CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the most striking characteristics of Pragjyotisha - Kamarūpa was the Śakti cult* which was the most influential and dominant cult in Pragjyotisha - Kamarūpa. Śakti cult has been originated and worshipped as fertility cult, mother goddess, phallic form and later on as Śakti. It has been worshipped in different forms in different places and in different times such as Durgā, Kāli, Kāmākhyā etc. in symbolic form and then in iconographic form by the non-Aryan tribes. The non-Aryan aboriginal tribes worshipped Śakti according to their own rites and rituals which were barbaric in nature. The non-Aryan Śakti cult took its turn with the coming of the Aryans. The old age cult was modified and formed a new culture. In the non-Aryan land Kamarūpa, various tribal groups called Kirātas, worshipped Śakti in different way. Śakti was worshipped among the Kirāta society in three stages—personally, family and in the Kūlas, which laid the foundation of the religious ideas in the grassroot level. The non-Aryan tribes, thus organized themselves under this religious banner. Śakti cult become a dominant cult among the non-Aryan tribes. They become stounce follower of Śakti cult and they never allowed to enter any other cult into their land. Even the Royal dynasties or the kings did not dare to overpower them. So the kings attempted to win over the

* A way of life, an idea that has become very popular or a system of religious belief (oxford Dictionary)
support of the Śākta classes. They not only adopted the cult but also extended royal patronage. Thus the Śakti cult was recognized by the Royal authority and the Śakti became the national deity. Śakti cult, thus developed in different places of Prāgījyotisha- Kāmarūpa. So also the Aryans with a view to settle them among the Śākta society, adopted the non-Aryan cults, rites and rituals. But gradually, they modified most of the aboriginal methods and systems of worship. At last they were able to establish dominant power over the non-Aryans and imposed new modified systems on the Kirātas. The Aryans not only imported knowledge but also the idea of art and architectures to this land. As a result there flourished art and architecture in various parts of Kāmarūpa. Thus a great change took place in the cultural scenerio of Kāmarūpa. On the basis of the aboriginal elements the Aryan Brahmanas composed works like the Pūrānas, the Tantras and other literary works, formulating code of conduct of the Śakti worship.

Prāgījyotisha Kāmarūpa comprised a vast area during the ancient period. The topic “Śakti cult in Prāgījyotisha - Kāmarūpa” will be discussed on the boundary fixed by the Yōgini Tantra. According to the Yōgini Tantra, the boundary of Kāmarūpa was Kānchanañenghā in the north, the Karatōyā river in the west, the Dikkhū river in the east and the confluence of the Brahmapūtra river and the Lākkhīyā islands in the south.

Karatōyāṅg samāsritya yābaddikar vāshini,
Ūttarāshyāṅg kañjagīree karatōyāṭū paschime.
Terthesresthā dikkhūnadi pūrbāshyāṅg girikanyāke
Dakkhīne brahmapūtrashya lākkhīyāḥ saṅgamabadhī.

Y.T C- 11 V- 17-18 P- 148
The available sources like Architectures, Sculptures and literatures inform that Śakti cult was the most popular among the tribal and non-tribal people of Kāmarūpa from the primordial times. From the very ancient time until now Śakti occupied a high position in the religious field of Kāmarūpa. Śakti cult generally formed a new religious sect called Śākta sect. Śakti cult extended from Śādiyā to Gōālpārā. A large number of Śakti pithas came into existence all over Kāmarūpa, originally under the village people as a small shrine and then under royal guidance in the form of stone building. These Śakti pithas attracted the attention of the devotees of Śakti cult and also the other people. As there was no restriction in respect of religion among the Hindu sects later on, the religious sects could visit any temple and accept any deity as Istadevā, family devatā and Kūladevātā. Even the kings of Kāmarūpa adopted the liberal policy towards religion. They never attempted to displease and disorganize the non-Aryan sects. People from all corners and even from outside Kāmarūpa visited the Śakti pithas and worshipped Śakti or Goddess. Temple and images were scattered in different places of Kāmarūpa, justify that Śakti was worshipped by different tribes in different places according to the local customs. The inscriptions, images and architectures identified various Śaktis, their temples and royal patronage to the development of Śakti cult. But what were the circumstances that led to the origin, popularity and importance of the Śakti cult in Kāmarūpa, which compelled to search about the Śakti cult in the following points-
a. Evolution of Śakti cult in Prāgjyotisha-Kāmarūpa.
b. Development of Śakti cult under the non-Aryan tribes and their contributions to the later period.
c. Royal patronage for the development of Śakti cult.
d. Nature of Śakti worship in various temples in the Aryan forms.
e. Influence of Śakti cult on the society.

