

# みんなのポジトリ

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## The Autumn Goddess Festival : Described in the Purānas

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## Chapter 2

### The Autumn Goddess Festival: Described in the Purāṇas

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#### 1. THE GODDESS FESTIVAL

During the first ten days of the bright half of the month of Āśvina in autumn, when the monsoons are past and the rice harvest has begun, a large-scale festival in honour of the goddess Durgā and other deities is held throughout India. This festival is known by a variety of names, including *Durgā-pūjā*, *Navarātra*, *Navarātri*, *Daśarā* and *Dasarī*.<sup>1)</sup> The aim of this article is to describe and analyze this festival as it is described, sometimes only briefly and sometimes in considerable detail, in the Purāṇas.<sup>2)</sup>

The Purāṇas to be treated of here are the eleven listed in Table 1.<sup>3)</sup> Since some of these Purāṇas describe this festival more than once, we have a total of twenty-six accounts, and these may be divided into five groups. Groups 1 and 2 describe only the worship of the goddess, and whereas Group 1 restricts the performance of the festival to the *aṣṭamī* or *navamī* of the bright half of the month of Āśvina (Table 2), Group 2 extends the period of the festival to the first nine days of the bright half of Āśvina and even earlier (Table 3). Group 3 adds to the worship of the goddess the honouring of young girls (Table 4). Group 4 is characterized by a ritual element called *śatrubali* by Hazra (1963: 9–10, 80–82), namely, the act of piercing a dough effigy of one's enemy with a sword (Table 5). Lastly, Group 5 is centred on the worship of weapons and the king's belongings (Table 6).<sup>4)</sup>

At the start of this article I mentioned a number of names by which this festival is known, but the only name among these to be found in the Purāṇas is *Navarātra* ([6], [7], [15], [16], [17]).<sup>5)</sup> *Bhaviṣya* ([26]) 4.138.114b refers to it as "the great festival of the goddess Durgā" (*durgādevyā mahotsava*), while *Skanda* ([22]) 7.1.83.59b calls it "the great festival of Yogeśvarī" (*yogeśvaryā mahotsava*). The colophon of the corresponding chapter in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* ([25]), meanwhile, calls this festival *Bhadrakālīpūjā*. The terms *mahāṣṭamī* ("great eighth day") in [1] and [5] and *mahānavamī* ("great ninth day") in [2], [3], [18], [19], [20], [23] and [26] are designations for the main day of the festival, but since ritual acts are also undertaken on other days in [5], [18], [19] and [26], it is possible that *mahāṣṭamī* and *mahānavamī* may refer to the festival as a whole.<sup>6)</sup> The name of the goddess worshipped at this festival also varies, as is reflected in the above references to Durgā, Yogeśvarī and Bhadrakālī. Therefore, in view of the fact that in the

Table 1. Purāṇas Describing the Goddess Festival.

<i>Agni Purāṇa</i>	185.3–15; 268.13cd–16ab
<i>Bhaviṣya Purāṇa</i>	4.138.1–115
<i>Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa</i>	2.64.1–65.12
<i>Brhaddharma Purāṇa</i>	1.22.17–34
<i>Devī Purāṇa</i>	22.4–24
<i>Devībhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	3.26–27; 5.34.12cd–31
<i>Garuḍa Purāṇa</i>	1.133.3–134.7
<i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i>	60.6–80; 61.14cd–30
<i>Nārada Purāṇa</i>	1.110.30–34; 117.76cd–78ab; 118.17cd–22
<i>Skanda Purāṇa</i>	1.2.47.77–82; 5.1.14.4; 18.4; 7.1.83.39–60
<i>Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa</i>	2.158.1–8

Purāṇas the name *Durgā-pūjā* is not yet to be found and in some cases the festival period was shorter than the nine days suggested by the designation *Navarātra*, here I shall refer to this festival as the “goddess festival.”<sup>7)</sup>

## 2. WORSHIP OF THE GODDESS

As regards the timing of this festival, only the *Devībhāgavata* ([7], [17]) among our texts specifies the bright halves of the months of Āśvina and Caitra,<sup>8)</sup> and all the other texts specify only the bright half of Āśvina.<sup>9)</sup> As is indicated in Table 2, the simplest descriptions of this festival prescribe worship of the goddess on either the *aṣṭamī* ([1]), *navamī* ([2], [3]), or both *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* ([4], [5]) of Āśvina. But in the other groups of texts too, [20], dealing with the *śatrubali*, and [23], [24] and [25], centred on the worship of weapons and so forth, allude only to the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī*, while [7], [16] and [17] state that it suffices to worship the goddess primarily on these two days in cases when the *Navarātra* cannot be performed, thus pointing to the importance of the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī*. The importance of these two days can also be inferred from the days on which animal sacrifices (*bali*)<sup>10)</sup> are performed. In Group 1, describing the simplest form of goddess worship, [1] mentions only “every attendance (*upacāraka*)” and does not specifically refer to *bali*,<sup>11)</sup> but animal sacrifice is alluded to in the four other accounts. The days designated for the performance of animal sacrifices in all five groups of texts are given in Table 7, and it will be seen that apart from three instances vaguely specifying the *Navarātra* and two instances also including the *saptamī*, all texts prescribe the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī*. There is other evidence of the close relationship between the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* and the goddess Durgā. Several Purāṇic texts assign different deities to each of the fifteen *tithis*,<sup>12)</sup> and the deities presiding over the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* are listed in Table 8. With the exception of the *Brhatsaṃhitā*, which is not a Purāṇa, all the texts in question assign Durgā to either the *aṣṭamī* or *navamī*. I do not know why these two days and Durgā should be so closely interconnected, but although the

Table 2. I. Worship of Goddess (1): Centred on Rites of *Aṣṭamī* and *Navamī*.

[1] <i>Nārada Purāṇa</i>	[2] <i>Skanda Purāṇa</i>	[3] <i>Skanda Purāṇa</i>	[4] <i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i>	[5] <i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i>
1.117.76cd– 78ab	5.1.14.4	5.1.18.14	60.22–25ab	61.14cd–30
<i>Mahāṣṭamī</i> 76d Āśvina: bright half 76c	<i>Mahānavamī</i> 4a	<i>Mahānavamī</i> 4a	Sun in Virgo 23c	<i>Mahāṣṭamī</i> 16c, 17c
<i>Aṣṭamī</i> Worship of Durgā: with all attendances 77ab  Fasting: one meal daily 77cd			<i>Aṣṭamī</i> Large <i>pūjā</i> at night 23cd	<i>Aṣṭamī</i> Worship of goddess: blood, great meat <sup>1</sup> , <i>bali</i> , <i>sindūra</i> , silk garments, unguents, flowers, fruit 14cd–16ab  Fasting (except for householder with son) 16cd–17ab
	<i>Navamī</i> Worship of goddess: <i>bali</i> of goat or buffalo, wine, meat, <i>bilva</i> garland 4b–d	<i>Navamī</i> Worship of goddess: with buffalo or goat 4bc	<i>Navamī</i> <i>Bali</i> , recitation, oblations to sacrificial fire, worship with 8 kinds of flowers 24–25ab	<i>Navamī</i> Worship with <i>bali</i> 17d  <i>Daśamī</i> Dismissal with <i>śābarotsava</i> <sup>2</sup> 18b–23ab

<sup>1</sup> On "great meat" (*mahāmāṃsa*), see *PW*, s.v. *mahāmāṃsa*.<sup>2</sup> On *śābarotsava*, see n. 15.

reasons remain unclear, the following facts may be ascertained. There existed, namely, a group of goddesses possessing certain common characteristics and typified by Durgā.<sup>13)</sup> Among the fifteen *tithis*, these goddesses were assigned to the *aṣṭamī* or *navamī*, and a large-scale religious service, including animal sacrifice, was performed on these two days in the bright half of Āśvina in particular.<sup>14)</sup> This came to form at least part of the core of the goddess festival here under consideration, and from this core it expanded in several directions.

Table 3. I. Worship of Goddess (2): Period of Rites Becomes Longer.

[6] <i>Skanda Purāṇa</i> 21.2.47.77-82	[7] <i>Devībhāgavata</i> <i>Purāṇa</i> 5.34.12cd-16	[8] <i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i> 60.25cd-32	[9] <i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i> 60.55-80
<i>Navarātra</i> 78b	<i>Navarātra</i> 12c	[Battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa]	[Slaying of Mahiṣāsura: 55-77]
Āśvina (bright half ) 78a	Bright half of Āśvina and Caitra 13ab		
Worship of 9 Durgās: <i>bali</i> , <i>pūpaka</i> , offerings, <i>tarpaṇa</i> , incense, unguents 77a, 79ab	9-day fast 13cd Oblations to sacrificial fire (with <i>mantras</i> ): sugar, ghee, milk gruel with honey, goat's meat, flower of red <i>hayāri</i> ( <i>Nerium</i> <i>odorum</i> ), sesame sprinkled with sugar; oblations by means of <i>bilva</i> leaves 14-15	Āśvina: bright half First Day Goddess awoken by Brahmā at night; goes to Laṅkā 25cd-27ab	Āśvina: dark half  <i>Caturdaśī</i> Awakening of goddess 78
Fasting or one meal daily 78c	In particular, worship of goddess and feeding of Brahmans on <i>aṣṭamī</i> , <i>navamī</i> and <i>caturdaśī</i> 16	<i>Dvitiyā</i> Battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa; while in hiding, she eats flesh and blood of Rakṣases and monkeys 27cd-29ab Goddess watches battle game and is worshipped by gods 30cd-31ab <i>Aṣṭamī</i>	Āśvina: bright half  <i>Saptamī</i> Goddess assumes form created from radiant energy of gods 79ac <i>Aṣṭamī</i> Adorned by gods 79d
		<i>Navamī</i> Causes Rāma to kill Rāvaṇa 29cd-30ab	<i>Navamī</i> Kills Mahiṣāsura 80ac
		<i>Daśamī</i> Dismissed with <i>sābarotsava</i> 32cd	<i>Daśamī</i> Dismissed by gods 80cd

**Table 3.** (Contd.) I. Worship of Goddess (2): Period of Rites Becomes Longer.

[10] <i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i> 60.12-16	[11] <i>Brhaddharma Purāṇa</i> 1.22.17-34	[12] <i>Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa</i> 2.64.1-65.93	[13] <i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i> 60.17-21
(Case of goddess with 16 arms) 12ab Sun in virgo 13a Dark half <i>Ekādaśī</i> 3-day fast 13bd	[Battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa: 20-25] <sup>2</sup> Dark half <i>Navamī</i> Awakening of goddess 17	Dark half <i>Navamī</i> Awakening of goddess 65.7a (cf. 62.2a, 3ab) <sup>1</sup>	(Case of goddess with 18 arms) 17ab Sun in Virgo 18a Dark half <i>Aṣṭamī</i> Worship of goddess by day 18ab Dark half <i>Navamī</i> Awakening of goddess 18cd
Dark half <i>Caturdaśī</i> awakening of goddess 14 Dark half <i>Pañcadaśī</i> Fasting until <i>navamī</i> 15 Āśvina: bright half	During the period goddess worshipped in <i>bilva</i> tree 26cd	(Bright half)	Āśvina: bright half <i>Caturthī</i> Goddess's hair loosened 19ab <i>Pañcamī</i> Goddess bathed early in the morning 19cd
<i>Ṣaṣṭhī</i> <sup>1</sup> Worship 16a	Āśvina: bright half		
<i>Saptamī</i> <sup>1</sup> Worship 16b	<i>Saptamī</i> Goddess carried into home and worshipped: <i>bali</i> , <i>pūjā</i> , all-night vigil 27	<i>Saptamī</i> Worship of goddess and <i>bali</i> 65.8ab	<i>Saptamī</i> <i>Pattrikā-pūjā</i> 20a
<i>Navamī</i> <sup>1</sup> Worship 16c	<i>Aṣṭamī</i> Same worship as on <i>saptamī</i> , fasting 27b, 28a	<i>Aṣṭamī</i> Worship without <i>bali</i> 65.8cd	<i>Aṣṭamī</i> Fasting, worship, all-night vigil 20bc
	<i>Navamī</i> <i>Bali</i> , worship of goddess and 10 million Yoginīs 28bd	<i>Navamī</i> <i>Bali</i> 65.9cd	<i>Navamī</i> <i>Bali</i> 20c
<i>Daśamī</i> <sup>1</sup> Dismissal 16d	(For 2 days no routine work, singing of obscene songs, honouring of Brahmins and women, oblations with <i>bilva</i> leaves) 30-34	<i>Daśamī</i> Dismissal 65.7d (cf. 65.2d, 5ab) <sup>1</sup>	<i>Daśamī</i> Dismissal <i>Nīrājana</i> <sup>4</sup> 21

<sup>1</sup> These days are indicated by the corresponding lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*).<sup>2</sup> On the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa described at 1.22.20-25, see n.19.<sup>3</sup> *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* 2.64.2ab-106cd gives detailed instructions on the methods of worship.<sup>4</sup> On *nīrājana*, see p. 21 ff.

