3 The Divine Group and Its Relocation: Textual Sources and Religious Cartography

The *Jyotirliṅga*s

Before delving into the exploration of modes of transposition illustrated by ethnographies of local *jyotirliṅga* manifestations in Banaras, I want to provide a brief overview of the establishment of the worship of the twelve sites known throughout India as *jyotirliṅga* shrines, which today form one of the major pan-Indian pilgrimages (Fig. 3). Despite the immense popularity of the myth of Śiva's manifestation as a fire column, identified as one of the mythological explanations for the origins of the *liṅga* cult,[50] the individual *jyotirliṅga*s and the related pan-Indian pilgrimage have received scant scholarly attention.

The work of Fleming (2007, 2009), to which I primarily refer in this reconstruction, has filled many gaps by providing a comprehensive account of the evolution of the narrative material connected to the *jyotirliṅga*s. Fleming places the origins of the *jyotirliṅga* cult within the broader context of the development and systematisation of the cult of Śiva, from the 9th to the 13th centuries. In particular, by analysing medieval material related to the twelve forms, Fleming shows that the group is based on an elaboration of Vedic imagery of light and fire and its materialisation in specific locations. He also highlights how stories about the twelve *jyotirliṅga*s illustrate a series of ritual practices and devotional attitudes in relation to Śiva that were presumably prevalent before the rise of the *liṅga* as the primary symbol of the deity's presence in shrines. The narratives related to the individual sites are therefore essential sources for understanding the crystallisation of the worship of Śiva in the form of the *liṅga* (Fleming 2007, 10–11).

The emergence of the group of twelve *jyotirliṅga*s reflects a widespread mode of sanctifying territory through the systematisation of lists of divine groups, where individual elements are never isolated but, as highlighted in the first chapter, are part of networks of connections and trans-regional pilgrimages. The names of the *jyotirliṅga*s appear in various Purāṇas and are part of other

---

50 Another cycle of myths referred to for explaining the origin of the *liṅga* cult is that of 'Śiva in the forest of pines'; see, for example, Doniger 1997 [1973], 169, 264 and Shulman 1986. For the origins of the *liṅga* form, see Srinivasan 1997.
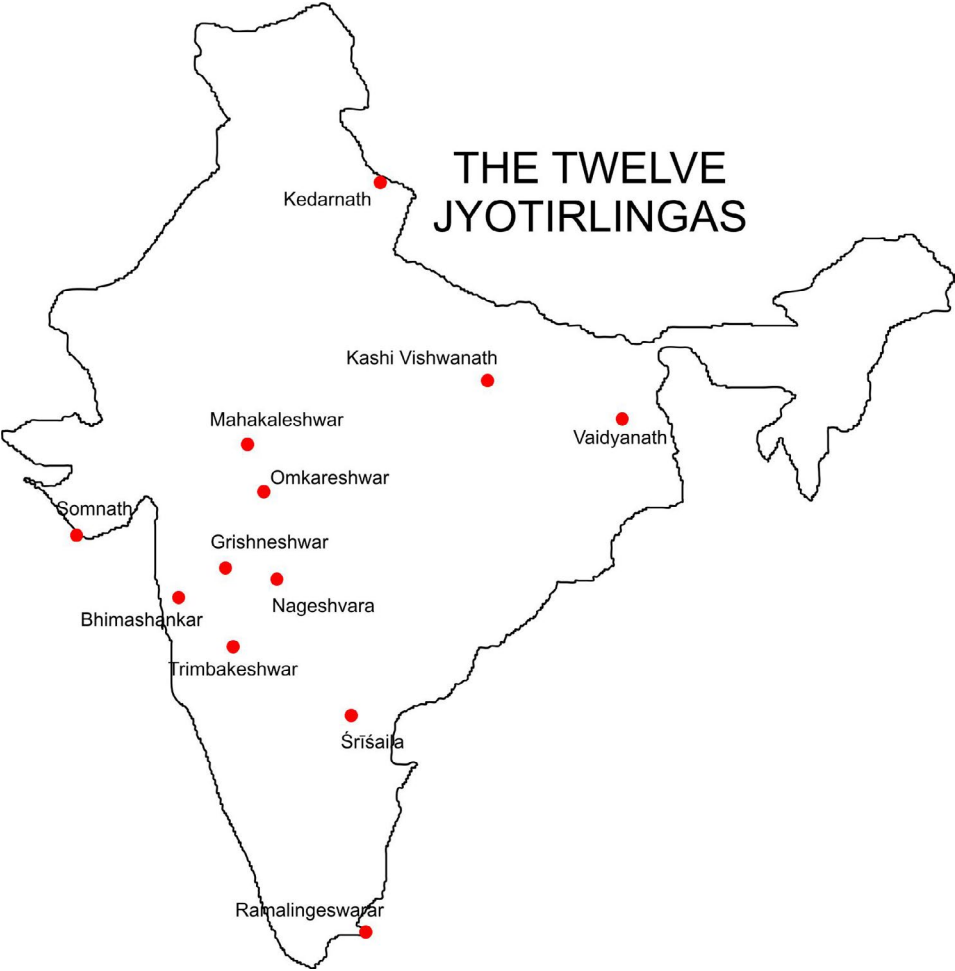
Fig. 3   Map of the locations of pan-Indian *jyotirliṅga*s. Source: commons.wikimedia.org.

