DR. VED KUMARI

THE NĪLAMATA PURĀṆA

VOL. I

A CULTURAL & LITERARY STUDY

THE NĪLAMATA PURĀṆA

Vol. I

A Culture & Literary Study of a Kaśmīri Purāṇa

By

Dr. Ved Kumari

Published by

J & K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages

SRINAGAR-JAMMU

THE NĪLAMATA PURĀṆA

VOL. I

(A Cultural & Literary Study of a Kaśmīrī Purāṇa)

By

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Hari. Niwas,
Jammu Tawi.

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Foreword

Dr. Ved Kumari has performed a valuable task by undertaking this work upon the Nīlamata Purāṇa, an ancient Sanskrit text dealing with Kashmir. Kashmir was one of the earliest cradles of Indian civilization, and its contribution towards enriching our varied and composite national culture has been considerable. I commend this study of the Nīlamata Purāṇa to all those who are interested in the sources of our culture.

Karan Singh

(KARAN SINGH)

INTRODUCTION

Nīlamata Purāṇa is an ancient Sanskrit text dealing with the tīrthas (sacred places), rituals and ceremonials of Kashmir. It also deals incidentally with the legends of the origin of Kashmir, the myths relating to its original inhabitants and their gradual displacement by others. In dealing with rituals and ceremonies of worship and the deities to which they are to be offered, Nīlamata throws a great deal of light on the social conditions of ancient Kashmir.

The existence of such a text was known from the allusions to Nīlamata in Rājataraṅgiṇī. But the text itself came to be known only when Bühler in his 'Report on tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir' in 1877, gave a description of it. Bühler described it "as a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends". Though the text was published by Kanji Lal and Zadoo (in 1924) and edited by Vreese (in 1936), so far no one seems to have attempted to study it critically or utilize its valuable material for historical studies.

Nīlamata is described as an Upapurāṇa and our learned author emphasises that it is not mere *Sthala Māhātmya*. Sthala Māhātmya is a species of literature glorifying sacred localities, collecting and often inventing legends about them, showing how they are specially favoured of the deity to which they were attached. Though a good many of them are valueless, except as propaganda literature for places of pilgrimage, some of them are important both from the religious point of view and as throwing light on social history. In spite of our author's emphasis that Nīlamata is a Purāṇa and not a Māhātmya, it seems to me that its place is somewhere mid-way between the two. Its interest is too local to be really classed as a Purāṇa, but it is obviously more than a Māhātmya as its treatment is wider and covers many more subjects than is usual in such cases. Whether a Māhātmya or a Purāṇa, no one will deny its importance for the study of Kashmir's past. It provides the social background to Rājataraṅgiṇī's dynastic and political

history. It shows the Kashmiris as devout people, worshipping their gods, firmly believing in the sacredness of their land, celebrating numerous festivals and generally leading a happy life. Nīlamata throws welcome light on many aspects of Kashmir's life. I shall only mention two. The freedom that women enjoyed in Kashmir society is something which one does not come across elsewhere in north India. For example, the householder is enjoined in Nīlamata to visit the gardens in the company of his womenfolk. Women are allowed to participate in the celebration of festivals and religious ceremonies. Nīlamata even prescribes that young girls should enjoy water sports (Krīḍitavyaṃ viśeṣeṇa Kumāribhis tathā jale). In fact, it would appear from Nīlamata that women in Kashmir not only enjoyed considerable freedom but were looked upon with honour and respect.

Again, it would appear from Nīlamata that dramatic performances were common in the valley and generally popular with the Kashmiris. There are allusions to professional actors or Raṅgajīvīs. There are also special references to the "gift of performances" (Prekṣādāna) by actors on special days. On Trayodaśī, it is said, actors should offer free plays according to their means.

Sufficient has, I trust, been said to show the great importance of Nīlamata. A translation of the text has been long felt want in Indian historical research. The present work by Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai should therefore, be doubly welcome to scholars for she has not only provided us with a translation of the text but given an excellent analysis of its contents. As a work of research it deserves all praise for its thoroughness and accuracy and the translation is generally speaking, satisfactory. I congratulate Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai on the excellence of her work and wish her all success.

Jammu
Dated the 7th March, 1962.

Sd/-
(K.M. PANIKKAR)

PREFACE

The present work is a slightly revised form of the thesis approved by the Banaras Hindu University in the year 1960 for the Ph. D. Degree in Sanskrit.

The study of the Purāṇas, as a matter of fact, requires no justification these days. Wilson's view regarding them as "Pious frauds" was refuted long ago by the researches of Pargiter, who recognised them as "a popular encyclopaedia of ancient and medieval Hinduism.". He himself, however, discussed their historical contents only, paying but little attention to their rich material bearing on the religious, social and economic life of the people.

The recent years have ushered in a new awakening in the field of Purāṇic researches, and scholars have begun to realize the importance of the Purāṇas not only for verifying the names of kings and kingdoms but also for getting an insight into the entire life of the people. All phases and aspects of India's ancient culture, its religion and philosophy, its mythology and ethics, its theism and pantheism, its fasts and feasts, its rites, ceremonies and superstitions are reflected in them. The works of Dikshitar, Hazra, Shastri and Patil are attempts in this line; yet much remains to be done. To understand the different phases of Indian life in the different geographical divisions, not only the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, but the hundreds of Upapurāṇas deserve attention. The Upapurāṇas have been tampered with much less due to their limited local interest and have, therefore, preserved the cultural history of different regions of the country more faithfully than the Mahāpurāṇas.

The Nīlamata is a local Purāṇa referred to by Kalhaṇa as a source of the ancient history of Kaśmīra. Bühler to whom goes the credit of saving its MSS., states on page 41 of his report, "Its greatest value lies therein that it is a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required to explain the Rājatarańgiṇī and that it shows how Kalhaṇa used his sources". But, as the present study shows, the Nīlamata contains,

besides account of the sacred sites, a lot of information about the ways of living in Kaśmīra. It may be said that if the Rājataraṅgiṇī is important for the political history of ancient Kaśmīra, the Nīlamata is as important for the cultural history of that part of the country. The work, however, has not received the attention it deserves. Of the two printed editions of the work, the earlier one (edited by Ram Lal Kanji Lal and Jagaddhar Zadoo, 1924) gives only a vague idea of its contents and the second one (edited by Dr. Vreese, 1939) though important from the textual point of view since it distinguishes between the readings of the manuscripts of the long recension and those of the brief recension, does not give any elucidation of the text. Brief summaries of the work appearing in Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship" and Bühler's Report do not assess fully the rich materials of the Nīlamata. Some other scholars like Stein, Grierson, Vogel, Shastri, Gode, Ray and Kane have referred to various portions of the work, but their works give only a casual treatment of some of the topics described in the Nīlamata.

Realising thus the need for assessing the materials of the Nīlamata towards the reconstruction of the picture of ancient Kaśmīra, I have made the present attempt. The work is to be out in two volumes. The present volume, divided into eleven chapters, is devoted to the cultural and literary study of the Nīlamata and the next will consist of the Sanskrit text in Devanāgarī script with English translation.

I must, first of all, gratefully thank His Highness, Dr. Karan Singhji who, in spite of his innumerable responsibilities as Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Government of India, has taken great interest in the publication of this work and has written a Foreword to it. I am also highly indebted to my revered teacher and guide, Dr. Surya Kanta, without whose valuable suggestions and affectionate encouragement the work could not have achieved its present form.

I cannot but remember with deep gratefulness my teacher, late Dr. V.S. Agrawala, who was always ready with his help and advice whenever I approached him, and late Sardar K.M. Panikkar, (Ex. Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir) who was kind enough to go through the manuscript and write its Introduction.

I also gratefully thank my teachers, Shri Jagan Nath Agrawala, Dr. Rajbali Pandey, Dr. A.K. Narain and Dr. V.S. Pathak who have been a constant source of inspiration to me. My sincere thanks are due to Mahāmahopādhyāya, Dr. Gopi Nath Kaviraj and Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, who have been kind enough to go through some portions of the work and give useful suggestions.

For the library facilities, I wish to thank the Librarians and the staff of the National Library, Calcutta, the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, sectional library of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University and Shri Raghunath Temple Manuscripts Library, Jammu. I acknowledge my indebtedness to various authors whose works I have consulted. Full references to their works have been given at the appropriate places. I am grateful to the Government of India for the grant of scholarship which made my research work possible and to the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages for undertaking the full financial responsibility for the publication of the work. The President of the Academy, Hon'able Chief Minister, Shri G.M. Sadiq who took pains to go through the manuscript and the Secretary, Shri N.D. Sharma deserve my special thanks for the interest they have shown in the publication of the work.

The work was scheduled to be out in the year 1962-63 but due to some difficulties of the press, the publication has been delayed by five years. Towards the end of the year 1966, when the printing was taken up again, I was in Denmark for my higher studies, but my husband, Dr. Ram Pratap unstintingly accepted the heavy task of seeing the book through the press. He has not only read the proofs but has prepared the index and is responsible for many improvements. I record my feelings of gratitude for him. I also acknowledge with thanks the sincere help given in this respect by Sushri Kusum Gupta, Shri Kedar Nath Shastri, Shri Som Nath Pandit, and Shri Sundar Lal Jain of M/S Motilal Banarsidass.

JAMMU (Tawi) Ved Kumari
Śivarātri, 1968.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
A.I.H.T.	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
A.O.	Acta Orientalia.
A.S.I. (R)	Archaeological Survey of India. (Report)
A.V.	Atharvaveda.
B.D.C.R.I.	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.
C.H.I.	Cambridge History of India.
D.O.H.I.	The Development of Hindu Iconography.
Ed.	Edition.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
E.R.E.	Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Handbook.	Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of Śrī Pratap Singh Museum, Śrīnagar.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
I.C.	Indian Culture.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.B.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.D.L.	Journal of Department of Letters.
J.O.R. Madras.	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J U.G.	Journal of the University of Gauhati.
J.U.P. Hist. Society.	Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
K.K.T.	Kṛtyakalpataru.
K.K.N.	Kṛtyakalpataru (Niyatakālakāṇḍa). MS.

Mbh.	Mahābhārata (Critical Edition of B.O.R.I.).
MS., MSS.	Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Pu.	Purāṇa.
Q.J M.S.	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society.
Rajata.	Rājataraṅgiṇī.
Report.	A Report on a tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kashmir, Rajaputana etc. Extra No. of the J.B.B.R.A.S. 1877.
R.V.	Ṛgveda.
Ś.B.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

Scheme of Transliteration

अ	a	ङ	ṅa
आ	ā	च	ca
ई	ī	छ	cha
ऊ	ū	ञ	ña
ओ	o	ण	ṇa
औ	au	क्ष	kṣa
ऋ	ṛ	ज्ञ	jña
ं	ṃ	श	śa
ः	ḥ	ष	ṣa

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

I. Title of the work of our study and its claim to be a Purāṇa

The colophons occurring in the MSS. of the brief redaction give its title Nīlamata and the colophons of the long redaction add also the term 'Purāṇa[1]'. On the margins of the MSS. occur abbreviations like Nīla. Ma.; Nī. Ma.; Nī. Ma. Pu.; Nī. Pu.; Nī. and Kāśmī. Māhā[2]. which suggest the titles of the work as Nīlamata, Nīlamata Purāṇa, Nīla Purāṇa and Kāśmīra Māhātmya. Kalhaṇa refers to this work twice as the Nīlamata, twice as the Purāṇa and once as the Nīla Purāṇa[3]. Evidently, Nīlamata is the special title, Purāṇa, the class-designation, and Nīla Purāṇa, the abbreviated form of Nīlamataṃ Purāṇam. The term 'Mata' is used here in the sense of instruction, the title Nīlamata meaning thereby "Instructions of Nīla".[4] Just like the titles Vāyu Purāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Garuḍa Purāṇa, Brahma Purāṇa etc. indicating their authorship, the title 'Nīlamata' also is based

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1. सम्पूर्णं चेदं नीलमतं नामेति शुभम् ।
MSS. of brief redaction.
समाप्तं चेदं नीलमतं नाम पुराणम् ।
MSS. of long redaction.
Teste. Vreese, *Nīlamata*, p. 112 f.n. on verse 1396.

2. Vreese, *Nīlamata*, p. 1.

3. मतं नीलमुनेरपि । Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*; 1. 14.
तेभ्यो नीलमताद् दृष्टं गोनन्दादिचतुष्टयम् ।
Ibid., I. 16, 71, 178, 183.

4. तस्यैव चापरे भागे ह्यनन्तस्त्वाश्रमं महत् ।
चकार हलभृच्छ्रीमान् वासुदेवमते स्थितः ॥
Cf. Nīlamata, v. 183.
Probably Dāmodara Gupta (minister of the Kaśhmīrī King Jayāpīḍa) named his Kāvya Kuṭṭanīmata on the anology of Nīlamata.

on the main portion of the work stated to have been originally related by Nīla to Candradeva.[1]

Dr. Bhandarkar classed the Nīlamata as a Māhātmya on the basis of its mention as Kāśmīra Māhātmya in a single manuscript.[2] Ramlal Kanji Lal and Pandit Jagaddhar Zadoo also say:—"Strictly speaking, the Nīlamata does not come under the category of the Purāṇas. In its present form it is very difficult to rank it with the 18 Purāṇas. It may safely be called a portion of a Purāṇam from its similarity to the Nagarakhaṇḍa and other important Māhātmya works which do not put forth any pretension to the distinctive title of Purāṇam but are considered complementary to them."[3]

These assertions, however, have to be examined in the light of the definition of the term 'Purāṇa' and the characteristics of the other Purāṇas as they are available to us.

The etymology of the term 'Purāṇa' is given as "that which lives from ancient times".[4] The term occurs in early Indian

---

1. चतुर्थं वायुना प्रोक्तं वायवीयमिति स्मृतम् ।
Skanda Pu., VIII. 1. 33.

मार्कण्डेयेण कथितं तत्सर्वं विस्तरेण तु ।
पुराणं नवसाहस्रं मार्कण्डेयमिहोच्यते ॥
Matsya Pu., 53. 26.

ब्रह्मणाभिहितं ब्राह्मं पुराणं परिकीर्त्यते ।
Ibid., 53. 12-13.

कान्याचाराणि नीलेन चन्द्रदेवाय भार्गव ।
पुरा प्रोक्तानि चैतानि कथयस्व महाद्युते ॥
Nīlamata, v. 373.

Garuḍa Pu., I. 2; *Skanda Pu.*, VII. 1. 2. 28.

2. Bhandarkar, R. G., Report for the year 1883-84, p. 44. Teste. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. p. 584 f.n. 1.

3. *Nīlamata Purāṇam*, Introduction, pp. 4-5.

4. यस्मात्पुरा ह्यनतीदं पुराणं तेन हि स्मृतम् ।
निरुक्तमस्य यो वेद सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥
Vāyu Pu., I. 203.

यस्मात्पुरा ह्यनतीदं पुराणं तेन चोच्यते ।
Brahmāṇḍa Pu., IV. 4. 54.

literature mostly in connection with Itihāsa[1] which denotes old narration (Itihāsa—iti, ha, āsa—thus indeed it was). Kauṭilya mentions Purāṇa and Itivṛtta as divisions of Itihāsa,[2] and as Itivṛtta denotes a historical event, Purāṇa may be taken to mean mythological and legendary lore.

The Pañcalakṣaṇa definition occurring in the Amarakośa and in various Purāṇas enumerates creation (sarga), recreation (pratisarga), genealogy (vaṃśa), cosmic cycles (manvantara) and accounts of royal dynasties (vaṃśānucarita) as five characteristics of a Purāṇa,[3] but many of the extant Mahāpurāṇas and almost all the Upapurāṇas do not follow this definition. They have rather become "Codes of Hindu rites and customs by including chapters on varṇāśramadharma, ācāra, śrāddha, prāyaścita, dāna, pūjā, vrata, tīrtha, pratiṣṭhā, dīkṣā, utsarga etc."[4]

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1. वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंस्यः ।
S.B., XI. 5. 6. 8.
महदितीतिहासवेदात् तदिति पुराणवेदात् ।
Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 10.
इतिहासः पुराणम् ।
Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, II. 4. 10; IV. 1. 2.
इतिहासपुराणम् ।
Chāndogyopaniṣad, III. 4. 1; VII. 1. 2.
यद् ब्राह्मणानीतिहासान् पुराणानि कल्पान् गाथानाराशंसीः... ।
Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, II. 9.
Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra, XVI. 2. 27.

2. पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः ।
Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, 1. 3.

3. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
Mārkaṇḍeya Pu., 134. 13.
See also *Agni Pu.*, I. 14; *Viṣṇu Pu.*, III. 6, 25.

4. Hazra, R. C., *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, P.* 6.
The Pañcalakṣaṇa definition is modified in some Purāṇas. The Bhāgavata Pu. mentions sarga, visarga, vṛtti, rakṣā, antara, vaṃśa, vaṃśānucarita, saṃsthā, hetu and apāśraya as ten characteristics of a Purāṇa, and the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa mentions sṛṣṭi, visṛṣṭi, sthiti, pālana, karma, vāsanā, vārtā, pralayavarṇaṇa, mokṣa-nirūpaṇa, harikīrtana and devakīrtana. Teste. Hazra, *A.B.O.R. I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 59-60.

The only characteristic which is common to all the Purāṇas is their legendary tone, so the definition 'Old narrative'[1] suits them quite well.

Examining the Nīlamata in this light we find that nothing debars it from enjoying the status of a Purāṇa. The Pañcalakṣaṇa definition is not fully applicable to it but there are many other works which do not have the "five characteristics" and are still called Purāṇas. The Nīlamata deals with pratisarga and vaṃśānucarita in a few verses and refers also to the manvantaras.[2] Kalhaṇa informs us that he took first four names of the kings of Kaśmīra from the Nīlamata[3], but the MSS. of the Nīlamata (brief redaction) have preserved only one name Bāla Gonanda. Thus, it is possible that the process of leaving out genealogical portions operated after Kalhaṇa's time, with reference to the Nīlamata. The same process, it is not unreasonable to infer, may have been in action long before Kalhaṇa and may have led to the deletion of some genealogical portions which may have existed in the original Nīlamata.

Secondly, the Nīlamata is composed in the characteristic Puranic style of a dialogue in which some person relates its contents in reply to the inquiries of another and which is interwoven with other dialogues stated to have been held on previous occasions between different individuals in consequence of similar inquiries having been made.

Thirdly, the Nīlamata itself contains some Māhātmyas such as Kapaṭeśvara Māhātmya, Āśramasvāmi Māhātmya and Vitastā Māhātmya[4] in its body. Therefore it may not be reasonable

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1. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. p. 519.
Haraprasad Sastri also expresses a similar opinion "Anything old may be the subject of a Purāṇa." *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV. p. 329. The Puranic statement that the materials used for the compilation of the original Purāṇa were tales, anecdotes, songs and ancient lore endorses our view.

आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर् गाथाभिः कल्पजोक्तिभिः ।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥

Brahmāṇḍa Pu., 34.21.

Vāyu Pu., 60. 21; *Viṣṇu Pu.*, 6. 16.

2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 6-10; 30-51.

3. *Kalhaṇa, Rājata*, I. 16.

4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1127-47; 1164-1226; 1363-94.

to call the whole work Māhātmya.

The most important is the fact that Kalhaṇa calls it a Purāṇa and not a Māhātmya.[1] Even a verse quoted in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and termed as "Paurāṇika" can be easily recognised in verses 236-37 of the Nīlamata.[2]

So it is proper to regard the Nīlamata as a Purāṇa when it has claimed this title for more than seven hundred years.

II. Contents of the Nīlamata

The Nīlamata opens with Janamejaya's inquiry from Vaiśampāyana as to why the king of Kaśmīra did not participate in the war of Mahābhārata although his kingdom was the principal one in the world. Vaiśampāyana states that some time before the Mahābhārata war, king Gonanda of Kaśmīra was invited by his relative Jarāsandha to help him in a war against the Yādavas. Gonanda complied with his request and was slain there by Kṛṣṇa's brother Bala.[3] In order to avenge his father's death, Gonanda's son Dāmodara went to Gandhāra to fight with Kṛṣṇa who had gone there to attend a svayaṃvara.

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1. क्रियां नीलपुराणोक्तामच्छिन्दन्नागमद्विषः ॥
तस्य प्रत्यक्षतां यातो नीलस्तुहिनविप्लवम् ।
न्यवारयज्जगादापि स्वपुराणविधिं पुनः ॥ I. 183.

Rājata., I. 178, 183.

2. तस्मिन्काले स्वसचिवान्सासूयान्विन्यवीवरत् ।
इमं पौराणिकं श्लोकमुदीर्य मधुसूदनः ॥
कश्मीरा पार्वती तत्र राजा ज्ञेयो हरांशजः ।
नावज्ञेयः स दुष्टोऽपि विदुषा भूतिमिच्छता ॥

Cf. *Rājata*, I. 71-72.

एवं नरेन्द्र कश्मीरा प्राप्ते वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ।
समुत्पन्ना महापुण्या हरभार्या सती शुभा ॥
कश्मीरायां तथा राजा त्वया ज्ञेयो हरांशजः ।
तस्यावज्ञा न कर्तव्या सततं भूतिमिच्छता ॥

with, *Nīlamata*, 236-37.

3. The earlier portion of Vaiśampāyana's reply up to this sentence is missing in the MSS. of the brief redaction and is supplied here from the MSS. of the long redaction.

Kṛṣṇa killed Dāmodara in the fight that ensued but taking into consideration the high sanctity of Kaśmīra, he coronated the rival's pregnant widow Yaśovatī. Her posthumous son Gonanda II was a minor at the time of the Great War and so he did not join either the Kauravas or the Pāṇḍavas.

Vaiśampāyana points out the importance of Kaśmīra by referring to its numerous charms and its identification with Umā. He points out further that the valley was originally a lake known as Satīsara.

This leads to the question about the mythological history of Kaśmīra to which Vaiśampāyana replies by relating a dialogue held previously between Gonanda and the sage Bṛhadaśva.

Bṛhadaśva gives, at first, the account of the divisions of time, the destruction of the world at the end of manvantara, the preservation of Manu and the seeds in a ship which was a form of Satī herself and was fastened by Viṣṇu to the mountain later on named as Naubandhana, the birth of the land and the lake of Satī, and the origin of various tribes from Kaśyapa. Then he relates the story of the bet of Kadrū and Vinatā leading to enmity between Garuḍa and the Nāgas and the destruction of the latter by the former. The Nāga chief Vāsuki, it is stated, saved the remaining Nāgas, by seeking the help of Viṣṇu who allotted Satīsara to them and appointed Nīla as their king.

Then follows the story of the demon Jalodbhava, born in the waters and reared by the Nāgas. Having obtained boons from Brahmā, the demon began to destroy the descendants of Manu dwelling in the lands of Dārvābhisāra, Gandhāra, Juhuṇḍura, Śakas, Khaśas etc. Seeing this devastation, Nīla approached his father Kaśyapa who had reached Kanakhala in connection with his pilgrimage to all the sacred places of the earth, and requested him to visit the tīrthas of Madra and Himavān.[1] Kaśyapa visualised the situation and requested the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva to do the needful. Viṣṇu followed by Brahmā, Śiva and various other deities, proceeded to

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1. Various holy places of India specially of Madra and Himavān are referred to in vv. 102-123. Infra, pp. 24. ff.n. 3.

Naubandhana to punish the demon. The demon being imperishable in the waters, Viṣṇu asked Ananta to make an outlet for the waters by breaking forth the mountain barriers. He did accordingly. Thereupon the demon created the darkness which was soon dispelled by Śiva holding the sun and the moon in his hands. Viṣṇu then fought with the demon and cut off his head with his discus.[1]

In between this legend occurs the story of Viṣṇu's discus obtained by Śiva and then returned to Viṣṇu who commemorated the event by erecting his own image and those of Śiva and his female consort.

There now being supplied a lot of accommodation in the valley, Kaśyapa desired that it should be inhabited by the Nāgas as well as the descendants of Manu. The Nāgas, however, plainly refused to have men as their cohabitants. Filled with rage, Kaśyapa cursed them to live with the Piśācas. At the request of Nīla, the curse was moderated to this extent that the Piśācas would go every year for a period of six months, to the sea of sand and men would be the cohabitants of the Nāgas during that period. Viṣṇu further assured the Nāgas that the occupation of Kaśmīra valley by the Piśācas would continue for four ages only.

After the passing away of four aeons, when men, as usual, had gone out for six months, an old Brāhmaṇa Candradeva did not go out. Troubled by the Piśācas, he approached the Nāga king Nīla who was served by the Piśāca chief Nikumbha and various Nāgas. Candradeva praised Nīla and asked that Kaśmīra might thenceforth be inhabited by men without the fear of emigration. Nīla complied with this request on the condition that men should follow his instructions revealed to him by Keśava. Candradeva lived for six months in the palace of Nīla and learnt all the rites and ceremonies prescribed by Nīla. In Caitra, when the emigrant population of Kaśmīra came back, he related the whole incident to Vīrodaya—

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1. According to the *Vāmana Pu.*, Ch. 81, a demon Jalodbhava could not be killed, due to the boon of Brahmā, by any god with his own weapon. So he was attacked and killed by Viṣṇu with Śiva's triśūla, and by Śiva with Viṣṇu's cakra.

king of men. Thenceforth people lived peacefully in Kaśmīra.

Having heard this, Gonanda asks what the words of Nīla were and Bṛhadaśva repeats the dialogue held between Nīla and Candradeva. This lengthy dialogue describes sixtyfive rites, ceremonies and festivals some of which are similar to those mentioned in other Puranic works and observed in many parts of India, while a few are peculiar to Kaśmīra.[1]

At the end of the dialogue, Bṛhadaśva informs Gonanda about the importance of Nīla's instructions whose observance makes the people prosperous and the king victorious and whose non-observance leads to such calamities as excess of rain, absence of rain, famine, untimely death of the king, terrible punishments and heavy snowfall.

Here the dialogue between Gonanda and Bṛhadaśva breaks and Vaiśampāyana informs that Gonanda was killed by Balabhadra at Mathurā for he did not follow all the instructions of Nīla.

At Janamejaya's inquiry as to what did Gonanda ask after listening to the teachings, another dialogue between Gonanda and Bṛhadaśva is repeated.

Gonanda expresses his desire to know the names of the principal Nāgas dwelling in Kaśmīra and Bṛhadaśva enumerates no less than six hundred names, adding that the number of the Nāgas being too great, it is not possible for him to enumerate all of them even in hundreds of years. He further refers to four Nāgas—the guardians of directions and relates the story of the Nāga Ṣaḍaṅgula and Nāga Mahāpadma.

The Nāga Ṣaḍaṅgula was banished from Kaśmīra due to his evil activities. When the Nāga Mahāpadma approached Nīla and besought him for a dwelling place in Kaśmīra as his family was being devoured by Garuḍa, the Nāga king allotted to him the place which was formerly occupied by Ṣaḍaṅgula and where, after the banishment of Ṣaḍaṇgula, was constructed the city Candrapura ruled over by king

1. For the account of rites, ceremonies and festivals, see Ch. VIII.

Viśvagaśva. The city was destined to be turned into a lake due to the curse of the sage Durvāsā. In accordance with the advice of Nīla, Mahāpadma assumed the form of an old Brāhmaṇa, went to Viśvagaśva and asked for a dwelling sufficient for his big family. The prayer being granted, he assumed his own form and asked the king to go out along with his subjects as the whole town was required to accommodate his family. The righteous king vacated the town which thereafter was flooded by Mahāpadma.

Then follows Gonanda's inquiry about the sacred places of Kaśmīra and Bṛhadaśva's reply referring to various places dedicated to Śiva and other deities. Two names, Bhūteśvara and Kapaṭeśvara, raise Gonanda's curiosity which, leads Bṛhadaśva to relate Bhūteśvara Māhātmya containing the story of a Brāhmaṇa Śilāda and his son Nandī and Kapaṭeśvara Māhātmya explaining the name of Śiva who appeared before the sages in the guise of logs of wood.

After this comes the enumeration of the sacred places of Viṣṇu and the mythological history of one of them, namely, Āśramasvāmī. Paraśurāma is depicted in that story as a devotee of Viṣṇu.

Two more lists of the tīrthas situated in the vicinity of and in the valley of Kaśmīra are repeated by Vaiśampāyana from Bṛhadaśva's narration. Thereafter Janamejaya requests Vaiśampāyana to narrate the eulogy of the river Vitastā. Vaiśampāyana does the same and the work ends with the remark that as this treatise in the form of a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana was not useful every where (i.e. was of local interest only), Vyāsa did not include it in the Bhārata lest that should become too voluminous with the inclusion of all such treatises.

III. Date of the Nīlamata

Kalhaṇa's reference to the Nīlamata as a work of great antiquity[1] indicates its existence long before the 12th century A.D.

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1. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, 1. 14.

Mention of Buddha as Viṣṇu's incarnation in a spirit of catholicity, as found in the Nīlamata,[1] could not have been made after 8th century A.D., because after that, Buddhism did not hold such a significant position as to induce the Vaiṣṇavas to identify Buddha with Viṣṇu. Many of the late Purāṇas and the works of Kṣemendra, Jayaratha and Kalhaṇa undoubtedly refer to Viṣṇu's Buddha incarnation, but all of them deprecate Buddhism indirectly by assigning to Buddha the task of deluding the people.[2] As the Nīlamata displays an altogether different attitude, it may be assigned to an early date when Buddhism in Kaśmīra was too strong to be condemned.

The absence of the term avatāra and the use of the term prādurbhāva and the root bhū for incarnation of gods shows an early date for the Nīlamata.[3]

Reference may also be made, in this connection to Nīlamata's non-mention of Kalki incarnation, Kṛṣṇa's consort Rādhā and the sacred leaf of Tulasī.[4]

Stein's statement that "Among the texts dealing specially with the sacred sites of Kaśmīra, the Haracaritacintāmaṇi can be placed, perhaps nearest in date to the Nīlamata Purāṇa",[5] is not corroborated by the facts. A comparison of the legends found in both these works, yields that the legends of the Nīlamata are devoid of sectarian spirit while Jayaratha has given them a sectarian colouring to prove the superiority of Śiva.[6] Further, the indirect condemnation of the Bauddhas, as it occurs in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi,[7] does not agree with the spirit of the Nīlamata. It rather sounds like Kalhaṇa's comparison of the Bauddhas with the Yakṣas. Evidently quite a long time must have elapsed to bring about this change.

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 684-90, Infra, Ch. VII. IV. (I) Buddhism.
2. Infra, Ch. VII. IV. (II) Buddhism in other Purāṇas.....
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 500, 511, 684, 716.
   For the frequent use of the word prādurbhāva as an indication of early date, see *J.U.G.*, III. p. 58 & *I.H.Q.*, VIII. pp. 75 ff.
4. All these are mentioned in late Purāṇas, Hazara, R. C., *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 90, 114.
5. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. p. 378.
6. Cf. The story of Cakra, *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, Ch. VII.
7. *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, XVII. 8, 9, 32, 33.

Another piece of evidence is supplied by the Kṛtyakalpataru (Niyatakālakāṇḍa) of Lakṣmīdhara. Written in the Ist half of the 12th century A.D., this work quotes from a Brahma Purāṇa, numerous verses that strikingly agree with those of the Nīlamata.[1] Not even a single verse of all these is found

1. *Kṛtyakalpataru* (Niyatakālakāṇḍa)

		Verses of *Nīlamata*.
p. 377	lines 2-3.	561, 565.
p. 377	lines 6-9.	633b-635.
p. 377	to p. 382 line 14.	561-635.
p. 382	lines 15-18.	644-46.
p. 382	line 20 to p. 383 line 8.	647-49.
p. 383	line 9.	650.
p. 383	lines 17-18.	652-53.
p. 384	line 2.	654.
p. 384	lines 3-12.	655-58.
p. 384	line 15 to p. 385 line 16.	659-67.
p. 386	line 3 to p. 387 line 5.	668-77.
p. 387	lines 6-15.	679-83.
p. 388	lines 1-9.	684-90.
p. 388	line 10 to p. 389 line 2.	691-92.
p. 389	lines 8-11.	696-97.
p. 390	lines 12-16.	698-700.
p. 391	lines 3-6.	701-2.
p. 391	lines 7-19.	409-10, 703-5.
p. 392	lines 3-4.	706.
p. 393	lines 11-12.	707.
p. 393	line 15 to p. 394 line 4.	708-9.
p. 395	lines 1-12.	710-14.
p. 395	line 13 to p. 396 line 10.	716-22.
p. 396	lines 11-14.	723-25.
p. 396	line 15 to p. 397 line 1.	730-31.
p. 401	lines 1 to 9-12.	775.
p. 401	lines 13-19.	227 ff.
p. 401	line 20 p. 420 line 6.	763-66.
p. 402	lines 7-17.	726-29a.
p. 405	lines 6-19.	748-52.
p. 403	lines 14-15.	753-54.
p. 405	line 20 to p. 406 line 14.	797b-801.
p. 406	line 15 to p. 407 line 13.	779-85.
p. 407	line 14 to p. 408 line 6.	786-90.
p. 410	lines 17-19 & p. 411 lines 20-21.	382b-84.
p. 421	line 12 to p. 422 line 21.	398-407.
p. 427	line 4 to p. 429 line 4.	408-35a.
p. 429	line 5 to p. 431 line 14.	435-48.
p. 431	lines 15-20.	450-52.
p. 432	lines 1-4.	453-54.
p. 432	line 16 to p. 433 line 8.	456-60.
p. 433	line 14 to p. 434 line 12.	461-68.
p. 434	lines 13-14.	469a.
p. 435	line 15.	469b.
p. 435	line 17 to p. 436 line 1.	482-83.
p. 436	line 17 to p. 437 line 17.	484-91.
p. 437	line 18 to p. 438 line 7.	493-95.

in the printed editions of the Brahma Purāṇa, though the verses quoted by Hemādri do occur in them. Naturally it would indicate the existence of two Brahma Purāṇas, one, the extant Brahma Purāṇa quoted by Hemādri, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspatimiśra etc. and the other, the unavailable, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka Haradatta, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa and many others. Narasiṃha Vājapeyī clearly distinguishes between these two Brahma Purāṇas—the one Mahāpurāṇa quoted in the Kalpataru, and the other Upapurāṇa containing Puruśottama Māhātmya and quoted by Hemādri.[1] The Ist one, whose relation with the Nīlamata we are going to establish, is unfortunately not yet available.

For the similarity between the Nīlamata and the Brahma Purāṇa quoted by the Kalpataru, which remained unnoticed upto now, there can be only one explanation, namely, transference of the verses of one Purāṇa to the other. The question, "Is the Nīlamata, the borrower or the Brahma Purāṇa?", may be answered by comparing those verses which indicate an intimate knowledge of Kaśmīra, for such verses must have existed originally in that Purāṇa which was composed in Kaśmīra.

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p. 438 lines 15-19.	498.
p. 439 lines 3-20.	499-505.
p. 439 line 21 to p. 440 line 7.	506-7.
p. 440 line 8 to p. 441 line 1.	508-14.
p. 441 line 16 to p. 443 line 1.	515-25.
p. 443 lines 2-10.	526-29.
p. 443 line 11 to p. 444 line 4.	530-38.
p. 444 line 5.	539.
p. 444 line 6 to p. 445 line 1.	540-47.
p. 445 line 2 to p. 446 line 4.	448-51.
p. 446 lines 5-17.	552-57.
p. 446 line 1. 18-23.	560.

1. ब्रह्मपुराणं च कल्पतरौ यद्वाक्यान्यादृतानि तद्व्यतिरिक्तं ब्रह्मपुराणं पुरुषोत्तममाहात्म्योपबृंहित हेमाद्रचादिनिबन्धपरिगृहीतं शिष्टपरिग्रहादिह प्रमाणं तदप्युपपुराणान्तर्गतमेव ।
Narasiṃha Vājapeyī, *Nityācārapradīpa*, p. 19.

Though referring to even insignificant places of Kaśmīra,[1] the Brahma Purāṇa avoids the use of pronoun "This" for Kaśmīra. For the v. 710 of the Nīlamata:—

आषाढ़ायां समतीतायां यदा स्याद् द्विज रोहिणी ।
तदा तु कश्यपः पूज्यो देशस्यास्य प्रवर्तकः ॥

The Brahma Purāṇa (K.K.N., p. 395, lines 1-2) has

श्रावणे रोहिणीयोगे कश्यपश्च प्रजापतिः ।
जातस्तत्राथ पूज्यो ऽसौ देवस्याथ प्रवर्तकः (देशस्यास्य प्रवर्तकः ?)

The laxity of behaviour allowed in Kaśmīra on the Āśvayujī festival is thus accounted for in the Brahma Purāṇa (K.K.N., p. 412, I. 15-16).

यस्मात् स देशः सोत्कण्ठः पिशाचैः शान्तिवाहनैः ।
लब्धस्तु कश्यपात्पूर्वं सक्रोधस्य प्रजापतेः ॥

The reference is evidently to Kaśmīra and the use of स देशः instead of देशोऽयम् is significant.

In connection with the New Snowfall day festival peculiar to Kaśmīra, the Brahma Purāṇa gives the same verses as are found in the Nīlamata but it gives an additional remark, viz. "Snow should be offered to the manes and at those places where the snow is not available, only the word 'snow' may be pronounced."[2] The impropriety of the festival at those places where snowfall does not occur is not recognised by the Brahma Purāṇa.

Evidently the Brahma Purāṇa borrowed these verses from some other work composed in Kaśmīra and that work may have been our Nīlamata.

The Nīlamata, probably, existed originally as an independent Purāṇa on the rites, ceremonies and tīrthas of Kaśmīra, but as it did not enjoy the status of a Mahāpurāṇa, it was considered necessary, in order to give an air of authenticity to the rites and ceremonies of Kaśmīra, to incorporate some portions of the Nīlamata into the Brahma Purāṇa. This

1. *K.K.N.*, p. 395 refers to the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu, on p. 396 there is reference to Satīhrada, and on p. 437, to Vitastā, Viśokā, Candravatī, Harṣapathā, Trikoṭi, Sindhu and Kanakavāhinī.

2. यस्मिन् देशे हिमं न स्यात्तत्र ब्रूयाद्धिमं हिमम् ।
K.K.N., p. 434. I.2.

incorporation must have taken place long before the time of Lakṣmīdhara (1104—54 A.D.) as he quotes from the Brahma Purāṇa without any reference to the Nīlamata.[1]

Another evidence is supplied by the textual study of the Nīlamata. Some alterations and additions were made in the text of the Nīlamata after the 9th or the 10th century A.D., in order to make it cope with the Monistic Śaiva Philosophy of Kaśmīra.[2] Had the Nīlamata been composed after the 9th or the 10th century A.D., there would have been no scope for such changes.

The lower limit of the date of the Nīlamata may, therefore, be the 8th century A.D. As regards the upper limit it must be about the 6th century A.D., as Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu from about 550 A.D.[3]

Moreover, the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa which has been assigned the date between 400 A.D. and 550 A.D., seems to have been used by the writer of the Nīlamata. The Nīlamata reproduces some verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara with a slight improvement upon them.[4]

The religious life of Kaśmīra with Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism etc. flourishing side by side, as depicted in the Nīlamata, indicates the same period. The political situation

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1. The change might have affected the MSS. of the Brahma Purāṇa in Kaśmīra only and one such MS. may have been obtained from Kaśmīra by Laksmīdhara's patron Govinda Candra of Kanauj who had friendly relations with the king Jayasiṃha of Kaśmīra. The *Rājata.*, VIII. 2453, refers to this friendship and according to the *Śrīkaṇṭha Carita*, XXV, 102, Govinda Candra had deputed a scholar named Suhala to attend a pariṣad convened by Alaṅkāra a minister of Kaśmīra.

2. Ch. IX. VII. *The Philosophy of the Nīlamata*.....

3. *Hazra, R. C., Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 41.
A Pallava inscription dated about the latter half of the 7th century A.D. refers to Buddha Incarnation.

मत्स्यकूर्मौ वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश ॥

H. Krishna Shastri, *The Memoirs Of The Archaeological Survey Of India*, Vol. 26. p. 5. Teste. Hazra, Op. Cit., p. 84.

4. तौषी तोषितभास्करा । Cf. *Nīlamata*, v. 116 with
··तौषी तत्रार्कनन्दिनी *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, p. 1. 162. 35b.

of Kaśmīra as described in the Nīlamata, also favours this date. The Rājataraṅgiṇī informs us that for about hundred years after the death of Mihirakula, Kaśmīra suffered greatly from internal dissensions leading to the overthrow of several kings.[1] The Nīlamata also states that the kings of Kaśmīra perish due to internal dissensions.[2] We may conclude, therefore, from the foregoing that the Nīlamata may have been composed in the 6th or the 7th century A.D.

1. King Yudhiṣṭhira was driven out by his ministers, and a foreigner Pratāpāditya occupied the throne of Kaśmīra. Jayendra was also compelled to give up the throne by his minister Sandhimati who, too, was forced to retire. Then came Meghavāhana. Meghavāhana's grandsons Hiraṇya and Toramāna fell against each other to make place for Mātṛgupta. The chronology of this book of the Rājataraṅgiṇī dealing with all these events is not certain, still it is believed that all this happened in the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

2. स्वभेदेनेह नश्यन्ति बद्धमूला नराधिपाः ॥

Nīlamata. v. 835b.

CHAPTER II

THE GEOLOGY AND THE GEOGRAPHY

I. Birth of Kaśmīra

(*I*) *Legend of the origin of Kaśmīra*

According to the Nīlamata, the land of Kaśmīra was occupied for six Manvantaras since the beginning of the Kalpa by a vast lake six yojanas long and three yojanas wide,[1] called Satīsara. In the 7th Manvantara, the water of the lake was drained off through an outlet made with plough by Ananta at the order of Viṣṇu who along with other gods and goddesses had come there to kill the demon Jalodbhava—invincible in the waters. The story runs further informing how after the death of Jalodbhava, the Piśācas and the descendants of Manu were settled there by Kaśyapa to live in company of the Nagas, the original inhabitants of the valley.[2]

The same legend about the draining of the lake occurs in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī[3] and in a bit changed form, in the

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1. Yojana is a measure of distance differently regarded as equal to four, five, nine or eighteen English miles.
Teste. *Monier William Dictionary.*

2. आसीत् सरः पूर्णजलं सुरम्यं सुमनोहरम् ॥
कल्पारम्भप्रभृति यत् पुरा मन्वन्तराणि षट् ।
अस्मिन्मन्वन्तरे जातं विषयं सुमनोहरम् ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 12-13.
एवं ते विविशुः शैले ततो देवो जनार्दनः ।
अनन्तमाह धर्मात्मा वधार्थं दानवस्य तु ॥
कुरुष्व लाङ्गलेन त्वं विदार्याथ हिमालयम् ।
इदं सरोवरं दिव्यं निस्तोयं शीघ्रमेव तु ॥
Ibid., vv. 165-166.
See also 43-45; 171-174; 198-217. and Supra. pp. 6-7.

3. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, I. 25-28.

Mahāvaṃśa,[1] the Chinese Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādī sect[2] and the account of the travels of Hiuen Tsang.[3]

Whether it was the basin-like shape of the valley of Kaśmīra which suggested this legend or the memory of some old age when the area of Kaśmīra under water was more than what it that is now, was responsible for it, cannot be stated with certainty, but it is interesting to know that the geological observations made in recent times corroborate the assertion made in the Nīlamata.

(*II*) *Results of modern geological observations*

As pointed out above, the valley of Kaśmīra with high mountain-walls on all sides, is just like a basin. The lowest point in the valley is 5200 feet high above the sea level and the lowest pass in the Pīr Pañcāl range forming its outer boundary is 3000 feet above the level of the valley.[4] The only outlet for the drainage of the water of the valley is the narrow rock-gorge at Bārāmūlā. Now, nearly half the area of this basin-shaped valley is occupied by the Karewas which are flat-topped mounds composed of clay and loam and slit with thin layers of greenish sand. Having a width of from eight to sixteen miles along the south-west side of the valley and extending for a length of some fifty miles from Shopyan to Bārāmūlā, these Karewas are sometimes cut into stripes but their flat tops and almost the same altitude indicate that once they must have formed one large plateau later cut into isolated mounds by the streams descending the mountains.

Explaining the formation of these Karewa deposits, Drew suggested that in prehistoric Kaśmīra, there was a great lake which, at one period of its existence, reached a level of nearly 2000 feet above the present level of the valley.[5] Colonel Godwin Austin and Mr. Lydekker agreed with him taking

1. *Mahāvaṃśa*, XII. 3. 9-28.

2. J. Przuluski's article in the Journal Asiatique 1914 pp. 535 ff. Teste. S. C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, *p.* 141.

3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I. p. 265.

4. Lydekker, *The Geology of Kashmir and Chamba Districts*. Teste. Lawrence, W.R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 44.

5. Drew. Frederick., *The Jummoo And Kashmir Territories*, p. 211.

these Karewas as of lacustrine origin.[1] R.D. Oldham, however, took these Karewas as of fluviatile origin and contested the theory of the prehistoric vast lake saying, "It is very probable that some of the finelybedded, fine-grained deposits described by Colonel Godwin Austin were deposited in still water but the frequent alternations of beds of shingle with sand and the layers of lignite from one to three inches in thickness, point to subaerial conditions of formation. Even the presence of true lacustrine deposits does not prove that the whole of the Kashmir rock-basin was ever occupied by a lake".[2]

Oldham's theory, however, has its weakness and is not accepted by more recent geologists. About the lower Karewas the explanation may be plausible that they are wash deposits laid probably by the river Vitastā itself which must then have flowed out from the valley in a course not very far removed from the one which it follows now, but "with regard to the upper Karewas it seems difficult to imagine how a series of fine clayey and sandy deposits, perfectly horizontal and extending completely across a wide and open river valley and attaining a height of more than 200 feet above the level of that valley, could have been accumulated without the aid of a dam lower down the valley by which its waters have been ponded back. Accordingly, the only explanation of the mode of formation of the upper Karewas that presents itself is that Kashmir was formerly occupied by a vast lake."[3] The presence of perfect specimens of Siṅghāḍā, the plant that grows abundantly in the lake, in the Karewa deposits at the height of about 1500 feet above the present level of the lake,[4] cannot be explained otherwise. So "the present view," to quote D. N. Wadia, "regards the Karewas as the surviving remnants of deposits of a lake or series of lakes which once

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1. Lawrence, W.R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 50.
2. Oldham, R.D., *Geology of India*, 2nd edition, pp. 420-21.
3. Lydekker, *The Geology of Kashmir and Chamba Districts*, Ch. On the Alluvial System.
   Teste. Lawrence, W. R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 48.
4. These were found in the hardened clay bed when a severe earthquake rocked the valley in 1885 and a landslide occurred near Lorridura about 1500 feet above the present level of the lake.

filled the whole valley-basin from end to end."[1] At the height of the Ice Age this Karewa lake must have been no less than 3000 square miles in area[2].

M.B. Pithawalla in his "Kashmir, Its Geology And Geography",[3] and G.E.L. Carter in his "Stone Age in Kashmir,"[4] have supported this theory of the prehistoric great lake in Kaśmīra.

(*III*) *The origin of the legend*

Though the Nīlamata-legend of the origin of Kaśmīra, is imbued with geological truths, it will be going too far to suggest that some geological tests were at the basis of the legend. The most plausible hypothesis is that the idea of the great lake was suggested by the basin-like shape of the valley and after this, it was just one step more in the making of mythology, to attribute the drainage of water through an outlet in the sand stone wall at the western corner of the basin, to a divinity like Ananta, though the wall might have been rent either due to some earthquake or by some cataclysm followed by attrition.

II. Geographical Data

(*I*) *Geographical data in general*

Like other Puranic works, the Nīlamata also deals, though in a very few verses, with the geography of the world and mentions seven Dvīpas, namely, Jambu, Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmali, Gomeda and Puṣkara.[5] Of these seven, Jambudvīpa

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1. Wadia, D. N., *Geology of India*, 3rd edition (1953), p. 379.
2. Wadia, D. N., Op. Cit., p. 380.
3. Pithawalla, M.B., *Kashmir Its Geology And Geography*, p. 11.
4. Carter, *Stone Age in Kashmir*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Kashmir No. 2, p. 4.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 589-90 a.

For different theories such as that the story of the seven Dvīpas is a poetical fable or that these Dvīpas represent the successive changes of the Earth's surface at different geological periods, or that they are portions of the earth as we know it, see *Q.J.M.S.*, XV, XVI, XVII. In a series of articles in the Journal referred to above, Mr. V.V. Iyer identifies Krauñca Dvīpa with the provinces of Lycia and Cilicia, Gomeda with Gomedi, Puṣkara with Bukhara in Chinese Turkistan, Śāka with the country

has nine varṣas, namely, Uttarakuru, Ramya, Hairaṇvata, Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, Ilāvṛta, Harivarṣa, Kimpuruṣa and Bhāratavarṣa, and the last one is further divided into nine parts of which the ninth one alone seems to represent India proper.[1] Mountains situated in the north of India and seven Kula Parvatas—chief mountains of Central India and Southern India are also referred to.[2]

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of the Śakas formed by the irregular tract of land on the head waters of the Oxus and the watershed between it and the Jaxartes, a tract which included a portion of the drainage of the Indus, Kuśa Dvīpa with Ethiopia of the Greeks, Plakṣa with the land of the Pelasgians, Sālmali with Sarmatia and Jambu Dvīpa with the original home of the Aryans. For other identifications suggested by H.R. Mankad, see A.B.O.I., Vol. XVIII (1937), p. 228.

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 590b—92a.

Separated by seas and mutually inaccessible, these nine Dvīpas are evidently divisions not of India proper but of Greater India. The Skanda Pu., however, restricting Kumārikā Khaṇḍa to the territory between the Pāriyātra and Mahendra mountains and Indra-dvīpa to the eastern coastal portion of India behind the Mahendra range, seems to regard the Dvīpas as divisions of India proper. The problem may be solved by assuming that originally, the nine Dvīpas included not only India proper but also the islands and countries that encircled the Indian Peninsula. Later on, probably, when the ties of the contacts of India proper with other divisions of Greater India became loose, there arose an independent tradition of taking these nine Dvīpas as parts of India proper.

For the reading Mānavadvipa see Infra, Emendations, v. 592A.

2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 596-600.

Seven Kula Parvatas have been identified thus :

Pāriyātra—That portion of the modern Vindhya range which is situated west of Bhopal, and also the Aravalli mountains (Pargiter).

Ṛkṣavān—Central region of the modern Vindhya range north of the Narmadā.

Vindhya—That portion of the Vindhya range where from rise the Narmadā and the Tāptī.

Śuktimān— (i) North of Hazaribagh district (Beglar).
(ii) Hills south of Sehoa and Kanher (Cunningham).
(iii) Garo, Khasi and Tippera Hills (Pargiter).
(iv) Kathiawar range (C.V. Vaidya).
(v) Chain of hills extending from Śakti in Raigarh in C.P. to the Dalmia hills and even to the Hills in the Santal pargana: (Rai Chaudhuri).
(vi) Sulaiman range.

Sahya—Western Ghats above the Coimbatore gap.

Malaya—That portion of the Western Ghats which extends from Nīlagiri to Cape Comarin.

Mahendra—Eastern Ghats. Teste. Law, B. C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 19-23.

More significant than all this is the information which the Nīlamata gives by mentioning tīrthas. Being a product of the age which offered pilgrimages to holy places as substitute for the long and costly sacrifices, the Nīlamata extols the tīrthas of various parts of India. Of Kaśmīra, particularly, each and every spot is regarded as sacred[1] and references to these holy places are found throughout the work. Four lists occurring in the latter half of the work are of special interest for the geography of Kaśmīra. The Ist list describes 603 Nāgas, the 2nd deals with places dedicated to the worship of Śiva and other deities, the 3rd mentions the tīrthas sacred to Viṣṇu, and the 4th, which is the most important, describes the chief holy places in a topographical order beginning from Nīla Nāga in the east and following the course of the Vitastā and its tributaries down to the gorge of Varāhamūla.[2] These lists, no doubt "form a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kaśmīra"[3] but it also deserves to be noted that the references being too brief, it is not possible to identify most of them, specially those which are not mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī or some other work of geographical value. Anyhow, an attempt has been made in the following pages to present coherently, as far as possible, the geographical data of the Nīlamata.

(*II*) *Geography of Kaśmīra*

(*i*) *The Name Kaśmīra*

The Nīlamata gives Kaśmīrā as the name of the valley[4] which is still known as Kaśmīra throughout India and the rest of the world and is called by the Kāśmīrīs in their own language, as Kaśīr—a direct phonetic derivative of Kaśmīra through Kaśvīr.[5] The Rājataraṅgiṇī

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 24-25; 1353-55.
2. Ibid., vv. 881-946; 990-1029; 1149-1165; 1228-1275.
3. Bühler, *Report*, p. 41.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 5, 12, 24, 29, 220, 228, 235 etc. give Kaśmīrā, the term 'Kaśmīra' is rare in the Nīlamata, (vv. 989, 1354), while the word 'Kāśmīra' is found as an adjective, vv. 876, 926.
5. Stein takes Ptolomy's Kaspiria and Dionysios' Kaspeiroi as transcription of Kaśvīr. *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. pp. 352-53.

also mentions both these names of the valley.[1] The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa refers to its second name Vaitastika—the land of the river Vitastā—but that is not mentioned in any other work.[2]

The earliest reference to the name Kaśmīra in Indian literature is found in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.[3] The Mahābhārata[4], the Purāṇas[5] and the Bṛhat Saṃhitā[6] also refer to Kaśmīra as a country and Kaśmīrāḥ as a people.

As regards the explanation of this name, Babar's suggestion for its derivation from Kas—the name of a hilly tribe—is not sound as the true form of the name of that tribe is Khaśa which has nothing to do with Kaśmīra.[7] The theory deriving it from Kash, the name of a Semitic tribe who founded the cities of Kash, Kashān and Kāshghar, has yet to be investigated.[8]

Haider Malik, Burnouf, Wilson and many others have taken Kaśmīra as a contraction of Kaśyapamīr i.e. the sea or the mountain of Kaśyapa.[9]

Other derivations explain Kaśmīra as "ka—water, shimir—to desiccate (sic), Kaśmīra—land desiccated from water";[10] "ka—water, samīra—wind, Kaśmīra—land from which water has been drained off by wind";[11] "kas—channel, mīr—mountain, Kaśmīra—a deep trough through rocky mountains".[12] The

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1. निर्ममे तत्सरो भूमौ कश्मीरा इति मण्डलम् ॥
Rājata., I. 27b.
अपीपलंस्ते कश्मीरान् गोनन्दाद्याः कलौयुगे ॥
Ibid., I.148.
2. *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, I. 164.
3. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Gaṇapāṭha, IV. 2. 133; IV. 3. 93.
4. *Mbh.*, II. 27. 17; II. 48. 13; III. 130. 10; VII. 10. 16.
5. *Vāyu Pu.*, XLV. 120; *Padma Pu.*, I. 6. 48. 62.
Matsya Pu., XIII. 47; *Viṣṇu Pu.*, IV. 48.
Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., I. 10. 10; 207. 63; 261. 16 and 34.
6. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, V. 70, 77, 78; IX. 18; X. 12; XI. 57; XV. 29.
7. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. p. 387.
8. Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, pp. 12-13.
9. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, II. p. 387.
10. Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, p. 12.
11. Kaul, *Kashmir Through The Ages*, p. 18.
12. Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, p. 12.

Nīlamata also gives two popular etymologies deriving the name from Kaḥ (Prajāpati Kaśyapa) and kam (water).[1] All these explanations are, however, not proved philologically.

Craving the indulgence of the scholars for adding one more conjecture to this list, I may suggest that the valley was named after the goddess Kaśmīrā whose worship is prescribed in the Nīlamata, and who was some hilly godess identified with Umā. The feminine form Kaśmīrā found in the Nīlamata and the Rājataraṅgiṇī indicates this. Still it is a hypothesis which needs verification and I may confess that threads of the recorded history are not strong enough to enable me to trace the origin of this name in the distant past.

(*II*) *Mountains*

Kaśmīra valley proper, we know, is just a basin surrounded by snow-capped mountains and the Nīlamata refers to these mountain walls when it speaks of Kaśmīra's geographically fortified position eliminating the fear of foreign invasions.[2] Kalhaṇa, too, is proud of these mountain barriers and states, "this country may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits but not by forces of soldiers".[3] The foreigners Hiuen

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1. कः प्रजापतिरुद्दिष्टः कश्यपश्च प्रजापतिः ।
तेनेदं निर्मितं देशं कश्मीराख्यं भविष्यति ॥
कं वारि हरिणा यस्माद् देशादस्मादपाकृतम् ।
कश्मीराख्यं ततोऽप्यस्य लोके नाम भविष्यति ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 218-19.

2. अधृष्यं पररा‌ष्ट्राणां तद्भूयानामकोविदम् ।
Ibid., v. 18a.
दुर्गत्वादस्य देशस्य परचक्रभयं विना ।
Ibid., *v.* 835*a*.

3. यत्ताक्ष्यभीत्या प्राप्तानां नागानां गुप्तये ध्रुवम् ।
प्रसारितभुजं पृष्ठे शैलप्राकारलीलया ॥
विजीयते पुण्यबलैर्बलैर्यत्तु न शस्त्रिणाम् ।
Kalhaṇa, Rājata., I. 31, 39.

Tsang and Ou Kong who visited the valley, have recognised this fact in their accounts.[1]

Two parallel and ascending lines of the Himalayan ranges known as the Lesser Himalaya and the Great Central Himalaya are referred to in the Nīlamata under the terms "Bahirgiri" and 'Antargiri'.[2] The Pāli literature designates them as Chulla Himavanta and Maha Himavanta.[3] The Mahābhārata and the Aṣṭādhyāyī know one more division Upagiri which signifies the Tarai or Siwalik range.[4]

As regards the particular mountains, *Uśīraka*,[5] according to the Nīlamata, is located in Dārva country and, therefore, may be identified with some hill of Siwalik range to the south of Kaśmīra. Uśīradhvaja of the Vinaya texts, Uśīragiri of the Divyāvadāna, Uśīnara of the Pāli literature and Uśīnaragiri of the Kathāsaritsāgara which are regarded by B.C. Law as designations of one and the same mountain[6], may be identical with Uśīraka mentioned in the Nīlamata. A hill to the north of Kanakhala is still known as Uśīragiri.

Going northwards from the plains of the Panjab, we come to the Pīr Pañcāl range which forms the southern and south-western boundary of Kaśmīra proper. The term 'Pañcāladhārā' mentioned by Kṣemendra[7] is unknown to the Nīlamata but it extols *three high peaks named after Brahmanā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara*,[8] to the west of Banahal. The westernmost and the highest of these peaks is called Naubandhana and is associated with the deluge-story referred to in the Nīlamata

1. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*. I. pp. 148 ff.

Stein, *Notes on Ou Kong's Account of Kaśmīra*. A Paper published in the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy Vienna, 1896.

2. *Nīlamata*, v. 80.

3. Agrawal, V. S., *The Himalayas in Sanskrit Literature*, *The Himalaya*, No. 1. p. 85.

4. *Mbh.*, Sabhāparva. 27. 3. Pāṇini refers to Antargiri and Upagiri with variant forms Antargiram and Upagiram. गिरेश्च सेनकस्य *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. 4. 112.

5. *Nīlamata*, v. 966.

6. Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 132.

7. Kṣemendra, *Samayamātṛkā*, Samaya. 11. v. 92.

8. *Nīlamata*, v. 178.

and other texts.[1] It was this peak to which Viṣṇu in his fish incarnation had bound the ship containing the seeds of beings.

Haramukuṭa or Haramuṇḍa[2] is identified with Haramukh peaks to the north of Kaśmīra. About 17000 feet in height these peaks are surrounded by massive glaciers. The lake Uttaramānasa which is believed to be the source of Kaśmīrī Gaṅgā lies at the foot of the north-eastern glacier of Haramukuṭa and the tīrthas of Nandikṣetra and Bhūteśvara are also near it.

Nandiparvata[3] may be identified with the glaciers feeding the lake Nundkol—Kālodaka of the Nīlamata.

Bharatagiri[4]—a high ridge to the south-west of Haramukuṭa—is still known by its ancient name and is visited by the pilgrims going upto Kālodaka and other tīrthas of Nandikṣetra. *Amareśvara*[5] is the tīrtha on the snowy peaks of Amaranātha and *Mahādevagiri*[6] is the westernmost peak of the highest ridge of the mass of mountains lying between the Sind valley and eastern range of mountains. *Dhanada and Vaiśravaṇa* are names of the modern Vastarvan.[7]

As regards the mountain ranges to the west of Kaśmīra, it has not been possible to identify any of them but as the temple of Durgā on the bank of Madhumatī seems to be the same as the shrine of Śāradā described by Stein,[8] it is reasonable to assume that *Indrakīla* and *Gaurī Śikhara* which are mentioned in the Nīlamata in connection with the temple of Durgā,[9] may be designations of some hills to the west of Kaśmīra.

(*iii*) *Rivers*

No less then sixty rivers of Kaśmīra and Madra have been

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 39-41.
2. Ibid., vv. 1047, 1118, 1242, 1335.
   Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. p. 407.
3. *Nīlamata*, v. 1032; Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. p. 407.
4. *Nīlamata*, v. 1056; Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. p. 408.
5. *Nīlamata*, v. 1321.
6. Ibid., v. 1320; Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. p. 410.
7. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. p. 415
8. Infra, Ch. VII. II. *Śaivism*; (II) *Durgā and Śārada*, f.n. The temple of Śāradā....
9. *Nīlamata*, v. 1230.

referred to in the Nīlamata.[1] The identification of some of these is certain, of others is doubtful, while many remain still unidentified. Here follows an alphabatical list of these with the identification of some names :—

Āpagā—It is mentioned in the list of the Tīrthas of Madra and Himavān, and may be identified with the Ayuk rising in Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot.[2]

Aśradudhāna[3]—Unidentified. Being mentioned after Sandhyā and before the Agnitīrtha it may be some stream flowing in Maḍavarājya.

Bhūrjalā[4]—Unidentified. The Nīlamata refers to its confluence with the Telalā and the confluence of these two with the Madhumatī.

Candrabhāgā—The Candrabhāgā mentioned in the verses 116, 117, 120, 121, 154 and 1055 of the Nīlamata seems to be the Cinab which flows to the south east of Kaśmīra and forms a boundary of Dārvābhisāra. Reaching Kishtwar from a northwest course it turns to the south, at Jangalwar it turns to the west and at Arnas it again flows due south past Riasi to Akhnur. It enters the Panjab at Khairi Rihal in Sialkot district of West Panjab (Pakistan).[5]

The Candrabhāgā of the verse 1255 mentioned along with the Godāvarī, the Vaitaraṇī and the Mandākinī, and the verse 1391 identified with the Gaṅgā (Sind) cannot be the Cinab mentioned above. Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī IV. 638 refers to one Candrabhāgā in the vicinity of Tūlamūlya. Stein identifies Tūlamūlya with Tulamul—situated 78° 48′ long. 34° 13′ lat. among the marshes through which the Sind river passes before joining the Vitastā.[6] So the branch of the Sind river flowing past Tulamul may have been called Candrabhāgā.

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 116, 1278-1333.
2. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 212; Dey, N.L., *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 9.
3. *Nīlamata*, v. 1253.
4. Ibid., v. 1238.
5. Bates (Charles Ellison, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and the adjacent Districts of Kishtwar, Badrawar, Jammu, Naushera, Punch and Valley of Kishen Ganga*, p. 165.
   Imperial Gazetteer of India, Kashmir and Jammu, s.v. *Chandrabhāgā*.
6. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, f.n. on IV. 638.

