

2. *Kāśikhaṇḍokta–Kāśī* in Texts

Visualizations in the form of maps and representations of the sacred spaces of Banaras are discussed here within the context of the discourse on the sacredness of pilgrimage sites, fords, rivers and places. Indicators of the sacredness of these places include: the declaration and quantification of merit that can be attained by either visiting these places as a pilgrim, living or dying there, or by performing specific rituals—mainly ritual baths, ancestor worship, funeral rites and worship of the resident deities. In other words, the pilgrimage maps of Banaras need to be analyzed in the context of the vast corpus of eulogical puranic literature with their spatial texts found in the sections called, *māhātmyas* and *sthālapurāṇas*, where the benefits and fruits that can be gained at these places are praised (*phalastuti*).¹

Among these texts we find an enumeration along with a ranking of pilgrimage sites which place specific sacred sites into a larger framework of pan-Indian locations.² It is, of course, a *topos* to praise a specific site as the most excellent of all by comparing the respective merit gained through the various features of the place described. In a passage of the *Vārāṇasimāhātmya* found in the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, the sacred space of Banaras is called Avimukta and is equated with cremation grounds (*śmaśāna*).³ It is praised as the most excellent of all the *tīrthas*:

uttamaṇi sarvatīrthānām sthānānām uttamam ca tat /
jñānānām uttamam jñānam avimuktam param mama // KūP I.29.24⁴

[The city Vārāṇasī] is the most excellent of all fords, it is the most excellent of places, it is the most excellent knowledge of [all] knowledge, it is my supreme Avimukta.

The context of this passage makes it clear that the pilgrimage to the sacred fords is compared here with other salvific techniques, and is ultimately deemed to be the highest means to attain liberation.⁵ Another well-documented strategy which

1 See Michaels (2003) on the concept of *tīrtha* in texts, rituals and maps.

2 On the ranking of pilgrimage sites Salomon (1979) and Bhardwaj (1973), especially chapter VI.

3 Both facts suggest a relatively early date for this passage, see Eck (1980: 13) and below.

4 See KūP 1.31.24 in the Veṅkateśvara edition.

5 *kecid dhyānaṇi praśāmsanti dharmam evāpare janāḥ / anye sāṅkhyāṇi tathā yogāṇi tapas tv
anye maharṣayaḥ/ brahmācaryam atho maunam anye prāhur maharṣayah / ahimsāṇi satyam
apy anye sannyāsāṇi apare viduh / kecid dayāṇi praśāmsanti dānam adhyayanam tathā /
tīrthayātrāṇi tathā kecid anye cendriyanigrahā / kim eteṣām bhavej jyāyah prabṛuhi muni-
pumgava. KūP I.29.8–11ab (= Veṅkateśvara edition 1.31.8–11ab).*

extolls the greatness of a given site is a holistic, or inclusivistic, rather than hierarchical, perspective. In this regard, a site is not placed above others, but is rather integrated, or included, with other places within its own territory. In the context of a description of the pilgrimage to the seven cities (*saptapurīyātrā*) the *Kāśīrahasya* gives an example of such an evaluation of sacredness:

*tīrthāni sarvāni purīś ca sarvās tathā śivasyāyatanāni ṣaṣṭih /
nadyo nadāḥ sarasāḥ sāgarāś ca devāḥ sametā munayaś ca sarve //54
vasanti kāśyām svavimuktikāmāḥ kāmārisamprāptamahatprabhāvāḥ /
drṣṭvā hi kāśīm ramate mano na tīrtheṣu cānyeṣu sadaiva teṣām // 55*

(KR 13.54–55)

All *tīrthas*, and all cities, and the sixty abodes of Śiva, all rivers, rivulets, lakes and oceans, all the gods and sages dwell in Kāśī, desiring their own liberation under the great influence of Śiva (*kāmāri*). The mind of those who have seen Kāśī will never delight in other *tīrthas*.⁶

This claim, of a unification or agglomeration of many sacred places at one specific site, results in a certain density within the sacred space of Banaras as the presence of all sacred places is postulated within the territory of the city. The agglomeration of sacred places is contrasted with a “splitting” of one sacred place into many manifestations at different places. Kāśī is not simply a clearly defined spatial entity in the north-Indian Ganges plain, it is also found elsewhere. In this sense it transcends its own spatial boundaries, like the Kāśī in the north, Uttarakāśī in the Himālaya.⁷ There are, of course, other spatial texts, which question the superiority of Banaras. To name just one, I have selected an example of the competition between sacred pilgrimage centres taken from the *Gangāmāhātmyam* of the *Nāradapurāṇa*:

*gaṅgāyamunayor yogo ‘dhikah kāśyā api dvija /
yasya darśanamātrena narā yānti parāṇī gatim //* (NāP I.6.41)

The confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā is superior even to Kāśī, twice-born. Merely by seeing it, men go to the highest goal.

This chapter will deal with some of the texts that describe the spatial qualities of Banaras. My intent is to give an overview of the Sanskrit and Hindi sources regarding pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites related to Vārāṇasī. These textual sources are viewed as referential entities for the ritual praxis of pilgrimage. By enacting oral and written scripts in the performance of processions, this pilgrimage practice continually creates and recreates the sacred spaces of the *kāśīkṣetra*. Altering practice does of course alter the written prescriptions. The religious cartography of Banaras is closely tied to both textual prescriptions and ritual praxis, and therefore has to be analyzed within the framework of both. The relationship between the *māhātmya* texts and the sacred places they describe is complex. Of course, one

6 See also Eck (1978: 180).

7 See also Michaels (2000: 189).

would expect that ritual spatial practice is reflected by textual practice, but the eulogical texts form part of the construction of sacred places as well. Studying *māhātmya* sources on Mathurā, Alan Entwistle points out the phenomenon of generation of sacred places also found frequently in Banaras:⁸

The existence of three wells of the same name [Saptasāmudrikākūpa J.G.] illustrates the way in which *māhātmya* texts can be used to generate sacred places, rather than vice-versa. (Entwistle 1990: 16)

Textual sources in the form of manuals, guide books and hand lists take various forms. They might be carried by the pilgrims, and they might be in the minds of the ritual specialists and recited before the pilgrimage begins.⁹ Spatial texts and sacred places can be even more closely related. Attempts to textualize ritual practice in Vārāṇasī are illustrated by stone plates with inscriptions that were affixed to shrines along the Pañcakrośīyātrā road toward the end of the 19th century. These stone inscriptions help the pilgrim identify the correct shrine by naming it, and cite the textual source that lists the very shrine the pilgrim has before him. The spatial text, the sacred place where the god lives, and the pilgrim who performs the circumambulation are united at one location. The inscription, for example, at a shrine at the Kardameśvara temple cluster reads as follows:

[As written in the] *Kāśīrahasya*, chapter ten. Salutation to Virūpākṣeśvara, the deity of the Pañcakrośīyātrā. Impelled by Dvārakānātha Dūbe a disciple of Gorajī, resident of Bundi [has build this shrine]. *Saṃvat* 1948 [1891 A.D.].¹⁰

The small shrine of Virūpākṣeśvara situated near the Kardameśvara temple cluster is identified by this inscription, and the pilgrimage practice on the Pañcakrośīyātrā is thereby linked to its textual source, the *Kāśīrahasya*. Even the correct number of the chapter is mentioned. This referential relationship between sacred place and textual source is also frequently found on the previously studied cartographic representations of the Kāśīkṣetra. A striking example is given on the map produced in 1873 for Jaṅg Bahādur Singh (no. 10.2). At the bottom of the map the image of a seated Śiva is dotted with 19 small *liṅgas* spread over his body. The legend on the map gives the following explanation for this visualization of Śiva:

In *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* chapter 33 [this is] Viśeśvara's specific form consisting of *liṅgas*.¹¹

8 See for example the list of 30 names of gods and goddesses that exist in more than one place, as given by Vyās (1987: 183–189).

9 See as an example the hand list *Prayāgāyātrā* that describes the Pañcakrośīyātrā (plate 6).

10 *kāśīrahasya a. 10 pañcakrośasya ke devatā virūpākṣeśvarāya namaḥ gorajī ke śiṣya dvārakānātha dūve prernā vundi kāyastha caturbhujā sa 1948*. At some shrines along the road there is a whole history of textual practices to be studied. Inscriptions range from stone and marble plates to the modern practice of coloured graffiti which is frequently renewed.

11 *kāśīkhaṇḍe adhyāya 33 viśeśvarasya liṅgātmakam svarūpam*. See chapter 4.3.

These are only two of the many cases where textual and ritual praxis are closely intertwined. The cartographic visualizations of the sacred space of Banaras refer in various forms to textual sources. In order to analyze the textual background of these maps I will give a short overview of the sources in chronological order.

2.1 Aspects of Purāṇa Studies

Before beginning this overview it might be fruitful to address a methodological issue related to the study of anonymous Sanskrit literature, as found in the puranic sources, which form the basis for the quotations and references found on the studied maps of Banaras. On the one hand, identifying the original sources used by the authors and mapmakers was not always an easy task. On the other hand, the results of the search for manuscripts and early prints available in Banaras, in libraries and private collections highlighted the methodological problems of comparing different versions of what originally seemed to be one singular text. While Ludo Rocher was in the process of preparing his volume on the Purāṇas for the series *History of Indian Literature* (Rocher 1986) he gave a presentation on his approach to the study of Purāṇas that explicitly illustrates the tension in puranic studies between the search for the archetype in the text-critical school and its methodology¹², in contrast to the approach which views the Purāṇas as a sort of fluid category where, as with orally composed texts, the phenomena of a “composition-in-transmission” is relevant. With this approach, textual criticism which looks at the origins of a text, seems completely out of place. In the words of Ludo Rocher:

My approach to Purāṇas is a different one. I too have been trained in classical philology in Europe. I too have learned how to prepare critical editions, comparing manuscripts and reconstructing THE original text—the archetype. But I am prepared to forget all that when it comes to the Purāṇas. (Rocher 1983: 72)

And, when I say “study” them [the Purāṇas J.G.], I mean compare them as variants in their own right, as revealing manifestation of how the Indian tradition can play with a certain theme, change it, adapt it, etc. But let us, above all, not be Western philologists, looking for “the archetype” which never existed. (Rocher 1983: 75)

This view contrasts sharply with the approach taken by the Groningen research group, which is currently preparing a critical edition of, what they call, the “original *Skandapurāṇa*”. This Purāṇa is, of course, of great relevance to the study of the eulogical literature on Banaras since the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* was incorporated into this major Purāṇa in the course of later redactions and additions. In the preface to the critical edition of the first volume of the *Skandapurāṇa* (*adhyāyas* 1–25) the editors Adriaensen, Bakker and Isaacson (1998) respond to the statement made by

12 See Hacker (1960) for a brief description of this approach.

Rocher and state that the “rejection of philology seem to find approval in certain circles of indologists”¹³. In contrast to Rocher’s statement, the editorial project puts into practice what Hans Bakker suggested in 1989, namely:

to start from the basic materials or components out of which the network of puranic literature is built up and to forget about the superstructure of ‘complete’ Purāṇas for the time being. (...). Study of a component should be accompanied by an edition of it because only the collation of all related MS evidence can reveal the particular text-tradition of the component. (Bakker 1989: 336)

There is no doubt that the edition of the first volume of the *Skandapurāṇa* itself, and the remarks in the prolegomena, constitute a milestone in the study of the textual history of the *Skandapurāṇa*, its *khanda*-sections, as well as related texts. In addition, the first studies linked to the Groningen project (Bakker 1996, 1998, 2005; Bisschop 2002) have convincingly shown how elements of the construction of the sacred spaces of Banaras can be partly reconstructed with the help of textual and epigraphical evidence.

