4. *Kāśīdarśana*–Kāśī in Maps

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the religious cartography of Banaras needs to be analyzed within its social, cultural and historical context in order to understand the intentions of its authors. This chapter begins with a study of two examples of pictorial maps from the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Following these two painted pictorial maps, I will present and analyze two maps lithographed in the latter half of the 19th century in Banaras. Systematic studies of these four maps have not been undertaken, and some of the maps will be published here for the first time. It will thus be one of our main tasks to provide a reading of this source material.

4.1 The *Stylised Map of Vārāṇasī*

Stylised Map of Vārāṇasī (map no. 1, (Banaras Archives (BA)2)
Rājasthān (?), 2nd half of the 18th cent.
Painted on paper, language Sanskrit,
script Devanāgarī, no title, no date.
London: Victoria & Albert Museum, cat. no. 09322 IS.
Size: 90 x 104 cm.

It was not until 1999 that Rosemary Crill and Susan Gole discovered that this coloured map, from the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum, depicts Vārāṇasī. Prior to this revelation the map was catalogued under the misleading title "Pictorial Chart of Shivapur. The Heavenly City of Shiva. Indian, Modern. 09322 1880 (I.S.)".[1] The title has now been changed to "Stylised map of part of Varanasi, India, Rajasthan, Early 19th century".[2] Since the map depicts the entire *kāśīkṣetra*, and not simply portions of it, I propose the title "Stylised map of Vārāṇasī". The previous difficulties in identifying the map were due to a complete lack of information concerning title, age and mapmaker. To my knowledge the map has not been referred to in any publication on Indian cartography, and has yet to be described, analyzed and reproduced.[3] Apparently, it was not until the map's association with

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1 This is the title as affixed to the glass of the framed map.
2 The new title is printed on the back of a black and white offprint of the map sent in 2000 by the Victoria & Albert Picture Library.
3 Gutschow (2006a: 40) contains the first reproduction known to me.

the "worldly city" of Vārāṇasī was discovered that this representation of the city became a "map", and was no longer simply considered a "chart".

The *Stylised Map of Vārāṇasī* is a framed, coloured painting on paper behind glass (see Plates 1 and 1.1–2). The condition is generally good, although in some places the inscriptions in black and gold are faded and barely legible. Concerning the date it can be stated with certainty that the map must pre-date 1879, when the collection of the Indian Museum in London was amalgamated with the Victoria & Albert Museum. At that time the map found its way into the collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum where, unfortunately, no acquisition records are available.[4] In a provisional attempt to date the map I suggest the latter half of the 18th century. This dating remains tentative, however, and is largely based on the comparison with other available maps as well as art historical considerations.[5] No direct evidence for a dating of the map has, thus far, been found. I have refrained from interpreting the "non-depiction" of buildings at the riverfront as a criterion for an earlier dating. In spite of this, the suggested dating would make the map the oldest item available for the present study.

The map's style, and especially that of its figures, makes Rājasthān its most likely origin.[6] This is reinforced by the map's similarity to the second pictorial map of Vārāṇasī, also in Rājasthānī style, which is preserved at the National Museum in New Delhi. Although the map, *Pilgrims in Banaras* (no. 2), is much larger and is painted on cloth, the central structure depicting the Viśvanātha area and the surrounding Antargṛhayātrā have much in common.[7] These two pictorial maps are the only maps I am aware of that visualize the Antargṛhayātrā in the same fashion. In many other aspects the two maps differ considerably, and I will go into this in more detail after the following description.

Among the map's dominant structures is a red ring which enshrines it. Within this "ring", that is adapted to the rectangular form of the framed map, large portions of the Pañcakrośī road are shown (see Plate 2 for a complete view). On this red "path" shrines, temples, platforms, and water structures, along with a few trees and devotees are painted. The ring delimits and surrounds the entire map in a quasi-circular shape and thus demarcates the outer limits of the *kāśīkṣetra*. The Gaṅgā is adorned with boats and fish, as well as a few figures bathing at the *ghāṭs*. The river bisects this red circle at the lower left and leaves it again in the right lower corner of the map. The centre of Banaras is represented in the middle of the *Stylised Map of Vārāṇasī* within a rectangular structure. The centre itself consists

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4   Letter to the author by Rosemary Crill dated 21 December 1998.
5   See the maps in the Jaipur collection that are dated earlier (App. 1, no.4–9).
6   These considerations are mainly based on personal communications with the experts Susan Gole, Joachim K. Bautze and Rai Anand Krishna. See also the remark on a map of Amber/ Āmer dated 1711 in chap. 1.1 (n.7). The tradition of map making, especially in Rājasthān during the 17th and 18th centuries, merits further study.
7   For a detailed description of the map *Pilgrims in Banaras* see chap. 4.2.

of several temples and figures painted in gold against a red background. The temple of Viśvanātha is prominent in this central area, which is surrounded by eight circles that bear small inscriptions in black colour of the names of temples, temple tanks, fords and deities that are part of the Antargṛhayātrā. Five small streams, or channels, connect this central structure with the Gaṅgā. I have not found any inscriptions indicating the names of these streams.[8] Asī and Varaṇā, the two tributaries of the Gaṅgā, are included as elements of the sacred topography as small blue lines that form the limit of the Pañcakrośī road on the south-north axis. As opposed to others, the maker of the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* has not emphasized this feature. The two rivers are of small size, and the rivulet Asī–called the "dry river" (*śuṣkanadī*) in Sanksrit sources–is depicted at the same size as the river Varuṇā.[9] The rivers comprise only a small inner frame for the Pañcakrośī processional road. Pilgrimage shrines and practice are given more importance than the features of the sacred landscape.

Pilgrims or devotees are only rarely depicted on this map, and when they do appear it is almost exclusively on the banks of the Gaṅgā and its immediate vicinity. This map differs from the map *Pilgrims in Banaras* in that neither its space nor, especially, its pilgrimage roads are inhabited by pilgrims. One exception should be noted; a group of four male ascetics led by two women walking in a grove on the upper right side of the map (V235). The reason for their placement as well as the character of this group has yet to be determined. For the time being I suggest that the trees might indicate a forest area at that very spot.[10]

The lack of inscriptions at the Gaṅgā on this map is remarkable. No names of *ghāṭs* and *tīrthas* are found on the banks of the Gaṅgā, and almost no structures indicating bathing places or buildings at the riverfront are visible. On the map itself only the names of the two confluences of the Gaṅgā are written on the river.[11] It should be noted, however, that figures taking a bath in the Gaṅgā are displayed on the map. Compared to the enormous quantity of names inscribed at the *ghāṭs* on Sukula's map, and the beautifully painted line of buildings situated at the riverfront on the map *Pilgrims in Banaras*, one is tempted to say that the lack of names and

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8 The concept of the five (mythical) rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Dhūtapāpa and Kiraṇā doesn't seem to fit in this scheme since they are believed to have one common confluence called Pañcanadītīrtha at the Pañcagaṅga Ghāṭ (see KKh chap. 59 and 60). See also the rivers and channels shown on the map *Pilgrims in Banaras*. "Godauliā Nālā" (see De 14.10) and "Teliyānālā" (De 15.10) have been identified. On Sukula's map four channels are drawn from south to north, called Godāvarī (S618), Brahmanāla (S685), Sarasvatī (S247), and Pañcanāda (S265).
9 See for example the maps of Bahadur Singh and especially the Delhi map where the small river Asī is depicted with considerable size. For a reference to the "dry river" Asi see the quotation in *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* (p. 340) given in chap. 2.2.
10 It might be Daṇḍakāraṇya. See Sukula (S399) who shows this forest in the same area.
11 See nos. V100 (Asisaṃgama) and V164 (Varuṇasaṃgama).

Fig. 13: Basic structure of the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. Drawing by Niels Gutschow.

buildings is one of the most striking features of the map under discussion. Since even old buildings and structures at the riverfront are not depicted it is unlikely that this lack of bathing places and structures on the riverbank could be taken as an indication of a relatively early dating of the map. The mapmaker has not included a panoramic view of the riverfront in this map (see Plate 1.2 with the river front). He was obviously not interested in the representation of "profane" buildings or views of the city, and confined his work to an abstract representation of sacred places, i.e. the shrines, fords, tanks and temples, as well as two of the major circumambulatory routes.

The map shows no written indications with respect to the cardinal directions. It is oriented along the east-west axis which means that the Gaṅgā is shown in the east at the bottom of the map. On top of the map Dehalīvināyaka, the guardian of
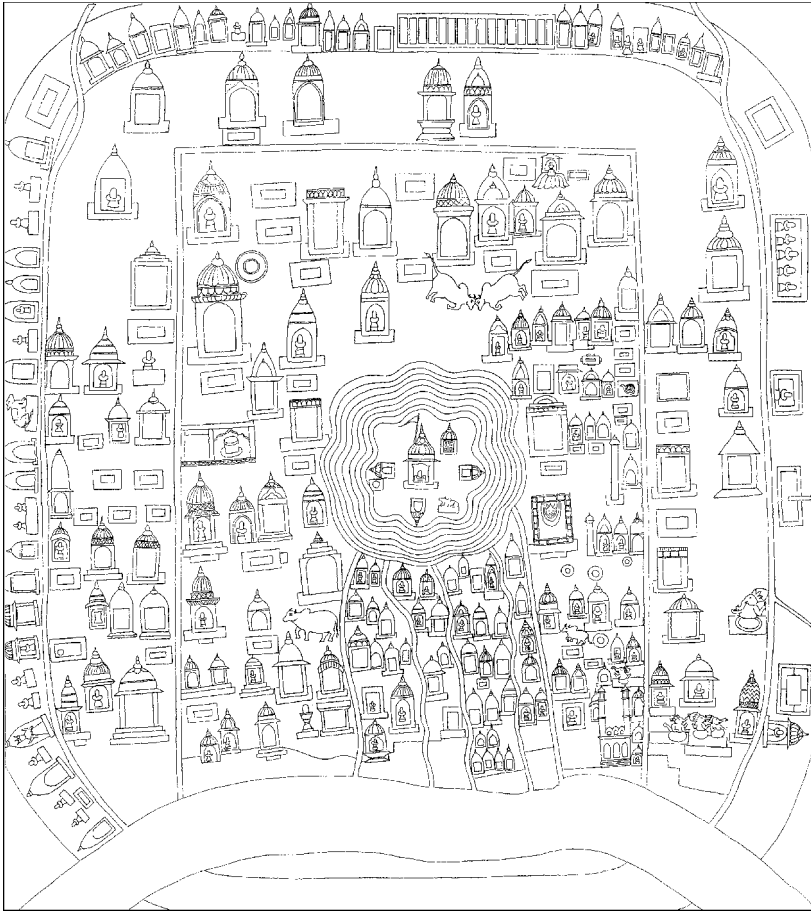
Fig. 14: Tracing of all structures on the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. Drawing: Niels Gutschow.

the western gate, is visible together with the sixteen Vināyakas (Ṣoḍaśavinā-yakas).[12] The Viśvanātha temple, as well as all of the other shrines and temples shares the same eastward orientation. The only exceptions are–for obvious reasons–some temples on the circular Pañcakrośī road. These temples are oriented toward the centre. The exceptional case of the orientation of the four pavilions in the central area will be discussed later.[13]

The Viśvanātha temple is represented in the middle of the map and forms the centre of the east-west axis (Fig. 13). In contrast to maps like *Kāśīdarpaṇa*, *Pilgrims in Banaras* and others here is a clear example of a religious map where a

12 See the *Mirror of Kashi* S377 (entry Ugravighnakartā) for a list of the 16 Vināyakas and an image of the Dehalīvināyaka temple with the Vināyakas shown on the outer back wall.

13 See also "The central structure around Viśveśvara" in plate 4.2.

construction of centrality is obviously intended. Symmetrical concerns about Madhyameśvara, the "Lord of the Centre", forming the ideal geometrical centre of the Pañcakrośīkṣetra obviously did not influence the structure of the map. It was Viśvanātha–the main temple and sacred centre and not the geometrically constructed centre–that the mapmaker chose to highlight in the centre of this area. It needs to be emphasized that this is not self-evident or typical for the cartography of Vārāṇasī. Contrasting spatial concepts are represented in Sukula's *Kāśīdarpaṇa*, and particularly on one map by Bahadur Singh where Viśvanātha is depicted simply as one of several temples without being emphasized in any way. These two maps conform to the statement by Axel Michaels that Indian religious cartography obviously does not aim at a depiction of the middle as the centre of the map.[14] However, the map under discussion–which might by perceived as the exception to the rule–is one example where we observe an obvious and deliberate construction of centrality. This also highlights the variations which arise out of differing representations of spatiality.

One reason for these variations in dealing with the notion of centrality seems to lie in the basic tension represented by the concept of the *kāśīkṣetra*. The main temple of the *kṣetra* with the *liṅga* of the Lord of the Universe does not form the geometrical centre of the sacred territory delineated by the Pañcakrośī processional road. The geometrical centre is located at the temple of the Lord of the Middle, Madhyameśvara, who–as indicated in the previous chapter–was described in the early versions of the *Skandapurāṇa* as the centre of the Avimuktakṣetra.[15] The present remains of this temple, however, and its status in the religious landscape of Banaras are rather insignificant in comparison to the Viśvanātha temple complex. Therefore, on the map in question the Madhyameśvara temple (V409) is neither marked by its size nor by any other special features. It is only one of many shrines and temples painted on the map. The mapmaker has therefore to choose between the geometrical construction of the *kṣetra* and a visualization according to the significance of the represented temples. This apparent tension offers a variety of possible perspectives. Striving for an ideal geometrical construction of sacred territory can lead to conflicts with actual topography as demonstrated by the attempt in the mid-19th century when the members of the *dharmasabhā* of Banaras altered the path of the Pañcakrośīyātrā procession referring to the distances that result from a geometrically correct drawing of a circular *kṣetra*.[16]

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14 See Michaels (2000: 194–197) for a more detailed discussion of the concepts of the centre, the middle and centrality in the religious cartography of Vārāṇasī. He states: "In indischen Karten wird, so scheint es, die Mitte nicht als Zentrum gestaltet." (Michaels 2000: 195).

15 The Madhyameśvara is mentioned in the early version of the *Skandapurāṇa* (c. 800) as the centre of the Avimuktakṣetra, which measures one *krośa* in all four directions. See the edition of the *Ambikākhaṇḍa* 29.49: *kṣetramadhye ca yatrāhaṃ svayaṃ bhūtvā smāsthitaḥ/ madhya-meśvara ity evaṃ khyātaḥ sarvasurāsuraiḥ* (=SP IIA 29.44) and 29.58: *krośaṃ krośaṃ caturdikṣu kṣetram etat prakīrtitam* (=SP IIA 29.52ab) for early references (see chap. 2.2).

16 See the previous chapter 3 for a discussion of this conflict.

In Banaras a variety of perspectives on centrality arose given the fact that in the second millennium no clear undisputed city centre, as such, existed. Over the centuries the history of the two central temples of Avimukteśvara and Viśveśvara is a continuous story of construction, destruction, shifting of places, reconstruction and renovation.[17] This continually threatened, shifting centre may well have influenced and contributed to a multi-layered perspective on the Vārāṇasī *kṣetra*. The *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* is an example of a deliberate construction of centrality that emphasizes the importance of Viśvanātha and thus consciously neglects other factors in the structure of the sacred space of Vārāṇasī.

Since the basic structure of the map has been briefly outlined, I will now describe the map in five sections beginning with the central Viśveśvara-Jñānavāpī cluster, the surrounding Antargṛhayātrā circles, and finally a description of the outer Pañcakrośī circle along with the two areas within and without the rectangular structure.

The Central Structure Around Viśveśvara

The central structure (see Fig. 14.1) with one central temple, four pavilions facing the four cardinal directions, one well, Śiva's bull, Nandi, and a total of seven figures in three groups is dominated by the temple of Viśveśvara (1)[18]. The central *liṅga* in blue is framed by two male figures standing on each side of the entrance to the *garbhagṛha*. The names *viśveśvara* and *viśvagaurī* are inscribed beneath the platform of the temple on the left and right sides. To the right of Viśveśvara's temple in a vertical inscription *avimuktavināyaka* (3) is written. The Avimukta-vināyaka is part of the Viśvanātha temple compound. He is one of the eight major Vināyakas, and the last to be visited in the course of the procession to the 56 Vināyakas.[19]

Above and to the right of the Viśvanātha temple is a smaller temple, without an icon, named *śṛṅgāramaṃḍapa* (4). This pavilion is enumerated in the list of the *maṇḍapayātrā*, but the pavilion itself cannot be located according to Vyās.[20] The following names are associated with this pavilion: *śṛṅgāreśvara*, *śṛṅgāragaurī*,

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17 In my view this fact is best described with epigraphical and textual evidence in the excellent article by Hans Bakker (1996).

18 All the following drawings of the map have been prepared by Anil Basukala. The numbers in brackets refer to the drawing with the Viśvanātha temple cluster. The sketch of the Viśvanātha temple area "Vishvanātha Temple and Jñāna Vāpī" was published by Diana Eck 1982: 122. The Antargṛhayātrā has been mapped and listed by Singh (1993: 50–53), and Niels Gutschow (2006a) has mapped the procession based on the manuscript *Pañcakrośī-yātrāvidhiḥ* (see chap. 2.10). James Prinsep indicated the path of the Antargṛhayātrā on the first topographical map of Banaras, see Gengnagel (2003: 262, Fig. 2) and Gutschow (2006a). The sequence of this procession is listed in Appendix 2.

19 See Vyās 1987: 89–93. In Appendix 2 a list of this procession is given. See also the list according to the *Pañcakrośīvidhāna* given in chapter 2.10.

