration of the Y.T. it is evident that Sakti plays a role par excellence in the system of worship of both the sects.

In the Y.T. Siva appears to be a Bhairava like in the K.P. In this aspect he is described as having a garland of skulls. He is dreadful and immoral. He drinks wine to his intoxication. He is well conversant in sex affairs. Assuming such a detestable form he co-habitates with Kimi, who was a very nice looking Sahlika damsels. This episode may be compared to a similar episode in the K.P., where seduction of Taravati by Siva in the form of a Kapali is narrated. The Y.T. narrates how Karala Bhairava was transformed to one Krodhayukta Bhairava. In this connection it states that Karala Bhairava attained the form of a Krodhayukta Bhairava by observing the Kulacara or the rites prescribed for the Kaulas. The Y.T. mentions that one who performs Vira Yoga would become a devotee of Bhairava. It gives credit to the followers of Bhairava.

The Y.T. is a Saktta Tantra. Its primary aim is to propagate the ideals of Saktism. However, from the meagre lights it throws on the cult of Siva, it appears that the cult was purely Tantrik in character.


And "Tahramayi kripanah Bhagava Samastah Sakti ka madhu varunam // K.P. 50/58."