lists and divine groups as well.[51] The well-known hymn *Jyotirliṅgastotra*,[52] in its numerous regional variants, also conveys the idea of a group. As I observed during my research in the temples of local *jyotirliṅga* manifestations in Banaras, those questioned about the location of the pan-Indian sites or the inclusion of a divine form in the group often recite from memory the verses of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* to recall the other locations; the hymn serves as a form of invocation, prayer and concentration.

The primary and oldest sources that group the stories of the twelve are, however, to be found in the tradition of the *Śivapurāṇa*, particularly in two collections that appear in different editions of the text.[53] The first is the *Jñānasaṃhitā* (JS), dated by Hazra (1975, 92–96) as post-950, with chapters 45–58 being the stories of the twelve *jyotirliṅga*s; and the second is the *Koṭirudrasaṃhitā* (KS), dated around the 13th century (Fleming 2007, 19–20), in which chapters 14–33 are a reworking of the material in the JS.

The JS seems to be the first attempt to collect the mythological material associated with the twelve places later to become the pan-Indian group. However, it is somewhat unmethodical; for example, the term *jyotirliṅga* is not used in reference to all the divine forms and the term *liṅga* is not widely used either. These two terms were, however, adopted and commonly used by the compilers of the later KS.

In both collections, the stories of the individual places generally follow a recurring narrative pattern: a protagonist—sometimes from whom the name of the *jyotirliṅga* derives, such as its founder, installer or a character from the story—finds themselves in a critical situation and seeks help from Śiva, propitiating him with worship. Eventually, the Lord appears to the devotee in the form of light *(jyotirūpa, jyotis)* and grants the requested aid. The deity is then requested to remain on earth in the form of a *jyotirliṅga* for the benefit of his devotees.

---

51 For example, the Skandapurāṇa (Kedārakhaṇḍa 7.28-35) lists twenty-five *liṅga*s spread across the entire subcontinent, including Omkāreśvara, Mahākāla, Viśveśvara, Tryambakeśvara, Someśvara, and Kedār. For a comprehensive examination of sources that mention the names of the twelve, see Fleming 2007.

52 The Jyotirliṅgastotra is a hymn traditionally attributed, without evident proof, to Śaṅkarācārya. The most common version is the short one, which recites the names of the various *liṅga*s and their corresponding geographic locations: 'Saurāṣṭre somanāthaṃ ca śrīśaile mallikārjunam/ujjayinyāṃ mahākālam oṃkāre parameśvaraṃ// Kedāraṃ himavatpṛṣṭhe ḍākinyāṃ bhīmaśaṃkaram/vārāṇasyāṃ ca viśveśaṃ tryambakaṃ gautamītaṭe//vaidyanāthaṃ citābhūmau nāgeśaṃ dārūkāvane/ setubandhe ca rāmeśaṃ ghuśmeśaṃ tu śivālaye//dvādaśaitāni nāmāni prātar utthāya yaḥ paṭhet/ sarvapāpair vinirmuktaḥ sarvasiddhiphalaṃ labhet//' (version reported by Fleming 2007, 28 with my corrections).