20 See Vyās (1987: 87).

and *jñānavināyaka* (2) inscribed on the upper left of the Śṛṅgāramaṇḍapa. For the *liṅga* called Śṛṅgāreśvara, no references could be found. The goddess Śṛṅgāragaurī is mentioned in the description of the Gaurīyātrā in *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 100.67–73, and is part of the Viśvanātha temple complex. The Gaṇeśa called Jñānavināyaka also bears the name Gaṇanāthavināyaka and is located near the outer walls of the well Jñānavāpī. The distance between the Jñānavināyaka and the goddess Śṛṅgāragaurī is thus very short.[21]

To the right above the Śṛṅgāramaṇḍapa the two names *tripurāṃtaka* and *kāla-bhairava* are given (5). Regarding Tripurāntaka, I was not able to find a location that would fit into the spatial pattern of the map, whereas Kālabhairava is found on the western side of the Viśvanātha temple compound.[22] Kālabhairava is mentioned by Vyās (1987: 68) as the last place to be visited during the Pañcakrośīyātrā.[23]

Facing north we find a shrine shaped like the Śṛṅgāramaṇḍapa. The names found at the base of this building are *aiśvarjamaṃdapa*, i.e. Aiśvaryamaṇḍapa, and *dvāravinayaka*. The pavilion Aiśvaryamaṇḍapa is listed as no. 10 of the procession to the pavilions (Maṇḍapayātrā), and is situated in the Viśvanātha complex.[24] The Gaṇeśa Dvāravināyaka, which is listed as no. 55 of the procession to the 56 Vināyakas, is situated in the vicinity of the Saptāvaraṇavināyaka and thus forms part of Viśveśvara's temple area.
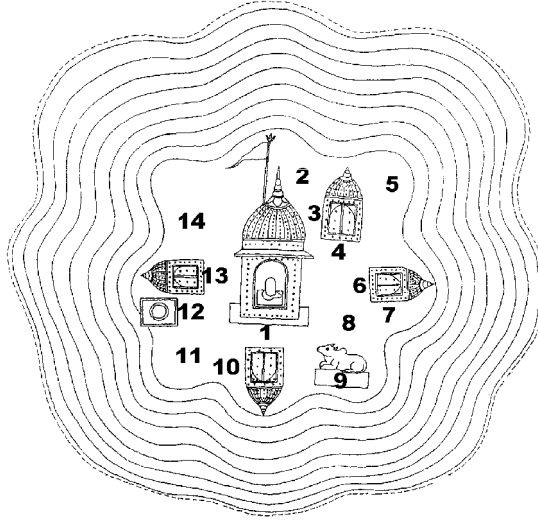

Fig. 14.1: Detail of the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* with the Viśvanātha temple cluster and the eight rings of the Antargṛhayātrā. Drawing by Anil Basukala.

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21 See Eck (1982: 122).

22 See Eck (1982: 122). Vyās (1987: 81) gives house no. K 32/22 as its location.

23 See Appendix 2 for a complete list of the procession to the 56 Vināyakas (Chappanvināyaka-yātrā).

24 See Vyās (1987: 87); Eck (1982:122) does not give the exact placement of this Maṇḍapa.

To the right of the Aiśvaryamaṇḍapa the names *taḍakeśvara* (PK121)[25]–usually spelled *tārakeśvara* since the name refers to the *tārakamantra*, the "Mantra for the crossing over"–and *aiśvarjagaurī* are given (7). Tārakeśvara is found directly at the Vyāsa Pīṭha.[26] It is likely, although clear evidence is lacking, that Aiśvaryagaurī and Gaurīśaṅkara refer to the same goddess. Śiva's bull Nandin (9) is also depicted beneath, or to the east of, the Aiśvaryamaṇḍapa with no name inscribed. Directly below the Viśveśvara temple lies the pavilion called *jñānamaṃḍapa* (10). This Maṇḍapa is facing west and, according to Kedarnāth Vyās, is identified with the Jñānavāpīmaṇḍapa.[27] On the left side of the Jñānamaṇḍapa the names of the Goddess *umā,* the *liṅga jñāneśvara*, and the Gaṇeśa *modavināyaka* are inscribed (10). To the right we find the names *skaṃda, jñānagaurī* and *pramodavināyaka* (10, PK115).

The Gaṇeśa, beginning with Modavināyaka, form a group of five closely situated Vināyakas surrounding the Viśvanātha area.[28] Each of the five Vināyakas– Modavināyaka, Pramodavināyaka, Sumukhavināyaka, Durmukhavināyaka, and Gaṇanātha–are shown in this central area of the map, and are to be visited toward the end of the Antargṛhayātrā before proceeding to the shrine of Kāśīviśvanātha.[29] They are also to be visited at the end of the Pañcakrośīyātrā.[30]

The famous well Jñānavāpī is painted beside two figures–probably a pandit or priest expounding something to his listener. The inscription to the left of the well includes *jñānavāpī* (PK119) and *dakṣiṇāmūrti* (12). I could not find any references for this south-facing image. The names *muktigaurī* and, barely legible, *ādimah… āditya*, which is obviously the name of a specific Sun god are written below the well Jñānavāpī.

The last pavilion in the sequence of four similar pavilions is named *mukta-maṇḍapa*. Together with this inscription the name of the previously mentioned *sumukhavināyaka* (11, PK116) is given. To the right of this pavilion the words *viṣṇu* (PK113)*, draupadī, ḍhumḍhirāja* (PK111), *daṃḍapāṇi* (PK112), *durmukha-vināyaka* (PK117), and *gaṇanātha* (PK118) appear without any associated structures (14). The last two names refer to two of the above-mentioned Pañcavināyakas. The well known Gaṇeśa, Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, and the Bhairava Daṇḍa-

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25 See also "Nityayātrā" no. 9, Vyās (1987: 42).

26 See Eck (1987: 246) for the relationship between the old Tārakeśvara pavilion and the Tāra-keśvara *liṅga* at the Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ.

27 See Vyās 1987: 87.

28 See the position of the first 4 Vināyakas to the west of the Jñānavāpī Mosque with the numbers 72.1–4 and Gaṇanātha with number 72.5 to the east in Singh (1993: 53, Fig. 7).

29 See Vyās (1987: 47) who gives Avimukteśvara (71) then the five Vināyakas (72–76) and, at the end of the Antargṛhayātrā, Kāśīviśveśvara (77). Compare with Singh (1993: 51) who has Avimukteśvara (71) and Pañcavināyaka (72).

30 Compare with Singh (1993: 44) who shows "108. Viṣṇu / Annapūrṇā & Pañca Vināyakas" whereas Vyās (1987: 67–68) gives the 5 Vināyakas the respective numbers 114–118 and goes on counting up to number 128 "Kālabhairava".

pāṇi serve as protectors of the entire city and bestow their blessings for a successful pilgrimage. The circumambulation of the Viśvanātha as depicted on the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* ends with Viṣṇu and his consort Draupadī.

This innermost area of the map is in symmetrical balance with the Viśveśvara temple in the centre with an east-west orientation, and four pavilions oriented toward the cardinal directions surrounding the main temple. If one compares this spatial structure with the sketch given by Eck one must conclude that the actual topography of the place is not represented on the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. This becomes evident when one compares the relative position of Viṣṇu (14), Viśveśvara (1) and the Jñānavāpī (12) on both maps. On Eck's sketch Viṣṇu is situated to the north-west of Viśveśvara whereas Jñānavāpī is placed in the east. The "stylised map" differs as Viṣṇu and Jñānavāpī are both shown on the northern or left side of Viśvanātha.

The Eight Circles Surrounding the Central Structure with Viśveśvara

Outside the red area where the Viśveśvara and Jñānavāpī cluster are located, a circular structure is painted on the map with a total of eight rings marked by red lines and small yellow dots against a golden background. This structure could be described as an eightfold indented, rather than a complete, circle and may therefore indicate an orientation with regard to the eight directions. As previously described, the central Viśveśvara temple area had four pavilions orientated toward the four main directions whereas the Viśvanātha temple faces east. The orientation of the four Maṇḍapas is especially significant if one takes into consideration that all shrines and temples in the inner segment, surrounded by the Pañcakrośī procession, show an orientation on the east-west axis. It therefore seems unlikely to me that the mapmaker had only symmetrical or aesthetic reasons for the placement of the four Maṇḍapas. I have yet to establish a clear relationship, however, between the placement of the names inscribed on the surrounding rings and the eight directions. It is clear from the sketch of the central area that the names indicated on the eight rings are not structured according to the directions, but it is possible that there is a hidden principle that remains to be discovered.

The eight circles are inscribed–starting with the outermost circle–with the words *prathamapradakṣiṇā* 1, *dvitīyapradakṣiṇā* 2 and so forth, and ending with the seventh circumambulation, the *saptamapradakṣiṇā* 7 (7). The eighth and last circle is not counted even though the name Vīrabhadreśvara is written therein. One specific feature is noteworthy. The names written on the eight rings in black have all been overwritten, probably because the inscriptions were fading away. This work of restoration has not, in every case, been carried out with great care. The new inscriptions are often misplaced so that the old text shines through and the text becomes difficult to decipher (see Plate 4.2). While studying the inscriptions on the original map I found no overwritten passages whatsoever, although the inscriptions in gold are especially faded at times and are sometimes illegible. Somebody must

have taken special care to preserve the inscriptions on the above described eight rings. In order to demonstrate that the underlying structure of the eight rings corresponds to the sequence of the Antargrhayātrā (AG), the respective numbers will be added in brackets.

The configuration of the map in a clockwise rendering fits into the sequence prescribed by the Antargrhayātrā. The given numbers reach from 13 to 28, the *liṅga* Asthitakṣepataḍageśvara, number 21 of the Antargrhayātrā, is the only missing item and could not be identified on the map. One has, however, to bear in mind that not all of the legends on the map are legible. The lower numbers of the Antargrhayātrā are found on the section below the Antargrha circles (Fig. 17). The three Gaṇeśas, Siṃhatuṇḍavināyaka (1.2), Trimukhavināyaka (1.12), and Dvi-tuṃḍavināyaka (1.15) are not given in the list of the Antargrhayātrā.

Prathamāpradakṣiṇā–The First Circumambulation

The first circle, bearing the numbers 1.1–1.20 (Fig. 14.2), displays the following sequence of names:

    1. 1 *maṅgaleśvara*
    1. 2 *siṃhatuṃḍavināyaka* (ChV26)
    1. 3 *brahmeśvara* (AG13)
    1. 4 *agastakuṃḍa*
    1. 5 *agastīśvara* (AG14)
    1. 6 *kaśyapeśvara* (AG15)
    1. 7 *harikeśava* (AG16)
    1. 8 *vimalāditya*
    1. 9 *godakuṃḍa*
    1.10 *godreśvara*
    1.11 *vaidyanātheśvara* (AG17)
    1.12 *trimukhavināyaka* (AV22, ChV19)
    1.13 *dhruveśvara* (AG18)
    1.14 *gokarṇeśvara*[31] (AG19)
    1.15 *dvituṃḍavināyaka*
    1.16 *hāṭakeśvara* (AG20)
    1.17 *kekaseśvara* (AG22)
    1.18 *bhārabhūteśvara* (AG23)
    1.19 *śūlā*… not identified.[32]
    1.20 *kalaseśvara* (AG28)

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31 This reading is suggested by the sequence. The inscribed name is hardly legible.
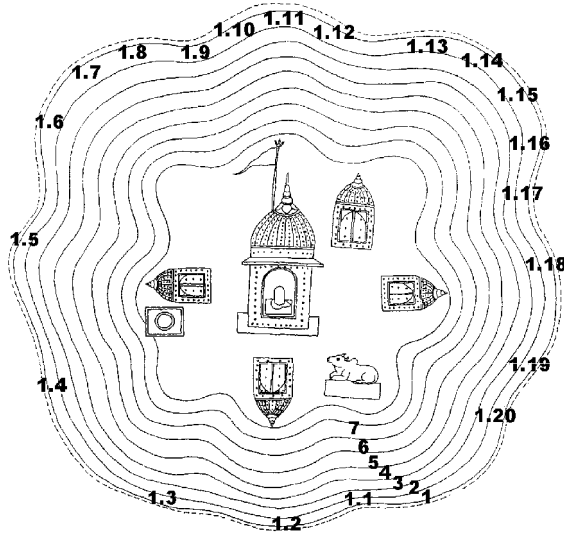32 Compare to Śūlāṭaṃkeśvara (AG11) given under no. 306 in Fig. 14.

Fig. 14.2: The Viśvanātha temple cluster with the first circumambulation of the Antargṛhayātrā.

The names Vimalāditya (1.8) and Maṅgaleśvara (1.1), a sun god and one of the nine planets (*navagraha*), are shown. The first round ends with Kalaśeśvara (1.20) which corresponds to no. 28 in the sequence of Antargṛhayātrā. The names corresponding to 24–27 are, like Citraghaṇṭādevī and Paśupatīśvara, either missing on the map or, like Citragupteśvara (2.17) and Pitāmaheśvara (2.18), they are placed on the following ring.

Dvitīyapradakṣiṇā–The Second Circumambulation

The following list of the names written on the ring of the second circumambulation mainly consists of an interrupted sequence of places that form part of the Antargṛhayātrā (no. 41–49). The names missing between Īśāneśvara (2.12, AG49) and Lāṅgaleśvara (2.14, AG54) are given on the following third and fourth ring. Citragupteśvara (2.17, AG24) and Pitāmaheśvara (2.18, AG27) with some irregularities and missing items at the end of the row:
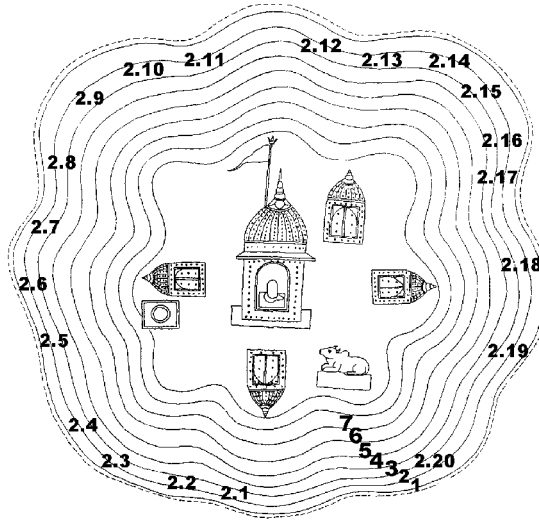
Fig. 14.3: The Viśvanātha temple cluster with the second circumambulation of the Antar-
gṛhayātrā.

2. 1 *viśālākṣī* (AG41)
2. 2 *dharmakūpa*
2. 3 *dharm(eśvara?)* (AG42)
2. 4 *viśvabāhukā* (AG43)
2. 5 *āśāvināyaka* (AG44, ChV42)
2. 6 *vṛddhāditya* (AG45)
2. 7 *caturvaktreśvara* (AG46)
2. 8 *brāhmīśvara* (AG47)
2. 9 *manaḥprakāmeśvara* (AG48)
2.10 *kalipriyavināyaka* (ChV34)
2.11 *sākṣivināyaka* (NP71)
2.12 *īśāneśvara* (AG49)
2.13 *gajakarṇavināyaka* (ChV45)
2.14 *lāṃgaleśvara* (AG54)
2.15 *sthūlaṭaṃkavināyaka* (ChV33)
2.16 *āsabhairava*
2.17 *citragupteśvara* (AG 24)
2.18 *pitāmaheśvara* (AG 27)
2.19 …*cakeśvara*, not identified.

The names of the four Vināyakas Kalipriyavināyaka (2.10), Sākṣivināyaka (2.11),
Gajakarṇavināyaka (2.13), and Sthūlaṭaṅkavināyaka (2.15) are written on the map,
but are not included in the list of the Antargṛhayātrā.
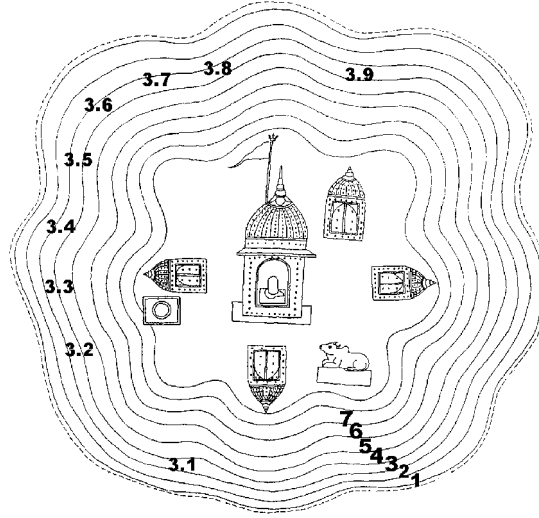
Tṛtīyapradakṣiṇā–The Third Circumambulation

Fig. 14.4: The Viśvanātha temple cluster with the third circumambulation of the Antargṛhayātrā.

Here we find the set of places which form part of the Antargṛhayātrā.
TheVināyakas are mentioned along with the Bhairavas and the Navagrahas.

    3.1 *ānaṃdabhairava*
    3.2 *caṃdīcaṃdeśvara* (AG50)
    3.3 *śaneśvareśvara*
    3.4 *śukreśvara*
    3.5 *sṛ…vināyaka* (possible reading *senāvināyaka*, AG36?)
    3.6 *bhavānīsaṃkara* (AG51)
    3.7 *annapūrṇa…* (PK110, AV67, NP69)
    3.8 *ḍhuṃḍhirāja* (AG52, NY6, PK111)
    3.9 *jakṣavināyaka*

Caturthī- and *Pañcamapradakṣiṇā*–The Fourth and Fifth Circumambulation

    4.1 *nakuleśvara* (AG55)
    4.2 *rājarāyeśvara* (AG53)
    5.1 *mārkaṃdeśvara* (AG60)
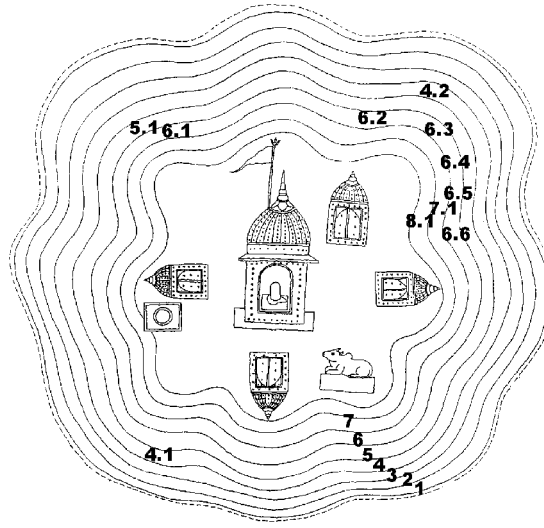
Fig. 14.5: The Viśvanātha temple cluster with the fourth to seventh circumambulation.

Ṣaṣṭhī- and *Saptamapradakṣiṇā*–The Sixth and Seventh Circumambulation

With the exception of the fifth name, all legends in this circle have been identified:

6.1   *maheśvara* (AG68, PK123)
6.2   *mokṣeśvara* (AG69, PK124)
6.3   *parānneśvara* (AG56)
6.4   *paradravyeśvara* (AG57)
6.5   *yani…eśvara*, not identified
6.6   *niṣkaleśvara* (AG59)
7.1   *apsareśvara* (AG61)
8.1   *vīrabhadreśvara* (AG70)

The enumeration of names ends in the last and eighth circle which bears no number on the map, and has only the name Vīrabhadreśvara (8.1, PK125) inscribed. Vīra-bhadreśvara is listed as number 70 of the Antargṛhayātrā. After this *liṅga* only Avimukteśvara, Kāśīviśveśvara and the Pañcavināyakas must be visited in order to successfully complete the Antargṛhayātrā.[33]

  If one looks at the above-described inner structure and takes into consideration the places in close proximity to this central area[34], it is clear that the overwhelming majority of the places to be visited during the Antargṛhayātrā are represented on

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33 This refers to the sequence as indicated by Vyās (1987: 50). As previously stated there exists a considerable degree of variance concerning the listing of places in the final sections of Yātrās that end in the Viśvanātha temple compound.