Table 4. II. Goddess Festival with Honouring of Young Girls.

[14] <i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i> 60.6–11 <sup>1</sup>		[15] <i>Nārada Purāṇa</i> 1.110.30–34		[16] <i>Devībhāgavata Purāṇa</i> 5.34.22–31	
(Case of goddess with 10 arms)		<i>Navarātra</i>	30b	<i>Navarātravrata</i>	22b
Sun in Virgo	6a	Āśvina: bright half	27c	Āśvina: bright half	22a
Bright half	6b				
First Day				Preparation of <i>maṇḍala</i> and place of worship	23ab
Fasting, bathing in morning, recitation, oblations to sacrificial fire					
Honouring of girls	6c–7			Drawing of <i>yantra</i> <sup>2</sup> and installation of <i>kalāśa</i>	
<i>Śaṣṭhī</i>		Installation of <i>ghaṭa</i>	30d		23cd–24ab
Goddess awoken in branches and fruit of <i>bilva</i> tree	8ab	Germination of barley and wheat sprouts	31ab	Sowing of barley around <i>kalāśa</i>	24cd
<i>Saptamī</i>		Fasting	31cd–32ab	Garland and cover placed over <i>kalāśa</i>	25ab
Goddess worshipped after bringing home <i>bilva</i> branch	8cd			Incense burnt, lamps lit	25cd
<i>Aṣṭamī</i>		Worship of goddess	30c		
Worship of goddess	9ab	Recitation of 3 tales related in <i>Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa</i>		Worship performed thrice daily: incense, lamps, offerings, fruit, flowers, songs and music, recitation of hymns and Vedas	26–28ab
All-night vigil, <i>bali</i>	9cd		32cd–33ab		
<i>Navamī</i>					
<i>Bali</i>	10ab				
Meditation on and worship of goddess	10cd				
<i>Daśamī</i>					
Dismissal	11ab	Honouring of girls with food, etc.	33cd	Honouring of girls: sandal-wood paste, ornaments, garments, food, <i>sugandha</i> , sesame oil, garlands	28cd–29
Fasting: meal taken only at night	11d				
				Alternatively performed only on <i>aṣṭamī</i> or <i>navamī</i>	30cd
				Honouring of Brahmins	31a
				<i>Daśamī</i>	
				End of fasting, gifts given to Brahmins	31bd

<sup>1</sup> This section of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* probably belongs to the group of rites summarized in Table 3, but because of the reference to the honouring of girls I have included it here.

<sup>2</sup> Durgā's *yantra* is described at *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.50.73–84.

**Table 4.** (Contd.) II. Goddess Festival with Honouring of Young Girls.

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[16] <i>Devībhāgavata Purāṇa</i> 3.26–27	
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<i>Navarātravrata</i>	26.3b
Caitra and Āśvina: bright half	26.7c
Day of New Moon	
Preparations, fasting (one meal daily)	26.8
Preparation of <i>maṇḍapa</i>	26.9–11; invitation of Brahmins at night
First Day of Bright Fortnight	26.12
Bathing in the morning	26.13
Honouring of Brahmins and singling out for recitation of scriptures	26.14–17
Installation of image of goddess (with 4 or 18 arms)	26.18–20
<i>Yantra</i> <sup>2</sup> used when there is no image	26.21ab
Installation of <i>kalāśa</i> ; <i>pañcapallava</i> , water from holy site	26.21cd–22
Ritual implements placed beside image; songs and music	26.23
Restraint in behaviour, fasting	26.24cd–25
Sankalpa's <i>mantra</i>	26.26
Worship of goddess	26.27cd–31
Mention of <i>bilva</i> leaves among various offerings	
<i>Bali</i> : buffalo, goat, boar; performed by meat-eaters	26.32
Does not constitute taking of life if performed for <i>pūjā</i>	26.33–34
Preparation of hearth for making oblations	26.35
<i>Pūjā</i> performed thrice daily	26.36ab
<i>Mahotsava</i> consisting of songs, music and dance	26.36cd
Participants always sleep on ground	26.37ab
Honouring of young girls	
Garments, ornaments, food; number of girls	26.37b–40
Names of girls from 2 to 10 years of age	26.41–44ab
Benefits	26.44cd–51
Mantras to be used	26.52–61
Girls to be eschewed	27.1–3
Girls to be honoured	27.4–7
Cases when <i>Navarātra</i> cannot be performed	27.12–14
Performed (1) only on <i>aṣṭamī</i> , (2) on 3 days from <i>saptamī</i> to <i>navamī</i>	
Greatness of <i>Navarātra</i>	
Benefits, evil retribution when not performed	27.15–29
<i>Vratākathā</i> : a poor <i>vaiśya</i> of Kosala, having been instructed by a Brahman, performed it for 9 years and attained happiness; Rāma also rescued Sītā	27.30–57

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Table 5. III. Goddess Festival with Rite for Piercing Dough Effigy of Enemy.

[18] <i>Devī Purāṇa</i> 22.4–24		[19] <i>Garuḍa Purāṇa</i> 1.133.3–134.7	
Sun in Virgo	7a	<i>Mahānavamī</i>	133.3c
Bright fortnight (Āśvina)	7b	Āśvina: bright half	133.3a
From First Day of Bright Fortnight	7b	From <i>Ṣaṣṭhī</i>	
Fasting	7cd	Fasting, incantations, oblations to	
Bathing in morning	8a	sacrificial fire	133.2
Incantations, oblations to sacrificial fire,		Honouring of young girls	133.5
honouring of young girls thrice daily	8b–d	Worship of goddess, <i>mantras</i>	133.6–7
<i>Aṣṭamī</i>		<i>Aṣṭamī</i>	
Construction of goddess's shrines (9 or 1)	9	Construction of goddess's shrines (9 or 1)	133.8ab
Construction of goddess's image	10a–c	Durgā's images (9): gold or silver	
Used of sword or lance instead of image		Use of lance, sword, book, picture or	
	10d	<i>maṇḍala</i> instead of image	133.8cd–9ab
Construction of car for image, swing, altar		Central image has 18 arms, other 16 arms	
for <i>bali</i>		List of 18 weapons held in 18 hands	
Worship of goddess	12a–c		133.9cd–11
(Mention of <i>bilva</i> among offerings)		Names of 9 goddesses	133.12–13a
Fasting	12d	Colours, etc., of 9 goddesses	133.13b–14
Chanting of <i>mantras</i> in form of Durgā		Worship of sword and trident	133.15ab
	13ab	Worship of <i>liṅga</i> , its pedestal, or goddess in	
		water	133.15cd
		Worship of goddess	133.16a
		Fasting	133.16b
After Midnight		Nighttime	
(Buffalo) adorned and killed	13cd–14	Buffalo or goat killed	133.16c–17a
Blood and flesh offered to Putana, etc.,		Blood, etc., offered to Pūtanā (southwest),	
while chanting Mahakausika's <i>mantra</i>	15	Pāparākṣaṣī (northwest), Carakī	
		(northeast) and Vidārikā	
		(southeast)	133.17b–18
		Mahākauśika's <i>mantra</i>	134.1–2ab
		<i>Bali</i> offered to goddess	134.2cd
King bathes in front of slain animal	16a	King bathes in front of slain animal	134.3a
Enemy's effigy made with dough, pierced		Dough effigy of enemy pierced with sword	
with sword, and offered to Skanda and		and offered to Skanda and Viśākha	
Visakha	16b–d		134.3bd
Bathing of goddess	17ab	Worship of Mātṛs and Devīs	134.4ab–5ab
Worship of goddess	17cd–18	Bathing of goddess	134.5cd–6c
Honouring of goddess's devotees, girls,		Honouring of girls, women, Brahmans and	
women, Brahmans and heretics	19–20	heretics	134.6d–7ab
Worship of Matr̥s and Devis	21ab		
Flags, parasols, etc., raised on goddess's			
shrines	21cd		
Procession, giving of <i>bali</i>	22	Procession	134.7cd

**Table 5.** (Contd.) III. Goddess Festival with Rite for Piercing Dough Effigy of Enemy.

[20] <i>Agni Purāṇa</i> 185.3–15		[21] <i>Kālikā Purāṇa</i> 60.33–54	
<i>Mahānavamī</i>	3	<i>Nīrājana</i>	33b
		<i>Balanīrājana</i>	36c
Āśvina: bright half	2c	(Āśvina: bright half)	
		<i>Daśamī</i>	
		Dismissal of goddess	36
		Dancing, singing, frolicking, etc., by dressed-up women	44
		Worship of goddess	45–49
<i>Aṣṭamī</i>			
Goddess's shrines (9 or 1)	3cd		
Durgā has 18 arms, other 8 goddesses have 16 arms	4	Night, Dough effigies of Skanda-Viśākha made and worshipped	50
Names of 9 goddesses	5–6ab	Oblations to sacrificial fire: sesame, ghee, meat	51ab
<i>Mantras</i> for worship of goddesses	6cd–8	Worship of 8 Yoginīs (Ugracandā, etc.)	51cd
18 weapons held by goddess and their worship	9–10	Worship of 64 Yoginīs, 10 million Yoginīs, 9 Durgās, Jayantī, etc.	52–53ab
		Worship of weapons, ornaments and lion- mount of goddess as Mahiṣasuramardini	53cd–54
Killing of sacrificial animal	11		
Blood and flesh offered to Pūtanā (south- west), Pāparākṣasī (northwest), Carakī (northeast) and Vidārikā (southeast)	12–13a		
Mahākauśika to Agni (?)	13b		
King bathes in front of slain animal	13c		
Dough effigy of enemy destroyed (?) and offered to Skanda and Viśākha	13d–14a		
Worship of various goddesses	14b		
Bathing and worship of goddess	14cd–15cd		
Procession, <i>bali</i> , remuneration of Brahmans	15e		



**Table 6.** (Contd.) IV. Goddess Festival Centred on Worship of Weapons.

[25] <i>Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa</i> 2.158.1–8		[26] <i>Bhaviṣya Purāṇa</i> 4.138.1–115	
( <i>Bhadrakālīpūjā</i> )		<i>Mahānavamī</i>	12–13
Āśvina: bright half	1cd	Āśvina: bright half	12a
		From First Day to <i>Aṣṭamī</i>	
Shrine for Bhadrakālī erected in northeast part of encampment	2	<i>Lohābhīhārikakarman</i>	30d–31ab
		<i>Maṇḍapa</i> prepared	31cd–32ab
		Hearth built in southeast	32cd–33ab
		King's belongings and weapons installed in hut	33cd–34cd
		Offerings made to above	34cd–35ab
		Remains of offerings given to horses and elephants	37cd
		Horses and elephants adorned and paraded through town	38cd–39ab
		King bathes; worship of ancestral spirits and deities, worship of king's belongings; remains of offerings given to Brahmins	39cd–40
		List of <i>mantras</i>	42cd–83
		Parasol, horse, flag, elephant, ensign, sword, armour, drum, bow, conch, whisk, dagger, golden staff, throne	
<i>Aṣṭamī</i>		<i>Aṣṭamī</i>	
Bhadrakālī drawn on cloth and worshipped	3	Morning: above objects washed, king bathes	
Worship of weapons, armour, parasols, flags, all king's belongings	4	Image of Durgā made and worshipped by king; mention of <i>bilva</i> leaves among offerings	86–88
		Worship of sword	89
		Meditation on Durgā	90–91
Show staged	5	Hymn to Durgā	92–93
Night All-night vigil	6ab	Night All-night vigil; dance and song	95
<i>Navamī</i>		<i>Navamī</i>	
Goddess similarly worshipped	6cd–7	Day break: buffalo and sheep killed and offered; offering of wine; these distributed among participants	96–98
Procession	8ab	Afternoon: procession; <i>bali</i> offered to <i>bhūtas</i>	99–108

Table 7. Days for Performing Animal Sacrifices.