Both of these seemingly extreme methodological positions have, of course, great value, in the context of the fields where they are applied, and the editors of the critical edition concede that “all versions of a (Puranic) text should ideally be taken into account, rather than concentrating solely on a single version which can never be anything but a hypothetical reconstruction.” (Adriaensen & Bakker & Isaacson 1994: 329). In the context of the present study we have to deal with variations and versions of texts as handed down from 17th–21th centuries, an era almost one thousand years after the earliest known version of the *Skandapurāṇa* was composed. In addition, we have to take into account the emergence of print culture in the 19th century. This poses an additional problem since:

The texts, or so-called “final-redactions”, which we are in the habit of referring to as the “so-and-so-purāṇa” more often than not have come into existence only after they rolled off the (...) 19th and early 20th century presses of India. (Bakker 1989: 335)

Aside from the category of edited and printed texts, we still have a large number of manuscripts that contain sections, chapters and verses taken from the puranic texts. To work systematically with this textual material would mean to prepare “synoptic editions of all versions and recensions”, a task which is “practically unrealizable” (Bakker 1989: 336). It seems only feasible, therefore, to view the texts referred to on the studied maps of Banaras in the historical context in which they have been used as part of the constant construction and reconstruction of the sacred spaces of Banaras. In the words of Greg Bailey:

Yet increasingly we must go outside of these oral and written texts into other texts that build up other contexts for studying the lives of the people who composed, transmitted and are reflected in the epics and Purāṇas. To tie both of these

13 See *Skandapurāṇa* (SP I, Preface, p. 17, n. 68).

enterprises together we are going to need more teamwork between researchers in different disciplines. (Bailey 1999: 15–16)

The present context, whereby spatial texts are linked to ritual praxis and a tradition of visual representations, puts special emphasis on the fact that we need multi-disciplinary research to study the available data in depth. It is therefore not my intention to take sides in the discussion between the school of textual criticism and the tradition that stresses the aspect of “composition-in-transmission”. I rather suggest that both approaches are valuable according to their differing research contexts. A synchronic examination of the textual sources as applied in pilgrimage practice, and as reflected in the textual content of the religious cartography in the 18th and 19th centuries, was the primary task of the present research. The textual history of these sources and a diachronic perspective is less relevant in this context, although extremely valuable for historical research on the construction of the sacred spaces of Banaras. The chosen approach, therefore, attempts to bring into focus various spatial texts as they are applied in the context of the manifold discourses linked to ritual praxis and the production of pilgrimage maps.

2.2 Spatial Texts on Banaras in Sanskrit Literature

In contrast to the often repeated statements on the antiquity of Banaras, archaeological excavations at the Rajghat plateau have shown that “the earliest settlement of the site cannot be pushed back further than the 8th century BC” (Bakker 1996: 33).¹⁴ In the *Mahābhārata*, a text that “had reached its present extent before the 7th century A.D., and most probably well before then” (Brockington 1998: 131) the pilgrimage to *tīrthas* as described in the *tīrthayātrāparvan* of the *Āranyakaparvan* is, according to John Brockington, “quite clearly a relatively late feature” (1998: 240). A passage in the section on pilgrimage (3.82.69) “assigns a modest place to a Śiva sanctuary, Vṛṣadhvaja, with annexed bathing pool (Kapilāhrada) at the edge of Vārāṇasī” (Bakker 1996: 33).¹⁵ The assigned place is modest because veneration of Vṛṣadhvaja and bathing in the Kapilāhrada is equated with the rewards of only one performance of a Rājasūya.¹⁶ The textual and archeological evidence has led Bakker to the conclusion that there is not much evidence for a Śaiva cult in Vārāṇasī before the end of the 3rd century AD.¹⁷

A rich corpus of texts that deal with Banaras is found in the puranic literature, their *māhātmya* sections and the subsequent digests of puranic verses, the *nibandha* literature. A “Survey of the Sanskrit sources for the study of Vārāṇasī” based

14 See Bakker (1996: 45, n. 1) for references to archaeological evidence.

15 See also Brockington 1998: 135 (corr. 3.32.69 to 3.82.69) and 202.

16 *tato vārāṇasīm gatvā arcayitvā vṛṣadhvajam / kapilāhrade narah snātvā rājasūyaphalam labhet* (MBh 3.82.69).

17 For an excellent brief survey of the available data on the religious significance of Banaras in the first millennium see Bakker (1996).

mainly on puranic sources and the *nibandha* literature has been prepared by Diana Eck (Eck 1980)¹⁸. The article surveys the puranic sources, the *nibandhas* and a few other relevant Sanskrit works and briefly describes their contents. Eck's now more than 20 year-old statement that, “the Sanskrit texts (...) that deal primarily with Banāras—the *Kāshī Khanda* and the *Kāshī Rahasya*—have not previously been translated or studied by Western scholars” (1982: XIV) holds true even today if one thinks in terms of a detailed study of the texts in question; notwithstanding whether one has Western or Eastern scholars in mind.

Since the publication of Eck's article the voluminous *Kāśikhaṇḍa* (KKh) has been reprinted in an easily accessible edition with the Sanskrit text and the commentaries *Rāmānandī* (Sanskrit) and *Nārāyaṇī* (Hindi) in four volumes, by Karuṇāpati Tripāṭhī (1991ff.).¹⁹ The translation into English in two volumes by G. V. Tagare (1996, 1997) is based on this edition. The translation and the edition of the *Kāśikhaṇḍa* were used to prepare the *Index of Kashikhanda* compiled and published on the internet by Michaela Dimmers and myself.²⁰ A translation of the *Kāśī-rahasya*, an appendix of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, is under preparation in the “Purāṇas in Translation” series published at Motilal BanarsiDass.

The task of this chapter will be to provide additional information about new editions and translations published in the last 20 years, and to focus on material in Sanskrit and Hindi that is of special interest regarding the relationship between the religious cartography of Banaras and the textual sources referred to in the cartographic material I have studied. This leads to a focus on textual passages that contain references to the sacred topography of Banaras, whether referring to sacred places, shrines, temples or processions within the city, in general. The following overview is, therefore, by no means intended to be exhaustive. It presents, rather, the available data concerning the textual sources frequently used in the course of the following study. In order to achieve this aim the material is given in a relative chronology.

The Oldest Version of the *Skandapurāṇa*

The critical edition of the first 25 *adhyāyas* of the *Skandapurāṇa* (SP I) by Adriaensen, Bakker and Isaacson (1998) has shed new light on its textual history, in particular, and the various recensions of the *Skandapurāṇa* in general, as well as

18 Eck's article was originally published in 1980 in *Purāṇa*. An abridged version appeared as “Appendix I” in Eck (1982). Singh (1993) contains a reprint of the original article of 1980. For a chronology of puranic literature Hazra (1987 [1940]) is still worthwhile consulting.

19 The Sanskrit text with the *Rāmānandī* was originally published by Hariprasād Śarma in 1908. The Hindi *Nārāyaṇī* was published by the father of Karuṇāpati Tripāṭhī, Nārāyaṇapati Tripāṭhī, as *Kāśikhaṇḍabhāṣā* in 1908 at the Venkatesvara Steam Press, Bombay (see bibliography for details).

20 See Dimmers & Gengnagel (2002). Electronic Publications of the Vārāṇasī Research Project II (www.benares.uni-hd.de/kkh-index).

on the sections regarding Vārāṇasī and their relationship to the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*. In connection with this editorial project, Hans Bakker has carried out research on the chronological stratification of basic mythological themes in puranic texts on Vārāṇasī (Bakker 1993), and on the construction and reconstruction of sacred space in Vārāṇasī (1996). The second volume on the Vārāṇasī Cycle (Adhyāyas 26–31.14), published by Bakker and Isaacson in 2004 (SP IIA), aims to show

how a careful consideration of the dating—absolute and relative—of textual evidence (...) can allow a more precise and more nuanced reconstruction of historical and religious processes. (SP IIA: viii)

The edition of the Vārāṇasī cycle is introduced by “A Sketch of the Religious History of Vārāṇasī up to the Islamic Conquest and the New Beginning” (SP IIA: 19–82). This introduction is of course essential for the study of the early history of Banaras. On the following pages aspects relevant to the present study will be briefly summarized.²¹

Bhaṭṭarāī’s Edition of the *Ambikākhaṇḍa*

The Groningen edition of the *Skandapurāṇa* is based on a Nepalese manuscript dated AD 810, and we therefore have simultaneous access to the oldest version of the *Skandapurāṇa* along with “one of the oldest dated manuscripts found in Nepal.” (SP I: 22, n. 4). The oldest version of the *Skandapurāṇa* contains three chapters on Vārāṇasī (26, 29, 30), and a short description of the Avimuktakṣetra in chapter 167 (verses 150–175). These chapters have now been published as part of the critical edition. Previously, the relevant chapters of the *Skandapurāṇa* were only accessible through Bhaṭṭarāī’s edition entitled *Skandapurāṇasya Ambikākhaṇḍah* (SP_{Bh} 1988). However, while studying this printed text one must bear in mind the qualification of the Groningen editors who state that Bhaṭṭarāī’s edition “despite its many merits, must be deemed fundamentally unreliable.” (SP I Prolegomena: 40).

For the purpose of our study it might suffice to refer the reader to the short summary of relevant passages undertaken by Bakker (1993). Given the fact that Bhaṭṭarāī’s edition reflects one of the oldest attested puranic sources on Vārāṇasī, I will briefly describe some topographical and spatial features that are of interest in terms of a chronological perspective. The first known textual records of a group of *tīrthas* that formed the basis of a procession called *caturdaśāyatana-yātrā* in Vārāṇasī are found in the earliest version of the *Skandapurāṇa*, chapter 29.60–61, and thus reach back at least to the 8th century A.D.²² This procession is sub-

21 SP IIA was published, when the final redaction of this chapter was already in process. Since the introduction to the volume is partly identical to the article Bakker (2006) and based on Bakker (1993, 1996) I have retained the references to these two articles.