34 See the description of the area inside the rectangular structure that follows.

the map. Given this fact, it can be stated that it was one of the intentions of the mapmaker to represent this procession on the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. The chosen visualization stresses the aspect of circumambulation that, in the given case, enacts a gradual, circular approach to the sacred centre of Vārāṇasī.

Three areas of the map remain to be analyzed: the outermost circular group of sacred places as well as the two sections with shrines and temples that are shown within and without the rectangular structure in the map's centre. The outer section poses no problems since it will be evident by analyzing the legends of the outer circle that the sequence of the places represented is identical with that of the performance of the Pañcakrośīyātrā.[35]

The structural analysis of the two other fields is more complicated. Although the same geometrical feature is represented on Sukula's *Kāśīdarpaṇa* (see chap. 4.4) and later, as well, on other maps; we have yet to find direct evidence leading to the identification of this structure. It is even questionable whether the rectangle is meant to demarcate a clear-cut distinction between the inner and outer spaces. The three different sections (*khaṇḍas*) of Vārāṇasī defined by their respective circum-ambulatory processions–Oṃkāra-, Kedāra-, Viśveśvarakhaṇḍa–are not congruent with the geometrical feature under discussion. Lacking a better explanation I therefore suggest that the rectangle is meant to represent the inner area of the *kāśīkṣetra*, i.e. the Avimuktakṣetra which would explain why traces of the historic central area of Vārāṇasī can still be found in the form of the above described rectangular shape on pilgrimage maps. This area presently, however, has no clearly defined limits, and no pilgrimage tradition for the performance of an Avimuktayātrā exists today. The rectangle therefore merely represents the ideal shape of an *avimuktakṣetra*, rather than an area characterized by specific places and a clearly defined spatial extension.

Why this area is not depicted in a circular shape remains an open question. I am aware of only one textual interpretation which posits a rectangular shape of the *avimuktakṣetra*. Based on *Skandapurāṇa* 29.52[36] Bakker and Isaacson state regarding the size of the *kṣetra*:

> it is said to measure one *yojana*, i.e., it extends one *krośa* in each of the four quarters of the compass. Since no middle point is mentioned in this context, this would only make sense if we conceive of the field as resembling a quadrangle of one *krośa* per side, i.e., as being one *krośa* square, having a perimeter of one *yojana*. (SP IIa: 45–46)

One should bear the suggested textual interpretation in mind, however without further evidence it seems unlikely that the concept of a square *avimuktakṣetra*, as

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35 For an analysis of the textual sources of the Pañcakrośīyātrā see chapter 2.2, the sequence of places is listed in Appendix 2.

36 *krośaṃ krośaṃ caturdikṣu kṣetram etat prakīrtitam/ yojanaṃ viddhi cārvaṅgi mṛtyukāle 'mṛtapradam* (SP IIa 29.52).

found in an early version of the *Skandapurāṇa*, influenced the religious cartography of the 18th century Banaras.

The Outer Circle

The outer circle is identical to the section of the Pañcakrośīyātrā that demarcates the southern, western and northern borders of the city. The sequence of places as numbered in the drawing "The outer circle with the Pañcakrośīyātrā" mimics the sequence of the performance of the Pañcakrośīyātrā. The *liṅgas* are depicted in this outer circle in two ways: as an open structure placed on a platform, as well as in small shrines. The fact that more than ten *liṅgas*–see for example 102, 104, 108, 109 etc.–are shown without enclosure on a simple rectangular platform could be taken as an indication that the map depicts a time when many of the shrines were still open structures.[37] This seems to be contradicted, however, when one examines the representation of Kardameśvara (no. 102). This ancient temple structure–the upper parts of which were constructed during the Gahaḍavāla dynasty (12th–13th century)[38]–is also represented by a small *liṅga* on a platform without any indication of the dimension or importance of the large temple at the village Kandwa. The same holds true for the other halting places of the Pañcakrośīyātrā. Neither Bhīmacaṇḍī (no. 128), Rāmeśvara (no. 148) nor Kapiladhārā (no. 161) are painted in a way that distinguishes them from the other shrines and temples of the procession. In the case of Rāmeśvara, the spatial relationship between the river Varuṇā, the Varuṇātīrtha and the temple of Rāmeśvara is completely lost as a result of the six shrines (nos.149–154) placed between the image of Rāmeśvara's shrine and the river. These observations highlight an important and distinctive feature of the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. The painter has not attempted to create an image that corresponds with the actual shape and size of the shrines and temples. One does not recognize these places by simply looking at them. The identification of the shrines is only possible because of the processional sequence, or by deciphering the legends. This might be intentional, or the artist may very well have never seen the places that he presents on this pictorial map. The other pictorial map, *Pilgrims in Banaras*, varies distinctly in this regard as the above-mentioned temple cluster, on the Pañcakrośī road, can easily be recognised by its size and shape.

The sequence of places painted and inscribed on the outer circle of the map adheres closely to the list of the Pañcakrośīyātrā as given in the appendix. Slight variations do, however, occur. Sometimes a shrine, for example, is missing as is the case between Nīlakaṇṭha (no. 106, PK28) and Cāmuṇḍā (no. 107, PK30) where the shrine of Nāganātha (PK29) is absent. Or in the case of the shrine of Someśvara

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37 There are only two examples of open *liṅgas* without enclosures in the inner areas, See numbers V226 and V304. On the map *Pilgrims in Banaras* none of these open structures exist.

38 See Singh 2003: 83–89.

(PK59) which is painted without any trace of the Sindhusarodhanatīrtha (PK60). In the vicinity of the shrine of Pṛthvīśvara (no. 158, PK86); the Gaṇeśa Pāśapaṇi-vināyaka (PK85) and the Svargabhūmī (PK87) are not mentioned. In other cases a shrine that is not part of the sequence has been added and could not be identified (no. 113). The identified 67 shrines extend from Viśvakseneśvara (PK22) to Varuṇasaṃgama (PK92). The other shrines and temples of the Pañcakrośīyātrā are represented almost entirely in other sections of the map and have been numbered in the legends for identification and verification.[39]

The Outer Circle with the Pañcakrośīyātrā

100 Inscription on the river *assīsaṃgama*.
101 Viśvakseneśvara (PK22). White shrine, no image visible. Inscription above *viśva…śvara*.
102 Rectangular platform with *liṅga*. Inscription above *kardameśvara* (PK24).
102a Small, round well painted in gold, inscription *kardamakūpa* (PK25).
103 Rectangular tank, inscription above *kardamatīrtha* (PK23).
104 Rectangular platform with *liṅga*, inscription above *somanātha* (PK26).
105 Shrine with standing male image, inscription above *virūpākṣa* (PK27). To the right above this shrine a barely visible line is inscribed in gold starting with *āraṃbham samāpti maṇikarṇikā …*.
106 Rectangular platform with *liṅga*, inscription above *nīlakaṇṭha* (PK28).
107 Shrine with standing four-armed female image. Inscription on the right side: *cāmuṇḍā* (PK30). Between Nīlakaṇṭha and Cāmuṇḍā the shrine of Nāganātha (PK29) is missing.
108 Rectangular platform with *liṅga*, inscription below *mokṣeśvara* (PK31).
109 Rectangular platform with *liṅga*, inscription below: *karuṇeśvara* (PK32). Compare with no. 369.
110 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on left side: *vīrabhadreśvara* (PK33). Inscription above the roof on right side: *pūrvādidik…*, faded.
111 Vikaṭākṣadurgā/Vikaṭākhyādurgā (PK34). Shrine with seated four-armed female image, inscripiton above on the right side: *vikaṭā…durgā*.
112 Shrine with seated male figure, inscription above on right side: *unmattabhairava* (PK35).
113 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above not legible. Since there is no lacuna in the sequence of the Pañcakrośīyātrā this seems to be an additional shrine.
114 Nīlagaṇa (PK36) and Kālakūṭagaṇa (PK37). Rectangular platform with two *liṅgas*. Inscriptions above on the left: *nīla*, on the right: *kālakūṭa*.
115 Shrine with seated female image, inscription above on the left: *vimaladurgā* (PK38).
116 Shrine with seated male image, inscription above on the right *mahādeva* (PK39).

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39 Only five out of 128 places could not be identified on the map: Jarāsāṃdhyeśvara (PK6), Durgavināyaka (PK20), Pañcagaṅgā (PK98), Vaśiṣṭheśvara (PK102), and Vāmadeveśvara (PK103).
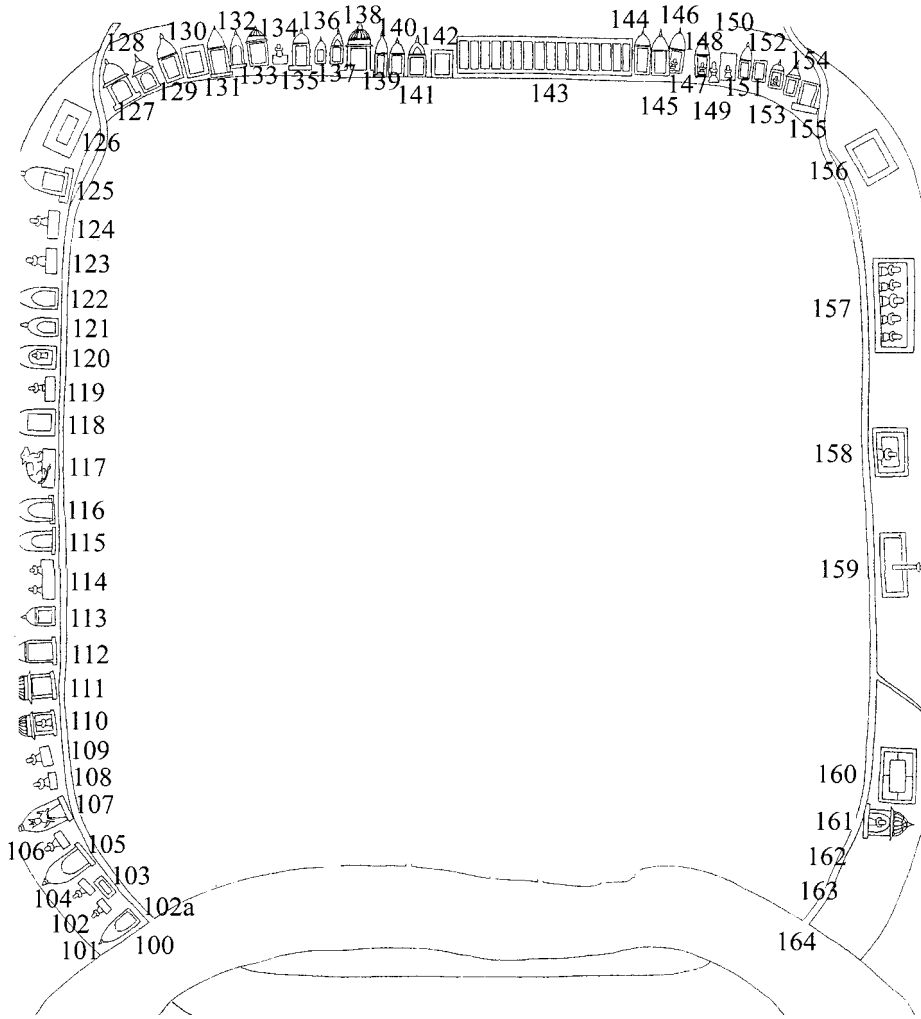
Fig. 15: *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. The outer circle with the Pañcakrośīyātrā.

117   Bull seated on platform, inscription above: *nandīśvara* (PK40).
118   Shrine with seated male image, inscription above on the right: *bhṛṅgīrīṭa* (PK41).
119   Rectangular platform with *liṅga*, inscription above: *gaṇanātha* (PK42).
120   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above on the right: *virūpākṣa* (PK43).
121   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *yakṣeśvara* (PK44).
122   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above on the right side: *vimaleśvara* (PK45).
123   Rectangular platform with *liṅga*, inscription above not legible. According to the sequence Mokṣadeśvara would be expected (PK46).

124   Jñānadeśvara (PK47). Rectangular platform with *liṅga*, inscription above: *jñānada*.
125   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *amṛteśvara* (PK48).
126   Rectangular tank, inscription above: *gaṃdharvasāgara* (PK49).
127   Shrine with Gaṇeśa, no inscription legible. Suggested identification: Caṇḍavināyaka/Bhīmacaṇḍavināyaka (PK51).
128   In front of a tree shrine with seated four-armed female image, inscription on the left side: *bhīmacaṃḍī* (PK50).
129   Narakārṇavatāraka (PK53). Shrine with seated male image, inscription above: *narakaraṇavatārka*.
130   Rectangular shrine with seated image, inscription above: *raviraktākṣagaṃdharva* (PK52).
131   Ekapādagaṇa (PK54). Gaṇeśa shrine, inscription above: *ekapādayakṣa*.
132   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *mahābhīmeśvara* (PK55).
133   Shrine with seated male image, inscriptions below: *bhairava* (PK56) and *bhairavī* (PK57).
134   Rectangular platform with *liṅga*, inscription below: *bhūtanātheśvara* (PK58).
135   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *someśvara* (PK59). No trace of Sindhusarodhanatīrtha (PK60) has been found on the map.
136   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *kālanātheśvara* (PK61).
137   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *kapardīśvara* (PK62).
138   Gaṇeśa shrine, inscription above: *gaṇeśvara* (PK64).
139   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *kāmeśvara* (PK63).
140   Shrine with seated image, faded, no inscription visible. Suggested identification: Vīrabhadragaṇa (PK65).
141   Shrine with *liṅga*, faded, no inscription visible. Suggested identification: Cārumukhagaṇa (PK66).
142   Shrine with seated image, inscription above: *gaṇanātha* (PK67).
143   Ṣoḍaśavināyaka (PK69). Rectangular structure with sixteen small images of Gaṇeśas, no inscription.
144   Gaṇeśa shrine, inscription below: *dehalīvināyaka* (PK68, ChV4).
145   Gaṇeśa shrine, inscription below: *udaṇḍagaṇapati* (PK70, ChV5).
146   Utkaleśvara (PK71). Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription not legible.
147   Small white rectangular platform, inscription below: *tapobhūmi* (PK73) and *rudrāṇī* (PK72).
148   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *rāmeśvara* (PK75). No traces of a shrine with the inscription Varuṇātīrtha (PK74) have been found. The spatial relation of the Rāmeśvara temple cluster and the river Varuṇā is not visible on the map since the places 149 to 154 are listed between Rāmeśvara and the river.
149   Open *liṅga* without platform or shrine, inscription above: *somanātha* (PK76).
150   Rectangular *liṅga* shrine, inscription above: *bharateśvara* (PK77).
151   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *lakṣmaṇeśvara* (PK78).
152   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *śatrughneśvara* (PK79).
153   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *dyāvābhūmīśvara* (PK80).
154   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *nahuṣeśvara* (PK81).

155   Shrine with *liṅga*, partly damaged, inscription below: *asaṃkhyatāni liṃgāni* (PK82).
156   Rectangular platform or shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *devasaṃgheśvara* (PK84).
157   Rectangular open structure with five white *liṅgas*. Inscription above on the right side: *pañcapāṃḍava* and on the left: *śivapur…*, probably Śivapurī. Identification: *liṅgas* of the Pañcapāṇḍavas at the village Śivapur not listed as part of the Pañcakrośīyātrā but included by Vyās (1987: 64) as PK84/1 as well as the Draupadīkūpa (PK84/2) situated in the vicinity.
158   Rectangular tank with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *pṛthvīśvara* (PK86). The Gaṇeśa Pāśapāṇivināyaka (PK85) is not given along the road but–in accordance with his location–inside the field (see no. 238). Svargabhūmī (PK87) is not mentioned.
159   Rectangular tank with white pillar in the centre, inscription in the middle: *yūpasarovara* (PK88).
160   Rectangular tank, inscription above *kapiladhārā* (PK89), identical with Vṛsabha-dhvajatīrtha.
161   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above on the left side: *vṛṣabhadhvaja* (PK90).
162   Male figure with folded hands, inscription above: *prahlāda* (PK96). See also no. 251.
163   Lion-faced, four-armed figure holding a demon with sword in his hands, inscription above: *jvālānṛsiṃha* (PK91). To the right a female figure with folded hands.
164   Inscription on the river: *varuṇasaṃgama* (PK92).

The Temples Outside the Square

The following enumeration lists all of the places depicted outside the square of the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*.
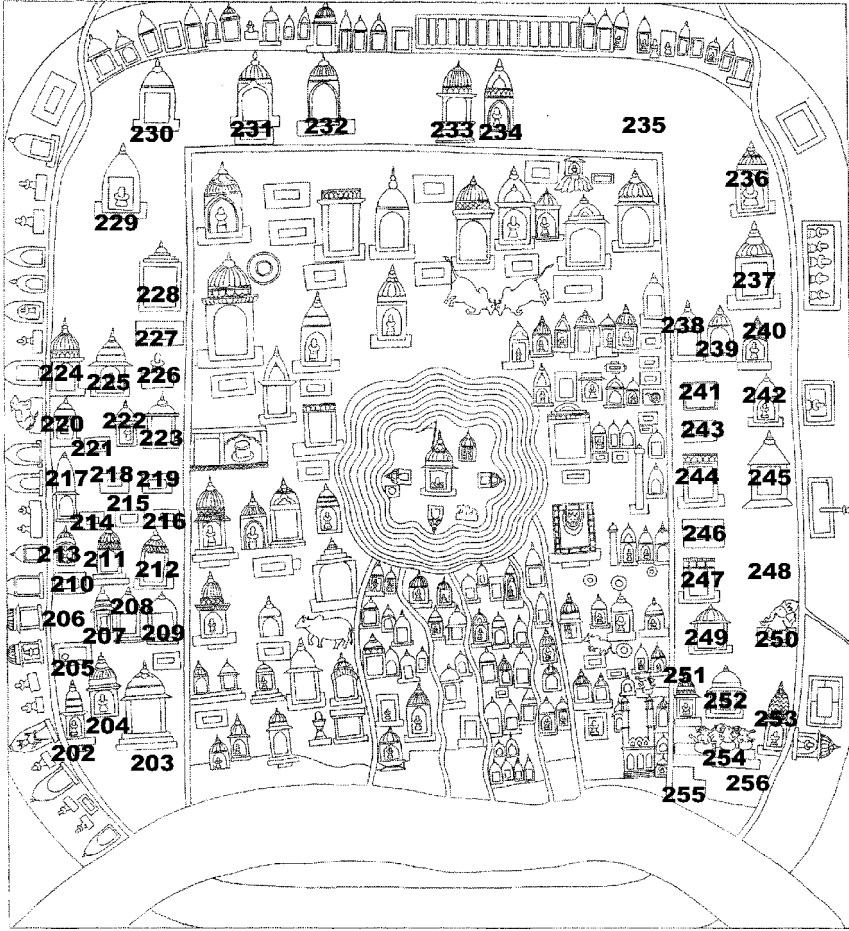

Fig. 16: *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. Shrines and temples outside the square.