<i>Navarātra</i>	[6], [7], [18]
<i>Saptamī, aṣṭamī and navamī</i>	[11]
<i>Saptamī and navamī</i>	[12]
<i>Aṣṭamī and navamī</i>	[5]
Night of <i>aṣṭamī</i>	[19], [20], [21], [25]
Night of <i>aṣṭamī and navamī</i>	[14]
Morning of <i>navamī</i>	[23], [27]
<i>Navamī</i>	[2], [3], [4], [13], [24]

Let us now return to Table 2 and consider the directions in which the festival expanded. Text [5] mentions a rite of dismissal on the *daśamī*, marking the end of the festival. In the *Durgā-pūjā* performed today in Bengal and elsewhere, this rite of dismissal is conducted in grand style (TOGAWA 1991: 92–94), and it is generally known as *visarjana*. This *visarjana* constitutes one of the basic elements of deity worship (*pūjā*) common to all branches of Hinduism (KANE 1974a: 729; BÜHNEMANN 1988: 34), and it signifies the ritual action whereby the deities summoned to the site of worship at the start of a service are dismissed at the conclusion of the service with a *mantra* commanding them to return to their original abodes (BÜHNEMANN 1988: 200; EINO 1989: 404). Therefore, when it is stated in the directions for this goddess festival that the goddess is to be worshipped with various offerings, there is a possibility that this act of dismissal was also naturally intended as part of the ritual procedure. The rite of dismissal prescribed in [5] in Table 2 may be regarded as an inflation of the act of dismissal forming part of the original *pūjā*, for apart from [5] the texts referring expressly to this dismissal are limited to the *Kālikā* ([8], [9], [10], [13], [14]) and *Brahmavaivarta* ([12]), and it merits no special mention in the other Purāṇas. The texts other than [5] allude only cursorily to the dismissal of the deities on the tenth day, but [5] describes carnivalesque festivities called *sābarotsava*<sup>15)</sup> and, in addition to a *mantra* similar to that used in ordinary dismissals, also records a *mantra* suggestive of the act of plunging the deity's image into a river, performed in the present-day *Durgā-pūjā*.<sup>16)</sup> This *sābarotsava* reminds us of the procession<sup>17)</sup> prescribed in [18], [19] and [20], belonging to Group 4 characterized by the *śatrubali*, and [22], [25] and [26], belonging to Group 5 and describing a festival centred on the worship of weapons, but it is performed not on the *daśamī* like the *sābarotsava* but on the *navamī*, it may be said that procession belongs to a completely different tradition from the rite of dismissal on the *daśamī*.<sup>18)</sup>

Another example of the expansion of this goddess festival, coming this time at the start of the rites, is the act of awakening the goddess. This is again described in the greatest detail in the *Kālikā* and is also found in the *Bṛhaddharma* and *Brahmavaivarta*.

Viṣṇu is said to fall asleep on the *ekādaśī* of the bright half of the month of

Table 8. Deities Presiding over *Aṣṭamī* and *Navamī*.

Purāṇa	Deities of <i>Aṣṭamī</i>	Deities of <i>Navamī</i>
<i>Padma</i>	6.86.17d: Durgā	18a: Mātṛs
<i>Kālikā</i>	59.41b: Durgā	41c: Mātṛs
<i>Garuḍa</i>	1.116.6a: Durgā	6ab: Mātṛs, points of compass
<i>Garuḍa</i>	1.137.18a: Durgā, Mātṛs	18b] Takṣaka ( <i>nāga</i> )
<i>Vāmana</i>	17.15c: Kātyāyanī (Durgā)	15d: Lakṣmī
<i>Varāha</i>	27.31a: Mātṛs	28.37: Durgā (cf. 28.1ab)
<i>Devī</i>	61.12ab: Mātṛs	13ab: Mahāmahiṣamardīnī
<i>Bhaviṣya</i>	1.102.12d: Rudra (Śiva)	13a: Durgā
<i>Skanda</i>	1.1.33.79d: Saṃbhu (Śiva)	80d: Caṇḍikā (Durgā)
<i>Bṛhatsaṃhitā</i>	98.1b: Vasu gods	<i>bhujagāḥ</i> (snakes)

Āṣāḍha and to wake up on the *ekādaśī* of the bright half of the month of Kārttika, and special services addressed to Viṣṇu were performed on these two occasions (KANE 1974b: 109; GONDA 1954: 90; MEYER 1937: 94). This four-month period is known as *cāturmāsya*, and it was customary to observe certain rules in daily life during this time (KANE 1974b: 122; DANGE 1986: 247–248). In the *Vāmana* 17.6–13 this concept of Viṣṇu's sleep has been elaborated on, with a different deity being said to fall asleep on each of the fifteen *tithis* (KANE 1974b: 109–111). According to this tradition, the goddess Kātyāyanī is deemed to fall asleep on the *aṣṭamī* of the dark fortnight following the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha, which means that she would be still asleep in the bright fortnight of Āśvina, thus making it necessary to arouse her for the goddess festival (KANE 1974b: 158).

In text [14], which describes the worship of a ten-armed goddess, this act of awakening the goddess is performed on the *ṣaṣṭhī* of the bright half of Āśvina; in [8], which describes the course of the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa,<sup>19)</sup> it is performed on the first day of the same bright fortnight; in [9], which describes the slaying of the buffalo-demon,<sup>20)</sup> and [10], which describes the worship of a sixteen-armed goddess, it is brought forward to the *caturdaśī* of the previous dark fortnight; and in [11], [12] and [13] it is brought still further forward to the *navamī* of the same dark fortnight. Thus this act of awakening the goddess has been gradually brought forward from the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* at the centre of the festival. But notwithstanding this evidence of a tendency to advance the date of the awakening of the goddess, I do not mean to suggest that this tallies with any chronological development of the festival. In the *Durgā-pūjā* performed today in Bengal, this awakening rite is performed on the *pañcamī* of the bright half of Āśvina (TOGAWA 1990: 75).

In Bengal this awakening rite is, moreover, performed beside a *bilva* tree (idem.). The account bearing the closest resemblance to this is [14], where it is stated that the goddess is to be awoken in the branches and fruit of a *bilva* tree (KANE 1974b: 160; HAZRA 1963: 4). According to [11], after having awoken the

goddess on the *navamī* of the foregoing dark fortnight, one worships her in a *bilva* tree, and both [11] and [14] state that on the *saptamī* the branch of a *bilva* tree is taken into the home, where the goddess is again worshipped (KANE 1974b: 161; TOGAWA 1990: 75). One may thus discern a close relationship between the goddess and the *bilva* tree. The only texts to describe this rite, directly linked to practices in present-day Bengal, are [11] and [14], and the links between the goddess and the *bilva* tree to be seen in several other Purāṇas are of a different nature. *Br̥haddharma* ([11]) 1.22.34a and *Devībhāgavata* ([16]) 5.34.15b stipulate that when making oblations to the sacrificial fire, *bilva* leaves are to be used instead of the usual ladle, while the *Skanda* ([2], [22]) prescribes the use of a garland made with *bilva* leaves, and [17], [18] and [26] mention *bilva* leaves amongst the various offerings. Thus it is at any rate evident that in accounts of the goddess festival a rather close relationship is posited between the goddess and the *bilva*. But in Hindu ritual the *bilva* tree and its leaves appear to have originally been closely linked to the worship of Śiva.<sup>21)</sup> I would suggest that the incorporation of these links between the goddess and the *bilva* to be seen in this goddess festival came about through the goddess's position as Śiva's consort.

The basic format of the goddess festival as described in the group of texts summarized in Tables 2 and 3 consisted of worshipping the goddess by making offerings, especially animal sacrifices, primarily on the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī*. To this basic core were added a rite for awakening the goddess several days before the main festival days and a grand dismissal rite on the *daśamī*, and in this manner the goddess festival gradually grew in scale.

### 3. THE HONOURING OF YOUNG GIRLS

Among the group of texts that allude to the honouring of young girls, summarized in Table 4, the basic form of this rite may be seen in [15], which describes it in the simplest terms. According to this account, after having installed a jar ([15]: *ghaṭa*; [16], [17]: *kalaśa*) (around which barley is sown and germinated), people fast, worship the goddess, listen to hymns in praise of the exploits of the goddess, and feed young girls. Among these various actions, that of fasting is not restricted to this group of texts, and it is also prescribed in [1], [5], [6], [7], [10], [11] and [13] in Tables 2 and 3 centred on the worship of the goddess, and in [18] and [19] among the group prescribing the *śatrubali*.<sup>22)</sup> As is mentioned in note 20, the recitation of hymns in praise of the goddess is prescribed only in [15], [16] and [17], belonging to the group of texts characterized by the honouring of young girls. Therefore, in addition to fasting, shared with the group of texts centred on the worship of the goddess, a ritual configuration consisting of the installation of a jar, the recitation of the goddess's exploits, and the honouring of young girls constitutes the basic characteristic of the rites described in this group of texts.<sup>23)</sup>

Among these texts, *Nārada* ([15]) 1.110.31ab states that one "performs the germination of sprouts (*aṅkurāropaṇa*) with barley mixed with wheat," while

*Devībhāgavata* ([16]) 5.34.24cd instructs one to “sow clean barley around [the jar].” These texts thus prescribe the sowing and germination of barley, etc., around a jar. This action of sowing barley can still be seen today in Mithila in northern Bihar and in Nepal (ISHII 1992). By way of contrast, [17] (*Devībhāgavata*), although making no mention of the germination of sprouts, describes the jar in considerable detail, stating that it is furnished with the leaves of five kinds of trees (*pañcapallava-samyukta*)<sup>24)</sup> and filled with water from a holy site (*sutīr-thajalasampūrṇa*).

As is indicated in note 11, I would also regard an attitude distancing itself from animal sacrifice as a distinctive feature of this group of texts. There is no mention of animal sacrifices in [15] and [16], while *Devībhāgavata* ([17]) 3.26.32 restricts those who perform animal sacrifices to meat-eaters, stating that “the killing of animals should be done by those who practise meat-eating; animal sacrifices of buffaloes, goats and boars are best.”<sup>25)</sup> It continues by defending animal sacrifices: “Animals killed before the goddess go to the imperishable heaven, and those who kill for her on this occasion do not incur the sin of killing animals.”<sup>26)</sup> But apart from the *Brahmavaivarta* alluded to in note 26, this defence of animal sacrifice appears in connection with the goddess festival only in the *Devībhāgavata*. On the basis of this restriction and justification of animal sacrifice to be seen in the *Devībhāgavata* and the absence of animal sacrifices in [15] and [16], I would posit an aversion to animal sacrifice as one of the characteristics of the group of texts describing a goddess festival accompanied by the honouring of young girls.

The honouring of young girls, which constitutes the central ritual act in this group of texts, is expressed by the term *pūjana*, which also signifies the worship of gods (*pūjā/pūjana*).<sup>27)</sup> According to *Devībhāgavata* 5.34.29, which gives the most detailed description, the young girls are honoured “with sandalwood paste, ornaments, garments, various foodstuffs, and things pleasing to the mind such as *sugandha* (?), sesame oil and garlands.”<sup>28)</sup> If the original meaning of *pūjā* was the honouring of guests, with its meaning of worshipping gods having derived from this

**Table 9.** Correlation between *Devībhāgavata* and *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* with Respect to Honouring of Young Girls.