22 See however Bakker (2006) who, after a careful study of this list and the sequence of locations, prefers to interpret this list as a demarcation of the Avimuktakṣetra rather than a procession in its own right.

sequently mentioned in Lakṣmīdhara's (12th cent.) *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* (p. 121, 135), and with variants in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 73.60 and 100.51-62. In chapter 29, besides the two *tīrthas*, *Kapilāhrada* and *Bhadradoha*, the following 12 *lingas* plus Avimukteśvara are enumerated:

1. Goprekṣeśvara (16)²³
2. Vṛṣadhvaja (20)
3. Upaśāntaśiva (24)
4. Hirānyagarbha (29)
5. Svalīneśvara²⁴ (31)
6. Vyāghreśvara (35)
7. Jyeṣṭhasthāna (38)
8. Avimukteśvara (42)
9. Śaileśvara (44)
10. Samgameśvara (47)
11. Madhyameśvara (49)
12. Śukreśvara (52)
13. Jambukeśa (54)²⁵

When one looks at the notion of centrality it is at the very least remarkable that this early version of the *Skandapurāṇa* already mentions the “Lord of the Centre” (Madhyameśvara). This form of Śiva is, at present, generally considered the centre of the entire *kāśīkṣetra*, which, in turn, is defined by the circumambulation called Pañcakrośīyātrā.²⁶ This procession and its road, however, are described for the first time several centuries after the redaction of the *Ambikākhaṇḍa* in the *Kāśīrahasya* (15th/16th century, see below). The additional information that the *avimuktakṣetra* has an extension of one *krośa* in all four directions seems to confirm that the centrality embodied by Madhyameśvara does not, in this textual source, correlate to a field with a radius of five *krośa*.²⁷ This suggests that the location of the Lord of

23 The references to the verse numbers are given in brackets. The names of the *lingas* are repeated in different order in 29.64–66.

24 See *k*, *kh* for the reading *svarlineśvara*.

25 *avimukteśvaraṁ lingaṁ mama drṣṭveha mānavah / sadyah pāpavinirmuktah paśupāśair vimucyate / śaileśam samgameśam ca svarlīnam madhyameśvaram / hirānyagarbham iśānam goprekṣam savṛṣadhvajam / upaśāntaśivam caiva jyeṣṭhasthānanivāśinam / śukreśvaram ca vikhyātam vyāghreśam jambukeśvaram / drṣṭvā na jāyate martyah samsāre duḥkhasāgare. Ambikākhaṇḍa (SP_{Bh} 29.63cd–66 (=SPIIA 29.57–59)). Compare with Bakker 1993: 25, table. In *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 73.60–65 *iśāna* is counted separately as well as *Nivāseśvara* (for *nivāśinam*) and added to the 12 *lingas*.*

26 See for example Eck (1982: 41–42): “The great Panchakroshī Road circles the whole of Kāshī. The sacred circle of the city has its centre at Madhyameśvara, the ‘Lord of the Centre’.”

27 This verse is incomplete in Bhāṭṭarāṭī's edition (SP_{Bh} 29.58). It has been reconstructed by Bakker (2006) and in SP IIA 29.52 to *krośam krośam caturdiksu kṣetram etat prakīrtitam / yojanam viddhi cārvāṇīgī martyukāle ‘mṛtāpradām*. Bakker is dealing with the description of this *kṣetra* that extends one *krośa* in the four directions. It is situated between the rivers

the Centre, and the concept of centrality continued to be related to Madhyameśvara, and a new layer with a field that encompasses five *krośas* was added over the centuries. One might add that the Avimuktayātrā, as given in Kedarnāth Vyāsa's list (1987: 114–118), with regard to its territorial extension and with respect to the names listed, does not correspond to the *tīrthas* and *lingas* given in the above-mentioned passages of the *Skandapurāṇa*.²⁸

A verse describing the territorial extension of the Avimuktakṣetra gives topographical facts of historical interest: the *kṣetra*, for example, is described as being situated between the rivers Gaṅgā and Vārāṇasī/Varāṇasī.²⁹ This passage serves as an important argument for the late origin of one interpretation of the name “Vārāṇasī” as a compound of the two river-names Varāṇā and Assī/Asī.³⁰

The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*

Based on textual criticism and epigraphical evidence Bakker (1996, 1998) highlights the various constructions and reconstructions of the *kāśīkṣetra* in the period between the earliest known version of the *Skandapurāṇa* (8th cent.), and the incorporation of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* as one of the seven *khandas* into this *Purāṇa* (c. 1400). The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, in light of these facts concerning the redaction of the *Skandapurāṇa*, has to be described as a text which incorporates various textual traditions and reflects the sacred territory of the city as perceived in the 14th century. This is articulated by Hans Bakker in the following passage:

In response to the degrading reality of the 13th and 14th century, a timeless Vārāṇasī centering around Viśveśvara, drawn up on a grand scale, was depicted in a new text of about 12.000 verses, the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*. (Bakker 1996: 43)

The historical fact which is most relevant is the shifting of the location of Kāśī's main deity: the famous “Lord of the Universe” (Viśvanātha, Viśveśvara). He was called Avimukteśvara at the time when the early version of the *Skandapurāṇa* was composed (Bakker 1996). His territory, the Avimuktakṣetra, was located in the northern section of the present city and was limited to one *krośa* (c. 3.4 km).³¹

In the present context it is important to note that the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* provides an authoritative textual background and framework for the performance of pro-

Varāṇasī and Gaṅgā with the ideal centre of Madhyameśvara and is probably the “oldest (...) visualization of the Avimuktakṣetra” (2006: 25).

28 To my knowledge no sanskritic textual source is known with a detailed description of the Avimuktayātrā, see Sukul (1977: 51–52) and Singh (1993: 48). The question of the first textual description and its relationship to the pilgrimage practice requires further research.

29 *gaṅgādakṣinatas tasminn uttareṇa varāṇasī / tattayor madhyataḥ kṣetram avimuktam pinākinah*. SP IIA 167.149 (p. 278), see the Appendix SP IIA (p. 277–287) on this section.

30 See also Dubey (1993: 31).

31 See Bakker (2006) for a more detailed description and maps. He stresses, that no precise equivalents for the length of a *krośa* can be given. The indicated distance varies from 3.2 km to 3.6 km.

cessions in Vārāṇasī. The textual history of this puranic source and the factual appearance of descriptions of processions are irrelevant in the context of the construction of the sacred territory of Vārāṇasī. The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* serves as an all-pervasive referential textual frame for the construction of the sacred topography of Vārāṇasī. A good example is the fact that the Pañcakrośīyātrā,—the most well-known among the various processions still performed in Vārāṇasī today,—is situated within this referential textual framework of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* although the procession itself is not described in the text; only in a later text, the *Kāśīrahasya*.³²

In chapter 100 of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* a short *māhātmya* as well as a summary of the content (*anukramanikā*, verses 5–34) of the entire text is given. This is followed by a description of thirteen processions (*yātrāparikrama*):

pañcatrthikāyātrā (100.36–40)
vaiśveśvarīyātrā (41–48)
asṭāyatanayātrā (49–50)
śubhayātrā (51)
caturdaśaliṅgayātrā (52–62ab)³³
ekādaśayatanayātrā (62cd–66)
gaurīyātrā (67–73)
vighneśayātrā (73)
bhairavayātrā (74)
ravyātrā (75)
candīyātrā (76)
antargṛhayātrā (77–97)
viṣṇuyātrā (98)

These verses are of great importance concerning the practice of pilgrimage in Banaras. They are frequently quoted, and are transmitted separately in short manuscripts and hand lists.

The last chapter of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* ends with a eulogy of the benefits and fruits (*phalastuti*) connected with the *Kāśīkṣetra*. The whole *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* is indeed “wide-ranging in its content” (Eck 1993: 10): it extends from all-Indian to local mythology, eulogizing celebrated sites and particular *liṅgas* and tying this to didactic stories as well as ritual prescriptions. This broad range of topics and the enormous quantity of places mentioned in the text makes it an excellent textual background and source reference in a wide variety of contexts.

Other Puranic Sources

The number of puranic sources that incorporate the *māhātmyas* and passages on Banaras is considerable. A search of the available puranic material for passages

32 See chapter 2.2 on the date of the *Kāśīrahasya* as well as Gengnagel (2005) on the textual sources of the Pañcakrośīyātrā.

33 The text does not give the name *caturdaśaliṅgayātrā*. It lists only the fourteen *liṅgas*.

that are relevant to the construction of sacred topography of Banaras has been undertaken in the framework of the present project. It seems unfruitful, however, to quote the collected passages since it is extremely difficult to establish a reliable chronology based exclusively on the printed editions. To establish the textual history of the respective passages would certainly be necessary in order to analyze the sometimes contradictory statements. The compilers of digests with puranic verses (*nibandhas*) were well aware of the disparate content of the sources. This is illustrated by a comment from the medieval Mithilā scholar, Vācaspati Miśra, who attributed the variations in measurements and distances to the different dates of the production of these texts (*kalpabhedā*).³⁴ It would be necessary to study “the components” of these various textual traditions in detail in order to establish a meaningful sequence of puranic spatial texts. This task cannot be accomplished within the framework of the present study. The passages that are relevant to the analyzed material will therefore be dealt with in their respective contexts.

Lakṣmīdhara’s *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa*

The *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* forms part of Lakṣmīdhara’s (12th cent.) monumental treatise *Kṛtyakalpataru*. Lakṣmīdhara was the chief judge under the Gāhadvāla kings Madanapāla (1090–1110) and Govindacandra (1110–1154). The editor of the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa*, K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, suggests 1110 as the year for the final redaction of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*. P. V. Kane opts for a slightly later date, and suggests 1125–1145³⁵ as the period for the composition of the *Kalpataru*. In the second section of the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* (TVK), entitled *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyam* (p. 12–135), Lakṣmīdhara quotes long passages of the oldest known version of the SP, under the name “*skandapurāṇe*”. Pages 36–38 of the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* give the verses 80–105 of the 29th chapter of the *Ambikākhanḍa* edition (=SPIIA 72–95), and pages 130–35 quote verses 8–66 (=SPIIA 7cd–59) of the same chapter (p. 143–48 of the edition). On page 44 of the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* the verses 29.45cd–48ab of *Ambikākhanḍa* are quoted (=SPIIA 41–43). The fact that the *Kāśīkhanḍa* is not mentioned and no quotations can be found is further evidence that this *khanḍa* was a relatively late addition to the *Skandapurāṇa*.³⁶

34 See chapter 2.2.

35 See Kane (1975: Vol. 1. part II: 685–699) for an extensive discussion of the date of Lakṣmīdhara.

36 This fact is indeed well known to textual scholars and in the secondary literature (see Eck 1982; Sukula 1974 etc.). In spite of this, the antiquity of the *Kāśīkhanḍa* is often mentioned in local discourses.