The Places in the Area between Pañcakrośīyātrā and the Square

202 Brown shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above on left side: *saṃgameśvara* (PK18).

203 Red shrine with seated four-armed goddess, inscription on right side: *sapanavārāhī*. No identification.

204 Parāśareśa (KeKh36). Blue shrine with *liṅga,* inscription above on the right: *pāreśvara*.

205 Rectangular white tank with circle inside, inscription above: *lolārka* (PK16).

206 Rectangular platform with seated male figure and Gaṇeśa, inscription below: *māyāpurī,* one of the seven cities of the *Saptapurīyātrā*.

207 Red shrine with pillar or *liṅga*, inscription above on the left: *kurukṣetreśvara*.

208 Shrine with standing blue male figure, inscription above on the left: *śrīrāma*.

209 Shrine with standing Hanumān image, inscription above on the right: *hanumadīśvara* (PK15). Rectangular tank below with inscription: *hanumadikuṃḍa*.

210 Puṣkaratīrtha. Rectangular white tank, inscription above: *puṣkara*.

211 Red shrine with seated Goddess image, inscription above on left side: *reṇukadevī*.

212 Lambodaravināyaka (AV18, ChV9). Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above on right side: *laṃvodara*.

213 Brown shrine with *liṅga,* inscription above on right side: *kukkuṭeśvara*.

214 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *durgākuṃḍa* (PK19).

215 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *kurukṣetra*.

216 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *sannihita*…. Possible identification: Sannihatitīrtha associated with Sthāṇvīśa and Kurukṣetra (compare to *Kāśīdarpaṇa* S327).

217 White temple with seated four-armed goddess image, inscription above on right side: *durgādevī* (PK21).

218 Red rectangular tank, inscription above: *reṇukakuṇḍa*.

219 Blue rectangular tank, inscription above: *kṛmīkuṇḍa*.

220 Shrine with seated goddess, inscription on right side, inscription not legible (*godevī*?). No identification.

221 Rectangular tank with tree, inscription above: …*kuṇḍa*. No identification.

222 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above on the left: *siddheśvara*.

223 Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above on the right: *kūṭadaṃtavināyaka* (AV19, ChV10).

224 Asitāṅgabhairava, the Bhairava of the Southern direction. Blue shrine with seated male image, inscription to the right: *sitaṃgabhairava*.

225 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above on the left: *śaṃkhodhāreśvara*.

226 Rectangular platform with *liṅga,* inscription above: *bhūtadhātrīrakṣaka*.

227 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *śaṃkhoddhārātīrtha*.

228 Shrine with four-armed seated image, inscription above: *śaṃkhodhāramādhava*.

229 Śaṃkukarṇarakṣaka, protector in the south-west. Red shrine with *liṅga*, in-
     scription above on left side: *śaṃkukarṇ…rakṣakaḥ*.

230 Shrine with seated male image garlanded with snakes, inscription on the
     right: *kapālībhairava*.

231 Brown shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above on the left: *śālakūṭa-
     vināyaka* (ChV11).

232 Blue shrine with standing four-armed Gaṇeśa image, inscription to the right:
     kūṣmāṇḍavināyaka (NP34, ChV12).

233 Red shrine with male image with bended feet, inscription to the right:
     krodhabhairava.

234 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription to the right: *subhakarmarakṣaka*. No identi-
     fication.

235 Group with six figures, two women in front. All six are carrying bowls in
     their left hand, no inscription.

236 Blue shrine with *liṅga,* inscription to the left: *ṛṣīcaṃḍarakṣaka*, not identi-
     fied.

237 Shrine with seated red male image garlanded with snakes, inscription above
     on the right: *unmattabhairava* (compare to no. 112).

238 Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above on the left: *pāśapāṇivināyaka*
     (PK85, ChV6, NP38). See no. 158, the Pāśapāṇivināyaka is not situated
     directly on the Pañcakrośī road.

239 Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above on the left: *daṃḍavināyaka,* not
     identified.

240 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above on the left: *caṃḍīśa* (AG50, NP36).

241 Brown rectangular platform with coiled snake, inscription above: *vāsukī*.
     Compare this representation with no. 419. Identification uncertain, see also
     Vāsukīśvara (no. 379) and Vāsukīkuṇḍa (no. 243).

242 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above on the right: *śaileśvara*.

243 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *vāsukīkuṃḍa.*

244 Large blue shrine with seated red image, inscription above: *uttarārka* and on
     the left side: *ghaṇṭākarṇarakṣaka*.

245 Shrine with seated image with long black hair, inscription above: *mahā-
     bhairava*.

246 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *varkarakuṃḍa*. Suggested identi-
     fication: Bakariyākuṇḍa.

247 Blue shrine with standing male image, inscription above: *bhīṣanabhairava.*

248 Seated image holding flowers in both hands, inscription above: *keśavāditya.*

249 Shrine with seated four-armed image, inscription on the right: *ādikeśava*
     (PK93).

250 Four-armed Gaṇeśa image seated on pedestal, inscription above: *kharva-
     vināyaka* (PK95, ChV7).

251 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *prahlādeśvara* (PK96). See also no.
     162.

252 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *svarlīneśvara*.

253 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *saṃgameśvara* (PK94).

254 Platform with three Gaṇeśa images, inscriptions above: *picimḍilavināyaka* ChV31), *varahavināyaka* (identification: Varadavināyaka, ChV23)*, rāja-putravināyaka* (ChV15).

The Shrines and Temples Inside the Square and Outside the Area of the Antar-gṛhayātrā

301 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the left: *kṣemeśvara* (AV14, NP16).

302 Blue shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *sarveśvara* (PK13, AV13, NP15).

303 Red shrine with seated goddess image, inscription on the upper left only partly legible *ca…ṣṭ…devī.* Suggested identification: Catuḥsaṣṭhīdevī (AV12, NP14, KeKh93).

304 Rectangular platform with white *liṅga*, inscription on the left: *…śākūreśvara*, not identified.

305 Brown rectangular shrine with seated four-armed goddess image, inscription above: *dasaharāgaṃgā.* Not identified.

306 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the right: *śalataṃkeśvara.* Identification: Śūlaṭaṅkeśvara (AG11, PK9, AV8, NP10).

307 Brown shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *narasiṃheśvara*.

308 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the left: *svarg…śvara,* possible identification Svargeśvara or Svargadvāreśvara (AV54). Compare to Svar-gadvāreśvara (no. 340).

309 Two small white shrines with Gaṇeśas, inscription below: *…divināyaka.* Not identified.

310 Small grey shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription visible.

311 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the upper right: *tārakeśvara.* Identification: Tārakeśvara (also: Tāḍakeśvara). Compare with no. 7.

312 Red mosque, no inscription. Identification: Aurangzeb Mosque.

313 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *gaurīkuṇḍa.* This *kuṇḍa* and the Kedāreśvara temple are situated directly at the river, although this spatial relationship is not apparent on the map.

314 Platform with two shrines and two red flags. On the left shrine with *liṅga,* inscription above: *kedāreśvara* (PK14, AV17, NP19).

315 On the right of the platform shrine with female image, inscription above: *kedāreśvarī.* Not identified.

316 Red shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the left: *nāradeśvara.*

317 Red shrine with four-armed blue male image. Inscription to the upper left: *…mādhava,* not identified.

318 Red temple with four-armed seated female goddess and red flag. Inscription on the upper left: *baṃdīdevī sītala* (AV10, NP12, PK12).

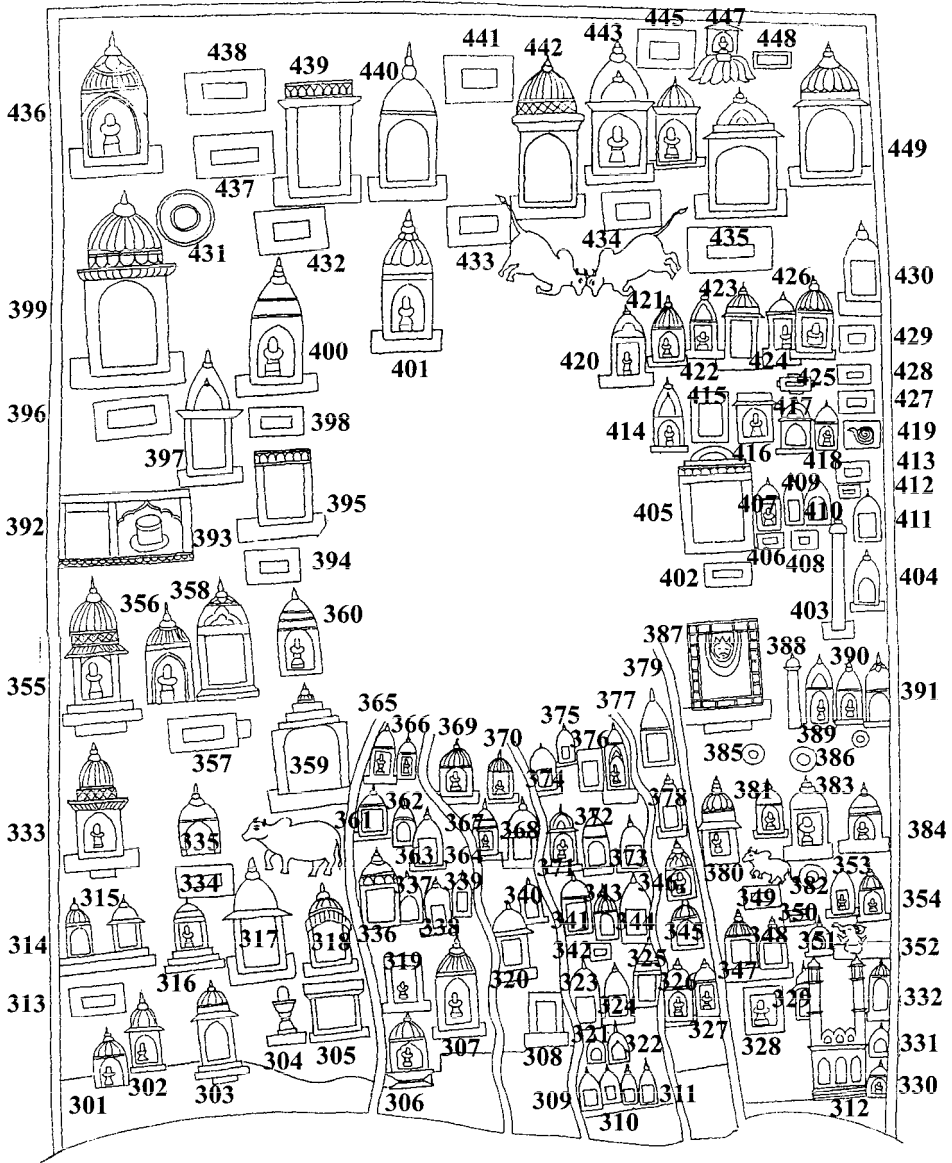319 Dālabhīśvara/Adālabheśvara (AV7, AG10, PK8). White shrine with white *liṅga,* inscription above: *dālabhīśvara.*

Fig. 17: *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. Shrines and temples inside the square.

320 Brown shrine with Gaṇeśa, inscription to the right: *mokṣavināyaka*, not identified.

321 Small grey shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *parvateśvara* (AG5, PK104, NP65, AV50).

322 Small grey shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *hariścandra* (AG34, NP61, AV46).

323 Shrine with Gaṇeśa, no inscription visible. Possible identification: Hariścandravināyaka situated at Saṃkaṭhā Ghāṭ.

324 Shrine with Gaṇeśa, inscription on the right: *jagma-/jarmavināyaka*. Not identified.

325 Saṃkaṭādevī situated at Saṃkaṭāghāṭ. Shrine with female image covered with cloth, inscription on the upper left: *saṃkaṭā*.

326 Shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *yameśvara* (AV44).

327 Shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *maheśvara* (PK105, NP66, AV51, AG68). Below the two shrines 326 and 327 two seated figures are visible, inscription on the left: *…bhairava*, not identified.

328 White rectangular shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *gabhastīśvara* (PK100, NP56, AV39).

329 Blues shrine with seated image, inscription below: *mayūravārīśvara*. Not identified.

330 Small brown shrine with white *liṅga*. No inscription visible.

331 Small grey shrine with white *liṅga*. No inscription visible.

332 Red shrine with seated four-armed image. No inscription visible.

333 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *citrāṃgadeśvara*. Temple situated at the Kṣemeśvara Ghāṭ (see no. 301).

334 Red rectangular tank, inscription above: *mānasarovara*.

335 Mānasarovareśvara. Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *mānaseśvara*.

336 Sthūladantavināyaka (ChV33). Shrine with four-armed Gaṇeśa image, inscription on the upper left: *sthūla…tavināyaka*.

337 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *someśvara* (AV6, AG9).

338 Blue shrine with seated female image, inscription on the upper left: *lalitā-devī* (AG7, AV3, PK5).

339 White shrine with seated male image, inscription below: *gaṃgāditya*.

340 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on upper left: *svargadvāreśvara* (AV54).

341 White shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above: *siddhivināyaka* (PK3, PK106, ChV8, NP3, AV2).

342 Cakrapuṣkariṇītīrtha at Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ. Red rectangular tank, inscription below: *cakrapuṣkara*.

343 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *bindumādhava* (PK97, NP54, AV37).

344 Vikaṭadvijavināyaka (AV30, ChV14). White shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above: *vikaṭavināyaka*.

345 Grey shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper right: *…śvara*. Not identified.

346 Brown shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper right: *agnīśvara* (AG32, AV41, NP58).

347 Platform with Gaṇeśa shrine on the left, inscription on top not legible. Suggested identification: Maṅgalavināyaka (ChV47).

348 On the right part of the platform a shrine with goddess image, inscription on top not legible. Suggested identification: Maṅgalagaurī (AV38, PK101).

349 Blue rectangular tank, no inscription. Not identified.

350 Blue rectangular tank, no inscription. Not identified.

351 Small shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Not identified.

352 Platform with Gaṇeśa image and seated figure, no inscriptions. Not identified.

353 White shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the upper right: *tri*…. Possible identification: Trilocaneśvara (AV34, NP51, PK97).

354 Blue shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper right: *kāmeśvara* (AV33).

355 Blue shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *rukmāṃgadeśvara* (NP17, AV15).

356 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *narmadeśvara.*

357 Red rectangular tank, inscription above: *revākuṃḍa.*

358 Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above: *ekadaṃtavināyaka* (ChV18).

359 Large shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above: *vakratuṃḍavināyaka* (ChV17). Compare with no. 423.

360 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *puṣpadaṃteśvara.*

361 Small shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above: *abhayavināyaka* (ChV25).

362 Red shrine with seated goddess image, inscription above: *tripurabhairavī.*

363 Shrine with seated four-armed goddess image, inscription above: *ādivārāhī.*

364 Grey *liṅga* on white pedestal, inscription above: *gaṃgakeśava* (AG6, PK4, NP4, AV4).

365 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper right: *ādivārāha* (AG12, PK10).

366 Small shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper right: *trisaṃdheśvara* (AG40).

367 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *mokṣeśvara.* Compare with the numbers 6.2 and 108.

368 White shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription on upper left: *saptāvaraṇa-vināyaka* (PK107).

369 Brown shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *karuṇeśvara* (AG39). Compare with no. 109.

370 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper right: *ratneśvara.* Compare with no. 390. There the Ratneśvara is situated in the vicintiy of Vṛddhakāleśvara (no. 391).

371 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *kaṃbalāśvatara.* See also Aśvatareśvara no. 443.

372 Blue shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *jyotirūpeśvara.* Not identified.

373 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *netrasya…śvara.* Not identified.

374 Grey shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *maṇikarṇikeśvara* (AG2, NP2, AV1, PK2).

375 Small white shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *caṃdreśvara* (AG29).

376 Red rectangular shrine with seated female image, inscription above: *siddheśvarī.*

377 Red shrine with white *liṅga,* inscription above: *vīreśvara* (AG30, NP63).

378 Grey faded shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on upper left: *upaśāntīśvara* (NP59, AV42).

379 White faded shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on upper left: *vāsukīśvara* (AV49, AG4).

380 Blue shrine with white *liṅga* and two red flags, inscription on upper left: *satīśvara.*

381 Red shrine with white *liṅga* and one red flag, inscription on upper left: *kṛttivāseśvara.*

382 Round well, inscription below: *…ārakūpa.* Possible identification: Oṃkāra-kūpa but no references.

383 Grey shrine with white *liṅga* and one red flag, inscription below: *oṃ-kāreśvara.*

384 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on upper right: *viśvakarmeśvara.*

385 Round well, inscription on the right: *mahākālakūpa.*

386 Round well, inscription on the right partly damaged: *vṛ….* Suggested identification: Vṛddhakālakūpa.

387 Large red rectangular shrine with garlanded masque, inscription above: *kālabhairava* (PK128). Above this inscription a very small golden *liṅga* and the inscriptions *amardakeśvara* and *amardapīṭha* are given. The identification is uncertain, possible reading Kālamardaneśvara? Above this is another small golden *liṅga* with the inscription: *pāpa…śvara.* Identification: Pāpabhakṣeśvara situated behind Kālabhairava. To the left linked with the depiction of the Antargṛhayātrā the vertical inscription: *bhadrakālī,* the goddess is situated near Vīrabhadra (AG70).

388 Yellow pillar, no inscription. Not identified.

389 Red shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on upper left: *mahākāleśvara* (NY10, AG66, PK122).

390 White shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on upper left not legible. Possible identification: Ratneśvara. For a second Ratneśvara see no. 370.

391 Shrine with *liṅga*, faded. Inscription on upper right: *vṛddhakāleśvara.* Round well below with inscription: *ratnakūpa.* Suggested identification: Ratna-cūḍāmaṇitīrtha.

392 Rectangular structure with two shrines. On the left a seated figure with black knotted hair, no inscription.

393 On the right side a shrine with a large black *liṅga* marked with white colour. Inscription above: *tilabhāṃḍeśvara*.

394 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *lakṣmīkuṃḍa*.

395 Red rectangular shrine with seated goddess image in red clothes, inscription above: *lakṣmīdevī*.

396 Brown rectangular tank, inscription above: *kāmākṣakuṃḍa*.

397 Baṭukabhairava. Shrine with seated male figure holding a *triśula*, inscription above: *vaṭukabhairava*.

398 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *lavakuśakuṃḍa*. Not identified but see no. 400.

399 Large shrine with seated goddess image with raised arms, inscription on upper left: *kāmākṣīdevī*.

400 Grey shrine with white *liṅga,* inscription on upper right: *lavakuśeśvara*. Suggested identification: Laveśvara and Kuśeśvara listed by Vyās as part of the Kedārakhaṇḍayātrā (KeKh73 and 74).