	<i>Devībhāgavata</i>	<i>Caturvargacintāmaṇi</i>
Number of girls to be honoured	3.26.38–39	903.6–9
1-year-old girls not to be honoured	40	10–11
2-to 10-year-old girls to be honoured		12–13
Names of girls of each age group	41–44ab	14–18
Girls over 10 years not to be honoured		19
Fruits of honouring each age group	44cd–51	904.1–17
<i>Mantras</i> for honouring each age group	52–61	904.18–905.16
Methods of honouring girls	62	17–19
Girls to be eschewed	3.27.1–3	905.20–906.1
Girls to be honoured	4–7	2–5



(THIEME 1939: 114), then this honouring of young girls has preserved the primary meaning of this word.

Kane, who describes this honouring of young girls in some detail (1974b: 170–171), alludes to a passage from the *Skanda* quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* ("Vratakhanda"; KANE 1930: 903–906). Like Kane, I too have been unable to identify this passage in my copy of the *Skanda*. However, *Devībhāgavata* ([17]) 3.26.38–27.7 contains a passage which, although not identical, is very similar in content. A comparison of these two passages is given in Table 9. Along with Kane's description, it should provide an indication of the content of these detailed accounts of the honouring of young girls.

#### 4. DESTRUCTION OF DOUGH EFFIGIES OF ENEMIES

In Table 5 I have summarized the content of the group of texts that include the rite of piercing a dough effigy of one's enemy.<sup>29)</sup> The *Devī* ([18]), *Garuḍa* ([19]) and *Agni* ([20]) in particular give detailed accounts with many points in common, and from these accounts it is possible to extract a number of elements distinctive of this group of texts. The first is the construction of one or nine shrines dedicated to the goddess for the purpose of this festival.<sup>30)</sup> Next, as may also be inferred from the passage from the *Agni* quoted in note 30, the *Devī* and *Garuḍa* both enjoin the use of an image of the goddess. But since the use of an image has already been intimated in the *Kālikā* ([10], [13], [14]) in references to the number of the goddess's arms and is also mentioned in the *Devībhāgavata* ([17]) and *Bhaviṣya* ([26]), it cannot be considered a characteristic of this group of texts alone.<sup>31)</sup>

The next feature common to this group, although not noted in Table 5, is the *mantra* chanted when killing the sacrificial animal. *Devī* 22.14c, *Garuḍa* 1.133.17a and *Agni* 185.11a all have "chanting 'Kālī, Kālī!'" (*kālī kālīti*), and in the *Agni* this is immediately followed by the *mantra* "Kālī, Kālī, Vajreśvari! Homage to her with a copper staff!" (185.11cd).<sup>32)</sup> It is not clear whether this latter *mantra* preserved in the *Agni* was also used in the rites described in the other two Purāṇas, but at least the *mantra* "Kālī, Kālī!" is prescribed in all three texts.

The subsequent series of actions also shows considerable similarities. The blood and flesh of the sacrificial animal killed while chanting the above *mantras* are offered to Pūtanā in the southwest, Pāparākṣasī in the northwest, Carakī in the northeast, and Vidārikā in the southeast. These four demonesses preside over these respective directions in architectural spaces and seem to be familiar entities in architectural rites.<sup>33)</sup> The *Devī* does not list all four demonesses and refers only indirectly to them with the phrase "Pūtanā and so forth," but all three Purāṇas mention Mahākauśika. According to the *Devī* and *Garuḍa*, blood and flesh are offered while chanting a *mantra* of this name, and the *mantra* in question is quoted at *Garuḍa* 1.134.2.<sup>34)</sup> The meaning of the phrase "Mahākauśika to Agni"<sup>35)</sup> at *Agni* 185.13b is not clear. After these offerings have been made, the king bathes<sup>36)</sup> and then breaks a dough effigy of his foes with his sword and offers it to Skanda and

Viśākha.<sup>37)</sup> This is followed in all three Purāṇas, notwithstanding some differences in order, by directions for the ritual bathing of the goddess<sup>38)</sup> and the worship of various goddesses.<sup>39)</sup> Lastly, all three Purāṇas prescribe a procession. This procession is not, however, restricted to this group of texts, and it is also found in texts [22], [25] and [26] among the group of texts describing a form of the goddess festival centred on the worship of weapons.

The group of texts here under consideration may thus be characterized by a combination of ritual acts centred on (1) the construction of one or nine shrines for the goddess, (2) the use of the *mantra* “Kālī, Kālī!” when killing the sacrificial animal, (3) the offering of the sacrificial animal’s blood and flesh to demonesses presiding over the southwest, northwest, northeast and southeast, and (4) the destruction of a dough effigy of one’s enemy with a sword and its presentation to Skanda and Viśākha.

## 5. THE WORSHIP OF WEAPONS

In Table 6 I have summarized the content of the five Purāṇas describing a form of the goddess festival centred on the worship of weapons. Among these Purāṇas, the *Skanda* ([22]) differs from the other Purāṇas in that the sword alone is made the object of worship, whilst among the other four Purāṇas the *Agni* ([24]) and *Viṣṇudharmottara* ([25]) evidence similarities in, for instance, their assignment of the festival to the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* and the worship of a representation of Bhadrakālī drawn on cloth.<sup>40)</sup> The content of the *Bhaviṣya* ([26]), on the other hand, differs considerably from that of the other Purāṇas in this group.

Earlier I characterized the goddess festival as a religious service dedicated to the goddess that was performed in grand style on the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* of the bright half of the month of Āśvina and included animal sacrifice. When considered in this light, the rites performed on the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* in text [26] may be equated with the goddess festival. The contents of texts [22]–[25] as summarized in Table 6, apart from involving the worship of weapons, also share the basic elements of common festival days, a goddess and animal sacrifice. But the rites described in the *Bhaviṣya* ([26]) for the period from the first day of the bright fortnight to the *aṣṭamī* involve neither a goddess nor animal sacrifice, and in their outward appearance they differ from the goddess festival, with ritual acts directed at weapons, horses and elephants coming to the fore. The ritual actions performed during this period have a special name, viz. “the act of taking up iron arms (?)” (*lohābhīhārikam karma*). The term *lohābhīhārika* is not recorded in the *PW* and other dictionaries, but it immediately calls to mind the similar word *lohābhīhāra*, which is in turn associated with the rite for purifying weapons or troops known as *nīrājana*.<sup>41)</sup> One further factor linking this account in the *Bhaviṣya* with the *nīrājana* is the group of *mantras* given at *Bhaviṣya* 4.138.42cd–83 and chanted over the weapons and various other objects worshipped during the course of the rite. Similar *mantras* are also to be found in the separate descriptions of the *nīrājana* in

Table 10. Correlation of *Mantras* for Weapons, etc.

	<i>Bhaviṣya</i> 4.138	<i>Viṣṇudharmottara</i> 2.160	<i>Agni</i> 269
Canopy	42cd-43ab	3	3*
Horse	43cd	4ab	4ab
	44	4cd-5ab*	4cd-5ab
	45	5cd-6ab*	5cd-6ab
	46	6cd-7ab	6cd-7ab
	47	7cd-8ab*	7cd (2 <i>pādas</i> missing)
	48ab	8cd	8ab
	48c-f	9*	8cd-9ab**
Banner	49	10*	9cd-10ab**
( <i>dhvaja</i> )	50	11*	10cd-11ab**
	—	—	11cd
	51	12*	12ab + 13cd**
	—	—	12cd-13ab
Elephant	52	13	14*
	53a-d	14*	15**
	53ef-54ab	15*	16**
	54cd-55ab	16*	17ab + 18cd**
	—	—	17cd-18ab
	—	—	19ab
	55c-f	17	19cd-20ab*
	56	18°C	20cd-21ab**
Flag	57	19*	21cd-22ab**
( <i>patākā</i> )	58	20*	22cd-23ab**
	59	21*	23cd-24ab**
	60	22*	24cd-25ab**
	61	23*	25cd-26ab**
	62	24*	26cd-27ab**
	63	—	—
	64	25*	27cd-28ab**
	—	—	28cd-29ab
	—	—	29cd-30ab
Sword	65	26*	30cd-31ab
	66	27	31cd-32ab*
	67	28*	32cd + 33cd**
	—	—	33ab
Armour	68	29*	34**
Drum	69	30*	35**
	70	31*	36**
	71	—	37*
Bow	72	32	—

Table 10. (Contd.) Correlation of *Mantras* for Weapons, etc.

	<i>Bhaviṣya</i> 4.138	<i>Viṣṇudharmottara</i> 2.160	<i>Agni</i> 269
Conch	73	—	—
Whisk	74	—	—
Dagger	75	—	—
	76	—	—
	77	—	—
Golden Staff	78	—	—
	79	—	—
Throne	80	—	—
	81	—	—
	82	—	—
	83	—	—

1. One asterisk (\*) indicates that the *mantra* differs somewhat from that in the *Bhaviṣya*.
2. Two asterisks (\*\*) in the *Agni* column indicate that the *mantra* differs from that in both the *Bhaviṣya* and *Viṣṇudharmottara*.
3. A dash (—) indicates a continuous passage.
4. A plus sign (+) indicates a break in the *mantra*.

the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (2.160.3–32) and *Agni* (269.3–37). The correlations between the *mantras* given in these three Purāṇas are shown in Table 10.<sup>42)43)</sup>

This *nīrājana* has been dealt with in considerable detail by J.J. Meyer (1937, II: 114–128; KANE 1946: 230–231). The texts used by Meyer include *Brhatsaṃhitā* 43, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 2.159–160 (160 being a collection of *mantras*), *Agni* 268–269 (269 being a collection of *mantras*), *Kālikā* 88.15–77, and *Bhaviṣya* 4.71. He also mentions the *aśvaśānti* and *gajaśānti* at *Viṣṇudharmottara* 2.47 and 50 as cognate rites.<sup>44)</sup> As is pointed out in note 44, there already exist summaries and also a translation (BHAT 1981: 361–368) of the account in the *Brhatsaṃhitā*, and for further details reference should be made to these. The contents of the *nīrājana* described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (2.159) and *Agni* (268), which through their *mantras* are closely related to the *Bhaviṣya* ([26]), are summarized in Tables 11 and 12 respectively. The accounts given in these two Purāṇas of the *nīrājana* as an independent rite to be performed by a king show basic agreement,<sup>45)</sup> while the account given in the *Bhaviṣya* is somewhat removed from the similarities evidenced by the same two Purāṇas.