There are plenty of sources for writing the history of Śakti cult in Kāmarūpa. Of course, there are very little sources of Śakti cult for the non-Aryan period. Sources are divided as primary and secondary for the convenience of the study. The primary sources are Inscriptions, Pūrānas, classical literatures, Tantras, Epics, temples and Images. The secondary sources are the various books which are followed by addition, translation, and written by various writers, Journals and Bulletins. But more and more emphasis has been given on the Inscriptions, iconographic description along with rites and rituals, various methods of worship of the Pūrānas and Tantras, holy pithas now living and scattered in various places of Assam and images engraved on the temples and lying all over Assam. These are considered as the leading and guiding sources for writing the history of the Śakti cult.

Inscriptions of ancient Assam are regarded as the reliable and authentic sources, which supply us informations regarding the prevalence of Śakti cult, various names of Śaktis and its nature, power and beauty. The Doobi copper Plate and the Nidhānpūr
Copper Plate of Bhāskarvarman contain various names of Śaktis. In the Doobi Plate Pārvati, Bhōgavati and Dūrgā are mentioned. It refers to the influential and dominating position of Śakti in the kingdom. Śakti cult greatly influenced on the royal family as a result, the queens assumed the names of Śakti or Goddesses and they were compared to Śakti in power, beauty and fame. The Nidhānpūr Copper Plate refers to the existence of joint worship of Śiva and Śakti in the form of Pūrūsha - Prakriti. It also refers to the Goddess Śyāmā ( Kāli ) and the queen assumed the name Śyāmādevi. Both inscriptions refer to the various Gods and Goddesses, which focus the liberal attitude of the Varman kings.

The Tezpur Copper Plate of Vanamālāvarmādeva refers to the temple of Kāmeswara and Mahāgauri on the Kāmakūta Hill, which is identified as Śiva and Kāmākhyā. The Parvatiyā Copper Plate of Vanamālāvarmādeva refers to Cāṇḍikā Devi. He also built a tank named Cāṇḍikā. The Bargāon Copper Plate Grant of Ratnapāla refers to Kūladevi ( Goddess of the family ), belonged to the king of the Bhauma family. The Śuālkūchi Copper Plate Grant of Ratnapāla states that there existed Tāntric rites during the reign of Ratnapāla. He himself was well versed in Tāntric lore. The Gauhati Copper Plate Grant of Indrapāla refers to Gauri as their spiritual deity and Śiva- Śakti. The Gūwākūchi Copper Plate of Indrapāla mentions Mahāgauri- Kāmeswara. Tezpūr and Parvatiyā Copper Plates of Vanamālā refer to the worship of Śiva-Śakti in the form of Kāmeswara- Mahāgauri. The Gāchtal Copper Plate of Gopālavarmādeva refers to the daughter of ( mountain ) Himālaya
(Pārvatī). The Khonāmukhi and Śubhankarapataka Copper Plate of Dharmapāla refer to Ardhanāriswara. The Hāyunthal Copper Plate of Harjhāravarman mentions that Harjhāravarman was born of Jivadevi, which is identified as Mother Earth.

Literary works are the most valuable source materials for the history of the Śakti cult of this land. The Kālikā Pūrāṇa and the Yōgini Tantra are regarded as the prime sources next to the temples and images for the Śakti cult. The Kālikā Pūrāṇa (1090-1115), the most valuable work on Śakti, informs regarding the legendary account of the origin of Kāmākhyā from Sati’s organ, Daksha’s Yajña, Naraka’s policy towards Śakti cult, history of Kāmarūpa - Kāmākhyā in detail, rites and rituals of various worship of Goddesses including the presiding deity Kāmākhyā, history of various Śakti Pithas or temples, holy places like rivers and mountains, systems of sacrifices, boundary of Kāmarūpa, phallic worship and iconographic descriptions of the Gods and Goddesses. The Mārkandeya Pūrāṇa (5th-6th Cen. A.D.) refers to the origin of Caṇḍi, Ambikā, Dūrgā, Cāmūndā etc. It also refers to the Asūras like Madhū - Kaitabha, Mahisāsūra, Dhūmrālochan, Caṇḍā- Mūndā and Sūmbha - Niśūmbha, who were killed by Devi in various forms for the protection of the world (M.P, chapter 92.). It gives a description of the importance of Devi Māhāmāyā of Devi worship.