401 Grey shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on pedestal: *rāmeśvara*. Compare to no. 148.

402 Red rectangular tank, inscription above: *ṛnamocana*.

403 Red pillar, inscription on the left: *kulastaṃbha*. Known as Lāṭbhairava.

404 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on upper right: *dakṣeśvara*.

405 Blue rectangular shrine with five rows of *liṅgas* painted inside, inscription on the left: *asaṃkhyātaliṅgāni*. On top of this a grey half circle is painted, inscription on the right *guhā*. Possible identification: Jaigīṣavyaguhā linked to Jaigīṣavyeśvara (no. 414) and Bhūtabhairava (no. 415). Vertical inscription in black on the left side: *gajavināyaka* (ChV38).

406 Small red rectangular tank, inscription below: *pāpamocana*.

407 White shrine with *liṅga*, faded. Inscription above: *vṛkṣeśvara*. Suggested identification: Vṛṣeśvara.

408 Small rectangular tank, inscription below: *kapālamocana*.

409 Small shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *madhyameśvara*.

410 Small shrine with seated female image, inscription above: *vyāghreśvarī*. Not identified but compare to Vyāghreśvara situated in the vicinity of Bhūtabhairava.

411 Small white shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *mṛtyuñjaya*.

412 Small blue rectangular tank, inscription below: *vaitīrṇa*. Suggested identification: Vaitaraṇītīrtha.

413 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *tarṇi*. Identification uncertain.

414 Jaigīṣavyeśvara. Grey shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription below: *jaigīṣa…eśvara*.

415 Grey rectangular shrine with standing white male image holding a *triśūla* in the left hand. Inscription above: *bhūtabhairava*.

416 White rectangular shrine with white *liṅga,* inscription above: *aṃdakeśvara*. Suggested identification Antakeśvara at Bhūtabhairava.

417 Blue shrine with seated female image covered with red cloth, inscription unclear: *kalyāṇī* or *katyāṇī devī*. Possible identification Kātyāyanī situated near Siddheśvara.

418 White shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *siddheśvara*.

419 Red rectangular platform with coiled snake, inscription above: *karakoṭaka*. Compare this representation with no. 241. The Karakoṭakavāpī (427) is also called Nāgkuāṃ.

420 Brown shrine with white *liṅga,* inscription below: *jyeṣṭheśvara*. Below this shrine a brown cross, inscription on the left: *tatasāgara*. Not identified.

421 Shrine with white *liṅga* and red flag*,* inscription below: *…seśvara*. Not identified.

422 Shrine with white *liṅga* and red flag*,* inscription below: *vyāghreśvara*.

423 Brown shrine with Gaṇeśa image and red flag, inscription below: *vakratuṃḍa* (ChV17). Compare with no. 359.

424 Shrine with white *liṅga* and red flag*,* inscription on the left: *jambukeśvara*.

425 Mandākinītīrtha. Red rectangular tank, inscription above: *maṃdakinī*.

426 Shrine with black *liṅga* and red flag*,* inscription above: *agnikeśvara*. Possible identification Agnighreśvara.

427 Red rectangular tank, inscription above: *karakoṭakavāpī*, also called Nāgkuāṃ.

428 White rectangular tank, inscription above: *dadhavikuṃḍa*. Not identified.

429 Red rectangular tank, inscription above: *īśvaragaṃgā*.

430 Shrine with Gaṇeśa image and red flag, inscription on the upper left: *cintāmaṇivināyaka* (ChV29).

431 Round, brown well, inscription below: *kām*…. Identification uncertain, possibly Kāmākṣīkūpa (see no. 399).

432 Rectangular tank, no inscription. Suggested identification: Sūryakuṇḍa situated near Sāmbāditya (no. 439).

433 Rectangular tank, inscription faded, possible identification: *pitṛkuṃḍa*.

434 Rectangular tank, inscription above: *ghaṃṭākarṇa*. Not identified.

435 Rectangular tank, inscription: *…trakuṇḍa*. Not identified.

436 Blue shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *vaijanātha.* Identification: Vaidyanātha situated in the vicinity of Kāmākṣidevī (no. 399). Compare with Vaidyanātheśvara (no. 1.11).

437 Red rectangular tank, inscription above: *mātṛkuṃḍa*.

438 Rectangular tank, inscription: *vārāhīkuṃḍa.* Not identified.

439 Grey rectangular shrine with standing male image, inscription above: *saṃbāditya*.

440 Grey shrine with Gaṇeśa image and red flag, inscription above not legible. Suggested identification: Dvimukhavināyaka (ChV36) situated near: Sambāditya.

441 Red rectangular tank, inscription above not legible.

442 Brown shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above: *jyeṣṭhavināyaka* (ChV37).

443   Shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription above: *aśvatareśvara*. See also the dual Kambalāśvatara in no. 371.

444   Small shrine with white *liṅga*, inscription on the upper left: *ka…śvara*. Possible identification Kapardīśvara (AV24). Compare with no. 137.

445   Rectangular tank, faded inscription above: *…mala….* Possible identification: Vimalatīrtha situated at Kapardīśvara and Piśācamocana.

446   Shrine with three figures. In the centre a blue seated male figure, on the left a female on the right a male standing figure. Inscription on the upper right: *rāmalakṣmaṇasītā*.

447   A small shrine with black *liṅga* situated atop a small hill. Inscription on the right: *valmīkeśvara*.

448   Small rectangular tank with Gaṇeśa image above. Inscription on the right …*ruṇa*. Identification uncertain.

449   Shrine with four-armed standing female figure. Inscription on the upper right: *dhūpacaṇḍī*.

The *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*: Visualizing Centrality

The *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* is the earliest religious map of Banaras studied in the present volume. As will become obvious in the following chapters, the contents of the map, which includes over 300 names of temples, shrines, and sacred places, can be found with variations, on other pilgrim maps. The representation of these places is based on elements of sacred topography as well as on the various processions per-formed within the territory of the city. What is distinctive about this map is its deliberate construction of symmetry and centrality achieved by placing the Viśvanātha temple, and its immediate surrounding space with the Antargṛhayātrā, in the centre of the map. The temple of the "Lord of the Middle" (Madhyameśvara, V409) occupies an insignificant position to the north of the map's centre. The Pañcakrośīyātrā is shaped in a way that frames this centralised *kṣetra,* and the inner area is demarcated by a rectangle which highlights the space defined by the *avimuktakṣetra*. This use of symmetry and centrality is not a general feature of the religious cartography of Banaras, as will be shown in the following chapters. The mapmaker intended to create an idealized structure of the sacred space of Banaras, in order to extol the importance of the main temple with the main god Kāśī-viśvanātha.

In rare instances, individuals form part of the sacred territory depicted on the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. This only occurs, however, on boats, at the bathing *ghāṭs* along the Gaṅgā and, in one case, where a group of ascetics is depicted (V235). The map is appropriately termed "stylised", as becomes apparent when we turn to the pictorial map *Pilgrims in Banaras* which is of higher aesthetic value and much more vivid. It depicts in manifold forms the individuals who create the sacred spaces by participating in pilgrimages. In addition, it will become obvious that the mapmaker of *Pilgrims in Banaras* has created images of sites that are readily recognizable. Whereas the artist who created the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* did not

display detailed spatial knowledge of the sites he depicted, and was accordingly not necessarily an inhabitant of Banaras, the maker of *Pilgrims in Banaras* had certainly seen the places that he visualized on the map. In other words, the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* is a cartographic symbol of the sacred spaces of Banaras, if you will, whereas the maker of *Pilgrims in Banaras* created an image of the sacred topography which incorporates both a panoramic view of the riverfront as well as views of the various sacred sites of Banaras.
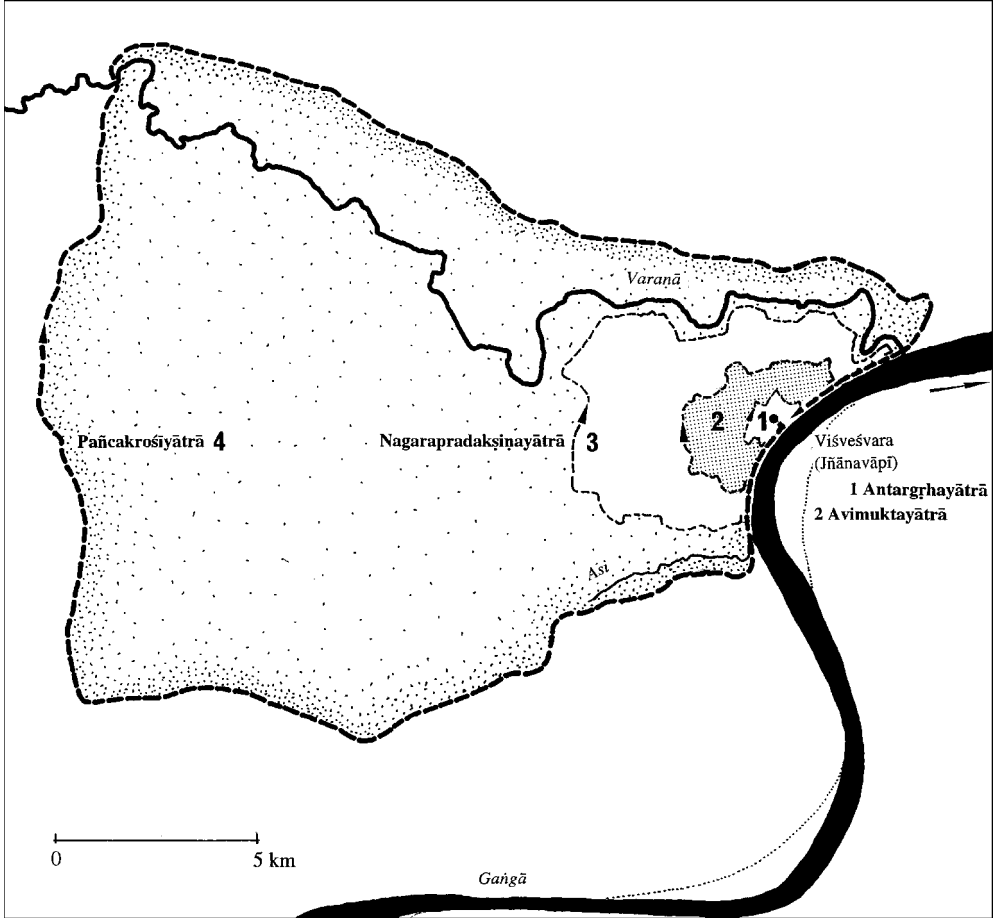

Fig. 18: The area covered by the four processions Antargṛha-, Avimukta-, Nagarapradakṣiṇā- and Pañcakrośīyātrā. Drawing by Niels Gutschow.

4.2 The Pictorial Map *Pilgrims in Banaras*

Pilgrims in Banaras (no. 2, BA1)
Rājasthān (?), around 1830
painted on cloth, restored in 1998, language Sanskrit,
script Devanāgarī, no title, no date.
New Delhi, National Museum, Cat. no. 63.935.
234 x 330 cm.

To date, only two small black and white images, with details and a short des-
cription of the map *Pilgrims in Banaras*, have been published by Susan Gole (Gole
1989: 65, pl. 25[40]). The present publication contains the first coloured repro-
ductions of a complete view (Plate 2) together with 16 sections containing detailed
views (Plates 2.1–16). The inscriptions and legends to approximately 400 objects
given on the map are for the first time deciphered based on the black and white
reproductions of the 16 sections (Fig. 22.1–16). The pictorial map *Pilgrims in
Banaras* is the largest map of Banaras that has yet been studied. The map is not on
display at the National Museum, it was studied in New Delhi at the Department of
Painting on several occasions between December 1999 and April 2002. In addition
to this on-the-spot study, digitalized versions of 53 colour transparencies and some
20 negatives provided by the National Museum were utilized for identification of
the objects and decipherment of the legends.

   The map combines two basic elements. At the bottom or eastern section an
elaborate panoramic view of the riverfront is given. The hinterland and the central
area are depicted as a space containing four procession roads. The three pro-
cessions, Avimuktayātrā (2), Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā (3), and Pañcakrośīyātrā (4)
are represented by three half-circular roads. Placed slightly to the left of the map's
centre and encapsulated by these three half circles are five rings which represent
the fourth procession, Antargṛhayātrā (1), and enshrine the temple cluster around
Viśvanātha (Fig. 19).[41] The central area is faded, but it is obvious that it consists of
pavilions and temples of Vināyakas oriented toward the eight directions (Fig. 20).[42]
Within the space delineated by these four processions are numerous temples,
shrines, and waterplaces which create the impression that Banaras is covered with
sacred places.

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40 The acquisition number 61.935 given by Gole has to be corrected to 63.935.
41 This structure is similar to the central area of the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. The only major
    difference is that this map depicts eight rings.
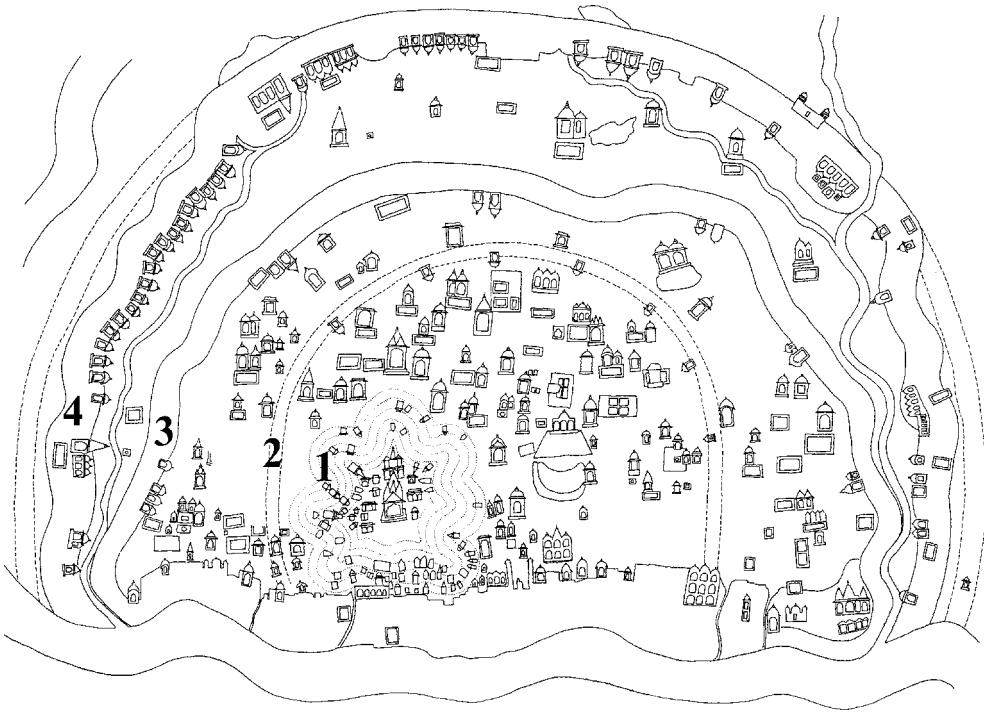42 See Plate 2.14 with a detailed view of the Viśvanātha temple complex.

Fig. 19: *Pilgrims in Banaras* with the four circumambulations Antargr̥ha- (1), Avimukta- (2), Nagarapradakṣiṇā- (3) and Pañcakrośīyātrā (4). Drawing by Anil Basukala.

One of the most remarkable features of the map is that it does not simply depict vacant sacred topography. The map is literally "inhabited", thus living up to its name *Pilgrims in Banaras*. In contrast to the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*, there are numerous gods shown in the temples and shrines, hundreds of pilgrims and ascetics, youthful as well as older men and women bathing in the river, visiting sacred places and walking along the various processional roads. Each of these roads has a continuous chain of pilgrims painted in a distinctive style, as can be seen in the detailed views of Figs. 22.5 and 22.6, and in the sketch of the central area (Fig. 21).[43] More than 200 figures are depicted with Saris and Luṅgīs in varying colours, some carrying umbrellas, thus creating a vivid scene: elderly people, bent by age, moving along with the help of their walking sticks, small children with their families, a pilgrim riding on a horse, etc. (Plate 2.14). This highlights the fact that Banaras' sacred topography is not merely defined by rivers and roads but rather by the gods, who live within the territory, and their interaction with pilgrims who,

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43 References are to the 16 detailed views of the map, numbered Fig. 22.1–16. They are printed here in black and white together with the legend numbers. Plates 2.1–16 reproduce detailed coloured views.

through the performance of processions, visit the gods and bring the sacred spaces to life.