There are, however, considerable discrepancies concerning the day on which the *nīrājana* is to be performed as an independent rite (see Table 13). The five Purāṇas treated of in Table 6 link the worship of weapons to the goddess festival, and [26] in particular clearly combines the *nīrājana* with the goddess festival. In addition, the *Kālikā* ([21]) in Table 5 states that a rite for purifying troops (*balanīrājana*), although differing in content, is to be performed on the “victorious

Table 11. Summary of *Nīrājana* Described in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 2.159

In northeast of town the site is prepared, enclosed with matting, strewn with <i>kuśa</i> grass, and adorned with flags and banners	2-3ab
3 arches facing east, 16 <i>hasta</i> high and 10 <i>hasta</i> wide, are erected	3cd-4
Place of worship is prepared to south of arches (for worship of gods and oblations to sacrificial fire)	5
Pile of fuel 8 <i>hasta</i> wide and high is made to north of arches	6
Central arch is blocked by means of 5-coloured cord with 100 knots ( <i>śatapāśī</i> ) and covered with sacred grass	7-8ab
(No one is permitted to pass through arch until king's elephant has broken through)	8cd-9ab
Gods worshipped and oblations made to sacrificial fire at place of worship while sun in lunar mansion of Svāti	9cd-10cd
Gods: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sambhu, Śakra, Anala, Anila, Vināyaka, Kumāra, Varuṇa, Dhanada, Yama, Viśve devāḥ, Uccaiḥśravasa, 8 divine elephants, planets, lunar mansions	11-14ab
Oblations: fuel, mustard, ghee, sesame rice	14cd-16
Preparation of water jars	17-18
Elephants and horses bathed with water from jars on west side of arches	19-20ab
Elephants and horses fed balls of food and king's fortunes divined	20cd-22ab
First, elephants led through arches	22cd
(Misfortunes that befall king if animal other than his elephant breaks <i>śatapāśī</i> )	23-24
(Good or bad fortune that results if king's elephant passes through with left or right foot first)	25
Other elephants follow king's elephant through arches	27
Weapons, canopy, banners, and other belongings of king worshipped at place of worship	28-29a
Cord ( <i>pratisara</i> ) made with threads of 5 colours tied to elephants and horses	29cd-30
Elephants and horses returned to their stables	31ab
During ritual, elephants and horses kept in shade and handled with care	31cd-32ab
Worship of king's belongings at place of worship	32cd
Worship of Varuṇa beside water	33ab
Worship of demons ( <i>bhūta</i> ) at night with <i>bali</i>	33cd
Armed soldiers guard place of worship	34ab
Astrologer, king's priest and chief veterinary surgeons of horses and elephants purify themselves and reside there	34cd-35
When sun reaches lunar mansion of Viśākha, mounts (elephants and horses) are adorned	3
King's belongings worshipped and handed to him	37ab
Astrologer chants <i>mantras</i> over elephant, horse, canopy, sword, bow, drum, banner and flag	37cd-38ab
These placed on elephant's back	38cd
Astrologer, king's priest and chief veterinary surgeons of horses and elephants mount elephants	39
King rides horse blessed with <i>mantra</i> as far as arches, changes to elephant, and passes through arches	40-41a
Dismissal of gods, distribution of <i>bali</i>	41b
King, riding elephant, circles pile of blazing fuel 3 times clockwise	41d-43
Whole army raises war cry and musical instruments played continuously	44-45ab
King returns of place together with troops	45cd
People entertained and dismissed	46ab

**Table 12.** Summary of *Nīrājana* in *Agni Purāṇa* 268.

Participants proceed to shrine ( <i>mandira</i> ) with 3 arches in northeast of town	16d–17a
Worship of gods	17ab
Performed while sun in lunar mansion of Svāti	17cd–18ab
Gods: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Saṃbhu, Śakra, Anala, Anila, Vināyaka, Kumāra, Varuṇa, Dhanada, Yama, Viśve devāḥ, Uccaiḥśravasa, <sup>1</sup> 8 divine elephants <sup>2</sup>	18cd–20
Oblations to sacrificial fire: ghee, fuel, mustard, sesame	21ab
Horses and elephants bathed with water from 8 water jars	21cd
Balls of food given to horses and elephants	22a
Elephants pass through arches of shrine and parade through town, followed by other	22b–23
Worship of king's belongings at palace ( <i>gr̥ha</i> )	23
Worship of Varuna on west side ( <i>vāruṇe?</i> )	23
<i>Bali</i> given to demons at night	23d
When sun reaches lunar mansion of Viśākha, king resides in shrine ( <i>āśrama</i> )	24ab
Carriages adorned	24cd
King's belonging's worshipped and handed to him	25ab
Astrologer chants <i>mantras</i> over elephant, horse, canopy, sword, bow, drum, flag and banner and places them on elephant	25cd–26
Astrologer and king's priest also mount elephants	27ab
King mounts horse blessed with <i>mantra</i> , <sup>3</sup> passes through arches, changes to elephant, and passes through arches	27cd–28ab
King, riding elephant and accompanied by whole army, distributes <i>bali</i> , makes troops raise battle cry, and circles pile of blazing fuel 3 times clockwise	28cd–30ab
Return to palace	30cd

<sup>1</sup> Text has *vaiśrvaso* (?).<sup>2</sup> I.e., Kumada, Airāvaṇa, Padma, Puṣpadanta, Vāmana, Supratika, Añjana and Nīla (*Agni* 268.20a–c, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 2.159.13a–c).<sup>3</sup> I read *mantritāśvaṃ* for *mantritāmśca* in text.

tenth" (*viṣayā daśamī*),<sup>46</sup> thus hinting at the close connections between this *nīrājana* and the goddess festival in autumn (RAGHAVAN 1979: 25, 159; TAKAHASHI 1980: (42) and cited texts). But I do not believe that one can immediately assume that the *nīrājana* evolved into the autumnal goddess festival. As we have seen in the above, the goddess festival described in the Purāṇas may be divided into several types; among these it is only [26] that shows definite links with the *nīrājana*, while a looser interpretation still allows us to posit such links only with the five Purāṇas in Table 6 and [21] in Table 5. Regardless of whether this *nīrājana* was prescribed as a rite to be performed by the king at the different times indicated in Table 13 or whether it was conducted before actually setting out on a military campaign,<sup>47</sup> it was originally performed as an independent rite completely unrelated to the goddess festival in autumn. It is simply a case of three existing accounts in a number of Purāṇas that link the *nīrājana* to the goddess festival, and as in the case of its associations with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its relationship with Durgā, slayer of the

**Table 13.** Days When *Nīrājana* is Performed.

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<i>Mānava Gr̥hyasūtra</i> 2.6.2; <i>Kāthaka Gr̥hyasūtra</i> 57.1: Day of full moon of Āśvina
<i>Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa</i> 17.1.2: 3rd day of bright half of Āśvina (horses)
17.2.1: 9th day of bright half of Āśvina (vehicles [vāhana]?)
18.1.1: Day of full moon of Āśvina
<i>Arthaśāstra</i> 2.30.51: 9th day of Āśvina; at start and end of military campaign; when ill
2.31.12: Change of seasons every 4 months; change to dark fortnight (demons); change to bright fortnight (Skanda)
4.3.16: When livestock ill or at times of epidemic
<i>Bṛhatsaṃhitā</i> 43.1: When Viṣṇu awakens (= 11th day of bright half of Kārttika)
43.2: 12th, 8th or 5th day of bright half of Kārttika or Āśvina
<i>Viṣṇudharmottara</i> 2.159.9cd–10ab, 36ab; <i>Agni</i> 268.17cd–18ab, 24ab: Every day when sun in lunar mansion of Svāti and day when it moves to next mansion of Viśākha <sup>1</sup>
<i>Bhaviṣya</i> 4.71.28: 12th day of bright half of Kārttika
4.138.30d–31ab: From 1st to 8th day of bright half of Āśvina
<i>Kālikā</i> 60.21, 60.36, 88 (cf. HAZRA 1963: 229): 10th day of bright half of Āśvina

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ōhashi Yukio has informed me that nowadays the sun is in the lunar mansion of Svāti from about 23 October to 6 November. The date of the sun's entry into a lunar mansion becomes about 1.4 days earlier every 100 years that one goes back in time. Since the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is considered to date from before A.D. 1000 (ROCHER 1986: 252), the sun's entry into Viśākha would have been more than 14 days earlier than it is today, which would have corresponded to around the month of Āśvina or Kārttika.

Buffalo-Demon, the connections between the goddess festival and the *nīrājana* must be viewed in relative terms when considering the festival as a whole (KANE 1974b: 187).

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

In the above we have considered the accounts to be found in the Purāṇas of the goddess festival performed around the *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* of the bright half of the month of Āśvina in autumn, and we were able to divide these accounts into four groups: (1) those centred on the worship of the goddess, especially those in Table 3 which include a rite for awakening the goddess; (2) those including the honouring of young girls; (3) those including a rite for destroying a dough effigy of one's enemy; and (4) those including the worship of weapons. Although there were some ritual elements common to all four groups, each group also showed evidence of separate configurations of distinctive ritual elements.

It is not, however, within my power to determine the date of compilation of each of the Purāṇas in question. In his comments on individual Purāṇas in his *History of the Purāṇas*, Rocher (1986) gives the various dates that have been proposed for each Purāṇa, and I have listed the dates suggested for each of the Purāṇas dealt with here in Table 14. This table would indicate that the period

**Table 14.** Tentative Dates of Compilation of Purāṇas.

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<i>Viṣṇudharmottara</i> [252]: A.D. 400–500, 1st half of 5th cent., 450–650, 600–1000, before 1000 {4}
<i>Devī</i> [167] (Bengal): 2nd half of 6th cent. A.D. {3}
<i>Bhaviṣya</i> [154]: late 8th cent. A.D. {4}
<i>Angi</i> [137]: after 8th cent. A.D., 700/800–1000/1100, 750–850, 9 cent., ca 900 {3, 4}
<i>Garuḍa</i> I [177]: 10th cent. A.D., no earlier than 10th/11th cent. {3}
<i>Devībhāgavata</i> [172] (Bengal→Benares): A.D. 900–1350, by 11th cent., 11th–12th cent. {2}
<i>Kālikā</i> [182] (Assam, Bengal): before A.D. 1000, 10th cent. to 1st half of 11th cent., 11th–12th cent. {1}
<i>Nārada</i> [203]: after A.D. 1000 {2, 4}
<i>Skanda</i> V [233]: After A.D. 1194 {1}
<i>Brhaddharma</i> [166] (Bengal): 2nd half of 13 cent. {1}
<i>Brahmavaivarta</i> [163] (Bengal): 15th–16th cent. {1}
<i>Skanda</i> I.2 [230]: 17th cent. {1}

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1. Figures in brackets [ ] indicate page numbers of Rocher 1986.
2. Place names in parentheses ( ) indicate putative places of compilation.
3. Figures in braces { } indicate corresponding goddess festival group number.

covered by the Purāṇas here under consideration extends from a.d. 400 right down to the seventeenth century. If we largely accept these dates, then it is found that the *śatrubali* distinctive of Group 3 and the worship of weapons distinctive of Group 4 are described in what are thought to be the older Purāṇas (cf. group numbers given in braces { } in Table 14). Rites to be performed when going to war or engaging in battle are already described in the *Kauśikasūtra* (14.1–16.26; CALAND 1900: 26–37) and *Āśvalāyana* Gṛhyasūtra (3.12.1–20; OLDENBERG 1886: 233–235), both belonging to the Gṛhyasūtras, while rites that might be associated with the *śatrubali* and the worship of weapons are recorded in the *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* and *Brhatsamhitā* as rites closely linked to the king. First, these would have combined with goddess worship accompanied by animal sacrifice and then become ritualized as a goddess festival. These developments were followed by the emergence of Purāṇas describing the honouring of young girls. Although I have to date been unable to trace this honouring of young girls to earlier works,<sup>48</sup> this rite, indicative of a certain aversion to animal sacrifices, was evidently incorporated into the Purāṇas. Lastly, not only is Group 1, characterized by goddess worship accompanied by a rite for awakening the goddess, the most recent group of texts, but the three Purāṇas describing this goddess worship attest to the fact that they evolved in and around Bengal, and it is to be surmised that the rites characteristic of this group of texts further developed and linked up with the *Durgā-pūjā* as it is today performed chiefly in Bengal.

However, the connections between the goddess festival described in these three Purāṇas and the *Durgā-pūjā* in Bengal are not direct, and as is evident from Hazra's research, one must posit as an intermediary factor the activities of large numbers of



Brahmans who composed works known as Dharmanibandhas in which they incorporated the local customs of Bengal, Mithila, Assam and elsewhere (HAZRA 1963: 2–14). Although at present I cannot provide any direct evidence, it would seem that one must assume the mediation of later works such as the local Dharmanibandhas composed on the basis of the Purāṇas also when considering the history of various goddess festivals preserved today in regions other than northeast India, but the description and analysis of these remains a task for the future.

## ABBREVIATION

PW Böhtlingk, Otto, and Rudolph Roth. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 Vols. St. Petersburg, 1855–75.