The edited text of the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* consists of quotations of puranic sources with but rare and short annotations.³⁷ The contents have been indexed in a list which includes more than 260 different place-names.

The *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*

The compendium of the Mithilā scholar, Vācaspati Miśra, is of importance because the “earliest testimonies for the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* appear in the 15th century, viz. Vācaspatimiśra’s *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*.” (Bakker 1993: 22, n. 6).³⁸ The *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* (TCM) is primarily a compilation of quotations of well known sources. It deals in the first four sections with the *tīrthas* Prayāga, Puri (Puruṣottama), Gaṅgā, and Gayā. The fifth and last section deals exclusively with Banaras (*kāśīprakāśa*), and the verses are arranged in the following sequence:

1. *atha vārāṇasīmāhātmyam*
2. *atha kṣetramānam*
3. *atha vārāṇasīpraveśaphalam*
4. *atha tadvāsaphalam*
5. *atha kadācid api vārāṇasīvāsam ārabhya yāvaj jīvam aparityāge*
(*kṣetrasaṇnyāsa*)
6. *athātra maraṇaphalam*
7. *athātra snānādiphalam*
8. *tatra liṅgārcane*
9. *atha māhātmyam kāśīkhanḍe*

In the present context it might suffice to refer to the section concerning the dimensions of the *kāśīksetra*. Here, three differing statements are quoted:

tatra matsyapurāne –
dvīyojanam athārdhañ ca pūrvapaścimataḥ sthitam /
ardhayojanavistīrṇam dakṣinottarataḥ sthitam //
vārāṇasī nadī yā tu yā ca śuṣkanadī tathā /
bhīṣmacaṇḍikam ārabhya parvateśvaram antike //³⁹
brahmapurāne brahmavākyam –
varanā cāpy asiś caiva dve nadyau suravallabhe /
antarāle tayoḥ kṣetram bhūmāv api viśeṣataḥ //
pañcakrośapramāṇan tu kṣetram dattam mayā tava /

37 The identified sources are the *Āditya-*, *Kālikā-*, *Devī-*, *Narasiṁha-*, *Brahma-*, *Matsya-*, *Skanda-*, *Liṅga-*, *Varāha-*, *Vāyu-*, and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. See *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa*, Appendix A, p. 265 for references.

38 See chapter 9 in the following list with the “*māhātmyam kāśīkhanḍe*”.

39 Compare to *Matsyapurāṇa* 183: *dvīyojanam tu tatkṣetram pūrvapaścimataḥ smṛtam/ ardha-yojanavistīrṇam tatkṣetram dakṣinottaram /61/ vārāṇasī tadiyā ca yāvac chuklanadī tu vai/ bhīṣmacaṇḍikam ārabhya parvateśvaram antike /62/*. As well as 184: *dvīyojanam arthārdham ca tat kṣetram pūrvapāścimam / ardhayojanavistīrṇam dakṣinottarataḥ smṛtam / vārāṇasī tadiyā ca yāvac chuklanadī tu vai /40/ eṣa kṣetrasya vistāraḥ proktō devena dhīmatās.*

skandapurāṇe –
catuḥkrośāṇi caturdikṣu kṣetram etat prakīrtitam /
yojanam viddhi cārvāgi mṛtyukāle ‘mṛtapradam // (TCM p. 340)

These quotations, which offer varying definitions of Kāśī's dimensions, are commented by Vācaspati Miśra with the following words:

*atra kalpabhedena parimāṇabhedo draṣṭavyah/ asivaraṇayor madhyam vārāṇasī-
 kṣetram iti tu niyama eva, tenāśitaḥ pūrvam varāṇātāḥ paścād vārāṇasītī man-
 tavyam.* (TCM p. 341)

Here the variation in measurement is due to the different eras (*kalpas*) [in which they were taken]. But there is certainty (*niyama*) that the sacred field of Vārāṇasī is [situated] in the middle of [the rivers] Asi and Varanā, therefore one has to think of Vārāṇasī [as situated] to the east of Asi and in the west of Varanā.

As was previously demonstrated in the context of descriptions of the Avimukta-kṣetra in the *Skandapurāṇa*⁴⁰, Vācaspati's statement regarding the spatial extension of Banaras being delineated by the two rivers, Asī and Varanā, is not accepted by all textual traditions.

The *Kāśīrahasya*

The *Kāśīrahasya*, an appendix of the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, provides the earliest *māhātmya* of the Pañcakrośīyātrā. Chapters 9–11 give a detailed description of the Pañcakrośīyātrā. Chapter 10 is entitled “Description of the rules concerning the Pañcakrośīyātrā” (*pañcakrośīyātrāniyamavarṇanam*). The entire description of the Pañcakrośīyātrā given in this chapter of the *Kāśīrahasya* is quoted in Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Tristhalīsetu* (p. 273–278), ending with “*iti śrībrahmavaivarte pañcakrośīyātrā nāma daśamo ‘dhyāyah’*”. The *Tristhalīsetu*, which is primarily a compilation of citations, was composed in the mid-sixteenth century A.D., and therefore the *terminus ad quem* for the first known description of the Pañcakrośīyātrā.

In order to illustrate the style of this untranslated text I will give parts of the description of the Pañcakrośīyātrā in text and translation. Chapter 10 of the *Kāśīrahasya* starts with an indication of the auspicious time for the performance of the procession. The three months, Āśvin, Kārttika and Mārgaśīrṣa as well as the four months Māgha, Phālguṇa, Caitra and Vaiśākha are indicated, thus covering two periods extending roughly from September to December and January to April. After this description of the temporal frame the spatial dimension and the pilgrimage's ritual beginning is described. On the day preceding the procession one has to worship Dhunḍhirāja near the Viśvanātha temple complex. On the next morning Viśveśa should be worshipped after a bath in the Gaṅgā. Śiva and his consort should be worshipped once again for the purpose of the procession (*yātrārtha*). Having entered the Muktimāṇḍapa, where the well Jñānavāpī is situated, the great promise (*pratijñā*) should be made and a *pūjā* is performed. Both

40 See SkP 167.161, chapter 2.3.

Śiva as Viśveśa and the Gaṇeśa Dhunḍhirāja as the “Remover of all Obstacles”, are then addressed directly, informed about the intended procession, and asked for permission. Finally, after three circumambulations of Śiva, one should worship the five Gaṇeśas as well as Kālarāja. One is then supposed to leave the Viśvanātha temple complex:

*kāśyām prajātavākkāyamanojanitamuktaye /
jñātājñātavimuktyartham pātakebhyo hitāya ca //10
pañcakrośātmakam liṅgam jyotīrūpam sanātanam /
bhavānīśaṅkarābhyān ca lakṣmīśrīśavirājītam //11
dhunḍhirājādīgaṇapaiḥ ṣaṭpañcāśadbhir āvṛtam /
dvādaśādityasahitaṇ nṛsiṁhaḥ keśavair yutam //12
rāmakṛṣṇatrayayutaṇ kūrmamatsyādibhis tathā /
avatārair anekaiś ca yutam viṣṇoḥ śivasya ca //13
gauryādiśaktibhir yuktam kṣetraṇ kuryām pradakṣiṇam /
baddhāñjaliḥ prārthayitvā mahādevam maheśvarīm //14
pañcakrośasya yātrām vai kariṣye vidhipūrvakam /
prītyarthan tava deveśa sarvāghaughapraśāntaye //15
iti saṅkalpya maunena pranīpatya punaḥ punaḥ /
dhunḍhirāja gaṇeśāna mahāvighnaughanāśana //16
pañcakrośasya yātrārthan dehy ājñān kṛpayā vibho /
viśveśan triṅparikramya daṇḍavat pranīpatya ca //17
modam pramodam sumukhan durmukhaṇ gaṇanāyakam /
pranāmya pūjayitvādau daṇḍapāṇīn tato 'rcayet //18
kālarājaṇ ca purato viśveśasya jagadguroḥ /
pūjayitvā tato gacchen maṇikarnīm vidhānataḥ //19 (Kāśīrahasya 10.10–19)⁴¹*

One then requests permission the Great God and Goddess with joined hands: “In order to attain liberation in Kāśī that is produced (*janita*) by uttered speech, by the body and by the mind, for the liberation of known and unknown (*jñātājñātā*) sins and for the welfare⁴² I want to perform the circumambulation of the field, [that is] the eternal Liṅga that consists of five *krośas* and has the form of light, that is embellished by Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu (*śrīśa*) and by Bhavānī and Śaṅkara, that is surrounded by the 56 Gaṇapas beginning with Dhunḍhirāja, that is endowed with the Nṛsiṁhas and the Keśavas together with the 12 Ādityas, joined with the triad of the Rāmas [i.e. Rāmacandra and Paraśurāma] and Kṛṣṇa and with the other incarnations of Viṣṇu like the turtle, the fish etc. and endowed with Śiva’s Śaktis beginning with Gaurī”, one declares (*samkalpya*):

41 The text is based on the Calcutta edition by Rādhākrṣṇa Mor (1957). See Gengnagel (2005: 83–89) for a synopsis of *Kāśīrahasya* 10 and the *Pañcakrośīvidhāna*.

42 This passage is not clear. I have opted for the reading *hitāya ca* against the *ahitāya ca* given in the *śuddhapāṭha* of the Calcutta edition by Rādhākrṣṇa Mor (1957: 8).

“I will perform the procession of Pañcakrośī according to the rules, in order to please you, Lord of the Gods, and for the pacification of the multitude of all sins”, one bows again and again respectfully in silence [praying]:

“Oh Dhunḍhirāja, Lord of the Gaṇas, destroyer of the mass of huge obstacles, please, Lord, grant the permission for the procession of Pañcakrośī!” After three circumambulations of Viśveśa and a full prostration one should salute and worship [the five Gaṇeśas] Moda, Pramoda, Sumukha, Durmukha and Gaṇanāyaka, then Daṇḍapāṇi should be honored. One should worship Kālāraja in front of Viśveśa, the father of the world, and then go to Maṇikarṇī in accordance to the rules [i.e. in silence].