53 For a discussion of the editions of the *Śivapurāṇa* and the collections in question, see Fleming 2007, 13–17.

Connections between the stories are provided by the introductory chapters that list the names of the group and by summary colophons included in some chapters dedicated to the individual places. In the JS, these devices are sporadic and appear only in four chapters (JS 46, 47, 50 and 58), whereas the compilers of the KS take care to provide a clearer and more systematic overview.[54]

The lists of twelve provided in the introductory chapters (JS 38, KS 1) are almost identical, except for the variation in the fourth *jyotirliṅga.* In the JS it is Omkāreś-vara; the name does not appear in the KS and is replaced by Parameśvara. Both the JS and KS present the narratives in the same order as the introductory list. Despite that consistency, the mythological material reveals the individual na-ture of the stories associated with the specific places; in particular, the versions presented by the JS, which seem to be collected from local traditions, lack refer-ences to the group as a whole and appear to be independent and self-referential narratives. It should also be noted that the group does not seem to constitute a pilgrimage route: in the the order presented, the route would be long, illogical from a territorial perspective and highly impractical. It is more likely that the individual places initially belonged to regional routes and later gained fame as nodes in trans-regional trade networks, as often happened in the history of sacred centres on the subcontinent (Bakker 1992). In any case, the dissemination of the stories or, at least, the names of the divine forms in question, seems to precede the systematisation of the group.

The construction of the group of twelve—like many other so-called pan-Indian groups—reflects the intention of the various compilers to create a trans-regional project: by renaming already known and dispersed places throughout the country as *jyotirliṅga*s and identifying them as forms belonging to a specific group, the compilers of the Purāṇic collections imagined the territory as a single sacred landscape dedicated to Śiva. Once that is established, pilgrimage around the twelve is the next step, and along with the practice of gift-giving *(dāna)*, would have ensured their continued prominence.

---

54 For example, Fleming provides the translation of one of these colophons (KS 14): 'This is the fourteenth chapter of the *Koṭirudra Saṃhitā*, which is the fourth book of the blessed *Śiva Purāṇa* containing a description of the origin of the Somanāth *jyotirliṅga*' (Fleming 2007, 24).

The Presence or Absence of the *Jyotirliṅga*s in the Geography of Banaras: The Glorifications

Before delving into the transposed temples of Banaras themselves, I will outline the 'transfer' of the twelve *jyotirliṅga*s (actually eleven, since Viśvanāth, the most prominent temple in Banaras, is already present as an 'original' in the city), according to the glorifications.

As we have seen, the pan-Indian *jyotirliṅga*s came into existence between about the 10th and 13th centuries; the decisive moment is marked by the compilation of the *KS*, which classifies them as *jyotirliṅga*s, thus initiating the history of the group as we know it. Of course, there remains some room for manoeuvre and negotiation: while in written sources each *jyotirliṅga* is claimed to be authentic, the list as a whole varies by region.[55] Popular transmission, moreover, presents an even more complex situation because the status of *jyotirliṅga*s is based on discourses and narratives tied to specific locations and alien to the Puranic sources. To call a *liṅga* a *jyotirliṅga* differentiates it and elevate it above other *liṅga*s; however, as we will see when hearing the voices of our sites in Banaras, there remains some confusion about the necessary qualification to be a *jyotirliṅga*. The term certainly confers something extra that makes that *liṅga* recognisable, authoritative and powerful; however, as shown by Fleming's analysis, the names and divine forms we know as *jyotirliṅga*s precede the formulation of the very idea of *jyotirliṅga* and of the group itself. A similar situation can be observed in Kāśī; as I will demonstrate by analysing the main glorifications, particularly the KKh, some divine forms that would later become known as *jyotirliṅga* transpositions seem to exist before and independently of their affiliation with the group.

Some of the homonymous *jyotirliṅga* shrines carry particular weight in the geography of Banaras; this is the case for Kedāreśvar, to which the concluding chapter is dedicated, and Oṃkāreśvar. Together with Viśvanāth, they give their names to the three areas *(khaṇḍa*s) into which the city is ideally divided in the KKh. Oṃkāreśvar has more than one chapter of glorification in the KKh (73.70-74.122), indicating that it was, or at least was imagined to be, one of the prominent centres of the city. Kedāreśvar and Oṃkāreśvar are part of a series of fourteen *liṅga*s listed in the KKh (73.32-36) whose layout constitutes the *muktikṣetra*, literally 'field of liberation', meaning the space in which one can attain liberation *(mukti)* if one dies there.