## NOTES

- 1) For descriptions of these festivals, see the works listed under “Dassera festival,” “Durgā pūjā festival,” “Navaratri” and “Rām Līlā” in HOLLAND 1979: 353, 355, 373, 379, and the works given in COBURN 1991: 223, n. 20. See also STEVENSON 1920: 329–334; UNDERHILL 1921: 53–58; DIEHL 1956: 170–171; LEWIS 1958: 215–217; GONDA 1963: 275–276; RAGHAVAN 1979: 155–160; TOGAWA 1990, 1991; ISHII 1992. These all include lists of reference works, and together they cover a considerable proportion of the literature pertaining to the autumn goddess festival.
- 2) Among studies dealing with this festival as it is described in the Purāṇas, Kooij (1972: 98–129) translates the myths and rites of the corresponding section in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, while Mishra (1973: 53–54) gives a brief description based on the *Devī Purāṇa*, *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and *Skanda Purāṇa*. Kane (1974b: 154–194), under the headings “*Navarātra* or *Durgotsava*” and “*Vijayādaśamī*,” also describes this festival on the basis of the Purāṇas, medieval Dharmanibandhas and various ritual manuals. However, none of these works deals with the Purāṇas in a systematic manner, and the *raison d’être* of the present study lies, I believe, in filling this gap. For each Purāṇa there exist several printed editions (see the sections on the editions of each of the Purāṇas dealt with in alphabetical order in ROCHER 1986: 133–254), and the editions that I have used are given in the list of “Sanskrit Sources” at the end of this article.
- 3) Kane quotes the *Liṅga Purāṇa* (KANE 1974b: 160, n. 413; 179, n. 462; 182, n. 469) and *Brahma Purāṇa* (*ibid.*: 169, n. 436; 184, n. 475). But as is pointed out by Hazra (1963: 2), the passages from the *Liṅga Purāṇa* quoted in Dharmanibandhas from Bengal are not to be found in the printed editions of the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, and I was also unable to trace the passages quoted from the *Brahma Purāṇa* in the printed editions. Nor was I able to consult the *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa*, which apparently contains a detailed description of the goddess festival, for a summary of which see HAZRA 1963: 271.
- 4) I have assigned serial numbers ([1]–[26]) to the twenty-six accounts of the festival summarized in Tables 2–6, and in order to save space I will use these serial numbers wherever possible to refer to the accounts in question. I will also refer to the Purāṇas only by their abbreviated titles, e.g., *Agni* instead of *Agni Purāṇa*.
- 5) On the *Navarātra* in Vedic ritual, see PW, s.v. *navarātra*. This term denotes the nine-night period for which the festival continues. A similar usage may be seen in the terms

*trirātra*, *pañcarātra*, *ṣaḍrātra*, *saptarātra*, *daśarātra* and *dvādaśarātra*, which are used chiefly to denote the time-span of *soma* festivals performed over longer periods of time. Mani (1975: 536) uses the term *navarātrī*, while Diehl (1956: 171), Raghavan (1979: 155), and Fuller and Logan (1985: 79) use the term *navarātri*, but to date I have been unable to discover examples of this form in the Purāṇas. Since Mani is a native of Kerala and Raghavan a Tamil, while both Diehl and Fuller and Logan deal with south Indian rites, the forms *navarātrī/navarātri* are perhaps distinctive of south India. Although I have been unable to find the word *navarātrī* in the Purāṇas, Hemādri uses the term *navarātrivrata* in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (Vol. 2: "Vratākhaṇḍa," Part 1, p. 900, l. 5; p. 903, l. 3). Hemādri, who was a high-ranking Brahman in the kingdom of Yādava, which ruled over an area roughly corresponding to present-day Maharashtra, is said to have written this voluminous work in the second half of the thirteenth century (KANE 1930: 356), and according to Kane, his work quickly came to exert considerable influence in the Deccan and southern India. The form *navarātrī* may possibly have spread to south India via this work by Hemādri.

- 6) *Kālikā* 62.2 defines *mahāṣṭamī* as the *aṣṭamī* of the bright half of Āśvina, while *Skanda* 7.1.83.36a–c adds that the moon must be in the lunar mansion of Mūla. As for *mahānavamī*, *Kālikā* 62.3 simply equates it with the *navamī* of the bright half of Āśvina, but *Bhaviṣya* 4.138.12 defines it by means of the same proviso as that given in the *Skanda* for *mahāṣṭamī* (i.e., that the moon must be in the lunar mansion of Mūla on the *aṣṭamī* of the bright half of Āśvina) and adds (4.138.13), as does also *Agni* 185.2cd–3ab, that the sun must be in the sign of Virgo. According to *Garuḍa* 1.133.3, if the moon is in the lunar mansion of Uttarāṣāḍha on the *aṣṭamī*, then it will be a *mahānavamī*; cf. KANE 1974b: 374. I have been unable to locate the passage in the *Skanda* alluded to by Kane with reference to Hemādri, which tallies with the two definitions given in the *Bhaviṣya*.
- 7) The word *Dasai* derives from Sanskrit *daśamī* ("tenth day") (TURNER 1966: 356, No. 6234) and refers in particular to the *vijayā daśamī* ("victorious tenth"), corresponding to the tenth day of the bright half of Āśvina (KANE 1974b: 188–194), and in Nepal it signifies a festival lasting from the first to the tenth of the bright half of Āśvina (ISHII 1992). Kane uses the form *Dasarā* for *Daśarā* and writes, "The word 'Dasarā' is derived from 'daśa' meaning 10 and 'ahan' (a day)" (1974b: 194), but in this he errs. In *Bhargava's Standard Illustrated Dictionary of the Hindi Language* (Hindi-English Edition) it is stated under the entry for *daśaharā* that this word may refer to the tenth day of the bright half of either Jyeṣṭha or Āśvina, while the *Hinduō ke vrat aur tyauhar* (Haridvār: Raṇdhīr Book Sales, n.d.) explains *daśaharā* (*vijayā daśamī*) in terms of an observance in the month of Āśvina (pp. 108–111) and *gaṅgā daśaharā* in terms of an observance in the month of Jyeṣṭha (pp. 34–37). In the Purāṇas, *daśaharā* refers only to an observance in the bright half of Jyeṣṭha (KANE 1974b: 90–91). In the introduction ("Bhūmika") to the Nag Publishers edition of the *Nārada Purāṇa* (p. 15, col. 1), Cāru Deva Śāstri, quoting *Nārada* 2.60.13, states that *daśaharā* originally signified the tenth day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha but also came to refer to the tenth day of the bright half of Āśvina. With regard to *Daśarā*, I wish to follow this explanation.
- 8) On its observance in the month of Caitra, see KANE 1974b: 154; STEVENSON 1920: 288 (Gujarat); MEHTA 1913–16 (western India); RAGHAVAN 1979: 187; ENTWISTLE 1983 (Gujarat); ANDERSON 1987: 164.
- 9) The *Kālikā* ([4], [10], [13], [14]) and *Devī* ([18]) make no mention of the name of the month, and simply state that the sun is in the sign of Virgo. Mr. Ōhashi Yukio has informed me that, according to the current Bengali calendar, in 1991 and 1992 the sun

entered Virgo on 17 September and 16 September respectively and that the month of Āśvina began on the following day, viz. 18 September and 17 September. The *Kālikā* is said to have been composed in Assam (formerly known as Kāmarūpa) or in a nearby part of Bengal (ROCHER 1986: 182), while the *Devī* is thought to have been composed in Bengal (*ibid.*: 167). If a calendrical system similar to that being used today was already in use at the time when these two Purāṇas were composed, then the sun's position in Virgo would suggest the month of Āśvina.

- 10) As a ritual term, in late Vedic literature *bali* referred not to oblations thrown on the sacrificial fire, but to offerings strewn directly on the ground, etc. This usage was preserved in later times in the sense of offerings made to demons, but more often it came to signify an animal sacrifice; see KOON 1972: 21 and ARBMANN 1922 cited by Kooij.
- 11) *Bali* is also not prescribed in [10], [15], [16] and [25]. Texts [15] and [16] involve the honouring of young girls, and [17], belonging to the same group, states that only "those who practise meat-eating" (*māmsāsanaṃ ye kurvanti*) make offerings of *bali*, thus indicating a certain aloofness from this practice. As is discussed in greater detail below, this group of texts would appear to be characterized by an aversion to animal sacrifice.
- 12) On the locations of these assignations, see "The *tithis* and their presiding deities" in the *Varāha Purāṇa*, p. 1351, and Table 7 in EINO 1994: 158–159, which supplements this list.
- 13) On the origins and associated myths of some of these goddesses, see the article by Y. Yokochi in this volume.
- 14) The reasons for the close connections between the goddess and animal sacrifice are also unclear to me. See KOON 1972: 33–36 and sources cited by him.
- 15) *Kālikā* 61.19cd–22ab: "People should be engaged in amorous play with single women, young girls, courtesans and dancers, amidst the sounds of horns and instruments, and with drums and kettle-drums, with flags and various sorts of cloths covered with a miscellany of parched grain and flowers; by throwing dust and mud; with auspicious ceremonies for fun; by mentioning the female and male organs, with songs on the male and female organs, and with words for the female and male organs, until they have enough of it" (Koon 1972: 121). *Brhaddharma* ([11]) 22.33a–c also states that during the goddess festival "one should sing songs mentioning the male and female organs and sexual love (*śṛṅgāra*)." Cf. HAZRA 1963: 6; KANE 1974b: 177. On a similar description of the *Kaumudī* festival in the *Nīlamata*, see EINO 1994: 176. According to Parasher (1991: 191–194), the Śabara who gave their name to this carnivalesque *śābarotsava* often appear in Sanskrit literature together with the Pulinda, and they may signify either hill tribes in general or a specific tribe, in which case they are closely associated with the Vindhya Hills. On his map (*ibid.*: 305), Parasher situates them in the hill regions of present-day Orissa. As for the Śabara appearing in the story of the origins of Jagannātha Temple in Puri, Orissa, see EINO 1992: 12–23.
- 16) *Kālikā* 61.26cd–29: "Rise up, O Goddess, O fierce Lady, and make me prosperous by accepting my auspicious worship; go, go together with the eight Śaktis to thy highest abode, thine own abode, O Goddess Caṇḍikā. What was worshipped by me, O Goddess, let this be complete for me. [*Mantra* for ordinary dismissal, now followed by *mantra* for plunging image of goddess into river.—Einoo] Thou, go into the river, into the water, and remain in thy home, in the interior of the earth, after diving into the water, leaving behind the leaves in the swollen water. Thou hast been put into the water by me, with a view to obtaining sons, a long life, wealth and prosperity" (Koon 1972: 122). Today the first of the above two *mantras* (61.26cd–28ab) is used in Mithila; see

*Varṣakṛtya*, Vol. 1, p. 181, ll. 6–7.