This description is followed by a short enumeration of the places to be visited during the circumambulation of the *kāśikṣetra*. The procession includes a set of halting places where the pilgrims stay at rest houses (*dharmaśālās*) overnight. The *Kāśīrahasya* prescribes the visit of the Durgākuṇḍa with the temple of the goddess Durgā, and the Durgāvināyaka, in the south of the city, as the first halting place.⁴³ The prescriptions for this first overnight stay are as follows:

durgākuṇḍe tataḥ snātvā yajed durgavināyakam //25
 durgāṁ sampūjya vidhivad vase tatra sukhāptaye /
 brāhmaṇān bhojayet tatra madhupāyasaladḍukaiḥ //26
 rātrau jāgarāṇaṇa tatra purāṇaśravanādibhiḥ /
 kuryāc ca kīrtanam bhaktyā paropakaraṇāni ca //27
 jaya durge mahādevi jaya kāśinivāsini /
 kṣetravighnahare devi punar darśanam astu te //28
 iti durgāṁ prārthayitvā viṣvakseneśvaran tataḥ /
 pūjayitvā kardameśam pañcavrīhitilair namet //29 (*Kāśīrahasya* 10.25cd–29)

Having taken a bath in the Durgākuṇḍa one should worship Durgāvināyaka, pay homage to Durgā as prescribed and stay there, in order to attain happiness. One should feed the Brahmins there with [the sweetmeats] sugar (*madhu*), sweet rice pudding (*pāyasa*) and sweet-balls (*ladduka*). At night one should remain awake (*jāgarāṇa*) listening to the *Purāṇas* etc. and singing songs with devotion, and [perform] acts of charity (*paropakarana*).

“Hail, Durgā, Great Goddess, hail, dweller in Kāśī, goddess, remover of obstacles [here] in this region, fare well to you!” Having requested [the foregoing of] Durgā [one should move on and] then worship Viṣvakseneśvara and pay homage to Kardameśa with the five kinds of grains (*pañcavrīhi*, i.e. barley, rice, wheat, green and black lentils) and sesame.

The Pañcakrośīyātrā comes to an end at its starting point. The pilgrims pay homage to Viśveśvara and formally declare the fulfilment of their vow to perform this pro-

43 See Gengnagel (2005: 73–75) for a discussion of variation in pilgrimage practice connected to the Durgākuṇḍa.

cession. Included in this declaration is the request for an atonement of all deficient, excessive or wrong actions that have been performed during the procession:

jaya viśveśa viśvātman kāśīnātha jagadguro //69
 tvatprasādān mahādeva kṛtā kṣetrapradakṣiṇā /
 anekajanmapāpāni kṛtāni mama śāṅkara //70
 gatāni pañcakrośātmaliṅgasyāsyā pradakṣiṇāt /
 tvadbhaktikāśivāśābhyaṁ rahitāt pāpakarmaṇā //71
 satsaṅgaśravaṇādyaiś ca kālo gacchatu naḥ sadā /
 hara śāmbhu mahādeva sarvajñā sukhadāyaka //72
 prāyaścittām sunirvṛttām pāpānān tvatprasādataḥ /
 punaḥ pāpamatir māstu dharmabuddhiḥ sadāstu me //73
 iti japtvā yathāśaktyā dattvā dānam dvijanmanām /
 baddhvā karayugam mantrī mantram etad udīrayet //74
 pañcakrośasya yātreyam yathāśaktyā mayā kṛtā /
 nyūnam samṛpūrnatām yātum tvatprasādād umāpate //75
 iti prārthya mahādevam gacched gehaṁ svakam svakam /
 nyūnātiriktaśāṇām parihārāya dakṣiṇām //76
 saṅkalpya gatvā ca grhaṇī brāhmaṇān bhojayet tataḥ /
 tata āgatya ca grhaṇī kuṭumbaiḥ saha bhojanam //77
 kṛtātmānan tato dhyāyet kṛtakṛtyo bhavet tataḥ / (Kāśīrahasya 10.69cd–78ab)

“Hail, Viśveśa, soul of the universe, Lord of Kāśī, teacher of the world, through your grace, great god, the circumambulation of the field was performed [by me]. O Śāṅkara, the sins that I have committed during innumerable births are gone because of the circumambulation of this *liṅga* consisting of five *krośas*. It is through their devotion to you that the inhabitants of Kāśī are without sinful *karman*. May our time be always spent in association with the good (*satsaṅga*), with listening etc. O Hara, Śambhu, great god, omniscient, bestower of happiness, through your grace the expiation of sins is accomplished. May I never again have sinful thoughts. May my mind always be righteous!”

Having thus recited one should give donations to the twice-born according to one’s capacities, place the palms of the hands together and the Mantra-expert (*mantrin*) should recite the following Mantra:

“I have performed this procession of the five *krośas* according to my capacity. May it, because of your grace, Umāpati, move from deficiency to completeness!” Having asked this of the Great God, one should go to one’s own house. As atonement (*parihāra*) for the mistakes [consisting of] deficient (*nyūna*) or excessive (*atirikta*) [acts, one should give] a donation. Having thus declared one’s intentions one should return home and then offer food to the Brahmins. Having arrived home one should eat together with one’s family. One should then meditate with concentration, thereby fulfilling the last of the required tasks.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Tristhalīsetu*

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Tristhalīsetu* was composed in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. (Salomon 1985: XXVI). Enclosed between the chapters on Prayāga and Gayā, the section on Kāśī (*kāśīprakarana*) covers almost 250 pages in the Ānanda Āśrama edition of 1915. This compilation of verses is grouped under the following topics in twelve chapters:

1. *kāśīpraveśavicāra* (p. 72–100)
2. *kāśyādikṣetraparimāṇa* (p. 100–104)
3. *kāśīvāsaphala/kāśīvāsidharmāḥ* (p. 104–125)
4. *kṣetrasaṁnyāsavidhi* (p. 125–127)
5. *nānākāmyakarmāṇi* (p. 127–138)
6. *kālavīšeṣe 'nekatīrthāgamaḥ* (p. 138–182)
7. *nānātīrtha-nānādevatākathanam* (p. 182–203)
8. *nityayātrā / nityakṛtyanirūpaṇa* (p. 203–218)
9. *tithiyātrā* (p. 218–57)
10. *yātrāprakaraṇa* (p. 257–67)
11. *kāśīkṛtapākarmavipāka* (p. 267–90)
12. *marāṇa-muktivicāra* (p. 290–316)

These twelve chapters contain primarily a compilation of citations, and many of these quotations are therefore of importance for the establishment of the *terminus ad quem* for medieval texts on Kāśī. Besides numerous references to the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, passages of the *Kāśīrahasya* are also quoted. As previously mentioned, the entire description of the Pañcakroṣīyātrā given in the tenth chapter of the *Kāśīrahasya* is quoted under the name of *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* ("śrībrahma-vavarte").⁴⁴ In the same fashion, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (TSS p. 285–286) quotes the entire *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*-passage on the Antargṛhayātrā (KKh 100.77–97). This 16th century quotation by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa confirms that the last chapter of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, with its rather unusual enumeration of several processions, predates the composition of the *Tristhalīsetu*.

The verses quoted in the beginning of the section *kāśyādikṣetraparimāṇa* (p. 100–101) are of prime importance. These lines are attributed to the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa* but could not be located in the available editions.⁴⁵ This spatial text, which describes the geometric construction of the *kāśīkṣetra*, is repeated in many contexts, is quoted on the pictorial map "Pilgrims in Banaras" (no. 2)⁴⁶, and provides the main textual background of the mid-19th century debate

44 See TSS p. 272–278. The name *Kāśīrahasya* is not used in the *Tristhalīsetu*.

45 It is at the very least suspicious that in no other puranic source can the verses on Madhyameśvara and Dehalīvināyaka be found. This might attest to a relatively late origin. The Dehalīvināyaka is mentioned in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (for entries see the General Index in the appendix), but not found in the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa*.

46 See chapter 4.2 on the textual content of the map *Pilgrims in Banaras*.

(śāstrārtha) regarding the Pañcakrośī procession.⁴⁷ The reason this passage is quoted so frequently may be that it refers to the relatively late construction and measurement of the *kāśikṣetra*, which corresponds largely to the present day dimensions and borders of Banaras:

tatra pādme pātālakhaṇḍe –
 parimāṇam ca vaksyāmi tannibodhata sattamāḥ /
 madhyameśvaram ārabhya yāvad dehalivighnapanam //
 sūtram saṃsthāpya taddikṣu bhrāmayen maṇḍalākṛti /
 tatra yā jāyate rekhā tanmadhye kṣetram uttamam //
 kāśīti yad vidur vedās tatra muktih pratiṣṭhitā /
 kāśyantah paramam kṣetram viśeṣaphalasādhanam //
 vārānasīti vikhyātam tanmānam nigadāmi vah /
 dakṣinottarayor nadyau varanāsi ca pūrvataḥ //
 jāhnavī paścime cāpi pāśapāṇir gaṇeśvarah /
 tas�ā antaḥsthitaṁ divyam viśeṣaphalasādhanam //
 avimuktam iti khyātam tan mānam ca bravīmi vah /
 viśveśvarāc caturdikṣu dhanuh śatayugonmitam //
 avimuktābhidham kṣetram muktis tatra na saṃśayah /
 gokarneśah paścime pūrvataś ca gaṅgāmadhyam uttare bhārabhūtaḥ /
 brahmeśāno dakṣiṇe sampradiṣṭas tat tu proktam bhavanam viśvabhartuh //.

(Trishthalīsetu p. 100–101)

I will describe the dimension, o respectable ones, listen to them:

If one places a cord reaching from Madhyameśvara to Dehalivighnapa and moves this in the form of a circle to the [four] directions, encircled by this line (*rekhā*) is the excellent *kṣetra* that is Kāśī. The wise know that liberation is achieved there. The inner part of Kāśī (*kāśyanta*) is the most excellent *kṣetra*, known as Vārānasī, and is the means (*sādhana*) to special rewards; I will tell you the dimension of it. The rivers Asi and Varanā are in the south and north, in the east is Gaṅgā (*jāhnavī*) and in the west is the Gaṇeśvara, Pāśapāṇi. In its midst lays [the area] called Avimukta, [residing there] leads one to great, divine rewards. I will describe its dimensions: A bow that extends from Viśveśvara one-hundred *yugas* [=yojana] in the four directions [is] the field called Avimukta. Without doubt one obtains liberation there. Gokarneśa is [situated] in the west and Gaṅgā is in the east. In the north is Bhārabhūta, Brahmeśāna is in the south. This is called the abode of the Sustainer of the Universe.⁴⁸

47 See chapter 3.1 on the booklet *Examination of the Pañcakrośī road*.

48 *bhavanam viśvabhartuh* is glossed by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa with *viśvabhartur bhavanam antar-*
grham.