Candravatī—Unidentified. Diti—the mother of the Daityas—is stated to have assumed the form of this river.[1] In the verses 289, 485, 1297-98, 1299-1300 and 1389 this river is mentioned along with the Trikoṭi and the Harṣapathā. The Harṣapathā is identified by Stein with the Ārapath—the stream which joins the Vitastā near Anantanag.[2] Candravatī and Trikoṭi may have been the designations of some rivulets meeting the Vitastā not very far from its confluence with the Harṣapathā.

Caturvedī—Unidentified. It is a tributary joining the Vitastā after the latter's confluence with the Viśokā.[3] Jayaratha also knows it.[4]

Citrapathā—Unidentified. The confluence of the Citrapathā with the Maḍavā is referred to in the Nīlamata.[5] Sandhyā Māhātmya mentions the term Maḍavātīra and the confluence of the Maḍavā with the Sandhyā[6] but the river Maḍavā, too, has not yet been identified.

Devahradā—Unidentified. A river of Madradeśa, it joins the Vipāśā near Karavīrapura.[7]

Devakulyā—Unidentified. It has been mentioned along with the Vaitaraṇī and the Ṛṣikulyā in connection with the description of Gaṅgodbheda tīrtha[8], but none of these three has yet been traced out in the vicinity of Beḍābrār which Stein identifies with Gaṅgodbheda tīrtha.[9]

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1. दितिश्चन्द्रवती जाता ऋषेर्वचनानुकारिणी ।
   Nīlamata, v. 233 a.
2. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 412.
3. चतुर्वेदीं नरो दृष्ट्वा कन्यादानफलं लभेत् ।
   Nīlamata, v. 1296.
4. त्रिकीटा (त्रिकोटिः) सा दितिस्तत्र चतुर्वेदीति सापगा ।
   अन्वगात्पार्वतीं देवीं वितस्तारूपमाश्रिताम् ॥
   Jayaratha, *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, XII. 36.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1254, 1256.
6. देवी चाप्यंशभागेन जलरूपा महाद्भुता ।
   मढवेति समाख्याता.....॥
   गच्छ त्वं मडवातीरं यत्र ब्रह्मा स्वयं स्थितः ।
   सन्ध्या भगवती यत्र यत्र सप्ततपस्विनः ।
   Sandhyā Māhātmya, MS. No. 3681, Raghunātha Temple MSS. Library, folio. 125b. 128a.
7. *Nīlamata*, vv. 103-5.
8. Ibid., vv. 1309-16.
9. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 273 ff.

Devikā—The Nīlamata regards the Devikā as an incarnation of Umā and locates it in Madra i.e. between Ravi and Cinab.[1] The Mahābhārata, the Padma Pu., the Kālikā Pu., the Matsya Pu., the Vāmana Pu., the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., the Amarakośa, the Bṛhat Saṃhitā, the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Mahābhāṣya refer to this river.[2] The account given in the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., agrees closely with that of the Nīlamata.[3] Pargiter suggested long ago the identification of this river with the Degh stream flowing through the Panjab[4], but the suggestion was not accepted fully by the scholars.[5] The credit goes to Sh. J. N. Agrawala of the Panjab University for verifying and supporting Pargiter's identification, on the basis of the great part which the Degh plays in the production of the good quality of rice and thus proves true to Patañjali's statement regarding the cultivation of a special variety of rice on the banks of the Devikā.[6]

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1. यैव देवी उमा सैव देविका प्रथिता भुवि ।
मद्राणामनुकम्पार्थं भवद्भिरवतारिता ॥
सर्वत्र देविकातीर्थं क्षेत्रं क्रोशचतुष्टयम् ।
यत्र कूपतटाकाख्यं पुण्यं सर्वमशेषतः ॥

Nīlamata, vv. 110-115.

2. *Mbh.*, Bhīṣmaparva. IX. 16; *Anuśāsanaparva*. XXV. 21.
Padma Pu., III. XXV. 14. *Mārkaṇḍeya Pu.*, 54. 18.
Matsya Pu., 114. 21. *Vāmana Pu.*, 81. 5; 89. 7.
Kālikā Pu., XXIII. 137. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, XI. 35.
Amarakośa, I. 10. 36. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, VII. 3.1.
दाविकाकूलाः शालयः । *Mahābhāṣya*. III. p. 316 (edited by Keilhorn).

3. हरस्य दयिता भार्या शैलराजसुता वरा ।
उमा देवीति मद्रेषु देविका या सरिद्वरा ॥
नराणामनुकम्पार्थं ब्राह्मणैरवतारिता ।
तीरयोरुभयोस्तस्याः क्षेत्रं क्रोशचतुष्टयम् ॥

Cf. Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., I. 167. 15-16.

4. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Pu. Translation*, p. 292.

5. Dr. V. S. Agrawal identified it with the Volur lake in Kaśmīra (J.U.P. Hist. Society, XVI. pp. 21-22), but later on gave up this view and agreed to that of Sh. J. N. Agrawala.

6. Agrawala, J.N., *J.U.P. Hist. Society*, XVII. pp. 76 ff.

Dhyānadhāriṇī—Unidentified. The Nīlamata refers to the confluence of the Dhyānadhāriṇī with the Vitastā and states that the river Viśokā had concealed itself in the Dhyānadhāriṇī.[1] Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṇgiṇī does not refer to this river but knows a place Dhyānoḍḍāra.[2] The word Uḍḍār denotes Uḍar or alluvial plateaus. This Dhyānoḍḍāra was a village not very far from the bank of the Gambhīrā (the deep), a designation of the lowest portion of the course of the Viśokā between the point where it receives the waters of the Rembyār and its own confluence with the Vitastā. I suggest that this portion of the course of the river Viśokā flowing near the village Dhyānoḍḍāra was formerly called Dhyānadhāriṇī —the sustainer of the village Dhyāna—and was later on given the appellation Gambhīrā for being there too deep to be fordable. Why is the name Gambhīrā—highly extolled in the Māhātmyas—absent in the Nīlamata, is also explained by this identification.

Gaṅgā—Many rivers and rivulets in Kaśmīra are named Gaṅgā but the Nīlamata uses this designation specifically for the Sindhu[3] not to be confused with the Indus. Formed by two streams which unite at Baltal, this river Sind flows over a rocky bed in a westerly direction and receives many tributaries in the way, the principal being Kanakavāhinī joining it near the village of Kijpara in the Jar Pargana. Having

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1. वितस्ताध्यानधारिण्योः संगमे पापनाशने ।
पुण्यं फलमवाप्नोति वाजपेयस्य मानवः ॥
वितस्तान्तर्हिता यत्र प्रविश्य ध्यानधारिणीम् ।
अन्तर्हिता गता शीघ्रं विशोका यत्र निम्नगा ॥
वितस्ता ध्यानधारिण्योः संगमेऽन्नप्रदो नरः ।
अक्षयं फलमाप्नोति यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दश ॥
वितस्ता ध्यानधारिण्योः संगमाद् गृह्य पार्थिव ।
कल्पषोडशनागस्य यावद्भवनमुत्तमम् ।
तावत्क्षेत्रं समं पुण्यं प्रयागेण नराधिप ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 1294-95; 1305b-8.

2. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, VIII. 1508, 1510.

3. गंगा सिन्धुस्तु विज्ञेया वितस्ता यमुना तथा ।
Nīlamata, v. 295.

reached Kaśmīra, it turns towards the northwest and joins the Vitastā at Shadipur.[1] The Nīlamata praises highly the confluence of the Sindhu with the Kanakavāhinī and the Vitastā.[2]

Godāvarī—The Godāvarī of vv. 92 and 155 is a river of South India but v. 1254 refers to a river of Kaśmīra, Godāvarī.[3] Stein has identified it with a small stream associated with the Godara mountain and the village named Godara. Close to the west of the village Godara "situated on the right bank of the Viśokā 75° 1′. long. 30° 36′ lat." the Viśokā is joined by the sacred rivulet Godāvarī and the confluence forms a well-known tīrtha.[4]

Gotamī—The Gotamī according to the Godāvarī Māhātmya flows from the Vārāhaparvata.[5] Gomatī mentioned in v. 1255 of the Nīlamata is probably a misreading for Gotamī of v. 1152.

Gotranadī—Unidentified. The Nīlamata refers to the confluence of this river with the Vitastā after Nārāyaṇasthāna, so the river may be traced out in the vicinity of Nārāyaṇasthāna.[6]

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1. Bates, Op. Cit., s.v., Sindhu.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 295-96; 1325.
3. यस्मिन्गिरौ महादेवि गौतमेन महात्मना ।
   कृत्या गौर्दारिता प्रोक्तो गोदरः सः गिरिर्महान् ॥
   यस्मिन्ग्रामे गोदराख्यः पर्वतः सम्प्रतिष्ठितः ।
   स ग्रामः प्रथितोद्यापि गोदराख्यो महेश्वरि ॥
   गौर्वै विदारिता यत्रोत्थिता गङ्गाजलोक्षिता ।
   सैव गोदावरी नाम गङ्गा परमपावनी ॥

   Cf. *Godāvarī Māhātmya*, Raghunātha Temple MSS. Library Jammu, No. 3664. folio. 36b.
4. Stein, Op. Cit., f.n. on VIII. 1431.
5. ततस्तीर्थजं वारि वाराहं शिखरे परम् ।
   गोतमीति च विख्यातं महापातकहं कलौ ॥ folio 36a
   गोदावरी तथा गङ्गा गोमती त्रिविधायतः ।
   गोदरे बहुरूपे च वाराहे तत्प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ folio 36b.

   Godāvarī Māhātmya, Raghunātha Temple Mss. Library Jammu, No. 3664.
6. *Nīlamata*, v. 1346.

Harṣapathā—Śacī—the wife of Śakra—is stated to have appeared in the form of this river.[1] The names Śacī and Śakrapathā are also most probably used for this river.[2] For identification see Supra, s. v. Candravatī.

Hiraṇyā—Another name of Kanakavāhinī.[3]

Irāvatī—Ravi—a famous river of Madradeśa.[4]

Kālodakā—The stream which issues from Kālodaka i.e. Nund Kol and Gangā lakes on the Haramukuṭa, bears the name Kālodakā before it joins the Kanakavāhinī.[5]

Kanakavāhinī—The Nīlamata describes the meeting of the Kanakavāhinī with the Sindhu and mentions the former as flowing to the south of Sodara tīrtha and in the vicinity of Cīramocana tīrtha.[6] Haramukuṭagaṅgā Māhātmya gives it the name Karaṅkanadī.[7] It is certainly the Kanaknai stream which takes its rise on the eastern slopes of the Haramukuṭa mountain, flows through the Lar pargana and empties itself into the Sind river lat. 34° 16′ long. 74° 56′ near the village Kijpara.[8]

Kathā—Stein has rightly changed Kathā of the Nīlamata into Abhayā, on the basis of Gaṅgodbheda Māhātmya.[9] Identifying Gaṅgodbheda, he says, "In the ancient tank filled by the spring of Buḍabrār, we recognise, thus clearly the sacred basin of the Gaṅgodbheda and in the little spring which drains it on the east, the sin-removing stream of Abhayā."[10]

Kauṇḍinyā—At the foot of the Naubandhana peak mentioned above, there lies to its north-west a vast lake designated Kramasāra for marking a footstep (krama) of Viṣṇu and Kauṇḍinyasara for being the abode of the Nāga Kauṇḍinya. A stream arising from the Kauṇḍinyasara is Kauṇḍinyā which

1. *Nīlamata*, v. 232.
2. Ibid., vv. 289, 995.
3. हिरण्यिनी पुण्यजला नाम्ना कनकवाहिनी ।
   Ibid., vv. 1115, 1335.
4. Ibid., vv. 106-7, 109, 154, 1055.
5. *Nandikṣetra Māhātmya*, teste. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, 1. 149-50 f.n.
6. *Nīlamata*, vv. 486, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1325, 1330.
7. Stein Op. Cit., I. 149-50 f.n.
8. Bates, Op. Cit., p. 226.
9. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 274.
10. Ibid., p. 278.

meets the Kṣīranadī and then the united waters join the Viśokā.[1] Naubandhana Māhātmya mentions it under the name Kaulinyā.[2]

Kṛṣṇā—The Nīlamata refers to its confluence with the Sarasvatī and the Madhumatī.[3] It is certainly the Kiśanagaṅgā river referred to under this very abbreviated form in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, VII. 586; VIII. 3401 and Haracaritacintāmaṇi, XII. 44.

Kṣīranadī—The Nīlamata refers to its meeting with the Kauṇḍinyā and then to the confluence of the Kauṇḍinyā with the Viśokā.[4] Stein suggests its identification with the modern Chatskul—the ancient Dugdhagaṅgā—joining the Vitastā opposite the old quarter of Diddāmaṭha.[5] The Naubandhana Māhātmya mentions its name Śvetagaṅgā also.[6] Taking into consideration its meeting with the Kauṇḍinyā—a feeder of the Viśokā—I think, it should be identified with the Chiṭṭinadī which rises from the Gogal Marg on the northern slopes of the Pañcāl range and falls into the Veśau in lat. 33° 37′ long. 74° 49′ just north of the village of Kangwaṭṭan.[7]

Kūlāraṇī.—Unidentified. If it be identical with the Kuloddharaṇikā referred to in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi,[8] it must be some 14 miles to the north-west of Vijayeśvara.

Kumunārī—Unidentified. It is a river near the Gṛdhrakūṭa.[9]

Maḍavā—Unidentified. According to Stein the expression Maḍavātīra in the Trisandhyā Māhātmya stands for the Maru Wardwan valley.[10] I have found in the same work, a

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1269-71; 1278-81.
2. *Naubandhana Māhātmya*, Raghunātha Temple MSS. Library Jammu, No. 3665 jña, folio 42 a, b.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1229, 1390.
4. Supra, f.n. I of this p.
5. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 418.
6. तस्मात्क्षीरनदीपुण्यश्वेतगङ्गा विनिर्मिता।
   Naubandhana Māhātmya, Raghunātha Temple MSS. Library Jammu, MS. No. 3665 jña, folio 42a.
7. Bates, Op. Cit., p. 167.
8. Jayaratha, *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, X. 247.
9. *Nīlamata*, v. 1228.
10. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 435 f.n.

reference to the confluence of the Sandhyā and the Maḍavā.[1]

Madhumatī—Two rivers of this name have been referred to in the Nīlamata. On the banks of the one which joins the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā, stands the temple of Śārada—the most important tīrtha of ancient Kaśmīra.[2] Alberuni's Padmutty is identical with it.[3]

The 2nd Madhumatī meeting the Vitastā has been identified with the stream of the Bandapor Nāla which empties itself into the Volur lake from the north near the village of Kules and is still known by the name Madhumatī to the Brāhmaṇa population of the valley.[4]

Māhurī—Stein identifies it with the Mavur flowing through the Machipur pargana.[5] The evidence supplied by the Nīlamata, however, does not favour this identification. The Nīlamata locates Tripureśa on the bank of and the Mahādevagiri in the vicinity of the Māhurī[6]. Tripureśa has been rightly identified by Stein with Triphar on the bank of the river Arrah—the Mahāsarit of the Śarvāvatāra[7]. The Arrah feeds the Dal and the stream which forms the outflow of the Dal is called Mar, very near to Māri of the gloss K of the Nīlamata on the Māhurī. I suggest, therefore, that the Mahāsarit and the Māhurī are names of one and the same stream which is to be identified with the Arrah. Mention of the river Tilaprasthā deserves notice in this connection. This river has been rightly identified with that branch of the Arrah which separates a short distance below from the

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1. युष्माकं मडवायाः सङ्गमो भूयात्सपुण्योत्र तया (सन्ध्यया) समम्·····।
Naubandhana Māhātmya, Raghunātha Temple MSS. Library Jammu, No. 3665 jña, folio 125b.
Sandhyā Māhātmya, MS. No. 3681. Raghunātha Temple MSS. Library, folio 125b, 128a.
2. Stein, Op. Cit., I. 37 f.n.
3. *Ayeen Akbery*, Gladwin's Translation, p. 421.
4. Stein, Op. Cit., VII. 1171 f.n.
5. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 425.
6. त्रिपुरेशाग्रतः पुण्यामवगाह्य तु माहुरीम् ।
महादेवगिरिं दृष्ट्वा रुद्रलोके महीयते ॥
Nīlamata, v. 1320
7. Stein, Op. Cit., v. 46 f.n.

Shālimar branch and then flows into the Ḍal under the name of Telbal Nāla. Giving a pun on the word Tilaprasthā, v. 1319 of the Nīlamata informs that by taking bath in the Māhurī one obtains also the merit of bathing in the Tilaprasthā and this becomes a fact if we identify the Māhurī with the Arrah because the Tilaprasthā being a branch of the Arrah, one is certainly to obtain the merit of bathing in both by taking bath in the Arrah at that point where the Tilaprasthā has not separated itself from the Arrah.

Mālinī—Unidentified. Cannot it be the stream Malin Nar on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā towards the end of the Tilail valley[1] ?

Mandākinī—Unidentified. The Naubandhana Māhātmya refers to four streams joining the Viśokā and the Mandākinī is one of them.[2]

Mṛgā and Mṛganandā—Unidentified.[3]

Pālāśā and Paroṣṇī—Unidentified tributaries of the Vitastā.[4]

Rāhulā—Unidentified.[5]

Rāmahradā—Unidentified.[6]

Ṛṣikulyā—Supra. Devakulyā.

Śamālā—It is identified with the river Hanal whose course lies through the pargana named after it.[7]

Sandhyā—The spring of Sandhyā now known as Sundabrar is situated in a side valley opening to the south of the village of Devalgom circa 75° 22′ long. 33° 32′ lat.[8]

Samūlā and sarasā—Unidentified.[9]

Sarasvatī—The river Kankatori which takes rise on the range of the hills forming the watershed between the valley of the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā and Chilas, and flowing southwards, enters into the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā near the village of Shardi is still known

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 1321, 1323; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 264.
2. Ibid., v. 1254 *Naubandhana Māhātmya*, folio 52.
3. Ibid., v. 1254.
4. Ibid., vv. 1267, 1341, 1390.
5. Ibid., v. 1348
6. Ibid., vv. 1187, 1323, 1324.
7. Ibid., v. 1347; Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, Vol. II. p. 484.
8. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 469.
9. *Nīlamata*, v. 1348.

to the people by the name Sarasvatī.[1] The Nīlamata refers to its confluence with the Śuddhā and locates it to the east-south of Devasara.[2]

Śāṇḍilī—Unidentified. The Nīlamata describes this river as flowing near the temple of Durgā on the bank of the Madhumatī. As the temple of Durgā on the bank of the Madhumatī is identical with the Shardi temple, the stream Śāṇḍilī must be nearby.[3]

Śataśilā and Śilāmā—Unidentified.[4]

Sindhu—Supra, s.v. Gaṅgā.

Śuddhā—Unidentified. Supra, s.v. Sarasvatī.

Sugandhā—Unidentified.[5]

Sukhā—Unidentified. Can it be identified with the stream Suknag[6] ?

Tauṣī—Prof. Bühler regards Tauṣī as the ancient form of the term Tohī used for several mountain streams joining the Vitastā and the Candrabhāgā from the south slopes of the Pīr Pañcāl range.[7] Tauṣī of the Rājata. VII. 53 is identified with the Tohī of Puñcha.[8] Two Tohīs one in the province of Jammu and other in Naushera, are tributaries of the Cinab.[9] The Tohī mentioned in the Nīlamata seems to be the Tohī of Jammu province which takes rise immediately above Sudha Mahādeva and enters into the Cinab near Sialkot.[10]

Telalā—Unidentified.[11]

Tilaprasthā—Supra, s.v. Māhurī.

Trikoṭi—Unidentified. Tributary of the Vitastā.[12]

Udda—Referred to as a nada in the Nīlamata, it is

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1. Bates, Op. Cit., s.v. Sarasvatī.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1183, 1284.
3. Ibid., vv. 1232-33.
4. Ibid., vv. 1341, 1348.
5. Ibid., vv. 87, 1389.
6. Bates, Op. Cit., p. 377.
7. Bühler, *Report*, p. 3.
8. Stein, Op. Cit., VII, 47-69 f.n.
9. Bates, Op. Cit., p. 388.
10. Loc. Cit., Cf. *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, I. 162. 33-35.
11. *Nīlamata*, v. 1238.
12. Ibid., vv. 231, 288, 485, 1297, 1299, 1301, 1389.

identical with the Uddhya mentioned by Pāṇini and the Ūrddha mentioned in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa.[1] It is identified with Ujh river flowing through Jasrota district and falling into the Ravi.[2]

Vaitaraṇī—The Gaṅgodbheda Māhātmya, the Vitastā Māhātmya and the Kedāra Māhātmya mention one Vaitaraṇī but do not help in its identification. The name seems to have been used for one of the streams which join the Vitastā above Vijayeśvara. The only river near Śūrapura is the Rembyāra and the Purohitas of Vijayeśvara actually give the name Vaitaraṇī to the Rembyāra in its course near and below Śupiyan.[3]

Viśokā—The Nīlamata describes it as an incarnation of Lakṣmī and refers to its confluences with the Kauṇḍinyā, the Kṣīranadī and the Vitastā.[4] It is the modern Veśau whose waters are seen suddenly gushing out from the foot of the last and lofty eminence forming the dam on the western end of the lake Kramasāra. The waters find an exit not over but through the rocky barrier with which the lake is surrounded —a fact suggesting the simile of the mouse hole.[5]

The stream flows at first in the northerly direction and receives the Chiṭṭinadī (Kṣīranadī) about a mile north of Kangwattan. Then it turns towards Budil pass and reaches Arabal whence it takes south-easterly direction. Turning to the north it joins the Rembyāra at the village of Nowana and the united stream flows into the Vitastā through the Sadarinji Nāla, lat. 30° 50′ long 75° 7′.[6]

Viśvāmitra—Unidentified. It may be near Udda.[7]

Vitastā—Now known as Vyatha to the Kaśmīrīs, the Vitastā is the most important river of Kaśmīra to give the

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 109; भिद्योद्ध्यौ नदे । *Aṣṭādhyāyī* III. I. 115. *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, I. 148.
2. Agrawala, V.S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 44. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV. pp. 73, 107.
3. Stein, Op. Cit., VII. 1355.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 230, 283, 1278-81.
5. Ibid., v. 282 describes the Viśokā as coming out of Ākhorbila—the mouse hole. The name Āhorbil of the waterfall which is formed by the Viśokā not far from the village of Sidau is probably derived from Ākhorbila.
6. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 415.
7. *Nīlamata*, v. 108.

country the appellation 'Vaitastika'.[1] The Nīlamata regards it as an incarnation of Umā who, at the request of Kaśyapa, came bubbling forth as a river from a hole as big as a Vitasti made by Śiva with his spear.[2] Its traditional source is the Nīlakuṇḍa called also Śūlaghāṭa and Vitastātra, but it is actually formed by the streams Sandran, Bring, Ārapath and Lidar meeting in the plain close to Anantanāga near the village Khanabal. Below Khanabal[3] it receives several branches of the Ledari and passes the ancient tīrthas of Vijayeśvara and Cakradhara. About three miles further down it receives the united waters of the Veśau and the Rembyāra and is thereafter united with the stream draining the ancient district of Holaḍā.

Just before reaching Śrīnagar, the Vitastā is joined by the Mahāsarit identified by me with the Māhurī of the Nīlamata. After flowing over three miles within the city, the river flows at first to the north and then turning to the south-west, it receives the river Dugdhagaṅgā.

The present confluence of the Vitastā with the Sindhu takes place at Shādīpur but as Stein has proved, it occurred, originally near the village Trigām. From the present confluence the river passes the village of Sambal. Thereafter, a small channel connects the Mānasa lake with it. Passing the villages of Uchakuṇḍal and Marakuṇḍal, the river enters the Volur lake and then comes out as an outflow of water of the lake at the south-west corner about two miles above the town of Sopur. About four miles below Sopur, the Vitastā receives the stream Pohur and after flowing about 14 miles further, it reaches the gorge of Bārāmūlā.[4]

(iv) *Other Sacred Sites*

The names of places being too numerous to be mentioned in this section and most of them being unidentified in the present state of the materials at my disposal, only those place-

1. *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, I. 164. The story of Caṇḍavega and Nayana Sundarī.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 247-52.
3. Its identification with the Khaṇḍapuccha Nāga is not certain.
4. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. pp. 410 ff.

names have been mentioned here which have not been referred to in the preceding sections and whose identification is almost certain.

Ailāpatra Nāga is identified with a fine Nāga near the village of Vicār Nāga on the road from the Sind valley to Śrīnagar.[1]

Akṣipāla Nāga is the modern village Achabal, situated at the extremity of the hill range which lines the Kuṭahār pargana from the south.[2]

Ananta Nāga is the modern Islāmābād, also known as Anantanāga situated at the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtaṇḍa Plateau.[3]

Bahurūpa is recognised in the village Bīru situated 74° 39′ long. 34° 1′ lat. in the pargana of Bīru towards the mountains of Pīr Pañcāl.[4]

The place dedicated to *Bhadrakālī* is the village Badarkal about four miles south-east of Krambhar.[5]

Bheḍādevī has been identified with Buḍabrar to the west of Śrīnagar[6] and in the ancient tank filled by the spring of Budabrar is recognised the sacred basin of *Gaṅgodbheda tīrtha.*[7]

The abode of *Bhīmādevī* is the modern village Brān in Phāk Pargana on the east shore of Dal lake.[8]

Bhūteśvara is located on the mountain spur stretching south east from the Haramukuṭa and still known as Buthser.[9]

Cakradharatīrtha is in the plateau now called Tsakadar Uḍar (sic).[10]

Candrasara is probably the lake Candar Sar lying on the

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 882; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 457.
2. *Nīlamata*, v. 897; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 468.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 882, 1160, 1189; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 466.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 928, 1159, 1337; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 476.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 585, 650-51; 786; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 485.
6. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1010, 1309; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 273 ff.
7. *Nīlamata*, v. 1309; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. pp. 273 ff.
8. *Nīlamata*, v. 1013; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 454.
9. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1023, 1026, 1027, 1030, 1040, 1108, 1120, 1123, 1124; Stein, Op. Cit., I. 107 f.n.
10. *Nīlamata*, vv. 900, 1149, 1249, 1317 etc.; Stein, Op. Cit., I. 38 f.n.

lofty mountains between the valley of Kaśmīra and the Sind river, lat. 34° 9′ long. 75° 10′.[1]

Cīramocana or Cīrapramocana has been identified with the confluence of the Sind with a branch of the Kankanai near the village of Prang circa. 74° 55′ 30″ long. 34° 16′ 45″ lat.[2]

Devasara is a small lake at the foot of the hills at the south-eastern end of the Uttar pargana.[3]

The tīrtha of *Gaṇeśa* may be identified with Ganeshbal lat. 30° 59′ long. 75° 21′ on the right bank of the river Lidar.[4]

Gautama Nāga is to the north of the town of Anantanāga, on the way to the spring of Ananta[5].

Haṃsadvāra is, according to the Nīlamata, near the Muṇḍapṛṣṭhagiri, but as Dr. V.S. Agrawala has pointed out, the term was used in ancient Indian literature for the mountain passes over which the swans from India flew to Tibet (Lipulekh) and to Central Asia (Hunza).[6]

Hastikarṇa Nāga is the sacred spring in the village of Vāgahom about two miles south-east of Marhom.[7]

Iṣṭikāpatha has been identified with the modern hamlet of Rāmarādan in the Lār pargana long. 74° 56′ lat. 34° 19′.[8]

Jyeṣṭheśa of the Nīlamata is located below Mount Haramukuṭa in the territory known as Nandikṣetra. Rājataraṅgiṇī refers to Jyeṣṭheśvara worshipped by Vasiṣṭha and the Nīlamata also states, "The glorious Vasiṣṭha is near Jyeṣṭheśvara".[9]

Kapaṭeśvara is identified with the village Koṭher in the pargana of Kuṭahār.[10]

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 1248; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 161.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1327-28; Stein, Op. Cit., I. Vol. 49 f.n.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1156, 1283-84; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 177.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 994, 1033; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 189.
5. *Nīlamata*, v. 904; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 467.
6. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1069, 1250.
   Agrawala, V.S., *Meghadūta, Eka Adhyayana*, f.n. on I. 57, pp. 231-32.
7. *Nīlamata*, v. 885; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 461.
8. *Nīlamata*, vv. 118, 1060-61; Stein, Op. Cit., III. v. 467.
9. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1022, 1110, 1112, 1115, 1119, 1124; Stein, Op. Cit., I. 113 f.n.
10. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1007, 1029, 1125, 1126, 1146, 1147, 1302; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 467.

Kapilātīrtha seems to have been near Kapaṭeśvara.[1]

Kālodaka is the lake Nundkol situated on the eastern half of mountain Haramukuṭa.[2]

Koṭitīrtha is the modern Koṭisar near Bārāmūlā.[3]

In Khanabal near Anantanāga is recognised the abode of *Khaṇḍapuccha Nāga.*[4]

Lokapuṇya is identified with a spring situated near the village of Larikpur 75° 12′ long. 33° 38′ lat. in the Bring pargana.[5]

Lovāra may be Livar, some ten miles to the north-east of Vijayeśvara.[6]

Mahāpadma is the famous Volur lake in the western portion of Kaśmīra valley.[7]

Mānasa is the modern Mānasbal under the shelter of the hill Ahatyung.[8]

Nandana Nāga is identified with Nandan Sar near the Darhal Pass beyond the lower Ratan Pīr Range, lat. 33° 34′ long. 74° 34′.[9]

Nandikuṇḍa, Nandiparvata and *Nandīśvara* are situated in Nandikṣetra at the foot of Haramukuṭa mountain.[10]

Nārāyaṇasthāna of Nīlamata may be identified with Nārastān in the Tral valley.[11]

Pañcahasta is the present village of Pānzath situated in Divasar pargana.[12]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1070, 1246; Haracaritacintāmaṇi, XIV. 113.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1048, 1099, 1245, 1247; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 407.
3. *Nīlamata*, v. 113; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 483.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 898, 1304; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 414; *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, X. 151.
5. *Nīlamata*, v. 1292; Stein, Op. Cit., IV. 193 f.n.
6. *Nīlamata*, v. 992; Stein, Op. Cit., I. 87 f.n.
7. *Nīlamata*, vv. 954-55; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 423 f.n.
8. *Nīlamata*, vv. 890, 1244, 1247, 1334; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 422.
9. *Nīlamata*, v. 883; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 393; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 287.
10. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1027, 1032, 1123, 1245; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 407.
11. *Nīlamata*, vv. 87, 1158, 1312, 1345; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 461; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 290.
12. *Nīlamata*, vv. 255-56, 888, 905, 1291; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol, II. p. 412.

Pāṇḍavatīrtha may be recognised in the modern Pāṇḍ Chak about five miles to the south-east of Śrīnagar.[1]

Puṣkara is identified with the isolated spur called Poṣkar on the western edge of the valley of Kaśmīra, between Firozpur and Kag. A village Poṣkar is situated at the foot of the hill on its eastern side.[2]

Rāmatīrtha has been identified with the modern Rāmuh on the high road from Śupiyan to Śrīnagar.[3]

Svayambhū is the modern Suyam in Machipur Pargana.[4]

Sodara Nāga has been identified with the modern village Sudarbal situated on a deep inlet of the Ḍal lake but this is an incarnation of the original Sodara worshipped near Bhūteśvara.[5]

Takṣaka Nāga is the sacred spring near Jayavana—modern Zevan.[6]

Tārāsara may be Tar Sar, lat. 34° 8′ long. 75° 12′ on the lofty mountains lying between the Sind valley.[7]

Tripureśa is the modern village Triphar about three miles from the Dal.[8]

Varāhamūla is the modern town of Bārāmūlā.[9]

Vasiṣṭhāśrama is identified with the modern hamlet of Vangath long. 75° 2′ lat. 34° 21′.[10]

Vāsuki Nāga is identified with a spring in the valley to the south of Pañcahastā.[11]

Vijayeśvara is the modern Vijabrar in the Volur pargana.[12]

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 1322; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 302.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 83, 597, 600, 1001, 1343. Two other Puṣkaras are not known. Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 476; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 311.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1312, 1352; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. pp. 274-75.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 252, 1021, 1160; Stein, Op. Cit., I. 34 f.n.
5. *Nīlamata*, v. 1330; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 457.
6. *Nīlamata*, v. 684; Stein, Op. Cit., I. 220 f.n.
7. *Nīlamata*, v. 1248; Bates, Op. Cit., p. 383.
8. *Nīlamata*, v. 1320; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 455.
9. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1158-59; 1207, 1358; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. pp. 482-83.
10. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1002, 1119; Stein, Op. Cit., I. 107 f.n.
11. *Nīlamata*, vv. 221, 244, 949, 981, 1282; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. p. 470.
12. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1056, 1303; Stein, Op. Cit., Vol. II. pp. 463-64.

(III) Geography of other parts of India

Nīlamata's account of the sacred topography of other parts of India is not so comprehensive as that of Madra and Kaśmīra. Reference to Kaśyapa's tīrthayātrā embracing the whole territory of the holy Bhāratavarṣa[1] could have been well utilized by the writer of the Nīlamata for displaying his knowledge of the geography of India, but he rests contented with a list of sixty-eight holy places with no topographical order at all.[2] Kaśyapa, we are informed, reaches Kanakhala during the course of his pilgrimage and is advised by Nīla to proceed northwards to see the holy places of Madra and Himavān, as he has already visited those of the east, the west and the south.[3] The list referred to above precedes the statement of Nīla but as the places mentioned therein are mostly of Northern and Central India, Nīla's assertion may be taken with reference to their situation to the east, west and south of Kanakhala.

Classifying the tīrthas of the list on this line, we have Gaṅgādvāra,[4] Kuśāvarta,[5] Bilvaka,[6] Kubjāmra,[7] and Nīlaparvata[8] in the vicinity of Kanakhala, Naimiṣa,[9] Hayaśrīṣa,[10]

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1. एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु कश्यपो भगवान् ऋषिः ।
तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन चचार सकलां महीम् ॥
वर्षेऽस्मिन्भारते पुण्ये शुभाशुभफलप्रदे ।
Nīlamata, vv. 82-83a.

2. Ibid., vv. 83-95.

3. नीलो जगाम तं द्रष्टुं तीर्थं कनखले तदा ॥
पूर्वदेशे त्वया ब्रह्मन् दक्षिणे पश्चिमे तथा ।
दृष्टानि सर्वतीर्थानि यास्यामस्तूत्तरां दिशम् ॥
Ibid., vv., 96b, 101.

4. Same as Haridvāra and Māyāpuri in the modern Saharanpur District of U.P. vide Dey, N.L., *Geographical Dict.*, p. 74; Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 81.

5. A sacred ghat in Haridvāra, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 111.

6. *Matsya Pu.*, 22. 70.

7. Same as Kubjāmraka. According to the *Kūrma Pu.* Kubjāmra is identical with Kanakhala (Teste. Dey., *Geographical Dict.*, p. 105).

8. Hills on the northern side of the Gaṅgā and called Nīladhārā between Haridvāra and Kanakhala, Dey, N. L., Op. Cit., p. 141.

9. Modern Nimsar on the bank of Gumti in the Sītāpur district, 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 135; Law, B. C., Op. Cit., pp. 41, 113.

10. Probably same as Hayamukha, identified with Daundikhera about

Prayāga,[1] Vārāṇasī,[2] Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama,[3] the rivers Varaṇā, Asī, Brāhmaṇī,[4] Vaitaraṇī,[5] Mahānadī,[6] Tamasā,[7] Śoṇa,[8] Sarayū,[9] Ikṣumatī.[10] Śatakumbhā[11] and Vedasmṛti,[12] Kedāra,[13] Badar,[14] and Bhṛgutuṅga[15] to the east, south-east and north-east of Kanakhala; Pañcanada,[16] Kurukṣetra,[17] Pṛthūdaka,[18] Prabhāsa,[19] Puṣkara,[20] Raivata,[21] and Sindhusāgarasaṅgama[22]

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104 miles north-west of Allahabad. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 443; Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 75.

1. Modern Allahabad.

2. Modern Benaras still called Vārāṇasī. Several Purāṇas derive the name Vārāṇasī from the names of two streams Varaṇā and Asī, the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city. Teste. Kāṇe, P.V., Hist. of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V. Part I. p. 625.

3. Same as Sāgarasaṅgama near the mouth of the Gaṅgā, Dey, N. L., Op. Cit., p. 170.

4-6. These three are the rivers flowing through Orissa. Law, B.C., Op. Cit., pp. 214, 235, 267.

7. The river Tonse, a branch of the Sarayū in Oudh, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 202.

8. The modern Son falling into the Gaṅgā above Patna, Dey, N. L., Op. Cit., p. 188; Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 128.

9. The modern Ghagra in Oudh, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 181.

10. The river Kālindi flowing through Kumaun, Rohilkhand and the districts of Kanauj, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 77.

11. A small river between the Gaṅgā and the Sarayū. *Mbh.*, Agrawala, V.S., *Bhārata Kī Maulika Ekatā*, p. 41.

12. A small stream Bisui in Kosala between the Tamasā and the Gomatī, Agrawala, V.S., Op. Cit., p. 41.

13. Kedāranātha in the district of Garhwal, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 97.

14. Badrīnātha in Garwal, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 15.

15. A mountain in Nepal on the eastern bank of the Gaṇḍakī, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 34.

16. The land of five rivers, i.e. Panjab.

17. Thāneśvara including Sonepat, Amin, Karnal and Panipat, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., 110; Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 101.

18. Pehoa near Kurukṣetra in Karnal district, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 160.

19. The well-known Prabhās Patan or Somnath Patan on the south coast of Kathiawar, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 157; Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 293.

20. The Puṣkara lake six miles from Ajmer, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 163.

21. A hill at Girnar, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 165; Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 294.

22. Mouth of Indus where it falls into the sea.

to the west of Kanakhala; Śiprā,[1] Śākambharī,[2] Viśālā,[3] Gokarṇa,[4] Agastyāśrama,[5] Suvarṇa[6], Narmadā,[7] Rudrakoṭi,[8] Sugandhā,[9] Godāvarī[10], Tāmraparṇī,[11] Utpalāvatī[12] and Kāverī[13] to the south of Kanakhala. A few places and rivers of U.P., Haryana and Panjab, namely, Prayāga, Ayodhyā, Naimiṣa, Gaṅgādvāra, Sthāneśvara, Kurukṣetra, Śatadru, Vipāśā and Irāvatī have been mentioned in topographical order in the account of Śiva's journey from Vārāṇasī to Haramukuṭa.[14]

(*iv*) *The influence of geography on the history and culture of Kaśmīra*

The geography had its influence on the history and culture of Kaśmīra. The festivals in honour of flowers, fruits, snowfall etc. have a stamp of the climate of the happy valley. The custom of drinking wine on the New Snowfall Day unknown in the plains, must be explained due to the cold climate.

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1. A river in Malwa on which Ujjain is situated. Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 187.

2. Sāmbhar in Jaipur, Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 174; Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 329.

3. Same as Ujjain, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra says,

उज्जयिनी स्याद् विशालावन्ती पुष्पकरण्डिनी ।

4. In North Kanara, Dey, N. L., Op. Cit., p. 70; Law, B. C., Op. Cit., p. 153.

5. At Akolha to the east of Nasik, Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 274.

6. Probably Suvarṇapura—the modern town of Sonepur near the confluence of the Tel and the Mahānadī, Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 191.

7. The river Narmadā rising in the Amarakaṇṭaka hill and falling into the Gulf of Cambay, Dey, N. L., Op. Cit., p. 133.

8. Rudrakoṭi is near the source of the Narmadā. Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., p. 171.

9. Nasik on the Godāvarī.

10. The largest and longest river of south India, rising from the Western Ghats it falls into the Bay of Bengal in the district of Godāvarī. Law, B. C., Op. Cit., p. 37.

11-12. Tāmraparṇī may be the modern Tāmravari, Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 192. Utpalāvatī is a river rising from Malaya mountain. Matsya Pu., 114. 302.

13. The famous river of south India. Starting from Coorg it falls into the Bay of Bengal. Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 162.

14. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1052-55.

Situated on and near the trade routes which connected India with her neighbours in the north and the north-west, Kaśmīra seems to have served as a sales-emporium for the high spirited traders of India, China and Afganistan, reaching Kaśmīra after crossing the high mountain passes.

The mountain barriers provided to Kaśmīra political security to some extent at least. The invasions of the Śakas, the Kuṣāṇas, the Hūṇas affected Kaśmīra no doubt, but unlike the plains of India, it was not a scene of constant invasions, as only highly adventurous invaders could dare attack it if its mountain passes were well-guarded.

Due to these very mountain barriers, the Kaśmīrīs could not visit frequently the tīrthas of other parts of India, but notable is the similarity of the nomenclature of Kaśmīra, as found in the Nīlamata, with that of other parts of India. It seems that the people who had come from various parts (of India ?) to inhabit the valley of Kaśmīra,[1] named its beautiful spots after the tīrthas familiar to them. They, thus, recognised Prayāga—the holy confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā—in the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu[2] and regarded the area extending from Trikoṭisaṅgama to Raupyeśvara Hara and from the confluence of the Pāvanā and the Rajobinduvinirmalā to Cīramocana, as holy as Vārāṇasī.[3] The names like Sarasvatī, Ṛṣikulyā, Rāmahrada, Bhṛgutuṅga, Muṇḍapṛṣṭha, Citrakūṭa, Bharatagiri, Kāmatīrtha, Koṭitīrtha, Cakratīrtha etc., are proofs of the ties which bound up Kaśmīra with other parts of India.[4]

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1. नानादेशसमुत्थैस्तु ततः प्रभृति मानवैः ।
षण्मासान् वसते देशः षण्मासान् पिशिताशनैः ॥
Nīlamata, v. 226.

2. Ibid., v. 295b-296a.

3. Ibid., vv. 1301, 1327.

4. The Nīlamata uses these names for the tīrthas of Kaśmīra, but these are also names of various tīrthas of other parts of India.
Cf. Dey, N.L., Op. Cit., Passim.
Kāṇe, P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV. p. 730 ff.

CHAPTER III

TRIBES IN THE NĪLAMATA

The tribes mentioned in the Nīlamata are : The Nāgas, the Piśācas, the Dārvas, the Abhisāras, the Gāndhāras, the Juhuṇḍaras, the Śakas, the Khaśas, the Taṅgaṇas, the Māṇḍavas, the Madras, the Antargiris and the Bahirgiris.[1] The first two are described as occupying Kaśmīra, and the rest, the neighbouring countries. Indirect mention of the Yavanas is also made in the Nāga-name Yavanapriya.[2] Here follows an account of these.

I. The Nāgas

The Nīlamata informs us that the valley of Kaśmīra called Satīdeśa[3] was occupied in ancient times by the Nāgas only. Afterwards, the Piśācas and the descendants of Manu also became their cohabitants. The difficulty is about the identification of the Nāgas as they are still behind the veil of myth and legend, peeping out at one time as reptile snakes and at another as human beings. Ancient Indian literature abounds with references to them but while some of these references indicate their character as a people or tribe, others show them to be either mythical beings with supernatural powers or actual serpents with poisonous fangs. It is no surprise, therefore, if the views of the scholars differ widely on this topic.

(*I*) *Views of different scholars*

Fergusson regards the Nāgas as a race of Turanian stock inhabiting Northern India and conquered by the war-like Aryans. He maintains that the Aryans and Dravidians were not serpent worshippers.[4]

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 80.
2. *Ibid.*, v. 943.
3. *Ibid.*, vv. 44, 66, 69, 141, 958.
4. Fergusson, *Tree And Serpent Worship*, pp. 60-61.

General Cunningham takes them as dragon-worshippers akin to the Scytho-Median Zohak. Three very old cast coins with figure of snake and the legend Kādasa in old Brāhmī characters, which he found in West Panjab, have been attributed by him to early Takhas—the descendants of the Nāga chief Takṣaka—known as Kādraveyas or Kudravas (sic) on account of their birth from Kadrū.[1]

Col. Tod opines that the Nāga tribe had come from "śehesnāgagadeśa" which he takes to be "the abode of the ancient Scythic, Tochari of Strabo, the Tak-i-uks of the Chinese, the Tajuks of the present day of Turkistan". He identifies this race with Toorṣka who ruled on the Arverma in Śāka-dvīpa or Scythia.[2]

Mr. C.S. Wake considers the Nāgas "aboriginal serpent worshippers"[3] and Prof. Hopkins says, "Garuḍas and Tārkṣyas may conceivably have been human chieftains of the western coast though they scarcely present as strong a claim to euhemeristic interpretation as do their natural foes the Nāgas".[4]

According to Pargiter the name Daitya, Dānava, Nāga and Rākṣasa do not always imply that such tribes were different from Mānavas and Saudyumnas or even Ailas i.e. Lunar race but generally mean men of alien and hostile races in Kṣatriya tradition.[5]

Mr. Carlleyle goes a step further to point out that both the Asuras and the Nāgas were of a highly respectable patronage and that they actually descended from the ancient Aryan patriarchs of the Hindu race.[6]

Dr. A. Banerjee regards the Nāgas as a branch of the Asuras and says, "The Nāgas were the spear-head and backbone of the Asura people in India. With the downfall of the Nāgas, ended the organised Asura supremacy in India".[7]

Dr. Grierson says about the Nāgas "I am inclined to believe that they may have been the ancestors of the non-Aryan

1. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, 1863-64, Vol. II. p. 10.
2. Tod, *Annals And Antiquities Of Rajasthan*, p. 45 f.n. 6.
3. Wake, C.S., *Serpent Worship And Other Essays*, p. 91.
4. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 23.
5. Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 290.
6. Carlleyle, *A.S.R.*, 1871-73, Vol. VI. pp. 45 ff.
7. Banerjee Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 96.

inhabitants of Hunza-Nagar whose language Burushaski has not yet been identified as belonging to any known family of speech".[1]

C.F. Oldham takes them as a Sun-worshipping Sanskrit-speaking people whose totem was the Nāga or the hooded serpent.[2]

L.B. Kenny in his article "Nāgas in Magadha" refers to a host of learned scholars who hold the view that the Nāgas were a Dravidian people inhabiting the northern part of India before the immigration of the Aryans to India.[3]

There are other scholars like Oldenberg, Hendrik Kern, Auguste, Barth and J. Ph. Vogel, who do not believe in the euhemeristic character of the Nāgas. Oldenberg takes them to belong to that class of demoniacal beings which is best represented by the 'were-wolves' and Kern regards them as personified forces of nature. Barth and Vogel, too, have similar views.[4]

The Nāgas have thus become a problem full of confusion. Let us first see what the Nīlamata has to add or lessen this confusion and then proceed further to draw conclusions with the help of other sources.

(*II*) *Nāgas in the Nīlamata*

The very name "Nīlamata" i. e. Teachings of Nīla is associated with a Nāga named Nīla through whose mouth is related more than two-thirds of the whole Purāṇa. Regarding the origin of Nāgas, it is stated that they were the progeny of Prajāpati Kaśyapa and his wife Kadrū—the daughter of Dakṣa. The Devas, the Daityas, the Dānavas, the Khaśas, the Bhadras, Garuḍa etc. are also stated to have been the sons of Kaśyapa. Account is given of their enmity with Garuḍa, their chief Vāsuki's request to Viṣṇu who granted them safety in

1. Grierson, *Paiśācī, Piśāca and Modern Piśāca in Z.D.M.G.*, LXVI. p. 72 f.n. 4.
2. Oldham, *Serpent Worship in India in J.R.A.S.*, 1891, p. 391.
3. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 163.
4. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, pp. 2 ff.

Satīsara and appointed Nīla as their king, their objection to Kaśyapa's suggestion of introducing men to Kaśmīra valley after the desiccation of the lake and the death of the evil minded Jalodbhava, Kaśyapa's curse upon them making them co-habitants of the Piśācas for six months and of the men for other six months of each year, the end of the curse after four aeons, and the permanent occupation of the valley by them jointly with men.[1]

One Nāga named Ṣaḍaṅgula, we are informed, used to kidnap the female consorts of men, so the Nāga king Nīla exiled him from Kaśmīra and allotted to him the Mount Uśīraka in the land of Dārva. Viṣṇu, at Nīla's request, granted him security at that place.[2]

Another Nāga Mahāpadma, it is stated, occupied the city of Candrapura, after getting it in charity through trickery from the king Viśvagaśva.[3]

A list containing 603 names of the Nāgas occurs in the work[4] and there are occasional references to the worship of the Nāgas.[5]

Thus, the facts about the Nāgas brought forth from the perusal of the Nīlamata are :

1. Kaśyapa was the common ancestor of the Nāgas, the Piśācas, the Daityas, the Dānavas, the Garuḍas etc.

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1. Supra, pp. 6-8.
2. मया निर्वासितो नागस्तस्माद्देशात् षडङ्गुलः ।
मानुषाणां स दाराणि हरत्यहरहः पुरा ॥
इतो निर्वास्य दत्तं च स्थानं तस्य ततो मया ।
उशीरके गिरिश्रेष्ठे दार्वेषु भुजगोत्तम ॥
मयापि स्थानपालोऽसौ युक्त्या तत्र निवेशितः ।
गृहीतश्चानुरागेण जनः काश्मीरको मया ॥
मद्वाक्याच्चाभयं दत्तं तत्रास्य हरिणा स्वयम् ।
Nīlamata, vv. 965-67 ; 69a.
3. Ibid., vv. 976-87.
4. Ibid., vv. 881-946.
5. Infra. Ch. VII. V. (V) Worship of the Nāga deities in the Nīlamata.

2. Garuḍa and the Nāgas came to have enmity among themselves. At first Garuḍa suffered at the hands of the Nāgas but later on he got the upper hand and would have destroyed them but for the intervention of Viṣṇu.
3. Being the original occupants of Kaśmīra, the Nāgas did not like the introduction of the Piśācas or the Mānavas into the valley but when the selection was to be made between these two, they preferred the Mānavas to the Piśācas.
4. The relations of the Nāgas with the Piśācas, though not good in the beginning as is indicated by their remark "We shall not live in the company of the terrible Piśācas",[1] became later on cordial. When Candradeva visited the Nāga king Nīla, the latter was being served by the Piśāca-chief Nikumbha.[2] Nīla also prescribed the worship of Nikumbha and the Piśācas.[3]
5. The Nāga king Nīla was very considerate towards the Mānavas who had come from different parts of the country to inhabit the valley of Kaśmīra. He gave a nice welcome to the old Brāhmaṇa Candradeva and took action against the Nāga Ṣaḍaṅgula to please people of Kaśmīra.
6. With the exception of the hood, there is nothing to indicate the serpent nature of the Nāgas of the Nīlamata. Nowhere is the mention of their poisonous fangs.
7. Some of the Nāga names are similar to those of the epic heroes, others indicate colour or quality while

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1. न पिशाचैस्तु वत्स्यामो दारुणैर्दारुणप्रियैः ।
Nīlamata, v. 213a.
2. सेव्यमानो निकुम्भेन पिशाचेन महात्मना ।
Ibid., v. 330.
3. पूजनीयो निकुम्भस्तु पिशाचाधिपतिर्बली ।
पिशाचानां च दातव्या बलयश्च सुसंस्कृताः ॥
Ibid., v. 555,
See also, vv. 661, 837.

many are unintelligible, probably of non-Aryan origin.[1]

8. Nāga-worship seems to have been the main feature of the religion of the people of Kaśmīra.[2]

These facts refer to the Nāgas as deities and as a people, but we are concerned here with the latter aspect only and have to see whether the tribal character of the Nāgas is proved or not from other sources.

(III) Nāgas in the Vedic literature

The term Nāga does not occur in the Vedas but Vṛtra probably represents the serpent-worshipping people. Like the terms Dāsa and Dasyu used in the Vedas sometimes for human enemies of the Vedic Aryans and at other times for "evil spirits who are none other than the gods of the hated races"[3] the term 'Vṛtra', too, seems to have denoted the serpent god and the worshippers of the serpent god—the aborigins who were not on good terms with the Vedic Aryans. Keith says, "From the single Vṛtra the Vedic conception, as often, produces many Vṛtras, and we find also the plural use of foes who must be clearly human, perhaps, however, never without a sub—reference to Vṛtra".[4] References to many Vṛtras[5] can be best explained by taking them as a tribe of serpent worshippers.

1. Infra, Ch. VII. V. (III) Serpent Worship in India.
2. Infra, Ibid., (V) Worship of the Nāga deities in the Nīlamata.
3. Keith, *Religion And Philosophy Of The Veda*, Vol. I, p. 129.
4. Ibid., p. 234.

Louis Renou does not accept Vṛtra as an agent noun; nevertheless he says, "it is possible to see in the descriptions of battles, alliances and quarrels, especially those of the Indra cycle, a gradual transformation of chieftains and tribes into demi-gods, demons and divine cohorts", *Religions of Ancient India*, pp. 6, 19.

5. *R. V.*, VI. 29. 6; VII. 19. 4; X. 83. 7.

त्वं तां इन्द्रोभयां अमित्रान्दासा वृत्राण्यार्या च शूर ।
वधीर्वनेव सुधितेभिरत्कैरा पृत्सु दर्षि नृणां नृतम् ॥
Ibid., VI. 33.3.

वृत्राण्यन्यः समिथेषु जिघ्नते व्रतान्यन्यो अभि रक्षते सदा ।
हवामहे वां वृषणा सुवृक्तिभिरस्मे इन्द्रावरुणा शर्म यच्छतम् ॥
Ibid., VII, 83·9.

इन्द्रो न यो महा कर्माणि चक्रिर्हन्ता वृत्राणामसि सोम पूर्भित् ।
पैद्वो न हि त्वमहिनाम्नां हन्ता विश्वस्यासि सोम दस्योः ॥
Ibid., IX. 88. 4.

Indra-Vṛtra conflict has its counterparts in the mythology of other countries. In Sumer Babylonia, there occurs the myth of Bel Marduk against Tiamat; in Egypt, of Ra against Apop; in Greece, of Apollo against the Phython, and of Poeres against Gorgon Medusa; and in Persia, of Feridun against Azi Dahak. All these myths, it seems, have preserved the memory of the defeat of some serpent-worshipping peoples who are known to have existed in various continents of the world.[1]

Vṛtra has been called a serpent and a Dānava in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[2] In the Mahābhārata, he is described as the chief of the Dānavas called Kāleyas.[3] It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the Ṛgveda refers to the serpent-worshipping people led by Vṛtra and suffering defeat at the hands of the Aryans. The passages of the Atharvaveda,[4] the Taittirīya Saṃhitā,[5] the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,[6] the Chāndogyopaniṣad[7] and the Gṛhyasūtras,[8] referring to serpent-worship show the attempts of the conquerors to assimilate the religion of the conquered.

(IV) Nāgas in the Indus Valley Civilization

The representation, on the Mohenjodaro seals,[9] of some

1. *Golden Bough*, Vol. IV. p. 105, for reference to kings of Delphi, Thebes, Salamis and Athens.
E.R.E., XI. p. 404, for the dynasty of Pythons in Greece.

2. स यद्वर्तमानः समभवत् । तस्माद् वृत्रोऽथ यदपात्समभवत्तस्मादहिस्तं दनुश्च दनायूश्च मातेव च पितेव च परिजगृहतुस्तस्माद्दानव इत्याहुः ।
S.B., I. 6.3.9.

3. कालेया इति विख्याता गणाः परमदारुणाः ।
तैश्च वृत्रं समाश्रित्य जगत्सर्वं प्रबाधितम् ॥
Mbh., III. 101.7.

4. *A.V.*, V. 13. 5-6; VI. 56; XV. 13.

5. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, Kāṇḍa IV. Prapāṭhaka 2, Anuvāka 2.

6. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, teste. J.B.B.R.A.S., 1867-70, Vol. IX. Article 9.

7. *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, VII. 1-4.

8. *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, Adhyāya II. Kaṇḍikā 1, 3; S.B.E., XXIX. *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, Kāṇḍa II. Kaṇḍikā 14; S.B.E., XXIX.

9. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, III. Plates CXVI, CXVIII.

devotees with the hooded snakes at their backs may be taken as indicating the existence of the Nāgas in the Indus Valley Civilization.

(V) Nāgas in the Epics

Some incidents of the Mahābhārata are too explicit to conceal the tribal character of the Nāgas. These are 'Burning of the Khāṇḍava forest', 'Parīkṣit bitten by Takṣaka' and 'Janamejaya's serpent sacrifice.'

The Ist narrative informs that at the instigation and with the help of Fire god, the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna and his guide-friend Kṛṣṇa burnt the forest Khāṇḍava which was the seat of the Nāgas under Takṣaka, and of the Dānavas and the Asuras. Takṣaka's friend Indra tried his best to save the forest but his attempts did not succeed.[1] The Nāga chief Takṣaka had gone to Kurukṣetra at that time, so he was saved.[2] His son Aśvasena also escaped death by chance[3] and Maya Asura, seeing no other way to save himself, sought the refuge of Arjuna.[4] The incident clearly refers to some pre-historic inter-tribal wars. The Pāṇḍavas, it seems, did not like to have rival tribes of wild nature in the neighbourhood of their capital. So they tried to get rid of the trouble by

1. वसत्यत्र सखा तस्य तक्षकः पन्नग. सदा ।
सगणस्तत्कृते दावं परिरक्षति वज्रभृत् ॥
Mbh., 1. 225. 7.

2. तक्षकस्तु न तत्रासीत् सर्पराजो महाबलः ।
दह्यमाने वने तस्मिन् कुरुक्षेत्रेऽभवत्तदा ॥
Ibid., 1. 218. 4.

3. अश्वसेनस्तु तत्रासीत्तक्षकस्य सुतो बली ।
स यत्नमकरोत्तीव्रं मोक्षार्थं हव्यवाहनात् ॥
Ibid., 1. 218. 5.

तं मुमोचयिषुर्वज्री वातवर्षेण पाण्डवम् ।
मोहयामास तत्कालमश्वसेनस्त्वमुच्यत ॥
Ibid., 1. 218. 9.

4. अभिधावाजुनेत्येवं मयश्चुक्रोश भारत ॥
Ibid., 1. 220. 37.

burning the forest and annihilating the tribes living therein.[1]

The 2nd narrative informs that Takṣaka penetrated into the palace of Arjuna's grandson Parīkṣit and bit him to death.[2] It appears that highly enraged Takṣaka, who had settled himself in Takṣaśilā after the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest, was seeking an opportunity to take revenge but possibly could not do so for a long time either due to the banishment, war and pilgrimage to heaven of the Pāṇḍavas or because he himself was busy in accumulating strength enough to outthrow the Pāṇḍavas. The opportunity presented itself when Parīkṣit, unguarded by the famous heroes of his race, came to the throne. Takṣaka strategically entered the palace of Parīkṣit, killed him and after setting fire to the palace, went back to Takṣaśilā.

The third incident is Parīkṣit's son Janamejaya's attack on Takṣaśilā and the defeat of that country.[3] Then follows the account of Janamejaya's serpent sacrifice in which all the Nāgas would have been destroyed but for the intervention of a Brāhmaṇa Āstīka.[4]

Evidently, Janamejaya inflicted defeat on his enemy at Takṣaśilā to avenge the wrong done to his father. Dr. Fergusson, Col. Oldham and various other scholars explain the Nāga-Yajña as a sacrifice of revenge on the Nāga war-

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1. Fergusson suggests on page 63 of his *Tree And Serpent Worship* that the Pāṇḍavas might have taken this step when the family at Hastināpura became too big and there arose a need to raise a second capital to solve the problem of accommodation. The Mahābhārata, however, does not indicate any such situation.

2. तस्मिन्प्रतिगते विप्रे छद्मनोपेत्य तक्षकः ।
तं नृपं नृपतिश्रेष्ठ पितरं धार्मिकं तव ॥
प्रासादस्थं यत्तमपि दग्धवान् विषवह्निना ॥
Mbh., I. 42. 22-23.

3. सः तथा भ्रातॄन्संदिश्य तक्षशिलां प्रत्यभिप्रतस्थे ॥
तं च देशं वशे स्थापयामास ।
Ibid., I. 3. 18.

4. Ibid., I Chaps. 12-52.
तस्मिन् प्रवृत्ते सत्रे तु सर्पाणामन्तकाय वै ।
मोचयामास तं शापमास्तीकः सुमहायशाः ॥
नागांश्च मातुलांश्चैव तथा चान्यान् स बान्धवान् ।
Ibid., 13. 39b-41a.

prisoners who had been imprisoned at Takṣaśilā by Janamejaya and brought down to Hastināpura.[1]

Other events described in the Mahābhārata, e.g. Arjuna's marriage with Ulūpī, the daughter of Nāgarāja Kauravya, and with Citrāṅgadā, the daughter of Nāgarāja Citravāhana, further prove the human character of the Nāgas.[2] Somaśravā, the family priest of Janamejaya,[3] and the Brāhmaṇa Āstīka referred to above had Nāga mothers. Āryaka, the great grandfather of Vāsudeva, was a Nāga chief.[4]

The enmity between the Nāgas and Garuḍa may also be taken as a conflict between two tribes. The Mahābhārata refers to the tribe descended from the six sons of Garuḍa. The names of forty eight chiefs of this tribe have been enumerated.[5]

The Rāmāyaṇa has a few verses only about the Nāgas and these refer to their euhemeristic character. Thus, there occurs a reference to the beauty of the Nāga maidens captured

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1. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 64.
   Oldham, *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, p. 378.
   Agrawala, V.S., *Bhārata Sāvitrī*, p. 38.
2. *Mbh.*, I. 206. 13-34; I. 207. 13-23.
3. भगवन्नयं तव पुत्रो मम पुरोहितोऽस्त्विति स एवमुक्तः प्रत्युवाच ।
   भो जनमेजय पुत्रोऽयं मम सप्यं जातः ॥
   Ibid., I. 3. 14b-15a.
4. ततो वासुकिरभ्येत्य नागैरनुगतस्तदा ॥
   पश्यति स्म महाबाहुं भीमं भीमपराक्रमम् ।
   आर्यकेण च दृष्टः स पृथाया आर्यकेण च ॥
   तदा दौहित्रदौहित्रः परिष्वक्तः सुपीडितम् ।
   सुप्रीतश्चाभवत् तस्य वासुकिः स महायशाः ॥
   Ibid., (Gītā Press Ed.) I. 127. 63-65.
5. वैनतेयसुतैः सूत षड्भिस्ततमिदं कुलम् ।
   Ibid., V. 99. 2; See also vv. 2-14.

The fact that the Garuḍas were a tribe is corroborated from an inscription in Tibetan inscribed on a rock near Brahmor in Chamba. The inscription runs as "*Khyuṅpo-jo-nu-phags-ba(s)*" and is translated by A.H. Franke as "The august younger prince of the *Garuḍa* Lords." The translator informs about the existence of a noble family called Garuḍa Lords, in the neighbourhood of Shigartse. The family derives its name from the figure of a Garuḍa on a rock.
Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Vol. I. pp. 252-53.

by Rāvaṇa.[1] It is also stated that Rāvaṇa had attacked the city of the Nāgas and defeated them.[2]

(VI) Nāgas in the Purāṇas

The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa mentions the Nāgas with other historical tribes.[3] The Matsya Purāṇa refers to 'many Nāga tribes', (bahutaranāgajātayaḥ).[4] The Padma Purāṇa and the Harivaṃśa state that before Pṛthu the earth had been milked by the Nāgas, the Rākṣasas, the Asuras, the Dānavas, the Yakṣas etc. The Nāga Dhṛtarāṣṭra was once the milker i.e. king of the earth.[5]

(VII) Nāgas in the Buddhist Literature

As regards the Jātakas, the Nāgas appear therein, mostly as animals or supernatural beings,[6] but their human character is also perceptible in some of them. Thus, when it is stated that Śākyamuni taught to the Nāgas a more philosophical religious system than that to men who were not sufficiently advanced to understand it at the time of his appearance, it is clear that Nāgas, there, mean the aboriginal serpent-worshippers who were the Ist to accept Buddha's teachings.[7] A Tibetan

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1. नागकन्या वरारोहाः पूर्णचन्द्रनिभाननाः ॥
प्रमथ्य राक्षसेन्द्रेण नागकन्या बलाद्धृताः ॥
Rāmāyaṇa, V. 12. 21-22.