- 17) *Devī* ([18]) 22.22a, *Garuḍa* ([19]) 1.134.7cd, and *Agni* ([20]) 185.15ef use the term *rathayātrā*, and the word *yātrā* used at *Viṣṇudharmottara* ([25]) 2.158.8b presumably also refers to this *rathayātrā*. *Skanda* ([22]) 7.1.83.52cd–53ab and *Bhaviṣya* ([26]) 4.138.99 describe this procession in the following manner: “Then in the afternoon the king himself, together with his army, should drive Yogeśī [or Bhavanī], placed on a carriage, through the kingdom” (*tato 'parāhṇasamaye syandane sthitām/ yogeśīm [Skanda] (/bhavanīm [Bhaviṣya])bhrāmayed rāṣṭre svayam rājā svasainyavān*).
- 18) By a “completely different tradition” I refer to the military campaigns that began in autumn and formed the background to the worship of weapons, on which see below.
- 19) A similar account of Rāma’s battle with Rāvaṇa and his warriors is given at *Brhaddharma* ([11]) 1.22.20–25. According to this account, the goddess woke up on the *navamī* of the dark fortnight preceding the bright half of Āśvina, whereupon the battle between the armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa began, and on the *aṣṭamī* of the bright half of Āśvina Rāma and Rāvaṇa engaged in combat, with Rāvaṇa falling on the *navamī* and Rāma rejoicing in his victory on the *daśamī*. *Devībhāgavata* ([17]) 3.27.30–57 presents a *vratakathā* of the *navarātravrata*, and this includes an episode in which Rāma worshipped the goddess, rescued Sītā and became king (47–52). On further links between the tale of Rāma and the goddess festival, see BROCKINGTON 1985: 241; KINSLEY 1986: 108–109.
- 20) There are several texts other than this passage in the *Kālikā* that hint at links with the myth of the slaying of the buffalo-demon Mahiṣāsura. *Kālikā* ([21]) 60.54c states that one should worship the goddess in her form as Mahiṣāsuramardinī, while the *Devī* ([18]) follows on from the myth of the slaying of a buffalo-demon called Ghora which is described in the foregoing chapter (2.20), thus pointing to clear links with the same myth. *Agni* ([20]) 185.66 refers to the goddess as Mahiṣamardinī, and *Bhaviṣya* ([26]) 4.138.90–91 describes the goddess in the following terms: “A maiden who killed the buffalo and has many arms, Durgā, who rides a lion, chastised the Dānavas, raises a hand holding a sword, is beautiful, holds a bell, rosary and garland, and assumes a stance ready to begin battle.” But it is probably important to bear in mind that it is only these five texts that suggest any direct relationship with the goddess who killed the buffalo-demon. The appellation Mahiṣāsuramardinī also appears in the meditation on the goddess at *Brahmavaivarta* ([12]) 2.64.28d, but this is a long meditation (2.64.8cd–31), and the term Mahiṣāsuramardinī is used merely in reference to one of the goddess’s exploits, which also include the slaying of demons such as Madhu, Kaiṭabha and Raktabīja. Although the goddess described at *Kālikā* 59.12–21, in a passage summarizing the rites and myths of the goddess at the start of the section on the *Durgā-pūjā* (KOON 1972: 99–100 [61.11–22]; KANE 1974b: 162–163), is indeed represented in her demon-slaying form, the subsequent rites are not those of the goddess festival, but rites for putting a sacrificial cord on different deities on different *tithis* (*pavitṛaropana*); cf. *Kālikā* 59.35–95. (On this rite, see KANE 1974b: 339–340; Kane, however, refers only to Dharmanibandhas; with regard to the Purāṇas, see, e.g., *Agni* 33, 36–37, *Devī* 98, *Padma* 6.86.) On this occasion the goddess is said to have ten arms (59.15b), but elsewhere in the same *Kālikā* she is said to have sixteen arms ([10]) or eighteen arms ([13]), and insofar that this ten-armed form of the goddess is used in more than one rite and other forms are also sanctioned in the goddess festival, the existence of this ten-armed goddess needs to be viewed in relative terms. On the number of the goddess’s arms, see [17], [19], [20] and KANE 1974b: 178–179. In addition, the above-mentioned

*Agni* ([20]) refers to the chief among nine goddesses as Mahiṣāsuramardinī, but this name does not appear in a corresponding passage at *Garuḍa* ([19]) 1.133.12–13a, which also lists nine goddesses. Several Purāṇas recommend the recitation of the *Devīmāhātmya* during the goddess festival. *Nārada* ([15]) 1.110.32cd–33a declares, “The three exploits related in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* should, O Brahman, be read for nine days” (*mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇoktaṃ caritratritayam dvija/32/paṭhanīyam navadinam*), while *Devībhāgavata* ([17]) 3.26.16cd indicates that “nine, five, three or one is the [number of] Brahmins at the recitation of [the myth of] the goddess” (*nava pañca trayaś caiko devyāḥ pāṭhe dvijāḥ smṛtāḥ*), and the “recitation of hymns” (*stotrapāṭha*) mentioned at *Devībhāgavata* ([16]) 5.34.27c presumably also refers to the recitation of the *Devīmāhātmya*. In [4], [14], [18] and [19] the word *japa* is used for “recitation,” and because it is used in conjunction with oblations to the sacrificial fire (*homa*), it probably refers not to the recitation of the *Devīmāhātmya* but to the chanting of general *mantras* deriving from the Vedas. This means that there are only three accounts of the goddess festival that prescribe the recitation of the exploits of the goddess (all of which, it should be noted, belong to the group of texts describing a goddess festival accompanied by the honouring of young girls). Meanwhile, the *Devīmāhātmya* contained in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* alluded to in the *Nārada* ([15]) describes three exploits of the goddess, of which the myth of her slaying of the buffalo-demon is the second and not the longest. Therefore, with respect to the recitation of the *Devīmāhātmya* too there is a need to relativize the relationship between the goddess festival and the slaying of the buffalo-demon. From my observations of the *Durgā-pūjā* performed in present-day Bengal, I had gained the impression that this goddess festival and the myth of the slaying of the buffalo-demon were fundamentally related. This may be the case in the festival as it is performed today, and, as is maintained by Fuller and Logan (FULLER and LOGAN 1985), it may also be so in the festival at Madurai (although I cannot help feeling that his arguments are somewhat forced; PARPOLA 1992 gives a similar impression). But even if the relationship with the myth of the slaying of the buffalo-demon has been magnified and brought to the fore in later times, as in the case of the relationship with the myth of the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa mentioned in n. 19, in the context of the goddess festival described in the Purāṇas it constituted no more than one latent tendency. Having ascertained this fact, it behoves us to examine how the relationship between this myth and the goddess festival subsequently developed in both historical and geographical terms. Such a task is, however, beyond my power, and one would presumably have to rely on the work of researchers familiar with the literature of the early modern vernaculars of India.

- 21) This link can be seen in the story of the hunter who unknowingly performed the basic acts of Śiva worship (bathing a *liṅga*, offering *bilva* leaves, and remaining awake all night), a story that is told to explain the origins of the *śivarātri* (KANE 1974b: 225–226; STEVENSON 1920: 277–279; UNDERHILL 1921: 93). The Purāṇas recording this renowned tale are given in Kane 1974b: 225, and to these may be added *Śiva* 4.40. On the importance of the *bilva*, which is emphasized in the worship of Śiva, see also *Mahābhāgavata* 78, *Saura* 65, *Skanda* 1.2.8.27–29, *Śiva* 1.22.21cd–31, and *Brhadharma* 11; see also Gonda 1970: 111–112.
- 22) The reason that there is no mention of fasting in [2], [3] and [4] in Table 2 is perhaps that their accounts are too succinct. Since [8] and [9] in Table 3 describe not the ritual process, but the course of particular myths, it is perhaps only natural that there is no mention of fasting. It may therefore be assumed that in principle the two groups

summarized in Tables 2 and 3 both prescribe fasting. Of special interest is the fact that none of the group of texts in Table 6 describing a goddess festival centred on the worship of weapons makes any mention of fasting, and this may be regarded as a distinctive feature of this group.

- 23) As is pointed out in n. 1 in Table 4, text [14], in the first column of this table, which brings together the accounts belonging to this group, belongs to the group of texts in Table 3, accompanied by the awakening of the goddess and a large-scale dismissal, but because it also alludes to the honouring of young girls, and also because Table 3 had become too long, I have included it in Table 4. The honouring of young girls is also mentioned in [18] and [19] in Table 5.
- 24) *PW* mentions three sets of *pañcapallava*: (1) *āmra, jambū, kapittha, bījapūraka* and *bilva*; (2) *āmra, aśvattha, vaṭa, parkaṭī* and *yajñodumbara*; and (3) *panasa, āmra, aśvattha, vaṭa* and *vakula*. According to the *Varṣakṛīya*, p. 134, n. 3, (2) is for use in Vedic rites and (3) for use in Tantric rites. Kane (1974b: 336, 339) gives *āmra, aśvattha, vaṭa, plakṣa* and *udumbara*. *Plakṣa* is here identical to *parkaṭī*, and so this enumeration corresponds to (2) in the *PW*.
- 25) *Devībhāgavata* 3.26.32: *māmsāsanaṃ ye kurvanti taiḥ kāryaṃ paśu-himsanam/ mahiṣājavarāhānāṃ balidānaṃ viśisyate//*.
- 26) *Devībhāgavata* 3.26.33: *devyagre nihatā yānti paśavaḥ svargam avyayam/na himsā paśujā tatra nighnatāṃ tatkrte 'nagha//*. Cf. Kane 1974b: 168, n. 434; *Brahmavaivarta* 2.64.10–12ab. For a discussion of arguments about the sanctioning of animal sacrifice in sacrifices (*yajña*) in general removed from the context of the goddess festival, see, e.g., Alsdorf 1962: 20–22, 30–32, 35–36.
- 27) E.g., *Nārada* 1.110.33c: *kanyāpūjanam*; *Devībhāgavata* 3.26.37b: *kumārīnāṃ pūjanam*, 5.34.28c: *kanyakānāṃ pūjanam*.
- 28) *Devībhāgavata* 5.34.29: *candanair bhūṣaṇair vastrair bhakṣyaś ca vividhais tathā/sugandhatailamālyaiś ca manaso rucikārakaiḥ//*.
- 29) An act similar to this ritual action of piercing a dough effigy of one's enemy with a sword is described in the *Brhatsamhitā*, to be further referred to below in connection with the goddess festival accompanied by the worship of weapons: "chanting exorcising *mantras*, the Brahman should pierce the clay enemy in the breast with a lance" (*bhūyo 'bhicāra-kair mantraiḥ/ mṛṇmayam ariṃ vibhindyāc chūlenorahsthale viprah* [43.21bd]). Chap. 33 of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*, thought to antedate the *Brhatsamhitā*, describes a rite called *ghṛtakambala*, which already contains what would appear to be a reference to this same ritual action: "piercing a rival adversary in the heart or in a vital spot with a sword" (*sapatnaṃ bhrātryaṃ hr̥daye marmaṇi vāsināvidhya* [33.1.8]); cf. *ibid.* 33.6.6. This is also carried over in the description of the *ghṛtakambala* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*: "full of anger, one should destroy the clay enemy with a lance" (*śūlena mṛṇmayam bhindyāc chatrum krodhasamanvitaḥ* [2.161.20ab]). *Nārada* 1. 119. 25cd–29ab, in the description of the *vijayā daśamī*, lays down that one should pierce with arrows an effigy of one's enemy made of clay fetched from the root of a *śamī* tree standing outside the village.
- 30) *Devī* 22.9: "On the *aṣṭamī* one should have built nine fine wooden houses or, in the absence of wealth, one, O best of gods" (*aṣṭamyām nava gehāni dārujāni śubhāni ca/ekam vā vittābhāvena kārayet surasattama*); *Garuḍa* 1.133.8ab: "on the *aṣṭamī* nine wooden houses or only one" (*aṣṭamyām nava gehāni dārujāny ekam eva vā*); *Agni* 185.3cd: "Durgā is in nine houses or in one house" (*durgā tu navagehassthā hy ekāgārasthitātha vā//*).
- 31) With regard to the goddess's image, the three *Purāṇas* evidence both similarities and

differences. *Devī* ([18]) 22.10 mentions the materials from which the image is to be made and possible substitutes when an image is not used: "There [in that house] one should make a goddess made of gold, silver, earth or wood and endowed with [her] characteristics; alternatively one should worship [her] in a sword or lance." *Garuḍa* ([19]) 1.133.8cd–9ab is similar in content, although the options differ: "There [in that house] one should make a goddess of gold or silver; alternatively one should worship [her] in a lance, sword, book, cloth painting (*paṭa*) or *maṇḍala*." There is no such reference to the goddess's image or substitutes in the *Agni* ([20]), which does, however, state, along with the *Garuḍa*, that the central figure among the nine goddesses has eighteen arms while the other eight goddesses have sixteen arms, and it also enumerates the eighteen weapons held in each of the goddess's eighteen hands. This is not mentioned in the *Devī*. These three Purāṇas thus evidence parallels in their content, but these parallels are mediated by the *Garuḍa* (*Devī*—*Garuḍa*/*Garuḍa*—*Agnī*), and at least in the present context the *Devī* and *Agni* do not stand in any direct relationship to one another.