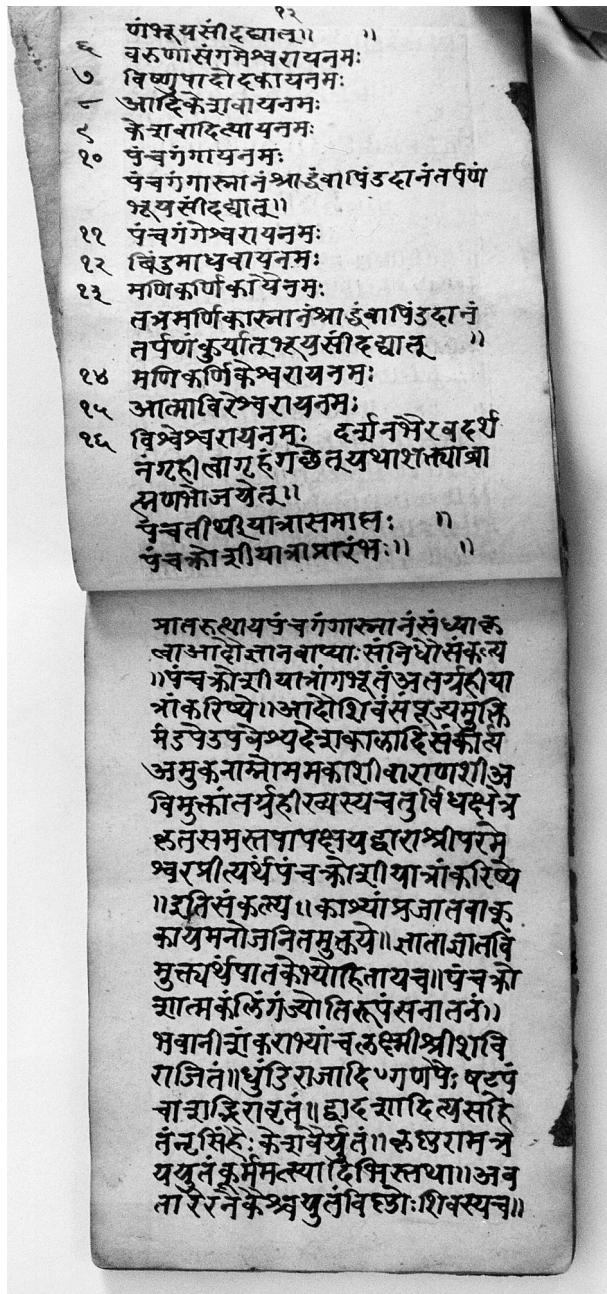


Fig. 1: Undated manuscript (*Prāyāgakāśīgayāyātrā*) with a description of the Pañcakrośīyātrā following the Pañcātīrthīyātrā. The text that follows the formal declaration (*samkalpa*) is identical with *Kāśīrahasya* 10.10–13. Source: private collection, Vārāṇasī.

2.3 Manuscripts on the Sacred Topography of Banaras

The search for additional textual material, which was mainly carried out in libraries and private collections in Banaras,⁴⁹ revealed that within the categories, *Purāna/Itihāsa* and *Karmakānda*, a considerable number of unpublished manuscripts on the sacred topography of Banaras exist. A great deal of the material studied consists of manuscripts which separately transmit sections and chapters taken from *puranic* sources;—mainly the *Kāśikāṇḍa* and the *Kāśīrahasya*—described above. The composition and inclusion of spatial texts on Banaras into the corpus of Sanskrit literature seems to come to an end with one of the last influential compilation of quotations, the *Trishthalīsetu*, which was composed in the mid-17th century.

In addition to this process of incorporation, unification and canonization of spatial texts on Banaras, we find a sort of splitting or separation of texts, where portions of this enormous amount of textual material were transmitted separately by chapter via the participants of processions, or as hand lists for ritual specialists. In the sphere of ritual texts on processions in Banaras this leads to a similar but not identical set of prescriptive texts for each procession. Thus the comparison of manuscripts concerning the *Pañcakrośīyātrā* indicates similarities insofar as verses of the *Kāśīrahasya* (see Fig. 1) are often quoted and ritual speech acts are given with only minor variations. The prose passages, however, vary distinctly in wording and enumerations of names of gods are sometimes given, sometimes omitted, e.g. the list with the names of the 56 *Ganapatis* which is given in the *Pañcakrośīvidhāna* but omitted in the text of the *Kāśīrahasya* and other manuscripts. Therefore, the attempt to produce a critical edition of these manuscripts had to be replaced by the production of a synopsis displaying both similarities and variations in a fluid category of ritual texts describing processions.⁵⁰ Another reason for consulting the collected manuscripts deals with the question of the sequence and numbering of places to be visited during the various processions. Here, the result has been that, although various systems of numbering exist, no consistent single and correct system can be established for any procession based on manuscript evidence. The attempt at canonization of numbers—e.g. the often mentioned “108” places to be visited during the *Pañcakrośīyātrā*,—was an effort undertaken in the secondary literature of the 20th century which cannot claim to be based on any of the consulted manuscripts.⁵¹

The short descriptions of manuscripts given below list manuscripts used in the present study because of specific features, such as considerable additions and

49 The libraries include the Sarasvatī Bhavan of Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit University, the Rāmnagar Palace, the Goenkar Library and the Nagar Pracārinī Sabhā. The collector Shashank Singh (Varanasi) made his collection of nineteenth century manuscripts and early prints accessible.

50 This has been demonstrated regarding the *Pañcakrośīyātrā* by a synopsis of the two texts *Pañcakrośīvidhāna* and chapter 10 of *Kāśīrahasya* in Gengnagel (2005: 83–89).

51 Compare with the introductory remarks to Appendix 2.

variations in comparison to the printed texts. A complete list of the consulted manuscripts is given in the bibliography.

Vārāṇasīyātrāvidhi by Deveśvara (VY)

Vārāṇasī Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, Sarasvatībhavan no. 49694. Author: Deveśvara. Date: saṃvat 1699 [= 1642 AD]. Title: *vārāṇasīyātrāvidhiḥ*; topic: *karmakāṇḍam*. Paper. Devanāgarī. Fourteen numbered folios of approximately 10 x 21cm. Eight to ten lines to a side. Complete. Well preserved.

This is the earliest manuscript consulted, and it describes nine processions altogether: the Nityayātrā (f. 1), the Pañcatīrthīyātrā (f. 1–2), the Aṣṭāyatanayātrā (f. 2), the Dakṣinamānasayātrā (f. 2–5), the Uttaramānasayātrā (f. 5–11), 56 Ganeśayātrā (f. 11–12), the Dvīcatvāriśaliṅgayātā (f. 12–13), the Dvādaśādityayātrā (f. 13) and the Aṣṭabhairavayātrā (f. 14). The beginning of the text gives the following short description of the Nityayātrā, which begins in the morning at the Maṇikarnikāghāṭ, and proceeds with a homage to Viśveśvara and the sacred places found in this temple area:

<1r> śrī ganeśāya namaḥ / kāśīyātrā likhyante /
 gaṅgāyām āhuti prātāḥ madhyād... manikarnikā /
 niṣeveta sadā paścād triliṅgam viśveśvarām vrajet /1
 prātār uthāya dharmātmākṛtānityakriyāḥ śuciḥ /
 atīva śraddhayāyukto gacched viśveśvarālayam /2
 paścimābhimukham devam anubikāsahite ...bhūm /
 pradakṣiṇātrayam kṛtvā namaskāraīś ca pañcabhiḥ /3
 nirvāṇamāṇḍape sthitvā kṣaṇam dhyātvā maheśvarām /
 prānāyāmatrayam kṛtvā uttarābhimukhah punah /4
 baddhāñjaliprārthayātāmāhādevam maheśvarām /
 ādityam draupadīm viṣṇum daṇḍapāṇīm <1v> maheśvarām /5⁵²
 namaskṛtya tato gacched draṣṭum dhuṇḍhivināyakam /
 jñānavāpūm upasparśanam dikeśam⁵³ tato vrajet /
 tārakeśam tatora abhyarcya mahākāleśvarām tatah /6
 tataḥ punar daṇḍapāṇīm ity ākhyā pañcatīrthikā /
 dairnadinī / vidhātavyā mahāphalam bhīksubhiḥ /8
 tato vaiśveśvarā yātrā kāryā sarvārthasiddhidā /
 bhavānī dhuṇḍhirājām ca daṇḍapāṇīm ca bhairavām /
 pūjayed nityaśah kāśyam sūkṣmapāpābhimuktaye /
 iti nityayātrā.

52 The following verses are the same as *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 100.38–41.

53 The wavy underlining signifies, throughout the texts, uncertain readings because of illegible akṣaras.

The manuscript ends with the following colophon:

*iti vārāṇasīyātrāvidhiḥ / samāptah / śubham bhavatu / saṃvat 1699 varṣe jyeṣṭha
śudi 14 budhe likhitoya deveśvareṇa / śrī / śrī //*

Pañcakroṣīyātrāvidhi (PY1)

Vārāṇasī Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, Sarasvatībhavan no. 48745. No author. Not dated. Title: *pañcakroṣīyātrāvidhiḥ*; topic: *karmakāṇḍam*; content: *pañcatīrthādinānādevayātrāvidhiś ca*. Paper. Devanāgarī. Five numbered folios of approximately 10 x 20cm. Nine to twelve lines per side. Complete. Well preserved. On folio 2v another hand with smaller script takes over.

The manuscript contains a list of the Śoḍaśavināyakas on the title page in rough script. With slight changes, verses 1–3 and 5–16 correspond to *Kāśīrahasya* 10.1–3 and 10.6–17. In contrast to the *Kāśīrahasya* (10.18–68), the description of the Pañcakroṣīyātrā itself is given in prose (f. 2–4). In the final passages the text becomes metrical once again, and reproduces the verses of *Kāśīrahasya* 10.69–83 on folios 4 and 5.

Pañcakroṣīyātrāvidhi by Viśvanātha (PY2)

Vārāṇasī Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, Sarasvatībhavan no. 49310. Author: Viśvanātha. Not dated. Title: *pañcakroṣīyātrāvidhiḥ*; topic: *karmakāṇḍam*; content: *pañcatīrthādinānādevayātrāvidhiś ca*. Paper. Devanāgarī. Twenty numbered folios of approximately 10 x 18cm. Eight to nine lines per side. Incomplete. Folios 5v and 6r are missing. Well preserved except for the last folio. Folios 1r, 3v, 13rv, 14v, 17rv, 18rv and 20r have additions in the margins that will be discussed separately.