Several small scenes with groups are depicted on the map. Among those is a Kṛṣṇalīlā scene where Kṛṣṇa is shown surrounded by Gopīs (Fig. 22.2, no. 13) on the Pañcakrośīyātrā road between Bhīmacaṇḍī and Dehalīvināyaka. A scene most likely representing the performance of the famous cult drama Rāmlīlā complete with elephants and royal participation is visible on Fig. 22.11 (no. 22). Soldiers with cannons are shown to the right of this scene. Temple clusters like the Karda-meśvara area (Fig. 22.9), and villages such as Bhīmacaṇḍī (Fig. 22.2) and Rāmeśvara (Fig. 22.4), are identifiable without even reading the inscriptions. Additionally, the spatial relations involved are not lost as a result of the abstract representation of a particular processional sequence, as is the case in certain parts of the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*. The mapmaker must either have visited these places, or viewed images of them, in order to have produced such a pictorial map.
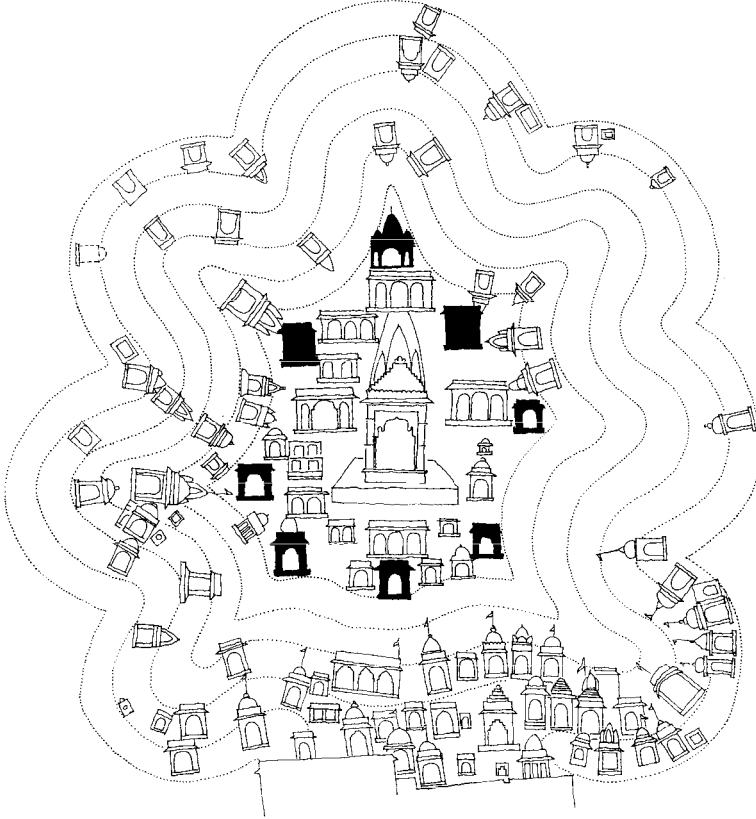

Fig. 20: Central area with Viśvanātha and the temples of the Vināyakas in the eight directions. Drawing by Niels Gutschow.
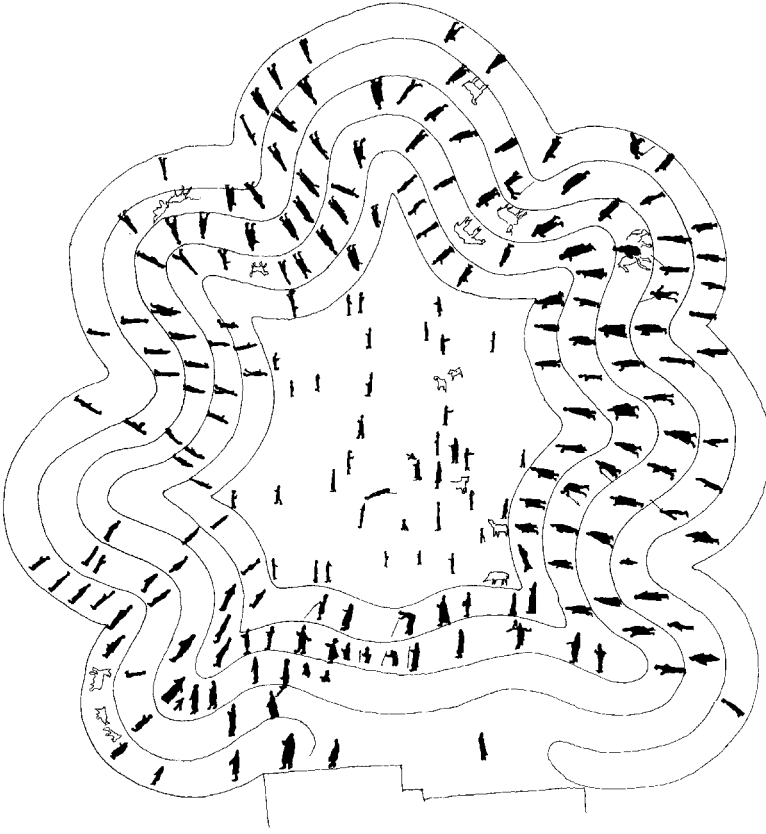
Fig. 21: Pilgrims on the move: Detail of the Antargṛhayātrā with pilgrims and animals. Drawing: Niels Gutschow.

The identification of a building at the Bhoṃsalāghāṭ (Fig. 22.14, no. 48) as the Mahal that was built in 1795 by Bhoṃsalā Mahārāja serves as *terminus post quem* for the dating of the map.[44] The two lakes, Mandākinī and Matsyodarī, are also important elements regarding the possible dating of the map (see Fig. 22.11, no. 15). These lakes, which were once of substantial size, were drained and significantly reduced in volume during the 1820's (Eck 1982: 50). Prinsep's map of 1822 (Plate 3) still shows Mandākinī of considerable size, with its famous tame turtles. Matsyodarī is also shown as a large lake linked to other ponds. The topographical map of 1867 (no. 42) depicts both bodies of water as rectangular ponds. On *Pilgrims in Banaras* Mandākinī appears quite substantial in size whereas Matsyodarī

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44 See Śaṃkar (1996: 69) for the dating of the Bhoṃsalāghāṭ.

is already depicted as a standardized small rectangular tank. This indicates that the map was produced after 1822 and before 1867.[45]

The River Front Panorama

The panoramic view of the river front is found at the bottom of the map. The top of the map, or western section, is marked by the sixteen Gaṇeśas located at the outer wall of temple of Dehalīvināyaka, who is the protector of the western entrance to the city (Fig. 22.3)[46]. The centre of the map with the Viśvanātha temple cluster and the surrounding processional roads of the Antargṛhayātrā are situated slightly to the south of the central axis of the map. The temple of the "Lord of the Middle" (Madhyameśvara) could only be identified tentatively by inference (Fig. 22.11, no. 15). The eastern section of the map includes a beautiful rendering of the bathing places and buildings along the river (Fig. 22.13–15). The *ghāṭs* begin with Asī in the south and move on towards the *ghāṭs* Tulsī, Cet Singh, Hariścandra, Causaṭṭi, and Rāṇamahala (Fig. 22.13), and so on toward the ones called Daśāśvamedha, Mān Mandir, Rājarājeśvara, Maṇikarṇikā, and Pañcagaṅgā along with the Aurang-zeb mosque on Fig. 22.14. The *ghāṭs* named Prahlāda and Rāja, along with the confluence of Varuṇā and Gaṅgā, are the last places shown along the river front in the north. All of these bathing places include pilgrims walking along the river. They are full of lively scenes showing people bathing in the Gaṅgā, taking boat rides, and engaging in various other activities.

The Yoginīs

In the area situated inside the borders of the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā and outside the green path of the Avimuktayātrā a series of female figures is depicted.[47] Although many of the paintings of these figures are faded, these images are obviously not female pilgrims. They are characterized by a terrifying appearance, in many cases animal heads are visible, and some are carrying skulls and limbs in their hands. Their arms and legs are spread and they appear to be leaping on high or performing dances. Some of the 38 visible figures bear inscribed names, which made it possible to identify them as Yoginīs.[48] The six legible names follow:

    Gajānanā (Fig. 22.7, no. 5)
    Gṛdhrāsyā (Fig. 22.6, no. 22)

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45 This time frame is also supported by the depiction of the "Godauliā nālā"; see Fig. 22.14, no. 10.

46 See the map *Kāśīdarpaṇa* (S377) for an image of the Dehalīvināyaka temple and a list of the 16 Gaṇeśas (chap. 4.4, Fig. 30 and *www.benares.uni-hd.de*).

47 These figures and the area between the Nagarapradakṣiṇā- and Avimuktayātrā are best seen on Fig. 22.6 and 22.7. Other sections with Yoginīs are visible on Fig. 22.9–12 and Fig. 22.15.

48 See the text of the inscriptions below. The inscriptions give "*yoginī*" or the abbreviation "*yo.*" together with the names.

Uṣṭragrīvā (Fig. 22.7, no.3)
Vikaṭalocanā (Fig. 22.10, no.7)
Śavahastā (Fig. 22.6, no. 24)
Sarpāsyā (Fig. 22.7, no. 2)

The remaining 32 visible female figures in the same area bear either no inscription, or no legible one. Their placement in space, however, along with their specific representations suggests an identification of the whole group as Yoginīs. The names of the Yoginīs are usually enumerated in a list of 64, but since in the above-mentioned area two sections (Fig. 22.9 and 22.12) are completely damaged it is not surprising that many Yoginīs could not be detected. Whether all of the 64 Yoginīs have been included in this pictorial map can not be conclusively said.

The textual reference for Yoginīs in Kāśī is chapter 45 of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* where the arrival of the 64 Yoginīs (*catuḥṣaṣṭiyoginyāgamanam*) in Kāśī is described. When asked about the names of these Yoginīs Skanda gave the following complete list (45.34–41). All six of the above mentioned names (no. 1, 3, 5, 16, 40 and 44) are included:

> *gajānanā (1)*[49] *siṃhamukhī (2) gṛdhrāsyā (3) kākatuṇḍikā (4) /*
> *uṣṭragrīvā (5) hayagrīvā (6) vārāhī (7) śarabhānanā (8) //34*
> *ulūkikā (9) śivārāvā (10) mayūrī (11) vikaṭānanā (12) /*
> *aṣṭavakrā (13) koṭarākṣī (14) kubjā (15) vikaṭalocanā (16) //35*
> *śuṣkodarī (17) lalajjihvā (18) śvadaṃṣṭrā (19) vānarānanā (20) /*
> *ṛkṣākṣī (21) kekarākṣī (22) ca bṛhattuṇḍā (23) surāpriyā (24) //36*
> *kapālahastā (25) raktākṣī (26) śukī (27) śyenī (28) kapotikā (29) /*
> *pāśahastā (30) daṇḍahastā (31) pracaṇḍā (32) caṇḍavikramā (33) //37*
> *śiśughnī (34) pāpahantrī (35) ca kālī (36) rudhirapāyinī (37) /*
> *vasādhayā (38) garbhabhakṣā (39) śavahastāntramālinī (40/41) /38*
> *sthūlakeśī (42) bṛhatkukṣiḥ (43) sarpāsyā (44) pretavāhanā (45) /*
> *dandaśūkakarā (46) krauñcī (47) mṛgaśīrṣā (48) vṛṣānanā (49) //39*
> *vyāttāsyā (50) dhūmaniḥśvāsā (51) vyomaikacaraṇordhvadṛk (52/53) /*
> *tāpanī (54) śoṣaṇīdṛṣṭiḥ (55) koṭarī (56) sthūlanāsikā (57) //40*
> *vidyutprabhā (58) balākāsyā (59) mārjārī (60) kaṭapūtanā (61) /*
> *aṭṭāṭṭahāsā (62) kāmākṣī (63) mṛgākṣī mṛgalocanā (64) //41*

This list was analyzed by Vidya Dehejia (1986: Appendix 194–216) as pertaining to a series of Yoginīs that excludes Mātṛkās. According to Dehejia, the traditions in question do "not seem to have the same elevated divine status as the series of Yoginīs including Mātṛkās" (1986: 201) and show a prevalence of the concept of

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49 The numbering of the names is meant for orientation. The splitting varies in some cases: *śukīśyenī* (not split by Vyās 1987: 160); *pracaṇḍācaṇḍavikramā* (not split by Tagare: 495); *mṛgākṣī mṛgalocanā* (split by Vyās 1987: 161). See also Das (1981: 35) who gives a list where no. 34 is given as "Śiśughni and Pāpahantri", Mṛgākṣi (63) and Mṛgālocanā (64) are counted separately.

the fearsome Yoginīs.[50] Within the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* a tradition of Yoginīs is documented that "have bird and animal heads, or alternatively, are fierce in character" (1986: 204). According to the textual sources studied by Dehejia this passage from the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* forms part of several lists which do not belong to the A and B groups with lists of Yoginīs excluding Mātṛkās (1986: 204).[51]

In the verses that follow the quoted list these Yoginīs are praised without specific reference to their precise location. However, in addition to a general prescription for the auspicious times of their worship, a reference to a yearly procession (*vārṣikayātrā*) to these Yoginīs is given:

> On the first day of the dark half of [the month] Caitra pious people should carefully perform a procession in order to pacify any obstacles [that exist] within the holy field (*kṣetra*).[52]

Referring to the text of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, Vyās has included the *catuṣaṣṭiyoginīyātrā* in his list of processions either performed or known in Banaras (Vyās 1987: 158–161). Of the 64 names Vyās located only 15. Among the Yoginīs located are: Gajānanā, Hayagrīvā, Vārāhī, Mayūrī, Vikaṭānanā, Vikaṭalocanā, Śuṣkodarī, Śukiśyeṇī, Kālī, Ūrdhvadṛk, Tāpinī, Śoṣaṇadṛṣṭi, Aṭṭhāṭahāsā, Kāmākṣā, and Mṛga-locanā.[53] The locations of all other Yoginīs either have been lost or never existed. The fact that the Yoginīs are, at least theoretically, visited during an annual procession might provide an explanation for the fact that they are depicted as part of the sacred territory of Banaras. They are not placed on the outer limits of the sacred space to protect its borders. This is in contrast to the 96 Śaktis listed in chapter 72 of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* and represented on the outer circle of Sukula's *Kāśīdarpaṇa* where they are grouped in a set of 12 Śaktis, with each group located in one of the eight cardinal directions.[54]

Inscriptions on the Map *Pilgrims in Banaras*

No indication of the date of the map, the title, the mapmaker or the location where the map was produced could be found in the map's inscriptions. The identified, legible text consists of the names of the various objects and of quotations of well-known sources of the eulogical Sanskrit literature on Banaras such as the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, the *Nāradīya*, the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, the *Tri-sthalīsetu,* and the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa*. No genuine textual contribution to the

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50 Das (1981) gives a survey of Yoginī temples and their cult.

51 There is certainly more textual evidence needed for a grouping of these lists.

52 *caitrakṛṣṇapratipadi tatra yātrā prayatnataḥ / kṣetravighnapraśantyarthaṃ kartavyā puṇya-kṛjjanaiḥ*. (*Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 45.52).

53 Among the Yoginīs located by Vyās are: Gajānanā, Hayagrīvā, Vārāhī, Mayūrī, Vikaṭānanā, Vikaṭalocanā, Śuṣkodarī, Śukiśyeṇī, Kālī, Ūrdhvadṛk, Tāpinī, Śoṣaṇadṛṣṭi, Aṭṭhāṭahāsā, Kāmākṣā, and Mṛgalocanā. See also the remark: *sampūrṇa causaṭha yoginiyoṃ kā patā nahīṃ caltā. prācīn kāśī se ab baṛā antar ho gayā hai.* (Vyās 1987: 161).

54 For a list of these Śaktis see the chapter on the outer circle.

map could be identified. This underlines the fact that, as in the case of the pictorial map *Pilgrims in Banaras*, a close relationship exists between cartographical representations of space and their corresponding textual sources. In other words this map provides another variant of the textualization of space based on spatial texts although this is not immediately obvious as in Sukula's "word picture" *Kāśīdarpaṇa*, where large text blocks and inscriptions are visible on the entire surface of the map.

Attempts to decipher the inscribed texts were first carried out on the spot while studying the map at the National Museum in New Delhi, and subsequently verified with the help of enlarged digitalized images of the relevant sections. The largest text block on the map is inscribed on a green outer circle in the southern or left-hand area of the map. This inscribed half circle moves from the Gaṅgā up to Bhīmacaṇḍī where it fuses with the path of the Pañcakrośīyātrā (see Fig. 22.13, 22.9, 22.5 and 22.1). In the north, in the same way, a green circular line leads from Rāmeśvara down to the Gaṅgā (Fig. 22.8, 22.12 and 22.16). The shape of the green circle has a dual function, as it serves as a banderole for the inscriptions and graphically highlights the "ideal" half circular shape of the Pañcakrośīyātrā. Large parts of the texts on this ring are either faded or completely damaged.

Small Text Blocks

Shorter text blocks are found at various places on the map, however in most cases the contents of these passages could not be identified as they were illegible. Thus, for example, in the area of the depiction of the Daśāvatāras (Fig. 22.15, no. 1) traces of more than six long lines can still be seen but they are almost completely faded. On Fig. 22.11, no. 15 only a fragmentary deciphering was possible, hinting at a verse concerning the Mandākinītīrtha. On the Avimuktayātrā circle (Fig. 22.10, no. 21) an inscription on a green band with seven lines was decipherable (… represents illegible syllables):

1 *avimuktam iti khyātaṃ ta*
2 *…vīmi vaḥ. viśve-*
3 *śvarāc caturdikṣu dhanuḥ*
4 *… yuge mataṃ. avi-*
5 *muktābhidhaṃ kṣetraṃ mukti-*
6 *s … na saṃśayaḥ.*
7 *…*

This passage can be identified as a quotation of the verses quoted in the *Tristhalīsetu* (p. 101), and attributed to the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa*:

avimuktam iti khyātaṃ tanmānaṃ ca bravīmi vaḥ.
viśveśvarāc caturdikṣu dhanuḥ śatayugonmitam
avimuktābhidhaṃ kṣetraṃ muktis tatra na saṃśayaḥ.

It is called Avimukta and I will tell you the dimension of it. A bow that extends,
starting from Viśveśvara, one hundred *yugas* [i.e. *yojanas*] in the four directions
[this is] the field that is called Avimukta. There without doubt one obtains
liberation.

I have already referred to this section of the *Tristhalīsetu* called "*kāśyādikṣetra-
parimāṇam*" (p. 101–104), and its importance for the textual definition of the
dimensions of the sacred territory of Banaras (chap. 2.2). Beneath the Ādikeśava
temple at the confluence of Varuṇā and Gaṅgā (Fig. 22.15, no. 16) an inscription
over ten lines was deciphered as follows:

1   *laiṃge. ataḥ paraṃ*
2   *tu saṃveghaṃ gaṃgā-*
3   *varuṇasaṃgamaṃ.*
4   *śravaṇa…*
5   *daśīyau-*
6   *ge budhvā*
7   *royadā bhavet*
8   *tadā tasmin na-*
9   *raḥ snātvā sanni-*
10 *hatyāpalaṃ bhavet.*

In spite of small scribal errors, and difficulties in deciphering, it is obvious that
these lines are a quotation of the verses attributed to the *Liṅgapurāṇa* in the *Tīrtha-
vivecanakāṇḍa* (p. 45):

ataḥ paraṃ tu saṃvedyaṃ gaṃgāvaraṇasaṃgamam
śravaṇadvādaśīyogo budhavāre yadā bhavet
tadā tasmin naraḥ snātvā sannihatyā phalaṃ labhet.

Therefore the confluence of Gaṅgā and Varaṇa is the best junction of two rivers
(*saṃvedya*). The person who bathes there on a Wednesday on *śravaṇadvādaśī-
yoga* (i.e. the twelfth of the light half of the month Bhādra connected with the
constellation *śravaṇa*) will obtain the fruit of liberation.