---

55 It is interesting to note that the narrative material in the JS and the KS about sites with dual 'originals' retains some ambiguity about the location of the place. For stories of the *jyotirliṅga*s and narrative references that reflect geographical uncertainty, see Fleming 2007, 101–116.

In addition to Oṃkāreśvar and Kedāreśvar, the KKh mentions almost all the other divine names that would later become known as *jyotirliṅga*s. Some of these are said to be *tīrtha*s located elsewhere that have come to Kāśī. Mahākāl, for example, is mentioned several times in the text: initially, in the description of the seven sacred cities (KKh 7), Ujjain is glorified as the city that saves the universe from all sins and its Mahākāl *liṅga* is said to be the one that frees from encountering the god of death, Yama (KKh 7.97). This reference places the divine form in its 'original' location and seems to have no connection with the city of Banaras. In the myth of King Divodāsa, however, which is a significant narrative later in the KKh (39-64), Mahākāl is one of the emissaries sent by Śiva to Kāśī to check on the other messengers of the god who had stopped in the holy city, been dazzled by its beauty and not returned (KKh 53.8-15). Like the others, Mahākāl, having seen the splendid divine abode and knowing the merits obtained there, establishes his own *liṅga* and decides to stay in the beautiful city (KKh 53.26-29).[56]

Someśvar is mentioned several times in the text as part of a series of *liṅga*s (KKh 10.95; 83.95; 97.197), without any reference to the homonymous site and the 'original' *jyotirliṅga*. When it does appear it is as Somnāth, one of the stops of the Antargṛhayātrā, the well-known spiral pilgrimage that traverses the innermost section of Banaras (KKh 100.81). Tryambak and Rāmeśvar[57] are mentioned in a list of sixty-four *tīrtha*s that have emerged in Kāśī from elsewhere.[58] Vaidhyanāth is mentioned first as a *liṅga* installed by Dhruva on the advice of Viṣṇu (KKh 21.126-127), and again later, with indications of its location (KKh 97.235-236); it then appears as a stop of the Antargṛhayātrā (KKh 100.82), as does Nāgeś (KKh 100.83-86).[59]

Bhīmāśaṅkar, Mallikārjun and Ghuśmeśvar *jyotirliṅga*s do not appear in the KKh but a Bhīmeś *liṅga*, which shines in Kāśī, is mentioned as having come from the Saptagodāvarī *tīrtha* (KKh 69.119-122).[60] The name Bhīmeśvar appears again, but it is associated with Bhīmacaṇḍī (KKh 70.72-73), a village and the seat of the

---

56 Mahākāl's arrival in Kāśī from Ujjain is also mentioned in KKh 69.18-20, and KKh 97.131-132 also references his placement in Kāśī.

57 A Rāma *liṅga* is also mentioned in TVK 113.

58 KKh 69.78 quotes Rāmeśvar as the sacred place from which Jaṭīśvara came to Kāśī, while KKh 69.79 explains that Tryambakeśvar came from Trisandhya. KKh 69 describes the sixty-four sacred places that have moved to the holy city.

59 In KKh 84.44, a Nāgeśvar *tīrtha* is also mentioned in a list of sacred places in Banaras between the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Varaṇā rivers and Maṇikarṇikā. The location given does not seem to match the current site of the Nāgeśvar temple, which stands between the Bhoṃsalā and Gaṇeśa ghāts. Instead, the KKh appears to place it further north, beyond Pañcagaṅgā.