2. पुरीं भोगवतीं प्राप्य पराजित्य च वासुकिम् ॥
तक्षकस्य प्रियां भार्यां पराजित्य जहार यः ।
Ibid., III. 32. 13b-14a.
See also VII. 23. 5.

3. अम्बष्टा द्रविडा नागाः काम्बोजाः स्त्रीमुखाः शकाः ।
Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., I. 9. 6.

4. प्रयुञ्जते गिरिशयशोविसारिणं प्रकीर्णकं बहुतरनागजातयः ॥
Matsya Pu., CLIV. 462.

5. *Padma Pu.*, Bhūmikhaṇḍa, Ch. 28, vv. 45 ff.
Harivaṃśa, I. 7. 26-27.
The *MBH.*, I.3. 137-38 also mention Dhṛtarāṣṭra as the foremost of all the Nāgas and as having twenty eight thousand Nāgas under his command.

6. Śaṅkhapāla Jātaka, *Jātaka*, Vol. V. pp. 161 ff. Maṇikaṇṭha Jātaka etc. *Jātaka*, Vol. II. pp. 282 ff.

7. Teste. Wake, C.S., *Serpent Worship and Other Essays*, p. 91; Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 119.

work also records that Buddha had invited the Nāgas dwelling on the mountains and preached his religion to them.[1] The same work refers to poor Nāgas becoming rich and getting land-property.[2]

(*VIII*) *Conclusion*

All these pieces of evidence prove the existence of some serpent-worshipping people in pre-historic India. Hostile to the Vedic Aryans in the beginning, they became, later on, friends of some of the Aryan tribes as is indicated by Indra's friendship with Takṣaka and Arjuna's marriage with Nāga maidens referred to in the Mahābhārata. They were probably called Nāgas after the serpent deities they worshipped just like Vāsudevakas called after their deity Vāsudeva. Even now the worshippers of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, Buddha, Jina are called the Vaiṣṇavas, the Śaivas, the Śāktas, the Sauras, the Gāṇapatyas, the Bauddhas and the Jainas respectively.

It is difficult to agree with Tod and Fergusson who regard the Nagās as outsiders. Considering the fact that India is the only country in the world inhabited by all the known families of living snakes and possessing the greatest variety of the generic types and the largest number of their species,[3] it is rather out of the way to think that the Indians borrowed the feelings of dread and regard for the serpents from outside.

Grierson's suggestion about the identification of the Nāgas with the Hunza people awaits investigation as the language of the Hunza people is still not studied. Anyway, the absence of the remains of serpent worship among them goes against Grierson's suggestion.[4]

As regards the suggestion of Carlleyle and Pargiter, based on the Puranic statement that Kaśyapa was the common

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1. *Hunderttausend Nagas* (Tibetischer text vorgelegt von B Laufer), p. 15.
2. Ibid., p. 4.
3. Watt, G., *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. VI. Part I. p. 429.
4. Books dealing with the customs of Hunza, namely, *Between The Oxus and the Indus*, *Language Hunting In The Karakoram* and *On The Science of Language And Ethnography* do not refer to serpent worship.

ancestor of the Dānavas, the Nāgas etc., it may be pointed out that the statement seems to be a later attempt of the Aryans to bring the conquered races into the Aryan fold.

A.C. Das takes the Nāgas as a branch of the Aryans[1] but their non-Aryan character is perceptible not only in their hostile attitude towards the Aryans but also in the snake-charms of the A.V. containing words which cannot be satisfactorily explained and appear to be of non-Aryan origin.[2] Majority of the Nāga-names are also non-Aryan.

The most plausible suggestion, therefore, is that the Nāgas were the aborigins inhabiting Kaśmīra and other parts of North India before the advent of the Vedic Aryans. The Vedic Aryans fought with them as well as the Piśācas and pushed them to the south, east and west.

II The Piśācas

The Nīlamata refers to the Piśācas as occupants of Kaśmīra[3] but who they were is not yet decided. Modern Indian folk-lore associates them with the Bhūtas and the Pretas—the ghosts of persons dying an unnatural death—and as regards their mention in ancient Indian literature, the prosmicuous use of the term 'Piśāca' has led many scholars to doubt their existence as a tribe.

(*I*) *Views of different scholars*

Oldenberg, Macdonell, Keith, Lacote and Sten Konow take the term 'Piśāca' to mean a demon or a goblin.[4] Macdonell and Keith, however, say along with that the term may have been later on used for some hostile tribes.[5] Hillebrandt, on the other hand, hints at the possibility that the Piśācas were the enemies who later on became the traditional fiends.[6] Pargiter also thinks that their character as demons or goblins

1. Das, A. C., *Rgvedic Culture*, p. 167.
2. Shende, N.J., The Foundations of Ātharvanic Religion, *B.D.C.R.I.*, Poona, Vol. IX. p. 200.
3. Infra, p. 59.
4. *E.R.E.*, s.v. Piśāca.
5. *Vedic Index*, s.v. Piśāca.
6. Hillebrandt, A., *Vedishe Mythologie*, III. p. 426.

was a later perversion of their real nature,[1] and Grierson puts forth the theory that they were a people living in the north-west of India.[2]

(II) Piśācas in the Nīlamata

We may, first of all, consider the information about them supplied by the Nīlamata. The verses 203-6 refer to a group of the Piśācas who were friendly towards the Daityas and dwelt in an oasis, six yojanas long, in the middle of the Sea of Sand. Then we are introduced to a Piśāca chief Nikumbha who was appointed by Kubera to keep the above mentioned Piśācas under control and who along with his five koṭi Piśāca followers used to fight for six months with the Piśācas of that oasis.[3] For the rest of the year he used to live on Himācala.[4] As a result of Kaśyapa's curse on the Nāgas, the Piśācas occupied the valley of Kaśmīra for six months of each year. After the passing of four ages, they were completely ousted from the valley which, thenceforth, was inhabited by the Nāgas and the men.[5] This account apparently points to the human character of the Piśācas. Let us see how far it is corroborated from other sources.

(III) Piśācas in the Vedic Literature

In the R.V. I. 133, Indra is invoked to destroy 'Piśāci' of reddish colour and terrifying sound along with all 'Rakṣas'

1. Pargiter, *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 712.
2. Grierson, Paiśācī, Piśāca and Modern Piśāca, *Z.D.M.G.*, LXVI. pp. 67 ff.
3. वालुकार्णवमध्ये तु द्वीपः षड्योजनायतः ॥
तत्र सन्ति पिशाचा ये दैत्यपक्षाः सुदारुणाः ।
तेषां तु निग्रहार्थाय पिशाचाधिपतिर्बली ॥
निकुम्भो नाम धर्मात्मा कुबेरेण तु योजितः ।
चैत्र्यां याति सदा योद्धुं पिशाचैर्बहुभिः सह ॥
पंचकोट्यः पिशाचानां निकुम्भस्यानुयायिनाम् ।
गत्वा निकुम्भस्तैः सार्धं षण्मासान् युध्यते सदा ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 203b-6.
4. हिमाचले तु षण्मासान् स सदा वसते सुखी ।
Ibid., v. 210.
5. Supra, p. 18; *Rājata.*, IV. 710 also refers to this story.

and is reminded of the heroic deed he had performed previously by destroying thrice fifty of such hosts.[1] There is nothing in the context against taking the word 'Piśāci' to mean a host of human enemies.

In the A.V. II. 18.4; IV. 36. 4-8; VI. 32.2; VIII. 2.12; XV. 1. 50, the term 'Piśāca' seems to denote a human enemy. To quote a few examples only, in A.V. II. 18, Agni is invoked to give power to the singer for destroying his enemies.[2]

Whitney translates the hymn thus :

1. "Adversary-destroying art thou; adversary-expulsion mayest thou give me : hail !
2. Rival-destroying art thou; rival—expulsion mayest thou give me : hail !
3. Wizard (? arāya) destroying art thou; wizard-expulsion mayest thou give me : hail !
4. Piśāca-destroying art thou; piśāca-expulsion mayest thou give me : hail !
5. Sadānva-destroying art thou; sadānva-expulsion mayest thou give me : hail !"

The first three verses here definitely refer to the human enemies and it is not reasonable to regard the 4th one as referring to mythical demons, simply because the term 'Piśāca' has received such meaning in later Sanskrit literature.

In A.V., IV. 36. 4, the poet declares that he overcomes

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1. यासां तिस्रः पञ्चाशतोऽभिव्लङ्गैरपावपः ।
तत् सु ते मनायति तकत्सु ते मनायति ॥
पिशंगभृष्टिमंभृणं पिशाचिमिन्द्र सम्मृण ।
सर्वं रक्षोनिबर्हय ॥

R.V., I. 133. 4-5.

2. भ्रातृव्यक्षयणमसि भ्रातृव्यचातनं मे दाः स्वाहा ॥
सपत्नक्षयणमसि सपत्नचातनं मे दाः स्वाहा ॥
अरायक्षयणमस्यरायचातनं मे दाः स्वाहा ॥
पिशाचक्षयणमसि पिशाचचातनं मे दाः स्वाहा ॥
सदान्वाक्षयणमसि सदान्वाचातनं मे दाः स्वाहा ॥

A.V., II. 18. 1-5.

the Piśācas with power and takes over their wealth.[1] Further, he points out that he is the tormentor of the Piśācas as a tiger is of those who possess cattle. Like the dogs on seeing a lion, the Piśācas do not find a hiding place after seeing him. The verse seventh puts the Piśācas on the same level with the thieves and the savages and the poet proudly says that the Piśācas disappear from that village which he enters.[2] The human character of the Piśācas is evident here. In A.V. IV. 20, the Piśācas are mentioned along with the Kimīdins and the Yātudhānas. This association indicates that according to the authors of such verses, the Piśācas also practised hostile witchcraft and probably this factor hastened their identification with the evil demons. The practisers of evil witchcraft themselves became identified with demons. The terms 'Yātudhāna' and 'Kimīdin' oscillate between the meanings, human sorcerer and hostile demon,[3] and this points to the same tendency.[4]

The Taittirīya Saṃhitā refers to a war in which the one side consisted of the gods, the Men and the Fathers and the other of the Asuras, the Rākṣasas and the Piśācas.[5]

The Pañcaviṃśa, Brāhmaṇa, the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa, the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhaddevatā[6] give the story of

1. सहे पिशाचान्त्सहसैषां द्रविणं ददे।
सर्वान् दुरस्यतो हन्मि सं म आकूतिर्ऋध्यताम् ।
A.V., IV. 36. 4.

2. तपनोऽस्मि पिशाचानां व्याघ्रो गोमतामिव ।
श्वानः सिंहमिव दृष्ट्वा ते न विन्दन्ते न्यञ्चनम् ॥
न पिशाचैः सं शक्नोमि न स्तेनैर्न वनर्गुभिः ।
पिशाचास्तस्मान्नश्यन्ति यमहं ग्राममाविशे ॥
Ibid., IV. 36. 6-7.

3. Shende, N. J., *The Religion And Philosophy Of The Atharvaveda*, p. 165. Also the views of Whitney, Bloomfield and Griffith as quoted therein.
4. *A.V.*, IV. 20; IV. 37; V. 29.
5. देवा मनुष्याः पितरस्तेऽन्यत आसन्नसुरा रक्षांसि पिशाचास्तेऽन्यतः ॥
Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Kāṇḍa II. Prapāṭhaka 4. Anuvāka I.
6. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 3. 12. The story is not complete. *Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa* quoted by Sāyaṇa on *R. V.*, V. 2. 1.
पिशाची वा इयं त्र्यरुणस्य जाया
Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa cited in *J.A.O.S.*, XVIII. p. 23.
अविन्दत पिशाचीं तां जायां तस्य च भूपतेः ॥
पिशाचीमदहतां स यत्र चोपविवेश सा ॥
Bṛhaddevatā, vv. 19, 22.

the Ikṣvāku king Tryaruṇa whose wife was a Piśācī. She was, however, killed by the king's domestic priest Vṛṣa. This shows that in the period of the Brāhmaṇas the matrimonial relations between the Ikṣvākus and the Piśācas had begun to take place though these were not to the liking of the Brāhmaṇa priests.

(IV) Piśācas in the Mahābhārata

Coming to the epics we find that the Mahābhārata has preserved, to an appreciable extent, the memories of the Piśācas as some warlike people of north-western India. As Dr. Grierson has discussed the Piśācas in the Mahābhārata at great length,[1] it will be sufficient here to refer to them briefly. They are described as fighting in the Great War from both the sides, some forming a part of Pāṇḍava armies[2] and the others led by the Kaurava king Duryodhana.[3] One special form of battle-array is named after them.[4] Their marriage

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1. Grierson, G.A., 'Piśācas in Mahābhārata' in *Festschrift fur Vilhelm Thomson*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 138 ff. The article has not been available to me.

2. पिशाचा दारदाश्चैव पुण्ड्राः कुण्डीविषैः सह ॥
मारुता धेनुकाश्चैव तङ्गणाः परतङ्गणाः ।
बाह्लिकास्तित्तिराश्चैव चोलाः पाण्ड्याश्च भारत ॥
एते जनपदा राजन् दक्षिणं पक्षमाश्रिताः ।
Mbh., VI. 50.50-52 49-50.

Calcutta Ed. VI. 2084 has for the last line :
शखास्तुम्बुमाश्चैव वत्साश्च सहनाकुलैः ॥

3. त्रीणिसादिसहस्राणि दुर्योधनपुरोगमाः ।
शककाम्बोजवाह्लीका यवनाः पारदास्तथा ॥
कुणिन्दास्तङ्गणाम्बष्ठाः पैशाचाश्च समन्दराः ।
अभ्यद्रवन्त शैनेयं शलभाः पावकं यथा ॥
युक्ताश्च पार्वतीयानां रथाः पाषाणयोधिनाम् ।
शूराः पंचशता राजन्शैनेयं समुपाद्रवन् ॥
Ibid., VII. 97. 13-15.

4. दवसे दिवसे प्राप्ते भीष्मः शान्तनवो युधि ।
आसुरानकरोद्व्यूहान् पैशाचानथ राक्षसान् ।
Ibid., VI. 104. 16.

customs have been condemned[1] and so also their religious sacrifices in which living creatures were killed[2]. Some of the Piśācas, however, are stated to have given up violent practices and settled on the banks of Sarasvatī for performance of penance.[3]

All this information cannot be taken as referring to mythical beings. When almost all the other tribes mentioned along with the Piśācas, like the Daradas,[I] the Puṇḍras[II] the Taṅgaṇas,[III] the Paratańgaṇas, the Bāhlīkas,[IV] the Colas,[V] the Pāṇḍyas,[VI] the Śakas,[VII] the Kāmbojas,[VIII] the Yavanasi[IX] the Pāradas,[X] the Kuṇindas,[XI] the Ambaṣṭhas,[XII] etc. have been identified by the scholars with the historical tribes,[4] there seems no reason to treat the Piśācas exceptionally.

Concerning their location, the Mahābhārata shows them as inhabiting the Panjab and some parts of the Himalayan region in the north. Their mention immediately after the Daśerakas, the Kāśmīrakas and the Aurasikas and the statements

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1. पैशाचश्चासुरश्चैव न कर्तव्यो कदाचन ।
Mbh., (Calcutta Ed.) XIII. 2412 and also I. 2995.

2. वाङ्मनः कर्मयज्ञश्च भविष्याम्युदगायने ।
पशुयज्ञैः कथं हिंस्रर्माट्टशो यष्टुमर्हति ।।
अन्तवंद्भिरुतः प्राज्ञः क्षत्रयज्ञैः पिशाचवत् ।
Ibid., XII. 9959-60.

3. यक्षाश्च राक्षसाश्चव पिशाचाश्च विशाम्पते ।
एते चान्ये च बहवो योगसिद्धाः सहस्रशः ।
तस्मिंस्तीर्थे सरस्वत्याः शिवे पुण्ये परन्तप ।।
Ibid., IX. 2849-50. Also IX. 1232, 1239-41.

4. i. Law, B.C., *Tribes In Ancient India*, pp. 86 ff.
Stein, M. A., *Rājata. Translation*, I. 312; V. 152; VII. 119; VIII.2538.
ii. Law, B.C., Op. Cit., pp. 277 ff.
iii. Law, B.C., Op. Cit., p. 388.
P.C. Bagchi, Proceedings of *I.H.C.*, 1943, p. 29.
Shafer, R., *Ethnography Of Ancient India*, p. 134.
iv. v, vi, Law, B. C., Op. Cit., pp. 70 ff.; 186, 190.
vii. Infra, Ch. III. VII Śakas.
viii, ix, x, xi, xii, Law, B.C., Op. Cit., pp. 1 ff; 153 ff; 364, 91, 96.

associating them with the Himavat and the Uttarakuru point to this.[1]

(V) Piśācas in the Gaṇapāṭha

The Piśācas along with other eleven (or ten) tribes have been mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha also which is an appendix to Pāṇini's sūtras. Dr. V.S. Agrawala opines that the names mentioned therein must be of actual peoples and he has suggested identification of some names, e.g. Rakṣas with the Rakṣanīs (sic) settled in Chagai district of North Baluchistan, Marut with the Marwats settled in the Marwat Tahsil of Bannu and the two tribes Aśani and Karṣāpaṇa with the Shiniwari and Karshabun belonging to one racial stock and inhabiting the eastern Hindukush region.[2]

(VI) Piśācas in the Purāṇas

As regards the Piśācas in the Purāṇas, a mythical glamour surrounds them though a few references hint at their human character also. Discussing their origin, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa describe them as the sons of Prajāpati, Kaśyapa and Krodhā, the daughter of Dakṣa.[3] The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and the Vāyu Purāṇa mention Kapiśā—the daughter of Krodhā or Krodhavaśā and wife of Pulaha—as their mother.[4]

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1. *Mbh.*, (Calcutta Ed.) I. 8293; VIII. 10520; VIII. 2064-65; VIII. 2104.
   आवन्त्यान्दाक्षिणात्यांश्च पार्वतीयान्दशेरकान् ।
   काश्मीरकानौरसकान्पिशाचांश्च समन्दरान् ॥
   Mbh., VII. 10. 16.
2. Agrawala, V.S., *India As Known To Pāṇini*, pp. 447-48.
3. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa Translation*, Ch. XXI. v. 18, f.n. 12.
   क्रोधायाः सर्वभूतानि पिशाचाश्चैव पार्थिव ।
   जज्ञे यज्ञगणांश्चैव राक्षसांश्च विशाम्पते ॥
   Matsya Pu., CLXXI. 61.
4. कपिशायाश्च कूष्माण्डाञ्जज्ञिरे च पुनः पुनः ।
   मिथुनेन पिशाचाँश्च वर्णेन कपिशेन तु ।
   कपिशत्वात् पिशाचास्ते सर्वे च पिशिताशनाः ।
   युग्मानि षोडशाद्यानि वर्त्तमानस्तदन्वयः ॥
   Brahmāṇḍa. Pu., III. 7. 3745.

Reference is made to sixteen clans or gaṇas of the Piśācas but their description as well as the names appear to be fanciful only.[1] Still it would not be too bold to suggest that the remarks like 'given to evil habits', 'drinking blood in the battle field', 'having no homes', 'possessed of long hair', 'clad in skins' describe some nomadic savage tribes of hilly regions.[2]

The Piśācas are mentioned in the Purāṇas often along with the Rākṣasas, the Daityas, the Gandharvas and the Nāgas.[3] They are described as inferior to the Rākṣasas in wealth, beauty and strength, by three degrees.[4] The Vāyu Purāṇa refers to a mountain called Piśācaka, situated to the south of Meru,[5]

कपिशा जज्ञे कूष्माण्डी कूष्माण्डा जज्ञिरे पुनः ।
मिथुनानि पिशाचानां वर्णेन कपिशेन च ॥
Vāyu Pu., LXIX. 256-57.

1. *Vāyu Pu.*, LXIX. 262-79.
षोडशानां पिशाचानां गणाः प्रोक्तास्तु षोडश ।
Brahmāṇḍa Pu., III. 7, 382 ff.

2. वीभत्सं विकृताचारै···; ···चर्मवाससः ।
···सङग्रामे रुधिराशिनः; अनिकेताः लम्बकेशाः··· ।
Vāyu Pu., LXIX, vv. 292-76.

3. *Matsya Pu.*, CLXII. 8.

4. *Vāyu Pu.*, LXIX. 199-200.
हीना देवैस्त्रिभिः पादैर्गन्धर्वाप्सरसः स्मृताः ।
गन्धर्वेभ्यस्त्रिभिः पादैर्हीना गुह्यकराक्षसाः ॥
ऐश्वर्यहीना रक्षोभ्यः पिशाचास्त्रिगुणं पुनः ।
एवं धनेन रूपेण आयुषा च बलेन च ॥
Brahmāṇḍa Pu., III. 7. 167-68.

5. एकशृङ्गो महामूलो गजशैलः पिशाचकः ।
पञ्चशैलोऽथ कैलासो हिमवांश्चाचलोत्तमः ॥
इत्येते देवचरिता ह्युत्कृष्टाः पर्वतोत्तमाः ।
दिग्भागे दक्षिणे प्रोक्ता मेरोरमरवर्चसः ॥
Vāyu Pu., XXXVI. vv. 24-25.

तस्माद्गता महाशैलं ततश्चापि पिशाचकम् ।
पिशाचकाच्छैलवरात्पञ्चकूटं गता पुनः ॥
Ibid., XLII. 31b-32a.

on which stands the palace of Kubera, the king of the Yakṣas.[1] If this mountain be regarded as the dwelling place of the Piśācas, as the name Piśācaka evidently suggests, the statements of the Vāyu Purāṇa would indicate Kubera's association with the Piśācān.

Like the Mahābhārata the Purāṇas also locate the Piśācas on the Himavān mountain.[2]

Thus, the information about the Piśācas as obtained from the Nīlamata, namely, the Himācala, Kaśmīra and the region around as the field of their activities ; their association with the Daityas and the Nāgas ; their subserviency to Kubera and their fierce and violent habits ; is corroborated by the information gathered from the other Purāṇas. As regards the difference in the tone of the Nīlamata and that of the other Purāṇas, it may be pointed out that as the Piśācas were mainly a northern and north-western people, a Kaśmīrī Purāṇa could naturally retain the original tradition about them for a longer period. This is why in the Nīlamata the Piśācas appear as a sober reality while in the other Purāṇas they have become semi-mythological figures.

(VII) Piśācas and the Paiśācī Prākṛta

Evidence of some importance, though raising in itself many problems, is provided by Prākṛta-grammarians like Vararuci, Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, Puruṣottama etc. who discuss a Prākṛta called Paiśācī in their Prākṛta grammars. Vararuci—the oldest of these writers refers to only one Paiśācī dialect ; Hemacandra adds to it Cūlikā Paiśācī ; Puruṣottama mentions Kekaya, Śaurasena and Pāñcāla and Rāma Śarman and Mārkaṇḍeya refer

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1. पिशाचके गिरिवरे हर्म्यं प्रासादमण्डितम् ।
यक्षगन्धर्वचरितं कुबेरभवनं महत् ॥
Vāyu Pu., XXXIX. 57.

2. रक्षःपिशाचा यक्षाश्च सर्वे हैमवतास्तु ते ।
Matsya Pu., CXIV. 82.
रक्षःपिशाचयक्षाश्च सर्वे हैमवताः स्मृताः ।
Brahmāṇḍa Pu., II. 18. 33a.

to eleven varieties.[1] Mārkaṇḍeya and Lakṣmīdhara give different lists of the localities where Paiśācī was spoken, but one locality—Kekaya—is common to these lists.[2] The fact that this Kekaya variety is pre-eminently discussed by Puruṣottama and agrees to a great extent with the description of Paiśācī in the grammars of Vararuci and Hemacandra, indicates that the Prākṛta spoken in Kekaya country was regarded standard Paiśācī. Cūlikā Paiśācī, according to P.C. Bagchi, was the Paiśācī spoken by the Cūlikas or Śūlikas whom he identifies with the Sogdians on the basis of the evidence supplied from the Purāṇas and a Sanskrit-Chinese vocabulary Fan-Yu-tsa-ming.[3] Anyway, the association of the Paiśācī with the Cūlikas—a people mentioned in the Purāṇas along with the Lampākas, the Kirātas, the Kāśmīrakas and some other tribes in the region bordering India on the north—is a further proof of the Piśācas being a tribe of northern India.

As regards the lengthy lists of the regions of Paiśācī given by the latter grammarians, these belong to that period when the Piśācas were no more remembered as a human tribe and had become identified with the goblins. As the goblins were supposed to haunt many regions, the Paiśācī also came to be taken as belonging to many regions.

The attempts of some scholars to connect Paiśācī with the Dravidian languages are not acceptable to all[4] and the theory

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1. Upadhye, A.N., Paiśācī Language and Literature, *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXI. p. 19.

2. काञ्चिदेशीयपाण्ड्ये च पाञ्चालगौडमागधम् ।
   व्राचडं दाक्षिणात्यं च शौरसेनं च कैकयम् ।।
   शाबरं द्राविडं चैव एकादश पिशाचकाः ।

   According to Lakṣmīdhara eleven Piśāca countries are: Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlīka, Sahya, Nepāla, Kuntala, Gāndhāra, Sudeṣa, Bhota, Haiva and Kanojana.

   Teste. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prākrit Languages* (English Translation), Paragraph 27.

3. Bagchi, P. C., Śūlika Cūlika and Cūlikā Paiśācī, *J.D.L.*, XXI. pp. 1 ff.

4. Stenkonow, Hoernley, Coldwell.
   Row, K. A., 'The Dravidian Affinities of the Piśāca Languages of North-Western India', Ashutosh Mukerjee Jubilee,

that the Paiśācī was an Aryan dialect mispronounced by the aborigines is not supported by the facts.[1] After an exhaustive study of the languages of North-Western India and the border lands, Dr.Grierson has come to the conclusion that the Paiśācī characteristics are best preserved in them[2] and as the Indian literature locates the Piśācas in the Northwest of India,[3] taking the Vāhīkas of the Panjab also as descendants of the Piśācas,[4] it is quite reasonable to attribute the Paiśācī to them. Pischel, too, opines that the name of the dialect Paiśācī was originally derived from a people or a country.[5]

(*VIII*) *Evidence from geographical names*

Grierson suggests the association of Kapiśā—the mother of the Piśācas according to some Purāṇas—with Kapiśā, a town at the southern foot of the Hindukush and Kapiśā, modern Kafiristan. Pashai—the name of one of the most important Kafir tribes, he thinks, "can be easily derived from Piśāca".[6] The mountain Piśācaka has been referred to above. Kalhaṇa mentions a village Piśācakapura.[7]

If geographical names can be suggestive, the following names in George Morgenstierne's recent work on the Pashai language may be taken as a further evidence to this end :

1. Pashai—a village in Pachaghan.

Vol. III. Part 2, pp. 427-32.

Contra. Grierson, *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. LXVI.
A. N. Upadhye, *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXI. p. 17.

1. Grierson, Paiśācī, Piśāca and modern Piśāca, *Z.D.M.G.*, LXVI. pp. 85-86.
2. Grierson, *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India.*
3. Supra, pp. 64-66.
4. आरट्टा नाम वाहीका न तेष्वार्यो द्व्यहं वसेत् ।
   वहिश्च नाम हीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ ॥
   तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ।
   Mbh. (Calcutta Ed.), VIII. 2064-65.
5. Pischel, Op. Cit., Paragraph 27.
6. Grierson, *Z.D.M.G.*, LXVI. p. 70 fn. 1.
7. *Rājata.*, V. 469, Identification is not certain.

2. Pashai Kasan—a village in Andarab, the Kasam valley north of the Hindukush.
3. Pashai—a village in Laghman.
4. Pashai—a village in Alishang.[1]

Milinda Pañha refers to a territory Nikumba and as Alexandria is mentioned along with it, the term, with some reserve, may be taken as referring to some locality near Alexandria occupied by the Piśācas and named after their chief Nikumbha[2].

(*IX*) *Evidence of the characteristics of the Piśācas.*

The two chief characteristics of the Piśācas as noted in the Indian literature, namely, cannibalism and the type of marriage in which deceit and force play great part, are found in the tribes of north and north-west of India.

(*i*) *Cannibalism*

Besides several legends indicating the prevalence of cannibalism in north-western frontier of India,[3] there is a piece of information supplied by Pliny who says, "Next to the Attacori (Uttarakurus) are the nations of the Thumi and Forcari,... then came the Casiri, an Indian people who look to the Scythians and feed on human flesh". With Casiri Grierson compares the modern Kaśmīrī adjective Kāśiru meaning 'belonging to Kaśmīra'.[4]

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1. Morgenstierne, G., *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. III. pp. 216-17.
2. Questions of King Milinda, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXV. pp. 203-4.

सकयवने पि चीनविलाते पि अलसन्दे पि निकुम्बे पि कासिकोसले पि कस्मीरे पि गन्धारे पि ।

Milinda Pañha, p. 321.

Subject to correction, Nikumba may be identified with Margiana described by Pliny as "difficult of approach on account of sandy deserts" and as "confronting a tract of country in Parthia in which Alexander had built Alexanderia." Ptolemy and Strabo refer to its tribes most of which were nomadic and addicted to inhuman-practices. For the statements of Pliny, Ptolemy and Strabo see McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 264, 265.

3. Grierson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, Piśāca, pp. 285 ff.
4. Grierson, *Z.D.M.G.*, LXVI.

Dr. Leitner informs that two Kafirs had confessed to him the existence of the practice amongst them of drinking a portion of the blood of the enemy whom they killed.[1]

Some early European travellers in Eastern Asia have recorded some reminiscences of cannibalism in Tibet also.[2]

(*ii*) *Paiśāca Vivāha*

As regards the marriage rites, the abusive language used by the women of the bride's side for the bridegroom and his party[3] and the bridegroom's act of breaking into pieces the 'Toraṇa' of the bride's house[4] contain vague memories of Rākṣasa and Piśāca type of marriages prevalent in the Panjab at one time. Marriage by elopement is quite common in Chitral where a popular proverb says, "He who runs away with my daughter is my son-in-law".[5] As S. C. Das has recorded, marriage by capture still survives in various parts of Tibet. To quote his words : "In Purang when a young man wishes to marry a girl, he watches her movement and carefully ascertains the places where she frequently goes for agriculture or pastoral work. When he finds a good opportunity, he comes, accompanied by one or two of his friends and tracks her to the field or to the pasture where she happens to go and finding her alone carries her by force to his house. He keeps her confined in a separate house so as to have abundant opportunity of soliciting her".[6] The marriage-rites follow afterwards and the bridegroom is treated in his in-laws' house as a thief.

In the vocabulary of Pashai language the term for daughter-in-law is 'hanewe'—which literally means 'woman to be beaten.[7] Cannot the term be taken as a linguistic relic of Piśāca-marriage ?

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1. Leitner, G. W., *Languages and Races of Dardistan*, Part III. p. 9.
2. Statements of Willian of Rubruk and Frior Odoric.
Teste. Rockhill, W.W., *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*, pp. 727 ff.
3. Known as 'Siṭhanī' in Pañjābī.
4. Cold Stream, W., *I.A.*, Vol. XXV. p. 260.
5. *Kashmir*, Vol. II. No. 11. p. 227.
6. Das, S. C., *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXII. p. 9.
7. Morgenstierne, G., Op. Cit., pp. 77-78.

(*X*) *Conclusion*

Thus, the references in the Epics and Purāṇas locating the Piśācas in Uttarakuru, Himavān, Kaśmīra and the Panjab, the tribal and geographical names indicating the presence of the Piśācas in Kafiristan and the prevalence of cannibalism and marriage by theft and elopement in Tibet and Kafiristan indicate the association of the Piśācas with all these regions.

Now the questions remain as to who were the Piśācas from the ethnological point of view and where did they come from? On philological grounds, Grierson has proved Paiśācī or Dardic language as belonging to the Aryan stock and intermediate between Indian and Iranian.[1] So the ancestors of the Piśācas must have belonged to the Aryan stock from which they separated themselves at that time when the Indo-Aryan languages had already been separated from the Aryan language but the latter had not yet come to possess all the characteristics of the Iranian.

Taking Central Asia, particularly the Meru-Mānasa lake region, as the home land of the Aryans,[2] we may assume that some of them left the main group and went westwards in search of a new home. While the Iranians went to what was later known as Iran, the Piśācas remained behind in Kaśmīra where they had to fight with the Nāgas. Later on, the Nāgas and the Piśācas both were ousted from the valley of Kaśmīra by the Indo-Aryans, and were pushed to south, east and west. In the time of the Mahābhārata, some of these Piśācas had settled in the Panjab and helped the Nāgas in their struggle against the Pāṇḍavas.

III The Dārvas

The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas mention them as a northern tribe along with the Daradas, the Śūras, the Audum-

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1. Grierson, *The Paiśāca Languages of North-Western India*, pp. 3 ff.
2. Shafer, R., *Ethnography of Ancient India*, pp. 43 ff.
Shafer has suggested this theory of the westward migration of the Aryans on the basis of the list of the countries given in the Vendidad, Fargard I. Op. Cit., pp. 36 ff.

baras, the Kāśmīras, the Trigartas etc.[1] They were inhabitants of Dārva identified with the districts of Jammu and Ballavar.[2]

IV The Abhisāras

They were the famous people who helped the Assakenoi in offering resistance to Alexander[3] but later on made alliance with Alexander who confirmed their ruler under the title of Satrap.[4] The expression Dārvābhisāra occurs mostly as the name of one continuous territory.[5] According to Stein, it lay between the river Vitastā and Candrabhāgā and included the provinces of Jammu, Punch etc.[6]

V The Gāndhāras

The Gāndhāras were an ancient tribe mentioned in the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda.[7] The Mahābhārata refers to them along with the Yavanas, the Kāmbojas, the Kirātas and the Barbaras. Evidently they were the inhabitants of Gandhāra which has been identified with the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the north-west Panjab.[8] The Jātakas and the Milindapañha indicate the close relations existing between Kaśmīra and Gandhāra.[9] Occupation of Kaśmīra by the Kuṣāṇa

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1. कैराता दरदा दर्वाः शूरा वै यमकास्तथा ।
औदुम्बरा दुर्विभागाः पारदा बाह्लिकैः सह ॥
काश्मीराश्च कुमाराश्च घोरका हंसकायनाः ।
शिबित्रिगर्तयौधेया राजन्या मद्रकेकयाः ॥
Mbh., Sabhāparva, 52. 13-14.
Mārkaṇḍeya Pu., (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press Edition) LV. 49-51.
Vāyu Pu., XLVI. 136.
2. Jaya Candra, *Bhāratabhūmi Aura Usake Nivāsī*, p. 146.
3. *C.H.I.*, p. 316.
4. Ibid., p. 421.
5. *Mbh.*, VII. 91. 43.
6. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, fn. on I. 180.
7. *R. V.*, *I.* 126. 7; *A.V.* V., 22. 14.
8. Law. B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 76-77.
9. Gandhāra Jātaka Kumbhakāra Jātaka.
Teste. Law, B. C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 11, 17.
Questions of King Milinda, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXVI. pp. 204, 211.

king Kaniṣka, who ruled over Gandhāra also, must have strengthened these relations.

VI The Juhuṇḍaras[1]

The Juhuṇḍaras seem to be the same as the Juhuḍas of the Vāyu Purāṇa,[2] the Jaguḍas of the Matsya Purāṇa,[3] the Jāhutas of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa[4] and Jāguḍas of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata.[5] They are mentioned along with some tribes living to the north-west of India, namely, the Lampākas (inhabitants of Laghman), the Śūlikas (the Sogdians), the Avagānas (Afghanas) and the Gāndhāras. Jāguḍa is identified with South Afghanistan with its capital at Ghazni.[6]

VII The Śakas

Driven off from the countries on the Oxus by Yeuh-chi, the Śakas had proceeded to south and occupied Ki-pin (Kapiśā—Kafiristan). Their tribes then spread over the country and formed different kingdoms including the dependencies of Hiau siun and Siun-tu (Sindh).[7] Tarn has suggested that the southern part of Kaśmīra was, for sometime, ruled over by

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1. The reading Jālandhara given in the Lahore edition is not supported by the MSS.

2. ……पीडिका जुहुडैः सह ।
Vāyu Pu., 45.119.
Teste. D. C. Sircar, *I.H.Q.*, XXI. p. 304.

3. ददराञ्जगुडांश्चैव गान्धारानौरसान्कुहून् ॥
Matsya Pu., 121.46.

4. लम्पगास्तालनागाश्च मरुगान्धारजाहुताः ।
हिमवन्निलया म्लेच्छा ह्युदीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ॥
Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., 1. 10. 9.

5. …चूलिका जागुडैः सह ।
Mārkaṇḍeya Pu., 57. 40.
जागुडान् रमठान्मुण्डान्स्त्रीराज्यानथ तङ्गणान् ।
Mbh., 3. 48. 21.

6. *I.H.Q.*, XXI. p. 304.

7. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 229.

Demetrius.[1] Menander, too, probably occupied Kaśmīra as Ptolemy mentions Kaspeiria in Menander's home kingdom.[2] Milindapañha refers to a dialogue between Menander and Nāgārjuna held at a place only twelve yojanas from Kaśmīra.[3]

VIII Khaśas

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa describes them as a mountainous tribe (parvatāśrayiṇaḥ)[4] and Mahābhārata (Sabhāparva, 52.2-3) places them near the river Śailoda between the Meru and Mandara mountains. The Bṛhat Saṃhitā groups them with the Kulūtas (inhabitants of Kulu), the Taṅgaṇas and the Kāśmīras.[5] Stein points out, on the basis of the Rājatarańgiṇī, that the Khaśas occupied "the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pīr Pantsāl (sic) range between the middle course of the Vitastā in the west and Kāṣṭavāṭa in the east."[6] The rulers of Rājapurī—modern Rajauri—are referred to in the Rājatarańgiṇī as Khaśa—lords and their soldiers as Khaśas.[7]

IX Taṅgaṇas

Mentioned in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Bṛhat Saṃhitā as allied with the Khaśas, the Kirātas, the Kāśmīras etc. the Taṅgaṇas seem to have been a northern tribe.[8] P.C. Bagchi has suggested their association with "the Donki or the Tunguse"[9] and Moti Candra opines that they occupied

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1. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 155.
2. Tarn, Op. Cit., p. 238.
Nine hemidrachms of Menander were found in the vicinity of Abbottabad. H. L. Haughton, *N.C.*, 1943. p. 57. Teste. Narain, A. K., *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 80.
3. Milindapañha (Ed. Trenckner), pp. 82-83. *S.B.E.* Vol. XXV; Vol. III. Ch. 7, Talk 5, p. 127.
4. *Mārkaṇḍeya Pu.*, LVII. 56.
5. कुलूततङ्गणखसकाश्मीराः ।
Bṛhat Saṃhitā, X.12.
Cf. also Vāyu Pu., Brahmāṇḍa Pu., teste. *I.H.Q.*, XXI. p. 312.
6. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, fn. on I. 317.
7. Loc. Cit., Cf. *Rājata.*, VII. 978-79, 1271, 1276; VIII. 887, 1466, 1868, 1895.
8. *Mbh.*, II. 48. 3; III. 141. 24-25; VI. 46. 49; VII. 97. 13. 14. *Vāyu Pu.*, XLV. 120; *Mārkaṇḍeya Pu.*, LVII. 41. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, X. 12; XV. 29; *Brahmāṇḍa Pu.*, II. 16. 51; II. 18. 47.
9. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 6th Session 1943. Presidential Address in Ancient Indian History Section.

the Kashgar area in Central Asia.[1] Anyway, they lived in the neighbourhood of Kaśmīra. It is stated in the Āvaśyakacūrṇī that the Maleccha Taṅkaṇas of Uttarāpatha exchange with gold, ivory etc. the commodities of Dakṣiṇāpatha and being unable to understand the language of the buyers, they cover the heap of their goods with their hands which they do not remove till their demand is fulfilled.[2]

X Māṇḍavas

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka know of a teacher Māṇḍavya "descendant of Maṇḍu."[3] The Mahābhārat a also mentions him.[4] The Māṇḍavas of the Nīlamata also seem to be descendants of Maṇḍu and may be identified with the Māṇḍavyas mentioned as a north-western people in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,[5] the Agni Purāṇa,[6] the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa[7] and the Bṛhat Saṃhitā.[8]

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1. Moti Candra, *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata, Upāyana Parva*, p. 79.

2. उत्तरावहे टंकणा नाम मलेच्छा । ते सुवन्नदंतयादीहिदक्खिना । बहुगाई मण्डाइं गेण्हंति । ते अवरोधरं भासं न जाणंति, पच्छा पुंजे करेंति हत्थेण अच्छादेंति, जाव इच्छा ण पूरेति ताव न अवणेंति ।

Āvaśyakacūrṇī (Ratlam 1928), p. 120.

Teste. Moti Candra, *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata, Upāyana Parva*, p. 124.

3. Teste. *Vedic Index*, II. p. 148.

4. *Mbh.*, 12. 268. 3, 14.

5. माण्डव्याश्चण्डखाराश्च अश्वकालनदास्तथा ।।
माण्डव्या···सगान्धाराः···।।

Mārkaṇḍeya Pu., LVIII. 38, 46.

6. *Agni Pu.*, LV. 18.

7. *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, I. 10. 8.

8. दिशि पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां माण्डव्यतुषारतालहलभद्राः ।

Bṛhat Saṃhitā, XIV. 22.

Also. XIV. 27.

XI Madras

Famous since the Vedic times,[1] the Madras were, according to the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, well versed in sacrificial studies.[2] They were a corporation of warriors and enjoyed the title of rājas. In the Mahābhārata they are condemned for their close relations with the Vāhīkas.[3] Their country Madra which finds mention in the Aṣṭādhyāyī,[4] the Mahābhāṣya[5] and the Jātakas,[6] corresponds to the modern Sialkot (ancient Śākala) and the surrounding regions between the Irāvatī and the Candrabhāgā.[7]

XII-XIII Antargiris and Bahirgiris

They must have been the hilly tribes inhabiting the Himalayan ranges known as the Great Central Himalaya and the Lesser Himalaya.[8]

XIV yavanas

By mentioning a Nāga Yavanapriya the Nīlamata refers to the Yavanas—the most esteemed of the foreign people. Mentioned many a time in ancient Indian literature[9] they are grouped with other peoples of Uttarāpatha and have been identified with the Ionians.

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1. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II. p. 123.
2. अथ हैनमुद्दालक आरुणिः पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्येति होवाच मद्रेष्वसाम... ।
   Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, III. 7. 1.
3. *Mbh.*, VIII. 44-45 (Chapters).
4. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 1. 176; IV. 2. 108, 131.
5. *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1. 8; I. 3. 2; II. 1. 2; IV. 2. 108.
6. *Jātaka*, IV. (p. 230) 1. 20; V.(p. 283) 1. 26.
7. Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 105.
8. Supra, p. 24.
9. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 1. 175; *Mbh.*, XII. 207. 47.
   Mārkaṇḍeya Pu., Brahmāṇḍa Pu., Matsya Pu., Vāmana Pu. Teste. *I.H.Q.*, XXI. p. 302.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

I Social Organization

Man as a social being requires some sort of social organization. Social institutions have evolved everywhere to serve this basic need of mankind. Ancient India, too, devised for this a system called Varṇāśramadharma i.e. the code of conduct for the Varṇas and the Āśramas.[1] The Nīlamata does not discuss the origin of Varṇāśrama and does not even describe this system in detail. It, however, casually refers to some Varṇas and the Āśramas along with their main characteristics.

(*I*) *Varṇas*

The verses 14b-16a, forming a part of the description of Kaśmīra, describe briefly the duties of all the four Varṇas.[2]

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1. The earliest reference to the four Varṇas is found in *R.V.*, *X.* 90.12 where the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya and the Vaiśya are identified with the mouth, the arms and the thighs of the Universal Man and the Śūdra is stated to have taken birth from His feet.

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रोऽजायत ॥

The earliest but somewhat obscure reference to the Āśramas occurs in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Adhyāya 33. Khaṇḍa 1.

किं नु मलं किमजिनं किमु श्मश्रूणि किं तपः ।
मलं (Dirt) = Gṛhasthāśrama ?
अजिनम् (Antelope skin) = Brahmacarya ?
श्मश्रूणि (Beard) = Vānaprastha ?
तपः (Penance) = Sannyāsa ?

2. स्वाध्यायध्याननिरतैर्यज्ञशीलैर्जनैर्युतम् ॥
तपस्विभिर्धर्मपरैर्वेदवेदाङ्गपारगैः ।
क्षत्रियैः सुमहाभागैः सर्वशस्त्रास्त्रपारगैः ॥
वैश्यैर्वृत्तिरतैः शूद्रैर्द्विजातिपरिचारकैः ।
Nīlamata, vv. 14b-16a.

(*i*) *Brāhmaṇas*

Although the word Brāhmaṇa does not occur in the verses 14b-15a of the Nīlamata, the description is evidently applied to the Brāhmaṇas. The mention of the other three Varṇas in the succeeding lines (vv. 156-16a) ensures it. The Brāhmaṇas are described as engaged in self-study, contemplation, performance of sacrifice, penance and the study of the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas.[1]

(1) *Brāhmaṇas and the rituals*

The association of the Brāhmaṇas with the sacrifice is indicated by various verses of the Nīlamata.[2] The very fact, that the frequent mention of the sacrifice or the worship of fire is immediately followed by the injunction to please the Brāhmaṇas, indicates that the latter played a leading role in all the sacrifices.[3] On the day of the coronation of the king, the priest had to perform special sacrifices, reciting mantras meant for the attainment of the long life, fearlessness, prosperity etc.[4] Reference is made to Koṭihoma, Lakṣahoma and Śālihotra.[5]

(2) *Brāhmaṇas and the Vedic studies*

The Brāhmaṇas, as is clear from the epithet 'vedavedāṅga-pāraga' were entrusted with the duty of preserving the intellectual and spiritual culture of the society. Of course one cannot dogmatise whether the Brāhmaṇas carried on Vedic studies, in the period under reference, with the same spirit

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1. Loc. Cit.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 385, 431, 474-75, 490, 808.
3. Ibid., v. 510. Cf. vv. 342, 536, 543, 562, 653, 765, 787, 804 etc.
4. पुरोधाः सोपवासस्तु जुहुयाज्जातवेदसि ।
   गणं चैव प्रतिरथं शब्दवर्षगणावुभौ ॥
   आयुष्यमभयं चैव तथा स्वस्त्ययनं परम् ।
   Ibid., vv. 808-9.
5. Infra, Ch. VIII. II. Other religious practices.

of selflessness as was expected of them in earlier times[1] or not, it seems certain that for officiating as priests at the sacrifices they had to study the Vedas and the Sūtras dealing with ritualism. In connection with the two sacrifices viz. Koṭihoma and Lakṣahoma, the Nīlamata refers to the Ātharvaṇas and the Kalpas.[2] The mantras dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śakra, Savitā, Brahmā, Rudra and Varuṇa are also referred to.[3] Brahmaghoṣa[4] is heard on various occasions and there is a mention of Sāmadhvani[5] in connection with Śrāvaṇī festival.[6] The study of astronomy and astrology was also taken up by the Brāhmaṇas of Kaśmīra, for the Nīlamata describes them as acquainted with these two subjects.[7] They knew the calculation of time[8] and were considered the protectors of astronomy.[9]

(3) *Brāhmaṇas and the recitation of the Purāṇas etc.*

Besides the general epithets of the Brāhmaṇas indicating their Vedic studies,[10] the Nīlamata uses two significant epithets

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1. Cf. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति ।
Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*. Paspaśāhnika.
The grammarian quotes an āgama enjoining upon the Brāhmaṇas the study of the Veda and its six subsidiary lores without any motive (of material gain).

2. तयोर्विधानं विज्ञेयं कल्पेष्वाथर्वणेषु च ।
Nīlamata, v. 805.

3. वैष्णवानि च मन्त्राणि शाक्राणि च यथाविधि ॥
सावित्रब्राह्मरौद्राणि वारुणानि तथैव च ।
Ibid., vv. 809-10.

4. Ibid., vv. 412, 750.

5. सामध्वनिश्च श्रोतव्यस्तस्मिन्नहनि काश्यप ।
Ibid., v. 714.

6. Infra, Ch. VIII. I. (45). Śrāvaṇi.

7. ज्योतिषका द्विजाः··· । *Nīlamata*, v. 631.
फलवेदविदः··· । Ibid., v. 632. Also v. 627.

8. ···कालविदे···॥ Ibid., v. 476.
See also Infra, Ch. IX. II. (I). (ii) 'Heavenly bodies', for reference to the nakṣatras etc. and the divisions of time.

9. ज्योतिषां पालकाये··· । *Nīlamata*, v. 741.

10. वेदार्थविद्भि··· । Ibid., v. 342.

for them viz. 'acquainted with history'[1] and 'reciters' (of Kathās, Purāṇas etc.).[2] That the Purāṇic stories were narrated on religious functions is indicated by the description of 'awakening of Viṣṇu.'[3] In the Gupta inscriptions also we find mention of Kathāvids,[4] and Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita refers to the reading of the Vāyu Purāṇa in his village.[5] This practice may have been popular in Kaśmīra also in circa 6th century A.D. i.e. sometime before the date of the Nīlamata. Regarding the epithet 'Itihāsavid' it may be pointed out that the historical tradition has been very strong in Kaśmīra. No other part of India has produced a Kalhaṇa, and as stated in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, Kalhaṇa was preceded by many other historians on whom he drew for his history of Kaśmīra.[6]

(4) *Brāhmaṇas and gifts*

The Brāhmaṇas as the recipients of gifts have been mentioned frequently in the Nīlamata. The Nīlamata emphasises the virtue of the gifts given to the Brāhmaṇas. The terms used for such a gift are Dāna,[7] Dakṣiṇā,[8] and Pratigraha.[9] The nature of the gifts varies with religious ceremonies performed in different seasons of the year. Thus, the clothes are to be given on the dark 15th and the bright 12th of Kārttika, the full moon day of Pauṣa and the bright first

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1. ...इतिहासविदश्च ये । *Nīlamata*, v. 632.
2. वाचकाः पूजनीयाश्च दक्षिणाभिमुखा द्विज ॥
   Ibid., Loc. Cit.
3. वीणापटहशब्दैश्च पुराणानां च वाचनैः ।
   तत्कथाश्रवणैश्चान्यैस्तथा स्तोत्रप्रकीर्तनैः ॥
   Ibid., v. 413.
4. *B.D.C.R.I.*, II. Parts 1-2. p. 165.
5. पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, III.
6. दृग्गोचरं पूर्वसूरिग्रन्था राजकथाश्रयाः ।
   मम त्वेकादश गता मतं नीलमुनेरपि ॥
   Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, I.14.
7. *Nīlamata*, vv. 520, 692, 1355.
8. Ibid., vv. 490, 543.
9. Ibid., v. 980.

of Caitra;[1] ornaments, jewels, cash money etc. on the dark 15th and the 15th of Kārttika, full moon day of Pauṣa and bright first of Caitra;[2] umbrellas, shoes and garlands at the end of the month of Āṣāḍha;[3] cows, horses and elephants on the bright 12th of Kārttika;[4] bull on the full moon day of Kārttika;[5] fuel and grass on the ceremony of Summer Solistice;[6] grains on the full moon day of Kārttika and the bright Ist of Caitra;[7] sesame mixed with honey on the full moon day of Vaiśākha[8] and barley on the bright 3rd of Vaiśākha.[9] Cooked food is to be given daily[10] but of this, too, the different preparations are prescribed for different occasions. A preparation of boiled rice and pulse called Kṛśara is to be given on the dark 14th of Pauṣa,[11] cakes on the 8th, bread with honey on the 9th and cooked rice of various types on the 10th of Phālguṇa.[12] Grains wrapped in raw sugar (guḍa) are to be given on the day of Navānna Vidhāna,[13] and grapes on the day of tasting the first fruit of the season.[14] The gift of land has been mentioned once only in the case of Mahāpadma[15] and does not seem to have been very

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 407, 431-32, 476, 631.
2. Ibid., vv. 431-32, 440, 473, 621.
3. Ibid., v. 709.
4. Ibid., vv. 431-32.
5. Ibid., v. 441.
6. Ibid., v. 480.
7. Ibid., vv. 440, 631.
8. Ibid., vv. 692, 694.
9. Ibid., v. 680.
10. नित्यदानं सपक्वान्नम्... । Ibid., v. 520.
11. Ibid., v. 490.
12. Ibid., vv. 502-4.
13. गुडोपेतास्तथा धानाः सर्वसस्यसमुद्भवाः ।
ब्राह्मणानां प्रदातव्या भृत्यबन्धुजनस्य च ॥
Ibid., v. 753.
14. ब्राह्मणानां च दातव्या द्राक्षा प्रथमतो द्विज ॥
Ibid., v. 800.
15. ददानि तेऽहं विप्रेन्द्र स्थानं चन्द्रपुरे शुभम् ।
Ibid., v. 979.

popular. At one place we find the procedure of giving and receiving a gift. According to the Dharmaśāstric rules, the donor poured water on the hands of the donee and the latter pronounced some benedictory formula.[1] As regards the qualification of the Brāhmaṇa donees, we find an injunction to make gifts to those Brāhmaṇas who are acquainted with history, astronomy, astrology etc. or who recite the Purāṇas,[2] but mostly occurs the word Brāhmaṇa unaccompanied by any epithet. It is pertinent that nowhere in the Nīlamata do we find an assertion that the illiterate or ill-mannered Brāhmaṇas, too, should be regarded as gods and honoured with gifts. This fact, along with the absence of any reference to the gifts of highly expensive nature such as Hiraṇyagarbha, Brahmāṇḍa, Kalpataru referred to in the Matsya, the Liṅga, the Garuḍa and other Purāṇas,[3] indicates for the Nīlamata, a date earlier than that of the Dāna portions of these Purāṇas.

(5) *Brāhmaṇas and politics*

The Nīlamata throws light on the relation between the Brāhmaṇas and the king. It enjoins that a king should perform daily sacrifices and the other sacrifices for special purpose, in consultation with his Sāṃvatsaras and the Purohitas.[4] On the day of coronation the priest has to

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1. प्रतिग्रहजलं गृह्य स्वस्तिवाच्य भुजंगमः ।

Nīlamata, v. 980.

सर्वाण्युदकपूर्वाणि दानानि । यथाश्रुति विहारे ।

Āp.Dh.S., II. 4. 9. 9-10.

स्वस्तिवाच्य भिक्षादानमप्पूर्वम् ।

Gaut.Dh.S., V. 16-17.

Teste. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 854.

2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 631-32.
3. *Matsya Pu.*, Chaps. 82, 83; Liṅga Pu., II. 29. 1-12; 33. 1-9. Hemādri, *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi*, Dāna Khaṇḍa, pp. 166-345.
4. नित्या·येतानि कर्माणि निमित्तेष्वपराणि च ।

सम्मन्त्र्य सह कार्याणि सवत्सरपुरोहितैः ॥

Nīlamata, v. 806.

For the discussion about the reading संवत्सर (सांवत्सर) Infra, Emendations, v. 806 A.B.

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, II.4. 27-46 describes the selection of

undergo a fast and make offerings in the fire with five sets of mantras viz. Pratiratha, Śabda, Varṣa, Āyuṣya and Abhaya.[1] It is the home-priest who makes the king sit on the throne.[2] The king is asked to honour the priest with gifts.[3] He is to worship the gods and the Brāhmaṇas daily.[4] In the description of the coronation bath of the king, the Brāhmaṇas, with their golden jars, are stated to come last of the other varṇas,[5] but they lead others in the act of coronating the king.[6]

Sāṃvatsara by a king and gives a lengthy list of the qualities which a Sāṃvatsara should possess. He is just like mother, father, instructor and preceptor to the king. The king appoints Mantrīs and Purohitas after consulting him. Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 5. vv. 54-55 clearly establishes the superiority of the astrologer (Sāṃvatsara) over the Purohita by stating that a king should give up the Purohita if he acts against the Sāṃvatsara, otherwise the Purohita is also like mother and father to the king.

व्रतं गृहीत्वा राज्यार्थी वृणुयाद् ब्राह्मणोत्तमम् ।
सांवत्सरं सुखायास्य सर्वस्य जगतो नृपः ॥
II. 4. 27.

तेनादिष्टौ तु वरयेद्राजा मन्त्रिपुरोहितौ ॥
II. 4. 41.

सांवत्सरविरुद्धस्तु त्याज्यो राज्ञा पुरोहित ॥
पुरोहितोऽन्यथा राज्ञो यथा माता यथा पिता ।
II. 5. 54-55.

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 808-9, Supra, p. 78. f.n. IV.
All these are groups of Vedic mantras. Other Purāṇas (Cf. Agni Pu., 218. 8. Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., II. 19. 4; 176. 35) mention two other famous groups Śarma and Varma for Śabda and Varṣa but on personal inquiry I have come to know that the last two also are recognised by the ritualists.
A.V., IV. 30. 1-8 are termed as Śabdagaṇa.
A.V., IV. 15. 1-16 are termed as Varṣagaṇa.

2. उपवेश्यो भवेद्राजा स्वयं गृहपुरोधसा । *Nīlamata*, v. 829.

3. पूजयेत धनौघेन दैवज्ञं सपुरोधसम् ॥ Ibid., v. 826.

4. नित्यं राज्ञा समुत्थाय पूजनीयाः सुरद्विजाः ।
Ibid., v. 832.
तत्रोवास सुखी राजा ब्राह्मणान् परिपूजयन् ॥
Ibid., v. 984.
Also vv. 804, 827, 850 etc.

5. Ibid., vv. 814-15.
6. Ibid., v. 824.

(6) *General attitude towards Brāhmaṇas*

That high respect was shown generally to the Brāhmaṇas is evident from many verses of the Nīlamata.[1] In all the rites and the ceremonies and on all the festive and sorrowful occasions, they are to be honoured and satisfied. They receive worship along with the gods[2] and it seems that this worship forms a part of the worship of the gods. The gods Śiva, Brahmā, Mahendra, Vāstu—the home deity, Prajāpati Kaśyapa and the goddesses Vitastā, Bhadrakālī, Śyāmā, all these are worshipped by satisfying the Brāhmaṇas.[3] The gods are said to reside in them.[4] They are mentioned not only with the gods but also with the friends and the relatives with whom they are invited on the 8th and 10th of Phālguṇa,[5] 8th of Āśvina[6] and on the occasions of Navānnavidhāna[7] and Irāmañjarī-pūjana.[8]

(*ii*) *Kṣatriyas*

(1) *Duties and social status of the Kṣatriyas*

There are occasional references to the Kṣatriyas indicating their martial character. They are described as skilled in the use of all sorts of weapons.[9] The Nīrājanā ceremony, in which Durgā—the goddess of war—is worshipped and the weapons of war are also worshipped in the temple of Durgā,[10]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 562, 705, 794, 800, 832 etc.
2. Ibid., v. 832.
3. Ibid., vv. 508-10, 562, 653, 727-28, 765, 787, 799.
4. नित्यं सन्निहिता देवा कश्मीरामण्डले द्विज ।
   तेषां भक्तिः सदा कार्या नागानां (नागेषु) ब्राह्मणेषु च ॥
   Ibid., v. 836.
   For reading Infra., Emendations, v. 836 A.B.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 502-4.
6. Ibid., v. 793.
7. Ibid., v. 753.
8. Ibid., v. 673.
9. Ibid., v. 15. Supra. p. 77, f.n. 2.
10. आयुधानि च पूज्यानि रात्रौ दुर्गागृहे तथा । Ibid., v. 739.
    नीराजनाख्या विज्ञेया शालिहोत्रविचक्षणैः ॥ Ibid., v. 740.

seems to have been a kind of military ceremony associated with the Kṣatriyas.

As regards their status in society, their mention after the Brāhmaṇas indicates their social status in accordance with the vārtika on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, II.2.34, which lays down the rule that the castes should be mentioned in the order of status, the highest one to come first and the lowest one last.[1] At one place this order seems to have been upturned[2] but the sense of gradation is not lost sight of there too. While bathing the king, the higher castes come later so as to assure the highest purity at the time of coronation.

(2) *Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya relations*

We have noted the position of the Brāhmaṇa Purohita and the Brāhmaṇa Sāṃvatsara in the court of the king.[3] The kings paid respect to the Brāhmaṇas as is shown by the treatment Candradeva and Mahāpadma received from Nīla and Viśvagaśva respectively.[4] There is reference, no doubt, to Paraśurāma killing the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times[5] but as Pargiter has pointed out, this account is purely a tale of Brahmanical tradition with little historical background.[6] Anyway, from the version of the story, as preserved in the Nīlamata, making the significant assertion that some Kṣatriyas afraid of Rāma had sought refuge in Kaśmīra,[7] we may infer the lack of Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya conflict in Kaśmīra of the age of the Nīlamata, as the later redactions of old tales

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1. ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्वैश्यैः शूद्रमुख्यैस्तथैव च । *Nīlamata*, v. 824.
   वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण । Vārtika on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II. 2.34.
2. शूद्रविट्क्षत्रविप्राणां गणमुख्यैर्यथादिशम् । *Nīlamata*, v. 815.
3. Supra, pp. 82-83.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 358-65, 978-79.
5. त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवीं कृत्वा निःक्षत्रियां पुरा ॥
   Ibid., v. 1167.
6. Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 73.
7. एकविंशतितमे घाते प्राप्ते केचित्तु क्षत्रियाः ।
   गिरिदुर्गमनुप्राप्ताः कश्मीरायां नृपोत्तम ॥
   Nīlamata, v. 1168.

generally reflect the ideas of the age in which they receive the new form.

(iii) Vaiśyas

The Vaiśyas are described as engaged in 'vṛtti,[1]' the term denoting agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade.[2]

(iv) Śūdras

The Śūdras were to serve the twice-born varṇas.[3] As regards their position in the society, those who served in the houses of the higher varṇas, received sympathetic treatment from their masters. The Nīlamata often includes the servants also in the list of the persons in whose company the householder feasts and enjoys.[4] The Karmajīvīs and the Śilpīs belonged to the Śūdra varṇa. The former were probably low paid workers[5] while the latter were artisans viz. weavers, carpenters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, leather-tanners and potters who commanded some respect in the society and exchanged gifts with the higher varṇas during the Mahīmāna celebrations.[6] They are enjoined to worship the goddess Bhadrakālī on the 8th of the dark half of Āśvina and also to worship their tools and implements in the temple of Durgā.[7]

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1. Supra. p. 77, f.n. 2.
2. आजीवो जीविका वार्त्ता वृत्तिर्वर्त्तनजीवने ॥
स्त्रियां कृषिः पाशुपाल्यं वाणिज्यं चेति वृत्तयः ।
Amarakośa, II. 9. 1-2.
3. Supra. p. 77, f.n. 2.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 385, 395, 406-7.
मित्रभृत्याप्तसम्बन्धिसहितैश्च यथासुखम् ॥
भोज्यं विशेषवत्कार्यं श्रोतव्यं गीतवादितम् ।
Ibid., vv. 467-68.
5. परपाकरतिर्यो वै योऽपि चैवाधनो भवेत् ।
कर्मजीवी भवेद्यो वै तेनापि द्विजपुङ्गव ॥
यथाकथञ्चिच्छ्राद्धं तु कर्तव्यं स्यात् त्रयोदशीम् ।
Ibid., vv. 735-36.
6. आश्रितानां द्विजातीनां शिल्पिसम्बन्धिनां तथा ।
तस्मिन्नहनि दातव्यं ग्राह्यं चैवाप्युपायनम् ॥
Ibid., v. 522.
7. Ibid., vv. 786-89.