Inscriptions on the Southern Part of the Map

The inscribed text in the south begins with a sequence of five text blocks written in
black colour on green background (see Fig. 22.13, no. 1). The text is damaged and
only partly legible. Sources like the *Kūrmapurāṇa* and the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* are
mentioned. The inscription starts with a text block of seven lines:

1   *asamarth…r… yātrāṃ samā-*
2   *rabhet // ta … notisvaśa*
3   *…padhi … kaurme / na*
4   *rathana … disa*
5   *hitā …*
6   *racaśant …*
7   *karānāha*

The second text block, consisting of 6 lines, is well preserved with the exception of the 5th line. To date, it has not been possible to identify the lines:

1 *atha kāśīvāsādhikāriṇaḥ // kāśīkhaṇḍe //*
2 *ādau kāśyāṃ karmamārgeṇa vasaḥ pāpatyāgaḥ //*
3 *kāśīmāhātmya dṛṣṭiḥ sadehaṃ nehaṃ putraṃ mi- //*
4 *trādi yasya sarvaṃ tucchato so dhikārī mahātmā //*
5 *e…giyai…yaiḥ kṛtyā nidehitā //*
6 *bhūmiṣṭhā api te martyā amartyā yeva vaihare //*

Although faded and therefore only partly legible, it can be shown that the third text block is based on a quotation, over the course of 9 lines, of the well-known section on Kāśī in the *Tristhalīsetu* (p. 100–101):

1 *a…parimāṇaśo … gre pātālakhaṇḍe/ …tanntibodhata/*
2 *madhyameśvaram ārabhya yāvad dehalivighnanam/ sūtraṃ … maye…lākṛti/*
3 *… jāyate rekhā tanmadhye kṣetram uttamaṃ/ kāśīti yadvi…muktiḥ pratiṣṭhitā/*
4 *kāśyaṃtaḥ paramaṃ kṣetraṃ viśeṣaphalasādhanaṃ/ vārāṇasīti vikhyātaṃ tanmānaṃ nigadā…nāṃ/*
5 *dakṣiṇottarayor nadyau varaṇasiś ca/ jāh…vī paścime cāpi pāśapāṇi…/*
6 *tasyā aṃtaḥsthitaṃ divyaṃ viśeṣaphalasādhanaṃ/ avimuktam iti khyātaṃ ta…*
7 *vīmi vaḥ/ viśveśvarāc caturdikṣu dhanuḥ śatayug…dhaṃ kṣetraṃ muktis ta-/*
8 *tra na saṃśayaḥ/ gokarṇeśaḥ paścime pūrvata…gaṃgāmadhyaṃ uttara… bhūtaḥ/ …*
9 *…*

The text can be reconstructed according to the original:[55]

tatra pādme pātālakhaṇḍe –
parimāṇaṃ ca vakṣyāmi tannibodhata sattamāḥ/
madhyameśvaram ārabhya yāvad dehalivighnapaṃ//
sūtraṃ saṃsthāpya taddikṣu bhrāmayen maṇḍalākṛti/
tatra yā jāyate rekhā tanmadhye kṣetram uttamaṃ//
kāśīti yad vidur vedās tatra muktiḥ pratiṣṭhitā/
kāśyantaḥ paramaṃ kṣetraṃ viśeṣaphalasādhanaṃ//
vārāṇasīti vikhyātaṃ tanmānaṃ nigadāmi vaḥ/
dakṣiṇottarayor nadyau varaṇāsiś ca pūrvataḥ//
jāhnavī paścime cāpi pāśapāṇir gaṇeśvaraḥ/
tasyā antaḥsthitaṃ divyaṃ viśeṣaphalasādhanaṃ//
avimuktam iti khyātaṃ tan mānaṃ ca bravīmi vaḥ/
viśveśvarāc caturdikṣu dhanuḥ śatayugonmitam//
avimuktābhdhaṃ kṣetraṃ muktis tatra na saṃśayaḥ/
gokarṇeśaḥ paścime pūrvataś ca gaṅgāmadhyaṃ uttare bhārabhūtaḥ//
brahmeśāno dakṣiṇe saṃpradiṣṭas tat tu proktaṃ bhavanaṃ viśvabhartuḥ/

                                                    Tristhalīsetu p. 100

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55 See chapter 2.2 for the context and a translation of this passage.

The other text blocks in the south are severely damaged, and thus could not be identified.

Inscriptions on the Northern Part of the Map

Only one text block with 9 lines could be identified in the northern circular banderole of the map. The first two lines were traced to the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* and the *Tristhalīsetu*:

1 *atha … kiṃcit ka …vāsakāryaḥ …// nimeṣamātram api yo hy avimukte tu bhaktimān//*
2 *… taptaṃ … ahorātra …// brahmavaivartte ajñe rā … sthitāyatu kāśyāṃ vai paśya//*

The line *nimeṣamātram api yo hy avimukte tu bhaktimān* is found in the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* (p. 16) and attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa* in the *Tristhalīsetu* (p. 105). Here the following quotation shows similarities to the deciphered text: *brahmavaivarte–ahorātraṃ sthitā ye tu puṇyasaṃbhārasaṃtatiḥ.*

Objects and Places on the Map *Pilgrims in Banaras*

The following identifications of more than 400 objects and places are presented in a sequence of sixteen reproductions together with the first complete view of this map (coloured Plates 2.1–16; black and white Fig. 22.1–16). The sequence of these detailed views starts in the upper left corner of the map in four rows of four slightly overlapping images. The sixteen detailed views are identical to the sixteen negatives provided in spring 2002 by the National Museum, New Delhi. I treat them like primary source material, and have reproduced them without further technical modifications. The size of the map and the condition of the paintings on cotton has made it extremely difficult to obtain reproductions in high quality. Hence, colour reproduction only approximates the original. All reproductions are courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi. The legends were deciphered during various visits to the National Museum in New Delhi between 1999 and 2002, and were subsequently checked with the help of the digitalized negatives and a set of diapositives obtained in 2001. The presented identifications have profited by the many invaluable suggestions kindly provided by Niels Gutschow.

Fig. 22.1: Detail of *Pilgrims in Banaras*: The village Bhīmacaṇḍī.

1   The river Gaṅgā is shown in this left corner of the upper, or south-western, part of
    the map. The position of the river does not correspond to the actual course and
    might be interpreted as an artistic framing of this pictorial map.
2   Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Identification: Amṛteśvara (PK48[56]). Compare to
    the sequence of places regarding the Pañcakrośīyātrā in Fig. 22.5, no. 15.
3   White rectangular building, entrance in the middle. Inscription below: *dharmaśāla*.
    Identification: one of the rest houses for pilgrims at the village Bhīmacaṇḍī.
4   Grey rectangular structure, no inscription. Similar structures are shown in several
    rural sections of the map (Fig. 22.4, no. 11–15). They probably depict villages or
    farm houses in traditional architecture.

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56 In the legends, references to the four *yātrās* (Pañcakrośīyātrā (PK), Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā
    (NP), Avimuktayātrā (AV), Antargṛhayātrā (AG)) depicted on the map are included. Added
    to that are references to the Chappanvināyakayātrā (ChV). See also the listed processions in
    Appendix 2 and the General Index.

Fig. 22.2: From Bhīmacaṇḍī to Dehalīvināyaka.

1 Amṛteśvara (PK48). Shrine with *liṅga* situated on the path of the Pañcakrośīyātrā,
   no inscription. This is the last shrine in the series of places depicted in the section
   between Kardameśvara and Bhīmacaṇḍī on Fig. 22.5.
2 White rectangular building, entrance in the middle. Inscription below: *dharmaśāla*.
3 Large temple, almost completely damaged with three partly visible shrines to the
   right. Traces of an inscription on the pedestal of the shrines are not legible. Except
   for a standing male figure in the central shrine, no images are visible. To the right of
   the shrines several figures are shown in prostration. Identification of large temple:
   Bhīmacaṇḍīdevī (PK50). The three shrines are most likely Caṇḍavināyka/Bhīma-
   caṇḍavināyaka (PK51, ChV3), Raviraktākṣagandharva (PK52) and Narakārṇava-
   tārakaśiva (PK53).
4 Rectangular tank, no inscription. Identification: Gandharvasāgara (PK49) in the
   village Bhīmacaṇḍī.
5 White shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Considering the sequence of identified
   places this shrine is most likely not part of the Pañcakrośīyātrā.
6 Ekapādagaṇa (PK54). Shrine with a male image standing on one foot and carrying a
   red club, no inscription.
   Between Narakārṇavatārakaśiva (no. 3, PK53) and Dehalīvināyaka (Fig. 22.3, no. 2,
   PK68) fourteen places are situated along the path of the Pañcakrośīyātrā. This
   section of the map shows only thirteen shrines, no inscriptions are visible and the
   images in the shrines do not always correspond to the listed places. The following
   identifications are therefore only tentative.

7   Mahābhīma (PK55). Shrine with standing male image carrying a red club, no inscription.
8   Bhairava (PK56). Shrine with standing blue male image carrying a red club, no inscription.
9   Rectangular tank. Suggested identification: Bhairava Tālāb in the village Harpur.
10 Shrine with blue (probably female) standing image, no inscription. Suggested identification: Bhairavī (PK57).
11 Shrine with white standing image, no inscription. Suggested identification: Bhūtanātheśvara (PK58).
12 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Identification: Someśvara (PK59). No traces of the pond Sindhusarodhanatīrtha (PK60) are visible.
13 Kṛṣṇa playing the flute surrounded by dancing Gopīs (*raslīlā*). No inscription.
14 Shrine with standing image, no inscription. Suggested identification: Kāla-nātheśvara (PK61).
15 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Suggested identification: Kapardīśvara (PK62).
16 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Suggested identification: Kāmeśvara (PK63).
17 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Suggested identification: Gaṇeśvara (PK64).
18 Shrine with standing image carrying a club, no inscription. Suggested identification: Vīrabhadragaṇa (PK65).
19 Shrine with standing image, no inscription. Suggested identification: Cāru-mukhagaṇa (PK66).
20 Shrine with sitting image, no inscription. Suggested identification: Gaṇa-nātheśvara (PK67).
21 Red temple with red colour inside. Faded and partly damaged, no image, no inscription.
22 Small rectangular structure with well, no inscription.
23 Grey pentagonal structure, no inscription.
24 White shrine with *liṅga* painted red inside, no image, no inscription. This shrine and no. 25 are situated on the side of a road that crosses the path of the Pañcakrośīyātrā between the shrines of Bhairava (no. 8) and Bhairavī (no. 9). The path leads to a village identified as Gaṅgāpura (no. 27) to the east of Dehalī-vināyaka.
25 White shrine with *liṅga* painted red inside, partly faded. No image, no inscription.
26 Grey pentagonal structure, no inscription. Village with traditional clay architecture, no inscription.
27 Rectangular structure, walled with two gates, no inscription. Suggested identification: Gaṅgāpura, the former residence of Balavanta Siṃha.
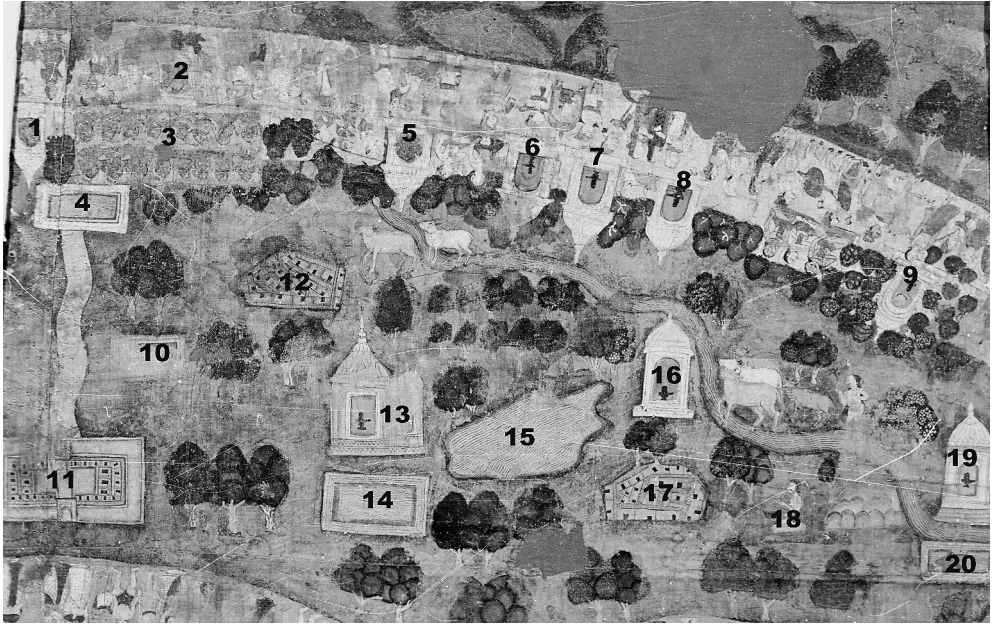28 Rectangular tank, no inscription.

Fig. 22.3: Dehalīvināyaka and the road to Rāmeśvara.

1   Shrine with sitting image, no inscription. Suggested identification: Gaṇanātheśvara (PK67).
2   Dehalīvināyaka (PK68, ChV4). Temple with Gaṇeśa image, faded, no inscription.
3   Ṣoḍaśavināyaka (PK69). Two rows of eight small Gaṇeśa images, all images are faded, no inscriptions.
4   Rectangular tank, no inscription.
5   Uddaṇḍavināyaka (PK70, ChV5). Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, no inscription.
6   Utkaleśvara (PK71). Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *u…leśvarāya*.
7   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *…rāya*. Not listed as part of the Pañcakrośī-yātrā.
8   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *mahādeva*. Not listed as part of the Pañca-krośīyātrā.
9   Shrine with *liṅga* and a small image of a goddess above the *liṅga*. The inscription on the pedestal is not legible. On the path below the shrine *tapobhūmyai* is inscribed. Identification: Tapobhūmi (PK73) with the shrine of Rudrāṇīdevī (PK72). Seated at the side of the road are three ascetics holding *akṣamālās* in their hands.
10   Rectangular tank, faded, no inscription.
11   Rectangular structure, walled with two gates, no inscription. Suggested identification: Gaṅgāpura, the former residence of Balavanta Siṃha.
12   Grey pentagonal structure, no inscription, village.

13 Temple with *liṅga* and a separate shrine with an image of a white animal (Nandī?), no inscription, partly faded.
14 Rectangular tank, no inscription.
15 Natural lake, no inscription.
16 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
17 Grey pentagonal structure, no inscription. Village built in traditional clay architecture.
18 Male figure with moustache seated on a carpet. A red bowl stands in front of him; both head cover and cloth are painted red.
19 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
20 Rectangular tank, no inscription.

Fig. 22.4: Rāmeśvara.

1 White building with two towers and central entrance. Rest house for pilgrims.
2 Varuṇātīrtha (PK74). White steps leading down to the river Varuṇā, inscription: *varuṇatīrthāya namaḥ*.
3 Shrine with standing four-armed figure wearing red cloth, no inscription. Possible identification: Tulajā Bhavānī.
4 Rāmeśvara (PK75). Shrine with large black *liṅga*, inscription on top of the steps: *rāmeśvarāya*.

5   Someśvara or Somanātha (PK76) shrine at Rāmeśvara. Shrine with black *liṅga*,
      inscription below: *somanāthāya*.

6   Bharateśvara (PK77). Shrine with large black *liṅga*, inscription below:
      bharateśvara.

7   Lakṣmaṇeśvara (PK78). Shrine with large black *liṅga*, inscription:
      lakṣmaṇeśvara below.

8   Nahuśeśvara (PK81). Small shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *nahu…śvara*.

9   Dyāvābhūmiśvara (PK80). Small shrine with yellow *liṅga*, inscription below:
      dyāvābh….

10   Śatrughneśvara (PK79). Small shrine with no visible image. To the right a small
      shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *…tr…ghna*….

11–15
      Five villages. The grey structures show rectangular as well as pentagonal forms.
      No. 12 is blue in the inner section.

Fig. 22.5: From Kardameśvara to Bhīmacaṇḍī.

1   Vikaṭākṣadurgā (PK34). Shrine with goddess image, faded, no inscription.
      The numbers 1–15 show the section of the Pañcakrośīyātrā before the village
      Bhīmacaṇḍī. Only in no. 5 is an inscription clearly legible. The identifications have
      been made based on the sequence and the type of images.

2   Unmattabhairava (PK35). Shrine with standing image, no inscription
3   Nīlagaṇa (PK36). Shrine with standing image, no inscription.
4   Kālakūṭagaṇa (PK37). Shrine with standing image, inscription below: *k…kūṭa*.
5   Vimaladurgā (PK38). Shrine, no image visible. Inscription on pedestal: *vimala-durgāyai*.
6   Mahādeveśvara (PK39). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
7   Shrine with *liṅga,* the upper section is painted red, no inscription. Possible identification: Nandikeśagaṇa (PK40). In this case one would expect an image and not a *liṅga*.
8   Bhṛṅgīrīṭagaṇa (PK41). Shrine with standing image, partly visible, no inscription.
9   Gaṇapriya (PK42). Shrine with standing image, no inscription.
10 Virūpākṣa (PK43). Shrine with standing image, no inscription.
11 Yakṣeśvara (PK44). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
12 Vimaleśvara (PK45). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
13 Mokṣadeśvara (PK46). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
14 Jñānadeśvara (PK47). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
15 Amṛteśvara (PK48). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
16 Two male figures carrying a red palanquin. Small male and female figures are seated on the palanquin, no inscription.
17 Rectangular white tank on the path of the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā. Inscription not legible.
18 Śālakaṇṭavināyaka (NP33, ChV11). Gaṇeśa shrine, no inscription.
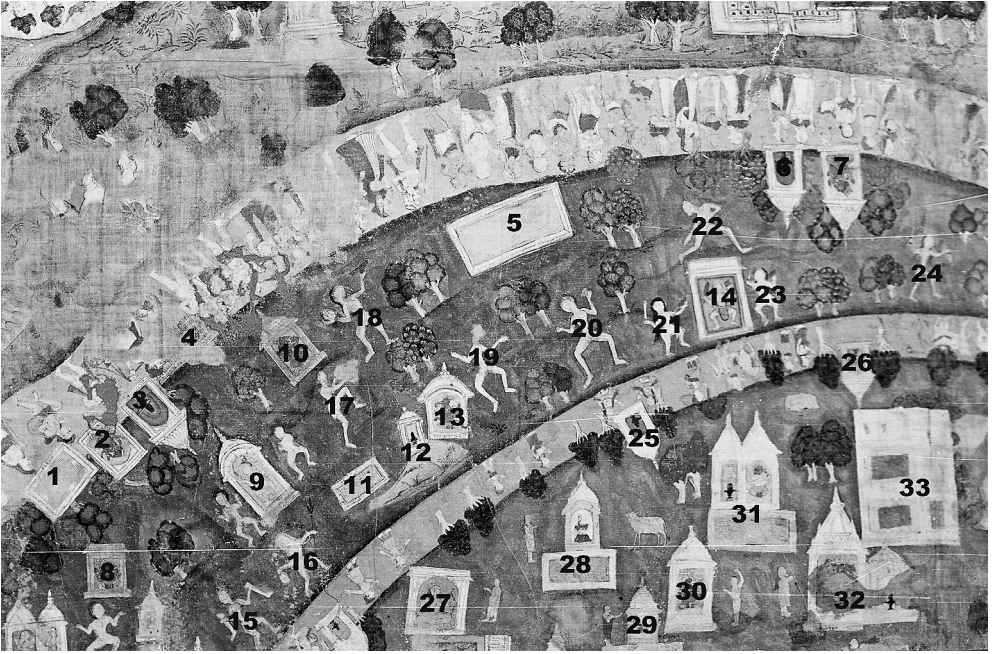19 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.

Fig. 22.6: South-western section of Nagarapradakṣiṇā- and Avimuktayātrā.