60 The Saptagodāvarī *tīrtha* is in Andhra Pradesh, near Solangipur, while the Bhīmāśaṅkar *jyotirliṅga* is near Pune. The narrative tradition recorded by the ŚP collections, however, preserves indications of this divine form's connection with Assam (Fleming 2007,

goddess of the same name on the Pañcakrośīyātrā route. Although Mallikārjun is not mentioned, his abode Śaileś or Śrīśail is repeatedly referenced. The place is described as a renowned sacred centre and a marvellous mountain residence inhabited by Śiva (KKh 6.11),[61] and is compared with other divine forms such as Kedār, which is declared superior to Śrīśail in conferring merits (KKh 6.69). The *jyotirliṅga* Mallikārjun is also identified with Tripurāntakeśvar; in fact, this is described as a divine form coming from Śrīśail (KKh 69.73-76). The text here clearly expresses the sense of divine transposition: the merit gained by visiting the peak of Śrīśail can be achieved by visiting Tripurāntakeśvar in Kāśī, which is in an elevated position on the perimeter of the Avimuktakṣetra to the west of Viśveśvar (ibid., cf. Gutschow 2006, 274); the same *liṅga* is also mentioned as a stop on the route of the eleven *āyatana*s, another term for a divine residence (KKh 100.63-66).

From these brief mentions of the presence or absence of the *jyotirliṅga*s in the KKh we can infer that at least some of the divine forms with *jyotirliṅga* names were present in the geography of Banaras in the 13th-14th centuries. A few of these were apparently important shrines in the city, as demonstrated by the extensive narrative material in the text (some of which we will detail in the chapter on Kedāreśvar). Most of them, however, appear within lists of *liṅga*s, or as divine forms established by devotees or deities (Vaidhyanāth, Śrīśaileśvar, Mahākāl) on their visits to Kāśī; others as divine forms manifesting in the city from elsewhere (Tryambak, Rāmeśvar, and Tripurāntakeśvar/Mallikārjun/Śrīśaileśvar); and still others as stops on known pilgrimage routes (Somnāth, Nāgeś, Vaidhyanāth, Oṃkāreśvar, and Kedāreśvar).

It is evident that in the KKh these divine forms do not appear as part of a group or as a sequence or pilgrimage route that mirrors the pan-Indian group of *jyotirliṅga*s. Moreover, none of them, except for Mahākāl (KKh 7.95), seems to be known as a *jyotirliṅga* or as a transposition of a *jyotirliṅga*. Rather, confirming the logic of emergence and multiplication that seems to regulate the rise of places and the formation of Hindu sacred geography, they appear as independent divine forms, situated in different cities and regions and emerging through an interplay of references, resonances and echoes of names and forms, each with a rooted local tradition.

90–93), showing that the multiple emergence of some forms and their names has been happening since ancient times.

61   This chapter describes a series of well-known *tīrtha*s that bestow significant merits on devotees; these will later be compared to Kāśī. Śrīśaila appears as a sacred mountain alongside the Himalayas in KKh 25.36.

Some names are picked up in the KR about two centuries after the KKh.[62] The KR mentions Someśvar, Rāmeśvar, Kedāreśvar, and Nāganāth as part of the Pañcakrośīyātrā, to which chapters 9–11 of the text are dedicated. In this way, those transpositions of *jyotirliṅga*s are anchored to the territory of Kāśī and to the route that is the most emblematic of the holy city. These are generally the forms that, as we will see when discussing the individual shrines, have multiple representatives in the city; a notable example is Somnāth, which is found in four different shrines (two named Somnātheśvar, two Someśvar) on the Pañcakrośī route.

The KR is dedicated to the glorification of the city in general and its symbolic meanings, and as such contains few geographical descriptions of the territory or individual praise of *liṅga*s and *tīrtha*s. There is, however, an interesting description of Kāśī itself as a cosmic *jyotirliṅga*: the appearance of the column of fire *(liṅgodbhavamūrti)* is placed as an event in the city's history. The 'city as *jyotirliṅga'* is then described as the only form that survives during the cyclical dissolution of the universe (KR 7.65 and 17). The explicit relationship between Banaras and the form of light was already present in the KKh (26.131-132), where the city of Avimukta, which extends five *krośa*, is identified with the *jyotirliṅga* Viśveśvar, whose light is compared to the solar disc.

The Presence or Absence of the *Jyotirliṅga*s in the Geography of Banaras: Visual Sources

The placement on the territory and the eventual multiplication of the transposed *jyotirliṅga*s in Banaras begins to be documented by pictorial maps from the late 18th century. Such maps, as mentioned in the previous chapter, do not represent an objective reality and thus can not be taken to show whether the temples depicted were actually present in the city at the time of their creation. They do, however, project the ideal geography and divine population described in texts onto the physical territory, visually materialising the imagined space that had, in part, already begun to materialise architecturally.