The Yōgini Tantra (16th - 17th A.D) gives a detailed description of the origin of Kāmarūpa, Vāmācāra Tāntric system of worship, various customs (Ācāras), boundary of Kāmarūpa, Daśamahāvidyā of
Kāmākhya, influence of Śakti on the people, relation of Śakti with the mountains, importance of Devi worship and a detailed account of individual deity, family deity and Kūladevi. The Kāmākhya Tantra highlights the picture of Kāmākhya’s origin, and various forms of Śakti. The Kūbjikā Tantra refers to the various pithas of India including Kāmarūpa. The Rāmāyana discusses about the temple of Kāmarūpa, Kirātas and boundary of Kāmarūpa. It also discusses about Śakti worship. The Mahābhārata mentions about the inhabitants of the sea, the Mlechcha kings, the Kirātas etc. It also discusses the story of Daksha's Yajña. It refers to Pārvati as dweller in the Himālayas. Kāli, Caṇḍi, Kātyāyani, Dūrgā, Kūmāri, Kāpali, Úmā etc were described in different chapters in the Mahābhārata. The Upanishad is regarded as the most authentic in its amplifications regarding existence and power of various deities. The Kena Upanishad mentions about Úmā- Haimavati and the Mūndaka Upanishad mentions Kāli, Karāli etc. Traces of mother worship are found in the Āiteria Brahmana, and in the Tāiteria Aranyaka. The Rigveda refers to the existence of Mother Goddess during the period, describes the female dominated societies, women’s kingdom, located in North- eastern and North- western borders of India.

Architectures and sculptures are the direct witness regarding the existence of the Śakti worship in Prāgiyotisha- Kāmarūpa. There found innumerable traces of living and ruinous temples and sculptures engraved on the wall of the temples which has been bearing the glory of Śakti culture of Kāmarūpa. The most
famous Śakti temple of the land is the Kāmākhya and its Daśamahāvidyā. All are located on and around the Nilācala Hill. It has been embracing the mix non-Aryan and Aryan culture till now. A large number of images of Śaktis are scattered on the Nilācala Hill, which identified various Gods and Goddesses. The excavation at Āṃbāri Gūwāhati, find out the image of Mahisimardini Dūrgā. The temples of Kāmākhya, Įgratārā, Dirgheswari along with other Daśamahāvidyā, Siddheswari (Śūālkūchi), Mahābhairavi of Tezpūr, Śīlghāt of Nagoan, Cāndi and Įmā temple of Biswanāth etc. are now living temples which witness the prevalence of Śakti cult in ancient Kāmarūpa. The Tāṃreswari temple in Šadiyā and various traces of ruinous temples are found in Davakā area which portrait a picture of Devi worship in ancient Kāmarūpa. Moreover, the images found at different places of Assam, exhibit the prevalence of Śakti worship in the land. Śakti images are found at Sūryapāhār, Sirājūli, Hājō, Ulūbāri (Gūwāhati ), Śūālkūchi, Raṅgmahal, Kūkūrmārā, rock cut image at Boıtbari ( Bhūiparvat ), Deopāni, Tezpūr, Davakā, Mālinithān and Tāṃreswari temple. The images of Assam are based on the Brahmanical Pantheon. The images of Śakti of various forms, found at various places are belonged to 6th – 12th century A.D.

Śakti cult was the most dominant and popular not only among the non-Aryans but also the Aryans. It has been playing an important role in the present society also. It occupied an important place in the literatures. Scholars started to highlight some
of the aspects of the Śakti cult. But a detailed and comprehensive history of the Śakti cult have not been come into light.

E.A. Gait’s ‘A History of Assam’ throws light mainly on the political and cultural history of the medieval Assam. He refers to the Tāntric Hindūism of the medieval period. But the book has not contained Śakti cult of the pre-historic period, which is analysed in most of the Inscriptions and early literatures. The book has not recorded about the origin and development of Śakti under the Royal dynasties and its effect on the society.