It is possible that some of these Śilpīs were the Vaiśyas while others were the Śūdras. In fact, the gradual rise in the status of the Śūdras must have been due to the fact that they were allowed to ply the trades of the Vaiśyas.[1] The very fact that the Nīlamata describes the Śūdras as taking part in the coronation ceremony of the king,[2] indicates that they were not considered debased.

(*v*) *Other castes and varṇa-saṅkara*

It is natural to suppose that there emerged various sub-castes according to occupation, locality, school of education and kindred factors. Thus, we read of Aurabhrikas,[3] (the shepherds), Mallas[4] (the wrestlers), Naṭas[5] (the actors) and Nartakas[6] (the dancers). Varṇa-saṅkara is not mentioned but there are references to Sūta, Māgadha and Vandī[7] described as Pratiloma in various Dharmaśāstras. Sūta is the offspring of a Kṣatriya male and a Brāhmaṇa female,[8] and Vandī (Bandī) of a Vaiśya male and a Kṣatriya female.[9] About Māgadha the opinions differ. According to Gautama, Kauṭilya, Manu and Yājñavalkya, he is sprung from the union of a Vaiśya male and a Kṣatriya female ; others regard him as the child of a Vaiśya male and a Brāhmaṇa female ; Baudhāyana holds that he is the offspring of a Śūdra male and a Vaiśya female while in the Viṣṇudharma Sūtra he is described as thc offspring of a Śūdra male and a Kṣatriya female.[10]

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1. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. pp. 120-21.
2. Supra, p. 85.
3. *Nīlamata*, v. 384.
4. Ibid., v. 863.
5. Ibid., vv. 528, 688, 813 etc.
6. Ibid., Loc. Cit.
7. Ibid., v. 428.
8. Gautama, IV. 15; Baudhā. Dh. S., 1. 9. 9; Vās., 18. 6; Kauṭ., III. 7; Manu., X. 11; Nārada Strīpuṃsa, 110; Viṣṇu Dh. S., 16. 6; Yāj., 1. 93.
   Teste. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 98.
9. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 94.
10. Ibid., p. 90.

(*II*) *Āśramas*

The Nīlamata is virtually silent on the four Āśramas.

(*i*) *Brahmacarya*

The words Brahmacarya[1] and Brahmacārī[2] occur but not in the sense of studentship and student. The context in which they occur, refers to celibacy that has to be observed on some religious days, but this can yield that celibacy was considered to be the main feature of Brahmacaryāśrama. There is no mention of early marriage in the Nīlamata which warrants that the early life of a man was characterized by celibacy.

(*ii*) *Absence of the terms Sannyāsa and Vānaprastha*

The terms Sannyāsa and Vānaprastha find no mention in the Nīlamata which, however, refers to the sages dwelling in the hermitages.[3] These sages are stated to be the seers of the true essence[4] and the chastity of their lives is taken as a standard of comparison.[5]

Nīlamata's main concern is, however, Gṛhasthāśrama which is described in detail and the same is discussed here under the heading Family-life.

(*iii*) *Family-life*

The Nīlamata uses for family the terms 'kuṭumba'[6] and

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1. पुंश्चलीसहितैर्नेया क्रीडमानैर्निशा तु सा ।
   ब्रह्मचर्येण गीतेन नृत्तैर्वाद्यैर्मनोहरैः ॥
   Nīlamata, v. 559.
2. श्राद्धं कृत्वा प्रयत्नेन ब्रह्मचारी वसेन्निशाम् ।
   Ibid., v. 471.
3. ऋष्याश्रमसुसम्बाधम्···॥ Ibid., v. 17.
4. ···मुनिभिस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥ Ibid., v. 1340.
5. ···निर्मलो मुनिवद्भवेत् । Ibid., v. 1315.
6. सकुटुम्बस्य···। कुटुम्बपरिवारितः···॥ Ibid., vv. 982, 987.

'parīvāra.'[1] The householder is called 'grhastha'.[2] In the description of the various rites and the ceremonies which the people of Kaśmīra are enjoined upon to perform, the householder is almost invariably mentioned along with his wife and children.[3]

(1) *Children*

The birth of a son was an occasion for rejoicing.[4] The father performed several rites at the birth of the son[5] and the astrologers foretold the long life or otherwise of the child.[6] In the list of the Nāgas of Kaśmīra there is mention of a Nāga Bahuputra[7] and it may be conjectured that this Nāga deity was worshipped by the people to get many sons. The greatest shock for a father seems to have been the death of a son.[8] The sense of regard for the father was shown by the son by touching his feet and he too, laid open his filial affection by smelling the head of the son.[9] The children received proper attention at festive occasions.[10] The happy ideal

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1. तत्रास्ते सपरीवारः.....॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 985.
2. पञ्चयज्ञानवाप्नोति स्नात्वा वै पञ्चहस्तके ।
   प्रत्यहं ये विनिर्दिष्टा गृहस्थस्य महीपते ॥
   Ibid., v. 1291.
3. Ibid., vv. 385, 394, 547, 670 etc.
4. तं प्राप्य तनयं विप्रः शिलादो हर्षमागतः ।
   Ibid., v. 1043.
5. संस्काराणि तु सर्वाणि पुत्रस्य कृतवांस्तदा ॥
   Ibid., Loc. Cit.
6. अल्पायुषं स शुश्राव ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तदा सुतम् ॥
   Ibid., v. 1044.
7. कम्भाटाश्च सुभाटाश्च बहुपुत्रो निशाचरः ।
   Ibid., v. 943.
8. Ibid., vv. 1044-45.
9. स गत्वा पितरं दृष्ट्वा पितुः पादौ निपीड्य च ।
   निवेद्य नामधेयं स्वं ववन्दे भुजगाधिपः ॥
   पित्रा मूर्धन्युपाघ्राय पूजितः स यथाविधि ।
   Ibid., vv. 97-98.
10. आत्मपूजा नरैः कार्या स्त्रीणां बालजनस्य च ।
    Ibid., v. 757.

for a householder was to have sons and grandsons endowed with long life.[1]

(2) *Position of women*

(*a*) *Women in the family*

The most relieving feature of the family-life of Kaśmīra as seen in the Nīlamata, is the position of women. Nowhere is she considered 'the living torch illuminating the way to hell'[2] or 'the devourer of the intellect of men'.[3] There is no reference to any veil worn by her and she moves quite freely in the society,[4] emulating as it were the free-going sparkling waters of the springs of her country. The Nīlamata allows her to participate in almost all the festivals and religious ceremonies. In the moonlit night of Kaumudī Mahotsava, we find her sitting beside the sacred fire in the company of her husband, children, servants and husband's friends.[5] It is not clear, however, as whether she is merely a silent spectator or takes active part in the musical and dramatic performances performed during this night. She is present in the common feast which takes place on the next day.[6]

Not only on the festivals celebrated at home but also in the outdoor festivals, she is seen freely enjoying herself. Thus,

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 867-69.
2. नरकमार्गस्य दीपिका । *Yogaśāstra*, II. 87.
   Teste. Altekar, *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 324.
3. *Padma Pu.*, LXI. vv. 11-40, deprecate women thus :
   नराणां बुद्धिकवलं कुर्वन्ति सततं हि ताः । v. 14.
   नारीसङ्गो हि धर्मज्ञैरसत्सङ्गः प्रकीर्त्यते । v. 40.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 385-86, 547, 670, 798 etc.
   In these verses, the householder is enjoined to go to gardens etc. in the company of his wife (strīsahāyena), friends, relatives and servants.
5. Ibid., vv. 385-86.
6. सम्पूज्य विप्रान् भोक्तव्यं तनुलिप्तैः स्वलङ्कृतैः ॥
   मित्रानुजीविभिः सार्धं दारापत्यादिभिस्तथा ।
   Ibid., vv. 394-95.

on the ceremonial day for ploughing the fields and sowing the seed, characterized by music, dancing and feasting, the peasant's wife is not behind the walls of her home. She is lucky enough to participate in the joyous festival celebrated in the refreshing open fields of Nature.[1]

On the day of Irāmañjarī-pūjana—a festival of flowers—the ladies are honoured with presents of flowers and garlands.[2] In another verse we find reference to the women going to fruit-gardens to worship the fruit-giving trees.[3]

In the happy valley of lakes, rivers and fountains, water-sports could bring the highest pleasures to the society and the Nīlamata does not deny this means of merriment to the ladies of Kaśmīra. "The young maidens" it says, "should specially play in the waters" during the celebrations of Śrāvaṇī festival.[4]

Playing with men is allowed to women. We find the joyful ladies dressed in their best attire, perfumed with scents and decorated with ornaments, sporting in the company of men on the last day of Mahīmāna celebrations.[5]

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1. स्वलङ्कृतेन भोक्तव्यं क्षेत्रमध्ये तथा द्विज ॥
सुहृद्भार्याश्रितैः सार्धं वाद्यशब्दैर्मनोहरैः ।
उत्सवं चैव कर्तव्यं गीतनृत्तसमाकुलम् ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 546-47.

2. इरापुष्पैस्ततः पूज्या द्विजस्त्रीमित्रबान्धवाः ।
रक्तसूत्रनिबद्धानि इरापुष्पाणि कारयेत् ॥
बिभृयादात्मना तानि स्त्रीषु दद्याद्विशेषतः ।
Ibid., vv. 673-74.

3. पूजनीयाश्च कर्तव्यं स्त्रीभिर्गत्वा फलद्रुमम् ॥
Ibid., v. 791.

4. क्रीडितव्यं विशेषेण कुमारीभिस्तथा जले ॥
Ibid., v. 714.

5. स्त्रीभिर्भाव्यं प्रहृष्टाभिः सुवस्त्राभिस्तथैव च ॥
भूषणैर्भूषिताभिश्च क्रीडितव्यं नरैः सह ॥
Ibid., vv. 524-25.

The ladies of the house are honoured on various occasions. The householder is enjoined upon to honour them on the New Snow-fall day.[1] The sisters etc. and the ladies whose husbands are alive are honoured on the 4th of the bright half of Māgha.[2] Similar honour is given to them on the 4th days of Āśvayuj and Jyeṣṭha. On the full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa, the gift of a pair of red clothes is prescribed for a Brāhmaṇa lady whose husband and sons are living. Sister, paternal aunt and friend's wife are also invited and given clothes.[3] The mention of the presentation of gifts to friend's wife is quite significant as it could have been possible only in a free atmosphere where women were allowed to move freely with no restrictions on their receipt of gifts from their husband's friends.

On Madana Trayodaśī—a festival in honour of the god of love—the wife receives bath with the sacred water from the hands of her husband as an indication of his love for her.[4]

Wife is the charm of the decorated bedroom in the night of Dīpamālā (Sukha-suptikā) festival.[5]

Charming beauty and the life-long happiness of married life are the things highly prized by the ladies of Kaśmīra.[6] They are often asked to be well-dressed and decorated, the special term for such act being 'pratikarma'.[7] As regards

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1. ...पूजनीयास्तथा स्त्रियः ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 468.

For details of the festivals, referred to in this page and also in 90 and 91, see Infra Ch. VIII. I.

2. पूज्याश्च सुभगास्तत्र योषितस्तु पतिव्रताः ॥
यासां जीवन्ति नाथाश्च स्वसृप्रभृतयश्च याः ।
Nīlamata, vv. 495-96.

3. रक्तवस्त्रयुगं देयं सुभगा ब्राह्मणी तु या ।
स्वसा पितृस्वसा या च मित्रपत्नी तु या भवेत् ॥
Ibid., v. 458.

4. अनर्कोभ्युदिते काले स्नाप्या स्यात्तेन वारिणा ।
दयिता द्विजशार्दूल स्वयं कान्तेन काश्यप ॥
Ibid., v. 658.

5. Ibid., vv. 398, 405-6.

6. कान्तं रूपमवाप्नोति सौभाग्यं विपुलं स्त्रियः ।
Ibid., v. 460.

7. Ibid., vv. 529, 537.

their place in the religious life, they are not only allowed to accompany their husbands in the performance of various rites and ceremonies but are also enjoined upon to perform singly some rites specially prescribed for them. Thus, the god Chandaḥ[1] is to be worshipped[2] and rajasvalā Kaśmīrā is to be bathed by the women only.[3] The triad of the 4th days (Caturthī-tritaya) is to be observed specially by ladies.[4]

Another factor which points to the high position of women is the prominence of the goddesses in the religion depicted in the Nīlamata. The gods are mentioned often with their consorts. Śakra plays with Śacī ; Viṣṇu's feet rest in the lap of Lakṣmī ; Pārvatī accompanies Śiva; Sītā is worshipped during the celebrations of Rāma's birth-day and Kṛṣṇa's wife receives worship on the birth-day of her lord.[5] The mothers of the gods are also referred to.[6] Besides these we come across various other female deities. The goddesses Aśokikā, Śyāmā, Durgā, Śrī, Karīṣiṇī, Bhadrakālī, Bheḍā, Kāpiñjalī, Sureśvarī, Bhadreśvarī, Gautameśī, Kālaśilā, Udyogaśrī, Gavākṣī, Caṇḍikā, Gaurī, Suvijayā, Śakunī, Brahmacāriṇī, Cakreśvarī and Gṛhadevī form the shining galaxy of female deities worshipped by the people of Kaśmīra.[7] The rivers of Kaśmīra are also personified as goddesses. Umā transforms herself into the Vitastā,[8] Aditi becomes the Trikoṭi,[9] Śacī assumes the form of

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1. Infra, Ch. VII. III. (X). Chandodeva.
2. तस्यां स्त्रीभिर्भवेत्पूज्यश्छन्दोदेव इति स्मृतः ॥
मनुष्यैस्तु न कर्तव्या तस्य पूजा कथंचन ।
Nīlamata, vv. 548-49.
3. स्त्रीभिस्तु पूजा कर्तव्या न मनुष्यैः कथंचन ।
स्नाप्यास्त्री भिर्भवेद्देवी कृष्णपक्षाष्टमीं तु ताम् ।
Ibid., v. 533.
4. सर्वाश्चतुर्थीः श्रद्धावांश्चतुर्थीत्रितयं ध्रुवम् ।
कारयेत नरो ब्रह्मन् नारी कुर्याद् विशेषतः ॥
Ibid, v., 497.
5. Ibid., vv. 71, 410, 503, 718, 1102.
6. Ibid., v. 152.
7. Ibid., vv. 399, 466, 650-51, 758, 799, 843, 1010,1012-15.
8. Ibid., vv. 228-29.
9. Ibid., v. 231.

the Harṣapathā,[1] Diti becomes the Candravatī[2] and Lakṣmī turns into the river Viśokā.[3] The very land of Kaśmīra is the mother goddess Kaśmīrā—a form of Umā.[4]

On the whole the Nīlamata offers a pleasant picture of the woman of Kaśmīra. As a daughter she was trained in fine arts etc. and was allowed to move freely in the society. By giving her in marriage, the father obtained religious merit.[5] As a wife she was loved and honoured by her husband and as a mother she shone with her sons who prized her highly.[6] A would-be mother could even be installed on the throne on the demise of her sonless husband-king.[7]

This account of the women of Kaśmīra—respected in the home and esteemed highly outside—is quite different from the account available in other Purāṇas and so gives a distinctive character to the Nīlamata. The other Purāṇas generally despise and deprecate the ladies as seducers of men. To quote R.C. Hazra "As a matter of fact, in the Purāṇas, women have not been allowed full freedom in the social and religious life under any circumstances and conjugal fidelity and devoted service to their husbands have been stressed as the highest duties for them."[8] The statement, evidently, does not apply to the Nīlamata which gives a somewhat different and unconventional picture of the female-life. The genuineness of the account given by the Nīlamata is proved by the corroboration it receives from the works of many Kaśmīrī writers. Bilhaṇa gives a testimony to the literary efficiency

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 232.
2. Ibid., v. 233.
3. Ibid., vv. 276-77.
4. यैव देवी उमा सैव कश्मीरा नृपपुङ्गव । Ibid., v. 12.
5. ····कन्यादानफलं लभेत् ॥ Ibid., v. 1296.
6. Ibid., vv. 58, 350.
7. अन्तर्वत्नीं तस्य पत्नीं वासुदेवोऽभ्यषेचयत् ।
   भविष्यत्पुत्रराज्यार्थं तस्य देशस्य गौरवात् ॥
   Ibid., v. 9.
8. *Great Women of India*, pp. 221-22. The extract is from an article 'Great Women in the Purāṇas' contributed by R. C. Hazra, the writer of 'Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' and 'Studies in the Upa-purāṇas.'

of the women of Kaśmīra who could fluently speak Sanskṛta and Prākṛta.[1] Dāmodara Gupta in his Kuṭṭanīmata gives a list of the subjects which they learnt[2] and Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī is full of instances showing the high status of women in the fields of religion and politics.[3]

(*b*) *Women outside marriage*

A few words may be now added about prostitutes and dancing girls attached to temples. The numerous references to courtesans in connection with the description of festivals indicate that prostitution was freely allowed in the society of the days of the Nīlamata. The Nīlamata does not decry the courtesans. The prominent ones of them, on the other hand, are enjoined upon to visit the king on his coronation day and take due part in the ceremonies—a fact proving evidently their high political status.[4]

The use of a simile comparing Kaśmīra with a temple due to the presence of tender ladies, indicates the popularity of the institution of 'devadāsīs' or temple dancers, as then alone the hearers or readers of the Nīlamata could have recognized the idea underlying the simile.[5]

A significant and rather unusual point is that the Nīlamata attaches importance to the singing and dancing of courtesans and not to the sexual intercourse with them, indicating thus less moral laxity among the people than what is shown in the works of Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra and Somadeva.[6]

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1. यत्र स्त्रीणामपि किमपरं जन्मभाषावदेव ।
प्रत्यावासं विलसति वचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च ।।
Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII. 6.
2. Dāmodara Gupta, *Kuṭṭanīmata*, vv. 122-24.
3. *Rājata.*, III. 476; IV. 3, 38, 79.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 812, 824.
Rājata., VII. 855-58; VIII. 82 refer to courtesans like Kavyā, Jayamatī and Sahajā raised to the status of queens.
5. The Jātakas, the Greek writers and Kauṭilya do not know this custom. The earliest reference to it is found in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, I. 35.
6. Cf. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, IV. 36-37.
Kṣemendra, *Deśopadeśa*, III. IV. *Narmamālā*, II.
Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Āditaḥ 5, story of Yogānanda, story of Ātityavarman and his minister Śivavarman;
Āditaḥ 49, story of Guṇaśarman;
Āditaḥ 7, verses 56-58;
Āditaḥ 20, story of Kālarātri etc.

(3) *Friends and guests*

The family circle was occasionally extended into a wider circle entertaining friends and guests. On almost all the festive occasions, the friends were invited to participate and on some occasions, cooked food also was sent to their houses.[1] The custom of giving gifts to friends' wives has already been discussed.[2]

The guests were always welcomed in Kaśmīra where the king was also enjoined upon to honour the immigrants from all the quarters.[3] When Candradeva approached the Nāga king Nīla, the latter extended a hearty welcome to the former, saying "You are to be honoured by me because I have considered you a guest."[4]

II Economic Organization

The Nīlamata gives very meagre information about the organization of society from the economic standpoint. The agriculture is referred[5] to but whether the cultivators owned the land tilled by them and paid taxes directly to the royal authorities or were just cultivating tenants of some landlords, is not clear. Nīlamata's reference to the joyful festivals in connection with agriculture[6] and non-mention of the terrible Ḍāmaras, who in the Rājataraṅgiṇī seem to be powerful landlords interfering even in royal affairs, indicates however, that either the cultivators of Kaśmīra of the time of the Nīlamata owned the land tilled by them or the land-tenure system could not, due to the peculiar economic condition of Kaśmīra during the time under reference, press them so hard as it did from circa 9th century onwards. The inference is strengthened further by the absence of the term Dāmara in the first three books of the Rājataraṅgiṇī in contrast to innumerable references to it in the last five books.

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1. भोजनं प्रेषणीयं च तथा मित्रगृहे द्विज । *Nīlamata*, v. 538.
2. Supra, p. 92.
3. आगतश्च जनः सर्वः पूजनीयो दिगन्तरात् । *Nīlamata*, v. 838.
4. अर्चनीयोऽसि विप्रेन्द्र ह्यतिथिस्त्वं मतो मम ॥ Ibid., v. 358.
5. Infra, Ch. V. VII. Agriculture.
6. Infra, Ch. VIII. I. Account of the Vratas and the Utsavas (18, 20-23; 35-38; 40, 43-44; 46, 51-52).

It seems that in the time of the Kuṣāṇas, when Kaśmīra had brisk trade-relations with the plain of India and with Central Asia, agriculture did not play a main role in its economy and the majority of the people engaged itself in trade. But with the closure of the over-land trade routes after the rise of the Hūṇas,[1] Kaśmīra's economy was settled around cultivable lands. These lands being comparatively scarce in relation to the increased population, the land-owners became richer day by day with the inevitable downfall of the landless people who had to till land for a little share of the product as there was no scope for their being absorbed in trade.

The Nīlamata refers also to the artisans[2] and the merchants[3] but is silent about the corporate guilds which existed in other parts of India.[4] The Rājataraṅgiṇī also does not mention any trade-guild.

The respectable position of the traders in the society of the Nīlamata is indicated by the part they play in the yearly coronation rites of the king.[5]

This is the picture of social and economic organization in Kaśmīra as depicted in the Nīlamata. The information about the economic organization is scanty but as regards social organization, we are acquainted with various facts, namely, the existence of four varṇas, the sub-division of the society on the basis of occupation and other factors, the high respect

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1. Ou-kong and Alberuni refer to the closing of some trade routes. Stein, *Notes on Ou-kong's Account of Kaśmīra.* Alberuni, *India* (translated by Sachau), I. p. 206.

2. *Nīlamata*, v. 789. Infra, Ch. V. II. (IV). Handicrafts.

3. Ibid., v. 824.

4. Indore Copper Plate Inscription of Skanda Gupta refers to a guild of oilmen and Mandsor Inscription of Kumāragupta to a guild of silk-weavers. Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, Book III. Nos. 27. and 21; Dāmodarpur Copper Plates of the reign of Kumāragupta I refer to

नगरश्रेष्ठिधृतिपाल, सार्थवाह बन्धुमित्र, प्रथमकुलिकधृतिमित्र, प्रथमकायस्थ शाम्बपाल ।

Sircar, Op. Cit., Book III. Nos. 18, 19.
For details see, Majumdar, R. C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 65 ff.

5. *Nīlamata*, v. 824.

paid to the Brāhmaṇas, the absence of conflict between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas, the freedom and high status of women, and the happy home-life of the householder, the housewife, the childern, other relatives and occasionally visiting friends and guests.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

Though dealing mainly with religious rites and ceremonies, the Nīlamata contains a number of incidental allusions to social and economic life of the Kaśmīrīs. Here is an analysis—partly informational and partly critical—of all such references bearing on social and economic life.

I Means of recreation[1]

Amusements—music, dancing, drama and other means of recreation—are the true mirror in which the unrestricted mind of Kaśmīrīs is reflected. The Nīlamata says that the land of Kaśmīra was thronged with ever-sportive and joyful people[2] enjoying continuous festivities.[3] Living amidst scenes of sylvan beauty[4] they played, danced and sang to express their joys, to mitigate their pains, to please their gods and to appease their demons. One thing deserves to be noted at the outset that there being hardly any distinguishing line between the secular and the religious in India, the Nīlamata describes all the forms of recreation in a religious setting.

(*I*) *Music*

No myth about the divine origin of music is found in the Nīlamata, but the injunction for the worship of seven metres may be taken as suggestive of its divine origin.[5] The tune of

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1. Diet, dress and dwelling deserve discussion first but I have dealt with these items later on so as to facilitate their study along with that of agriculture, trade and industry.

2. केलिप्रायजनाकीर्णं नित्यहृष्टैर्जनैर्वृतम् ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 21.

3. ...नित्योत्सवसमाकुलम् । Ibid., Loc. Cit.

4. उद्यानारामसम्बाधम् ... । Ibid., v. 22.

5. ...सप्तछन्दांसि चाप्यथ ॥ Ibid., v. 602.
A.V., 8. 9. 17, 19 refer to seven meters :
...सप्तच्छन्दांस्यनु सप्त दीक्षा ॥

Sāmas— the hymns with the musical notes—is referred to[1] and one verse suggests the association of music with the Gandharvas.[2]

On each and every festive occasion, whether it is purely religious like the Sleep and Awakening of god Viṣṇu[3] or semi-religious as the advent and the departure of Nikumbha,[4] or seasonal like the New Snowfall day[5] or agricultural like the day of sowing the seeds,[6] the chief item of the celebrations is music—vocal as well as instrumental. The sound of the musical instruments is regarded as extremely sweet and heart-captivating.[7]

(*i*) *Varieties of vocal music*

We do not get reference to different varieties of the vocal music but the use of the terms 'vācana' 'prakīrtana' and 'ghoṣa' in connection with Purāṇa, Stotra and Brahma respectively, indicates that the mode of singing varied with different types of texts.[8]

Rgveda Prātiśākhya, 16. 1. mentions these :

गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुप् च बृहती च प्रजापतेः।
पंक्तिस्त्रिष्टुब्जगती च सप्तछन्दांसि तानि च ।।

Mbh., III. 134. 14. says :

···सप्तछन्दांसि ऋतुमेकं वहन्ति ।

1. सामध्वनिश्च श्रोतव्यस्तस्मिन्नहनि काश्यप । *Nilamata*, v. 714.
2. Ibid., v. 639.
3. देवप्रस्वापने ब्रह्मन्नुत्सवं गीतवादितैः ।। Ibid., v. 703.
   सोपवासो हरिं देवं नृत्तगीतैर्विबोधयेत् ।। Ibid., v. 408.
4. Ibid., vv. 386-87; 663-65.
5. Ibid., v. 468.
6. Ibid., v. 547.
7. तन्त्रीवाद्यं सुमधुरम्...।। Ibid., v. 538.
   .....वाद्यशब्दैर्मनोहरैः । Ibid., v. 547.
8. गीतैर्नृत्तैस्तथा वाद्यैर्ब्रह्मघोषैस्तथैव च ।।
   वीणापटहशब्दैश्च पुराणानां च वाचनैः ।
   तत्कथाश्रवणैश्चान्यैस्तथा स्तोत्रप्रकीर्तनैः ।।
   Ibid., vv. 412-13.

Vācana is simple recitation, prakīrtana is singing in chorus, and ghoṣa is the enchanting of Vedic mantras or making some other loud sound.

(ii) Professional singers

The Nīlamata refers to four classes of professsional singers viz. Sūta, Māgadha, Vandī and Cāraṇa[1] who, according to the Dharmaśāstras, maintained themselves by lauding the deeds of others.[2] Their mention in one and the same line indicates that some difference, may be minute, was believed to be existing in these different types of singers.[3]

(iii) Musical instruments

The general terms in the Nīlamata for the musical instruments are vādya, vāditra and vādya-bhāṇḍa.[4] As regards the different types, out of 'ghana' (cymbal), 'vitata' (percussion), 'tata' (stringed instruments), and 'suṣira' (wind instruments), made of brass, skin, strings and reed respectively and mentioned in the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. and Jayamaṅgalā commentary on the Kāmasūtra,[5] only two namely, 'ānaddha-vādya' (corresponding to 'vitata') and 'tantrī-vādya' (corresponding to 'tata') have been mentioned in the Nīlamata.[6] Of the others we have veṇu and śaṅkha belonging to 'suṣira' type and ghaṇṭā to 'ghana' type, though the terms 'suṣira' and 'ghana' are not

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1. सूतमागधशब्देन तथा वन्दिस्वनेन च ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 428.
   नर्तकानां नटानां च चारणानां तथैव च । v. 528.
   ...सूतवन्दिजनैः सह ॥ v. 816.
   ...सिद्धचारणसेवितम् ॥ v. 23.
2. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. Pt. I. pp. 90 ff. Also Supra, p. 87.
3. Cf. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, XIII. p. 326.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 547, 750, 790, 816 etc.
5. चतुर्विधमातोद्यं ततं सुषिरं घनमवनद्धं च ।
   ततं वीणादि, सुषिरं वंशादि, घनं तालादि, अवनद्धं मुरजादि···
   Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., Kāṇḍa III. Ch. 19.
   घनं च विततं वाद्यं ततं सुषिरमेव च ।
   कांस्यपुष्करतन्त्रीभिर्वेणुना च यथाक्रमम् ॥
   Yaśodhara, *Jayamaṅgalā on Kāmasūtra*, 1. 3.
6. गेयमानद्धवाद्यं च तन्त्रीवाद्यं च वादयेत् ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 663.

mentioned.[1] Here follows a historical account of all the musical instruments referred to in the Nīlamata.

(1) *Vīṇā*

The Ṛgveda does not mention it.[2] The Aitareya Āraṇyaka describes it in detail with its parts—śiras (head), udara (cavity), ambhaṇa (sounding board), tantra (string) and vādana (plectrum).[3] The Epics, the Jātakas, the Saṃyutta Nikāya and the Arthaśāstra testify to its high popularity.[4] Saṅgīta Makaranda refers to its nineteen varieties.[5] The Nīlamata refers to it thrice only but if the references to Tantrī-vādya be taken as referring to vīṇā, it will yield that vīṇā was resorted to most by the musicians of Kaśmīra.[6] The modern hundred-stringed santoor of Kaśmīra is probably śatatantrīvīṇā or vāṇa referred to in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā.[7]

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1. .....वीणावेणुरवेण च । *Nīlamata*, v, 428.
   घण्टामजं... ॥ v. 648.
   वादित्रशङ्ख... ॥ v. 816.

2. A.C. Das states in *Rgvedic Culture*, p. 234 that vīṇā is the instrument of Maruts in the R.V., but the word does not occur in the verse II. 35. 13 referred to by him.

3. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. III. 2.5.
   Teste. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II. p. 316 (Ist edition).

4. *Epics*. Teste. D.R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Pu.*, p. 219.
   वीणादीनि तुरियानि *Jātakas*, III. 40. Teste. V.S. Agrawala.
   Saṃyutta Nikāya, IV. 196 ff. Teste. *E.R.E.*, s.v. Music.
   Arthaśāstra, p. 125.

5. कच्छपी कुब्जिका चित्रा वहन्ती परिवादिनी ।
   जया घोषवती ज्येष्ठा नकुलीष्ठेति कीर्त्तिता ॥
   महती वैष्णवी ब्राह्मी रौद्री कूर्मी च रावणी ।
   सारस्वती किन्नरी च सैरन्ध्री घोषका तथा ॥
   Saṅgīta Makaranda, IV. 6-7.

6. *Nīlamata*, vv. 22, 428.

7. वाणः शततन्तुर्भवति । *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, VII. 5.2.9.

(2) *Veṇu*

The Ṛgveda does not mention it. A.C. Das's view that veṇu may be taken as a later corruption of vāṇa[1] is not sound, because vāṇa is not a wind instrument like veṇu. Roth takes veṇu of R.V. VIII. 55.3[2] as a flute of reed but scholars do not agree on this point. The Jātakas and the Epics know it.[3] The Nīlamata refers to it once only in connection with the celebrations of the Awakening of god Viṣṇu.[4]

(3) *Śaṅkha*

We find no mention of śaṅkha in the Ṛgveda. The Epics mention it many a time in connection with the music of war.[5] The Nīlamata mentions it twice.[6]

(4) *Paṭaha*

Paṭaha, a sort of drum, is mentioned neither in the Vedas nor in the Jātakas. The Mahābhārata also refers to it rarely.[7] The Rāmāyaṇa mentions it many a time.[8] The Nīlamata refers to it twice in association with lute.[9] Probably the drum was played upon generally in accompaniment to the lute.

(5) *Muraja*

Muraja is also not mentioned in the Vedic literature. Bharata groups it with percussion instruments and refers to its

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1. Das, A.C., *Rgvedic Culture*, p. 234.
2. शतं वेणूञ्छतं शुनः शतं चर्माणि म्लातानि । *R.V.*, VIII. 55.3.
   St. Petersburg Dictionary, s.v. Veṇu.
3. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, XIII. pp. 328-29.
4. *Nīlamata*, v. 428, Supra., p. 102 f.n. 1.
5. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, XIII. pp. 320-21. Dharma, P.C., *I.C.* Vol. IV.
6. *Nīlamata*, v. 386 refers to it in connection with Kaumudī Mahotsava and v. 816 in connection with the coronation bath of the king.
7. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, XIV. p. 319.
8. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 10. 39 etc.
9. ..... वीणापटहनादितम् । *Nīlamata*, v. 22.
   वीणापटहशब्दैश्च.....। Ibid., v. 413.

three varieties 'ālingya', 'ūrdhva' and 'āṅkika'.[1] Originally different from 'mṛdaṅga',[2] it became later on identified with mṛdaṅga.[3]

(II) *Dancing*

Dancing, going hand in hand with music, is mentioned frequently in the Nīlamata. There must have existed various types of dances in ancient Kaśmīra but as the Nīlamata does not mention particular steps or movements characterizing different types, we may classify them on the basis of the occasions on which they were performed. Thus, the Nīlamata speaks of dances performed on religious occasions[4], dances

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1. देवानां दुन्दुभि दृष्ट्वा चकार मुरजं ततः ।
आलिङ्ग्यमूर्ध्वकं चैव तथैवाङ्किकमेव च ॥
Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXIII. 11.

2. After mentioning muraja, Bharata refers to mṛdaṅga also.
क(च)र्मणा चावनद्धांस्तान्मृदङ्गान् ददुरांस्तथा ।
तन्त्रीभिः पणवं चैवमूहापोहविशारदः ॥
Nāṭyaśāstra XXIII. 12.

3. मृदपि मुरा ततो जाता मुरजाः मृदङ्गा इत्यर्थः । अभिनवः ।
Teste. *Bharata Kośa*, s.v. muraja.
Nāṭyaśāstra, XXIII. 21.

4. (a) एकादश्यां ततो रात्रौ शुक्लपक्षस्य मानवः ।
सोपवासो हरिं देवं नृत्तगीतैर्विबोधयेत् ॥
एकादश्यां तु कर्तव्यं रात्रौ जागरणं तथा ।
गीतैर्नृत्तैस्तथा वाद्यैर्ब्रह्मघोषैस्तथैव च ॥
Awakening of god Viṣṇu. *Nīlamata*, vv. 408, 412.

(b) पुंश्चलीसहितैर्नेया क्रीडमानैर्निशा तु सा ।
ब्रह्मचर्येण गीतेन नृत्तैर्वाद्यैर्मनोहरैः ॥
Śiva-caturdaśī. Ibid., v. 559.

(c) उत्सवं च तथा कार्यं नटनर्तकसङ्कुलम् ॥
Buddha's birthday. Ibid., v. 688.

(d) सिन्दूरकर्दमाक्ताङ्गैर्नृत्यवाद्यपुरःसरम् ।
Worship of Aśokikā and Umā. Ibid., v. 758.

(e) भूशोभाभिर्नृत्तगीतैरात्रिजागरणेन च ॥
Worship of Bhadrakālī. Ibid., v. 788.

performed in social gatherings held in honour of seasons,[1] and dances performed on agricultural festivals.[2]

Dances are prescribed at the time of ripening of grapes, so horticulture, too, seems to have had some dances to its credit.[3]

(III) *Popularity of music and dancing in Kaśmīra*

The earliest definite corroboration regarding the popularity of music and dancing in Kaśmīra is provided by archaeology. A tile from Harwan, with Kharoṣṭhī letters which cannot be later than 4th century A.D., shows three musicians. "The one to left plays a flute; the centre one, cymbals; the third, a pair of drums."[4] Another tile represents a female musician playing on a drum. One more shows a female dancer[5]. The statue of a female dancer was also obtained from the courtyard of Koṭisar temple.[6]

(f) कर्तव्यमुत्सवं चानु गीतनृत्तसमाकुलम् ॥
Worship of Śyāmā, *Nīlamata*, v. 801.

(g) महान्तमुत्सवं कार्यं गीतनृत्तसमाकुलम् ॥
Installation of the image of god. Ibid., v. 862.

1. (a) उत्सवं च सदा कार्यं गीतनृत्तसमाकुलम् ॥
द्रष्टव्यं पुंश्चलीनृत्तं पूजनीयास्तथा स्त्रियः ॥
New Snow-fall day. Ibid., vv. 464, 468.

(b) ...द्रष्टव्यं नर्तनं तथा ॥
Worship of Irā in Irā-gardens, Ibid., v. 674.

2. Ibid., vv. 519, 527-28, 547, 750. The festival of the sowing of seeds took place after the 8th of the dark half of Caitra, but the merry celebrations began about one month before the actual day of the ploughing and the sowing. Dancing enlivened this whole period with the exception of three days—fifth, sixth and seventh of the dark half of Caitra—on which the goddess Kaśmīrā was regarded to be in her monthly course. The v. 750, many words of which are lost, referred probably, to such dances associated with the harvest.

3. *Nīlamata*, v. 801, Loc. Cit. The dances being performed in honour of the goddess Śyāmā have been classed in the list of religious dances but it is also certain that they were performed to welcome the rich gift of grapes provided by Nature. The goddess Śyāmā, according to a verse of the Brahma Pu. quoted in the K.K.N., is a representation of grapes. *K.K.N.*, pp. 405-6.

4. Kak, R. C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, Pl. XXVIII.
Also see Pl. I of this work.

5. Kak, R. C., Op.Cit., Pl. XVII.

6. Bühler, *Report*, p. 12.

As regards the literary evidence, Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī is full of references to 'gītanṛtta'. Music, we are informed, had become popular even with the Buddhist monks.[1] Reference is made to two female musicians' songs which expanded in one melodious tone in harmony.[2] Further, Kalhaṇa informs about the existence of the custom of dancing girls associated with temples. King Jalauka dedicated hundred ladies of his seraglio to the temple of Jyeṣṭharudra.[3] The two dancing girls whom Lalitāditya met in a forest informed him that dancing at that particular place was an ancient custom of their family.[4] Kalaśa's liking for the dancing girls is well described by Kalhaṇa.[5] Harṣa had gone so far as to instruct personally the dancing girls to act.[6] Kṣemendra sarcastically refers to a singer who sings the songs of departure at the time of invoking a god.[7] Bilhaṇa testifies to the high skill of ladies of Kaśmīra in dancing.[8] Even the philosophical sūtras of Vasugupta take similes from this art, comparing

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1. विदारतूर्यनिर्घोषैरुन्निद्रः प्रेरितः खलैः ... । *Rājata.*, I. 140.
2. अभिन्न इव गायन्त्योर्गीतध्वनिरजृम्भत ॥ Ibid., V. 364.
3. Ibid., I. 151.
4. इहत्यजीवनभुजां मातॄणामुपदेशतः ।
   अस्मत्कुलेन नियतं नृत्तमत्र विधीयते ॥
   रूढिः परम्परायाता सेयमस्मद्गृहे स्थिता ।
   आवामन्योऽपि वा नात्र निमित्तं ज्ञातुमीश्वरः ॥
   Ibid., IV. 270-71.
5. उपाङ्गगीतव्यसनं नर्तकीसङ्ग्रहादरः ।
   देशान्तरोचितं राज्ञा तेनैवेह प्रवर्तितम् ॥
   Ibid., VII. 606.
6. नर्तकीः शिक्षयन् रात्रावुत्थायाभिनयं स्वयम् ।
   Ibid., VII. 1140.
7. आह्वानेऽपि विसर्जनकारी देवस्य घर्घरगीतैः ।
   तुम्बुरुवीणास्कन्धः प्रविशति यागे गुरोः शिष्यः ॥
   Kṣemendra, *Deśopadeśa*, V. 30.
8. Infra, p. 108. f.n. 6.

Ātmā with a dancer, Antarātmā with theatre and Indriyas with spectators.[1]

(IV) *Nature of music and dancing*

As regards the nature of music and dancing referred to in the Nīlamata, the major part of the former belonged probably to the category of spontaneously flowing folk-music. Of dances, those which were performed on religious occasions depicted probably the life histories of the gods. Such dances have been quite popular with various nations of the world.[2] Robertson has described how the dances in the neighbourhood of Kaśmīra, among the Kafirs of Hindukush, are accompanied by chants in praise of the heroes in whose honour they are performed.[3] The dim memories of such religious dances are still preserved by the Hindu ladies of Kaśmīra, who, at the time of Śivarātri-visarjana ceremony at the bank of some river, go round seven times with their hands lifted above their heads.

Coming to the agricultural dances, we find that these are confined to no race or country. Frazer describes such dances prevalent in various countries of Europe and Asia and regards them as "intended both to stimulate the growth of vegetation in spring and to expel demoniac or other evil influences".[4] The dances performed at the great festival of the Bopfau or Barley Seed-sowing, in Hunza in the neighbourhood of Kaśmīra, have been regarded by Mrs. Lorimer as imitating the actual agricultural process.[5] Similar dances might have been performed at the Seed-sowing ceremony referred to in

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1. नर्तक आत्मा ॥ रङ्गोऽन्तरात्मा ॥ प्रेक्षकाणीन्द्रियाणि ॥
Śivasūtra Vimarśinī, III. 9-11.
2. Toy, C. H., *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 52.
3. Robertson, *Kafirs of Hindukush*, Ch. XXXIII.
4. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Pt. VI (Scap goat), p. 251.
5. E. O. Lorimer, *Language Hunting in the Karakoram*, p. 230.
She writes, "Dabbling the ground may be preparing it for seed: the cry with high flung arms may be intended to encourage the growing ears to tower to heaven; the crouching springs may imitate the springing of the shoot: the flogging may portray the threshing, and the back to back scene with waving arms might well represent the winnowing."

the Nīlamata. Of course, it is a mere speculation, though not an improbable one.

(V) *Theatrical performances*

The words 'Prekṣā' and 'Prekṣaṇaka' mentioned in the Nīlamata refer to theatrical performances.[1] The terms have been used in this sense in the Sanskrit literature.[2] The Nīlamata mentions also a peculiar phrase "Prekṣādāna".[3] Literally meaning 'the gift of a dramatic performance', it seems to have denoted 'a gift made for the arrangement of a dramatic show.' There may have existed some dramatic clubs which gave such shows on demand and the injunction of 'Yathāvidhi Prekṣādāna'[4] i.e. the gift for the arrangement of a dramatic show made in the proper procedure, may have been made with reference to them. These gifts of various types[5] are not, however, defined separately. The Kaśmīrī poet Bilhaṇa extols the ladies of his native land for the excellent dramatic performances which excelled the acting of heavenly damsels Rambhā, Citralekhā and Urvaśī.[6] The simultaneous use of the terms 'nartaka' and 'naṭa' in the Nīlamata indicates the difference between the two : the former was used for a

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1. नेया भवति राजेन्द्र तथा प्रेक्षणकैः शुभैः । *Nīlamata*, v. 387.
2. प्रेक्षासु तासु बह्वीषु...। *Harivaṁśa*, II. 93. 36.
   प्रेक्षासमाजौ । *Manusmṛti*, IX. 84.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 414, 527, 766, 863.
4. त्रयोदश्यां च कर्तव्यं प्रेक्षादानं यथाविधि ।
   धनं च शक्त्या दातव्यं ये नराः रङ्गजीविनः ॥
   Ibid, v. 705.
5. प्रेक्षादानैश्च विविधैः.. । Ibid., v. 731.
   ...प्रेक्षादानैः सुशोभनैः ॥ v. 216.
6. रामा रामानुकरणविधौ यत्र नाट्यप्रयोगे
   योगस्थानामपि सपुलकं गात्रमासूत्रयन्ति ॥
   दृष्ट्वा यस्मिन्नभिनयकलाकौशलं नाटकेषु
   स्मेराक्षीणां मसृणकरणासङ्गदत्ताङ्गहारम् ।
   रम्भा स्तम्भं भजति लभते चित्रलेखा न रेखां
   नूनं नाट्ये भवति च चिरं नोर्वशी गर्वशीला ॥
   Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII. 23, 29.

dancer, the latter for an actor.[1] These people received honours from the public on various occasions and were not regarded as degraded.[2]

The presence of theatre-halls in ancient Kaśmīra has been suggested on the basis of Dāmodaragupta's reference to a theatre-hall provided with cushioned couches,[3] but we should not forget that the place referred to by him is Vārāṇasī. Kalhaṇa, on the other hand, compares the fleeing armies with people caught by a downpour while watching a theatrical performance.[4] Most of the functions referred to in the Nīlamata were performed either in the vicinity of Bonfire outside the houses or in open fields.[5] So it appears that the functions of the general public, in ancient Kaśmīra, were mostly held under the open sky.

(*VI*) *Other sports*

The Nīlamata gives us an idea of other games and sports also resorted to by the people of Kaśmīra.

(*i*) *Garden-sports*

Garden-sports have been popular in India since early times. The Rāmāyaṇa refers to girls going to the gardens in the

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1. नर्तकानां नटानां च... । *Nīlamata*, v. 528.
2. ...पूजनीयाः नटादयः ॥ Ibid., v. 766.
   त्रयोदश्यां ततः पूज्या जना ये रङ्गजीविनः ॥ v. 433.
3. Ray, S. C., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 211.
   श्रेष्ठिवणिग्विटकितवप्रधानरङ्गस्य सुमहतो मध्ये ।
   शूलापालस्थापितकतिपयबद्धोरुपीठिकासीनः ॥
   Dāmodaragupta, *Kuṭṭanīmata*, v. 68.
4. सवृष्ट्यम्बुहतो रङ्गप्रेक्षिलोक इवागमत् ॥
   Kalhaṇa, *Rājata*,. VII. 1606
5. वस्तव्या च निशा सैव वह्नेः पार्श्वगतैर्नरैः ।
   Nīlamata, v. 386.
   काश्मीरेष्वाश्वयुज्यां रात्रौ गृहद्वारोपान्तेष्वग्निप्रज्वालनम् ।
   Brāhmaṇabala on *Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra*, 73. 1.

evening for play.[1] Pāṇini—an inhabitant of Gandhāra in the neighbourhood of Kaśmīra—was familiar with such sports.[2] The land of Kaśmīra being full of gardens and parks,[3] her people, naturally, accepted Nature's invitation to sing, dance and play in her company. The Nīlamata points out their intimacy with Nature expressed in joyful dances performed at the arrival of Spring. Kaśmīrī women enriched their natural beauty on such occasions with garlands of Irā flowers.[4] The Nīlamata probably described a few garden-sports in connection with Aśokikāṣṭamī, but unfortunately the verses are lost now.[5] The Harwan tiles showing ladies carrying flower-vases indicate Kaśmīrīs' love for flowers.[6] The pose of the queen-mother in the scene of Siddhārtha's birth, with her right hand holding a branch of the Aśoka tree and the left placed on the shoulder of her sister Prajāpati, is just a replica of a lady plucking flowers from a tree or just swinging with the help of a branch of a tree.[7]

Special meals, taken in the gardens in the company of friends and the members of the family, were a part of such garden-sports.[8] We have reference to such feasts in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa also.[9]

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1. नाराजके जनपदे उद्यानानि समागताः ।
सायाह्ने क्रीडितुं यान्ति कुमार्यो हेमभूषिताः ॥
Rāmāyaṇa, II. 67. 17.

2. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II. 2. 17; III. 3. 109; VI. 2. 74. See Kāśikā on these sūtras.

3. उद्यानारामसम्बाधम्...। *Nīlamata*, v. 22.

4. इरापुष्पैस्ततः पूज्या द्विजस्त्रीमित्रबान्धवाः ।
रक्तसूत्रनिबद्धानि इरापुष्पाणि कारयेत् ॥
बिभृयादात्मना तानि स्त्रीषु दद्याद्विशेषतः ।
Ibid., vv. 673-74.

5. आरामम्थ गत्वा तु तोयवृक्षोपशोभितम् ॥ Ibid., v. 761.
Vreese's f.n. No. 4. "Here several ślokas seem to be lost."

6. Kak, R. C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* Pl. XXIV. Nos. 5, 6; Pl. XXV. Nos. 7, 8.

7. Kak, R. C., *Hand Book*, p. 38. No. A. a. 104, Cf. *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, Pt. I, p. 41. See Pl. III. b of this work.

8. *Nīlamata*, vv. 546-47.

9. *Bhāgavata Pu.*, X. 13. 5-10; 20. 28-29. Teste. *S.B.S. X.*, p. 75.

(*ii*) *Water-sports*

The Nīlamata prescribes water-sports for the maidens on Śrāvaṇī festival.[1] An idea of such sports can be had from the Kāmasūtra and Harivaṃśa.[2]

(*iii*) *Wrestling*

Wrestlers are mentioned in the Nīlamata as being honoured by the people[3] and it is reasonable to suppose that the Kaśmīrīs did enjoy the shows put forth by them.

(*iv*) *Gambling*

Chance plays a great part in human life and no wonder if man tried to gain some knowledge of future events through games of chance and also adopted them as means of recreation. Giving instances from many ancient and modern races, E. S. Hartland has rightly pointed out : "Gambling is a passion confined to no race or country, to no rank of society, to no plane of civilization"[4]. Beginning from the famous hymn of the R.V., Indian literature provides innumerable instances of gambling.[5] The Nīlamata prescribes gambling on Dīpāvalī, to know the goodness or otherwise of the coming year for the players.[6] The belief still exists in various provinces of India but has gone away from Kaśmīra. The neighbouring land of Tibet has it in the form of annual gambling ceremony wherein the Grand Lama at Lhasa plays dice with the demon and by defeating him announces good luck for the coming year.[7]

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1. क्रीडितव्यं विशेषेण कुमारीभिस्तथा जले ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 714.
2. Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, III. 4. 6.
   Harivaṁśa, II. Ch. 88.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 433, 863.
4. *E.R.E.*, E.S. Hartland's article s.v. Games.
5. *R.V.*, X. 34. For other references Böhtlingk, *Ind. Spruche.*
6. क्रीडितव्यं तदा द्यूतैः... ॥
   तस्मिन् द्यूते जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरः शुभः ॥
   Nīlamata, v.v. 403-4.
7. *E.R.E.* Loc. Cit.

(*v*) *Hunting*

The Nīlamata describes the land as filled with the sound of bow.[1] On some Harwan tiles also we find huntsmen with bows[2] and we may state on this basis that hunting was also an amusement for the Kaśmīrīs.

(*vi*) *Playing with toys*

Playing with toys must have been a form of entertainment for children. Toy has been mentioned once in the Nīlamata in connection with the worship of Skanda[3]—the presiding deity of the children. Playing with birds tied to strings was another amusement for children.[4]

II *Arts and Crafts*

The Nīlamata contains some information about the different branches of art, namely, architecture, sculpture and painting, and refers to some handicrafts also.

(*I*) *Architecture*

The terms—bhavana, gṛha, niveśana, ālaya, veśma, āyatana, aṭṭālaka etc.[5] have been used in the Nīlamata for buildings but it is not possible to distinguish between the significance of one term and the other. The place of Buddhist worship is mentioned as Caitya[6] and the dwelling place of the Buddhist monks as Śākyāvāsa.[7] As archaeology has revealed, the former consisted of a chamber surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and containing the object of worship, while

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1. ...धनुर्घोष... । *Nīlamata*, v. 21.

2. Kak, R.C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, P l. XXIII. 3; Pl. XXVIII. 14; Pl. XXIX. 20. See Pl. I of this work.

3. घण्टामजं क्रीडनकं...॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 648.

4. Ibid., vv. 326-27.

5. Ibid., vv. 187, 359, 362, 364, 369, 370, 400, 551, 558 etc.

6. क्वचिच्चित्रयुताः कार्याश्चैत्या देवगृहास्तथा । Ibid., v. 688 .

7. सुधासिताश्च कर्तव्या शाक्यावासाः प्रयत्नतः ॥ Ibid., v. 687.

the latter usually had cells surrounding an open courtyard. No example of the period of the Nīlamata has been preserved.[1] Of Brāhmanical temples the Nīlamata gives hundreds of names but architectural details of none are given therein. It may be inferred, however, from the ruins of the apsidal temple of Harwan that the temple of early Kaśmīra consisted of an antechamber (maṇḍapa) with a cell (garbhagṛha) behind.[2]

The Nīlamata says nothing about the building-materials. All that is known about the houses mentioned in the Nīlamata is that those had doors and ventilators[3] and were whitewashed.[4] The decoration of houses with fruits, leaves and garlands of rice-plants is also referred to.[5] About town-planning the Nīlamata gives no information. There is reference to roads which were even and to catuṣpathas (squares where four roads meet).[6] The Vitastā Māhātmya contained in the Nīlamata refers to bridges over the Vitastā but does not elucidate their formation.[7]

(*II*) *Image-making*

The Nīlamata refers to images made of stone, earth, gold,

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1. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, p. 52. The Buddhist buildings unearthed upto now belong to 8th cent. A.D.
2. Kak, R.C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 50-51.
3. द्वारेणादौ विनिष्कल्य (काल्य) गवाक्षेण प्रवेशयेत् । *Nīlamata*, v. 551.

   Cf. उत्तुङ्गानां मणिगृहभुवां यत्र वातायनेषु ।

   Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII. 4.
4. *Nīlamata*, v. 687.
5. द्वितीयेऽह्नि मध्याह्ने धान्यदामैः सुशोभनैः ॥
   पूजनीया गृहा विप्र देवागारा विशेषतः ।

   Ibid., vv. 517-18.

   सफलैः पत्रसङ्घातैः पूजनीयास्तदा गृहाः । Ibid., v. 380.
6. Ibid., vv. 400, 557-58; 861.
7. पुलिनैर्विविधैर्युक्तां.....॥ Ibid., v. 1385.

silver, copper, brass, wood,[1] sand,[2] straw[3] and ghee.[4] Instructions for making Śayanamūrti images of Viṣṇu with his feet placed in the lap of Lakṣmī are given in vv. 409-10.[5] Reference is also made to Caturmūrti Viṣṇu with four faces, four arms and Āyudhapuruṣas.[6] The Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. describes this form in detail[7] and J.N. Banerjea rightly takes it as an illustration of the Vyūha doctrine of the Pāñcarātras.[8]

(*III*) *Painting*

The Nīlamata testifies to the existence of the art of painting in ancient Kaśmīra. In connection with the celebrations of Buddha's birthday festival, the people are directed to decorate the Caityas with beautiful paintings.[9] References are made to paintings painted on the cloth, the wall and the ground.[10] Bhūmiśobhā or decoration of the ground with

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1. आषाढमासि प्रतिमां केशवस्य तु कारयेत् ।
सुप्तां च शेषपर्यङ्के शैलमृद्धेमदारुभिः ॥
ताम्रारकूटरचितैश्चित्रे वापि निवेशयेत् ।
लक्ष्म्युत्संगगतौ पादौ तस्यां तस्य च कारयेत् ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 409-10.
रम्या शिलामयी कार्या कश्मीरा तां च पूजयेत् । v. 531.

2. क्षीरेण पूर्णं तं कृत्वा मत्स्यं तु सिकतामयम् । Ibid., v. 440.

3. पिशाचं मृण्मयं कृत्वा काक्षं च द्विजसत्तम । Ibid., v. 661.

4. आज्यं दत्वा तथार्चासु कृताः शैलेन या द्विज ।
अर्चारूपमथाज्येन पुनरुत्सादयेन्नरः ।
Ibid., v. 479.
K. gloss says घृतेन प्रतिमा विधेया विष्णुहरादीनामिति ।
Cf. *Bhāgavata Pu.*, XI. 27.12. for eight types of images.

5. Loc. Cit., f.n. 1.

6. चतुर्मुखं चतुर्बाहुं चतुर्वेदाश्रयान्वितम् ।
शरीरधारिभिः वस्त्रैरुदीरितजयस्वनम् ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 1205.

7. *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, III. 85. 43-44.

8. Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 408. Images of this type come mostly from Kaśmīra. See Pl. II a of this work.

9. *Nīlamata*, v. 688.

10. Ibid., vv. 414, 655, 727, 788 etc.

paintings seems to have been a necessary item of most of the religious and secular functions. Viug—a circular pattern drawn on the ground on which a Kaśmīrī bridegroom has to stand before entering, for his marriage, the house of the bride—is a direct descendant of 'bhūmiśobhā' mentioned in the Nīlamata. Dāmodaragupta refers to courtezans practising the art of painting for advertising their trade.[1] Somadeva refers to portrait painters carrying out confidential missions of their masters.[2]

(*IV*) *Handicrafts*

Craftsmen and their tools[3] are referred to in the Nīlamata which enjoins upon the inhabitants of Kaśmīra the worship of Viśvakarmā[4]—the originator of all crafts. The industries in which these craftsmen were engaged, have to be inferred only from the stray references to finished products. Thus, the articles of dress[5] point to the art of spinning, weaving, dyeing and washing. The ornaments,[6] the pitchers made of gold and silver[7] and the silver-stools[8] presuppose jewellery. Weapons of war,[9] probably, made of iron or some other hard metal, indicate smithery. Similarly pottery, wood-work and leather-work are pointed to by earthen-pitchers,[10] wooden-

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1. आलेख्यादौ व्यसनं वैदग्ध्यख्यातये न तु विनोदाय ।
   Dāmodaragupta, *Kuṭṭanīmata*, p. 59, v. 306.
2. Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara*.
   Teste. Renou Louis, *The Civilization of Ancient India*, p. 157, Sec. 100.
3. स्वकानां शिल्पभाण्डानां कार्या शिल्पिजनेन च ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 789.
4. विश्वकर्मा तथा पूज्यः सर्वशिल्पप्रवर्तकः । Ibid., v. 623.
5. Infra. p. 116.
6. Infra. p. 117.
7. ततस्तु कलशा देया यथाशक्ति स्वलङ्कृताः ।
   जातीपल्लवसम्पूर्णाः फलपूर्णास्तु काञ्चनाः ॥
   Nīlamata, v. 427. Also v. 814.
8. रौक्मपीठस्थितम्·····। Ibid., v. 374.
9. Ibid., vv. 662, 790, 830.
10. Ibid., v. 814. The v. 292 refers to a good quality of clay, cleansed probably, for making high class pottery.

pitchers,[1] wooden seats[2] and leather shoes.[3] Probably, wood was used also for structural purposes and for making kūṭāgāras, umbrellas and walking sticks.[4]

III Dress and Ornaments

The terms used in the Nīlamata for clothing in general are vastra,[5] ambara,[6] vāsas,[7] vasana[8] and saṃvīta.[9] Cīnāṃśuka[10] is used for silk imported from China. Kambala[11] is woollen blanket and prāvaraṇa[12]—referred to in connection with the festival of the New Snow-fall—seems to be the same as prāvāra mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a cloth offering protection against cold.[13] Pāṇini also knows it.[14] Kauṭilya mentions it as prāvaraka and states that it is made of the wool of wild animals.[15]

Reference to a pair of clothes worn by Viṣṇu, a pair of clothes (one shining like the lightning and the other China-silk resembling the rays of the moon) worn by Nīla, a pair of clothes to be offered to a Brāhmaṇī and a pair of clothes to be given in charity on Atyantamahatī indicates that the male as well as the female dress in Kaśmīra comprised of two gar-

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1. कुद्दालपिटके...। *Nīlamata*, v. 663.
2. Ibid., v. 823 refers to भद्रासन which according to the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., II. 14. 1 is made of wood. V. 98 refers to a seat made of Kuśa grass.
3. Ibid., v. 662.
4. Ibid., vv. . 662, 857.
5. Ibid., vv. 562, 786, 811 etc.
6. Ibid., vv. 475, 1204.
7. Ibid., vv. 335, 432, 442.
8. Ibid., v. 62.
9. Ibid., v. 476.
10. Ibid., v. 335.
11. Ibid., v. 509.
12. Ibid., v. 467. Kaśmīrī pheran is most probably derived from प्रावरण। Cf. Kaśmīrī pharadi=Skt. प्रच्छदः।
13. *Mbh.*, (Citraśālā Press), III. 3. 51.
14. Agrawala, V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 128.
15. सम्पुटिका चतुरश्रिका लम्बरा कटवानकं प्रावरकः सत्तलिकेति मृगरोम। Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, p. 80.

ments, the upper one and the lower one.[1] Mention is made of white as well as coloured clothes.[2] The term 'ahata' is used for new clothes.[3] The word 'cīvara', which occurs often in Buddhist literature for a monk's robe, is used in this sense in the Nīlamata.[4] Bed-sheet is also referred to once.[5]

As regards ornaments, we have reference to ear-rings,[6] bracelets,[7] diadem[8] and jewels.[9]

IV Cosmetics and other requisites of personal decoration

Personal decoration is recommended often in the Nīlamata.[10] The garlands and perfumes which seem to have been necessary materials for the worship of the deities[11] are no less essential for the worshippers who, too, are enjoined upon to be well-anointed and well-decorated at the time of worship.[12] Reference is made to various sorts of scents, perfumes, unguents, flowers and garlands.[13] Some processes of decoration like rubbing the body with emollient unguents (udvartana),[14] anointing it with unguents (utsādana)[15]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 62, 335, 458, 773.
2. Ibid., vv. 458, 510, 1204.
3. Ibid., v. 475.
4. Ibid., v. 689.
5. Ibid., v. 759.
6. Ibid., vv. 334, 1204.
7. Ibid., v. 765
8. Ibid., v. 334, 825.
9. Ibid., vv. 431. 534.
10. प्रतिकर्म तथा कार्यं स्त्रीजनस्य तथात्मनः ॥ Ibid, v. 529.
    आत्मशोभा च कर्तव्या...। v. 656.
11. Ibid., vv. 414, 436, 456, 510, 518, 534, 550, 562 etc. The expression गन्धमाल्य is very familiar.
12. ...स्वनुलिप्तैः स्वलङ्कृतैः ॥ Ibid., v. 387.
    ...तनुलिप्तैः स्वलङ्कृतैः ॥ v. 394.
    ...सुगन्धाभिः स्वनुलिप्ताभिः...। v. 525.
13. Infra, pp. 119 ff. for the list of cosmetics.
14. उद्वर्तनं ततो देयं माषचूर्णं ततः परम् ।
    Nīlamata, v. 422.
15. गौरसर्षपकल्केन तदा तूत्सादितो नरः ।
    Ibid., v. 472.

and applying sandle-paste etc. after bath (anulepana)[1] are referred to. Other requisites of personal decoration are collyrium,[2] comb,[3] staff[4] and shoe-wear.[5]

V Food and drinks

Most of the references to the articles of diet occur in the Nīlamata in connection with the offerings made to the gods but it is not difficult to infer from them the food and drink of the common people because "what a man eats his gods eat".[6]

The term 'anna[7]' from √ad 'to eat' used for food in the Nīlamata, includes all sorts of eatables. 'Sasya'[8] represents all cereals and pulses and 'śāka'[9] all green vegetables. References are made to cooked,[10] dry and lasting food[11] which in their turn suggest uncooked, watery and perishable food. Spices,[12] sweetmeats,[13] fruits,[14] roots[15] and medicinal herbs[16] are also mentioned.