As mentioned, the earliest pictorial maps dedicated to the representation of Kāśī are of Rajasthani origin and are presumed to be from the 18th century. The

---

62 Somnāth (KR 10.22, 30, 43, 48), Rāmeśvar (KR 9.71,122; 10.47-8, 50, 83; 13.32), Oṃkāreśvar (KR 13.72), Nāganāth (KR 10.33) and Kedāreśvar (KR 10.23; 13.66).

'Stylized Map of Vārānasī' (or 'Victoria and Albert Museum picture map'),[63] and the 'Pilgrims in Banaras' map[64] represent some of the *jyotirliṅga* temples, using inscriptions. Of these, some have features recognisable in the current urban geography; for example, Tripurāntakeśvar appears, along with Trimukhavinayāk—the three-faced Gaṇeśa actually located near it—on a hill, which can be identified, as we will see in the next chapter, with the elevated area that hosts the temple of Ṭilā Bābā (the Lord of the Hill), a local transposition of Tripurāntakeśvar. Moreover, in some cases, *jyotirliṅga*s with more than one representative in the territory appear in different places on the maps—such as Vaidhyanātheśvar and Someśvar/Somnāth. Despite both pictorial maps apparently including some pilgrimage routes in the urban territory, they include neither the entire group of *jyotirliṅga*s nor their pilgrimage route, which presumably emerged more recently.

A clearer idea of the ways in divine groups (such as the *jyotirliṅga*s), which would later develop into local urban pilgrimages, are represented can be gained by analysing the Kāśīdarpaṇa by Kailasnath Sukul,[65] dated 1876. The projection in a visual form of the imagined space described in textual sources can be said to culminate with this work. Reproduced in about 5000 lithographed copies on paper and fabric, the 'Mirror of Kāśī' constitutes the most well-known icon-image of the city, depicted here in a circular form reminiscent of the cosmic symbolism of the *maṇḍala* (Fig. 4). The Kāśīdarpaṇa has been defined as a 'spatial text' or 'word picture' (Gengnagel 2011, 162); in addition to symbolically depicting some of the locations, a large number of them only appear through inscriptions. The direct connection to textual tradition and the space described in Purāṇic material, particularly with reference to the KKh, is explicitly stated by the author in a note following the title of the map; here it is explained that the Kāśīdarpaṇa represents the sacred territory of Kāśī based on six Purāṇas;[66] the map, defined

---

63   Exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, 09322IS, 90 × 104 cm, fabric. The map, identified only in 1999 by Gole and Crill as a representation of Banaras, was already displayed with the incorrect caption 'Pictorial chart of Shivpur. The heavenly city of Shiva'. It was first published in Gutschow (2006); the most comprehensive study is found in Gengnagel 2011, 73–105.

64   Preserved (but not exhibited) at the National Museum in Delhi, cat.no. 63.935, 234 × 330 cm, fabric, restored in 1998, dated around 1830, probably from Rajasthan. This map is the largest known depiction of Banaras, with a few black and white images published by Gole (1989, 65). Gengnagel (2011, 106–148 and plates 2.1–16) conducted the first detailed study of the map and reading of all legible inscriptions.

65   The Kāśīdarpaṇa was printed by the Vidyodaya Press. It is 79 × 92 cm and reproductions are preserved at the Bharat Kala Bhavan in Varanasi, at the British Library (Cat. no. 53345.2) and in private collections. Gutschow (2006, 483 and note 29) and Gengnagel (2011, 162 and note 73) provide an exhaustive bibliography on it. The most recent description of Sukul's map is in Gengnagel (2011: 162–185).

66   The *Linga, Shiva, Nandi, Skanda, Ganesha* and *Agni Purana*s.

Fig. 4   Kāśīdarpaṇa of Kailasnath Sukul, printed in 1876 by Vidyodaya Press, Banaras, 79 × 92 cm. Courtesy of Niels Gutschow.

as *parilekha* (literally 'description' or 'portrait'), aims to make the city constantly visible to those who do not dwell there (ibid., 165).