N.N. Basu in his ‘Social History of Kāmarūpa’ refers to the origin of Śakti cult under Pāni supremacy and also Śakti worship among the Kōches along with the advent of the Aryans. But he does not refer to the Śakti worship under the Kirātas, Varmans, Śālastambhas and Pālas. He only compares the methods of Kāmākhyā to the Phoenician methods of worship. There is no description about the Royal contributions or the influence of Śakti cult in the society except social division and its description.

K.L. Barua in his ‘Early History of Kāmarūpa’ refers to the Yoni worship in Kāmarūpa. He describes about the Mahāgauri-Kāmeswara of Tezpur, Buddhist Goddess Tārā and Tāntric system of Buddhism and its penetration to Kāmarūpa. He also refers to Kāmākhyā of Śilghāt. But there is no reference to the origin of Śakti cult and its development under Royal dynasties and its dominance in the society.

“Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā” of B. K. Kakati contains the origin of Kāmākhyā, origin of Naraka and his contributions to
the spread of Śakti cult, rites and rituals of Śakti cult along with Śiva and Bishnū worship. But before Naraka, the Kirātas and the Dānavas were the worshippers of Śakti in the form of Yōni and after Naraka, Devi was also worshipped in the form of Yōni and continued up to the Pāla rule. A Kāmarūpa king named Deveswara started worship of Kāmākhyā. All these are not mentioned in the Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā in details.

Dr. Harināth Sarma Doloi mentions a lot about Śaktism in his research paper “Śaktism and Śākta Literature in Assam”, from the earliest times to the modern times. He stated his description on Śaktism from Naraka but contains no records about Śakti cult before Naraka and after Bhagadatta. Of course, he describes about the Śakti cult of the Chūtiyās, Kachāris, Jayantias, and the Āhōms. The Śakti cult was in a strong position before Naraka and remained strong after Bhagadatta till today and during the Āhōm period, the Śāktas rose against the Āhōms with their accumulated forces and dethroned the Ahom king. He gives more emphasis on Kāmākhyā as a place of Tāntrism. “The History of Civilization of the People of Assam to the 12th century A.D, a most important research paper of P. C. Choudhury which contains some aspects of Śaktism and Tāntrism. He refers to the origin of Śakti from the fertility cult and Mother Earth. He mentions various forms of Śakti and human sacrifices on the basis of Tāntric rites. But he never mentions about the Śakti cult under the non- Aryan Kirātas and Royal dynasties except Mahāgauri Kāmeswara. People were addicted to the Śakti cult is referred in his description.
Nirmal Prabha Bardoloi made a detailed and comprehensive description of the Šakti cult in her famous work ‘Devi’, which included the origin and different forms of Šakti. She refers to the local Šaktis (Goddesses) of Kāmarūpa like Bhūvaneswari, Dirgheswari, Kesāikhāiti, Cāmūḍā, Manasā, Śitalā etc and the universal Devis. She also refers to the worship with Tāntric rites and rituals. But there is no reference to Šakti worship and its development under the non-Aryan tribes like Kirātas and the Aryan kings. There is no reference to the effect and impact of the Šakti cult in the social and political life of the people of Kāmarūpa. Her contention regarding the origin of Šakti cult is not taken into correct one but confusing. On the other hand she stated that after Naraka’s death the Devi temple was destroyed automatically due to turmoil of statewide revolution, religious conflict and revolt of the different stages and the pitha was surrounded by deep forests. It is not correct, as after the death of Naraka, Šakti Kāmākhya was worshipped and continued as before. The Kālikā Pūrāṇa and the Yōgini Tantra have not referred to the existence of the Kāmākhya Temple so there is nothing to destroy. There were only the existence of Yōni Gūha, Yōni Pitha and Yōni maṇḍal in the time of Naraka.

For the systematic and discipline way of study, enough interesting informations have been collected for writing the history of the Šakti cult. For this purpose, important sources have been collected from the Gauhati University Library, Directorate of Historical Antiquarian Studies, Assam; Directorate of Museum
Moreover, a lot of valuable informations have been collected by visiting the Kāmākhyā temple and its ten Mahāvidyās, Pāndunāth temple, Siddheswari temple, Mahābhairavi temple, Śilghāt Kāmākhyā temple, Nagoan, Cāndi and Umā temple of Biswanath, Sūryapāhār and its neighbouring temples including Tūkreswari, a rich collection for the Researchers, imparted enough informations in the proposed subject.