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1. सम्पूज्य गन्धमाल्यादिरक्तवस्त्रानुलेपनैः । *Nīlamata*, v. 510.
   तत्रानुलेपनं दिव्यं यदालिप्ततनुर्नरः ।
   सुरूपभागी भवति सुभगश्चैव जायते ॥
2. .....कुङ्कुमाञ्जनकङ्कतैः ॥ Ibid., v. 494. Also vv. 334, 761, v. 1259.
3. Ibid, vv. 494, 761.
4. .....छत्रोपानहयष्टिभिः । Ibid., v. 662.
5. Loc. Cit.
6. यदन्नः पुरुषो भवति तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः ॥
   Rāmāyaṇa, II. 102. 30.
7. *Nīlamata*, vv. 431, 456, 466.
8. Ibid., vv. 19, 753.
9. Ibid., vv. 415, 436, 708.
10. Ibid., v. 520.
11. नृभिः शुष्कान्नसम्पूर्णे स्थायिभक्ष्यायुते तथा ॥ Ibid., v. 662.
12. Ibid., v. 722.
13. Ibid., v. 698.
14. Ibid., vv. 14, 456, 745, 765 etc.
15. Ibid., vv. 466, 745 etc.
16. Ibid., v. 424.

Meat also seems to have been a popular item of diet, otherwise there would have been no necessity of prohibiting strongly the eating of meat for five days dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu.[1] Even Viṣṇu's image at one place is stated to be worshipped with animal sacrifices.[2] The offerings enjoined to be made to the Piśācas, Chandodeva and the goddess Bhadrakālī include non-vegetarian dishes.[3]

Pāna includes both alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks.

Here is an alphabetic list of all the articles of diet and cosmetics mentioned in the Nīlamata.

Ājya—Purified butter, mentioned as an unguent for Viṣṇu's image and a gift for the Brāhmaṇas (vv. 421).

Alaktaka—A red dye for feet (v. 417).

Añjana—Collyrium, recommended as an offering for the goddesses (vv. 334, 494, 761).

Apūpa—A kind of cake made of rice or barley mixed with ghee. It is recommended as a gift for the gods, the Brāhmaṇas and the relatives (vv. 415, 470, 502).

Ārdraka—Undried ginger, mentioned as a spice (vv. 494, 760).

Bhallātaka—Mentioned in connection with the worship of the horses (v. 781). Caraka and Suśruta mention it in Phalavarga. Suśruta describes its leaves as Śāka and refers to its oil. Its medicinal value is also recognized.[4]

Bījapūraka—Fruit of citron, mentioned as an unguent (v. 423).

Bilvapatra—Aegle marmelos, recommended as an offering to the deities (v. 787). Caraka knows it.[5]

Candana—Sandalwood. Its three varieties, namely, Rakta, Sita and Kāleyaka have been referred to (vv. 417,423, 787).

Caru—A preparation of all grains, recommended as a gift for the Brāhmaṇas and the relatives (v. 502).

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 446-47.
2. Ibid., v. 1174.
3. Ibid., vv. 550, 556, 787.
4. Majumdar, G. P., *Vanaspati*, pp. 90-91, 95, 102, 103, 121.
5. Ibid., p. 111.

Dadhi—Curd (790). Poverty resides in curd and saktu at night (v. 754).

Dāḍima—Pomegranate,[1] mentioned as an offering for the god Viṣṇu. (v. 416).

Dhānā—Flattened rice. Eating of it in the daytime is prohibited (v. 754).

Dhānya—Rice seems to have been the principal food of the Kaśmīrīs Its three varieties, namely, Śāli, Taṇḍula and Śyāmāka have been referred to[2] (vv. 135, 324, 535, 732, 743, 781).

Drākṣā—Grapes are referred to as a relishable food and as gift for the gods and the Brāhmaṇas. A festival in honour of Śyāmā—personified vine-creeper—is also mentioned (vv. 797 ff).[3] The term Mṛdvīkā denotes partially dried grapes (v. 416). The abundance of grapes in Kaśmīra is proved by the statements of Bilhaṇa, Kalhaṇa and Varāhamihira.[4]

Ghṛta—Purified butter referred to as food and unguent (vv. 478, 787).

Ghṛta-pāyasa—Milk-porridge of rice mixed with purified butter is recommended for eating on the full-moon day of Pauṣa (v. 476).

Godhūma—Food preparations of wheat are mentioned as offerings for the deities (v. 719).

Gorasa—Milk seems to have been an important item of diet. Mention is made of condensed milk called kṣīra and of food preparations mixed with milk (vv. 440, 444, 532, 708, 719).

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1. Even now, sweet as well as sour pomegranates are very common in Kaśmīra.

2. The survey made so far has shown 412 varieties of paddy under cultivation in Kaśmīra. *Kashmir*, Vol. III. N. 3 (March, 1953).

3. Majumdar, G. P., *Vanaspati*, p. 93.

4. द्राक्षामन्यः सरससरयूपुण्ड्रकच्छेदपाण्डुम् ॥

Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII. 72.

द्राक्षेति यत्र सामान्यमस्ति त्रिदिवदुर्लभम् ॥

Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, I. 42.

Varāhamihira, *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, Ch. 54.

Teste. G. P. Majumdar, *Vanaspati*, pp. 66-68.

Gorocana—An auspicious yellow pigment to be used after bath (vv. 426, 822).

Guḍa—Infra, s.v. Ikṣu.

Guggula—Bdellium, used for the worship of deities (v. 463).

Ikṣu—Sanskrit writers refer to a number of varieties of sugar, namely, Ikṣurasa (sugarcane juice), Phāṇit (sugarcane juice boiled down to one fourth), Guḍa (treacle), Matsyaṇḍikā (sugarcane juice boiled down to a solid consistence but exuding a little fluid on drawing), Khaṇḍa (candied white sand like grain), Śarkarā (white sugar), Sitopala (sugarcandy), Gauḍī (fermented liquor obtained from treacle), Sīdhu (fermented liquor obtained from sugarcane juice) and other two varieties of the above.[1] Of these the Nīlamata mentions only Guḍa and Śarkarā. Grains covered with treacle and ice mixed with white sugar are referred to (vv. 494, 708).

Kapittha—The dictionaries give this name to Ferronia elephantum Correa and its fruit, the Elephant—apple, but as this fruit does not grow in Kaśmīra and as Kalhaṇa refers to Kapittha fruit as obtainable in Kaśmīra only for a short period at the commencement of summer, it is reasonable to accept Stein's suggestion that the term was used in Kaśmīra for cherry which ripens in June.[2] The Nīlamata regards this fruit as the abode of poverty (v. 754).

Karṇaka—Pericarp of a lotus (v. 423).

Kovidāra—Bauhinia. It is also regarded as the abode of poverty (v. 754). G.P. Majumdar refers to its three varieties, namely, Śvetapuṣpa, Pītapuṣpa and Raktapuṣpa, the 1st one having further two sub-varieties, 'nirgandha' and 'surabhi-kusuma.'[3]

Kṛśara—Rice and pulses cooked together are recommended as an offering to be made to Nikumbha and Yama and as a gift for the Brāhmaṇas (vv. 382, 489, 490).

Kulmāṣa—Half-ripe barley, recommended as an offering for the deities and gift for the Brāhmaṇas (vv. 437, 800).

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1. Majumdar, G. P., *Some Aspects of Indian Civilization*, p. 37.
2. Stein, *Rājata. Translation*, IV. 219, f.n.
3. Majumdar, G. P., *Vanaspati*, p. 87.

Kuṅkuma—Saffron, referred to often in connection with the worship of the deities (vv. 417, 494, 550). Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa also speak of its abundance in the valley of Kaśmīra.[1]

Kūṣmāṇḍa—Gourd, recommended as an offering for the sage Agastya (v. 743).

Kuṣṭa—Costus specious, referred to in connection with the worship of the horses (v. 781). It is known to the A.V. as a remedy for the disease called Takman. Caraka describes it as lekhanīya (thinning the tissues or reducing corpulency) and śukraśodhana (purifying the semen).[2]

Kusumbha—Carthamus tinctorius (safflower) referred to in connection with the worship of the deities. The Nīlamata mentions also clothes dyed in the colour of Kusumbha (vv. 494, 720).[3]

Kuṭheraka—Ocimum basilicum, referred to in connection with the worship of Viṣṇu (v. 416). Suśruta includes Kuṭheraka among spices and herbs.[4]

Lavaṇa—salt. Infra. p. 128.

Lopikā—It is mentioned as an offering for deities and Piśācas and as food to be taken on Śiva-caturdaśī. If K. gloss giving Levarī is right, it must be the same as Indian Revaḍī—a small cake of sugar covered with seeds (vv. 437, 513, 555-56).[5]

Madhu—Honey is recommended as an offering to be made to the goddess Śyāmā (v. 800). Various sorts of food preparations sweetened with honey are referred to (vv. 503, 691). Another name of honey is kṣaudra (v. 694).

Madya—Wine is recommended as a drink on the New Snow-fall Day and Irāmañjari-pūjana. The expression Irāpuṣpasamāyuktaṃ pānam refers to the wine distilled from flowers (vv. 465, 675).

Marica—Pepper nigrum, mentioned as a spice to be taken with a preparation of barley (v. 722). Suśruta takes it along

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1. एको भागः प्रकृतिसुभगं कुङ्कुमं यस्य सूते ।
Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII. 72.
Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, I. 42.

2. Majumdar, G. P., *Vanaspati*, pp. 90, 93.

3. Clothes coloured with safflowers are referred to in Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, XI. 4. Teste. *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, I. p. 34.

4. Majumdar, G. P., *Vanaspati*, p. 118.

5. Palalollopikā of v. 556 was probably, a cake of meat.

with vaca etc. as a good appetizer and absorbent of intestinal mucous and unassimilated lymphchyle.[1]

Māṣa—Phaseolus radiatus. The Nīlamata refers to its powder as an unguent (v. 422).

Masūra—Cicerlens. Its powder is an unguent (v. 422). Caraka mentions Māṣa and Masūra in Śamīdhānya.[2]

Modaka—Sweetmeat, recommended as an offering for Vināyaka (v. 698).

Mudga—Phaseolus mungo. Cakes made of Mudga are referred to (v. 535).

Odana—Cooked rice is recommended as an offering for the deities and as food of the common people (v. 504).

Pāna—Drinks in general. Of non-alcoholic drinks mention is made of mixture of Hima and Śarkarā (v. 708).

Pañcagavya—Five (products) of the cow i. e. milk, curd, butter, urine and dung are prescribed for holy bath (v. 421).

Paramānna—Same as pāyasa (vv. 415, 745).

Parpaṭa—Caraka refers to a pot-herb Parppataka (Oldenlandia biflora) which alleviates excitements of phlegm and bile.[3] Parpaṭaprāya food mentioned in v. 529 of the Nīlamata seems to have been made of this pot-herb.

Piṣṭabhojya—Any food preparation made of flour (v. 503).

Priyaṅgu—Panicum Italicum is mentioned as a cosmetic (v. 423). Suśruta also refers to it along with tagara, aguru etc. as arresting the eruption of pimples etc.[4]

Puṣpa—The following flowers have been referred to :

Baka (Mimusops eleugi, v. 463),
Jalaja (Lotus, v. 45), also mentioned as Kamala, Padma, Nīlanalina and Nīlotpala (vv. 62, 339),
Jātī (429) Irā (673 675 ff.),[5] Kunda (495).

Rodhra—Symplocos Racemosa is referred to as an unguent (v. 423). Suśruta mentions it as antitodal to the deranged

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1. Majumdar, G. P., *Vanaspati*, p. 100.
2. Ibid., p. 107.
3. Ibid., p. 109.
4. Ibid., p. 100.
5. Kṣemendra refers to इरमंजरिका in the list of cosmetics and mentions a flower एरम्. *Loka Prakāsha*, pp. 8, 9.

Kapham etc., astringent in its properties, remover of vaginal and uterine disorder.

Saktu—Ground and parched grains (v. 754).

Sarṣapa—Mustard is mentioned as an unguent and as a gift for the Brāhmaṇas (v. 472).

Siddhārthaka—White mustard (v. 423).

Soma—Drink of the gods (v. 1377).

Śyāmāka—Supra, s. v. Dhānya.

Tāmbūla—Betel leaves are recommended as offerings for the spectators of a dramatic performance (v. 864). Kalhaṇa also testifies to their popularity.[1]

Taṇḍula—Supra, s. v. Dhānya.

Tila—Sesamum. Sesame are recommended for Śrāddha, sacrifice, worship of the gods, as gift for the Brāhmaṇas, the crows etc. and as diet. White as well as black sesame are referred to in the Nīlamata (vv. 482-83, 691-92).

Yava—Barley is described as the king of all the herbs, so it may have been an important item of food for the Kaśmīrīs. Like sesame it is also prescribed for various purposes (vv. 679, 696, 697 f.).

VI Cattle, beasts and birds

Kaśmīrāmaṇḍala is described as full of wild beasts[2] as well as cows, horses and elephants,[3] and devoid of evil serpents, tigers, buffaloes and bears.[4] Horses, elephants and bulls are referred to as means of conveyance[5] and the first two seem to have formed important parts of king's army.[6] Special rites are prescribed for the training and safety of the horses and the elephants.[7] Animals like horses, bulls and cows being highly

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1. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, IV. 427; VII. 1067.
2. नानामृगगणाकीर्णम्··· *Nīlamata*, v. 23.
3. गोश्वनागादिबहुलम्···॥ Ibid., v. 18.
4. दुष्टैर्भुजङ्गशार्दूलमहिषर्क्षैर्विवर्जितम् । Ibid, v. 20.
5. Ibid., vv. 855, 858.
6. राजा वीरोदयाख्यश्च हस्त्यश्वैर्बहुभिर्वृतः ॥ Ibid., v. 366.
7. Ibid., vv. 779-85, 830.

useful in agriculture, the farmers attached religious significance to them, and their worship is referred to in the Nīlamata in connection with Kṛṣyārambha ceremonies.[1] The gift of a bull, it is stated, helps the donors to cross easily the way leading to Yama and enables them to stay in heaven for as many years as there are hair on the body of the bull[2]. The concept of the merit obtainable from the gift of a cow is so familiar as to be used often as a simile.[3] The worship of Rohiṇī cows along with their calves is also prescribed[4] and the gift of grass for the cows, it is stated, should be made to the twice-borns.[5] Food offerings are to be made for the dogs and the crows[6]. As regards cattle-rearing associated with woollen industry, we have reference to shepherds and the possessors of goats.[7] The most interesting information is obtained from the vv. 153-59 which mention twenty-seven mounts of twenty-seven rivers. The animals and birds referred to are : crocodile, tortoise, bull, buffalo, horse, elephant, lion, tiger, wild ox, deer, goat, peacock, sāraṅga deer, sheep, swan, crane, camel, camara deer, kroḍa (hog), partridge, cock, mouse, serpent and hare. Cock and goat are also mentioned in connection with the worship of Skanda.[8]

VII *Agriculture*

Information about agriculture is contained in a few verses of the Nīlamata. The country of Kaśmīra is described as

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1. पूजयेत् पृथिवीं देवीं गोयुगं सुरभिं हयम् ॥
Nīlamata, v. 540
2. Ibid., vv. 441-43.
3. Ibid., vv. 1198, 1201 etc.
4. तस्मिन्नहनि रोहिण्यः पूजनीयाः सवत्सकाः ॥
Ibid., v. 711.
5. तृणं दद्याद् गवामर्थे यथाशक्ति द्विजातिषु ॥
Ibid., v. 480.
6. श्राद्धं कृत्वा प्रदातव्यं शुनामन्नं यथेच्छकम् ॥
Ibid., v. 560.
काकानां भोजनं दद्यात् प्रभूतं बलिसंयुतम् ॥
v. 498.
7. Ibid., vv. 383-84. Infra, Ch. VII. III. (IV.) Revanta etc.
8. Ibid., v. 648.

endowed with the quality of producing all the grains,[1] and as having abundance of Śāli crops and good fruits.[2] The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa also describes the country of Himavān as producing all sorts of grains, vegetables, fruits, roots etc.[3]

As is indicated by the ceremonies of Kṛṣyārambha, the seeds (of paddy) were sown in the month of Phālguṇa. First of all, the soil which was already inclined to receive the seeds was ploughed and then the seeds—drenched in water—were sown.[4] The expression 'prākpravaṇā' probably refers to the attempts of Nature or human beings to soften the fields which remained undisturbed for many months since the cutting of a preceding harvest and usually became very hard. Sometimes the soil might have been worked by the frosts, snow and rains, but if no snow had fallen or there were no rains, a plough-watering was given before the ploughing to make the soil pravaṇā.

The Nīlamata does not inform us about the irrigational system, but the expression 'adevamātṛka'[5] used for Kaśmīrā-maṇḍala may be taken to indicate that the rivers, lakes and fountains were made to serve agriculture in Kaśmīra. As a

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1. सर्वसस्यगुणोपेतम्... ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 19.

2. शालिमालाकुलं स्फीतं सत्फलाद्यैः समन्वितम् ।
Ibid., v. 14.

3. न तद्धान्यं न तत्सस्यं न तच्छाकं न तत्फलम् ॥
न तन्मूलं न तत्कन्दं न तत्पुष्पं नराधिप ।
नागलोकोद्भवं यच्च नाकलोकोद्भवं च यत् ॥
अनूपबन्धनोत्थं च तन्न यन्नास्ति यादव ।
सदा पुण्यफलं सर्वमजस्रमृतुयोगतः ॥
Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., I. 151. 38-40.

4. बीजं सुवर्णतोयाक्तं ससुवर्णं च वापयेत् ।
पुण्याहद्विजघोषेण वाद्यशब्देन भूरिणा ॥
हलेन वाहयेद्भूमिं पूर्वं प्राक्प्रवणां शुभाम् ।
Nīlamata, vv. 545-46.
For methods of agriculture in Kaśmīra see Lawrence, W. R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 319 ff.

5. *Nīlamata*, v. 19.

matter of fact, the formation of Kaśmīra valley is such as to render irrigation very easy. "Owing to the heights at which water can be taken off" says Walter R. Lawrence, "there is scarcely any part of the valley which cannot be irrigated".[1] How far the importance of such formation of the valley was recognized, is not clear from the Nīlamata.

The harvest was reaped probably at the end of Bhādrapada or in the beginning of Āśvayuj. A ceremony of new grains performed[2] in Āśvayujī is referred to and it is stated in connection with the story of the Piśācas that the people used to vacate the valley in Āśvayujī after making collection of paddy.[3] The Rājataraṅgiṇī often speaks of fields covered with the autumnal rice crop ripe in the month of Bhādrapada.[4]

The barley crops used to be ready in the month of Vaiśākha or Jyeṣṭha as is indicated by the ceremony of new barley grains in Jyeṣṭha[5].

As regards other agricultural products, they are not mentioned here, to avoid repetition, as they have been already discussed under other headings like food, drink, dress, cosmetics etc.

It deserves notice that despite the epithet 'devoid of the fear of famines'[6] applied to Kaśmīrāmaṇḍala, the famines did visit the valley often as is indicated by Kalhaṇa's remarks in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[7] A verse of the Nīlamata, in which Kaśyapa is described as requesting the Vitastā to flow within the limits of the bed prepared by means of plough lest the whole valley should turn into a lake, indicates the disaster brought about by inundation.[8] At another place, it is stated

1. Lawrence, W. R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 324.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 748-49.
3. Ibid., v. 324.
4. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, II. 18; V. 270; VIII. 770, 795.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 696-97.
6. Ibid., v. 18.
7. *Rājata.*, V. 71, 271.
8. अवश्यं हलमार्गेण गन्तव्यं सुभगे त्वया ।।
अन्यथा देश एवायं सरस्त्वमुपयास्यति ।
Nīlamata, vv. 300-301.

that if the Kaśmīrīs do not observe the rites prescribed by Nīla, the country suffers from various calamities such as floods, excess of rain, drought, famine, excessive snow-fall etc.[1]

VIII *Trade*

The prescription for the decoration of shops on the night of Kārttika Amāvasyā anticipates the existence of markets in the towns of Kaśmīra.[2] About the articles of import and export, the Nīlamata says nothing, but as salt—not a product of Kaśmīra is mentioned many a time,[3] the inference is that it was imported from other parts of the country. The Pīr Pañcāl route was used for this import because Kṣemendra mentions it as 'lavaṇasaraṇi' or salt-road.[4] The reference to Cīnāṁśuka suggests the import of silken clothes from China.[5]

Of the items of export, mention may be made of saffron which was highly prized throughout India. In a verse of the Bhāva Prakāśa quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma, the saffron of Kaśmīra is described as the best of all the qualities of saffron grown in other countries.[6] Indian Kośas, giving Kāśmīraja

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1. नीलवाक्यं न क्रियते भवतीहोदकप्लवः ॥
अतिवृष्टिरनावृष्टिः दुर्भिक्षं मरणं तथा ।
हिमस्यैव प्रपतनं भूरि चैवोपजायते ।
Nīlamata, vv. 871-73.

2. वस्त्रैश्चैवापणाः सर्वे कर्तव्या द्विज शोभिताः ॥
Ibid., v. 401.

3. Ibid., vv. 416, 457, 494 etc.

4. Kṣemendra, *Samaya Mātṛkā*, II. 90.

5. चन्द्ररश्मिनिकाशेन तथा चीनांशुकेन च ॥
Nīlamata, v. 335.

For the route followed by the caravans proceeding from Kaśmīra to the land of silk-weaving China, see Stein, *On Ancient Tracks Past the Pamira*, pp. 3 ff.

6. काश्मीरदेशजे क्षेत्रे कुङ्कुमं यद्भवेद्धि तत् ।
सूक्ष्मकेशरमारक्तं पद्मगन्धि तदुत्तमम् ॥
वाह्लीकदेशसञ्जातं कुङ्कुमं पाण्डरं भवेत् ।
केतकीगन्धयुक्तं तन्मध्यमं सूक्ष्मकेसरम् ॥
कुङ्कुमं पारसीके यत् मधुगन्धि तदीरितम् ।
ईषत्पाण्डुरवर्णं तदधमं स्थूलकेशरम् ॥
इति भावप्रकाशः ।
Śabdakalpadruma, s. v. Kuṅkuma.

as a synonym of saffron, prove that the saffron used throughout India came mainly from Kaśmīra.

If the Haimavatas of the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata be regarded as including the Kaśmīrīs, the description of gifts brought by them would yield that Kaśmīra supplied to the plains of India, not only fabrics manufactured in Vāhlīka and China but also indigenous fabrics made of wool, of rańku deer's hair, of silk, of fibre, pelts, woollen blankets, other smooth textile pieces not manufactured from cotton, lamb-pelts and other soft skins.[1]

(i) *Coinage*

The Nīlamata contains a single reference to hundred Suvarṇas.[2] The number hundred clearly indicates that the reference is to pieces of gold of a standard weight i.e. gold coins. According to Kauṭilya, a Suvarṇa is equal in weight to one karṣa or 80 guñjas (=140 grains).[3] Whether the Nīlamata refers here to gold coins of 140 grains of which no specimen has yet been found in Kaśmīra or to the gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas and the Kidār Kuṣāṇas[4] (circa 122 grains) is not certain.

Thus, as the account given above has made it clear, the Kaśmīrīs of the age of the Nīlamata were in no way indifferent to the joys of the earthly existence. Besides personal pastimes of the individuals, there were held frequently, religious and social gatherings characterized by such items as music, dancing, drama, wrestling bouts, games of chance, water-sports, garden-sports etc. Different branches of art were well-known in the valley. The basis of this joyful life of the people was the economic prosperity depending mainly

1. *Mbh.*, Sabhāparva, 47. 19-23.

The example Kāśmīra-vāṇija on Pāṇini's sūtra गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे VI. 2.13. also indicates the trade-relations which Kaśmīra had with other parts of India. Teste. Agrawala, V. S. *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 239.

2. सुवर्णशतदानस्य फलं प्राप्नोत्यसंशयः ॥

Nīlamata, v. 1355.

3. धान्यमाषा दश सुवर्णमाषकः पञ्च वा गुञ्जाः ते षोडश सुवर्णः कर्षो वा ।

Arthaśāstra, p. 103.

4. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 280.

on agriculture and trade. The land provided to the people various requisites of diet, dress, dwelling and decoration, which were further improved upon by artists and craftsmen. The land-tenure system, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, was not yet hard enough to suppress the tillers of land, and the overland trade routes were still open to bring prosperity to the traders of Kaśmīra.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ORGANISATION

The Nīlamata does not describe the Kaśmīrīs as a political people and gives meagre information about the political ideas and organisation of Kaśmīra. Even then some stray expressions are to be found here and there which incidently throw some light on the political ideas and organisation of Kaśmīra.

Ancient Indian writers on polity have regarded the state as constituted by seven elements.[1] Of these, only two, namely, sovereign power (svāmī)[2] and territory (rāṣṭra)[3] are described in detail in the Nīlamata, others—minister, treasury, ally, fort and army—being referred to merely by names.[4] An attempt, however, has been made here to draw conclusions from a few scattered statements.

I. King and his functions

The divinity of king is indicated by the statement that the

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1. स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि सप्त प्रकृतयः ।
Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, p. 257.

स्वाम्यमात्यश्च राष्ट्रं च दुर्गं कोशो बलं सुहृत् ।
एतावदुच्यते राज्यं सत्त्वबुद्धिव्यपाश्रयम् ॥
Kāmandaka, *Nītisāra*, I. 16.

Śukra, *Śukranīti*, p. 15.

2. The terms used for king are : Rajā, Janeśvara, Nṛpati, Narādhipa, Mahīpati, Mahīnātha, Mahīkṣit, Bhūpāla, Pārthiva etc. *Nīlamata*, vv. 802, 13, 24, 961, 74, 75, 77 etc. For Pradhāna, Infra. p. 137.

3. The terms used for territory are : Deśa, Maṇḍala, Viṣaya, Rājya and Rāṣṭra.
Ibid., vv. 5, 9, 13, 635. The verse 911 refers to a Nāga Rāṣṭreśvara.

4. उवाच मन्त्रिणां मध्ये··· ॥ Ibid., v. 980.
सार्थमन्त्रिचयो गत्वा··· ॥ v. 983.
·· सघनद्रव्यसंचयः ॥ v. 981.
गिरिदुर्गमनुप्राप्तः··· ॥ v. 1168.
···चतुरङ्गबलान्वितः ॥ v. 6.

king of Kaśmīra is born of a part of Hara and should not be disobeyed. The same verse is quoted by Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī with the significant expression 'even a wicked one' added to the king.[1] Compared with Bhīṣma's statement in the Mahābhārata that a virtuous king is truly an eternal god, this difference of the statement of the Rājataraṅgiṇī from that of the Nīlamata shows a gradual development of the theory of absolute monarchy. The Nīlamata recognizes the divinity of king but even this divine king is not to be a despot ruling arbitrarily. His line of action must be guided by Dharma and the instructions laid down in the Rājaśāstras.[2] Influence of the Brāhmaṇas[3] and the council of ministers may have served as a further check on king's power. The part played by prominent townsmen, merchants, courtezans etc. in the ceremonies of the yearly coronation-bath of the king further suggests some sort of influence of the people on the king.[4]

As regards the functions of the king, he is to attend the judicial assembly and perform adjudication impartially.[5]

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1. Supra, p. 5, f.n. 2. The difference between तस्यावज्ञा न कर्तव्या and नावज्ञेयः सः दुष्टोऽपि is clear.

For references to the theory of the divinity of the king in ancient Indian literature, vide,

Bhandarkar, D. R., *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 161-64.
Ghoshal, U. N., *Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 167-72.
Anjaria, J. J., *Nature and Grounds of Political Obligation in the Hindu State*, pp. 11-45.
J.U.P. Hist. Society., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 49 ff.

2. कारयेत तथा राज्यं राजशास्त्रोपदेशतः ॥

Nīlamata, v. 839.

स प्रशशास वसुधां राजा धर्मानुशास्त्रतः ॥

v. 1367.

3. Supra, pp. 82-83.

As the Rājataraṅgiṇī informs, the Brāhmaṇas resorted to hunger-strike whenever they felt themselves aggrieved due to excessive oppression. These hunger-strikes were often successful and the kings had to yield before them.
Rājata., VI. 43; VII. 13 ff; VII. 400-1; VIII. 899-900 etc.

4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 811-12, 821.

5. सभागतेन द्रष्टव्यो व्यवहारस्तथा समः ॥ Ibid., v. 833.

दण्डोऽपराधप्रतिमः कार्यः सर्वस्य काश्यप ॥

v. 838.

Punishments should be inflicted upon the culprits in accordance with the gravity of the crimes. The king is to be neither unnecessarily hard nor unnecessarily mild.[1]

Another duty of the king is to check mutual dissension (amongst his subjects), because dissension is regarded to be the main cause of the ruin of the kings of Kaśmīra.[2] Further, he is advised to honour all immigrants to Kaśmīra from all the quarters.[3] While prescribing different dates for the king's visits to the temples of various gods, the Nīlamata states that the king may visit the guest-house on all dates.[4] Whether this refers to an aspect of king's foreign policy or to an attempt to increase the population of Kaśmīra is difficult to say, but it is clear from the account of Hiuen-Tsang that the Kaśmīrī kings were quite hospitable to the

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1. नोग्रदण्डो भवेद्राजा क्षमेत न च कस्यचित् । *Nīlamata*, v. 839.
Cf. ···तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः ।
मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते । यथार्हदण्डः पूज्यः । Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, p. 9.
न राज्ञा मृदुना भाव्यं मृदुर्हि परिभूयते ।
न भाव्यं दारुणेनातितीक्ष्णादुद्विजते जनः ॥
Matsya Pu., 119.22-23.

2. स्वभेदो रक्षितव्यश्च नित्यं ब्राह्मणपुंगव ॥
दुर्गत्वादस्य देशस्य परचक्रभयं विना ।
स्वभेदेनेह नश्यन्ति बद्धमूला नराधिपाः ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 834-35.

3. विमानना न कर्तव्या कस्यचिच्च कदाचन ।
Ibid., v. 834.
आगतश्च जनः सर्वः पूजनीयो दिगन्तरात् ।
v. 838.
Cf. परराजगृहात् प्राप्तान् जनान् संश्रयकाम्यया ।
दुष्टानप्यथवाऽदुष्टान् संश्रयेत प्रयत्नतः ।
दुष्टं ज्ञात्वा विश्वसेन्न तद्वृत्तिं वर्त्तयेद्वशे ॥
Agni Pu., 219, 52-53.

4. सर्वासु कार्यं तिथिषु तथातिथिनिवेशने ॥
Nīlamata, v. 846.

foreigners in the 7th century A.D.[1] By the end of the 10th century A.D. the picture became different. Alberuni informs that the Kaśmīrīs did not allow any foreigner to enter the valley.[2]

II. Territory.

According to Kauṭilya, a good territory must be "possessed of capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the kingdom, productive of subsistence not only to its own people, but also to outsiders on occasions of calamities repulsive to enemies, powerful enough to put down neighbouring, kings, free from miry, rocky, uneven, and desert tracts of wilderness, beautiful to look at, containing fertile lands, mines, timber and elephant forests, and pasture grounds, artistic, containing hidden passages, full of cattle, not depending upon rain for water, possessed of land and waterways, rich in various kinds of commercial articles, capable of bearing the burden of a vast army and heavy taxation, inhabited by agriculturists of good and active character, full of intelligent masters and servants, and with a population noted for its loyalty and good character".[3] Aristotle also, in his Politics, refers to similar requirements of a good kingdom.[4]

The Nīlamata does not state directly that a good territory should have such characteristics but as Kaśmīrāmaṇḍala is considered a good territory, the verses describing it yield information to the same effect. It is capable of producing all crops,[5] abounds in Śāli crops, good fruits,[6] trees, creepers,

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1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, pp. 258-59.
Another Chinese scholar Suan-hui also stayed for a year in Kaśmīra and received proper assistance for his studies. Ganhar, J. N. and P. N., *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 81.
2. Alberuni, *India* (Translated by Sachau) , I. p. 206.
3. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, (Translated by Shama Sastry) p. 288.
4. Ernest Barkar, *The Politics of Aristotle* pp. 289-311.
5. सर्वसस्यगुणोपेतम्···। *Nīlamata*, v. 19.
6. शालिमालाकुलं स्फीतं सत्फलाद्यैः समन्वितम् ।
Ibid., v. 14.

flowers[1] etc., is devoid of the fear of famines,[2] does not depend wholly on rain water for agriculture,[3] is full of useful animals[4] and free from evil beasts,[5] is rich in man power[6] and unassailable by other states.[7]

III. Ministers.

The Nīlamata refers to group of ministers[8] but is silent about their number, titles, their duties and the relation between them and the king. Kalhaṇa informs us in the Rājataraṅgiṇī that upto the time of Aśoka's son Jalauka, the administration of Kaśmīra was the same as that of other states of India and there existed seven functionaries of the state, namely, the Chief Justice, the Superintendent of Revenue, the Treasurer, the Chief of the Army, the Envoy, the Purohita and the Astrologer. Jalauka increased the number to eighteen and thus inaugurated the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira.[9] Whether the expression 'mantricaya' of the

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1. नानापुष्पफलोपेतं नानाद्रुमलतौषधम् । *Nīlamata*, v. 23.
2. ···दुर्भिक्षातङ्कवर्जितम् । Ibid., v. 18.
3. अदेवमातृकं रम्यं पुण्यं प्राणभृतां हितम् । Ibid., v. 19.
4. गोऽश्वनागादिबहुलं·····। Ibid., v. 18.
5. दुष्टैर्भुजङ्गशार्दूलैर्मक्षिण्यक्षैर्विवर्जितम् । Ibid., v. 20.
6. ···बहुप्रजम् । Ibid., v. 19.
7. अधृष्यं पररा‌ष्ट्राणां तद्भयानामकोविदम् । Ibid., v. 18.
8. Supra, p. 131, f.n. 4.
9. यथावद्वृद्धिमप्राप्ते व्यवहारधनादिभिः ।
सामान्यदेशवद्राज्यं तावदस्मिन्हि मण्डले ॥
धर्माध्यक्षो धनाध्यक्षः कोशाध्यक्षश्च भूपतिः ।
दूतः पुरोधा दैवज्ञः सप्तप्रकृतयोऽभवन् ॥
कर्मस्थानानि धर्म्याणि तेनाष्टादश कुर्वता ।
ततः प्रभृति भूपेन कृता यौधिष्ठिरी स्थितिः ॥
Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, I. 118-20.

The reference probably is to eighteen tīrthas of the Mbh. (II. 5. 38.) which are :
Mantrī, Purohita, Yuvarāja, Camūpati, Dvārapāla, Antarveśika, Kārāgārādhikārī, Dravya-samcayakṛt, Kṛtyākṛtyeṣvarthānāṃ viniyojaka, Pradeṣṭṛ, Nagarādhyakṣa, Kāryanirmāṇakṛt, Dharmādhyakṣa, Sabhādhyakṣa, Daṇḍapāla, Durgapāla, Rāṣṭrāntapāla, Aṭavīpāla.

Nīlamata refers to all these functionaries of the state or not is difficult to say.

IV. Army and War.

The expression 'Caturaṅgabala' indicates four parts of the army which are mentioned as infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots.[1] Love for war is regarded to be a good quality for a king.[2] As regards the rules of war the Nīlamata gives the following information :

1. Child-kings were not invited to participate in a war. Bāla Gonanda was not invited to the war of the Mahābhārata for that reason.[3]
2. It was considered improper to kill an enemy who was afraid and ran away from the battle-field. Paraśurāma killed his enemies in such condition and incurred sin.[4]
3. After killing an enemy king in war, the conqueror generally handed over the conquered kingdom to the successor of the deceased. A childless pregnant widow-queen was also allowed to occupy the throne of her deceased husband. Kṛṣṇa himself is stated to have coronated the widow-queen of the king of Kaśmīra.[5]

V. Republican elements.

The republican states flourished long in the Panjab and

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1. हस्त्यश्वरथसंयुक्तः···। *Nīlamata*, v. 981.
···सपौरहयकुंजरः । v. 983.
2. बहु मेने तथात्मानं गोनन्दः समरप्रियः । Ibid., v. 1367.
3. बालभावात् पाण्डुसुतैर्नानीतः कौरवैर्न वा ॥
Ibid., v. 10.
4. पलायमानान् भीतांश्च हतवानसि पुत्रक ॥
तेन पापेन ते पुत्र शरीरे कलुषं स्थितम् ।
तस्माद् व्रजस्व तीर्थानि पावनार्थमिहात्मनः ॥
Ibid., vv. 1177-78.
5. अन्तर्वत्नीं तस्य पत्नीं वासुदेवोऽभ्यषेचयत् ।
भविष्यत्पुत्रराज्यार्थं तस्य देशस्य गौरवात् ॥
Ibid., v. 9.

the hilly areas near it but after getting a last stroke from the Gupta imperialism, almost all of them disappeared by the end of the 5th century A.D.[1] A few expressions, however, occurring in the Nīlamata, suggest the existence of some republican elements in some parts of Kaśmīra, even after that period. Thus, in connection with Yātrotsava it is stated that if a city is kingless (i.e. has a democratic form of government), the Pradhāna[2] should attend the religious procession.[3] In the description of the yearly coronation-bath of the king, reference is made to Gaṇamukhyas, along with Vāramukhyas, Pauramukhyas and outsiders[4] (probably kings of subordinate states referred to later on as Sāmantas), and these Gaṇamukhyas may have been the chiefs of some republican states.

In another verse,[5] which agrees closely with a verse found in the Agni Pu.[6] and the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.,[7] mention is made of Gaṇamukhyas belonging to four castes sprinkling holy water on the king. The verse found in the Agni Pu. and the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., on the other hand, refers to Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra amātyas. This difference also indicates the existence of some democratic

1. Jayaswal, K. P., *Hindu Polity*, Chap. XIX.

2. President. The term प्रधान is used in the same sense along with गणमुख्य in the Mbh. Śāntiparva, 107. 23.

3. नृपेण सोऽनुगन्तव्यः सबलेनाथ पृष्ठतः ॥
प्रधानेनाथ गन्तव्यं नृपहीने तथा पुरे ।
Nīlamata, vv. 859-60.

4. गन्तव्यं वारमुख्याभिस्तथा राजनिवेशनम् ।
पौरमुख्यैस्तथा वाह्यै र्गणमुख्यैस्तथैव च ॥
Ibid., v. 812.

5. शूद्रविट्क्षत्रविप्राणां गणमुख्यैर्यथादिशम् ।
Ibid., v. 815.

6. अभिषिञ्चेदमात्यानां चतुष्टयमथो घटैः ।
Agni Pu., 218. 18-20.

7. ततो भद्रासनगतं मुख्यामात्यचतुष्टयम् ।
वर्णप्रधानं भूपालमभिषिञ्चेद् यथाविधि ॥
Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., II. 21. 7-10.

elements in Kaśmīra. The evidence is not conclusive as no republican tribe has been mentioned by name in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Nevertheless, placing some reliance on the Bṛhat Saṃhitā which locates the Yaudheyas (a famous republican tribe of the Panjab) along with the Gāndhāras in the extreme north of India,[1] I may suggest, though subject to correction, that some republican tribes may have migrated to the hilly areas of Kaśmīra to save their democratic form of government, but there, too, they had to pay obeisance to the imperial power to escape total extinction.

Thus, it seems that though at the time of the composition of the Nīlamata, the political organisation of Kaśmīra was based on monarchical lines, yet there existed some republican units which were to disappear soon by being subordinated to monarchy.

1. Varāhamihira, *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, XIV. 24-27.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS CULTS

The Nīlamata supplies ample information about the religious cults prevalent in ancient Kaśmīra. Some of these cults are centred around the Vedic gods Viṣṇu, Rudra etc., while others have folk deities as their basis. Buddhism is also mentioned not as a separate cult but as assimilated into Vaiṣṇavism. The intermingling of different currents of religious thaughts is seen clearly and religion appears as a developing organism absorbing fresh elements and giving up some old ones, in the course of its development. Here follows an account of all the cults mentioned in the Nīlamata.

I. *Vaiṣṇavism*

(1) *Viṣṇu*

Vaiṣṇavism occupies an important place in the Nīlamata which speaks of Viṣṇu more than of any other deity.[1]

(*i*) *Viṣṇu in the early literature*

The Ṛgveda devotes only five hymns to Viṣṇu but his personality is more important than would appear statistically.[2] Represented there mainly as a solar deity,[3] he is also a protector of embryos,[4] a helper of and inferior to Indra,[5] and the ancient germ of the settled order.[6] His importance is raised in the Brāhmaṇas which inform how he became the highest

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1. See the following chapter for a large number of festivals celebrated in honour of Viṣṇu and only one in honour of Śiva.

2. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 108.
Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 37.
Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (contained in Collected Works, Vol. IV), p. 47.

3. Keith, Op. Cit., pp. 108-9. Macdonell, Op. Cit., pp. 37 ff.

4. *R. V.*, VII. 36. 9; X. 184.

5. Ibid., I. 22.19; IV. 18. 11; VIII. 89. 12; 12. 27 etc.

6. Ibid; I. 156. 2-4.

of the gods by reaching the end of the sacrifice before all other gods and how he, in the form of a dwarf, got the whole earth from the Asuras by expanding his body.[1] His identification with Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva is suggested in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka[2] and established fully in the Mahābhārata.[3] Pāṇini's reference to the worshippers of Vāsudeva,[4] Magasthenese's mention of Heraklese's worship by Soursenoi in Methora[5] and the evidence supplied by the inscriptions discovered at Ghoṣuṇḍi,[6] Nānāghāṭ[7] and Besanagar[8] indicate the popularity of Vāsudeva's cult before the Christian era. This popularity reaches its climax in the Purāṇas, many of which depict Viṣṇu as the Supreme Reality underlying and pervading the whole universe.[9]

(ii) Viṣṇu in the Nīlamata

The Nīlamata, like other Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas,[10] describes

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1. *Ś. B.* XIX. 1. 1; I. 2.5.

2. नारायणाय विद्महे वासुदेवाय धीमहि तन्नो विष्णुः प्रचोदयात् ।

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka X. 1.

The seer of the Puruṣa Sūkta of the R. V. was Nārāyaṇa. The Mbh. also refers to Nārāyaṇa as a sage. नरनारायणावृषी ॥ *Mbh.* 12. 331. 17.

3. *Mbh.*, Śānti Parva, Nārāyaṇīya Section; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 206.

4. वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 3. 98. for the formation of Vāsudevaka meaning a person whose object of devotion is Vāsudeva.

5. Ray Chaudhury, H. C., *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect.* p. 23; Bhandarkar, Op. Cit., p. 13.

6. Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I. Book II. Ch. I. No. 3. *I. A.* 1932, pp. 203 ff. *Ep. Ind.* X. Appendix, p. 2, XVI. p. 25.

7. नमो संकसंन वासुदेवानां छन्दस (ता) नां

Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. V. p. 74.

8. Sircar, D. C., Op. Cit., Vol. I. Book 2. p. 90. This inscription refers to Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador of the Indo Greek king Antialkidas, as a devotee of Vāsudeva.

9. विष्णोः सकाशादुद्भूतं जगत्तत्रैव च स्थितम् ।
स्थितिसंयमकर्तासौ जगतोऽस्य जगच्च सः ॥

Viṣṇu Pu., I. 1. 31.

also I. 2. 4; 16; 70 etc.
Nārada Pu., I. 46. 22-28. *Vāmana Pu.*, XIX. 17-25.

10. The Purāṇas exalting Viṣṇu are stated to be the Viṣṇu, the Nārada, the Bhāgavata, the Garuḍa, the Padma and the Varāha. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Pu. Translation*, Vol. I. Preface pp. XX-XXI.

Viṣṇu as the highest god,[1] praised and honoured even by Brahmā and Śiva.[2] The ultimate cause of the universe, he pervades the whole universe[3] and is always busy in rescuing the devotees from distress, showing them the right path, giving them boons and destroying the Dānavas.[4] The vague memories of his inferiority to Indra in the Vedic period are preserved in his epithet Upendra[5] in contrast to Mahendra[6] of Indra. He pleases Indra[7] and his title Janārdana as a fighter comes in part from Indra.[8] His solar nature is clear from his title Trivikrama and from his mention among the twelve suns.[9]

As regards the appearance and the weapons of Viṣṇu, the Nīlamata describes him as four-armed, four-faced,[10] lotus-eyed,[11] having a complexion like that of a blue lotus[12] or white snow,[13] wearing white or yellow clothes,[14] a crown of jewels

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 60-65, 1206-7, 11, 15, 16 describe Viṣṇu as त्रैलोक्यनाथ, पर, परम, सनातन, अप्रमेय, देववर etc.
2. कामकामद कामारिपूजिताघविनाशन ।
   चतुर्भिः सततं वक्त्रैः पद्मजन्माभिसंस्तुतः ॥ Ibid., 1216.
3. .....जगत्कारणकारण । Ibid., 1217.
   त्वया सर्वमिदं व्याप्तं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् । v. 1213
4. लोकहितेरत, भक्तवरप्रद, सत्पथदर्शन, दानवनाशन । Ibid., vv. 60-65
   .....प्रणतार्तिविनाशन । v. 1206.
5. Ibid., v. 187.
6. Ibid., v. 129.
7. Ibid., v. 61.
8. Ibid., vv. 59, 165, 189, 191, 355, 434, 1150, 1156, 1157, 1219; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 206.
9. *Nīlamata*, v. 607.
10. चतुर्मुखं चतुर्बाहुं..... । Ibid., v. 1205. See pl. II a.
11. .....पुण्डरीकाक्ष..... ॥ Ibid., v. 1207.
12. Ibid., v. 62.
13. Ibid., v. 1204. The Epics also describe him as anekavarṇa, *Epic Mythology*, p. 205.
14. .....श्वेताम्बरविभूषितम् । *Nīlamata*, v. 1204.
    संतप्तहाटकनिभे वसने वसानम् ॥ v. 62.

and also ear-rings.[1] His weapons are conch, discus, club, lotus, sword and bow—the last one made of horn.[2] He is waited upon by his weapons in human form also.[3] He lies on the jewelled hood of Śeṣa with his lotus like feet placed in the lap of Lakṣmī.[4] His mount is Garuḍa, the enemy of the Nāgas.[5]

(1) *Incarnations.*[6]

The earliest reference to the incarnations is found in the Śatapatha but out of the four incarnations mentioned therein, viz. Matsya,[7] Kūrma,[8] Varāha[9] and Vāmana,[10] the first three are associated with Prajāpati and the last alone with Viṣṇu. It is the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata which associates these with Viṣṇu.[11] The Purāṇas have enriched this conception of incarnation by adding various stories regarding the adventures of the incarnations,[12] and the theory in its fully developed form has wonderfully enabled Hinduism to assimilate various cults originally foreign to it.

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1. मुकुटेनार्कवर्णेन कुण्डलैश्च विराजितम् ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 1204.
   सद्रत्नचुम्बितकिरीटविराजमानं··· ॥ v. 97 (R. L.).
2. .....शार्ङ्गगदासिपाणे । Ibid; v. 60.

   The vv. 1245-46 mention four places dedicated to four weapons of Viṣṇu, namely, Śaṃkha, Cakra, Gadā and Padma.
3. शरीरधारिभिश्चास्त्रैरुदीरितजयस्वनम् ॥ Ibid; v. 1205.

For discussion about the reading चास्त्रैः; Infra. *Emendation* v. 1205.

4. Ibid, vv. 63-64, 409-10.
5. ..... नागारिर्मम वाहनः ॥ Ibid., v. 68.
6. The theory may be traced to the Vedic idea that many gods are just one god, suggesting conversely that one god may become many. From this idea it was only one step more to the theory of incarnation, i. e. if one god can become many, he can also assume any form—human or animal—to achieve some special purpose.
7. *Ś.B.* 1. 8. 1. 1-6.
8. Ibid., 7. 5. 1. 5.
9. Ibid., 14. 1. 2. 11.
10. Ibid., 1. 2. 5. 1 ff.
11. *Mbh.*, XII. 349. 37; 399. 77-90; 399. 104.
12. *E.R.E.*, Vol. VII.

Bhārata Kaumudī, pp. 61-68. The Avatāras of Viṣṇu and their enumeration in some of the early Indian Texts by J.N. Banerjea.

The Nīlamata does not supply a systematic list of incarnations of Viṣṇu. Only stray and d sordered mention of the names of incarnations, sometimes accompanied by a brief account of their achievements is at our disposal. The names are : Matsya (vv. 39, 1161), Kūrma (v. 1161), Varāha (vv. 1159, 1208) Haṃsa (v. 1161 Aśvaśīrṣa (vv. 1161, 1210), Nṛsiṃha (vv. 1150, 1153, 1159, 1209), Trivikrama (1210), Rāma Dāśarathi (v. 500), Madhusūdana (v. 716), Buddha (v. 684). The absence of two incarnations, viz. Kalkī and Paraśurāma—generally not omitted in the lists of ten incarnations appearing in other Purāṇas—indicates that the avatāravāda of Kaśmīra was probably still in the making at the time of the Nīlamata. It was fully systematized sometime before the 11th century A.D. as Kṣemendra includes both these incarnations in his Daśāvatāracarita.

A comparative study of the myths of Viṣṇu's incarnations mentioned in the Nīlamata is as follows :

(a) *The Fish Incarnation—Matsyāvatāra*

The Nīlamata refers to this incarnation in the legend of the birth of Kaśmīra. It is stated that the movable and immovable creation is destroyed at the end of a manvantara. The whole world changes into a sea with water alone—a form of Śiva himself—existing all around. Then appears Satī in the form of a boat in which the future Manu places all the seeds. Viṣṇu, in the form of Matsya, carries that boat by means of his horn and fastens that to the peak Naubandhana.[1] According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the great horned fish which saved Manu from flood was Prajāpati himself.[2] The Mahābhārata also describes fish as a form of Brahmā

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1. मत्स्यरूपधरो विष्णुः शृङ्गेकृत्वापकर्षति ॥

Nīlamata, v. 39. See also vv. 33-39.

सिन्धुकूले वराहं च शालिग्रामे त्रिविक्रमम् ।
काश्मीरेषु तथा मत्स्यं सागरे वडवानलम् ॥

Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., III. 121. 3.

Naubandhana being in Kaśmīra, the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. specially associates this incarnation with Kaśmīra.

2. *Ś. B.*, 1. 8. 1. 1-6.

and thus, represents a stage in the belief where factors were still not fixed.[1] The Bhāgavata Pu. describes Viṣṇu taking the form of Śapharī fish for rescuing the Vedas which had been snatched away during the deluge, by the powerful demon Hayagrīva.[2] The Agni Pu. refers to the story of Manu and the small fish that sought his protection. The fish, who in reality was Viṣṇu and who slayed Hayagrīva later on, informed Manu of the coming disaster and instructed him to save himself by entering into the boat prepared for him.[3] The story with slight changes occurs in various Purāṇas.[4] The Nīlamata is, however, silent about the earlier part of the legend.[5]

(b) The Tortoise Incarnation—Kūrmāvatāra

The Kūrma incarnation is not referred to directly in the Nīlamata. Kūrma occurs as a place-name in the list of the tīrthas dedicated to Viṣṇu[6] and this indicates the recognition of the Kūrma incarnation in Kaśmīra, at that time. Just like the Fish incarnation, the Kūrma incarnation, too, originally belonged to Prajāpati[7] but was later on associated with Viṣṇu.[8] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes Kūrma as a lord of the waters and a helper of Varuṇa.[9] Probably he was a folk deity[10] assimilated later on into Vaiṣṇavism.

1. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 201, 210.

2. *Bhāgavata Pu.*, XI. 4.17-18.

3. Teste, Rao, T.A.G., *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. part I. pp. 125-26.

4. *Bhaviṣyat Pu.*, Ch. IV; *Kālikā Pu.*, Ch. XXXIV. For details see Sūryakānta Śāstrī, *The Flood Legend in Sanskrit Literature*, passim.

5. The suggestion of some scholars that Matsya was originally the totem of the tribe of Mīnas who lived in the north-eastern direction of India (Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. I. 5. 10; Rāmāyaṇa II. 71. 5.) is quite plausible, see Karmarkar, A. P., *The Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu in A Vol. of Studies in Indology* presented to *P. V. Kane*, pp. 253-57. Heras, H. *The Religion of the Mohenjodaro People, Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. V. pp. 4 ff.*

The popularity of the worship of fish in various countries is referred to in the *E.R.E.*, Vol. I. s.v. Animal.

6. अश्वशीर्षं तथा मत्स्यं हंसं कूर्मं तथैव च ।

Nīlamata, v. 1161.

7. *Ś.B.*, VII. 5.1.5; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 2.7.2.

8. *Viṣṇu Pu.*, I. 9. 88; *Bhāgavata Pu.*, I. 3. 16.

9. *Ś.B.*, VII. 5.1.9.

10. For the account of tortoise as a mythical animal in Asia and America, see Miss Herald 18. p. 385;
Bastian Bilder, p. 356; Crooke 11, 255.
Teste. *E.R.E.*, Vol. I. p. 530.

(*c*) *The Boar Incarnation—Varāhāvatāra*

Viṣṇu as boar, says the Nīlamata, lifted up the earth with his tusk and tore the mountains to pieces.[1] Varāhatīrtha is mentioned frequently and a visit to it is described as the giver of the merit of performing Rājasūya sacrifice.[2]

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka and the older portions of the Rāmāyaṇa ascribe this incarnation to Prajāpati.[3] The Viṣṇu, the Garuḍa and the Liṅga Purāṇa also speak of Brahmā as the uplifter of the earth.[4] According to the Bhāgavata Pu., Viṣṇu assumed the form of a boar to lift up the earth[5] while according to the Agni Pu., Brahmāṇḍa Pu. and Matsya Pu. the cause was the slaying of the demon Hiraṇyākṣa.[6]

(*d*) *The Goose Incarnation—Haṃsāvatāra*

By referring to Haṃsa as a place dedicated to Viṣṇu, the Nīlamata recognizes the goose as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[7]

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 1208.
2. Ibid., 1158-59, 1358.
3. *Ś.B.*, XIV. 1. 2. 11; *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* VII. 1. 5. 1; *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 1. 10. 8; *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 110. 3-4.
4. *Viṣṇu Pu.*, I. 4. 1 ff; *Liṅga Pu.*, I. 4. 59 ff. *Garuḍa Pu.*, teste. Rao, T. A. G., Op. Cit., p. 129.
5. Teste. Rao, T. A. G., Op. Cit., pp. 131-32.
6. *Brahmāṇḍa Pu.*, II. 19. 13; III. 36. 11; *Matsya Pu.*, 47. 47.

The early non-Aryan nature of the cult of boar is evident from R. V. 1. 61. 7. referring to Viṣṇu carrying away 100 buffaloes of Ekāmuṣa and R.V. VIII. 66. 10. referring to Indra killing Ekāmuṣa. His association with agriculture and storms is described in the mythologies of Germany, Greece and Rome.

E.R.E., Vol. I. s.v. Animals, pp. 524-25.
Gonda, J., *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, pp. 129-31.

The pig plays an important role in the religious and social life of the Lhota Nāgas.

Mills, J. P., *The Lhota Nagas*, London, 1922, p. 79.
Teste. Gonda, J., Op. Cit., p. 136, f.n. 40.

7. *Nīlamata*, v. 1161, supra, p. 144 f.n. 6.

It finds mention in the Mahābhārata[1] and the Purāṇas.[2] The Nīlamata attributes this form to Śiva also,[3] a fact which may be taken as a reminiscence of the attempts on the part of both these cults—Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism—to assimilate some folk cult represented by goose.

(*e*) *Horse-headed Incarnation—Aśvaśiras Avatāra*

Same as Aśvaśīrṣa or Hayagrīva, this incarnation is not mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. According to the Mahābhārata, the fire of sage Aurva's anger, cast into the sea, became the great Hayaśiras.[4] In the Mbh., Hayagrīva occurs as the name of a demon who is commander of Naraka's army.[5] According to the Bhāgavata Pu., Viṣṇu killed the demon Hayagrīva.[6] The Viṣṇu Pu. and the Mārkaṇḍeya Pu. state that Viṣṇu appears as Hayaśiras in Bhadrāśva.[7] The Devī-bhāgavata mentions Viṣṇu Hayagrīva killing the demon Hayagrīva,[8] while the Kālikā Pu. states that Hayagrīva had killed Jvarāsura.[9] A synthesis of these conflicting accounts

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1. *Mbh.*, XII. 339. 103.

2. *Agni Pu.*, chaps. 2-16.
The Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., refers to it,

हंसरूपेण तत्रैव जघान भगवान् हरिः । I. 180. 8-341; III. 226;

Bhāgavata Pu., X. 2. 40; XI. 4. 17; XI. 5. 23; XI. 13; 19-41; XI. 17. 3-11.

3. हंसरूपधरः शैलं पाटयामास सत्वरः ॥

Nīlamata, v. 1068.

हंसरूपधरं दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्मा देवं महेश्वरम् । v. 1071.

मङ्गलाय वरेण्याय महाहंसाय मीढुषे । v. 1094,

हंसरूपं तदा त्यक्त्वा स्वेन रूपेण शङ्करः ॥ v. 1097.

4. Dowson, John, *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, s.v. Hayaśiras.

5. हयग्रीवो निशुम्भश्च घोरः पञ्चजनस्तथा ।

Mbh., 2. 83, p. 347 (Gītā Press Edition, 2013)

6. *Bhāgavata Pu.*, XI. 4. 17.

7. *Viṣṇu Pu.*, 2. 2. 50, *Mārkaṇḍeya Pu.*, 55.

8. हयग्रीव उवाच ॥ हयग्रीवाच्च मे मृत्युर्नान्यस्माज्जगदम्बिके ।

Devī Bhāgavata, I. 5.

9. स हयग्रीवरूपेण विष्णुर्हत्वा ज्वरासुरम् ।

Kālikā Pu., 81. 76.

yields that Hayagrīva was originally a non-Aryan deity identified later on with Viṣṇu.

An Assamese work Maṇikūṭa informs that Viṣṇu, at the request of a sage Urva, killed a demon Hayāsura living on Maṇikūṭa hill. At the last moment of his life, the demon took refuge in Mādhava and prayed that the god might take up his (Hayāsura's) form and live on Maṇikūṭa.[1] This endorses our view by indicating that Hayagrīva, who often appears as a demon in Indian literature, was originally a deity of the hilly tribes hostile to the Aryans but was later on assimilated into Hinduism.

Buddhism, too, adopted this deity. He is mentioned as a companion of Khaṣarpaṇa and Lokanātha and is one of the nine male deities originating from Akṣobhya.[2] In Yoginī Tantra, a work of 16th Century. A.D., there is provision for offering fish and meat of deer, goat and horse to Viṣṇu Hayagrīva,[3] which indicates the wild character of this incarnation. The mention of this incarnation in the Nīlamata may point out the recognition of this incarnation in Kaśmīra.

(f) The Man-lion Incarnation—Narasiṃhāvatāra

The Nīlamata refers to the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu tearing Hiraṇyakaśipu to pieces, with his claws.[4] This incarnation, representing Viṣṇu therianthropically, is alluded in the supplementary portion of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.[5] The Mahābhārata does not refer to it often but it seems to have become quite popular in the Harivaṃśa and the Purāṇas.[6]

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1. Teste. Neog Maheśvara, *J.O.R. Madras*, XXII (1952), pp. 32 ff.
2. Bhattacarya, B., *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd edition (1958), pp. 128, 131, 165.
3. Yoginī Tantra (Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay, 1847), pp. 255, 66, teste. Neog Maheśvara, *J.O.R. Madras*, XXII.
4. करजाग्रविनिर्भिन्नहिरण्यकशिपूरसे ।
   नमस्तुभ्यं नृसिंहाय ज्वालामालाकुलात्मने ।। *Nīlamata*, v. 1209.
5. वज्रनखाय विद्महे तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राय धीमहि
   तन्नो नारसिंहः प्रचोदयात् ।
   Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, X. 1. 6-7.
6. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 210-11.

According to the Kūrma Pu.[1] and the Saura Pu.,[2] Viṣṇu assumed this form to kill Hiraṇyakaśipu's brother Hiraṇyākṣa who had become highly strong after obtaining a boon from Brahmā and was troubling the gods. Hiraṇyakaśipu's son Prahlāda assisted, at first, his father and uncle in opposing Viṣṇu but having come to know the true nature of the opponent, he advised them to stop war. Hiraṇyakaśipu did not agree and was, therefore, killed by Viṣṇu. The Viṣṇu, the Padma and the Bhāgavata, however, describe Prahlāda as a devotee of Viṣṇu from the very beginning and according to them, Viṣṇu took this form to save Prahlāda from the cruel treatment of his father.[3]

The Nīlamata is silent about the cause of killing Hiraṇyakaśipu. Frequent references to Narasiṃha and the places dedicated to Narasiṃha prove the popularity of this incarnation in Kaśmīra.[4] A Viṣṇu image from Kaśmīra shows two lion faces.[5]

(*g*) *The Dwarf Incarnation—Vāmanāvatāra*

Vāmana is listed as a tīrtha which may be associated with Viṣṇu.[6] Trivikrama, used for Viṣṇu—the conqueror of the worlds—is also an opposite aspect of the Vāmanāvatāra.[7] The comparison of the Nāga Mahāpadma appearing before Viśvagaśva to acquire land, with Viṣṇu appearing before Bali, anticipates the fully developed legend of the Vāmanāvatāra.[8]

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1. Teste. Rao, T.A.G., Op. Cit., pp. 131-32.
2. Ibid., p. 146.
3. *Viṣṇu Pu.*, I. 2.32; *Padma Pu.*, Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa, chaps. 42-43; *Bhāgavata Pu.*, VII. 8. 12 ff.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 184, 259, 1026, 1150, 53, 59, 1209, 93, 1307.
5. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XVII (1951), pp. 251-53, see Pl. IIb.
6. *Nīlamata*, v. 1317.
7. त्रिविक्रमाय देवाय नमस्ते विजिगीषवे ।
   Ibid., v. 1210.
8. स ददर्श महीनाथं विश्वगश्वं दयापरम् ।
   दृष्ट्वा चायाचत तदा यथा विष्णुर्बलिं तथा ॥
   Ibid., v. 977.