Through the combination of geometric elements and the symbolic refiguring of elements of the sacred landscape, the map proposes a highly idealised image of the city. The Gaṅgā flows sinuously, ideally tracing the shape of the trident of Śiva, the *triśūla,* which supports the city. The river crosses the outer circle, meeting its tributaries, Asī to the south and Varanā to the north. Unlike the previously described pictorial maps, the Kāśīdarpaṇa does not seem to focus on the practice of pilgrimage; the only explicit reference to routes is to the Pañcakrośīyātrā, about which two routes are mentioned: the one actually practiced and the Caurāsīkrośīyātrā, which would be much longer but is purely conceptual or ideal.[67] The presence of other routes on Sukul's map can be inferred from the depicted locations or inscriptions corresponding to groups of deities, which generally match those mentioned in the KKh. The Kāśīdarpaṇa does not represent people, houses or inhabited places but rather an abstract space where often the name written simply replaces the icon of a site. The map, however, is not estranged from the topographical reality of the city; scholars have, for example, highlighted the correspondences of the Kāśīdarpaṇa with the topographic map of 1928–29 (Gutschow 2006, 70–73). The emergence of Sukul's contemporary reality is evident not only in the often precise location of sacred places, such as temples and water places, but also in the presence of 'profane' buildings and recent constructions, incorporated perhaps as a mark of the colonial presence. His topographic reality is, however, selective: few Islamic structures, for example, are included.

Compared with the earlier pictorial maps, the Kāśīdarpaṇa includes a larger number of *jyotirliṅga*s. Ghuśmeśvar and Bhīmāśankar are missing but their absence, as I will discuss, will be remedied later through renaming practices. We do not know whether the *jyotirliṅga*s represented had a physical presence on the territory at that time; however, given the documented slowing of reconstruction activities after 1850, the attention shown by Sukul to the topographical reality and the correlation of the locations shown with those of current local *jyotirliṅga* temples—of which Sukul often includes more than one representative—it is possible to assert that the objects included in the 'Mirror of Kāśī' corresponded to places actually present in Banaras at the end of the 19th century.[68] Nevertheless

---

67   Sukul (1977, 217), the nephew of Kailasnath Sukul, reports on the confusion surrounding the practice of this route in the mid-19th century and the dispute about the correct route. The presence of both new and old temples for some deities in the route testifies to attempts to establish a new route, as highlighted by Gengnagel (2011, 64–72). For a comprehensive account of the debate, see Gengnagel 2008, 145–163.

68   A detailed analysis of the representation of the *jyotirliṅga*s transposed in Sukul's map can be found in Lazzaretti 2013.

the *jyotirliṅga*s do not appear as a group or as a pilgrimage route. Instead, however, the Kāśīdarpaṇa often alludes to a route or a class of deities through the representation of some of its components. Groups of deities, for example, are often included in incomplete numbers,[69] but it is their placement or the name by which they are referenced that alludes to the class of divine beings. In other cases, it is precisely through the chosen figurative modes and the explicit placement in the visual medium that the author contributes to transforming still somewhat unsystematic sets of deities into true groups present in the urban space.[70]

The textual and visual sources, then, show that completeness, systematisation and fixity are not characteristics of divine groups; these, instead, seem to form over time and be transmitted as open, mutable and inconsistent systems, in which, however, the idea of the group remains. As we will see in the fifth chapter, discussing the evolution of lists and pilgrimages, groups have aspects that differentiate between members and aspects that connect them (Feldhaus 2003, 131).

Now let us see how the individual parts of a transposed group conceive their belonging to such a system and, at the same time, negotiate their position in the imagined space of Banaras.

---

69 *KKh* 72 is dedicated to the description of a divine army deployed to defeat the demon Durga. The divine groups are described along with their spatial locations in the territory of Banaras, forming a sort of protective shield around the inner space. The text lists ninety-six *śakti*s (72.3-14), eight *durgā*s (72.90-91), eight *bhairava*s (72.93) and sixty-four *vetāla*s (72.97-100). For a discussion of the case of the *vināyaka*s, see Gutschow 2006, 64–66.

70 This is the case with the *śakti*s, analysed by Gengnagel (2011, 171–173). He highlights that Sukul's representation divides the list of ninety-six goddesses into eight groups of twelve *śakti*s, with each group positioned in one of the eight cardinal and ordinal directions on his map. This case prompts reflection on the actual contribution of maps to the realisation and objectification of the sacred textual space.