Śakti cult was prevailed in Kāmarūpa from the pre-historic times in various forms such as fertility cult, Mother cult and phallic form among the non-Aryan tribes. The non-Aryan tribes laid the foundation of Śakti cult in the land. Various sources identified that Śakti cult was not originated in Prāgjyotisha-Kāmarūpa, but was nourished in Kāmarūpa from the pre-historic times by different tribes in different places. With the migration of the primordial tribes like Austrics, Śakti cult developed in the land in symbolic form. Most of the customs were absorbed in the Pūrānas and Tantras from the soil of Kāmarūpa which were performed by the non-Aryans. Fertility cult, Mother Goddess of Kāmarūpa are the ideas of the old civilization like Greece, Mesopotamia etc. Śakti cult, Mother cult and Phallic worship originated in the villages. During the Pūrāna and Tantra age the
village Goddess turned into heavenly bodies with exaggerated description and took its shapes. The history of then Śakti cult took place in the literatures like the Pūrānas and Tantras with some mythological imaginary characters. So, B. K. Barua remarks, ‘Śaktism is not the child of Assam’ (P- 223 ). The history of the myths sprung with the advent of the Aryans. The non-Aryans worshipped Śakti in their locality on the basis of local customs. Various sources identify that tribes of Kāmarūpa were belonged to matriarchal society which laid the foundation of Mother worship, later on as Śakti.

Kāmarūpa was known as the land of holy place. The Inscriptions, the Pūrānas and the Tantras refer to the existence of Śakti temples in Kāmarūpa from the very ancient times. Most of the ancient temples of Kāmarūpa are living in various places but most of the old temples were destroyed by natural calamities and traces of them have been found in the remains. A large number of temples of Kāmarūpa were Śakti temples. The Śakti temples were scattered in different places of Kāmarūpa which justify it as true. In fact, the villagers of Kāmarūpa were the worshippers of Śakti, and they built different shrines in different places. Originally the villagers built their temples in their locality of their own deities. But later on, the royal authority accepted the peoples religion and built temples under the royal patronage which were common to all. As a result the temples architecture along with religions took a new turn. The most popular ancient Śakti temples were the Kāmākhyā temple with Daśamahāvidyās,
Dirgheswari temple, Úgratārā temple, Kāmākhya temple of Šilghāṭ, 
Mahābhairavi temple of Tezpūr, Mālinitān, Tāmreswari, Īmā and 
Caṇḍī temples of Bīswanāth, the Tūkreswari of Gōālpārā and the 
Sīddheswari of Śūālkūchi. The most important Śakti temple of 
ancient Kāmarūpa was the Tāmreswari temple in Śādiyā which 
was among the hill tribes of the east, but it was also 
destroyed and the remains are scattered here and there. The 
ancient non- Aryan and Aryan devotees started to worship in 
their temple unitedly as a Śakti class and thus the local tribal 
people tried to organise a worship class community in the 
village.

The earliest inhabitants of Kāmarūpa were the Kirātas, Cinā 
and other primitive tribes. They lived in the caves or mountains. 
So they worshipped Parvata Pati or Parvata kanyā. The Devī was 
locally worshipped by the Parvatavāsī and so the Devī was called 
Pārvatī Devī. The Purāṇas described the Kirātas as forest dweller, 
barbarians and mountaineers. The Kirātas lived in the hilly country 
in the Morung, to the west of Sikkim, Nepāl and Bhūtān. The 
Kālikā Purāṇa described the original inhabitants of Kāmarūpa as 
the Kirātas. They were strong, ferocious, ignorant and addicted to 
meat and drink. Śakti was worshipped by the Kirāta families¹ The 
Kirāta concept of Grāmadevatā, was particularly the female deity. 
Every village contained a shrine dedicated to Kirātadevi (the 
female village deity of the Kirātas). Kirāta dharma means the 
customs of the mountaineers. The worship of Śakti in various

¹ Sing G.P, Kirātas in India P- 239
forms in both pre and post Naraka period can also be testified by the accounts as recorded in the Ūpa-Pūrānas, tantras and other related sources. The Kirātas worshipped Kāmākhyā in the form of Yōni symbols.