The manuscript contains descriptions of thirteen processions: the Pañcatīrthīyātrā (f. 1), the Antargṛhīyātrā (f.1–3), the Dakṣiṇamānasayātrā (f.3–5), the Uttaramānasayātrā (f.6–8), the Dvādaśārkayātrā (f.8), the Causaṣṭīyoginīyātrā (f.8–9), the Navadurgāyātrā (f.9–10), the Chapannavināyakayātrā (f.10–11), the Aṣṭalingayātrā (f.11), the Aṣṭabhairavayātrā (f.11), the Ekādaśalingayātrā (f.11–12), the Dvīcatvāriṁśalingayātrā (f.12–13) and the Pañcakroṣīyātrā (f.13–20). The Pañcakroṣīyātrā section contains many passages from the *Kāśīrahasya*, but includes independent passages as well. The Antargṛhīyātrā is divided into seven separate *yātrās*. The text is given as an example below. The sequence of places given in this manuscript was used by Niels Gutschow when mapping the Antargṛhayātrā⁵⁴:

54 See Gutschow (2006a).

<i>atha aṁtargṛhīyātrā prāraṁbha /</i>	<i>kalaśeśvarāya. /35</i>
<i>śrīgamgāya. /1</i>	<i>śigheśvarye na. /36⁵⁵</i>
<i>modādipamcavināyakāya. /2</i>	<i>candreśvarāya namah /37 <2v></i>
<i>muktimāṇḍapāya /3</i>	<i>vīreśvarāya. /38</i>
<i>śrīviśvanāthāya. /4</i>	<i>vidyeśvarāya /39</i>
<i>manikarṇikāya. /5</i>	<i>sam̄katāgaurye na. /40⁵⁶</i>
<i>manikarṇikeśvarāya. /6</i>	<i>agneśvarāya. /41</i>
<i>kamalasūtrāya. /7</i>	<i>nāganāgeśvarāya. /42</i>
<i>vāsugīśvarāya. /8</i>	<i>hariścandreśvarāya. /43</i>
<i>parvateśvarāya namah /9</i>	<i>vasiṣṭhavāmadevābhyām na. /44</i>
<i>gamgākeśavāya. /10</i>	<i>ciṁtāmaṇivināyakāya. /45</i>
<i>lali<2r>tādevyai na. /11</i>	<i>senāvināyakāya namah /46</i>
<i>jarāsaṁdheśvarāya. /12</i>	<i>iti prathamayātrā /</i>
<i>someśvarāya. /13</i>	<i>atha dvitīyayātrā prāraṁbha /</i>
<i>dālabhyeśvarāya. /14</i>	<i>trisaṁdhyeśvarāya. /1⁵⁷</i>
<i>ādivārāhāya. /15</i>	<i>viśālākṣe na. /2</i>
<i>śūlatāmkeśvarāya. /16</i>	<i>dharmeśvarāya /3</i>
<i>brahmeśvārāya /17</i>	<i>viśvabāhukāya namah /4</i>
<i>agasteśvarāya. /18</i>	<i>dharmakūpāya. /5</i>
<i>lopamudrāya na. /19</i>	<i>āśāvināyakāya. /6</i>
<i>kaśyapeśvarāya. /20</i>	<i>vṛddhādityāya namah /7</i>
<i>harikeśeśvarāya. /21</i>	<i>caturvakreśvarāya. /8</i>
<i>vaijanāthāya na. /22</i>	<i>brāhmaśvarāya. /9</i>
<i>dhṛyeśvarāya. /23</i>	<i>prakāmeśvarāya namah /10</i>
<i>gokarṇeśvarāya. /24</i>	<i>iti dvitīyayātrā samāpta / atha</i>
<i>hātakēśvarāya. /25</i>	<i>trītyayātrā prāraṁbha /</i>
<i>astikṣepataḍāgāya. /26</i>	<i>caṇḍicāṇḍeśvarāya. /1⁵⁸</i>
<i>kīkaśyeśvarāya. /27</i>	<i>bhavānīśaṅkarā<3r>bhyām na. /2</i>
<i>bhārabhūteśvarāya. /28</i>	<i>annapūrṇāya. /3</i>
<i>citrāgupteśvarāya. /29</i>	<i>dhūṇḍhirājāya /4</i>
<i>citrāghaṁṭāya. /30</i>	<i>rājarājeśvarāya /5</i>
<i>citrāghaṁṭeśvarāya. /31</i>	<i>lāṁguleśvarāya. /6</i>
<i>paśupatiśvarāya. /32</i>	<i>nakuleśvarāya. /7</i>
<i>pitāmaheśvarāya. /33</i>	<i>iti trītyayātrā samāpta /</i>
<i>prapitāmaheśvarā. /34</i>	

55 This entry is not found in Vyās's list where Kalaśeśvara is counted as 28 and Candreśvara as 29. I take the form *śigheśvarye na.* to be an incorrect dative of *śigheśvaryai namah.* Compare with similar entries under 40.

56 This entry is not found in Vyās' list.

57 Sīmāvināyaka and Karuṇeśvara listed in *Kāśīkhanḍa* 100.88 between Vaśiṣṭha-Vāmadeva and Trisandhyeśa are not given in the PKV II.

58 The entry Īśāneśa given in *Kāśīkhanḍa* 100.89 is missing in the manuscript.

atha caturthayātrā prārambha /
 parānneśvarāya. /1
 paradravyeśvarāya. /2
 pratigraheśvarāya. /3
 niṣkalamkeśvarāya. /4
 mārkaṇḍeśvarāya. /5
 iti caturthayātrāsamāpta /
 atha pañcamayātrā prārambha /
 apsareśvarāya. /1
 gaṅgeśvarāya. /2
 jñānavāpyai na. /3
 jñāneśvarāya. /4⁵⁹
 iti pañcamayātrā samāpta
 atha ṣaṣṭamayātrā prārambha /
 naṇḍikeśvarāya. /1
 tārakeśvarāya. /2
 mahākāleśvarāya. /3
 mokṣeśvarāya namah /4
 vīrabhadreśvarāya. /5

avimukteśvarāya. /6
 iti ṣaṣṭa<3v>mayātrā samāpta /
 atha saptamayātrā prārambha /
 modādipamcavīnāyakāya. /1
 muktīmāṇi apāya. /2
 śrīmgāramāṇi apāya /3
 aiśvaryamāṇi apāya /4
 jñānāmaṇḍapāya /5
 mokṣalaṣṭmīvīlāsamāṇḍapāya
 namah /6
 śrī viśveśvarāya namah /7
 iti saptamayātrā samāpta /
 atha aṁtargṛhīyātrā nivedanāṁ /
 aṁtargṛhīṣya yātrāyāṁ yathāśaktyā
 mayā kṛtā /
 nyūnātirikta�ā śambhuḥ
 prīyatāmanayā vibhu /⁶⁰
 iti aṁtargṛhīyātrā samāpta /

Pañcakrośīvidhāna (PV)

Uncatalogued. Private collection Shashank Singh, Vārāṇasī. No author. Not dated. The title is written on the cover page. Paper. Devanāgarī. Sixteen unnumbered folios of approximately 9 x 17 cm with twenty to twenty-one lines to a side. The pages are bound on the short, upper side. Complete. Well preserved.

This manuscript generally follows the sequence of *Kāśīrahasya* chapter 10, but does not contain the dialogical structure of this text. The wording remains the same only with respect to speech during the worship performed. The places to be visited are given numbers up to 43 “Amṛteśvara” (f. 3^v). From folio 7^v onward the names of all the deities mentioned on the previous pages are repeated in a type of register. A list of the 56 Gaṇapatis is inserted on f. 5^v–6^r. Since this list is not given in the *Kāśīrahasya* I include it here. The 56 Gaṇapatis to be visualized by the pilgrim are listed in the text after the pilgrim has reached Siddhivināyaka:

59 Jñāneśvara is not mentioned in *Kāśīkhanda* 100.91–95.

60 Compare to *Kāśīkhanda* 100.96: *antargṛhasya yātreyāṁ yathāvad yā mayā kṛtā / nyūnātirikta�ā śambhuḥ prīyatāmanayā vibhuḥ*.

<i>arkavināyakāya. /1</i>	<i>cimtāmaṇivi. /5</i>
<i>durgāvināyakāya. /2</i>	<i>daṇṭahastavi. /6</i>
<i>bhīmacaṇḍavināyakāya. /3</i>	<i>piciṇḍilavi.⁶¹ /7</i>
<i>dehalīvināyakāya namah /4</i>	<i>uddaṇḍamu. avi. /8</i>
<i>uddaṇḍavināyakāya. /5</i>	<i>iti caturthāvaraṇam /4</i>
<i>pāśapāṇivināyakāya. /6</i>	<i>sthūladamṭavi. /1</i>
<i>kharvavināyā. /7</i>	<i>kalipriyavi. /2</i>
<i>siddhivināyakāya. /8</i>	<i>caturdamaṇtavi. /3</i>
<i>iti kṣetrabāhyāvaraṇam /1</i>	<i>dvitumḍavi. /4</i>
<i>lambodaravināyakāya /1</i>	<i>jyeṣṭhavi. /5</i>
<i>kūṭadaṇṭavi. /2</i>	<i>gajavi. /6</i>
<i>śālaṭaṇṭkavi. /3.</i>	<i>kālavi. /7</i>
<i>kūṣmāṇḍavi. /4</i>	<i>nāgeśavi. /8</i>
<i>muṇḍavi. /5</i>	<i>iti pañcamāvaraṇam /5</i>
<i>vikaṭadvijavinā. /6</i>	<i>maṇikarnīvi. /1</i>
<i>rājaputravi. /7</i>	<i>āśāvi. /2</i>
<i>pranavavi. /8</i>	<i>sṛṣṭivi. /3</i>
<i>iti dvitīyāvaraṇam /2</i>	<i>yakṣavi. /4</i>
<i>vakratuṇḍavinā. /1</i>	<i>gajakarṇavi. /5</i>
<i>ekadaṇṭavināyakāya. /2</i>	<i>citraghāṇṭavi. /6</i>
<i>trimukhavi. /3</i>	<i>sthūlajamghavi. /7</i>
<i>pañcāsyavi. /4</i>	<i>maṇgalavi. /8</i>
<i>heraṇbavi. /5</i>	<i>iti ṣaṣṭhāvaraṇam /6</i>
<i>vighnarājavi. /6</i>	<i>modavi. /1</i>
<i>varadavi. /7</i>	<i>pramodavi. /2</i>
<i>modakapriyavi. /8</i>	<i>sumukhavi. /3</i>
<i>trtīyāvaraṇam /3</i>	<i>durmukhavi. /4</i>
<i>abhayavināyakāya. /1</i>	<i>gaṇanāyakavi. /5</i>
<i><6r>śiṇhatuṇḍavi. /2</i>	<i>jñānavi. /6</i>
<i>kūṇitākṣavi. /3</i>	<i>dvāravi. /7</i>
<i>ksiṇipraprasādavināya. /4</i>	<i>avimuktavi. /8</i>

atha anye 'pi ca catvāraḥ kāśīkhanḍe saptapāñcāśatamo 'dhyāye / bhagīrathavi. /1/ hariścaṇḍravi. /2/ kapardivi. /3/ biṇḍuvi. /4/ ime gaṇeśvarāḥ sarve 'pi smar-tavyāḥ.