The Ṛgveda contains the germs of the myth of this incarnation as Viṣṇu is stated therein to have taken three steps for the good of the world and for defeating the demons.[1] The myth is further developed in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā,[2] the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[3] and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[4] speaking of the Asuras who agreed to give to the defeated gods as much of the earth as Viṣṇu—a dwarf—could lie on, and of Viṣṇu who increased his size and got the whole earth for the gods. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas also give the same legend in a slightly changed form.[5]

(*h*) *Rāmāvatāra.*

According to the Nīlamata, Viṣṇu was born as a son of Daśaratha in the line of Raghu, in the 24th Tretā.[6] The verse 1157 refers to a place named Rāmasvāmī which, as the ending svāmī shows, must have been associated with Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu.[7] No events of Rāma's life are described in this work, but the mention of Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa

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1. इदं विष्णु वि चक्रमे त्रेधा नि दधे पदम् ।
R.V., I. 22. 17.
यदिदं किं च तद् विक्रमते विष्णुः । त्रिधा निधत्ते पदं त्रेधा भावाय पृथिव्याम् अन्तरिक्षे दिवि इति शाकपूणिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसि इति और्णवाभः ।
Yāska, *Nirukta*, XII. 1.
2. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 2. 1. 3. 1.
3. *Ś.B.*, 1. 2. 5. 1 ff. वामनो ह विष्णुरास । 1. 2. 5. 5.
4. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 1. 3. 1.
5. *Matsya Pu.*, Chap. 246. *Mbh.* (Gītā Press Ed.), pp. 789-91.
6. चतुर्विंशतिसङ्ख्यायां त्रेतायां रघुनन्दनः ।
हरिर्मनुष्यो भविता रामो दशरथात्मजः ॥
रामपत्नी तथा पूज्या सीता देवी प्रयत्नतः ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 500-02.
7. The nomenclature of Kaśmīra shows Īśa at the end of names of the places dedicated to Śiva and Svāmī of those dedicated to Viṣṇu.
Rājata., IV. 275. also refers to Rāmasvāmī.

andŚ atrughna along with Rāma indicates familiarity with the story of the Rāmāyaṇa.[1]

(*i*) *Kṛṣṇāvatāra.*

The verses 716-22 of the Nīlamata describing Kṛṣṇa-Janmāṣṭamī festival inform that Viṣṇu was born in the human form at the end of Dvāpara in the 28th (Kalpa) for removing the burden (of the earth). Reference to Devakī and Yaśodā anticipates the story found in the Mahābhārata and various Purāṇas regarding Kṛṣṇa's transference from the couch of his real mother Devakī to that of his foster-mother Yaśodā.[2]

As regards the origin of Kṛṣṇa-incarnation of Viṣṇu, so many learned discussions are in the field and so many conflicting points of view have cropped up that it seems very difficult to reach any conclusion. Hopkins takes Kṛṣṇa as a tribal god[3] and Barth also regards him as the ethnic god of some powerful confederation of Rajput clans, fused later on with the Vedic deity Viṣṇu.[4] He points out the association of Kṛṣṇa with the sun by comparing Devakī with Aditi, but

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1. रामं सलक्ष्मणं सीतां शेषं च धरणीधरम् ।
...शत्रुघ्नौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ।

Nīlamata, vv. 542; 913.

It also deserves to be noted that Rāma's human character is prominent in both the Epics, his mention as Viṣṇu's incarnation occurring only in the Bālakāṇḍa and Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Nārayaṇīya section and the beginning of the Ramopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata.

Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 212.

2. श्रावण्यां समतीतायां या स्यात्कृष्णाष्टमी द्विज ।
तस्यामुत्पद्यते देवो मानुष्ये मधुसूदनः ॥
भारावतारणार्थं हि तस्यां वै द्विजसत्तम ।
अष्टाविंशे तु सम्प्राप्ते द्वापरान्ते तु नः श्रुतम् ॥
तत्राहनि तु कर्तव्यं तस्मात्कालात्तदा परम् ।
पूजनं देवदेवस्य देव्याश्चैव यथाविधि ॥
देवकी च यशोदा च तथा पूज्ये द्विजोत्तम ।

Nīlamata, vv. 716-19.

3. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 388.
4. Barth, *Religions of India*, pp. 168, 172-73.

Keith rejects this association and regards Kṛṣṇa as developed from a vegetation deity.[1] Kennedy speaks of several Kṛṣṇas, taking one as a "monsoon sun god slaying the Asura Kaṃsa" and the other as a borrowing from Christianity.[2] R.G. Bhandarkar, too, thinks that the cowherd Kṛṣṇa has some elements of the boy god Christ brought by Ābhīras.[3] He further takes Vāsudeva as distinct from Kṛṣṇa mentioned as a pupil of Ghora Aṅgiras in the Chāndogyopaniṣad.[4] According to him, Vāsudeva—a teacher of the Sātvatas or the Vṛṣṇis—was called Kṛṣṇa due to his Kārṣāyaṇa gotra and was later on identified with the old Kṛṣṇa—the writer of the Vedic hymns and pupil of Ghora Aṅgiras. The concept of latter's being the son of Devakī was also thereafter engrafted upon him.[5]

The theory identifying Kṛṣṇa with Christ is altogether untenable as Kṛṣṇa was already famous as a god before the birth of Christ,[6] and the Ābhīras had been referred to by Patañjali in second century B.C.[7] in his remark Śūdrābhīram. The stories of cowherd Kṛṣṇa may have developed from Viṣṇu's Vedic epithet Gopā and the mention of bhūriśṛṅgāḥ cows in his abode.[8] Other theories, however, may be true partially. It is also possible that the Vedic writer Kṛṣṇa was a Kṣatriya warrior[9] paying equal attention to poetry, religion and war. From his teacher Ghora Aṅgiras who was a sunworshipper, he learnt the true meaning of sacrifice and

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1. Keith, teste. Ray Chaudhury, H. C., *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 40, 46.

2. Kennedy, *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 951; 1908, p. 169, p.505. See also Weber, A., *I.A.*, III. pp. 21-25 and 47-52; IX. pp. 226-29.

3. Bhandarkar, Op. Cit., p. 53.

4. Ibid., p. 16.

5. Loc. Cit.

6. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 216 f.n.

7. *Mahābhāṣya* 1. 2. 3. on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. I. 2. 73.

8. *R. V.* I. 22. 18; III. 55.10; I. 154. 6.

9. *R. V.* VIII. 96 refers to a Kṛṣṇa who, along with his 10000 soldiers, was defeated by Indra.

Cf. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I. p. 493.

the importance of meditation.[1] The son of Vāsudeva and Devakī, he was also known as Vāsudeva but this patronymic name became more popular after his identification with Viṣṇu, for the name Kṛṣṇa was rather inconsistent with the solar character of the latter. This theory, too, can be a possible supposition only, as the possibility of Kṛṣṇa having been originally a tribal or sectarian god cannot be ruled out altogether. Anyway, as far as the Nīlamata is concerned, it shows that stage of the development of Kṛṣṇāvatāra in which the names Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu were used for one god supposed to have been brought up among the cowherds. Rādhā was unknown as yet. One thing notable is that while the worship of the Brāhmaṇas and the Śākyas is prescribed in connection with the birth-festivals of Rāma and Buddha respectively, the account of the birth-festival of Kṛṣṇa makes no reference to the Brāhmaṇas. Cannot it be taken as a vague memory of the fact that Kṛṣṇa originally was not accepted as god by the Brāhmaṇas ?[2]

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1. स यदशिशिषति यत्पिपासति यन्न रमते ता अस्य दीक्षाः ॥
अथ यदश्नाति यत्पिबति यद्रमते तदुपसदैवेति ।
अथ यद्धसति यज्जक्षति यन्मैथुनं चरति स्तुतशस्त्रैव तदेति ॥
अथ यत्तपो दानमार्जवमहिंसा सत्यवचनमिति ता अस्य दक्षिणाः ॥
तस्मादाहुः सोष्यत्यसोष्टेति पुनरुत्पादनमेवास्य तन्मरणमेवास्यावभृथः ॥
तद्धैतद्घोर आङ्गिरसः कृष्णाय देवकीपुत्रायोक्त्वोवाचापिपास एव स
बभूव सोऽन्तवेलायामेतत्त्रयं प्रतिपद्येताक्षितमस्यच्युतमसि प्राणसंशित-
मसीति तत्रैते द्वे ऋचौ भवतः ॥

Chāndogyopaniṣad, III. 17. 1-6.

The same doctrines of तपस्, दान, आर्जव, सत्य and ध्यान are propounded by Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā. The fact that Kṛṣṇa was originally a human teacher is admitted by Bhandarkar, Steel, Bühler, Grierson, Garbe and Ray Chaudhury. See Ray Chaudhury, Op. Cit., p. 61.

2. In the Mahābhārata there are indications that originally the orthodox Brāhmaṇas did not give honour to Kṛṣṇa.

यद्ययं जगतः कर्ता यथैनं मूर्ख मन्यसे ।
कस्मान्न ब्राह्मणं सम्यगात्मनमवगच्छति ॥

Mbh., II. 42. 6. (Citraśālā Press Edition).

As regards the archaeological evidence about the popularity of Gopāla Kṛṣṇa in Kaśmīra, we have from Avantisvāmī temple of 9th century A.D., some representations of Kṛṣṇa in the company of cowherdesses.[1]

(*j*) *Buddhāvatāra*

Buddha appears as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The peculiarity of the account as found in the Nīlamata will be discussed in connection with Buddhism.[2]

(2) *Other legends about Viṣṇu*

Besides the stories of incarnations, some other legends associated with Viṣṇu are referred to in the Nīlamata. These are as follows :

(*a*) *Killing of Madhu* (*together with Kaiṭabha*)[3]

Different Purāṇas give different versions of this story. According to some, these two demons were born of the dirt of Viṣṇu's ears while others describe their birth from rajas and tamas.[4]

(*b*) *Fight with Naraka*[5]

The story is found in the Mahābhārata and in various

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1. *A.S.I.*, 1913-14. Pl. XXVIII c. Also p. 50.
2. Infra, Ch. VII. IV. Buddhism.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 163, 192, 478, 716, 770, 1200, 1203, 1206 mention Viṣṇu as Madhusūdana.
4. बभूवतुस्तौ द्वौ दैत्यौ तस्य कर्णमलोद्भवौ ॥
Brahmavaivarta Pu., 1. 4. 27.
विष्णुकर्णमलोद्भूतौ दानवौ मधुकैटभौ ।
Devī Bhāgavata Pu., 1. 6. 21.
विघ्नस्तमसि सम्भूतो मधुर्नाम महासुरः ।
तथा रजसि सम्भूतो ह्यसुरो नाम कैटभः ॥
Padma Pu., V. 37. 19 ff.
तौ रजस्तमसौ विष्णोः सम्भूतौ तामसौ गणौ ।
Matsya Pu., 170. 2.
Vāyu Pu., 25. 30 ff.
5. *Nīlamata*, v. 7.

Purāṇas. As stated in the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the demon Naraka—powerful son of the earth—had carried off the jewelled ear-rings of Aditi to his capital Prāgjyotiṣapura and had captured the daughters of the gods, the Siddhas, the Gandharvas and the Asuras. At the request of Indra, Kṛṣṇa went to Naraka's impregnable castle and recovered the jewels after killing him. He also released the ladies imprisoned by him.[1] The Nīlamata refers merely to the fight.

(*c*) *Releasing of the Elephant-Chief*[2]

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa devotes four chapters to this story.[3] It is stated that while wandering in the Trikūṭa hills, a lord of the elephants felt thirsty and entered a lake nearby. Therein he was caught by a crocodile. Finding himself helpless, he prayed to Hari who at once flew on Garuḍa with his discus and released the elephant from the crocodile. In his previous birth, this elephant was a Pāṇḍya king named Indradyumna, devoted to Hari. According to the Viṣṇudhormottara Pu., the elephant and the crocodile were, in previous birth, Hāhā and Hūhū—two Gandharva-singers of the gods cursed by the sage Devala.[4] The Nīlamata also refers to Hāhā and Hūhū as two Gandharvas.[5]

(*d*) *Killing of Jalodbhava*[6]

(*e*) *Paraśurāma and the image of Viṣṇu*

The verses 1167-1226 give the story of Paraśurāma who eliminated twenty one times all the Kṣatriyas on the earth, to avenge the murder of his father. In the twenty first attack, he followed the Kṣatriyas to Kaśmīra and after killing them

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1. *Mbh.*, V. 48. 80-84; *Viṣṇu Pu.*, V. 29. 11-22.
2. *Nīlamata*, v. 1158.
3. *Bhāgavata Pu.*, VIII. 1, 2, 3, 4. It also refers to the legend many a time. II. 7. 15-16; III. 19. 35; XII. 12. 19.
4. *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, 1. 193.
5. *Nīlamata*, v. 639.
6. Supra, pp. 6-7.

near the river Madhumatī, he erected there an image of Keśava which, as the Nīlamata informs us, was worshipped by the people, with animal sacrifices. Thereafter he erected an image of Keśava on the mountain Gṛdhrakūṭa but as it was very troublesome for the cows (who were taken to the temple of Viṣṇu for being offered) to climb up the hill, Paraśurāma practised penance for one year to please Viṣṇu to allow him to bring that image down to his hermitage. Viṣṇu appeared and granted the desired boon.

Paraśurāma appears to have been a Śaiva originally, represented as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, only in the late portions of the Mahābhārata.[1] The Nīlamata depicts him not as an incarnation but as a devotee of Viṣṇu and there too, the worship of Viṣṇu's image with animal sacrifices indicates probably his Śaiva character.

(*II*) *Lakṣmī*

The Nīlamata is aware of her birth from the sea.[2] Called by the names Śrī, Lakṣmī and Karīṣiṇī, she is capable of purifying three worlds and, at Kaśyapa's request, takes the form of a river Viśokā to purify the people of Kaśmīra.[3] Her worship is prescribed in many festivals like Sukhasuptikā, Rāma's birth-day festival and Irāmañjarīpūjana.[4] Śrī Pañcamī —fifth day of the bright half of Caitra—is wholly dedicated to her worship.[5] The purifying abode of auspiciousness, she is the Supreme Power assuming forms of different goddesses. She is also identified with Umā and Kaśmīrā.[6]

The Nīlamata does not distinguish Lakṣmī and Śrī who were, at one time, different goddesses but tended to merge

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1. *Mbh.*, VIII. 34. 149-155; 13. XIII. 12-15 (Gītā Press Edition) show Paraśurāma as Śaiva. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 211.

2. क्षीरोदकन्ये···· । *Nīlamata*, v. 273.

3. Ibid., vv. 644, 843; 230, 267, 269, 271, 281, 287, 321, 410, 580, 646; 238, 241, 399, 503, 645, 677; 268, 270-77.

4. Ibid., vv. 399, 503, 677.

5. Ibid., vv. 644-646.

6. Ibid., vv. 273-74.

into each other in the Upaniṣads.[1] The Mahābhārata contains the traces of their being different divinities.[2]

(III) Different Vaiṣṇava Sects

The Nīlamata refers to the Bhāgavatas and the Sātvatas as identical terms in connection with the Devaprabodhana ceremony, and distinguishes them from the Brāhmaṇas who seem to play a subordinate role in that ceremony.[3] Pāñcarātra system of worship is prescribed for the worship of Viṣṇu,[4] which in its turn anticipates the popularity of the Pāñcarātra cult in Kaśmīra.[5]

The cults of the Bhāgavatas[6] and the Pāñcarātras were originally different; the former had Vāsudeva-Nārāyaṇa as their deity and the latter worshipped four Vyūhas, namely, Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha and Pradyumna.[7] That both these cults were originally non-Vedic and anti-Brāhmaṇa, is indicated by various Purāṇas and Smṛtis which openly decry these sects and state that a Brāhmaṇa converted into the Pāñcarātra religion loses all his Vedic rites and that even for conversing with the Pāñcarātras one would have to go to

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1. Gonda, J., *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 214.
2. *Mbh.*, III. 37. 33. Teste. Hopkins, Op. Cit., p. 224.
3. सान्नरत्नप्रदानैश्च पूज्याः भागवतास्ततः ॥
ततोऽग्निहवनं कार्यं विप्राः पूज्यास्त्वनन्तरम् ।
Nīlamata, v. 431.
द्वादश्यां पञ्चदश्यां च द्विजसात्वतपूजनम् ।
Ibid., v. 705.
4. पञ्चरात्रविधानेन वेद्यामावाह्य तां बुधैः ।
आसनस्थां यथाशक्त्या स्नापयेत यथाविधि ॥
Ibid., v. 420.
5. For F. Otto Schrader's view that the Pāñcarātra originated in the north or rather the extreme north of India, see *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, pp. 16, 96-97.
6. Bhāgavatas are the same as the Sātvatas or the Vṛṣṇis. For details see R. G. Bhandarkar, Op. Cit., pp. 11 ff.
7. *I.H.Q.* VI. 1930, pp. 315 ff and 437 ff; VII. 1931, pp. 93 ff, 343 ff, 735 ff; VIII. 1932, pp. 64 ff.

the Raurava hell.[1] Kauṭilya also informs us about the antagonistic attitude of the Vṛṣṇis (Sātvatas) towards the Brāhmaṇas.[2]

Later on, however, when followers of these cults identified their respective deities with the Vedic Viṣṇu, the gulf between them and the Brāhmaṇas was removed to a considerable extent. In Kaśmīra it must have been removed at a quite early date and the Nīlamata by mentioning together the Bhāgavatas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Pāñcarātra system of worship points out this happy mingling of Vedic and popular cults.

(IV) Popularity of the Vaiṣṇava cult in early Kaśmīra

The popularity of the Vaiṣṇava cult in early Kaśmīra, as indicated by the Nīlamata, is corroborated by the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa mentioning Kaśmīra as a seat of Viṣṇu in the form of Cakrin[3] and by the Rājataraṅgiṇī informing about various temples of Viṣṇu erected by various kings, their relatives and ministers. Raṇāditya,[4] Pravarasena II,[5] Durlabhavardhana and his son Malhaṇa,[6] Candrāpīḍa, his wife and his preceptor Mihiradatta,[7] Candrāpīḍa's city-prefect Chalitaka,[8] Lalitāditya and his queen Kamalāvatī[9] and many others are known to have founded shrines of Viṣṇu.

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1. *Kūrma Pu.*, Ch. 15; *Parāśara Pu.*, *Sāmba Pu.*, *Bṛhannāradīya Pu.*, *Vāyu Pu.*, *Liṅga Pu.*, *Āditya Pu.*, *Agni Pu.*, *Sūta Saṃhitā*, teste. Das Gupta, S. N., *A History of Indian Philosophy*, III. pp. 19-20.

   द्वितीयं पाञ्चरात्रे च तन्त्रे भागवते तथा ।
   दीक्षिताश्च द्विजा नित्यं भवेयुर्गर्हिता हरेः ॥

   Parāśara Pu., teste. Ibid.

2. हर्षाद्वातापिरगस्त्यमत्यासादयन् वृष्णिसङ्घश्च द्वैपायनमिति ।
   Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, Edited by Shama Sastry, p. 12.

3. वराहं कन्दमाले च कश्मीरेषु च चक्रिणम् ।

   Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., III. 125. 10.

   The date of this Purāṇa is taken to be earlier than 6th century A. D. See Hazra, *J.U.G.* III. pp. 39 ff.

4. *Rājata.*, III. 444-58.
5. Ibid., III. 350-55.
6. Ibid., IV. 6; IV. 4.
7. Ibid., IV. 78-80.
8. Ibid., IV. 81.
9. Ibid., IV. 183, 188, 193, 195-98, 201-2, 275; 208.

Another piece of information from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that two ancient temples containing the images of Keśava were excavated in the period of king Lalitāditya, and the images, on the ground of the inscriptions engraved on their bases, were interpreted as having been erected by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa—the famous heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa—yields that those Vaiṣṇava temples were constructed many centuries before Lalitāditya so that the script had become too old to be known to the Paṇḍitas of his reign.[1]

Kaśmīra has also been regarded as the cradle of early Pāñcarātra literature dealing mainly with Viṣṇu and his vyūhas.[2] That some Vaiṣṇava works had very strong influence upon the general public of Kaśmīra is proved by the fact that a great Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta had to present the tenets of Śaiva philosophy in the garb of a Vaiṣṇava treatise Paramārtha sāra.[3]

As regards the archaeological evidence, Viṣṇu images dating from 6th century A.D. to 11th century A.D. have been discovered from various places in Kaśmīra.[4] Two images of Lakṣmī, assigned to 6th century A.D. on the stylistic basis, are preserved in Śrī Pratāpa Museum at Śrīnagar.[5]

II. *Śaivism*

(*I*) *Śiva*

Praised highly in the latter one-third of the Nīlamata, Śiva occupies a position second to that of Viṣṇu in the earlier

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1. एवं वचस्तयोः श्रुत्वा नृपोन्येद्युः सविस्मयः ।
तदुक्त्या मेदिनीं कृत्स्नां कारुभिर्निरदारयत् ॥
दूरं निर्हृतमृद्भिस्तैरथाद्राक्षीन्निवेदितम् ।
नृपतिः पिहितद्वारं जीर्णं देवगृहद्वयम् ॥
उद्घाटितारिर्वर्णैः पीठोत्कीर्णैर्निवेदितौ ।
अपश्यत्केशवौ तत्र रामलक्ष्मणनिर्मितौ ॥
Rajata., IV. vv. 272-74.

2. Schrader, F. Otto., *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra etc.* pp. 16, 96-97.
3. Chatterji, J. C., *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 14.
Pandey, K. C., *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 56-60.
4. Kak, R. C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 162.
A.S.I., 1913-14, pp. 44-45; 1915-16, pp. 62-63.
5. Kak, R. C., *Handbook*, pp. 59; 64, See Pl. II c.

two-thirds of the work.[1] In him we find a mingling of the Vedic Rudra raised gradually to a higher status and some non-Vedic gods opposed to at first by the Vedic Aryans but accepted later on through their identification with the Vedic Rudra.

(*i*) *Rudra in the early literature*

Only three hymns of the Ṛgveda are dedicated to Rudra who appears therein as a destructive power.[2] His more developed form is found in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.[3] Rudra, Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva and Īśāna are referred to as different deities in the Atharvaveda, but the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions these along with one more Aśani, as names given to Rudra by Prajāpati.[4]

The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad identifies him with the Upaniṣadic Brahma[5] and the Epics and the Purāṇas describe him as a member of the triad of deities.

(*ii*) *Non-Vedic character of Śiva*

Phallus-worship forms an important part of Śiva's cult and phallus-worshippers have been referred to with abhorrence in the R.V.[6] The Epics and the Purāṇas contain numerous indications of the non-Brahmanic character of Śiva. Śīva's antagonistic attitude towards Dakṣa[7] may be explained as the struggle of a non-Vedic deity for participation in the sacrifices of the Aryans and his forcible entry into the Vedic

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1. Infra, Ch. IX. VII.
2. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 142.
3. *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, Ch. 16. Rudra is given the epithets : गिरित्र (v. 3) गिरिश (v. 4) नीलग्रीव (v. 7) भव (v. 18) कपर्दिन् (v. 29) शीघ्र्य (v. 31)
4. Bhandarkar, R.G., Op.Cit., pp. 148-49.
5. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, I. 10; III. 10-11; IV. 14-15 etc.
6. *R. V.*, VII. 21.5; X. 99.3.

Keith says, "It is as probable as anything can be that the phallus-worshippers opposed to by the singers were aborigins." *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 10. Contra, Das, A. C., *Ṛgvedic India*, I. pp. 267 ff.

7. *Bhāgavata Pu.*, IV. chaps. 2-7.

pantheon. Śiva's own statement in the Mahābhārata shows the Pāśupata system and the Varṇāśramadharma at cross-purposes.[1] Śiva is called Asura in Vāyu Purāṇa[2] and there are statements indicating that originally there was no provision for giving him any portion of the sacrificial oblations.[3] His association with the Bhūtas, the Piśācas and the Rākṣasas and his sway over wildernesses, cemeteries, mountains etc. further indicate his wild character.[4] Yoga and austerities—specially associated with Śiva—were, according to Frazer, adopted in great part from the aboriginal tribes.[5] The Yogic āsana of Śiva Paśupati and the Yogic eyes of other figures unearthed at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, support this view.[6]

(*iii*) *Śiva in the Nīlamata*

(*i*) *A member of the triad*

The Nīlamata refers to Śiva as a member of the triad of deities[7] and describes his three forms creating, protecting and destroying the world.[8]

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1. वर्णाश्रमकृतैर्धर्मैर्विपरीतं क्वचित् समम् ।
Mbh., XII. 284. 189.
2. त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महो····· । *Vāyu Pu.*, 21. 71.
3. सुरैरेव महाभागे सर्वमेतदनुष्ठितम् ।
यज्ञेषु मम सर्वेषु न भागा उपकल्पिताः ॥
Vāyu Pu., 30.112.
सर्वेष्वेव हि यज्ञेषु न भागः परिकल्पितः ।
न मन्त्रा भार्यया सार्द्धं शंकरस्येति नेष्यते ॥
Kūrma Pu., 15.8.
4. *Vāyu Pu.*, 41. 32-36; 24. 109; 69. 175; Bhandarkar, R. G. Op. Cit. p. 151.
5. *E.R.E.*, s.v. Śaivism.
6. Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 159-61.
7. *Nīlamata*, vv. 175, 178, 179, 187 etc.
8. ब्राह्मीं तनुं तथास्थाय राजसीं त्वं जगद्गुरो ॥
लोकान् सृजसि भूतात्मंस्तव कार्यं न विद्यते ।
पौरुषीं तनुमास्थाय सात्त्विकीं त्वं महेश्वर ॥
पालयस्यखिलं देव त्रैलोक्यं साक्षिवत्स्थितः ।
कालाख्यां तामसीं कृत्वा जगत्संहरसे तथा ॥
Ibid., vv. 1087-89.

(*ii*) *Śiva's names and myths*

Of the eight names given to Śiva by Prajāpati, the Nīlamata knows only four, namely, Rudra, Śarva, Mahādeva and Bhava.[1] The other names appearing in this work are Hara, Īśvara, Maheśvara, Śambhu, Śaṅkara, Śiva, Virūpākṣa, Bhīma, Bhuśuṇḍa, Kratha, Krathana, Śīghra, Mahāhaṃsa, Samudra and Mahānadīśvara. Some of these like Kratha, Krathana and Bhīma represent his malignant nature while others indicate his benign form. Some of his epithets describe him as wearing a garland of skulls and a sacred thread in the form of a serpent. His matted hair are marked with the lunar crescent and are undulated by the waves of the Gaṅgā.[2] He holds terrible weapons,[3] rides upon his mount bull who is a representation of Dharma, and is Ūrdhvaliṅga.[4] His Ardhanārīśvara form is also referred to.[5] He is further described as the lord of the world and the lord of the gods and the whole universe is stated to be his eight forms.[6] There occurs a reference to his incarnations[7] but none is mentioned by name.

As regards the legends associated with Śiva, we have reference to the following :

Receipt of the falling Gaṅgā brought down at the request of Bhagīratha.[8]

Destruction of the demon Tripura.[9]

Destruction of the demon Andhaka.[10]

Burning of Kāmadeva.[11]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 164, 187, 381, 677, 936, 1016, 1049, 1050, 1104, 1128, 1136, 1240, 1266, 1267, 1275, 1302, 1303, 1320, 1322 (Rudra); vv. 303, 356 (Śarva); vv. 181, 183, 184 (Mahādeva); v. 1157 (Bhava).
2. Ibid., vv. 1091-94.
3. Ibid., v. 1125. His weapon is spear.
4. Ibid., vv. 1090-94.
5. Ibid., vv. 315, 1090. See Pl. IIIa.
6. Ibid., v. 1086, Infra. Ch. IX. III. (vi). Pantheism.
7. श्रोतव्याः शिवधर्माश्च प्रादुर्भावाश्च तत्कृताः ॥
Nīlamata, v. 511.
8. Ibid., v. 1091.
9. Ibid., vv. 1085, 1092.
10. Ibid., v. 1092.
11. Ibid., vv. 1141, 1216.

Two legends, glorifying two places Bhūteśvara and Kapaṭeśvara dedicated to Śiva, are given in detail. The first states that after performing austerities for one hundred years, a sonless Brāhmaṇa named Śilāda[1] obtained Śiva's gaṇa Nandī as an ayonija son, but was soon disappointed to know the short life of the boy. Nandī felt it badly and went to Kālodaka lake where he stood in water for hundred years, placing a heavy stone on his head and muttering Rudra's name. Śiva, at the request of Pārvatī, left Vārāṇasī for Kālodaka, creating several tīrthas in the way and receiving honours from Brahmā and Indra. Having reached Kālodaka, he gave the boon of long life to Nandī, took him to Haramukuṭa and both settled there in the forms of Bhūteśvara and Nandīśvara.[2]

The second legend, based on popular etymology, informs about Śiva's appearance in the guise of logs of wood by touching which the sages were transformed into the Rudras.[3]

(3) *Śiva's non-Vedic character*

The Nīlamata has a few reminiscences of Śiva's non-Vedic nature. He is closely associated with the Piśācas and the Rākṣasas. On Śiva Caturdaśī, he is worshipped by the Piśāca chief Nikumbha along with his followers.[4] It is prescribed that Nikumbha and the Piśācas also should be honoured on that day and oblations for them should be placed under the trees, in the cowpens, houses, streets, rivers, vacant houses, cemeteries and on the tops of mountains.[5] Śiva is called also the lord

1. *Vāmana Pu.*, 68. 40 mentions Śailādi—son of Śilāda—as a gaṇa.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1031-1124.
3. Ibid., vv. 1125-47.
4. तस्यां विप्र चतुर्दश्यां निकुम्भः शंकरं तदा ।
सम्पूजयति धर्मात्मा सानुयात्रो महाबलः ॥
Ibid., v. 553.
5. पूजनीयो निकुम्भस्तु पिशाचाधिपतिर्बली ।
पिशाचानां च दातव्या बलयश्च सुसंस्कृताः ॥
पललोल्लोपिकामिश्रा मत्स्यमांसामिषैर्युताः ।
वृक्षमूलेषु गोष्ठेषु गृहेषु विविधेष्वपि ॥
चतुष्पथेषु रथ्यासु चत्वरेषु नदीषु च ।
शून्यालयेषु मुख्येषु गिरीणां शिखरेषु च ॥
अट्टालकश्मशानेषु राजमार्गेषु काश्यप ।
Ibid., vv. 555-58.

of the Bhūtas.[1] Thus, the Nīlamata has preserved the tradition of Śiva's savage associations, which induces us to see in him some non-Vedic divinity, identified with Vedic Rudra whose character had already been modified due to an intermediate identification with Agni, Vāyu, Āditya etc.[2]

(ii) *Umā*

(i) *Umā in the Nīlamata*

Of Śiva's female-consort Umā,[3] the Nīlamata speaks so highly as to give her a position higher than that of Śiva.[4] The land of Kaśmīra is described as her material manifestation and she is further stated to have taken the form of Kaśmīra's most famous river Vitastā.[5]

Daughter of the mountain Himālaya,[6] she is stated to have been originally blue-complexioned but became fair after performing penance on a mountain peak later named as Gaurīśikhara.[7] Reference to her marriage is also made[8] and her association with Śiva, it is said, has made her purer.[9]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1123-24.
2. Rudra's identification with Agni is quite evident.
Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 103, f.n.
3. Some interesting though arbitrary derivations of the name Umā are :
   (i) u(oh) mā (don't) the words uttered by Menakā to dissuade her daughter from austerities, *Harivaṁśa*, XVIII. 18-19.
   (ii) u(Śiva) mā(measure) the goddess who measures Śiva. *Great Women of India*, p. 63.
   (iii) Umā, a variant of the syllable Om composed of a, u and m. Ibid., p. 63.

For the identification of Umā with the Babylonian Ummu or Umma, the Arcadian Ummi, the Dravidian Umma and the Scythian Ommo, see Dikshit, S. K., *The Mother Goddess*, pp. 59-60.
Hazra, R. C., 'Purāṇic chapters on Śakti', *Our Heritage*, Vol. IV. p. 79.

4. वितस्ताख्या सरिद्रूपा देवि त्वं पर्वतात्मजे ।
तपस्विनी परा शर्वाच्छर्वपत्न्यसि नो नदी ॥
Nīlamata, v. 303.

5. Ibid., vv. 243-52.
6. Ibid., vv. 261, 303.
7. Ibid., vv. 1235-36.
8. Ibid., vv. 1036, 1258.
9. Ibid., v. 261.

Her worship is prescribed on various occasions under different names such as Durgā, Śyāmā, Satī, Bhadrakālī etc.[1] Vegetables, fruits, roots, meat, various kinds of drinks, lamps, jewels, garlands, clothes, incense etc. are offered to her.[2]

(ii) *Origin of Umā*

As regards the origin and development of this goddess Umā, she is mentioned for the first time in the Kena Upaniṣad.[3] In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, she is regarded as the wife of Rudra but is different from Durgi (Durgā) who is referred to as Kanyākumārī[4] and with whom she is identified in the Mahābhārata.[5] Different names of Umā in the Purāṇas have been taken by Dr. Bhandarkar to indicate different goddesses who owed their conception to different historical conditions and were afterwards identified with one goddess. Dr. Hazra traces in Umā the glimpses of Vedic deities like Pṛthivī and of some mountain-deities of non-Vedic origin, worshipped by wild tribes such as Śarvaras, Pulindas and Varvaras.[6]

(iii) *Durgā and Śāradā*

The Nīlamata further refers to the worship of books in the temple of Durgā.[7] It is somewhat surprising because the worship of books, we know, is generally associated with Sarasvatī—the goddess of learning known as Śāradā in

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 585, 677, 739, 786-90, 799. The occasions referred to are Mahāśānti, Irāmañjarīpūjana, Mahānavamī, Aśokikāṣṭamī, bright eighth of Āśvina and Caitranavamī.

2. Ibid., vv. 786-88.

3. *Kena Upaniṣad*, III. 12.

4. नमो हिरण्यबाहवे हिरण्यपतये अम्बिकापतये उमापतये नमो नमः ॥
Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, X. 18.

कात्यायनाय विद्महे कन्याकुमारीं धीमहि ।
तन्नो दुर्गिः प्रचोदयात् ॥ X. 7.

5. *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma Parva, teste. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 225.

6. For detailed discussion, see Bhandarkar, R. G., Op. Cit., 158-60, 203-6, and R. C. Hazra's article in *Our Heritage*, Vol. IV. pp. 74 ff.

7. दुर्गागृहे पुस्तकानां पूजा कार्या तथा द्विज ।
Nīlamata, v. 789.

Kaśmīra. More surprising is the local tradition, preserved in the Śāradā Māhātmya,[1] of offering of meat, even by the Vaiṣṇavas, to the goddess Śāradā. Cannot it be taken as an evidence to prove the mingling of two different goddesses?[2]

(iii) *Śiva's sons Gaṇeśa, Skanda and their associates*

(i) *Gaṇeśa*[3]

The term Gaṇeśa occurs twice only in the Nīlamata, once for Śiva's gaṇa (not bull) Nandī,[4] and secondly for various images having different names but the common epithet Gaṇeśa.[5] The MSS. of the longer redaction refer to Gaṇeśa a third time also in connection with Dhanada Caturthī.[6] The frequent mention of Vināyakas[7] indicates the popularity of Vināyaka-worship in early Kaśmīra. Vināyakas, mentioned amongst gods in the Mahābhārata, were originally malignant spirits later regarded capable of being made friendly by propitiatory rites.[8] The Nīlamata uses the term Vināyaka once in plural[9] but generally in singular,[10] indicating thereby that Vināyakas also tended to become one

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1. हस्त्यश्वरथयानैश्च वासोभिश्शयनैस्तथा ।
महिषैर्बहुभिश्शाकैर्भक्ष्यमांसैश्च पानकैः ॥

Śāradā Māhātmya, Stein Catalogue No. 3886, folio 5, v. 39.

2. The temple of Śāradā referred to in the Rājataraṅginī I. 37 and traced out by Stein in 1892, as situated on a small hill above the junction of the Kiśangaṅgā river with a small stream known to this day as Madhumatī, seems to be the same as that of Durgā erected by Śāṇḍilya on the bank of Madhumatī and mentioned in the Nīlamata. Śāradā Māhatmya too attributes that temple to Śāṇḍilya. Abul Fazl (Ain. Akb. II. p. 365) calls this temple Shārada (sic) and states that it is dedicated to Durgā. In the Māhātmya it is stated that it was at Gautama's request that she was titled Durgā.

3. See Pl. IV.

4. *Nīlamata*, v. 1033.

5. Ibid., v. 994.

6. Ibid., Appendix, vv. 875-77.

7. Ibid., vv. 604, 698, 700, 842, 847, 990.

Kalhaṇa refers to an image of Vināyaka Bhīmasvāmī receiving regular worship in the days of Pravarasena II. i.e. in circa 6th century A.D. *Rājata.*, III. 352.

8. Bhandarkar, R. G., Op. Cit., pp. 210-11.

9. *Nīlamata*, v. 604.

10. Ibid., vv. 698, 700, 842, 847, 990.

Vināyaka—prototype of Gaṇapati Vināyaka. In the Nīlamata, Vināyaka appears as the giver of success in one's undertakings and is stated to be worshipped along with his gaṇas, on the eighth day after the full-moon day of Jyeṣṭha, with heaps of sweetmeats and other eatables.[1] Fourth day of a fortnight is prescribed for pilgrimage to Vināyaka's temple.[2] The verses 990-94 mention eighteen places in Kaśmīra, sacred to Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka.

(ii) *Skanda-Kārttikeya*

As regards Skanda-Kārttikeya,[3] the term Kārttikeya is referred to once in the Nīlamata, his other names Skanda and Kumāra being more common. The mention of the worship of Kṛttikās along with Kārttikeya, anticipates the story of his being reared up by Kṛttikās.[4] One significant point is that his character as a battle-leader—so prominent in the Epics and various Purāṇas—is not brought out in the Nīlamata. Here he appears as the guardian deity of children as is clear from the offerings of toys, cock and goat made to him and from the statement that the children of the house at which he is worshipped remain always free from diseases.[5]

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 698-700.

2. Ibid., v. 842.

3. Chāndogya Upaniṣad identifies the sage Sanatkumāra with Skanda and the Mahābhārata also preserves this tradition.

…भगवान्सनत्कुमारस्तं स्कन्द इत्याचक्षते…. ॥

Chāndogya Up., VII. 26. 2.

Atharvaśira Up. identifies Rudra with Skanda,

यो वै रुद्रः स भगवान्यश्च स्कन्दस्तस्मै वै नमो नमः ॥ II. 3.

May be that Skanda was a popular non-Aryan deity identified with the Aryan sage Sanatkumāra and the Aryan god Rudra who in his turn had already been identified with some non-Aryan deity.

4. ततश्चन्द्रोदये प्राप्ते पूजनीयाश्च कृत्तिकाः।
कार्त्तिकेयस्तथा खड्गो वरुणः सहुताशनः ॥

Nīlamata, v. 435.

5. स्कन्दस्य तत्र कर्तव्या पूजा माल्यैः सुगन्धिभिः ॥
गन्धालंकारवासांसि कुक्कुटं च निवेदयेत् ।
घण्टामजं क्रीडनकं नैवेद्यं च मनोहरम् ॥
ध्रुवेयं चैत्रषष्ठी स्यात् परिशेषास्तु कामतः ।
यः करोति गृह तस्य विरोगाः सर्वबालकाः ॥

Ibid., vv. 647-49.

(iii) *Śākha, Viśākha and Naigameśa*

Śākha, Viśākha and Naigameśa form a part of the pantheon of Skanda.[1] Suśruta Saṃhitā mentions them as three of the nine grahas afflicting small children and describes Naigameśa as goat-headed and protector of children.[2] The association of goat with the ceremonies of child-birth has been a feature of popular religion in India[3] and the Nīlamata supplies corroboration for this fact. The verses 995-97 mention ten places in Kaśmīra dedicated to the worship of Skanda.

(iv) *Popularity of Śaivism in Kaśmīra*

The picture of Śaivism which the Nīlamata gives is that of a simple cult of Śiva and Umā having much about it to indicate its hilly character. The form of Śaivism which appeared in Kaśmīra in the beginning of 9th century A.D. has not much, except the name Śiva, in common with the Śaivism of the Nīlamata. No Śaiva sect has been mentioned by name in the Nīlamata but it refers to some treatises entitled Śivadharmas[4] which, evidently, must have contained religious

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1. शाखो विशाखः स्कन्दश्च नैगमेशस्तथैव च।
Nīlamata, v. 604.

2. Agrawala, V. S., 'A Note on the god Naigamesha', *J.U.P. Hist.* Society, Vol. XX. pp. 69-70.
अजाननश्चलाक्षिभ्रूः कामरूपी महायशाः।
बालपालयिता देवो नैगमेषोऽभिरक्षतु ॥
सुश्रुतसंहिता कौमारतन्त्र। XXXVI. 9.

3. Bāṇa, *Kādambarī*, Para. 64. (Edited by P. L. Vaidya)

4. श्रोतव्याः शिवधर्माश्च....॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 511.

The existence of works such as 'Viṣṇudharma', 'Śivadharma', 'Sauradharma' is evidenced by the Bhaviṣyat Pu. which says :
अष्टादशपुराणानि रामस्य चरितं तथा।
विष्णुधर्मादिशास्त्राणि शिवधर्माश्च भारत ॥
Bhaviṣyat Pu., I. 4. 87-88.
भगवन् केन विधिना श्रोतव्यं भारतं नरैः।
चरितं रामभद्रस्य पुराणानि विशेषतः ॥
कथं च वैष्णवा धर्माः शिवधर्मा अशेषतः।
सौराणां चापि विप्रेन्द्र उच्यतां श्रवणे विधिः ॥
Bhaviṣyat Pu., 1. 216. 36-37.
Teste. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, I. pp. 112-13.

duties regarding the cult of Śiva.

That Śiva was worshipped in early Kaśmīra is beyond doubt. The Mahābhārata states specifically that Śiva and Umā may be propitiated in Kaśmīra at the lake Vātikaṣaṇḍa.[1] Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī contains innumerable references to Śiva and Śiva-images erected by kings, ministers and other people of Kaśmīra.[2]

III. *Other Brahmanic deities*

Besides the pantheon associated with the two gods Viṣṇu and Śiva, the Nīlamata mentions various other deities also, some of which are derived from the Vedic pantheon while others seem to have been adopted from the folk-cults, though usually they, too, appear in the 'cast off clothes' of the Vedic deities. An attempt has been made here to point out the characteristics of these deities from the scanty and scattered references made to them in the Nīlamata.

(i) *Brahmā*

Brahmā who along with Viṣṇu and Śiva forms the Hindu Triad, occupies an important place in the Nīlamata but as his description is mainly philosophical, we shall discuss him in our chapter on the philosophy.[3]

(ii) *Varuṇa*

Varuṇa appears as a Marut,[4] as an Āditya[5] and as a lord of the waters.[6] His character as a controller of the order of the world in its ethical aspect may be dimly seen in his association with hell.[7] One shrine and one image of Varuṇa,

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1. *Mbh.*, III. 130. 13. Also see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 226.
2. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, I. 105-6, 107, 113, 124, 148, 306, 346-48; II. 14, 62, 123-135; III. 99, 268-80, 350, 439-63.
3. Infra, IX. III. (II) Henotheism; (VII) Monism,
4. *Nīlamata*, v. 619.
5. Ibid., v. 607.
6. Ibid., v. 384. The identity of Varuṇa and the ocean is established in the Brāhmaṇas. See Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 175.
7. जलाधिपेन ज्ञातस्य नरके पतनं कृतः ॥
Nīlamata, v. 1381.

the former erected by Bali and the latter by the sage Pulastya are referred to in the Nīlamata.[1]

(iii) *Agni*

Agni is referred to mostly as the sacrificial fire[2] but his image erected by Aṅgiras is also mentioned once.[3] As Agni's association with goat is known from the Vedas, the Epics and the Purāṇas, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Chāgaleśvara of the Nīlamata stands for Agni.[4]

(iv) *Revanta etc.*

A significant point about these two gods—Varuṇa and Agni—is their mention as folk deities along with Surabhi, Revanta and Gaṇādhipa. The possessors of horses, cows, goats, sheep and elephants are enjoined upon to worship Revanta, Surabhi, Agni, Varuṇa and Gaṇādhipa respectively.[5] Evidently, some folk deities are presented here in the Brahmanic garb.

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1004-6.
2. Ibid., vv. 386, 388, 396, 415, 436, 457, 474, 490, 543, 782 etc.
3. अग्नेराङ्गिरसीं दृष्ट्वा प्रतिमां प्राप्नुयाद् दिवम् ।
   Ibid., v. 999.
4. The goat plays some part in the Soma sacrifice called Ṣoḍaśin and is identified therein with fire. The statement that if it be impossible to produce fire from the sticks, it is permissible to make an offering in the ear of a goat is an obvious proof of this identification. See for details Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 69. In the Mbh., a goat, a ram and a horse are stated to represent respectively Agni, Varuṇa and Sūrya.
   अजोऽग्निर्वरुणो मेषः सूर्योऽश्व इति दर्शनम् ।
   Mbh., XIII. 84.47. (Citra śāla Press Edition).
   In Pl. XLV. fig. 4 in *Development of Hindu Iconography*, the god Agni is shown on the back of his mount who according to J. N. Banerjea is a ram or a goat. Pl. CLII of Rao's Hindu Iconography represents Agni with two goat-heads.
   For Agni's temple in Kaśmīra, see Stein, *Rājata. Tranaslation*, f. n. under I. 34 and VIII. 250.
5. आदित्यपुत्रो रेवन्तः साश्वैः पूज्यश्च मानवैः ॥
   पूजनीया च सुरभिर्गोमद्भिः पुरुषैस्तदा ।
   येषां च छागलाः सन्ति तैश्च पूज्यो हुताशनः ॥
   औरभ्रिकैस्तथा देवः पूजनीयो जलाधिपः ।
   येषां सन्ति करीन्द्राश्च तैश्च पूज्यो गणाधिपः ॥
   Nīlamata, vv. 382-84.

(v) *Yama*

The son of the god Sun,[1] he is lord of the dead.[2] His seven names are : Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla and Sarvaprāṇahara.[3] Dhūmrorṇā who is the wife of Yama according to the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. is mentioned in the Nīlamata, but her relation to Yama is not pointed out.[4] Four places dedicated to Yama have been mentioned in the Nīlamata.[5]

(VI) Indra

Indra has lost his high position of the Vedic age and appears here only as a subordinate god. His old titles Śakra,[6] Purandara,[7] Śatakratu,[8] Vāsava[9] are there but have lost their original significance. He has to bow down before Śiva and Brahmā.[10] Still his worship is not left out. He is described as honoured by and as refuge of the gods.[11] The bright half of Prauṣṭhapada is dedicated wholly to his worship and is given the name Indra pakṣa.[12] Reference is made to his wife Śacī,[13] his gaṇas, his weapons and his

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Revanta's association with the sun and the horses is described in the *Sāmba Pu.*, chaps. 10-11, teste. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I. pp. 42-44; *Mārkaṇḍeya Pu.*, and *Kālikā Pu.*; teste. Śabdakalpadruma, s.v. Revanta. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 57.56 describes Revanta mounted on horse.

रेबुन्तोऽश्वारूढो मृगयाक्रीडादिपरिवारः।

Association of Surabhi with cows and of Gaṇādhipa with elephants is clear.

Hopkin's view that white colour accounts for the association of Varuṇa with sheep does not seem to be convincing (Hopkins, Op. Cit., p. 119). Probably, it is the antipodal tendency of goat and sheep (goat is afraid of water and sheep that of fire) that is stated figuratively. (I am indebted to Dr. Siddheshwar Varma for this suggestion.)

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 488, 1001.
2. Ibid., v. 1000.
3. Ibid., v. 488.
4. Ibid., v. 601.
5. Ibid., vv. 1000-2.
6. Ibid., vv. 57-58, 71-72, 74-75, 232, 289, 473, 579 etc.
7. Ibid., v. 149.
8. Ibid., vv. 998, 10 84.
9. Ibid., vv. 61, 357.
10. Ibid., vv. 1073-1096.
11. Ibid., vv. 75, 357.
12. Ibid., v. 729
13. Ibid., vv. 73, 232, 238, 241, 289, 322, 995.

mount.[1] His images erected by six sages, namely, Pulastya, Śakra, Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Kaṇva and Agastya are mentioned.[2] That he is distinguished from Parjanya—probably the rain form of Indra—is celar from the verse 541 wherein both are invoked together. The legends about Indra referred to are : Garuḍa's carrying away Soma from Indra who being unable to hurt him gives him a boon,[3] Indra's fight with Saṅgraha resulting in latter's death[4] and Indra's curse upon Irā.[5]

(VII) The Sun and the Moon

Mentioned together in such expressions as 'Candradivākarau', 'Arkaniśākarau', both these gods receive worship on various occasions. With various names viz. Aryaman, Arka, Divākara, Sūrya, Savitṛ, Mārtaṇḍa, the sun has more than eight places dedicated to his worship. He may be worshipped on all the seventh days of fortnights but specially on those of Mārgaśīrṣa. The theory that the worship of the sun was brought into the valley from Iran gets no support from the Nīlamata which does not even mention the Maga priests.[6]

As regards the moon, his connexion with plant life is recognized in the Nīlamata.[7] Reference to an image of Candra erected by a king named Sucandra is also made.[8]

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1. महेन्द्रः सगणः पूज्यः सायुधश्च सवाहनः ।
Nīlamata, v. 729.

2. पुलस्त्यनिर्मितं शक्रं भरद्वाजकृतं तथा ।
काश्यपं काण्वमागस्त्यं वासिष्ठं च शतक्रतुम् ॥
Ibid., v. 998.

3. Ibid., vv. 57-58.
4. Ibid., vv. 71-75.
5. Ibid., v. 668.
6. For references to these Maga priests and Śāka dvīpa in connection with Sun-worship, see Hazra *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I. pp. 32 ff.

7. ओषधीशं निशानाथं···॥
Nīlamata, v. 541.

8. दृष्ट्वा शशाङ्कं राज्ञा तु सुचन्द्रेण विनिर्मितम् ।
चन्द्रलोकमवाप्नोति नरो नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥
Ibid., v. 1009.

A painting on a dome from Toyuk Shrine IV in Central Asia shows Candra seated on a Padmāsana with various surrounding figures of which name of one—Rohiṇī—is written in Brāhmī characters. Andrews, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*, p. 41.

(*VIII*) *Kubera*

Lord of the Yakṣas, he is known also by two other names Vaiśravaṇa[1] and Dhanada,[2] and is regarded as the giver of wealth. Six images of this god erected by various sages etc. have been mentioned.[3] He is a friend of Śiva and the Nāga Nīla.[4]

(*IX*) *Baladeva*

As is clear from his plough and his worship at Kṛṣyārambha, he is a deity of agriculture. He is stated to have been a devotee of Vāsudeva and is identified with Ananta.[5]

(X) *Chandodeva*

Chandodeva is the deity to be worshipped by women only.[6] The Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. states that by worshipping him women obtain qualified sons.[7] The Brahma Purāṇa, quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru, gives the story of his birth from a Brāhmaṇa mother and a Śūdra father, and his association with the Yakṣas and the Piśācas.[8]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1313, 1338.
2. Ibid., vv. 356, 755, 844.
3. दृष्ट्वा धनेश्वरं देवं वितस्ताक्षसमीपतः ।
   कपटेश्वरपार्श्वे च दृष्ट्वागस्त्येन निर्मितम् ॥
   सेतारं गोतमस्वामि सौमुखं सुरभीकृतम् ॥
   दृष्ट्वैकैकमथैतेभ्यो धनवानभिजायते ॥
   Ibid., vv. 1007-8.
4. धनदस्ते सखा नाग यथा शर्वस्य नित्यदा ।
   Ibid., v. 356.
5. Ibid., vv. 167-68, 182, 541. For discussion about Baladeva's identification with Ananta see Infra, p. 184.
6. Ibid., vv. 548-49.
7. पूजनाच्छन्दोदेवस्य तनयं गुणवर्जितम् ।
   न प्राप्नोति तथाप्नोति गुणवन्तमसंशयम् ॥
   Viṣṇudharamottara Pu., II. 35. 16.
8. *K.K.N.*, pp. 445-46.

(XI) *Groups of gods*

Various groups of the deities like Ādityas,[1] Vasus,[2] Sādhyas,[3] Viśvedevas[4] and Maruts[5] have their place in the pantheon of the Nīlamata but nothing significant is said about them.

(XII) *Goddesses*

Besides Lakṣmī and Umā whom we have referred to earlier, the Nīlamata mentions various other goddesses. Many of them are wives or mothers of the gods, some are abstractions personified, while others seem to be mountain-goddesses of the aborigins.[6]

(XIII) *River-goddesses*

The most important group consists of river-goddesses, five of whom, namely, Vitastā, Viśokā, Trikoṭi, Harṣapathā and Candravatī are identified respectively with Umā, Lakṣmī, Aditi, Śacī and Diti. All these goddesses are stated to have assumed the form of rivers to purify Kaśmīra at the request of Kaśyapa.[7]

It may be pointed out here that in various ancient cultures of the world, the healing and the sin-expelling powers of water were recognised. Further, the mobility of the masses of water procured them a definite place among sacred things.[8] In the Ṛgveda, the rivers are regarded as deities and are spoken of as purifying the worshipper physically and

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 607.
2. Ibid., v. 608.
3. Ibid., v. 616.
4. Ibid., vv. 606, 611.
5. Ibid., vv. 617-22.
6. Thirteen wives of Kaśyapa (46-51), Śacī (73, 232, 238 etc.), Dhūmrorṇā (601), Sinīvālī, Kuhū, Rākā, Anumati, Āyati, Niyati, Prajñā, Mati, Velā, Dhāriṇī (601-2), Devakī, Yaśodā, (719), Sītā (wife of Rāma, 502), Sītā (deity of agriculture, 518), Pṛthivī (540), Bhīmā, Kāpiñjalī, Sureśvarī, Bhadreśvarī, Gautameśī, Kālaśilā, Udyogaśrī, Gavākṣī, Caṇḍikā Suvijayā, Śakunī, Brahmacāriṇī and Cakreśvarī (1013-15).
7. Ibid., vv. 228-34.
8. Toy, C. H., *Introduction to the History of Religion*, paragraph 307.

spiritually.[1] The myths about the rivers form an interesting part of the mythology of the Epics[2] as well as that of the Purāṇas, but the peculiarity of the Nīlamata, in this respect, along with that of the Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. is the enumeration of twenty seven rivers with their mounts.[3] It is not possible at present to know the exact significance of these mounts. Whether the intention of the author was to indicate the abundance of a particular class of animals in or in the vicinity of a particular river, or to point out the slow or rapid, stately or tottering, noisy or silent flow of the waters of a particular river, or to suggest some religious association having a tinge of totemism, is not certain, but it is definite that this enumeration of mounts must have played some role in the development of iconographic conceptions for making images of the river-goddesses. Up to now, the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā only have been found in the valley of Kaśmīra, but we may hope for the discovery of those of other river-goddesses also. The inscription on the big Sālhi fountain slab (in Chamba) which shows figures of Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Vitastā, Sindhu, Vipāśā, Śatadru, and probably also of Irāvatī and Candrabhāgā seems to have been written by a Kaśmīrī[4] and if we may be allowed to make use of this hint, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the images also were the work of a Kaśmīrī artist familiar with the tradition preserved in the Nīlamata. Anyway, the river-goddesses—destroyers of sin and bestowers of heaven and immortality—hold prominent position in the religion of the Nīlamata.

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1. इदमापः प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मयि ।
यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोह यद्वा शेप उतानृतम् ॥
R. V., X. 9. 8.
…ता आपो देवीरिह मामवन्तु ॥ VII. 49.2.

2. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 3-6.

3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 153-60.
Cf. *Viṣṇudharmottara Pu.*, I. 215. 44-52, where thirty one rivers with their mounts are referred to. *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā*, p. 170 also mentions eight rivers with their mounts.

4. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I. pp. 216-20, Pl. IV. H. Goetz in *Indian Culture*, XIII. pp. 123-24 has expressed the opinion that these river-goddesses of the fountain stones of Chamba may be associated with the Anahits, but the theory is not convincing.

IV. *Buddhism*

(I) *Buddhism in the Nīlamata*

The Nīlamata describes Buddha as incarnation of Viṣṇu and prescribes the celebration of his birthday[1] in the bright-half of the month Vaiśākha when Puṣya constellation is in conjunction with the moon. It is stated that the image of Buddha should be bathed in water rendered holy with all herbs, jewels and scents, in accordance with the instructions of the Śākyas i.e. Buddhists. The dwelling places of the Śākyas should be whitewashed and the walls of the Caityas—the abodes of the god—should be decorated with paintings. Gifts of clothes, food and books should be made to the Buddhists and a festival swarming with dancers and actors should be celebrated. Worship of Buddha with eatable offerings, flowers, clothes etc. and the charities to the poor should continue for three days.[2]

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1. See Pl. III b.

2. विष्णुर्देवो जगन्नाथः प्राप्ते ब्रह्मन् कलौ युगे ।
अष्टाविंशतमे भावी बुद्धो नाम जगद्गुरुः ॥
पुष्ययुक्ते निशानाथे वैशाखे मासि काश्यप ।
तस्मात्कालादथारभ्य काले भाविन्यतः परम् ॥
शुक्ले सम्पूजनं तस्य यथा कार्यं तथा शृणु ।
सर्वौषधैः सर्वरत्नैः सर्वगन्धैस्तथैव च ॥
बुद्धार्चास्नापनं कार्यं शाक्योक्तैर्वचनैस्तथा ।
सुधासिताश्च कर्तव्याः शाक्यावासाः प्रयत्नतः ॥
क्वचिच्चित्रयुताः कार्याश्चैत्या देवगृहास्तथा ।
उत्सवं च तथा कार्यं नटनर्तकसमाकुलम् ॥
शाक्यानां पूजनं कार्यं चीवराहारपुस्तकैः ।
सर्वमेतद् भवेत्कार्यं यावत्प्राप्ता भवेन्मघा ॥
दिनत्रयं च कर्तव्यं नैवेद्यं विधिवद् द्विज ।
पुष्पवस्त्रादिपूजा च दानं दीनजनस्य च ॥

Nīlamata, vv. 684-690.

(II) *Buddhism in other Purāṇas as compared with that of the Nīlamata*

The inclusion of Buddha in the Brahmanic pantheon is not peculiar to the Nīlamata, for Buddha appears as Viṣṇu's incarnation in various Purāṇas, but the attitude of the Nīlamata towards this teacher of Śākya origin is quite different from that of other Purāṇas. According to Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Agni Purāṇa, Bhāgavata Pu., Matsya Pu., Viṣṇudharma Pu., and Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., the mission of Buddha-incarnation was the delusion of the Asuras, i.e. Jainas and Bauddhas, so that after giving up Vedic rites they might become weak and be defeated by the gods.[1] Thus, all these Purāṇas admitted,

1. *Viṣṇu Pu.*, III. 18. gives in detail the story of Māyāmoha who induced the Daityas to give up the path of Trayī.
Agni Pu. Ch. XVI. gives a similar story of Māyāmoha who as son of Śuddhodana deluded many Daityas who became Buddhas. Later on, this Māyāmoha became Ārhata and turned the remaining Daityas into Ārhatas.
Bhāgavata Pu., has three lists of Avatāras including Buddha and in all these the mission of Buddha is stated to have been the delusion of the Asuras.

ततः कलौ सम्प्रवृत्ते सम्मोहाय सुरद्विषाम् ।
बुद्धो नाम्ना जनसुतः कीकटेषु भविष्यति ॥
Bhāgavata Pu., 1. 3. 24.

देवद्विषां निगमवर्त्मनि निष्ठितानां
पूर्भिर्मयेन विहिताभिरदृश्यतूर्भिः ।
लोकान्ननां मतिविमोहमतिप्रलोभं
वेषं विधाय बहु भाष्यत औपधर्म्यम् ॥
·····प्रपातु····· II. 7. 37.

बुद्धस्तु पाषण्डगणप्रमादात् ।
VI. 8. 19.

कर्तुं धर्मव्यवस्थानमसुराणां प्रणाशनम् ।
बुद्धो नवमको जज्ञे तपसा पुष्करेक्षणः ॥
Matsya Pu., 47. 247.

Viṣṇudharma Pu., Chap. 66. A.S.B. MSS. Nos. 1670 and 3506, teste. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*. Vol. I. p. 144.

मया बुद्धेन वक्तव्या धर्माः कलियुगे पुनः ।
हन्तव्या म्लेच्छराजानस्तथा विष्णुवशात्मना ॥
Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., III. 351. 54.

Later on this idea of the people about the delusive character of the Buddha incarnation underwent such a change as to turn Buddha into a god conferring beauty. *Varāha Pu.*, 48. 22 says

रूपकामो यजेद् बुद्धं शत्रुघाताय कल्किनम् ।

no doubt, that such an influential teacher as Buddha could be none other than an incarnation of Viṣṇu but they indirectly deprecated the teachings of Buddha and attempted to wean away people from the influence of Buddhism.

The Nīlamata, on the other hand, gives no hint about the delusive nature of the Buddha incarnation. Instead of showing antagonistic attitude towards the Bauddhas, it prescribes 'the worship of the Śākyas' with clothes, food, books etc. This favourable attitude towards Buddhism is not displayed in the works of the later writers of Kaśmīra. Kṣemendra compares Jina to a kadarya.[1] Jayaratha attributes the destruction of sacrifices etc. to Buddha and refers to Ādibuddha as a demon. He also describes "Śrāvakātmānaḥ Buddhāḥ' as bent on destroying the world.[2] According to Varadarāja, it was to check the extending influence of the doctrines of atheists like Nāgabodhi and others that the Śaivaśāstras were written.[3] Kalhaṇa refers to the Bauddhas—the enemies of Āgama—who had brought to an end the observance of the rites prescribed in the Nīla Purāṇa.[4]

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1. लोकानुपप्लावयितुं हन्तुं यज्ञादिकाः क्रियाः ।
घोरं कलिं प्रथयितुं बुद्धत्वं याति केशवः ॥
बुद्धरूपं न चेदेष गृह्णाति कमलापतिः ।
कलिकाले भवेत्तर्हि कथं घोरा व्यवस्थितिः ॥
केचन श्रावकात्मानो बुद्धाः स्त्रीसंयुताः परे ।
लोकानुपप्लावयितुं हेरुकं पर्यवारयन् ॥
वज्रडाकाविति ख्यातौ तदा हेरुकशम्बरौ ।
आदिबुद्धेन सहितौ सुराणां चक्रतुर्भयम् ॥

Kṣemendra, *Deśopadeśa*, II. 6.

2. Jayaratha, *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, Chaps. XIII. 91-92; XVII. 8-9.

3. नागबोध्यादिभिः सिद्धैर्नास्तिकानां पुरस्सरैः ।
आक्रान्ते जीवलोकेऽस्मिन्नात्मेश्वरनिरासकैः ॥

Varadarāja, *Śiva Sūtra Vārtikam*. Unmeṣa I. v. 1.

4. तस्मिन्नवसरे बौद्धा देशे प्रबलतां ययुः ।
नागार्जुनेन सुधिया बोधिसत्त्वेन पालिताः ॥
ते वादिनः पराजित्य वादेन निखिलान्बुधान् ।
क्रियां नीलपुराणोक्तामच्छिन्दन्नागमद्विषः ॥

Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, I. 177-78.

Naturally, the question arises as to why does the Nīlamata show partiality towards the Buddhists? Kalhaṇa being our only guide—and he, too, is not very reliable for that period—for the early history of Kaśmīra, it is not easy to give a definite answer but still the most probable explanation can be as follows :

The period of the Nīlamata was characterized by a harmonious existence of various faiths in the valley of Kaśmīra. Buddhism had influenced and been influenced by the Brahmanic faiths, but there was as yet no rivalry amongst these faiths. Probably, Buddhism in Kaśmīra was also too strong at that time to be deprecated. Unlike other parts of India where Buddhism had begun to suffer under the pressure of Brahmanic religion revived by the Vākāṭakas, the Bhāraśivas and the Guptas in a few centuries following the rule of the Kuṣāṇa and the Āndhra dynasties, Kaśmīra, up to 8th century A.D., did not produce any staunch Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava king to encourage such an attitude towards Buddhism. So here, it was only after the appearance, of Monistic Śaiva philosophy owing much to Śaṅkara who is stated to have visited Kaśmīra after giving a final blow to Buddhism in the rest of India,[1] that Buddhism began to be regarded as a rival faith by the Brāhmaṇas of Kaśmīra. It is notable that Avantivarmā's town Avantipur has not supplied even a single Buddha or Bodhisattva image and Kṣemagupta is stated to have burned down Jayendra Vihāra.[2] Whatever may have been the cause of the decline of Buddhism in Kaśmīra, this decline was perceptible sometime after 7th century A.D.[3] Thus, while the remarks of Kṣemendra, Varadarāja, Kalhaṇa and Jayaratha reflect that line of thought in which Buddhism was regarded as a rival sect, the Nīlamata represents an earlier stage when Buddhism was still held in high regard.