In ancient Kāmarūpa Śakti has been worshipped in the village by the villagers. The earliest inhabitants lived in the caves, mountains and in the forest villages and they worshipped Devi according to their own customs. The names of the Goddesses were known according to the name of their area of settlement. The tribal people who dwells in the dūrga they worshipped Dūrgā. Therefore, who lived in the mountains they worshipped Pārvati. Such as, the Kirātas lived in the forest and they worshipped Kirātadevi. Some of the villagers worshipped the Devi personally in a secret place to attain their goal or mokshya. The Yōgini Tantra refers to the secret worship and its method called Kūlācāra, custom of a Kūla or race. Some of the families worshipped their own Devi, that was called Kūladevi, so, B. K. Barua wrote, “some of these Goddesses developed into special cult along sectarian line. As a result of the mutual contact of the non-Aryans and the Aryans, the pure vedic and non-Aryans tenets underwent a significant change and the form, method and practice of worshipping the Grāmādevatās were greatly modified.

The Kālikā Pūrāna, the Yōgini Tantra and eminent historians like P.C. Choudhury, B. K Barua, and K. L Barua refer to the Śakti cult under Naraka, but they are silent about the

---

2 Y.T C-V- 50 P- 261
3 Bārūa B.K., C.H.A P- 161
prevalent of Śakti cult under the Varman, Śālastambha and Pāla rulers of Kāmarūpa. They only mention about Mahāgauri-Kāmēswara in the Kāmakūta hill at Tezpur. But the Śakti cult originated in the pre-historic period, continued as before in strong force in Kāmarūpa. Even it took a new turn during this period and temple architecture and art of images came into existence under the auspicious rule of the Bhauma-Naraka dynasties. Śakti cult became popular cult and Śakti turned into the national deity under the encouragement and the patronage of the rulers. The rulers followed a liberal policy towards all sects and cults and did not interfere in any cult or sect. The chief duties of the Kings were to protect Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mōkṣhya. On the other hand the kings imported Aryan Brahmanas and entrusted upon them the work of making the non-Aryans civilise, giving them all kinds of royal patronage. The king himself built temples of Śakti in different places and extended royal help. The temples, images, and inscriptions are regarded as the sufficient materials for the information of the development of Śakti cult under the three dynasties. The Doobi copper Plate, Nidhānpūr Copper Plate, Gāchtal Copper Plate, Tezpur Copper Plate, Gauhati Copper Plate, Guākūchi Copper Plate, Khōnāmūkhi Copper Plate, Śūālkūchi Copper Plate are the direct witness of the prevalent of Śakti cult under the Royal dynasties.

With the inception of the concept of Śakti, a new class of pūrōhita or priest came into existence to perform rites and rituals of the Śakti cult in Kāmarūpa. The non-Aryan people
were abide by the local purohitas. Gradually the local priests had taken an important place in the non-Aryan society. The non-Aryan Asūras had their own priests. Deodhāis, Deories were the non-Aryan priests. After the advent of the Aryans, due to peaceful settlement, the Aryans accepted various rites and rituals of the non-Aryan Śakti cult. The Aryans accepted the supremacy of the non-Aryan priests and the Aryans were bound to cooperate with the local priests. As a result a priestly class, of the non-Aryans and Aryans, was formed. Even now the non-Aryan or non-Brahman priests perform the duties among the tribal people. Men of all castes become Brahmans, but they resume their own castes when the worship is over. Pergiter made a remarkable statement, “Brahmanism then originally was not an Aryan institution. The earliest Brahmans were connected with non-Aryan people and were established among them when the Aryans entered.”

Śakti cult underwent a great change in the society and political life of the people of Kāmarūpa. There created two distinct classes namely the Śākta class and priestly class who had great influence in the society and the Royal palace. The devotees of Śakti adopted the rites and rituals of Śakti cult as a social code, which maintained the social integrity and social unity and thus the society was organised on the basis of religious code of conduct. The visit of a Śakti place is regarded as the pure and holy duty for the devotees. Some devotees worship Śakti to avert their danger or misfortunes.