61 The scribe inserts the syllabus *-li-* or *-la-* after *piciṇi*. *i-*.

Kāśīsthiticandrikā

I received a copy of the manuscript *Kāśīsthiticandrikā* with 312 folios when this publication was under preparation. The available data are:

Vārāṇasī Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, Sarasvatībhavan, acc. no. 69075 (second no. 70754). Author: Sadāśīva. Not dated. Title: *kāśīsthiticandrikā*; topic: *purānetihāsa*. Paper. Devanāgarī. 312 folios of approximately 10 x 20 cm. Eleven to thirteen lines per side. Complete. The first folios are damaged, the rest is well preserved; frequent corrections and additions in the margins. Colophon: *iti śrīmaddaśaputrakulāvataṃsena sadāśivena kṛtā kāśīsthiticandrikā samāptā*.

As far as one can see in the copy of the manuscript, the beginnings of the descriptions of processions as well as quotations are frequently highlighted in (red?) colour. Among the quoted texts are the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* (f.4r, 14v, 98r etc.), *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (f.5r), *Kāśikhaṇḍa* (f.6r, 10v etc.), *Kūrmapurāṇa* (f.13r, 36r etc.), *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā* (f.12v, 15r etc.), *Vāmanapurāṇa* (f25r), *Śivarahasya* (f.26v), *Padmapurāṇa* (f.46r), *Narasiṃhapurāṇa* (f.66r), *Liṅgapurāṇa* (f.102v), *Matsyapurāṇa* (f.105v) and *Nandipurāṇa* (f.120). Among the processions the *Viśveśvarayātrā*, *Kālabhairavayātrā* (f.98), *Pañcatīrthayātrā* (f.105), *Nityayātrā* (f.106), *Dvādaśādityayātrā* (f.152r) and *Caṇḍīyātrā* (f.162) are mentioned. Whether this manuscript, which contains a large number of quotations, gives a significant selection of sources or important comments and interpretations can only be stated after a careful study of the work. The text is mentioned only once in the cartouche of the *Kāśīdarpanapūrti* (1877) an edition by Ramāpada Cakravartī appeared in 2005.



Fig. 2 “The embodiment of Kāśī” (*kāśī kī mūrti*). The goddess Kāśī as printed on Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī’s map “Appendix to the Mirror of Kāśī” (*Kāśīdarpaṇapūrti*, 1877). Source: British Library, No. 53345-4.

2.4 The *Kāśīdarpaṇam* or the Interrelatedness of Text and Map

In 1875 Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī published a book entitled *Kāśīdarpaṇam*. This book is primarily a compilation of *puranic* sources with a Hindi translation and commentary by the author.⁶² On altogether 165 pages we find quotations of Sanskrit verses from a wide ranging canon of eulogical literature on Banaras. Kṛṣṇacandra quotes the *Padma-*, the *Agni-*, the *Kūrma-*, the *Matsya-*, the *Liṅga-*, the *Brahmavaivartta-*, the *Bhaviṣya-*, the *Nandī-*, the *Skanda-*, and the *Śivapurāṇa*, as well as the *Trishthalisetu*, the *Śivarahasya*, the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*, and of course most frequently the *Kāśīkhanḍa*. In the introduction to the *Kāśīdarpaṇam*, Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī states that he presents these Sanskrit sources together with his Hindi commentary because he hopes to reach a larger audience by the Hindi translation and commentary.⁶³

62 See the title page: *Kāśīdarpaṇam, nānāpurāṇebhyah samgrhītam, hindibhāṣayā anuvāditañ ca*. The edition is not easily accessible. In 2001, two uncatalogued copies were found in the holdings of the Rāmnagar Palace Library, Banaras.

63 *bhāṣā sarvadeśa pracalita hoyā*. Introduction (*vijñāpana*, no page number).

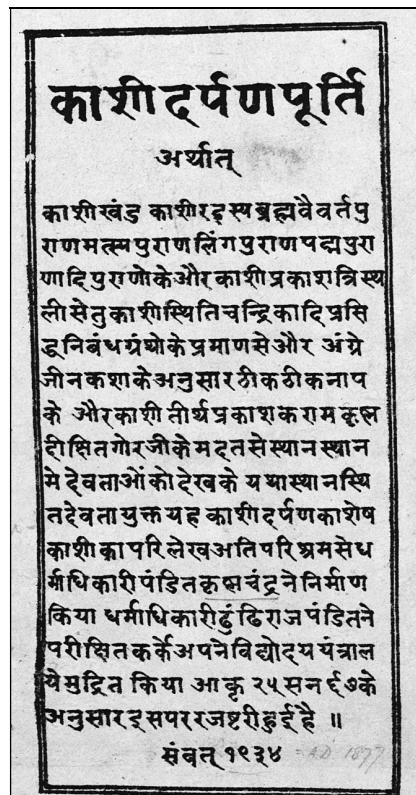


Fig. 3: Cartouche of Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī's *Kāśīdarpanapūrti* (1877). Source: British Library, No. 53345-4.

The relevance of the above described book, however, lies mainly in the fact that the author brings together two seemingly separate domains. One domain being the composition, compilation and publication of spatial texts on Banaras, and the other the visualization of this sacred space through the medium of maps. Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī not only published the book *Kāśīdarpanām*, he also created the lithographical map entitled, “Appendix to the Mirror of Kāśī” (*Kāśīdarpanapūrti*), printed in 1877 in Banaras.⁶⁴ Whereas the book does not directly refer to the map, which was published two years later, the map that is “appended” to the book explicitly relates to the book. For instance, in a caption explaining the legends of the map the user is asked to consult the *Kāśīdarpanā* for more details about the

64 See map no. 12 in Appendix 1 and Michaels (2006) for a comparative study of aspects of the *Kāśīdarpanapūrti*. As already mentioned, Sukula's *Kāśīdarpanā* (no.11.1) was printed at the same press one year earlier in 1876. However, I am not aware of any information documenting the relationship between the two mapmakers.

respective deities visited during various processions.⁶⁵ In addition to the reference to his own book, Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī indicates the authoritative textual frame that he utilized in the map making process. The sources mentioned largely correspond to the *puranic* sources and texts that I have surveyed on the preceding pages. The map's title is printed on the map together with the following legend:

Kāśīdarpanapūrti
arthāt
kāśīkhaṇḍakāśīrahasyabrahmavaivartapu-
rānamatsyapurāṇalingapurāṇapadmapurā-
ṇādipurāṇo ke aur kāśīprakāśatristha-
līsetukāśīsthiticandrikādiprast-
ddhanibamdhagramtho ke pramāṇa se aur amgre-
jīnakṣā ke anusāra ṭhīk ṭhīk nāpa
ke aur kāśītīrthaprakāśaka rāmakṛṣṇa
dīkṣita gorajī ke madat se sthāna sthāna
me devatām ko dekha ke yathāsthānasthi-
tadevatā yukta yaha kāśīdarpana kā śeṣa
kāśī kā parilekha atipariśrama se dha-
rmādhikārī pam ita kṛṣṇacandra ne nirmāṇa
kiyā dharmādhikārī dhuṇḍhirāja pamdita ne
parīkṣita karke apane vidyodayayamtrāla-
ye mudrita kiyā ākt 25 san 67 ke
anusāra is par rajaṣṭarī huī hai //
samvat 1934

Supplement to the Mirror of Kāśī,

i.e. with reference to the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, *Kāśīrahasya*, *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa*, and other *Purāṇas*, along with the well known digests *Kāśīprakāśa*, *Tristhalīsetu*, *Kāśīsthiticandrikā* etc., after accurate measurements based on British maps, Dharmādhikārī Paṇḍit Kṛṣṇacandra has with much effort prepared this drawing (*parilekha*) of Kāśī, a supplement (*śeṣa*) to the *Kāśīdarpana*, after he visited, with the assistance of Rāma-kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita Gorajī, editor of the *Kāśītīrtha*, each and every deity in its respective locale along with their neighbouring gods. Dharmādhikārī Dhuṇḍhirāja Paṇḍit examined it and printed it at his Vidyodaya Press. The registration was made according to Act 25 [18]67 A.D. Samvat 1934.

This map's legend refers to several levels of research presently under scrutiny. The author Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī makes clear what texts he used for making the

⁶⁵ *jo eka eka devatā kī yātrā haim aura tithivārādiyātrā hai so kāśīdarpanagrantha se jāna lenā.*
 See the last section of the text block “yātrā kā samketa” on the left side of the map. Provisional transcriptions and translations of the legends on the *Kāśīdarpanapūrti* have been prepared for the *Vārāṇasī Research Project* by Birgit Mayer-König and Nutan Dhar Sharma at the South Asia Institute in September 2000.

map. The indication of the textual framework of spatial texts provides the map and the mapmaker with an authoritative status (*adhikāra*). The mapmaker pointed out the fact that his knowledge of the deities represented on the map and their locations is derived not only from spatial texts, but was also acquired by actually visiting all of their respective locations. This spatial knowledge is often provided by experts on the sacred spaces of Banaras, as in the given case by Rāmakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita Gora. The reference to British maps hints at yet another important element used in the process of the making of the *Kāśīdarpanapūrti*. As will be seen in the following chapter, British cartography and the technology of measurement greatly influenced the spatial practice in the mid-19th century in Banaras. It eventually led to attempts to change pilgrimage practice according to results based on “correct measurement” as found in British topographical maps.

The *Kāśīdarpaṇam*, in both map and book form, highlights the close interrelation between spatial texts and cartographical representations. It does also incorporate a beautiful image of a manifestation of Kāśī as goddess (Fig. 2). The given example therefore links the two chapters *Kāśī in Texts* and *Kāśī in Maps*. It was the task in this chapter to present an overview of the textual sources relevant to the study of the religious carto-graphy of Banaras. These spatial texts are closely linked to the practice of cartography and, thus, dramatically influence the visualizations of the sacred spaces of Banaras, as will become apparent in the analysis of the textual and visual content of the maps studied in the following chapters. One of the aims of the present study is to show how both spatial texts and religious maps form part of a larger endeavour which, as a specific type of “cultural production”, intended to represent and promote the portrait of Banaras as one of the most important Indian pilgrimage centres.⁶⁶

66 See Freitag (2006) on the notion of “cultural production” in the context of the cities Jaipur, Lucknow and Banaras.