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1. काश्मीरदेशाय जगाम हृष्टः श्रीशंकरो द्वारमपावरीतुम् ।
Śaṅkara Digvijaya, Ch. XVI. v. 58.
2. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata.*, VI. 171.
3. Mitra, R. C., *Decline of Buddhism in India*, pp. 20 ff.

(III) *Popularity af Buddhism in early Kaśmīra*

Kalhaṇa testifies to the high popularity of Buddhism in Kaśmīra from the time of Aśoka up to that of Lalitāditya. Aśoka, it is stated, built many stūpas in Kaśmīra,[1] and the Kuṣāṇa kings Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka constructed various Vihāras, Maṭhas and Caityas.[2] Meghavāhana, his queen Amṛtaprabhā and his other wives founded many Vihāras.[3] Pravarasena II's uncle Jayendra built Jayendra Vihāra and established therein an image of the Great Buddha.[4] Durlabhavardhana's wife Anaṅgalekhā[5] also built a Vihāra and so did Lalitāditya and his ministers.[6] That Kalhaṇa was not drawing from imagination in his account of Vihāras and Caityas is proved by the fact that Hiuen Tsang had visited Jayendra Vihāra,[7] and the Vihāra founded by Amṛtaprabhā was seen by Ou-Kong.[8] Hiuen Tsang refers to hundred Buddhist monasteries in Kaśmīra, and Ou-Kong gives the number over three hundred.

As regards the archaeological evidence, the Buddhist buildings of 8th cent. A.D. only have been discovered as yet in Kaśmīra,[9] but the images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas discovered in the valley can be assigned to an early period.[10]

V. *Nāga-cult*

About the Nāga-cult the Nīlamata does not supply that much information which one expects from its title 'teachings of (the Nāga) Nīla', but Cowell's statement that "Snake-

1. Kalhaṇa, *Rājata*. I. 101-3.
2. Ibid., I. 170.
3. Ibid., III. 8-14.
4. Ibid., III. 355.
5. Ibid., IV. 3.
6. Ibid., IV. 188, 200, 210, 211, 214, 259-69.
7. Watters Thomas, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I. p. 259.
8. Stein, *Note on Ou-Kong's Account of Kacmir*.
9. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, p. 52.
10. Terracotta heads or busts of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, found at Uṣkar, are assigned to 4th or 5th century A.D. One seated and two standing images of Buddha, one diademed and ornamented image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, one fragmentary sculptured relief of Buddha and another relief showing Siddhārtha's birth scene, from Pāṇḍrethan, are assigned to circa 6th century A.D.
Kak, *Hand book*, pp. 11-24, 27-34, 38.

worship is hardly alluded to in the copious list of offerings there enjoined throughout the Hindu Year"[1] is also not correct. Worship of the Nāgas is referred to quite often in the Nīlamata,[2] though generally in association with the worship of other deities. The reason for this subserviency was, as we shall see later on, the assimilation of the Nāga-cult into Hinduism.[3] It is unreasonable, therefore, to speak about the absence of the Nāga-cult in the Nīlamata. It does exist therein, though under a new garb. Here is attempted a brief history of the origin and development of the cult with special reference to the work of our study.

(I) *Origin of Serpent Worship*

The association of man with lower animals, since the very beginning of the world, is a fact which none can deny.[4] This constant intercourse with the lower animals—beneficial as well as harmful—filled him with a mixed sense of fear and dread, affection and admiration, which in its turn gave birth to religious relations. The serpent with its graceful and mysterious motion, bright and piercing eyes and fatal bite must have gained sacredness due to similar reasons. It is no surprise, therefore, if we find the traces of serpent-worship in almost every corner of the ancient world.

(II) *Serpent Worship in different parts of the world*

Serpents had a prominent place in the religious pantheons of ancient Egyptians,[5] Greeks,[6] Romans,[7] Chinese,[8]

1. Abstract of the Nīlamata by Prof. E. B. Cowell given in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Appendix B, p. 251.
2. Infra, pp. 187-88.
3. Infra, pp. 183-86.
4. Toy, C.H., *Introduction to History of Religions*, pp. 107 ff.
5. *E.R.E.*, XI. p. 402.
In Egypt the Sun-god was figured as a serpent. Rannut, the goddess of fertility and the harvest, Mertseker, the goddess of the necropolis at Thebs, Buto and Nekheb, the guardians of upper and lower Egypt, all were regarded as embodied in the serpents. The Egyptians used amulets with figures of serpents on them and offered fruits, honey, flowers, incense etc. to the serpent divinities.
6. Ibid., XI. p. 404. In Greece, the serpents were regarded as the guardians of graves, sanctuaries and dwellings.
7. Ibid., XI. p. 404. Serpents were kept in temples and used for proving the chastity of virgins.
8. Ibid., XI. p. 402. There existed temples for snakes. The dragon was invoked for rain.

Japanese,[1] Phoenicians[2] and Arabians.[3] Even in modern times a huge mythical totem snake called Wollum que receives homage from men in Australia.[4] Serpents are invoked for rain and prosperity in West Africa, Polynesia and at various places in Melanesia, e.g. Fizi, San Cristoval, Borneo, etc.[5]

(III) *Serpent worship in India*

India, which is inhabited by all the known families of living snakes and possesses the greatest variety of generic types and the largest number of their species,[6] has been familiar with the Nāga-cult since very early times. Mohenjodaro seals[7] show human devotees with hooded Nāgas behind them. AEllian records worship of snakes by Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion.[8] The Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsang refer to the Nāgas many a time.[9] Abulfazl—the writer of Ayeen-i-Akbary—informs us that in his time (1556-1605) there were in Kaśmīra seven hundred places sacred to the serpents.[10] Even now Nāga-worship exists in some form or the other in Kaśmīra, Panjab, Uttara Pradeśa, Madhya-Bhārata, Bengal, Assam and in almost every part of South India.[11]

As regards the literary evidence it has been already suggested in a previous chapter that the Vṛtras of the Ṛgveda were most probably Nāga-worshippers hostile to the Vedic

1. *E.R.E.*, XI. p. 402. Mikado's ancestors were serpents. The goddess Benten assumed serpent-form.

2. Ibid., XI. p. 404. The Phoenicians offered sacrifices to the serpent divinities.

3. Ibid., XI. p. 404. The Arabians regarded the Jinn embodied in snakes.

4. Ibid., XI. p. 400.

5. Ibid., XI. pp. 400-1.

6. Watt, G., *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. VI. Part I. p. 429.

7. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, III. Plates CXVI, CXVIII.

8. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 145.

9. Legge, J., *Travels of Fa-Hian*, pp. 29, 52, 67, 68-69, 96.
Beal, S., *Si-yu-ki*, pp. 27, 67, 88, 90, 137.

10. Gladwin, F., *Ayeen Akbary Translation*, p. 412.

11. Crooke, W., *Religion and Folk lore of Northern India*, pp. 383-99.

Aryans.[1] Nāga-worship thus existed in the Ṛgvedic period though it was not accepted by the Aryans. Gradually, however, the conquerors made provision for the deities of the conquered and it was due to this tendency that the Yajurveda Saṃhitā paid obeisance to the serpents of the earth along with those of the sky and the upper region.[2]

Various passages of the Atharvaveda refer to groups of serpents[3] and one referring to six serpents as the wardens or protectors of the six quarters[4] has been regarded by Ralph Griffith as a charm to win the favour of the serpents of all the regions under heaven. Vogel traces the system of the guardian-gods and that of the elephants of the quarters to these dragons of the quarters.[5] Notable is also the opinion of N. J. Shende who says, "Only in the snake-charms there occur such words whose meaning cannot be satisfactorily explained. It is possible that the words occurring in the snake charms might be belonging to the clans of people worshipping snake as a deity".[6]

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa refers to the divine serpents to whom is offered the sweet sacrificial food.[7] The Śatapatha

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1. Supra, p. 51.

2. नमोऽस्तु सर्पेभ्यो ये के च पृथिवीमनु ।
ये अन्तरिक्षे ये दिवि तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः ॥
या इषवो यातुधानानां ये वा वनस्पतीं रनु ।
ये वाऽवटेषु शेरते तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः ॥
ये वामी रोचने दिवो ये वा सूर्यस्य रश्मिषु ।
येषामप्सु सदस्कृतं तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः ॥

Yajurveda Saṁhitā, XIII. 6-8.

3. *A.V.*, VI. 56; V. 13. 5-6.
4. Ibid., III. 27.
5. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, pp. 9-10.
6. Shende, N J., 'The Foundations of Ātharvaṇic Religion', *B.D.C.R.I.*, IX. p. 200.

7. इदं सर्पेभ्यो हविरस्तु जुष्टं ॥ आश्रेषा येषामनुयन्ति चेतः ॥
येऽन्तरिक्षे पृथिवीं क्षियन्ति ॥ ते नः सर्पासो हवमागमिष्ठाः ॥
ये रोचने सूर्यस्यापि सर्पाः ॥ ये दिवं देवीमनुसञ्चरन्ति ॥
येषामाश्रेषा अनुयन्ति कामः ॥ तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो मधुमज्जुहोमि ॥

Teste. Rao Saheb Viśvanāth Nārāyaṇa Māṇḍalik in his article "Serpent Worship in Western India", *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (1867-70).

Brāhmaṇa refers to Sarpa-vidyā[1] and the Chāndogyopaniṣad mentions Sarpadeva-jana-vidyā.[2] The Gṛhyasūtras give a graphic account of the Sarpabali rite which is initiated on the full-moon of Śrāvaṇa and is concluded on the full-moon of Mārgaśīrṣa.[3] Thus, it is clear that by the time of the Gṛhyasūtras, the Nāga-cult had made its way into the Aryan religion. Whether this was due to the mere influence of the aborigins or the concept of the Vedic Ahirbudhnya 'the serpent of the deep'[4] also played some part, is not very certain, though the greater possibility is about the mingling of the two.

The Epics and the Purāṇas testify to this gradually increasing popularity of the Nāga-cult and its assimilation by Hinduism. Mahābhārata states the merit of visiting various Nāga tīrthas like Nāgodbheda, Sarpadevī, Kurukṣetra, Prayāga etc.[5] The tīrthas of the Nāgas, Kapilā and Maṇi, are also glorified.[6] The attempts of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism to associate their deities with the Nāgas are also seen in the Epics and the Purāṇas.

Śāivism and Nāga-cult

In the Harivaṃśa, Śeṣa is spoken of as 'son of Śiva'.[7] In the Mahābhārata VII. 57.70. we find mention of two Nāgas paying obeisance to Śiva.[8] Śiva is described as wearing

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1. तानुपदिशति सर्पविद्या वेदः सोऽयमिति सर्पविद्याया एकं पर्व व्याचक्षाण इवानुद्र ॥ *Ś.B.*, XIII. 4.3.9.
2. *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, VII . 1.4.
3. *S.B.E.*, XXIX. A.G.S., Adhyāya II. Kaṇḍikā 1, 3.
   P.G.S., Kāṇḍa II. Kaṇḍikā 14.
4. *R.V.*, I. 186.5; II. 31.6.; VII. 34.17 etc.
5. नागोद्भेदे नरः स्नात्वा नागलोकमवाप्नुयात् ॥
   Mbh., (Citraśālā Press) III. 82.113.
   सर्पदेवीं समासाद्य नागानां तीर्थमुत्तमम् ॥
   अग्निष्टोममवाप्नोति नागलोकं च विन्दति ।
   Ibid., III. 83.14-15
6. Ibid., III. 84.78, 106.
7. *Harivaṃśa*, II. 74.36.
8. तौ नागावुपतस्थाते नमस्यन्तौ वृषध्वजम् ।
   Mbh., VII. 57.70.

snake garment. It is stated that Śeṣa was made the axil of Śiva's chariot, Elāpatra and Puṣpadanta were made aṇi, Takṣaka was made rope and Vāsuki was made the string of the bow.[1] Śiva images also show Nāga closely associated with Śiva.[2] In some southern temples there are shown two Nāgas standing erect above the Liṅgam on either side as if worshipping it.[3] The Nīlamata describes Śiva as 'vyālayajñopavītī'[4] Bhava, Mahādeva and Śambhu which are names of Śiva are mentioned also as the names of the Nāgas in the Nīlamata.[5]

Vaiṣṇavism and Nāga-cult

Vaiṣṇavism was more successful in assimilating the Nāga-cult. Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu is well known in the Epics and the Purāṇas, and his sculptural representations are found all over India.[6] The images of Balarāma, the elder brother of Vāsudeva, are mere copies of the hybrid Nāga,[7] and he is stated to have been an incarnation of Śeṣa called also Ananta. What seems to be the possible explanation for this identification is that Balarāma was originally a popular Nāga deity but when the Bhāgavatas accepted this Nāga deity, they imposed upon him the brothership of Kṛṣṇa and thus, enabled the masses to continue to worship their old traditional Nāga deity, under a new garb. In Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Viṣṇu is described as the lord of the Nāgas[8] and is stated

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1. अक्षं कृत्वा तु नागेन्द्रं शेषं नाम त्रिलोचनः ।
अणीकृत्वैलपत्रं च पुष्पदन्तं च त्र्यम्बकः ।
यूपं कृत्वा तु मलयमवनाहं च तक्षकम् ॥
गाण्डीवं मन्दरं कृत्वा गुणं कृत्वा तु वासुकिम् ॥
Mbh., VII. 202. 72, 73, 76.

2. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan Personal Narrative*, p. 569.

3. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 76.

4. *Nīlamata*, v. 1094.

5. Ibid., vv. 900, 913, 888.

6. Daśāvatāra temple in Deogarh Dist., Jhansi, U.P. (*D.O.H.I.*, p. 275), temple at Baroli in Rajasthan (*Annals of Rajasthan*), temple at Osia in Rajputana (*A.S.R.*, 1908-9, pp. 100 ff).

7. Banerjea, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 103. *A.S.R.*, 1908-9, p. 113.

8. *Viṣṇu Pu.*, I. 22.19.

to have made Śeṣa the king of the Nāgas.[1] The Nīlamata shows this association of Vaiṣṇavism with the Nāga-cult more clearly. Besides the identification of Balarāma with Ananta[2] and the description of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu,[3] there are various other interesting statements in the Nīlamata. Ananta, we are informed, obeys the orders of Viṣṇu.[4] Vāsuki goes to the refuge of Viṣṇu to save the Nāgas from destruction.[5] It is Viṣṇu who appoints Nīla as the king of the Nāgas of Kaśmīra.[6] Nīla and Vāsuki both are dear to him.[7] Nīla, while giving instructions to Candradeva about the rites and ceremonies, states plainly that those words were revealed to him by Keśava.[8] More interesting is the information obtained from the lengthy list of the Nāga-names. We find therein Nārayaṇa[9] and the four vyūhas—Vāsudeva,[10] Saṅkarṣaṇa,[11] Aniruddha[12] and Pradyumna[13]—mentioned as Nāgas. This proves mutual borrowing and shows that if the Nāgas had entered Vaiṣṇavism, the gods of Vaiṣṇavism, too, had to quit their high pedestal and come down to mingle with the Nāga deities of Kaśmīra. It is Viṣṇu himself who, in the

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1. *Viṣṇu Pu.*, I. 22.7.
2. तस्यैव चापरे भागे ह्यनन्तस्त्वाश्रमं महत् ।
चकार हलभृच्छ्रीमान्वासुदेवमते स्थितः ॥
Nīlamata, v. 182.
3. Ibid., vv. 64, 409.
4. Ibid., v. 182.
5. वासुकिः शरणं प्रायाद् देवदेवं जनार्दनम् ॥
Ibid., v. 59.
6. सतीदेशे च ये नागा वसिष्यन्ति महाबलाः ।
तेषां राज्ये महाभाग त्वं नीलमभिषेचय ॥
Ibid., v. 69.
7. Candradeva says to Nīla,
तस्यातिदयितश्चासि यथा नागः स वासुकिः ॥
Ibid., v. 355.
8. Ibid., vv. 363, 770.
9. Ibid., v. 890.
10. Ibid., v. 890.
11. Ibid., v. 891.
12. Ibid., v. 890.
13. Ibid., v. 888.

Nīlamata, enjoins upon the inhabitants of Kaśmīra, the worship of the local Nāgas.[1]

Nature of the Nāga deities

The Nāga deities of the Nīlamata have power over rain, storm and snow, and dwell generally in lakes, pools and springs. Nīla is spoken of as the sender of water, snow and showers[2], and the Nāga Ṣaḍaṅgula is stated to have turned the city named Candrapura into a lake.[3] Ancient Indian literature contains innumerable references to the Nāgas associated with water[4]. The question arises, how did this association arise ? May be because the serpents generally live near water or because their graceful movements find simile in the winding course of the rivers on the earth and the clouds in the sky. More ingenious is Dr. Vogel's suggestion based on the time of the Sarpabali rites initiated in the first month of the rainy season and concluded in the last month of that season.[5] The serpents generally come out of their holes in the very beginning of the rainy season and haunt

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1. नागस्य यस्य ये स्थाने निवसिष्यन्ति मानवाः ।
तै तं संपूजयिष्यन्ति पुष्पधूपानुलेपनैः ।
नैवेद्यैर्विविधैर्धूपैः प्रेक्षादानैः सुशोभनैः ॥
Nīlamata, v. 216.

2. त्वमेव तपसात्यर्थं तथा विद्योतसे प्रभो ।
तोयं हिमं शीकरं च तथा मुञ्चसि धार्मिक ॥
Ibid., v. 351.

3. नगरं प्लावयामास महापद्मो भुजङ्गमः ।
तत्रास्ते सपरीवारः सुखी भुजगसत्तमः ॥
महापद्मसरस्तच्च योजनायामविस्तृतम् ।
Ibid., v. 985-86.

4. *Mbh.*, Ādiparva. 21.6. describes the sea as नागानामालयम् ।
In Khāṇḍava dahana the Nāgas are described as sending forth water.
Bhaviṣyat Pu., Ch. XXII.
Bṛhat Saṃhitā, Ch. on exploration of water springs.
Divyāvadāna, The story of the Nāga Janmacitraka.
Bhūridatta Jātaka, Teste. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 33.

5. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 11.

the dwellings of the human beings throughout the rainy season. Now, as the simultaneous appearance of two things makes the popular mind take the one as the cause of the other, there is no surprise if the serpents appearing in the beginning of the rainy season came to be regarded as harbingers of rain and storm. When the serpents, rather the spirits embodied in them, began to be worshipped as deities bringing rain, fertility and prosperity, it was just one step more for the Nāga-cult to take other deities also as the Nāgas.

Worship of the Nāga deities in the Nīlamata

As already pointed out above, the worship of the local Nāgas is enjoined upon the people by Viṣṇu. The Nāgas receive worship on many festivals. Thus, during the feast celebrated at the first fall of snow, Nīla as well as the local Nāgas are to be worshipped with offerings of flowers, fruits and incense of bdellian.[1]

On Irāmañjarīpūjana, Nīla and the local Nāgas receive, worship along with various other gods and goddesses. Nīla says "Irā is dear to the Nāgas and to me she is specially so, whosoever pays worship to me in an Irā garden with Irā flowers, with him I am pleased excessively".[2]

On the bright fifth of Indra's fortnight the receivers of the offerings are Nīla and the local Nāgas.[3]

Fifth, twelfth and bright fifteenth of a month are prescribed for pilgrimage to the abodes of the Nāgas.[4] Before going

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1. मम पूजा च कर्तव्या स्थाननागस्य चाप्यथ ।
फलपत्रे प्रदातव्ये नगे मेरूद्भवे तथा ।।
बकपुष्पाणि देयानि धूपं गुग्गुलजं शुभम् ।
Nīlamata, vv. 462-63.

2. इरा नागेषु दयिता दयिता मे विशेषतः ।
इरावाटे तु यः पूजां करोति मम काश्यप ।
इरापुष्पैर्भृशं तेन तुष्टि मैं हि प्रजायते ।।
Ibid., v. 678.

3. Ibid., vv. 729-31.

4. सर्वेषामेव नागानां यात्राकर्मणि पूजिताः ।।
Ibid., v. 845.

on a pilgrimage, one has to worship different gods on different days of a week and of these days, the fifth one is reserved for the worship of the local Nāga.[1] Varuṇapañcamī is dedicated to the worship of Nīla under the name Dhanada.[2]

Resume

Thus, the study of the Nīlamata shows the cults of Viṣṇu, Śiva, other Brahmanic and folk deities, Buddha and the Nāgas, flourishing side by side in Kaśmīra. The influences which each cult received from the others are discernible throughout the work and many verses reveal the spirit of compromise and synthesis in the field of religion. The Brahmanic deities, the Nāgas, the Piśācas and Buddha, all receive their due share of worship from the inhabitants of Kaśmīra. The followers of different cults are stated to be free to worship their respective deities[3], but the different deities themselves are described as honouring one another and thus creating an atmosphere in which various cults are unified.[4]

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1. पंचमेऽह्नि कर्तव्यं स्थाननागस्य पूजनम् ॥
Nīlamata, v. 849.
2. Ibid., v. 755.
3. घृतेन स्नापयेद् देवं स्वशक्त्या मधुसूदनम् ।
हरभक्तो हरं देवं यदा स्यादुत्तरायणम् ॥
Ibid.,v. 478.
4. Ibid., vv. 181, 194.

CHAPTER VIII

FESTIVALS AND OTHER RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

More than one third of the Nīlamata deals with the instructions of Nīla which are to be followed by the people of Kaśmīra. They concern mainly the vratas, utsavas and other religious practices prevalent in Kaśmīra.[1] The term vrata means here a religious observance, a sacred undertaking regarding some restriction on behaviour or food, and utsava stands for any festival celebrated in honour of a deity or season, or to commemorate some important event. So closely interrelated are these both—the utsavas having fasting etc. as their part and the vratas having some festive element in them[2]—that it becomes very difficult to draw a strict line between them. These vratas may be classified as purificatory and devotional with reference to their purpose and as Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Saura etc. with reference to the deities presiding over them. Similarly, the festivals may be seasonal, historical and religious—the last group further divisible into Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava etc. But as a study of the fasts and festivals of the Nīlamata shows a mingling of various elements in most of them,[3] it has been considered more reasonable to avoid classification and discuss each vrata and utsava separately.

I. Account of the vratas and the utsavas

(*i*) *Āśvayujī Mahaḥ or Kaumudī*

This festival is celebrated in commemoration of Nikumbha's return to Kaśmīra after killing the Piśācas dwelling in the sea of sand and continues for three days. The houses are decorated to welcome Nikumbha. On the first day, all excepting the sick and the children have to undergo a fast which is broken at night after the worship of various deities

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 375-865.
2. Infra, Āśvayujī, Sukha Suptikā etc.
3. See fast and feasts in Āśvayujī Mahaḥ.

and Nikumbha, performance of fire-sacrifice and honouring of the Brāhmaṇas. Vigil at night is observed with singing and dancing around the sacred fire. For the second day are prescribed feasts, sports and fire-worship during the day and sleep at night. On the third day, people have to behave licentiously, using even obscene language and throwing mud upon their fellow beings. In the evening they have to take bath, worship the god Keśava, honour the Brāhmaṇas and feast themselves in the company of friends, servants and relatives. Keeping the fire lit for six months of winter and lighting an oil lamp outside the house for the month of Kārttika are two long-standing features of this festival.[1] As regards the original nature of this festival, Vogel takes it along with the other called Piśāca-prayāṇa as celebrating the advent of winter and spring.[2] I dispute his explanation, because firstly, winter does not set in Kaśmīra in the month of Āśvina, its advent being marked at the first fall of snow in Mārgaśīrṣa when a festival is celebrated in honour of Śiśira and Hemanta,[3] and secondly, the historicity of the Piśācas as a people being almost certain,[4] it is reasonable to suppose that the ingress and egress of such important people in the early history of Kaśmīra were regarded worth commemorating. The Nīlamata, it seems, has mixed here two festivals one Kaumudī Mahotsava in honour of Keśava[5] and the other Nikumbha Pūjā in honour of the Piśāca chief.[6] The popularity of this festival during Kalhaṇa's time, is indicated by a simile in the Rājataraṅgiṇi, in which Kalhaṇa refers to people taking lightly the abusive talks on Āśvayujī.[7]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 376-97; *K.K.N.*, pp. 411-13.
2. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 223.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 461-68.
4. Supra, pp. 58-71.
5. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. V. Part I. pp. 290-91, for information about Kaumudī Mahotsava.
6. *K.K.N.*, pp. 411-13, Kṛtyaratnākara, pp. 375-78, Raṇavīra Vrataratnākara, folios 110b, 111a, describe Nikumbha Pūjā in similar words but all these quote the Brahma Pu.
7. लोको विरक्तः सेत्वग्रे दायादैः सह संगरम् ।
ददर्शाश्वयुजीलागिमिव निर्विक्रियः प्रभोः ॥
Rājata., VII. 1551.
Later on Stein restored the Text by reading with
L. आश्वयुजीगालिमिव for आश्वयुजीलागिमिव ।

(2) *Sukha Suptikā*

The component parts of this festival are : Fasting at day time on Kārttikī Amāvasyā by all excepting the sick and the children; worship of Karīṣiṇī (Lakṣmī) in the evening; placing lamp-trees in temples, crossings of roads, burning grounds, rivers, hills, houses, shops, pastures etc.; decoration of shops with clothes; dining with friends, relatives, the Brāhmaṇas and the subordinates after wearing new clothes; playing at dice on the secand day; dining again with friends etc.; listening to musical concerts; decoration of the bed rooms with lights, perfumes, clothes, jewels etc; passsing the night with beloved women, and honouring of the Brāhmaṇas, the friends, the relatives and the servants, next morning, with new clothes.[1]

The MSS. of the longer recension give the name Dīpamālā at the end of the description. The term Sukha Suptikā as well as the description of the festival are important for tracing the history of Dīpamālā.[2] Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra mentions Yakṣarātri[3] on which Yaśodhara comments : "Yakṣarātririti sukharātriḥ".[4] Varṣakriyākaumudī, Kṛtyatattva and Dharmasindhu give the term Sukharātri for Dīpamālā.[5] Hemacandra, in his Deśīnāmamālā, equates Jakkharatti with Divālī, i.e. Dīpamālā.[6] Hemādri, in some verses wrongly ascribed to the Āditya Pu., gives the name Sukha Suptikā.[7] All this indicates that Vātsyāyana's Yakṣarātri and Hemacandra's Jakkharatti is the same as Sukha Suptikā or Dīpamālā of the Nīlamata and it would not be unreasonable to suggest that this joyful festival was originally associated

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 398-407; *K.K.N.*, pp. 421-22.
2. For the antiquity of Divālī festival, see P.K. Gode's articles *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXVI. and J. *Gaṅgānāth Jha Institute*, Vol. III.
3. Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, 1.4.42. Teste. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V. Part I. p. 195.
4. Yaśodhara, *Jayamaṅgalā* on the above.
5. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol .V. Part I. p. 200.
6. Hemachandra, *Deśīnāmamālā*, III. 43. B.O.R.I., 1938.
7. Hemādri, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Vrata Khaṇḍa, pp. 348-49. The verses agree strikingly with those of the *Nīlamata*. The source mentioned therein is the Āditya Pu. But as some of these verses (तस्मात् प्रकर्तव्यं etc.) occur in the Pariśeṣa Khaṇḍa as quoted from the Brahma Pu., I think that Hemādri mentioned wrongly Āditya Pu. for Ādi Pu. in the Vratakhaṇḍa. Ādi Pu. is often used as a title of the Brahma Pu.

with Yakṣa worship whose traces are found in Kaśmīra as well as in other parts of the country.

(3) *Devotthāna*

Deva Prasvāpana or the ceremony of making god Viṣṇu sleep occurs in the month of Āṣāḍha. Then follows the festival of Awakening which occurs after four months of the god's slumber and spreads over five days of the bright half of Kārttika. It comprises these items : Observance of vigil at night; awakening of Viṣṇu with songs, dances, musical concerts, dramatic performances, earth-decorations etc. and worship of Viṣṇu's image with various sorts of eatables and cosmetics on the 11th of the bright half of Kārttika; bathing of the image on the 12th, in occordance with the procedure of the Pañcarātra, with butter, oil, honey, curds, milk, five products of cow, various sorts of cosmetics, perfumes and clays; making gift of golden pitchers full of leaves and flowers amidst sounds of musical instruments and professional singers; worship of the image with flowers, incense and eatable offerings; worship of the Bhāgavatas; performance of fire-sacrifice; worship of the Brāhmaṇas with clothes, ornaments, cows, horses, elephants and cash-money; honouring of actors, wrestlers and the Bhaṭṭas on the 13th; fast on the 14th and the 15th; worship of Janārdana, Kārttikeya, Khaḍga, Varuṇa and Hutāśana; throwing in water the lamp which was kept burning throughout the month of Kārttika; and the gift of a fish of sand with pearls substituted for its eyes and of a bull along with clothes and grains for Brāhmaṇas. Daily bath in the cold water of a river and avoidance of non-vegetarian meals is prescribed for all these five days.[1]

It is notable that the expansion of the original belief about Viṣṇu's sleep and awakening which is found in some late Purāṇas describing all other gods also as going to sleep in Āṣāḍha and waking up in the bright half of Kārttika,[2] is

1. *Nīlamata* vv. 408-449; *K.K.N.*, pp. 427-31.
2. *Vāmana Pu.*, XVI, 6-16.
   Matsya Pu., teste. Caturvagacintāmaṇi (Kāla), p. 904.
   शेते विष्णुः सदाषाढे कार्त्तिके प्रतिबोध्यते ।।
   Viṣṇu Pu., Teste. Apte Kośa, s. v. Āṣādha.

not found in the Nīlamata which, thus, shows an earlier stage in the development of this thought.

(4) *Nava Saṃvatsara Mahotsava.*

The 1st day after passing away of Kārttikī (Paurṇamāsī) i.e. the 1st of Mārgaśīrṣa is observed as the New year day on which Kaśyapa brought the land of Kaśmīra out of water. Well anointed and dressed in new clothes, people are enjoined to eat, drink and be merry on this day.[1]

(5) *Saptamyaḥ*

The 7ths of the bright halves of(Mārgaśīrṣa), Māgha and Āṣāḍha are dedicated to the worship of the sun. The verses describing the procedure of the worship are lost.[2]

(6) *Mārgaśīrṣa Paurṇamāsī*

On this day, a fast to be broken at night after the worship of the moon with white garlands, grains, eatable offerings etc., and the worship of the Brāhmaṇas is prescribed. The Brāhmaṇa lady, the sister, the aunt and the wife of a friend, each is to be honoured with a pair of red clothes.[3]

(7) *Navahimapātotsava*

Peculiar to Kaśmīra, this festival consists of the following component parts : Worshipping the mountain Himavān, the

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 450-52.
ब्रह्मपुराणे, मार्गशीर्षमासस्यारम्भे प्रतिपद्यपि, नवसंवत्सरारंभो देवैः कृतयुगे कृतः। कश्यपेन च काश्मीरा निर्मिताश्च सुशोभनाः। तस्मात्तत्र नरैः कार्यः सदा पुण्यमहोत्सवः। पुष्पैर्माल्यैर्गीतवाद्यैर्मङ्गलैर्दृष्टशोभितैः। पानैरन्नैस्तथा वस्त्रैरुपयुक्तैर्नरैस्तथा ॥
Kṛtyakalpataru, Raghunātha Temple Sanskrit MSS. Library, Jammu, No. 2684, folio 114 b.
K.K.N., p. 431.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 453-55.
3. Ibid., vv. 456-60.
K.K.N., pp. 432-33.
Kṛtyaratnākara, pp. 471-72.
K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 115b.

seasons Hemanta and Śiśira, the Nāga-king Nīla, the local Nāga and the goddess Śyāmā; offering Kulmāṣa as bali; giving food prepared from Kulmāṣas and purified butter to the Brāhmaṇas; feasting; listening to musical concerts; seeing the dances performed by courtezans and honouring the ladies. Dressed in heavy woolen cloaks, the people are enjoined upon to sit on snow and drink fresh wine if they are used to drinking.[1]

(8) *Aṣṭamītraya*

Śrāddhas with vegetables, meat and cakes are to be performed respectively on the dark eighth of Pauṣa, dark eighth of Māgha and bright eighth of Phālguṇa. Śrāddhas to the females are to be offered on the 9ths of those very months and fortnights.[2]

(9) *Pauṣa Paurṇamāsī*

If there is Puṣya constellation on full moon of Pauṣa, one is enjoined to apply white mustard-paste to one's body, to bathe oneself firstly in purified butter and thereafter in water mixed with all medicinal herbs, to worship Nārāyaṇa, Śakra, Soma, Puṣya and Bṛhaspati with eatable offerings, garlands etc., to perform fire sacrifice with mantras dedicated to the worship of the above-mentioned deities, to honour the Brāhmaṇas with wealth, to give new clothes to the priest, to eat milk-porridge of rice mixed with purified butter and to obtain, in this way, all round prosperity.[3]

(10) *Uttarāyaṇa*

For this ceremony are prescribed : Bath of the image of Viṣṇu or Śiva in purified butter ; worship of stone image (of Viṣṇu or Śiva) with purified butter for three months; and

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 461-68.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684 folio 115b.
   K.K.N., p. 433-34.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 469-71.
3. Ibid., vv. 471-77.

gifts of purified butter, images made of purified butter, fuel and grass (for the cows) to be given to the twice-borns.[1]

(11) *Tiladvādaśī*

Celebrated on the 12th of dark half of Māgha, this festival is marked by sixfold rites performed with sesame.[2] Five of these described in the Nīlamata are : Bath with sesame, homa with sesame, naivedya of sesame, gifts of water mixed with sesame and gifts of sesame for the Brāhmaṇas.[3]

(12) *Tārārātriḥ*

On the 14th of the dark half of Māgha, bath in the water of a river or a pool, offerings of seven handfuls of water to each of the seven names of Yama, worship of Dharmarāja with flowers, incense, kṛśara etc., of the fire with sesame mixed with purified butter and of the Brāhmaṇas with kṛśara and sacrificial fee are prescribed.[4]

(13) *Śravaṇāmāvasyā*

The merit of bath etc., on the 15th of the dark half of Māgha joined with Śravaṇa constellation, is stated to be inexhaustible.[5]

(14) *Caturthyaḥ*

Worship of Umā with lamps, eatables and cosmetics is prescribed on the 4ths of the bright halves of Māgha, Āśvayuk and Jyeṣṭha. The ladies whose husbands are alive and sisters also are to be worshipped on these days.[6]

(15) *Māgha Pūrṇimā*

Performance of Śrāddha with sesame and offerings of

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 478-81. H.H. Wilson opines that Uttarāyaṇa was the new year day in olden times and though not considered so these days, it still retains the veneration attached to it originally as the renovator of animal and vegetable existence. *J.R.A.S.*, IX. pp. 64-75.

2. These six rites have given to the festival its name Ṣaṭṭila in Kaśmīra. Stein, *Rājata*. Translation, V. 395 f.n.

3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 482-83; *K.K.N.*, pp. 435-36.

4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 484-91; *K.K.N.*, pp. 336-37.

5. *Nīlamata*, v. 492.

6. Ibid., vv. 493-97.

food for the crows are the only rites prescribed for this day.[1]

(16) *Mahīmāna*

This festival is celebrated on three days—8th, 9th and 10th of the dark half of Phālguṇa. On the 8th, Sītā—the wife of Rāma—is worshipped with caru and cakes ; on the 9th, the goddess Karīṣiṇī is worshipped and the Brāhmaṇas are fed; on the 10th, the Brāhmaṇas, the friends and the subordinates are feasted and the musical concerts are attended.[2]

Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is also mentioned but quite surprising is the absence of any reference to his birth-day festival and his worship. As in the Brahma Pu., quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru, there is reference to Sītā and Karīṣiṇī only, with no mention of Rāma in connection with the description of this festival, it seems that some redactor of the Nīlamata confused Sītā—the goddess of agriculture—with Sītā—the wife of Rāma—and so mentioned Rāma, incarnation of Viṣṇu, but as the cult of Rāma was not at that time very popular in Kaśmīra, the worship of Rāma could not find place in the description of the festival.

(17) *Śravaṇa Dvādaśī*

Fasting and the worship of Viṣṇu are prescribed on the dark 12th of Phālguṇa conjoined with Śravaṇa constellation.[3]

(18) *Śivarātriḥ*

Śivaliṅga, from which the blanket like plaster of purified butter has been removed, is to be worshipped on the dark 14th of Phālguṇa, in the way in which Viṣṇu's image is bathed in Devotthāna ceremony.[4] Śivaliṅga is to be wor-

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 498.
2. Ibid., vv. 500-505.
   Rājata., VIII. 2072 refers to this festival.
   K.K.N., p. 439.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 506-7.
4. Supra, pp. 192-93.

shipped with perfumes, garlands, clothes, unguents, and naivedya consisting of animals made of flour. The worshippers are enjoined to observe fast during the day and vigil at night listening to the Śivadharmas and the stories of Śiva's incarnations. On the 15th, the worship of Śiva is prescribed and the worshippers have to take meals consisting of Kulmāṣas and sweetmeats.[1]

(19) (*Second*) *Mahīmāna*

Continuing for three days—8th, 9th and 10th of the bright half of Phālguṇa—this festival comprises these rites : Fast during the day and placing of oil-lamps on the snow on the evening of the 8th; decoration of the houses and the temples, worship of the goddess Sītā, special feasting, singing, dancing and prohibition regarding giving of gifts except the cooked food on the 9th and decoration of the self, drinking of wine and other drinks and sporting of men with the ladies on the 10th.[2]

(20) *Phālguṇī*

The ceremonials of this festival begin on the full moon day of Phālguṇa and continue up to the dark 5th of Caitra. The worship of the sun and the moon, listening to musical concerts, seeing dramatic performances, self-decoration and taking meals consisting of parpaṭas are the main features of this festival.[3] The Brahma Pu. quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru[4], and the Kṛtyaratnākara[5] inform that as Aryamā was born of Aditi and Kaśyapa, and the moon of Atri and Anasūyā on Phālguṇī, so both the sun and the moon should be worshipped on this day.

(21) *Rājñīsnāpana*

The image of Kaśmīrā—a personification of the land

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 508-14; *K.K.N.*, p. 440.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 515-25; *K.K.N.*, pp. 441-42.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 526-29.
4. *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 118a.
5. *K.K.N.*, p. 443.

of Kaśmīra stated to be rajasvalā for three days from the 5th of the dark half of Caitra—is to be worshipped for 1st three days with unguents, clothes and eatable offerings but not with flowers, incense, ornaments and milk which may be offered to her after her bath on the 8th. The rites to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Caitra are : Bath of Kaśmīrā's image firstly by women and then by the Brāhmaṇas, worship of fire and the Brāhmaṇas, sending food to the friends' houses and listening to the music of Tantrī instrument.[1] The Brahma Pu. explains the name of the festival by stating that the earth is the queen of the sun.[2]

(22) *Kṛṣyārambha*

On any auspicious day after the dark 8th of Caitra, there may be observed the ceremony of the commencement of cultivation. The goddess earth, two bulls, cow, horse, Baladeva, Mahādeva, Vāmadeva, the Sun, the Moon, Parjanya, Indra, Pracetā, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Śeṣa, Brahmā, Kaśyapa, Vahni, Vāyu and Gagana are to be worshipped on this occasion. The Brāhmaṇas are to be given sacrificial fee. A festival full of songs and dances is to be celebrated after the ploughing of the field and the sowing of the seed.[3]

(23) *Chandodevap ūjā*

Women only are to worship Chandodeva on 11th and 12th of the dark-half of Caitra, with flesh of aquatic animals, various types of edibles, garlands, incense and fragrant

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 530-38; *K.K.N.*, pp. 443-44.

2. अतः परमृतुस्नाता गर्भं गृह्णाति मेदिनी । आदित्यमहिषी राज्ञी पौराणी देवपूजिता ॥

   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 118a, 118b.

3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 539-47; *K.K.N.*, pp. 444-45.
   The association of deities with cultivation is recognised in the Brāhmaṇas. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes cultivation as comprising all gods.

   सर्वदेवत्या वै कृषिः *Ś.B.* 7.1.4.12.

   For similar description of the festival of seed-sowing in other countries in ancient days, Cf. Scott James George, *The Mythology of All Races*, Vol. XII. pp. 328-29, 337.

saffron. A peculiar rite of sending Chandodeva out of the house through the door and bringing him in through the ventilator is also to be performed.[1]

(24) *Piśācacaturdaśī*

Śaṅkara is worshipped by the Piśāca-chief Nikumbha and his followers on the dark 14th of Caitra, so both Nikumbha and Śaṅkara are to be worshipped on this day. Offerings of meat etc. for the Piśācas, baptisation of children and vigil at night in the company of courtezans, are other features of this festival.[2]

(25) *Caitrāmā*

Śrāddha is to be performed on this day and the dogs are to be given food.[3]

(26) *Navasaṃvatsara*

The 1st of the bright half of Caitra is deemed to be the 1st day of creation. The two component parts of this festival are : Worship of Brahmā and the performance of Mahāśānti. The latter comprises the worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, the planets and constellations, the divisions of time, fourteen Devendras, fourteen Manus, the sages, the daughters of Dakṣa, other goddesses, seven continents, nine divisions of Bhārata, seven worlds, seven nether worlds, five elements, the intelligence, the soul, the Puruṣa, the mountains, the rivers, the Vināyakas, the nymphs, the Ādityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Viśvedevas, the Aśvins, the Bhṛgus, the Aṅgirasas, the Sādhyas, the Maruts etc.; hearing of the year, the month and the day, and the deities presiding over them; and feasting of the Brāhmaṇas and the relatives.[4]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 548-51; *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 118b; *K.K.N.*, pp. 445-46.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 552-59; *K.K.N.*, 446; *K.K.T.*, MS. 2684, folio 118b.
3. *Nīlamata*, v. 560; *K.K.N.*, p. 446.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 561-643.

(27) *Śrīpañcamī*

Worship of Śrī is prescribed on 5ths, specially on the bright 5th of Caitra. The worshipper, throughout his life, is endowed with prosperity and obtains Viṣṇuloka after death.[1]

(28) *Caitraṣaṣṭhī*

The 6th of the bright half of Caitra is dedicated to the worship of Skanda and is associated with the health of children.[2]

(29) *Caitranavamī*

Observance of fast and worship of Bhadrakālī with flowers, incense, food etc. are prescribed on this day.[3]

(30) *Vāstupūjā*

The worship of Vāstu, the deity of architecture, is prescribed on the bright 11th of Caitra.[4]

(31) *Caitradvādaśī*

This festival is dedicated to the worship of Vāsudeva.[5]

(32) *Madanatrayodaśī*

Celebrated on the 13th of the bright-half of Caitra, this festival has the following features : Worship of a cloth-painting of Kāmadeva, self-decoration by men, honouring of the ladies of the house and bathing of the wife by the husband with the water of the pitcher which is to be placed before Kāmadeva on the 12th.[6]

(33) *Piśācaprayāṇa*

This festival on the bright 15th of Caitra commemorates

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 644-46; *K.K.N.*, p. 382.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 647-49; *K.K.N.*, p. 383.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 650-51; *K.K.N.*, p. 383.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 652-53; *K.K.N.*, p. 383.
5. *Nīlamata*, v. 654; *K.K.N.*, p. 384.
6. *Nīlamata*, vv. 655-58.
   K.K.N., p. 384.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 101 a-b.

Nikumbha's march to the Sea of Sand to fight with the Piśācas dwelling there. A clay effigy or a grass effigy of the Piśāca is to be made and worshipped in every house at noon and at moon-rise. Then the Piśāca should be given farewell with songs, sounds of musical instruments and pronouncement of svastyayana by the Brāhmaṇas. Next day, the worshippers should climb a nearby hill for following the Piśāca and observe a great festival with music and the din of people.[1]

(34) *Irāmañjarīpūjā*

After the festival celebrating Nikumbha's departure there occurs the festival of Irā-flowers. Irāmañjarī is deemed to be the incarnation of a nymph who, being attached to Viśvāvasu, was cursed by Indra to become a plant on the Himālaya.[2] The rites prescribed for this festival are : Visit

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 659-67.
K.K.N., pp. 384-85.
K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 101b.

2. इरा नामाप्सराःपूर्वं शप्ता शक्रेण काश्यप ।
विश्वावसोः संप्रयुक्ता सुरोपस्थानवर्जिता ।।
स्थावरत्वमनुप्राप्ता हिमवत्यचलोत्तमे ।
Nīlamata, vv. 668-69.

The Brahma Pu. quoted in *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 102a. *K.K.N.*, p. 386. has

इरा नामाप्सराः पूर्वं सक्ता विश्वावसोर्यदा ।
नृत्यगीतैस्तथा देवानस्तुवन्मन्दचेतना ।।
वासवेन ततः शप्ता जाता रम्ये हिमाचले ।
मनोज्ञपुष्पतां प्राप्ता कल्पे चैव स्थिते सति ।।

In many Purāṇas, Irā is mentioned as a daughter of Dakṣa, wife of Kaśyapa and mother of three daughters Latā, Vallī and Vīrudhā, who in their turn, became mothers of trees, plants and shrubs.
Brahmāṇḍa Pu., III. 7. 459-63, 468.
Matsya Pu., 6. 2, 18, 46.
Vāyu Pu., 69. 339-42.

इरा वृक्षलतावल्लीस्तृणजातीश्च सर्वशः ।।
Viṣṇu Pu., I. 21. 24.

This association of Irā with the vegetable world can be traced back to R.V.,

इरा विश्वस्मै भुवनाय जायते यत्पर्जन्यः पृथिवीं रेतसावति ।। V. 83.4.

Irā is the flower called 'Yurukam' in Kaśmīrī. It is used for the worship of Śiva in Śivarātri festival.

to Irā-garden; worship of Irāmañjarī with flowers, eatables and lamps; common feast in Irā-garden; honouring the Brāhmaṇas, the friends, the wife and the relatives with Irā-flowers and garlands of Irā-flowers; taking drinks mixed with Irā-flowers and offering Irā-flowers to Keśava, Rudra, Brahmā, the Sun, the Moon, Lakṣmī, Durgā, the Nāgas and the Nāga-chief Nīla.[1]

(35) *Akṣayatṛtīyā*

Barley-grains were produced, Kṛta age was created and the river Gaṅgā was brought down on the earth from Brahmaloka, on the bright 3rd of Vaiśākha, so the worship of Viṣṇu with barley and that of the Gaṇgā, specially on the bank of the Sindhu,[2] is prescribed on this day.[3]

(36) *Buddhajanmamahaḥ*[4]

(37) *Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā*

Honouring of five or seven Brāhmaṇas with sesame mixed with honey, and worship of Dharmarāja are prescribed on this day.[5]

(38) *Yavāgrāyaṇa*

This festival is celebrated when the barley becomes ripe. Offering new barley to the gods and the manes, and eating barley amidst sounds of musical instruments and the Brāhmaṇas are its main features.[6]

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 668-78; *K.K.N.*, pp. 386-87.
2. Sindhu in Kaśmīra is deemed to be an incarnation of the Gaṅgā. *Nīlamata*, v. 295.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 679-83; *K.K.N.*, p. 387.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 102a-102b.
4. Supra, p. 175; *Nīlamata*, 684-90.; *K.K.N.*, p. 388.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 102b.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 691-92; *K.K.N.*, p. 388.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 102 b, 103a.
6. *Nīlamata*, vv. 696-97.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 102a, 102b.

(39) *Vināyakāṣṭamyaḥ*

All the 8th days are prescribed for the worship of Vināyaka but the dark 8th of Āṣāḍha is specially efficacious in giving success if one worships Vināyaka and his gaṇas with sweetmeats, music and pleasing of the Brāhmaṇas on that day.[1]

(40) *Svātiyoga*

On a day conjoined with Svāti constellation, the worship of Vāyu with scents, garlands and food is prescribed.[2]

(41) *Prasvāpana*

The Devaprasvāpana ceremony is to be observed for the last five days of the bright half of Āṣāḍha. The rites are: Performance of Dhanahotra and vigil at night on the 11th and the 14th, worship of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sātvatas on the 12th and the 14th and gifts for dramatic performances on the 13th.[3]

(42) *Vaiśvadevapūjā*

The worship of all the gods is to be performed when the conjunction of Vaiśvadeva constellation takes place in the end of the month of Āṣāḍha.[4]

(43) *Dakṣiṇāyana*

The southern progress of the sun is to be celebrated with gifts of ground and parched grains, snow, sugar, vegetables, umbrella, shoes etc. made to the Brāhmaṇas.[5]

(44) *Rohiṇīsaṃyoga*

The worship of Kaśyapa, the founder of Kaśmīra, and of cows

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 698-700; *K.K.N.*, p. 390. *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 103b.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 701-2; *K.K.N.*, p. 391. *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 103b.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 703-6; *K.K.N.*, p. 391. *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 103b.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 707; *K.K.N.*, p. 393. *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 104a.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 708-9; *K.K.N.*, p. 394. *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 104a.

with their calves is prescribed on a day of Śravaṇa conjoined with Rohiṇī constellation.[1]

(45) *Śrāvaṇī*

The ceremonials of this festival are: Bath at the confluence of the Vitastā and the Gaṅgā, worship of Viṣṇu, pronouncement of benedictory formula by the Brāhmaṇas, chanting of the Sāmaveda, indulging in water-sports in the company of unmarried girls.[2]

(46) *Kṛṣṇajanmamahaḥ*

Kṛṣṇa's birth-day festival is to be celebrated on the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada. The god Kṛṣṇa, his wife and his mothers Devakī and Yaśodā are to be worshipped. Next morning the images of all these are to be carried by women to the bank of a river or a lake, amidst charming sounds of vocal and instrumental music. Barley food along with preparations of sugarcane, pepper and purified butter is to be eaten.[3]

(47) *Maghāmāvasī*

The dark 15th of Bhādrapada conjoined with pitṛ constellation is dedicated to the worship of seven groups of manes.[4]

(48) *Bhādrapadaśuklakṛtya*

On each day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, Mahendra is to be worshipped along with his wife Śacī, gaṇas, weapons and mount. The king should worship him in the way suggested

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 710-11; *K.K.N.*, p. 395 has
   देवस्याथ (देशस्याथ) प्रवर्तकः ।
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 104b.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 712-14; *K.K.N.*, p. 395.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 104b.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 716-22; *K.K.N.*, p. 396.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, follo 104b.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 723-25; *K.K.N.*, p. 396.

by an astrologer. On the bright fifth of this fortnight, Nīla and the local Nāga are to be worshipped.[1]

(49) *Śrāddhapakṣa*

The whole fortnight is for the performance of Śrāddhas but while on other days the performance is optional, on the 13th it is compulsory. The 14th is prescribed for Śrāddha of those who were killed by means of weapons. The worship of the guardians of the quarters is prescribed on the 14th falling in Śrāddhapakṣa.[2]

(50) *Mahānavamī*

A few verses in the beginning seem to have been lost and whatever remains describes the worship of weapons at night in the temple of Durgā and the performance of Śānti called Nīrājanā.[3]

(51) *Agastyadarśana*

To be performed when the sun is united with Kanyā constellation, this ceremony consists of these rites: Fast during the day, worship of Agastya at night with various eatables, flowers, sandal-wood paste, cow, bull, clothes, jewels, umbrella, shoes, staff and slippers, worship of the fire and the Brāhmaṇas, abstinence from one fruit for one year, worship of an astrologer and seeing of the sage Agastya as shown by that astrologer.[4]

(52) *Navānnavidhāna*

The ceremony of new grains is to take place when the

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 726-29a.
   Rājata., VIII. 170, 182, 495, refer to a festival known as Indradvādaśī and Stein (f.n. on VIII. 182) informs that the name Indradvādaśī is still given in Kaśmīra to the 12th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada.
   K.K.N., p. 402; *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 106b.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 732-37.
3. Ibid., vv. 739-41.
4. Ibid., vv. 742-47.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 119b.

fresh crops are ready. Listening to vocal and instrumental music, recitation of Vedic texts, worship of gods, manes, Brahmā, Ananta and guardians of the quarters, and making of gifts of rice and preparations of other grains to the Brāhmaṇas, the servants and the relatives are prescribed on this day.[1]

(53) *Varuṇapañcamī*

This day is dedicated to the worship of Varuṇa, Umā and Dhanada.[2]

(54) *Aśokikāṣṭamī*

Spread over three days of the bright half of Bhādrapada, this festival is dedicated to the worship of Umā and that of Aśokikā—probably personified Aśoka plants. Bathing of virgins, decoration of men, women and children, dance preformances and musical concerts are other features of this festival.[3]

(55) *Vitastotsava*

The 13th (of the bright half of Bhādrapada) is deemed to be the birthday of the river Vitastā. The birthday festival, however, includes three days preceding and three days following this 13th.

Bath in the water of the Vitastā, worship of the Vitastā specially at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Vitastā, with scents, garlands, eatable offerings etc., gifts for dramatic performances and worship of actors etc. are prescribed for this festival.[4]

(56) *Mahādvādaśī*

The bright 12th falling in Vitastotsava is called

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 748-54; *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 107 a-b.
2. *Nīlamata*, v. 755.
3. Ibid., vv. 756-61; *K.K.T.*, MS. No. 2684, folio 107a.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 762-66; *K.K.N.*, p. 401.
K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 106b.

Mahādvādaśī and is to be necessarily observed. If that 12th be conjoined with Budha, the recital of God's names, bath, charity, funeral rites etc. performed on that (12th) become twelve-fold. Conjoined with Budha and Śravaṇa, that day is called Atyantamahatīdvādaśī and gives the merit of bathing at Sannihati. On this 12th conjoined with Śravaṇa, a bath with clay obtained from the confluence of the Sindhu and the Vitastā gives the merit of bathing at the confluence of these two rivers.[1]

(57) *Caturthītritaya*

On the 4th days of Āśvayuk, Māgha and Jyeṣṭha, the faithful ladies whose husbands are living and also the sisters etc. are to be honoured.[2]

(58) *Aśvadīkṣā*

Worship of Uccaiḥśravāḥ is prescribed when the moon is united with Svāti constellation in the bright half of Āśvayuk and that of horses in general if that union takes place on the 9th. Pacificatory rites are to be performed and threads coloured in five colours are to be tied round horses' necks. Beating of horses and horse-riding are prohibited.[3]

(59) *Hastidīkṣā*

Similar rites for the elephants are to be performed when the moon is united with Śakra constellation.[4]

(60) *Bhadrakālīpūjana*

Performed on the 8th of the bright half of Āśvayuk, this ceremony consists of the worship of Bhadrakālī with incense, garlands, clothes, lamps, jewels, fruits, roots, meat, vegetables

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 767-75.
2. Ibid., vv. 776-78.
   K.K.N., p. 404 associates the 4th of Āśvayuk with Satī.
3. *Nīlamata*, vv. 779-83; *K.K.N.*, pp. 406-7.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 108a.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 784-85; *K.K.N.* p. 407.
   K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 108a.

and drinks, the observance of vigil at night with music and dancing, worship of books, tools and weapons in the temple of Durgā, eating of food mixed with curd, offering of balls of food to an eagle and feeding of the Brāhmaṇas, the friends and the relatives.[1]

(61) *Gṛhadevīpūjā*

In the beginning of the year, i.e. on the Ist of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa, the goddess of the house is to be worshipped.[2]

(62) *Śyāmādevīpūjā*

This festival in honour of the goddess Śyāmā—personified vine creeper—is to be celebrated when the grapes are ripe. Worship of Śyāmā, offering of first fruits to the Brāhmaṇas, eating of grapes, dance-performances and musical concerts are its main features.[3]

(63) *Yātrotsava.*

As the ceremonies of pilgrimages to the temples of different deities are similar, the Nīlamata describes them together though prescribing different dates for different pilgrimages. The dates are :

4th for visiting the abodes of Vināyaka, Dhanada and Mahādeva.
5th for visiting the abodes of Varuṇa and Śrī.
6th for visiting the abode of Kumāra.
7th for visiting the abode of the Sun.
8th for visiting the abodes of Mahādeva and Śakra.
15th for visiting the abode of the Moon.
5th, 12th and 15th for visiting the abode of the Nāgas.
15th of the bright half for visiting the abode of all gods.
The guest houses may be visited on all days.
Seven days preceding any Yātrotsava are prescribed for

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 786-95; *K.K.T.*, MS. 2684, folio 108a-b.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 796-97.
3. Ibid., vv. 797-801; *K.K.N.*, pp. 405-6.
K.K.T., MS. No. 2684, folio 107b.

the worship of Vināyaka, the Gandharvas, the Piśācas, the Nāgas, the Brāhmaṇas and the poor. The temple of the deity concerned is to be whitewashed and decorated. The image of the deity is to be bathed with the water brought from a sacred place by the citizens with a procession leading them. The image, thereafter, is to be placed in a nicely decorated conveyance which is to be carried around the city in a procession attended by the king or the president. Arrangements for dramatic performances and for honouring the spectators are also to be made.[1]

II Other religious practices

Though most of the religious practices like pūjā, dāna, japa, homa, yātrā etc. form part of the vratas and the utsavas described above, it is necessary to say a few words separately about them.

Devapūjā—developed to some extent from the Vedic worship with considerable borrowings from the modes of worship prevalent amongst the aboriginal tribes—is a main feature of the Puranic religion. The Nīlamata mentions the following items of devapūjā : Bathing the image; offering unguents, clothes, ornaments, water of honour, eatables etc.; burning incense; lighting lamps; observing vigil at night and singing praises of the deity.[2]

Charity is prescribed on almost all the occasions.[3] Only on one day in the bright half of Phālguṇa, giving of gifts is prohibited, but even on that day the prohibition does not extend to the gifts of cooked food.[4]

1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 840-65.
   Similar Yātrotsavas of which the processions of images were the main features were prevalent in the neighbouring countries also. Fa-Hien records the observance of such festivals in Khotan. Legge James, *The Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 18-19.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 412-32.
3. Supra, pp. 81-82.
4. नित्यदानं सपक्वान्नमृते तस्मिन् दिने सदा ।
   नान्यत् किंचित् प्रदातव्यं लब्धं ग्राह्यं प्रयत्नतः ॥
   Nīlamata, vv. 520.
   This prohibition seems to be based on some superstition of agricultural significance as the festival, during which it occurs,

The practice of the recital of the names of gods has its origin in the theory of the power of the word which in its turn may be traced back to those early days of magic when the primitive man attributed evil and good power to the word.[1] The Upaniṣads also prescribe the recital of various kinds of formulae like Om, Him etc.[2] The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata refers to Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers as engrossed in regular japa.[3] The Purāṇas further lay stress on the efficacy of the japa and the Nīlamata refers to it quite often.[4]

As regards the Vedic sacrifices, the Nīlamata mentions them as old practices for which many substitutes have been suggested. Thus, one can get the merit of performing Agniṣṭoma by seeing particular images of Keśava.[5] The sight of Nṛsiṃha, we are informed, is equal to the performance of Vahniṣṭoma[6] and the merit of the performance of Aśvamedha can be obtained by merely seeing Devadeveśa[7] or by performing Śrāddha at Kurukṣetra at the time of the

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precedes the festival of seed-sowing. Describing the festivals of the Indo-Chinese, Sir James George Scott informs, "On the day when rice fields are sown, no Taungthu will give food, fire water or anything else that may be asked of him, no matter what the necessity of the applicant may be or however close the degree of his relationship. If he were to do so, his crop would be eaten by insects." *Mythology of all the Races*, Vol. XII. p. 337.

1. Sen Gupta, N.H., *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. XII. p. 40.
2. ओमित्येतदक्षरमुद्गीथमुपासीतोमिति ह्युद्गायति तस्योपव्याख्यानम् ॥
   Chāndogyopaniṣad, I.1.1.
3. नित्यं जप्यपराः *Mbh.*, XII. 326. 122.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 682, 1049, 1101, 1104.
5. एता दृष्ट्वा केशवार्चा अग्निष्टोमफलं लभेत् ॥
   Ibid., v. 1152.
6. नृसिंहमपरं दृष्ट्वा वह्निष्टोमफलं लभेत् ॥
   Ibid., v. 1153.
7. तं दृष्ट्वा देवदेवेशमश्वमेधफलं लभेत् ॥
   Ibid., v. 1150.

eclipse of the sun.[1] The merit of performing Atirātra is stated to accrue from a bath at Puṣkara.[2] Similarly, mention is made of Vājapeya, Rājasūya, Puṇḍarīka, Gosava and Devasatra. The sacrifices, recommended for performance, are Koṭihoma and Lakṣahoma.[3] Not appearing at all in the Vedic literature, both these sacrifices seem to have been introduced by the writers of the Purāṇas.[4] The Narasiṃha Pu. describes in detail the procedure of the performance of these sacrifices. The Brāhmaṇas invited for this purpose are to observe celibacy, undergo a fast and perform japa. As regards the sacrifice proper, the first offering in the fire is to be made with Gāyatrī mantra and the rest with Vyāhṛtis. Feeding of the poor and giving of sacrificial fee to the Brāhmaṇas are other features.[5] The Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. states that a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya may perform the homa by

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1. श्राद्धं यः कुरुते तत्र राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे ।
अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य फलं प्राप्नोत्यनुत्तमम् ॥
Nīlamata., v. 128.

2. विगाह्य पुष्करं तीर्थमतिरात्रफलं लभेत् ।
Ibid., v. 1343.

3. संवत्सरस्याथ कार्यो लक्षहोमो महीक्षिता ।
कोटिहोमस्तथा कार्य एक एव द्विजोत्तम ।
Ibid., v. 805.

4. *Matsya Pu.*, 93. 5, 84-158; 239. 1-29.
Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., I. 165. 39-53.
Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 45-46.

5. यवधान्यतिलैर्मिश्रां गायत्र्याप्रथमाहुतिम् ।
जुहुयादेकचित्तेन स्वाहाकारान्वितां बुधः ॥
ततो व्याहृतिभिः पश्चाज्जुहुयाच्च तिलान्वितम् ।
यावत्प्रपूर्यते संख्या लक्षं कोटिरेव वा ॥
तावद्धोमं तिलैः कुर्यादच्युताच्चनपूर्वकम् ।
दीनानाथजनेभ्यस्तु यजमानः प्रयत्नतः ॥
तावच्च भोजनं दद्याद्यावद्धोमं समाचरेत् ।
समाप्ते दक्षिणां दद्यात् ऋत्विग्भ्यः श्रद्धयान्वितः ॥
Narasiṃha Pu., Chap. 35. 11, 19-21.

himself and obtain high merit.[1] As regards the violent sacrifices, the Nīlamata indicates their uselessness for one who adores a personal god.[2] Offerings of meat are, however, referred to in connection with the worship of the Piśācas,[3] the goddess Bhadrakālī[4] and the image of Keśava erected by Paraśurāma.[5]

Pilgrimages to holy places whose account occupies the major portion of the Nīlamata served as other substitutes for the sacrifices.[6]

Further, the Nīlamata refers to austerities like standing in the cold water and obstaining from food.[7]

III Nature and significance of the vratas, utsavas and other religious practices

A few words may be said about the nature and significance of these vratas, utsavas and other religious practices. Some of these like the Rājñīsnāpana, the Kṛṣyārambha, the Yavāgrāyaṇa and the Navānnavidhāna[8] are associated with agriculture. The deities concerned are invoked for help at the time of sowing the seed and are thanked for successful crops at the time of harvest. Having much in common with the ritualistic actions, some of these vratas are nothing but

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1. कोटिहोमं स्वयं यस्तु कुर्याद्ब्राह्मणसत्तमः ॥
क्षत्रियो वाथवा वैश्यस्तस्य पुण्यफलं महत् ।
Viṣṇudharmottara Pu., I. 165. 52-53.