- 32) *Agni* 185.11cd: *kālī kālī vajreśvari lauhadaṇḍāyai namaḥ*.
- 33) The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, in Chap. 53 dealing with architecture (*vāstuvidyā*), states, "In the outer corners of a house, starting from the northeast, there dwell beings, namely, Carakī, she who is called Vidāri, Pūtanā and Rākṣasī" (53.83). A similar statement appears in Chap. 7 of the *Mayamata* (7.41), dealing with the partition of plane surfaces (*padavinyāsa*), while in Chap. 8, dealing with offerings (*balikarma*) to the deities presiding over different partitions of a plane surface, and Chap. 28, describing the rites for entering a newly built house (*grhapraveśa*), it is also stated that these demonesses are to be worshipped in their respective directions (8.15, 28.14). Illustrations of these deities may be found in OGURA 1990: 149, fig. 2.
- 34) *Garuḍa* 1.34.2: *om mahākaśikāya namaḥ//om hūm hūm prasphura lala lala kulva kulva kulva kulva khalla khalla mulva mulva gulva gulva tulva tulva pulla pulla dhulva dhulva dhuma dhuma dhama dhama mārāya mārāya dhaka dhaka vajñāpaya vajñāpaya vidārāya vidārāya kampa kampa kampaya kampaya pūrāya pūrāya āveśāya āveśāya om hrīm om hrīm haṃ vaṃ vaṃ huṃ taṭa taṭa mada mada hrīm om hūm nairṛtāya namaḥ nīrṛtaye dātavyam*. This may be tentatively translated as follows: "Om. Homage to Mahākaśhika. Om hūm hūm, quiver! play! play! kulva kulva kulva kulva, shake! shake! mulva mulva gulva gulva tulva tulva, flower! flower! dhulva dhulva dhuma dhuma, blow! blow! kill! kill! dhaka dhaka vajñāpaya vajñāpaya, tear! tear! tremble! tremble! cause to tremble! cause to tremble! fulfill! fulfill! cause to enter! cause to enter! Om hrīm om hrīm haṃ vaṃ vaṃ huṃ, rumble! rumble! get drunk! get drunk! hrīm om hūm, homage to him in the southwest. It is to be given to Nirṛti." All three Purāṇas begin with Pūtanā in the southwest, which, in the context of the tutelary deities of the eight directions, is presided over by Nirṛti. It is to be surmised, therefore, that as one proceeds to the northwest, northeast and southeast, Nirṛti in the final section of the above *mantra* is perhaps to be replaced by Vāyu, Īśāna and Agni respectively. I do not know in what type of Tantric ritual this seemingly Tantric *mantra* is used, and further information would be appreciated.
- 35) *Agni* 185.13b: *mahākaśhikam agnaye*.
- 36) *Devī* 22.16a, *Garuḍa* 1.134.3a, *Agni* 185.13a: *tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāt* ("the king should bathe in front of it"). Hazra (1963: 81) reads *tasyāgrataḥ* as *tasyāḥ agrataḥ* and understands it to mean "in front of her, namely, the goddess." However, I consider the form given in all three Purāṇas to be the correct one and would interpret it as meaning "in front of it, namely, the sacrificial animal."

- 37) *Devī* 22.16bd: *śatruṃ kṛtvā tu piṣṭajam/khaḍgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skandaviśākhayoh//*; *Garuḍa* 1.134.3bd: *śatruṃ kṛtvā piṣṭikam/ khaḍgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skandaviśākhayoh//*; *Agni* 185.13d-14a: *śatruṃ piṣṭamayam haret//dadyāt skandaviśākhābhyām*. The Nag Publishers edition of the *Garuḍa* gives in n. 6 the variant *śakram* for *śatruṃ*, but this may be ignored (HAZRA 1963: 81), and Dange (1986: 334) is probably mistaken in his discussion based on the reading *śakram*. The act of destroying the effigy is expressed by the word *ghātayitvā* in the *Devī* and *Garuḍa*, but I am unable to grasp the full import of the statement in the *Agni* that “one should *take away* [the effigy of] the enemy made of dough” (*śatruṃ piṣṭamayam haret*). Viśākha, who, along with Skanda, is presented with the broken dough effigy of the enemy, was originally an independent entity, but from the time of the *Mahābhārata* onwards this term came to be looked upon as one of the names of Skanda-Kārttikeya (HARTING 1922: XIII; CHATTERJEE 1970: 90–91). As one of his many characteristics (CHATTERJEE 1970: 98–111) Skanda-Kārttikeya is regarded as the general of the gods and a god of war, and it is therefore not unreasonable that the broken effigy of the enemy should be here offered up to the two gods Skanda and Viśākha. But I am unaware of any similar rite dedicated to these two gods outside of this context and am therefore unable to add any further comments. The reason that I have included the *Kālikā* ([21]) in this group in Table 5 is that it contains the following passage: “At night, after having made a dough doll of Skanda-Viśākha, one should worship it to annihilate one’s enemies” (*Kālikā* 60.50a–c [Kooij 1972: 111 = 62.49]: *rātrau skandaviśākhasya kṛtvā piṣṭakaputrikām/pūjayec chatrunāśāya*). But here Skanda-Viśākha is treated as a singular noun, and the effigy is not of one’s enemy but of this same Skanda-Viśākha. This therefore represents a ritual action differing from that of the above three Purāṇas. In the context of the goddess festival, the account of this rite preserved in the *Kālikā* thus differs from the other three Purāṇas, but in Chap. 71 (“Chapter of Blood” [“Rudhirādhyāya”]), dealing comprehensively with animal sacrifices, and Chap. 88, dealing with rites to be performed by the king, it describes rites paralleling those of these three Purāṇas. I do not have a text at hand, but the corresponding passages as quoted by Hazra in footnotes to his study of the Upapurāṇas are as follows—*Kālikā* 71.177–178a (HAZRA 1963: 22): *mahānavamyām śaradī rātrau skandaviśākhayoh/yavacūrṇamayam kṛtvā ripuṃ mṛṇmayam eva vā//177//śiraś chittvā baliṃ dadyāt* (“On the night of the *mahānavamī* in autumn, after having made a barley-meal or clay [effigy of one’s] enemy, one should cut off its head and offer it as an oblation to Skanda and Viśākha.”); *Kālikā* 88.61 (HAZRA 1963: 229): *mṛṇmayam sātravam kṛtvā cābhicārikamantrakaiḥ hr̥dī śūlena viddhvā taṃ śiraḥ khaḍgena chedayet* (“Having made a clay [effigy of one’s] enemy, one should stab it in the heart with a lance while chanting exorcising *mantras* and have its head cut off with a sword.”).
- 38) The *Garuḍa* and *Agni* both record an identical *mantra* to be used on this occasion—*Garuḍa* 1.134.5cd–6ab, *Agni* 185.14cd–15ab: *jayanī maṅgalā kālī bhadrakālī kapālinī/durgā śivā kṣamā dhātṛī svāhā svadhā namo ’stu te//* (“Victorious One, Auspicious One, Kālī, Bhadrakālī, She with Skulls, Durgā, Gentle One, Patient One, Creator, *svāhā*, *svadhā*, homage be to you!”). This same *mantra* is given at *Devī* 23.9 immediately after the account of the goddess festival for the purpose of chanting and making oblations to the sacrificial fire, and at *Bhaviṣya* ([26]) 4.138.86 it is given as a *mantra* to be used when the king himself worships Durgā.
- 39) The goddesses are listed at *Garuḍa* 1.134.4cd–5ab: “Brahmāṇī and Māheṣī, Kaumārī, also Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī and Māhendrī, Cāmuṇḍā, also Caṇḍikā” (*brahmāṇī caiva māheṣī*



*kaumārī vaiṣṇavī tathā/vārāhī caiva māhendrī cāmuṇḍā caṇḍikā tathā//*). As is indicated by the phrase *mātrṇām caiva devīnām* (*Garuḍa* 1.134.4a), these correspond to the so-called “Mothers” (COBURN 1984: 313–330; KINSLEY 1986: 151–160; TACHIKAWA 1990).

- 40) *Agni* 268.13c: *bhadrakālīm paṭe likhya* (“drawing Bhadrakālī on cloth”); *Viṣṇudharmottara* 2.158.3a: *bhadrakālīm paṭe kṛtvā* (“making Bhadrakālī on cloth”).
- 41) *Mahābhārata* 5.157.18: *lohābhihāro nivṛttaḥ kurukṣetram akardamam/puṣṭās te ’svā bhr̥tā yodhāḥ śvo yudhyasva sakeśavaḥ* (“The *lohābhihāra* has been performed, Kurukṣetra has no mud, your horses are fat, the soldiers have been paid—fight tomorrow with Keśava!”). Cf. *Mahābhārata* 5.158.11. Buitenen (1978: 476) translates this *lohābhihāra* as “the lustration of the weapons,” and in a note on this passage (*ibid.*: 554) he equates it with *nīrājana*. Cf. *PW*, s.v. *lohābhihāra*.
- 42) On the assumption that rites tend to evolve from the simple to the more complex (although this is not by any means always the case), then it is to be surmised that, among these three collections of *mantras*, that of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is the oldest. The *mantras* in the *Agni*, although based on those of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, show evidence of some internal augmentation, while in the *Bhaviṣya*, similarly based on the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the objects over which the *mantras* are to be chanted have increased in number, but it is impossible to determine which of these two collections of *mantras* is the older. When considering in n. 31 the relationship between the three Purāṇas describing the *śatrubalī* (*Garuḍa*, *Devī* and *Agni*), I posited a relationship mediated by the *Garuḍa* (*Garuḍa*—*Devī*, *Garuḍa*—*Agni*), and here too one could posit a similar relationship, this time mediated by the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (*Viṣṇudharmottara*—*Bhaviṣya*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*—*Agni*), with there being no need to posit any direct relationship between the *Bhaviṣya* and *Agni*.
- 43) The *Skanda* ([22]) in Table 6 preserves a ritual centred on the worship of the sword, for which purpose three *mantras* are used (*Skanda* 7.1.83.43a–d, 43ef–44ab, 44c–f). These correspond to the three sword *mantras* shared by the *Bhaviṣya*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Agni*.
- 44) With regard to the relevant literature, the following additional comments may be made. As has been noted by M.K. Dresden, an antecedent of this rite may be seen in the *dhruvāśvakalpa/āśvayujī* described at *Mānava Gr̥hyasūtra* 2.6 and *Kāthaka Gr̥hyasūtra* 57 (DRESDEN 1941: 128; TAKAHASHI 1980: (40)). In addition, as has been pointed out by V. Raghavan and J. Gonda, it can also be found in the purification of horses, carriages and elephants described at *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 17–18b (*rājakarma sām̐vatsarīyam* [“the annual rite of the king”]), especially 17.1, 17.2 and 18.1–3 (RAGHAVAN 1979: 24–25, 158–159; GONDA 1980: 426). The *asvasānti* (“propitiation of horses”), which Meyer associates with the *nīrājana*, is also found at *Bodhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* 1.19, *Hiranyakeśi Gr̥hyasūtra* 1.6.3 and *Agni* 290, while the *gajasānti* (“propitiation of elephants”) is similarly found at *Bodhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* 1.20, *Hiranyakeśi Gr̥hyasūtra* 1.6.4 and *Agni* 291. For a discussion of the rites described in the *Mānava* and *Kāthaka Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Br̥hatsamhitā*, see TAKAHASHI 1980, while Kane (1946: 230–231) describes the *nīrājana* on the basis of the *Br̥hatsamhitā*.
- 45) The greatest difference between these two Purāṇas is that the elements of prognostication found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* are absent in the *Agni*. Takahashi (1980: (39)) also detects a variation of this prognostication in the prototype of the rite preserved in the *Gr̥hyasūtras*. The forms of prognostication based on the manner in which the elephants and horses eat the balls of food given to them and the way in which the king’s elephant

passes through the arches (*Viṣṇudharmottara* 2.159.20cd–22ab, 22–26) have parallels at *Brhatsaṃhitā* 43.19 and 17–18 (BHAT 1981: 366 = 44.19 and 17–18).

46) On *viṣayā daśamī*, see KANE 1974b: 188–194.

47) Cf. Kane 1946: 230. See also the passage from the *Mahābhārata* quoted in n. 41 and, for examples from other literary works, *PW*, s.v. *nīrājana* and *rāj + nis* 2).

48) At the end of the *Kāthaka Grhyasūtra* (73.2) we find the following passage: “Chanting, ‘Among these women the wife of Indra is the most fortunate, I have heard, for her husband will never die of old age. Indra is supreme above all’ (*Rgveda* 10.86.11), one should perform the girls’ sacrifice (*kumārīṇām yajña*).” However, its relationship to the honouring of young girls in the goddess festival is unclear.

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