2. हिंसात्मकैस्तु किं तस्य यज्ञैः कार्यं महात्मनः ॥
प्रस्वापे च प्रबोधे च पूजितो येन केशवः ।
Nīlamata, v. 706.

3. पिशाचानां च दातव्या बलयश्च सुसंस्कृताः ।
पललोल्लोपिकामिश्रा मत्स्यमांसामिषैर्युताः ॥
Ibid., vv. 555-56.

4. Ibid., v. 787.
5. Ibid., vv. 1173-74.
6. Supra, p. 21.
7. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1049-50.
8. Supra, pp. 197-198; 98; 202; 205-6.

Āgrāyaṇa sacrifices of the Śrautasūtras, modified to some extent.[1]

The Irāmañjarīpūjana bringing the message of the revival of the vegetable world in spring, the Śyāmāpūjana associated with the ripening of grapes, and the Aśokikāṣṭamī associated with Aśoka plant are festivals of the nature of garden-sports. Navahimapātotsava celebrates the first fall of snow in the beginning of winter. The vratas of Uttarāyaṇa and Dakṣiṇāyana, marking the northern and southern progress of the sun, are substitutes for the sacrifices which used to be performed on these days. Two festivals commemorate the New Year Day. One of these falls on the dark 1st of Mārgaśīrṣa (Pūrṇimānta month) according to the reckoning prevalent in Kaśmīra,[2] and the other occurs on the bright 1st of Caitra (Amānta month) according to the reckoning prevalent in most parts of the rest of India.

Some ceremonies like Aśvadīkṣā, Hastidīksā and Vāstupūjā, in which the fire is kept lit for six wintry months, are mere attempts to attach sacredness to objects and customs necessary for the well-being of the society.

Āśvayujī festival and the festival of Piśācaprayāṇa celebrate a historical event—occupation of Kaśmīra by the Piśācas. As regards the remaining vratas and utsavas, they are performed in honour of either a holy tithi or a sectarian deity. The Vedic ritualistic cult has been replaced here by the cult of vrata, pūjā, japa etc. The replacement, however, was gradual and necessary. The influence of Upaniṣadic philosophy had long ago begun to modify the religious outlook of the people. Buddhism, Jainism and some other popular faiths were offering to the masses, substitutes of ritualism which promised

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1. The act of thanksgiving consisted in partaking of new grains only after those had been offered to the deity. This is similar to the statement made in the Śrautasūtras that a sacrificer is forbidden to consume new grains till he has offered them in the Āgrāyaṇa sacrifice. *Śrauta Kośa*, Vol. I. Part I. pp. 502 ff. Vedic Saṃśodhana Maṇḍal Poona, 1958.

2. That the month in Kaśmīra was Pūrṇimānta is shown by Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī in which it is stated that king Harirāja came to the throne at the beginning of Āṣāḍha in the 4th year, ruled for twenty two days and died on the 8th of the bright half of Śuci, i.e. Āṣāḍha. *Rājata.*, VII. 127, 131.

the attainment of same merits and awards as obtained from the lengthy and costly Śrauta sacrifices. So the thick cloud of sacrificial cult which overcast the age of the Brāhmaṇas, was scattering gradually before the arguments of the Upaniṣads and the Buddhist and the Jain canons. The only method by which Brahmanism could attract the masses, under these circumstances, was to give some cheaper, easier and less violent replica of the sacrifice with the same conception of alluring rewards. The Purāṇas came forward and met the need of the time. The Nīlamata also indicates the same tendency of modifying Brahmanism by propagating the less complicated Koṭihomas and Lakṣahomas, pılgrimages to holy places, bath in sacred waters, worship of the images of sectarian and folk deities, recital of god's names and abstinence from food.

CHAPTER IX

PHILOSOPHY

I Philosophical Thoughts in the Purāṇas

The philosophy of the Purāṇas has not yet received attention of the modern scholars who have been busy all these years, with a study of their historical contents and have not yet used these Purāṇas for constructing the history of Indian religious and philosophical thought. This, however, does not mean that the Purāṇas contain no philosophy. The copious references to the Purāṇas in the philosophical writings of Rāmānuja, Mādhava, Vallabha, Jīva Gosvāmī and Baladeva indicate their importance in the field of philosophy.[1]

It is true that the Purāṇas give us neither the high soaring speculations of the Upaniṣads nor the complicated but critical and analytic theories of Ṣaḍ Darśanas, yet if philosophy means an attempt on the part of human beings to understand the problems of life and death, of creation and the forces working behind it, there is much in the Purāṇas which can be termed as philosophy. The Puranic philosophy is not detached from popular belief; theirs' is the simple philosophy for the layman who is not interested in cold logic. To quote Dr. Radhakrishnan "The Purāṇas contain the truth dressed up in myths and stories to suit the weak understanding of the majority. The hard task of interesting the multitude in metaphysics is achieved in India."[2]

Coming to the Nīlamata, we find that it has no special chapter on philosophy like the Īśvaragītā section of the Kūrma Purāṇa, but numerous remarks imbued with philosophy are scattered throughout the work and from these can be inferred the philosophical tendencies prevalent in Kaśmīra at the time when the Nīlamata was composed. An attempt has

1. Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III. p. 496.
2. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I. p. 25.

been made in the following pages to put these sporadic remarks in a systematic way.

II Cosmogony and Cosmology

The problems of creation and the nature of universe form the basis of the philosophy of any country or nation and India is no exception in this respect. Beginning with the Vedas, whose speculations regarding these are contained in the famous Nāsadīya and Puruṣa sūktas frankly expressing doubts about creation,[1] to the Upaniṣads, the Epics, the Purāṇas and the Darśanas, all have attempted to unravel the mystery of creation. The Pañcalakṣaṇa definition of Purāṇa makes cosmogony as the first topic in the Purāṇas,[2] but some of the extant Purāṇas do not follow this definition.[3] The Nīlamata, too, has no chapter dealing with creation (sarga) and describes briefly recreation (pratisarga) in 22 verses.[4]

(*I*) *Conception of the universe*

(i) *Worlds*

The Nīlamata mentions the threefold division of the universe indicated by the expressions like Tribhuvana, Trailokya etc.[5] Evidently, the earth is the middle part, above and below which, are the heavens and the nether worlds. But as a matter of fact, the division seems to be twofold only, for the earth itself is regarded as the lowest of the seven upper regions. These upper regions are Bhūrloka, Svarloka,

1. *R.V.* X. 129. 6-7 "who then knows, who has declared it here, from whence was born this creation ? The gods came later than this creation. Who then knows whence it arose ? He from whom this creation arose, whether he made it or did not make it, the highest seer in the highest heaven, he forsooth knows or does even he not know ?"
Translated by Max Muller.

2. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चेति पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
Vāyu Pu., IV. 10-11.
...वंशानुचरितं चैव..... ॥ *Matsya Pu.*, 53.65.

3. Supra p. 4.
4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 30-51.
5. Ibid., vv. 268. 312 etc.

Maharloka, Janaloka, Tapoloka and Satyaloka.[1] The seven nether worlds are Rukmabhauma, Śilābhauma, Nīlamṛttika, Raktabhauma, Pītabhauma, Śveta and Kṛṣṇakṣiti.[2] Of the seven names Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala and Pātāla which appear in most of the Purāṇas, the Nīlamata refers to Rasātala and Pātāla only.[3]

(ii) *Heavenly bodies*

As regards the heavenly bodies, the Nīlamata refers to the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars. The divisions of the time are also mentioned as objects of worship.[4] The passage of the sun through one sign of the zodiac, we are informed, is called a solar month. Two months make a season, three seasons an Ayana and two Ayanas a year. Four lacs and thirty two thousand years make Kaliyuga. Twice as much as Kaliyuga is Dvāpara, thrice is Tretā and four yugas make one Caturyuga and seventy one Caturyugas make one Manvantara.[5] The expression pañcasaṃvatsarāḥ indicates the knowledge of five years, namely, Saṃvatsara, Parivatsara, Idvatsara, Anuvatsara and Vatsara.[6] Of the nakṣatras the Nīlamata mentions Puṣya (vv. 120, 685), Maghā (689), Svāti (701, 779), Rohiṇī (710), Vaiśvadeva (707), Budha (769-70), Śakra (784), Pitryarkṣa (723), Janmarkṣa (803) and Revatī (106).

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1. *Nīlamata*, v. 594.
2. *Nīlamata* vv. 592-93.
3. Ibid., vv. 255, 592. Cf. *Bhāgavata Pu.*, V. 24. 7.
4. युगानां च तथा पूजा कर्तव्या द्विजसत्तम ॥
   पंचसंवत्सराः पूज्याः पूज्यं चैवायनद्वयम् ।
   ऋतुषट्कं तथा पूज्यं मासा द्वादश चाप्यथ ॥
   द्वौ पक्षौ तिथयश्चैव पूज्याः पंचदशैव तु ।
   करणाश्च मुहूर्त्ताश्च राशयश्च पृथक् पृथक् ॥
   Nīlamata, vv. 573-75.
5. Ibid., vv. 30-32. Vāyu Pu. 32. 65.
6. *Vāyu Pu.*, 31. 26-28.
   Cf. f.n. 4. on this puge.

(II) *Creation of the universe*

Turning to the problem of creation, the Nīlamata attempts a compromise between the Sāṅkhya theory and the monism of the Upaniṣads. The Sāṅkhya believes in twenty five principles, of which the two—Puruṣa and Prakṛti—are eternal and independent of each other. Prakṛti, also called Avyakta and Pradhāna, is regarded as the starting point from which spring up in succession the twenty three principles, namely, Mahat (great principle) also called Buddhi, Ahaṅkāra (egoism), five Tanmātras (subtle physical essences), ten Indriyas (faculties of knowledge and action), Manas (mind) and the five Mahābhūtas (gross physical elements). The 25th principle Puruṣa is entirely independent of the preceding twenty four principles and is the disinterested spectator of the evolution of Prakṛti.[1] The germs of this theory exist in the Kaṭhopaniṣad which mentions the evolution in the same order with the exception of Ahaṅkāra and Tanmātras and believes in the Supreme Spirit.[2]

The Nīlamata uses at places the terminology of the Sāṅkya referring to Indriyas,Indriyārthas, Mahābhūtas, Manas, Buddhi, Ātmā, Avyakta and Puruṣa, but it does not accept its atheistic metaphysics.[3] The five gross physical elements,

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1. प्रकृतेर्महांस्ततोऽहंकारस्तस्माद्गणश्च षोडशकः ।
तस्मादपि षोडशकात्पञ्चभ्यः पञ्च भूतानि ॥
Sāṅkhya Kārikā, 22.

2. इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान् परः ॥
महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात्पुरुषः परः ।
पुरुषान्न परं किंचित्सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः ॥
Kaṭhopaniṣad. I.3. 10-11.

3. इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थाश्च महाभूतानि यानि च ॥
मनो बुद्धिस्तथैवात्मा अव्यक्तं पुरुषोद्भवम् ।
सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्चैव ब्रह्मा विष्णुर्महेश्वरः ॥
त्वया सर्वमिदं व्याप्तं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
त्वया विना न पश्यामि किंचिद्देव जगत्त्रये ॥
Nīlamata, vv. 1211-13.

Earth, Water, Fire, Wind and Ether which may stand for the solid, liquid, gaseous, aerial and ethereal states of matter, are stated to be the supporters of the world but behind these is seen working the force of the Supreme Spirit.[1] The epithet "Cause of the causes of the world" applied to Viṣṇu and Brahmā indicates that along with the Supreme Spirit—the final cause—there is also Prakṛti, the immediate cause of the world.[2] At one place, Śiva's epithet "Sākṣivat sthitaḥ" sounds like that of Sāṅkhya Puruṣa but unlike the latter, He is regarded as the creator, the sustainer and the destroyer of the world.[3] Three qualities of Rajas, Sattva and Tamas are also referred to and are associated with the powers of creation, protection and destruction.[4]

Lacchmidhar Kalla has traced the Ābhāsa theory of the manifestation of creation as propounded in the Pratyabhijñā philosophy to some verses of the Nīlamata which will be discussed later on.

III. Various theocratic cults

Religious and philosophical thoughts die very hard in

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1. भूमिर्धृता धारयति त्वयेदं सचराचरम् ।
त्वया धृता धारयन्ति तथैवापोऽखिलं जगत् ॥
त्वत्तेजसा जगत् सर्वं वह्निर्धारयते प्रभो ।
त्वत्तेजसा तथा वायुर्भावयत्यखिलं जगत् ॥
शब्दयोनिं तथाकाशं जगद्धारयते प्रभो ।
वीर्येण ते महाभाग त्वं च प्रोक्तस्तथापरः ॥
Nīlama'a, vv. 1077-79.

2. ...जगत्कारणकारण । Ibid., v. 1373.

3. ब्राह्मीं तनुं तथास्थाय राजसीं त्वं जगद्गुरो ॥
लोकान् सृजसि भूतात्मंस्तव कार्यं न विद्यते ।
पौरुषीं तनुमास्थाय सात्त्विकीं त्वं महेश्वर ॥
पालयस्यखिलं देव त्रैलोक्यं साक्षिवत्स्थितः ।
कालाख्यां तामसीं कृत्वा जगत्संहरसे तथा ॥
Ibid., vv. 1087-89.

4. Loc. Cit.

India; the Indian philosopy goes on admitting into its scheme, various new conceptions to keep pace with the progress of thought but the old conceptions also continue to live and this fact accounts for the occurrence of so many philosophical tendencies in the Nīlamata. Here follows a brief summary of all of them.

(I) *Polytheism*

As is referred to in the previous chapter, the theology of the Nīlamata is replete with numerous gods and goddesses. The trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva plays due role but there are others like Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Kārttikeya, Baladeva, Aśvins, Maruts, Viśvedevas, Vasus, Yakṣas, Nāgas, Gandharvas, Pṛthivī, Surabhi, Sītā, Śacī, Lakṣmī, Umā, Śyāmā, Bhāratī, Prajñā, Mati etc. This plurality of deities undoubtedly points to polytheism.

(II) *Henotheism*

The tendency of describing one deity as the highest among others at one time and transferring the same epithets to the other at another time is clearly perceptible in the praises of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Nīla and the goddesses Umā and Lakṣmī. At some places, Viṣṇu is praised as the best amongst the gods,[1] unfathomable,[2] the highest,[3] the eternal,[4] the refuge of all gods,[5] the lord of the gods,[6] the cause of the causes of the world,[7] the lord of three worlds,[8] worshipped by

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1. देववर *Nīlamata*, v. 60.
2. अप्रमेय Loc. Cit.
3. परं परमं *Nīlamata*, v. 63.
4. सनातनं Loc. Cit.
5. त्वं देव सर्वदेवानां दुःखितानां परा गतिः । *Nīlamata*, v. 1211.
6. देवेश Ibid., v. 1215.
7. ···जगत्कारणकारण । Ibid., v. 1217
8. त्रैलोक्यनाथ Loc. Cit.

Śiva,[1] praised by Brahmā,[2] but at other places Brahmā is described as the cause of the causes of the world,[3] the lord of three worlds,[4] the lord of the gods of the gods,[5] the lord of all,[6] the omniscient,[7] the real force behind all the elements,[8] the preceptor of the world[9] and the sustainer of the world.[10] Śiva is also eulogised as the preceptor of the world,[11] the lord of world,[12] the lord of the gods,[13] the lord of the gods of the gods[14] and the highest lord.[15] Even the Nāga deity Nīla is described as the lord of the gods,[16] the creator of the creator,[17] illuminating Brahma.[18] Umā is the mother of all gods,[19] higher than Śarva,[20] and Lakṣmī is raised to the highest position by saying that all the goddesses are her forms.[21]

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1. कामारिपूजित *Nīlamata*, v. 1216.
2. पद्मजसंस्तुत Ibid., vv. 60, 1216.
3. नमस्ते देवदेवेश जगत्कारणकारण ।
   त्रैलोक्यनाथ सर्वज्ञ सर्वेश्वर नमोस्तु ते ॥
   Ibid., v. 1073
4. Loc. Cit.
5. Loc. Cit.
6. Loc. Cit.
7. Loc. Cit.
8. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1077-79.
   Supra. p. 219 f.n. 1.
9. जगद्गुरुः *Nīlamata*, v. 639.
10. जगद्भर्तुः Ibid., v. 643.
11. जगद्गुरुः Ibid., v. 1136.
12. जगन्नाथ Ibid., v. 1142.
13. देवेश Ibid., v. 1103.
14. देवदेवेश Ibid., v. 1086.
15. महेश्वर Ibid., v. 1141.
16. देवेश Ibid., v. 341.
17. विधेर्विधाता Ibid., v. 345.
18. त्वत्प्रकाशं यतो ब्रह्म निष्कलं निर्मलं परम् । Ibid., v. 348.
19. जनित्री सर्वदेवानां Ibid., v. 312.
20. शर्वात् परा Ibid., v. 303.
21. त्वमेव सर्वदेवीनां मूर्त्तिभिर्देवि संस्थिता ॥ Ibid., v. 274.

(III) *Monotheism*

Dr. Radhakrishnan is not far from truth when he points out that "henotheism is an unconscious groping towards monotheism".[1] The plurality of the gods is a characteristic feature of the Purāṇic religion but the attempts of bringing out an essential unity even out of this endless multiplicity of the gods and the goddesses are not lacking. While praising a god as the highest of all, the devotee often identifies him with other deities and this identification is a step towards monotheism only. The doctrine is easily perceptible in the Nīlamata where Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, all are, turn by turn, described as creators, preservers and destroyers of the world.[2]

(IV) *Theriomorphism*

The religious conception of animal gods is regarded by some scholars as preceding the anthropomorphic conception[3] but there is no proof for such a theory. Anyway, theriomorphism is not unknown in the Ṛgveda and we have there two deities—the one-footed goat Aja Ekapād and the serpent of the deep Ahirbudhnya—recorded in animal form only.[4] The Nīlamata includes both these deities in the list of eleven Rudras.[5] Viṣṇu's three incarnations—Matsya,[6] Kūrma[7] and Varāha[8]—are mentioned in the Nīlamata and two other incarnations presenting a mixture of theriomorphism and anthropomorphism, namely, Aśvaśīrṣa[9] and Narasiṃha[10] are also described in detail. Śiva is also stated to have assumed the form of a swan[11] and we are informed that Dharma, assumed the form of Śiva's bull.[12]

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1. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I. p. 91.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1075, 1087-89, 1212.
3. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 39-67. Teste. Keith. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 61.
4. *R.V.*, VI. 50.14; VII. 38.5; X. 60.11; X. 64.4; X. 66.11.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 609-10.
6. Supra, pp. 143-44.
7. Supra, p. 144.
8. Supra, p. 145.
9. Supra, p. 146.
10. Supra, pp. 147-48.
11. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1068, 1094.
12. Ibid., v. 1090.

(V) *Animism and Animatism*

Animatism is the belief which "endows inanimate and material objects with quasi-human consciousness and emotions and sometimes with a superhuman power and volition which suggest worship."[1] Animatism at a higher state becomes animism. The Nīlamata indicates the existence of such a belief. The rivers, the lakes, the mountains and the numerous sacred places are regarded as destroyers of sins.[2] The earth, the water, the sky, the fire, the air, the sun, the moon, the stars, the planets, the day, the month, the year, all are invoked like divinities.[3] Even the weapons, the mount, the seat, the umbrella, the flag and the musical instrument are mentioned as objects of worship.[4] Almost half of the Purāṇa deals with the worship of inanimate objects endowed with spirit or soul.

(VI) *Pantheism*

The idea that the whole world is God or a manifestation of God is also present in the Nīlamata. The whole earth is a form of the goddess Satī.[5] The earth, the water, the air, the sky, the fire, the sun, the moon, and the sacrificer, all are regarded as the eight forms of Śiva.[6]

(VII) *Monism*

The doctrine of monism, according to which there exists only a single principle from which everything is evolved, is also found in the Nīlamata. Brahmā in the Nīlamata seems to have been identified with Brahma of the Upaniṣads, for he is recognized as the only element in the

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1. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 65.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 84, 85, 89, 103, 104, 106, 110-11 etc.
3. Ibid., vv. 567, 573-75, 595.
4. Ibid., vv. 623-24.
5. Ibid., v. 43.
6. यजमानो मही खं च तोयाग्नीन्द्ववर्कवायवः ॥
   तनवस्ते विनिर्दिष्टा याभिर्व्याप्तं जगत्त्रयम् ।
   Ibid., vv. 1086-87.

universe except whom there exists nothing.[1] He is the knower and the thing to be known, the body and the soul, the meditator, the object of meditation and the meditation itself.[2] He is also of unknown birth.[3] In the eulogy of Nīla, there is a reference to Brahma in the Upaniṣadic style. This Brahma is indivisible, imperishable and the highest.[4] Due to its minuteness it is called Ether.[5] The statement that it is minute as well as great, uncreated as well as possessed of limbs[6] reminds one of similar statements found in the Kaṭha and the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads.[7] Of course, the Nīlamata does not give us clear-cut monism; it has just paved the way for the Monistic Śaiva philosophy of Kaśmīra.

IV. Eschatology

The information supplied by the Nīlamata about life after death is very meagre. The belief in transmigration is present.[8] Reference is made to the state of happiness

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1. त्वत्तोऽन्यं नैव पश्यामि जगत्यस्मिन् हि कारणम् ।
त्वया सर्वमिदं व्याप्तं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ॥
Nīlamata, v. 1074.

2. ज्ञाता ज्ञेयं तथा क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रज्ञः परमेश्वरः ।
ध्याता ध्येयं तथा ध्यानं यज्ञानि विविधानि च ॥
Ibid., v. 1081.

3. ···ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तयोनितः ॥ Ibid., v. 137.

4. ···ब्रह्म निष्कलं·· परम्···तस्याक्षरस्य च ॥ Ibid., vv. 348-49.

5. ···सूक्ष्मतो व्योमनिर्दिष्टम् ॥ Loc. Cit.

6. ···अतिसूक्ष्मस्य···पृथोः । ···सर्वगात्रैरकृत्रिमम् ॥
Loc. Cit.

7. *Kaṭha Up.*, I. 2. 20
अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयानात्मास्य जन्तोर्निहितो गुहायाम् ॥
Śveta. Up., III. 20.

सर्वतः पाणिपादं तत्··· ।
III. 16.

अपाणिपादो··· ।
III. 19.

8. स्मरस्व पूर्वकं जन्म··· ।
Nīlamata, v. 1106.

and the state of misery in future life as reward and punishment of some actions.[1] Heaven as the reward of various good actions is mentioned many a time and there is also reference to the dreadful sufferings obtainable in the hells.[2] It deserves to be noted that unlike most of the Purāṇas which give lengthy lists of hells, the Nīlamata refers to twenty one Narakas only and agrees in this respect with Manusmṛti.[3]

Besides the heaven called Svarloka, Svargaloka, Diva, Tridiva and Devaloka,[4] there is mention of other worlds of Viṣṇu, Brahma, Rudra, Varuṇa, Śakra, Kumāra, Vahni, Nāga and Candra.[5] This belief in the worlds of personal gods is as old as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which states that the performer of some particular sacrifices goes to the world of the god in question and is united with him.[6]

The conception of salvation is also referred to in a few verses though there is no detailed information about its nature.[7]

V. Ritualism and Bhakti Cult

Ritual—the material expression of the religious thoughts

1. ···विशुद्धपाया यास्यन्ति सद्गतिं परमेश्वरः ।
···सद्गतिभागिनः ॥

Nīlamata, (R.L.) vv. 1321, 1326.

न दुर्गतिमवाप्नोति··· ॥ v. 1310.

2. यामीं तु यातनां घोरां··· ।

Ibid., v. 310.

पापानां नरके घोरे पततां दुष्कृतात्मनाम् । v. 1382.

3. त्रिसप्तनारकं वर्ज्य नृणां शमयसेऽद्रिजे ॥

Ibid., v. 308.

Manusmṛti, IV. 88-90; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*; III. 222-24. *Agni Pu.*, 371. 20-23 mention twenty one Narakas. *Agni Pu.*, 203 and 371 refer to 144 Narakas. *Brahmavaivarta Pu.*, Prakṛtikhaṇḍa, Ch. 29th mentions 86 Narakas; *Padma Pu.*, Uttarakhaṇḍa, Ch. 227 refers to 140 Narakas. *Bhāgavata Pu.*, V. 26. 7. refers to 28 Narakas; *Brahma Pu.*, 215.83 and *Viṣṇudharmottara* say that there are lacs and crores of Narakas.

नरकानां सहस्रेषु लक्षकोटिशतेषु च ।

4. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1262; 676, 1000; 1232; 1229; 868; 1283; 1299.
5. Ibid., vv. 646, 1337; 681; 514; 1016; 1005; 1299; 995; 1283;, 1350; 1009.
6. *Ś.B.*, II., IV. 4. 8; XI IV. 4.2; VI. 2.2.
7. *Nīlamata*, vv. 311, 342, 347, 1363.

intellectually held and emotionally felt—plays an important role in religion. This outward expression may consist in performing the sacrifices, worshipping the images of the gods, visiting the sacred places, undergoing austerities and muttering the names of the gods. The ritual in the early Vedic age consisted of simple prayer accompanied by simple sacrificial offerings to the gods who were just like near relatives to the worshipper.[1] Then followed the complicated sacrificial system of the Brāhmaṇas in which the sacrifice attained the supremacy and became a net to capture the gods. How this supremacy was challenged and how the sacrificial cult gave way to other religious practices has been shown in the preceding chapter dealing with festivals and religious practices.[2]

As regards the cult of Bhakti,[3] the Nīlamata introduces personal deities who are always ready to help their worshippers. The devotee surrenders himself wholly to the hands of God Who destroys his sufferings.[4] Vāsuki, Kaśyapa, Nīla, Paraśurāma, all approach Viṣṇu as humble devotees and get the fulfilment of their desires.[5] Śiva himself goes to Kālodaka lake to endow Nandī with a boon.[6] The Nāga deity Nīla is described as compassionate for the devotees and performer of their deeds.[7] The only condition is that the worshipper must approach the deity with true devotion and

1. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I. pp. 107-8.
2. Supra. pp. 212-14.
3. The contention of some scholars that the conception of devotion is the gift of Christianity to Indian Philosophy has nothing to prove its validity, vide Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I. pp. 499 ff.
   Ray Chaudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 139-40.
4. Viṣṇu is described as भक्तवरप्रद, सत्पथदर्शन, *Nīlamata*, v. 61.
   He is described as प्रणतार्त्तिविनाशन, v. 1261.
   Verse. 63 describes devotees' self surrender प्रपन्नोऽस्मि ।
5. Ibid., vv. 59 ff, vv. 143 ff, vv. 1202 ff.
6. Ibid., vv. 1051 ff.
7. भक्तानुकम्पी Ibid., v. 355.
   भक्तस्य कार्याणि च साधयानः ॥ v. 343.

feeling of submission.[1] One thing notable is that the devotion in the Nīlamata does not contain the erotic element.

VI. Ethics

Four ends of man's life viz. Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa are not mentioned together in the Nīlamata, but the stray references go to prove that a synthetic attitude towards all these was appreciated. Dharma, we are informed, becomes more efficacious when it is accompanied by Artha.[2] A joint reference to Mumukṣus and Kāmīs in another verse indicates that Kāma and Mokṣa both were regarded equally important.[3] Viṣṇu himself has been invoked as Kāmarūpa.[4] Probably it was as a reaction to Buddhist tendency of laying the whole stress on Nirvāṇa that the Purāṇas put forth this Bhukti-Mukti Dharma. Other good principles of life mentioned in the Nīlamata are truthfulness, forgiveness, knowledge, bravery, humility, good nature and performance of one's duties.[5] The terms used for sin are kilviṣa, kalmaṣa, duṣkṛta, agha, pātaka and pāpa.[6] The sins are stated to be washed away by taking bath in the holy rivers

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1. तमादिदेवं प्रणतोऽस्मि भक्त्या।
Nīlamata, v. 63.
...रक्ष मामादिदेव ॥
v. 64.
प्राञ्जलिर्देवदेवेशमुवाच कृपणो ह्यहम् ।
v. 1065.
...प्रणतोऽस्मि महेश्वर ॥
v. 1096.

2. धर्मं यथा स्याद् द्रविणेन युक्तम् ।
Ibid., v. 292.

3. ध्येयं वहन्तौ मुमुक्षूणां कामिनां चार्थसाधनम् ॥
Ibid., v. 347.

4. क्षीरोदकन्यादयित कामरूप नमोस्तु ते ॥
Ibid., v. 1215.

5. Ibid., vv. 291, 292, 311, 353.

6. Ibid., vv. 1228, 1234, 1252, 1274; 1232; 1382; 1216; 1198; 264, 265.

but in one verse it is declared that the Great sins[1] cannot be destroyed without performing prāyaścittas.[2]

VII. The philosophy of the Nīlamata in comparison with the Monistic Śaiva philosophy of Kaśmīra and the Pañcarātra philosophy

Let us now discuss the influences, the philosophy of the Nīlamata has received from or given to any of the philosophical systems of India. Attempt has been made to trace the Monistic Śaiva philosophy of Kaśmīra known as Pratyabhijñā to some verses of Nīlamata.[3] According to the Pratyabhijñā philosophy, there is only one existence self called Parā Saṃvit, Parameśvara, Śiva and Parama Śiva which is the Experiencer itself and assumes the form of the experienced.[4] Possessed of two aspects—the transcendental called Śiva and the immanent called Śakti—it is beyond all Universal Manifestations in the transcendental aspect and pervades the universe in the immanent aspect. While giving birth to and pervading the universe in the aspect as Śakti, Śiva remains still the ever transcendent Caitanya unaffected by the manifestation of the universe.[5] This process of manifestation known as Ābhāsa or "Shining out" is distinguished from the Vedāntī's doctrine Vivarta in the respect that while the latter takes the appearances as merely names

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1. Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, 1. 19-23 mentions the following five Great sins :

   पंचमहापातकान्याचक्षते । गुरुतल्पं सुरापानं भ्रूणहत्या ब्राह्मणसुवर्णापहरणं पतितसंयोगश्च ।

   teste. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV. p. 13.

   मुक्तपंचकम् *Nīlamata*, v. 1360.

2. महापातकिनां मोक्षः प्रायश्चित्तैर्विना कुतः ॥

   Nīlamata, v. 491

3. Kalla Lacchmidhar, *The Birthplace of Kalidasa*, p. 27.

4. इह हि सर्वत्र अप्रतिहतशक्तिः परमेश्वर एव तथा बुभूषुस्तथा भवति न तु अन्यः कश्चित् परमार्थतः अस्ति इति असकृदुक्तम् ॥

   Abhinava Gupta, *Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī*, I. 1.7.

5. Chatterjee, J.C., *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 42-45.

and forms and considers them unreal as they do not exist in the Supreme Reality, the former regards them as real in the sense that they are aspects of the Ultimate Reality Śakti which is a form of Parama Śiva..[1] The principle bringing about the limited process, according to the Pratyabhijñā philosophy, is Māyā which imposes limitations on what is really unlimited and "makes one realize a separation between himself as the Experiencer and the objects which are experienced and thus serves as the cause of experiencing a plurality where there is really none".[2] Another mentionable thing in the Pratyabhijñā philosophy is the doctrine of recognition. Śiva, in his immanent limited aspect i.e. Jīva, forgets the transcending power which belongs to him.[3] It is the recognition of this power and the subsequent disappearance of plurality which the Pratyabhijñā philosophy aims at.

Lacchmidhar Kalla, however, traces all these tenets to the Nīlamata and asserts "whatever may be the original form of Śaivism in Kaśmīra, it cannot be denied that in very early centuries Monistic Śaivism had found its home in Kaśmīra, for the tradition—āgama—of Monistic Śaivism, representing the Pratyabhijña doctrine, is already existent in the Nīlamata which in its present form is assigned the date 6th or 7th century A.D., at any rate earlier than the revival of Vedāntism by the great Śaṅkara".[4] Basing his conclusions on the eulogies of Śiva uttered by Brahmā and Indra,[5] he traces the process of the manifestation of the universe in the statement that Śiva as the only Supreme Reality, cause of all causes, creates the universe by his free will or icchā. It is his own Śakti-creeper—a reflection of Śiva himself—which manifests herself as the universe.[6] Śiva's identification with

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1. Chatterje, J,C.. *Kashmir* Shaivism, pp. 54-55.
2. Ibid., p. 76.
3. Ibid., pp. 50 ff.
4. Kalla, Lacchmidhar, Op. Cit., p. 27.
5. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1083-1096. Also Appendix vv. 1243-1253.
6. मा मा शक्र वदीरेवमविज्ञातोऽसि पुत्रक ॥
   एष सर्वेश्वरः शक्र एष कारणकारणम् ।
   एष चाचिन्त्यमहिमा एष ब्रह्म सनातनम् ॥

the universe and the assertion that he is still unchanging are further taken to indicate the same process.[1] The doctrine of recognition is traced to Śiva's non-recognition and his subsequent recognition by Indra.[2] The term Śāsana occurring in verse 1247 is regarded as suggestive of the existence of ancient treatises known as Śiva Śāsana.[3]

The theory seems to be plausible no doubt, but the difficulty is about the comparative chronology of the verses on which Mr. Kalla has based his arguments. The following discussion shows that most of these verses did not originally belong to the Nīlamata and were added to it later on.

The vv. 1243b-53a of the appendix (corresponding to vv. 1270-79 of Lahore edition) are found only in the MSS. of the long redaction which has suffered from various alterations, emendations and additions at the hands of Pandit Sahib Ram.[4] Of course, all the verses found in the MSS. of the long

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स एष सर्वकर्ता च सर्वज्ञश्च महेश्वरः ।
यदिच्छया जगदिदं वर्वर्ति सचराचरम् ॥
यस्य शक्तिलता सेयं सूर्यचन्द्रात्मना प्रभोः ।
पुष्पिताखिलमेवेदं जगद् भासयते भरात् (भवात्) ॥
Nīlamata, Appendix vv. 1243-46.

1. नमस्ते देव देवेश मायावृतजगत्त्रय ।
यजमानो मही खं च तोयाग्नीन्द्रर्कवायवः ॥
तनवस्ते विनिर्दिष्टा याभिर्व्याप्तं जगत्त्रयम् ।
ब्राह्मीं तनुं तथास्थाय राजसीं त्वं जगद्गुरो ॥
लोकान् सृजसि भूतात्मंस्तवकार्यं न विद्यते ।
Nīlamata, vv. 1086-88

2. क्षमस्व मम देव देवेश यन्मयासि न पूजितः ।
तवैव मायया पूर्वं मोहितेन जगत्प्रभो ॥
प्रसन्नोऽसि ध्रुवं शम्भो येन ज्ञातोऽसि वै मया ।
सुप्रसादोऽसि देवेश प्रणतोऽस्मि महेश्वर ॥
Ibid., vv. 1095-96

3, त्वमहं चापि यस्यैव शासने समवस्थितौ ।
Ibid., Appendix. v. 1247.

4. Bühler, *Report*, p. 33.

redaction and missing in those of the short one are not necessarily the interpolations made by Pandit Sahib Ram. There is a possibility that he restored certain verses by collating a number of MSS. defective in different places. There is a further possibility that like most of the other Purāṇas which have been re-edited at different times with the rejection or modification of some of their older portions and the addition of some new ones,[1] the Nīlamata, too, (of course not all MSS.) might have been revised to enable it to keep pace with the changes in the society. Anyway, the absence of these verses in the MSS. of the short redaction has made their case doubtful and it is necessary to consider on other grounds also as to whether these belonged originally to the Nīlamata or not.

From the point of view of their contents, the vv. 1243a-53b of the appendix do not accord well with the spirit of the work. Śiva is described here as all in all and even Viṣṇu and Brahmā are stated to have failed in knowing his true essence. Nowhere in the rest of the Nīlamata, Śiva is given such a high status. In verses 148 and 171 we find him following Viṣṇu and helping him (Viṣṇu) in his fight with Jalodbhava. It is Viṣṇu who is praised and worshipped by the Nāgas—Nīla and Vāsuki.[2] There occurs the description of many festivals in honour of Viṣṇu and his incarnations in contrast to that of one only in honour of Śiva.[3] All this shows the high status of Viṣṇu throughout the work, which in its turn indicates the later character of the verses 1243a-53b of the appendix.

One more piece of evidence is provided by the verse 1083 which occurs in both the redactions with a slight variation in the reading. The short redaction has Brahmā's statement "एषा तनुर्द्वितीया मे शार्वी परमपावनी" and the long redaction gives "एषासौ परमा मूर्तिः शार्वी परमपावनी." The change in the reading was evidently made at the time of the addition

1. Hazra, R.C., *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 6-7.
2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 59 ff, 355.
3. Cf. Preceding Ch.

of new verses because Brahmā's statement that Śiva was his second form became contradictory to his another statement that his body was only a kalā of Śiva.[1]

As regards the verses which occur in the short redaction and have been interpreted by Kalla in the light of Pratyabhijñā philosophy, it may be said safely that the interpretation is an imposing on them. The mention of Śiva's eight forms is not peculiar to the Nīlamata[2] and expressions like that of Indra do occur often in the Purāṇas when the god in question appears in disguise and is not recognized by the devotee at first sight. Śiva, too, appears here in the form of a swan.[3] Moreover, interpreting this expression in the light of the Pratyabhijñā, we shall have to identify Indra with Śiva in Jīva state whose union with Sadāśiva must have followed the recognition, but there is no such indication in the Nīlamata.

So, it is clear that of the verses used by Kalla as the basis of his theory, some have been given an interpretation which they do not logically stand while others did not originally belong to the Nīlamata and were added to it after the emergence of

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1. यस्यैषा मे कला शक्र विभूतिः सर्गलक्षणा ।
स एष भगवान् शम्भुः सर्वलोकमहेश्वरः ॥
अस्येयं मे तनुः शक्र कलामात्रं विभोर्मता ।
Nīlamata, Appendix vv. 1249-50.

2. *Nīlamata*, vv. 1086-87; Supra, p. 223 f.n. 6.
Cf. *Viṣṇu Pu.*, 1.8.8, *Mārkaṇḍeya, Pu.*, 52.9.
Kālidāsa, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, I. 1.
Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, Ucchvāsa I.
The popularity of this concept of eight bodies of Śiva is proved further by its mention in the inscriptions found in Cambodia, Campa, Indonesia and Bali. A Cambodian inscription dated 7th century A.D. has
जयत् इन्दुरविव्योमवायुवात्मक्ष्माजलानलैः ।
तनोति तनुभिश्शम्भुर्यो ऽष्टाभिरखिलं जगत् ॥
teste. Kamaleshwar Bhattacharya in "The Aṣṭamūrti Concept of Śiva in India, Indochina and Indonesia". *I.H.Q.* xxix (1953) pp. 233-41.

3. हंसरूपधरं दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्मा देवं महेश्वरम् ।
Nīlamata, v. 1071.

the Pratyabhijñā philosophy in order to make the Purāṇa contain that philosophy also. This revision must have been made after circa 9th century A.D. We have one more instance of a similar revision near about that time. The Ādhāra Kārikās, on which Abhinava Gupta's Paramārtha Sāra is based and which, prior to Abhinava Gupta's treatise, were known by the name Paramārtha Sāra, contain the Purāṇic type of the Sāṅkhya philosophy but Abhinava Gupta made a few alterations here and there and explained the essence of the Ādhāra Kārikās according to the Śaiva Philosophic system.[1]

It is, therefore, untenable to trace in the Nīlamata, the full fledged principles of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy.

Coming to the Pañcarātra system of philosophy, we find that though the Nīlamata refers to the mode of the worship of images as prescribed in the Pañcarātra,[2] still it says nothing about its philosophical theories of pure, intermediate and low creations. The names Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha occur in the list of the Nāgas but they are nowhere mentioned as Vyūhas.

VIII. Conclusion

The above study has made it clear that the Nīlamata, just like most of other Purāṇas, follows the spirit of the Epics in the field of philosophy. It mentions the elements of Sāṅkhya but does not accept its atheistic view and does not regard Puruṣa and Prakṛti as independent. Though preserving various lines of thought such as polytheism,

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1. Chatterjee, J.C., *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 10-14, f.n. 3 शिवदृष्टि-शासनयोगेन। Pandey, K.C., *Abhinava Gupta*, pp. 59-60.

Those verses of the Ādhāra Kārikās which presented no difference of principles with the Pratyabhijñā philosophy were retained by Abhinava without altering even a single letter (cf. e.g. v. 74th of Ādhāra Kārikās with 84th of the Paramārtha Sāra), others were changed a bit, while those which fundamentally differed from the Pratyabhijñā philosophy were altogether omitted. (e.g. v. 3rd of Ādhāra Kārikās.)

2. पंचरात्रविधानेन...। *Nīlamata*, v. 420.

henotheism, animism, pantheism, theriomorphism etc., it advances towards a belief in an infinite supreme being underlying and animating all finite existence and this must have helped the origin of the Monistic Śaiva Philosophy of Kaśmīra.

CHAPTER X

LITERARY VALUE OF THE NĪLAMATA

I. Language

The Nīlamata is the work neither of those scholars whose pedantry entrammels the language to make it follow the rigid rules of grammar, nor of such great poets whose poetic power makes the language a true vehicle of thoughts with every sound echoing the sense it carries. It is, on the other hand, presented in a language which is Purāṇic in the true sense for the looseness and crude simplicity. Grammatical errors of various types characterize this language.

Thus, as regards the verbal forms, the following points deserve notice:

Conjugation of verbs in wrong classes,[1] use of Active Voice for Passive Voice and vice versa,[2] use of Simple forms for Causal forms,[3] use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada,[4] ungrammatical formation of gerunds,[5] Present[6] and Potential[7] Participles, and other forms based on analogy.[8]

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1. उपासन्त, उपासन्ति change from अदादि to भ्वादिगण. *Nīlamata*, vv. 332-33

2. वसते for उष्यते Ibid., v. 226; तप्यते for तपते v. 1051.

3. प्राश्नीयात् for प्राशयेत Ibid., v. 790; आप्नोति for आपयति v. 1020.

4. विनश्यते for विनश्यति Ibid., v. 36; भवते for भवति v. 696; पश्येरन् for पश्येयुः v. 829; स्वपिषे for स्वपिषि v. 1076; प्रीयन्ति for प्रीयन्ते v. 675.

5. नमस्कृत्वा Ibid., v. 1084; गृह्य v. 1301.

6. चिन्तयानः Ibid., v. 64.

7. पीतव्यः Ibid., v. 465; आनीतव्यम् v. 854.

8. ददिम (1st sing.) on the analogy of दद्वः दद्मः (1st duel, plu.) Ibid., v. 1140.

Regarding the substantives, the change of gender[1] and the use of wrong cases[2] are common. Some of the compounds also ignore the rules of grammar.[3]

The construction of the sentences is also faulty at some places. For example in vv. 291-93, the writer starts with the subject Vaitastamambhaḥ but forgets it in the half way of his expression and thrusts in v. 293 the pronoun sā. Irregular Sandhi for the sake of metre occurs in vv. 131, 141, 442.

II. Figures of speech

The complicated figures of speech are not found but there occur a few examples of simile, metaphor and contrast. These, too, are not necessarily a means of adorning the language. Many of them are used for adding strength to a feeling, for making an abstract idea clear and for 'bringing the unknown within the sphere of the known."[4]

The similes are mostly drawn from the phenomena of nature. The sun,[5] the moon,[6] the sky,[7] the cloud,[8] the

1. विषयं for विषयः *Nilamata*, v. 13; देशं for देशः vv. 29, 44, 138; आचाराणि for आचाराः v. 373; निर्बन्धं for निर्बन्धः v. 130; आतङ्कं for आतङ्कः v. 877; परीवारं for परिवारः v. 947; यज्ञानि for यज्ञाः v. 1081; द्राक्षावाटं for द्राक्षावाटः v. 797; मार्गं for मार्गः v. 811.

2. Locative with कथ् and दा vv. 368, 442.

Genitive and Accusative with वस् (no prefix), vv. 344, 370. Use of Accusative for Genitive (v. 960) and of Nominative for Accusative (v. 1271).

3. अकुतोभयम् Ibid., v. 68, a compound used adjectively with adverb as its 1st member.

नागराज्ञा v. 143. न् of राजन् at the end of तत्पुरुष should have been dropped.

हस्त्यश्वैः v. 366. It should have been a समाहारद्वन्द.

4. Gonda, J., *Remarks on Similes in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 11.

5. मुकुटेनार्कवर्णेन··· ॥ *Nīlamata*, v. 334.
Cf. also vv. 340, 343, 1204, 1384.

6. चन्द्ररश्मिनिकाशेन चीनांशुकेन··· । Ibid., v. 335.
Cf. also vv. 116, 167, 247, 1396.

7. आकाशमिव गम्भीरं··· । Ibid., v. 45. Cf. also vv. 66, 346.

8. नीलमेघचयप्रख्य··· ॥ Ibid., v. 339.

lightening,[1] the mountain,[2] all serve as standards of comparison. Some of them are really appreciable. The simile describing Satīsara "as deep as the sky"[3] at once gives the idea of the unfathomable waters of that lake. Another simile comparing a river with "a hill of water"[4]—a metaphorical standard of comparison—brings to the eyes of the reader, a true picture of a hilly river rushing through the mountain gorge and dashing the rocks and stones impending its way. Comparison with lotus is made for its beauty,[5] with fire for its purifying power and lustre[6], and with snow for its whiteness.[7] Honey,[8] milk[9] and nectar[10] are also used for comparison.

Some of the similes, like the one comparing the released prisoners with animals set free from the slaughter-house[11] and the other comparing Kaśmīra with a temple due to the presence of tender ladies[12], are drawn from the common life of Kaśmīra. The miserable state of the old Brāhmaṇa Candradeva caught by the Piśācas is well depicted by a simile comparing him with a bird tied with a string and used as a play-thing by small boys.[13]

Mythology also serves as a source of some similes in the

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1. विद्युदुद्द्योतवर्णेन वाससैकेन शोभितम् । *Nīlamata*, v. 335.
2. ···कुटिलैस्तरंगैः । हिमाचलाभैर्गगनं स्पृशद्भिः ॥ Ibid., v. 169. Cf. v. 167.
3. Ibid.; v. 45, Supra, p. 7 f.n. 236.
4. ···तोयशैलोपमा नदी ॥ Ibid., v. 318.
5. Ibid., vv. 62, 71, 339, 1207, 1236.
6. Ibid., vv. 264, 343.
7. तुषारचयसंकाशं श्वेताम्बरविभूषितम् । Ibid., v. 1204.
8. Ibid., v. 275.
9. Ibid., v. 291.
10. Ibid., vv. 275, 1386.
11. Ibid., v. 827.
12. Ibid., v. 20.
13. Ibid., vv. 326-27.

Nīlamata.[1] Reference may be made to a garland of similes occurring in vv.291-93 comparing the waters of the Vitastā and the Sindhu mixed together with various tangible and abstract things.[2]

As compared with the similes, the metaphors are less in number and poor in quality. The identification of Kaśmīra with Umā and of various rivers with various goddesses has no literary beauty in it.[3] Metaphorical epithets like Nṛpapuṅgava and Bhujaṅgaśārdūla[4] are insignificant as they appear mostly for the sake of metre.

Vyatireka is found in v. 1373 wherein the Vitastā and the Gaṅgā are described as equal in all other aspects except the collection of bones of human beings which the Gaṅgā has in excess.

Virodhābhāsa may be recognized in v. 1215 which describes Viṣṇu as the minutest among the minute and the greatest among the great.

Indirect or direct etymological explanation of place-names is very common which may be regarded as a primitive type of Śleṣa.

Thus, *Prayāga* is *Ɣāgabahula* (teeming with sacrifices),[5] *Ɣamunā* is *Ɣamapāśaghnī* (the destroyer of the noose of Yama),[6] *Tauṣī* is *Toṣitabhāskarā* (the pleasure of the sun),[7] *Candrabhāgā* is *Chandrāṃśuśītalajalā* (whose water is cool like the rays of the moon) and *Candreṇa...vibhinnā* (torn forth by the god

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 7, 350, 357.
2. Ibid., vv. 291-93.
   "When the waters of the Vitastā and those of the Sindhu meet,
   It is just like the union of nectar and milk complete,
   Just as is beauty imbued with grace and knowledge with nature sweet,
   As is bravery blended with humility and piety joining wealth,
   As is the clean clay cleaned again and the love touching heart's depth,
   As is gem with gold, gain with glory and life endowed with health."
3. Ibid., vv. 12, 220, 228-33.
4. Ibid., vv. 12, 962.
5. Ibid., v. 84.
6. Ibid., v. 91.
7. Ibid., v. 116.

moon).[1] One becomes *viśoka* (griefless) by bathing in the *Viśokā*,[2] obtains *Vahniloka* (the world of fire) by bathing at *Agnitīrtha*,[3] gets the merit of performing *Puṇḍarīka* sacrifice by bathing at *Puṇḍarīka*,[4] becomes *kāmabhāg* (gets fulfilment of desires) by bathing at *Kāmatīrtha*,[5] becomes like a sage by bathing at *Ṛṣitīrtha*[6] and obtains the merit of bathing in the *Tilaprasthā* and of giving one *prastha* of *tila* (sesame) by bathing in the *Māhuri* (Tilaprasthā is a part of this river).[7]

Alliteration is so common as to provide 175 illustrations but in the majority of the cases it occurs just by chance and is unintentional. At some places, however, it performs the important task of binding together words, sentences, pādas and verses. Repetition of the same sound in the beginning of words which are syntactically related to one another points out their close relationship forcefully and quickly. Thus, alliteration, which is regarded as a mere Śabdālaṅkāra, plays some role in the sphere of meaning as it combines words as well as thoughts.[8]

The following examples show, through alliteration, the syntactical relationship of the verbs with some particular substantives in the sentences :

यस्मादयं जले जातस्तस्मादेष जलोद्भवः ॥ v. 77.
वरं वरय··· । v. 359. वरयामि वरं देव···· । v. 360.
पानं च पानपैः पेयं··· ॥ v. 452. योद्धुं याति·· । v. 659.

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1. *Nīlamata*, vv. 116, 1391.
2. Ibid., v. 1280.
3. Ibid., v. 1283.
4. Ibid., v. 1305.
5. Ibid., v. 1314.
6. Ibid., v. 1315.
7. Ibid., v. 1319, Supra, pp. 33-34.
8. Cf. Gonda's remarks on alliteration in A.V.
"Alliteration d. h. Widerholung eines Lautes oder mehrerer Laute am Anfang von aufeinanderfolgenden oder benachbarten Worten findet sich im A.V., von einer Anzahl Zufälliger und Gelegenheits bildungen, wie sie uberall begegnen konnen, abgesehen, vorzugsweise dort, wo sie syntaktische Verhalthisse unterstreicht",
A.O., Vol. XVIII. p. 53.

इरा नामाप्सराः पूर्वं शप्ता शक्रेण काश्यप । v. 668.

पुरस्कृत्य पुरोधसम्····· ॥ v. 823.

निर्याहि नगरादस्मात्···· ॥ v. 981.

Similarly, alliteration displays such relationship between substantives and substantives, adjectives and adjectives, substantives and adjectives, verbs and adverbs and so on :

विशोकां विजयेशं च वितस्तासिन्धुसंगमम् । v. 1056.

···दानं दीनजनस्य च ॥ v. 690.

सुवासाः स्वनुलिप्ताङ्गः सुचित्तः सुसमाहितः । v. 671.

परं पुराणं परमं सनातनम्··· ॥ v. 63.

यामीं तु यातनां घोरां··· । v. 310.

दिने दैवज्ञनिर्दिष्टे··· ॥ v. 539.

···भ्रमन् ययौ यत्र स नागराजः ॥ v. 328.

···स्नातव्यं सततं तया । v. 775.

III. Metre

Out of 1396 verses of the Nīlamata, 1357 are in Anuṣṭubh and 39 only in Triṣṭubh.[1] Anuṣṭubh called Śloka also is generally made of two hemistiches of 16 syllables each and Triṣṭubh of four quarters of 11 syllables each. A few Ślokas, however, have three hemistiches.[2] Hiatus between two pādas of a hemistich of Śloka is avoided generally by particles like hi, nu, tu etc.[3], but it exists in a few cases and seems to be a survival of that stage of Śloka metre when it used to have four pādas independent of one another.[4]

No restriction regarding heavy and light syllables is observed in the metres of the Nīlamata. The use of vocatives, adjectival epithets and particles is made often to meet the requirements of metre.[5]

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1. The verses having Triṣṭubh are : 60-65; 167-74; 187, 261-64; 275, 283, 291-93, 328, 341-46, 1388-93; 1395-96.
2. Ślokas of three hemistiches are : 28, 30, 66, 127, 137, 678, 691, 766, 775, 786, 957 etc.
3. बद्ध्वा व्रजति भूपाल ह्यविज्ञातां तदा गतिम् ॥
Nīlamata, v. 40.
4. यदा जाता इरा देवी इरापुष्पोपशोभिता ।
Ibid., v. 670.
5. Ibid., vv. 17, 28, 31, 34, 40, 58 etc.

IV Rhyme

In the majority of the verses, the hemistiches or the pādas are not connected by rhyme. In some, the rhyme appears as a simple repetition of the whole word and produces a poor effect only. A few verses, however, have rhyme within a pāda, e.g.

अन्तर्वत्नीं तस्य पत्नीं··· ।	v. 9.
विभुश्चापि प्रभुश्चापि··· ॥	v. 616.
विश्वाची च घृताची च··· ।	v. 641.
यथा माघे तथा ज्येष्ठे··· ॥	v. 778.

In some verses the pādas are connected by rhyme, in others the hemistiches, e.g.

सर्वोत्पातप्रशमनी कलिदुःस्वप्ननाशिनी ।
आयुःप्रदा पुष्टिकरी धनसौभाग्यवर्धिनी ॥ v. 634.

कृत्वा पुराणि ग्रामाणि तीर्थान्यायतनानि च ।
गृहाणि च विचित्राणि ह्युवास वसतिं जनः ॥ v. 370.

On the whole, it may be stated that despite a few redeeming features of poetic appeal, the Nīlamata does not impress one as a literary piece of high standard.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

The picture of ancient Kaśmīra presented by the study of the Nīlamata is not complete in itself; nevertheless it is significant for its value which is supplementary to that of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. While the Rājataraṅgiṇī acquaints us with kings, queens and ministers of Kaśmīra, the Nīlamata generally speaks of laymen in their homes, streets, gardens and temples. The life of the common people, the food and drink they took, the amusements they resorted to, the currents of religious thoughts they followed and the rites and ceremonies they performed throughout the year, are described therein.

The work, as has been pointed out in the introductory chapter, belongs to the 6th or the 7th century A.D. The flourishing period of Buddhism under the Kuṣāṇas had been over long ago and there was a gradual revival of Brahmanism and folk cults. A new discovery in connection with the date of the Nīlamata is the close relation of the Nīlamata with a Brahma Purāṇa quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru.

The work is rich in geographical data of Kaśmīra and shows familiarity of the people of Kaśmīra with other parts of India also.

About the inhabitants of ancient Kaśmīra, the Nīlamata has preserved highly valuable information. The original inhabitants of the valley were the Nāgas; then came the Piśācas and the Mānavas. I have interpreted the information about the Nāgas and the Piśācas, as gathered from other sources, in the light of the statements found in the Nīlamata and have proved their character as tribes.

Regarding social, economic and political life in Kaśmīra, the Nīlamata has brought to light a few interesting points. There existed four Varṇas and various subdivisions of the society. The Brāhmaṇas, specially those who were 'itihāsavidaḥ' and 'kālavidaḥ', were highly honoured but the Śūdras, too, were not considered degraded. The humane treatment meted out to the servants is a pleasent feature of social

organisation of Kaśmīra revealed by the Nīlamata. There was no feeling of disregard for the ladies and no check on their movements in the society. The people were fond of music, dancing, drama and other means of recreation which indicate their general prosperity depending on agriculture and trade. In the sphere of political thought, there existed a belief in the divinity of kingship along with the theory that law is superior to the king. The survival of a few republican elements is also indicated.

Concerning religious life, it is clear from the 7th chapter that the cults of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya, Durgā, Nāgas, Buddha etc. flourished side by side in the time of the Nīlamata. Vaiṣṇavism, no doubt, occupies a prominent place in this work but there is no indication of antagonistic attitude towards other cults. If the verses about Buddha's birthday-festival, as quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru (Niyatakālakāṇḍa) from a Brahma Purāṇa, belonged originally to the Nīlamata—and I take them to be so—the Nīlamata is the only Purāṇa enjoining upon the people the worship of Buddhist mendicants.

The Nīlamata has proved the popularity of the Nāga-cult in Kaśmīra. Being deeply rooted in the soil of India, this cult had to be adopted by the propagators of any religion, who aimed at attracting the Indian masses. The information supplied by the Nīlamata is more significant, for it shows not only other cults adopting the Nāga deities but also the Nāga-cult bringing the deities of other cults into its fold. Saṅkarṣaṇa Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Janārdana, Hari, Hara, Bhava, Mahādeva, Śambhu, Kapālī, Guha, Kumāra, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, all appear in the Nāga list of the Nīlamata.

The Nīlamata describes also various fasts and feasts which give further insight into the religious life of Kaśmīra. The salient points brought forth by their study are the prominence of Vaiṣṇava festivals, the replacement of complicated Śrauta sacrifices with simple Koṭihomas and Lakṣahomas, and the growing popularity of the cult of vrata, pūjā, japa, charity and pilgrimage to holy places.

In the field of philosophical thinking, the Nīlamata presents the same theistic Sāṅkhya which appears in the Epics and the other Purāṇas. Various theocratic tendencies

like polytheism, henotheism, monotheism, theriomorphism animism, pantheism and monism are found in the Nīlamata. Monotheism advancing towards monism is the most outstanding tendency, but it would be going too far to suggest that the Nīlamata contains the tenets of the Monistic Śaiva philosophy of Kaśmīra. As has been discussed towards the end of the 9th chapter, some of the verses used as the basis of this theory are later interpolations while others do not logically stand the interpretation imposed upon them.

From the literary point of view the Nīlamata ranks with other Purāṇas having simple language suffering from grammatical mistakes, and crude style with a few relieving features here and there. It is not a literary piece of high quality; nevertheless, it is significant for being the earliest literary record of Kaśmīra handed down to us.

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ERRATA

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1	last	Analogy	Anology
17	6	it	it that
23	7	goddess	godess
24	8	Mahā Himavanta	Maha Himvanta
24	25	Brahmā	Brahmanā
29	4	Rājataraṅgiṇī	Rājataraṇgiṅī
33	5	Śāradā	Śārada
61	last	पिशाचीमदहत्तां	पिशाचीमदहतां
62	fn. 4	दिवसे	दवसे
63	23	चैव	चव
65	16	बीभत्सं	वीभत्सं
66	5	Piśācas	Pisācān
97	2	Plains	Plain
121	17	the	thc
202	12	Gaṅgā	Gaṇgā
214	5	Upniṣads	Upnīṣads
229	21	Pratyabhijñā	Pratyabhijña



First Register : Three musicians
Second Register : Hunting scene
(Harwan) Kaśmīra

PLATE II

a



Caturmūrti Viṣṇu, Kaśmīra

b



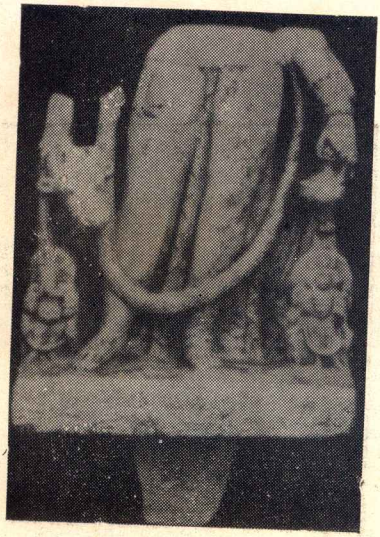
Viṣṇu with two lion-faces, Kaśmīra

c



Lakṣmī, Kaśmīra

a



Ardhanārīśvara Śiva, Kaśmira

b



Siddhārtha's birth, Kaśmīra

PLATE IV



Upper row : Gaṇeśa, Varuṇa, Śiva, Indra, Skanda
Second row : Vitaśtā, Gaṅgā, Viṣṇu, Yamunā, Sindhu
Third row : Vipāsā, ..., ..., Śatadru
(Salhi) Chamb.

LIST OF IMPORTANT ACADEMY PUBLICATIONS

Dogri

1. **Dogri Kahavat Kosh** (a selection of 1500 Dogri sayings and proverbs) Interpreted in Hindi by Tara Smailpuri vii Pp 204 Rs. 5.00 (1962)

2. **Ekottarashati** (101 selected poems of Rabindra Nath Tagore) Translated into Dogri verse by Kehar Singh Madhukar xxix Pp. 522 Rs. 8.00 1961.
3. **Dogri Lok Geet Vol. I** (Dogri folk songs) edited with footnotes by Nilamber Dev Sharma and Kehar Singh Madhukar, xi VIII Pp. 200. Rs. 6.00 (1966).
4. **Dogri Lok Geet Vol. II** (a collection of Dogri Folk songs) edited by N. D. Sharma and K. S. Madhukar xcii Pp. 140. Rs. 3.31.
5. **Dogri Lok Geet Vol. III** (A collection of Dogri Folk songs (with footnotes) edited by Prof. N. D. Sharma and by Shri K. S. Madhukar Pp. 179, Rs. 4.57
6. **Shresht Dogri Kahaniyaan** (a collection of outstanding Dogri short stories) edited by K. S. Madhukar Pp. 79, Rs. 1.90
7. **Dogri Mahavara Kosh**:—A collection of 6,000 idioms and phrases with their equivalents compiled by Shri Tara Smailpuri with foreword and Introduction. Pp. 552, Rs. 8.10
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9. **An Introduction to Dogri Folk Literature and Pahari Art** :—by Lakshmi Narain and Sansar Chand xi Pp. 170, Rs. 7.22 (1965)
10. **An Introduction to Modern Dogri Literature** by Nilamber Dev Sharma, xiii Pp. 213, Rs. 6.06 (1965)

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16. **Kaeshiry Luka Baeth Vol. II** (A collection of Kashmiri Folk Songs) by Shri Moti Lal Saqi Pp. 238, Rs. 4.10
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20. **Kashmiri Zaban Aur Shayiri Vol. II** (a survey of Kashmiri language and poetry by Abdul Ahad Azad). Edited by Mohd. Yusuf Teng. Pp. 489, Rs. 10.00 (1962)
21. **Kashmiri Zaban Aur Shayiri Vol. III** (a survey of Kashmiri language and poetry) by Abdul Ahad Azad Edited by Mohd. Yusuf Teng. Pp. 278, Rs. 5.52 (1963).

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