1   Rectangular white tank on the path of the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā. Inscription not
     legible. See also Fig. 22.5, no.16–18.
2   Kūṣmāṇḍavināyaka (NP34, ChV12). Gaṇeśa shrine, no inscription.
3   Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
4   Inscription in six lines, written on the path of the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā,
     damaged and faded out, not legible.
5   Large rectangular tank, no inscription.
6   Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
7   Shrine with Gaṇeśa, no inscription. Possible identification: Pāśapāṇivināyaka
     (PK85, NP38, ChV6).
8   Small shrine with Gaṇeśa situated in the area between the Nagarapradakṣiṇā- and
     Avimuktayātrā.
9   White shrine with standing figure holding a red club in the right hand, no
     inscription. On the left a blue, on the right a white figure, probably two Yoginīs,
     no inscriptions.
10   Small blue Gaṇeśa shrine, no inscription.
11   Rectangular tank, no inscription.
12   Tripurāntakeśvara (AV21). Small shrine with *liṅga*, a hillock is painted below,
     no inscription.
13   Trimukhavināyaka (AV22, ChV19). Shrine with Gaṇeśa, inscription on pedestal
     not legible.

14   White shrine with standing figure holding a red club in the right hand, no inscription.
15   Yoginī carrying two legs in her hands, no inscription.
16   Yoginī with skull in her right and trident in her left hand, no inscription.
17   White dancing Yoginī, faded, no inscription.
18   Blue Yoginī holding a skull in the right and a red bowl in the left hand, no inscription.
19   White Yoginī with yellow head, no inscription.
20   White Yoginī with yellow bowl in the left hand.
21   Small Yoginī with long black hair holding a club in the right and red bowl in the left hand, no inscription.
22   Gṛdhrāsyā Yoginī (Y3[57]). Blue Yoginī with stretched legs and arms and beaklike mouth. Inscription above: *gṛdhrāsya yoginī* ("vulture faced").
23   Small white Yoginī holding a knife in the right and a red bowl in the left hand.
24   Śavahastā Yoginī (Y40). Blue Yoginī carrying a knife in the right and a skull in the left hand. Inscription above her head: *śavahastā yo.*
25   Small *liṅga* shrine on the path of the Avimuktayātrā, no inscription.
26   Small *liṅga* shrine on the path of the Avimuktayātrā, no inscription.
27   Small shrine with blue male figure seated holding a bow in the left hand, no inscription.
28   Temple with female figure and rectangular tank below, no inscription. Suggested identification: Mātṛdevī at Mātṛkuṇḍa.
29   Sāmbāditya located at Sūryakuṇḍa. White shrine with red image of sun god, male figure with red cloth standing to the left and rectangular tank below, inscription: *sāmbāditya.*
30   Dvimukhavināyaka (ChV36). White Gaṇeśa shrine, no inscription. Situated in the vicinity of Sūryakuṇḍa.
31   Pitrīśvara and Kṣipraprasādavināyaka (ChV28). Rectangular tank with a *liṅga* and Gaṇeśa shrine above. Inscription below tank: *pitṛkuṇḍāya.*
32   Temple with five-headed Gaṇeśa, partly damaged. Inscription on pedestal not legible. To the right a shrine with *liṅga*, partly damaged, no inscription. Possible identification: Pañcāsyavināyaka (ChV20) and Kapardīśvara (AV24).
33   Large white building with three rectangular pools, no inscription. Possible identification: Piśācamocana.

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[57] The numbering of the Yoginīs refers to the list of the 64 Yoginīs given in KKh 45.34–41. See also the "Lists of Yoginīs" in Dehejia: 1986: 194–216.
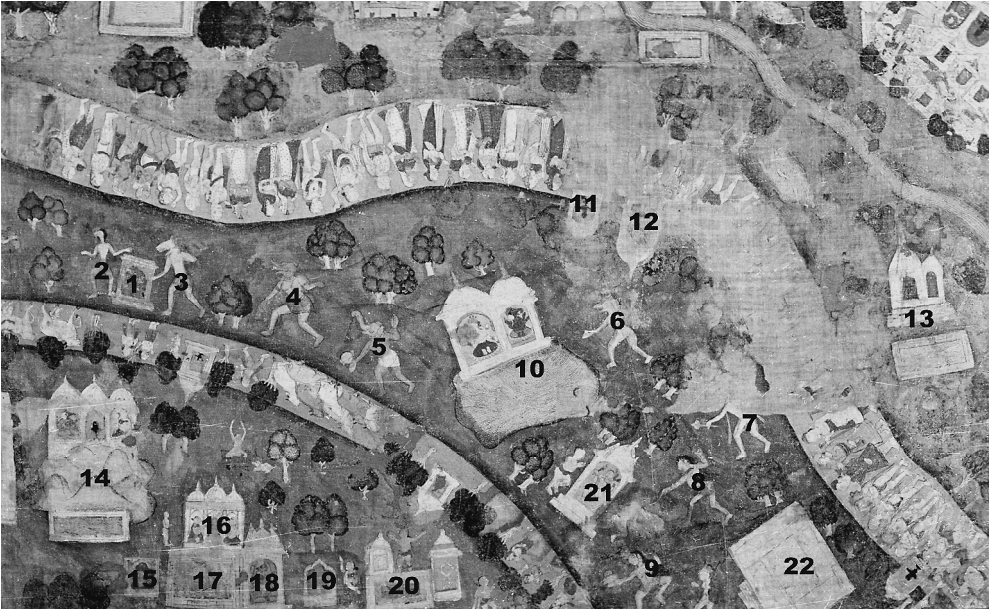
Fig. 22.7: North-western section of the Nagarapradakṣiṇā- and Avimuktayātrā.

1   Small blue Gaṇeśa shrine, no inscription.
2   Sarpāsyā Yoginī (Y44). Female figure with small head, inscription on top: *sarpāsya yo*.
3   Uṣṭragrīvā Yoginī (Y5). Blue figure with large head and long red tongue, inscription above the head: *uṣṭragrīva yoginī*.
4   Blue Yoginī with crocodile head, no inscription.
5   Gajānana Yoginī (Y1). Yellow female figure with elephant head carrying a skull in her right hand, inscription above: *gajānana yo*.
6   Yoginī carrying a red club in the right hand, faded, no inscription.
7   Yoginī carrying a blue club in the right hand, damaged, no inscription.
8   Yoginī with long black hair, curved body and red skirt. She carries a red bowl in her left and a red cord in her right hand. The inscription above the head is not legible.
9   Yoginī with long black hair and red skirt, no inscription.
10 Lake and two shrines with goddess and Gaṇeśa image, no inscriptions.
11 White shrine with *liṅga* situated on the path of the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā, faded, no inscription.
12 White shrine with Gaṇeśa image situated on the path of the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā, faded, no inscription.
13 Two shrines, one with *liṅga*, a rectangular tank below, no inscriptions.
14 Three shrines with Gaṇeśa, *liṅga* and goddess image. Several hillocks are painted below as well as a rectangular pond, no inscriptions. Suggested identification of

the Gaṇeśa: Herambavināyaka (AV26, ChV21) and the *liṅga*: Vālmīkeśvara (AV27).

15   Blue Gaṇeśa shrine, inscription below: *vighnarājavināyaka* (AV28, ChV22).
16   Temple with three images, no inscription. Possible identification: Dhūmāvatīdevī (AV29) and/or Dhūpacaṇḍīdevī.
17   Yellow rectangular tank, inscription on the wall: *citrakoṭatīrtha*.
18   Shrine with Hanumān to the right, no inscription.
19   Small shrine or well, no inscription.
20   Two shrines and a rectangular tank, no images visible, no inscriptions.
21   Shrine with standing figure holding a red club, no inscription.
22   Rectangular structure, no inscription.

Fig. 22.8: Rāmeśvara and Asaṃkhyātatīrtha.

1   Two shrines, one with *liṅga*, a rectangular tank below, no inscriptions.
2   Shrine with four-armed figure standing in red cloth, no inscription.

3   Rāmeśvara (PK75). Shrine with large black *liṅga*, inscribed on top of the steps: *rāmeśvarāya*.

4   Someśvara/Somanātha shrine (PK76). Shrine with black *liṅga*, inscribed below: *somanāthāya*.

3   Rāmeśvara (PK75). Shrine with large black *liṅga*, inscribed on top of the steps: *rāmeśvarāya*.

5   Bharateśvara (PK77). Shrine with large black *liṅga*, inscribed below: *bharateśvara*.

6   Lakṣmaṇeśvara (PK78). Shrine with large black *liṅga*, inscribed below: *lakṣmaneśvara*.

7   Nahuśeśvara (PK81). Small shrine with *liṅga*, inscribed above *nahu…śvara*.

8   Dyāvābhūmīśvara (PK80). Small shrine with yellow *liṅga*, inscription below: *dyāvābh…*.

9   Small shrine with no visible image, no inscription.

10 Śatrughneśvara (PK79). Small shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *…traghna…*.

11 Asaṃkhyātaliṅga (PK83). Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription: *varuṇāparapāra asaṃkhyātalimgāya*.

12 Rectangular tank, no inscription. Suggested identification of the tank: Asaṃkhyātatīrtha.

13 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscrition.

14 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Suggested identification: Devasaṃgheśvara (PK84).

Fig. 22.9: Kardameśvara.

1   Large rectangular pond, faded, no inscription. Identification: Kardamatīrtha
     (PK23). .
2   Somanātheśvara, Virūpākṣeśvara, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara (PK26–28). Three white
     shrines with *liṅgas* and red background, no inscriptions, the sequence remains
     uncertain.
3   Kardameśvara (PK24). White temple with *liṅga* and yellow background, no
     inscription.
4   Round well, Kardamakūpa (PK25).
5   Nāganātha (PK29). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
6   Cāmuṇḍādevī (PK30). Goddess shrine, no inscription.
7   Mokṣeśvara (PK31). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.

8   Karuṇeśvara (PK32). Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
9   Vīrabhadra (PK33). Shrine with standing image, no inscription.
10   Vikaṭākṣadurgā (PK34). Goddess shrine, partly visible, no inscription.
11   Small round well, no inscription.
12   Two male figures in red cloth and turbans sitting on a carpet, no inscription.
13   Large rectangular tank, no inscription.
14   Small white shrine with Gaṇeśa, no inscription. It is not clear how the shrines
     14–17 relate to the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā.
15   Small white shrine with *liṅga* and red background, no inscription.
16   Blue Bhairava carrying a club and riding a dog, no inscription.
17   Small shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
18   Lolārkakuṇḍa with adjacent shrines, for details see Fig. 22.13, no. 25–28.
19   White shrine with four-armed goddess, two male and one female figure standing
     to the right, monkeys sitting on the roof top. Inscription to the right, two lines,
     not legible.
20   White shrine with *liṅga*, two male figures to the right, a monkey jumping on the
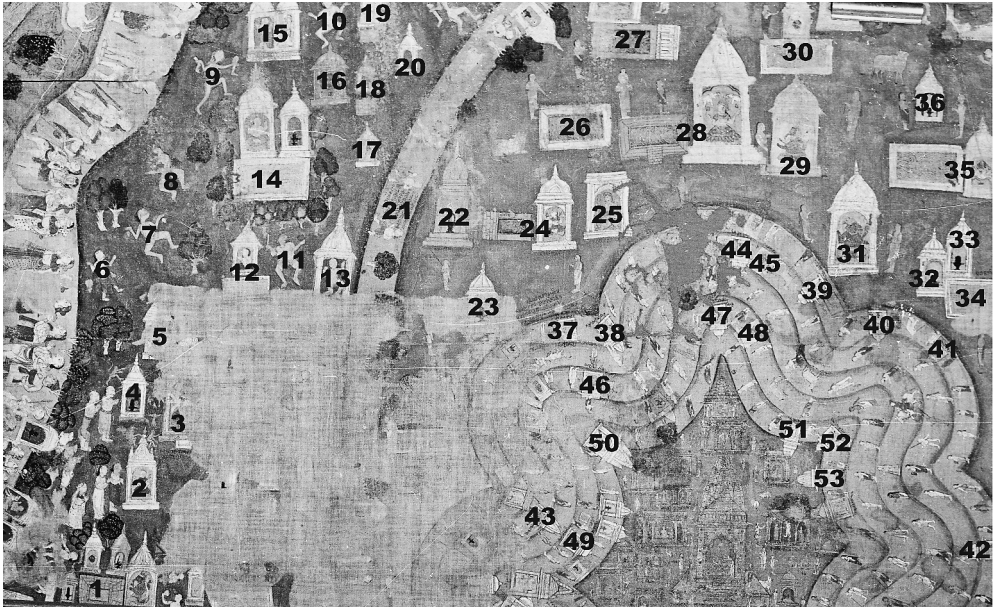   roof. Inscription on the pedestal, not legible.

Fig. 22.10: Viśvanātha and the upper section of the Antargṛhayātrā.

1   Lolārkakuṇḍa with adjacent shrines, for details see Fig. 22.13, no. 25–28.
2   White shrine with four-armed goddess, two male and one female figure standing to
     the right, monkeys sitting on the roof top. Inscription to the right, two lines, not
     legible.

3 Red temple with eight armed goddess wearing a red *sārī*. Only parts of the lower left side of the image are visible, the rest is damaged. The inscription on the pedestal as well as the two lines that are written on green ground are not legible. The size of the temple, the goddess image, the monkeys climbing on top of the temple and the suggested identification of shrine no. 5 as Durgavināyaka suggests the identification as temple of Durgādevī (PK21, NP32).

4 White shrine with *liṅga*, two male figures to the right, a monkey jumping on the roof. Inscription on the pedestal, not legible.

5 Shrine, almost completely damaged, traces of a seated Gaṇeśa are visible, inscription on the pedestal: *durgā*…. Suggested identification: Durgavināyaka (PK20, NP31, ChV2).

6 Yoginī with red cloth, no inscription.

7 Vikaṭalocanā Yoginī (Y16). Blue female figure with skulls in both hands, inscription above the head: *vikaṭa…yoginī*.

8 White Yoginī with long, unbound hair, faded, no inscription.

9 Blue Yoginī holding one leg in each hand, no inscription.

10 White Yoginī, no specific signs, no inscription.

11 Blue Yoginī with a distorted yellow face. She carries a stick and a red ball or skull in her hands, no inscription.

12 Small white temple with seated female image and rectangular tank below, partly damaged, no inscription.

13 White temple with blue Bhairava (?) image, pedestal damaged, no inscription.

14 Śaṅkhoddhārātīrtha with Dvārakeśvara and Śaṅkhoddhāramādhava (also Śaṅku-nārāyaṇa). Rectangular tank with two shrines, the larger shrine with a four armed image (of Viṣṇu) with yellow cloth, inscription not legible. The shrine to the left with a *liṅga* and the inscription *dvārakeśvara*.

15 Two shrines with standing images, faded, no inscriptions.

16 Gaṇeśa shrine, no inscription.

17 Small white shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.

18 Small shrine with small rectangular tank below, faded, no inscription.

19 Small white shrine, faded, no inscription.

20 Small white shrine with red background, no image, inscription on pedestal: …*tameśvara*.

21 Inscription on green band with seven lines:
1 *avimuktam iti khyātaṃ ta* / 2 …*vīmi vaḥ. viśve-* / 3 *śvarāc caturdikṣu dhanuḥ* / 4 … *yuge mataṃ. avi-* / 5 *muktābhidhaṃ kṣetraṃ mukti-* / 6 *s… na saṃśayaḥ.* / 7…
Compare to the verses quoted in the *Tristhalīsetu* (p. 101) and attributed to the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa*:
avimuktam iti khyātaṃ tanmānaṃ ca bravīmi vaḥ. / viśveśvarāc caturdikṣu dhanuḥ śatayugonmitam / avimuktābhidhaṃ kṣetraṃ muktis tatra na saṃśayaḥ.
"It is called Avimukta and I will tell you the dimension of it.
A bow that extends, starting from Viśveśvara, one hundred *yugas* [=*yojana*] in the four directions [this is] the field that is called Avimukta. There without doubt one obtains liberation."

22 Red temple with *liṅga* and blue background, inscription: *va…śvara*.

23   White shrine with *liṅga*, faded, no inscription.
24   Tank with red walls, inscription on upper wall *kāmākṣa*…. To the right white temple with four-armed goddess wearing a red *sārī* and seated on an animal (tiger?), inscription below the temple *kāmākṣādevī.*
25   White shrine with male image seated on a dog and holding a club in his right hand. Possible identification: Baṭukabhairava.
26   White rectangular tank, no inscription.
27   Red rectangular tank and white building to the left.
28   White temple with four-armed goddess wearing a red *sārī.* Two white elephants above her head, to the left is a red rectangular tank with steps, no inscriptions. Possible identification: Mahālakṣmīdevī and Lakṣmīkuṇḍa.
29   Temple with a Gaṇeśa image, no inscription.
30   Sāmbāditya located at Sūryakuṇḍa. White shrine with red image of sun god, male figure with red cloth standing to the left and rectangular tank below, inscription: *sāmbāditya.*
31   White temple with Gaṇeśa and two male figures with *mālās* standing on both sides, inscription on pedestal: *c…vināyaka.*
32   White shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *āgastīśvara* (AG14).
33   White shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on pedestal: *vyāseśvara.*
34   White rectangular tank, inscription above: *ghaṃṭakarṇatīrtha.*
35   White shrine with Gaṇeśa image, tank to the left and male figure standing to the right, inscription below: *jyeṣṭhavināyaka* (ChV37).
36   White shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
37   Small white shrine, inscription below: *harīkeśeśvara* (AG16) above the shrine *vimalādi…* is inscribed. Identification: Vimalāditya situated near Harīkeśeśvara. The small inscription below no. 37 in four lines outside the fifth circle is partly damaged and not legible.
38   White shrine, inscription: *vaidyanātheśvara* (AG17).
39   White shrine, inscription: *hāṭakeśvara* (AG20). Small tank to the right, inscription: *asthikṣepa* (AG21).
40   White shrine with small tank, no inscription. Does not fit in the sequence of numbers 23–26.
41   White shrine, inscription: *kikaseśvara* (AG22).
42   White shrine painted blue inside, no image visible. Inscription below: *bhāra-bhūteśvara* (AG23). See Fig. 22.14, no. 19.
43   White shrine with inscription on right side: *manaḥprakāmeśvara* (AG48)
44   Shrine with small *liṅga* in front of a white column, inscription below not legible.
45   Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription: *gajavināyaka* (ChV38).
46   Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription: *…vināyaka.* Suggested identification: Āśāvināyaka (AG44, ChV42).
47   White shrine, partly destroyed, inscription not legible.
48   Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription: *sthūla*…. Identification: Sthūlajaṅgavi-nāyaka.
49   White shrine with inscription below: *dhuṃḍhirāja* (AG52).

50   White temple with *liṅga* and elaborate *śikhara*, inscription on pedestal not legible.
51   White shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below not legible.
52   White shrine, no image visible, inscription below not legible.
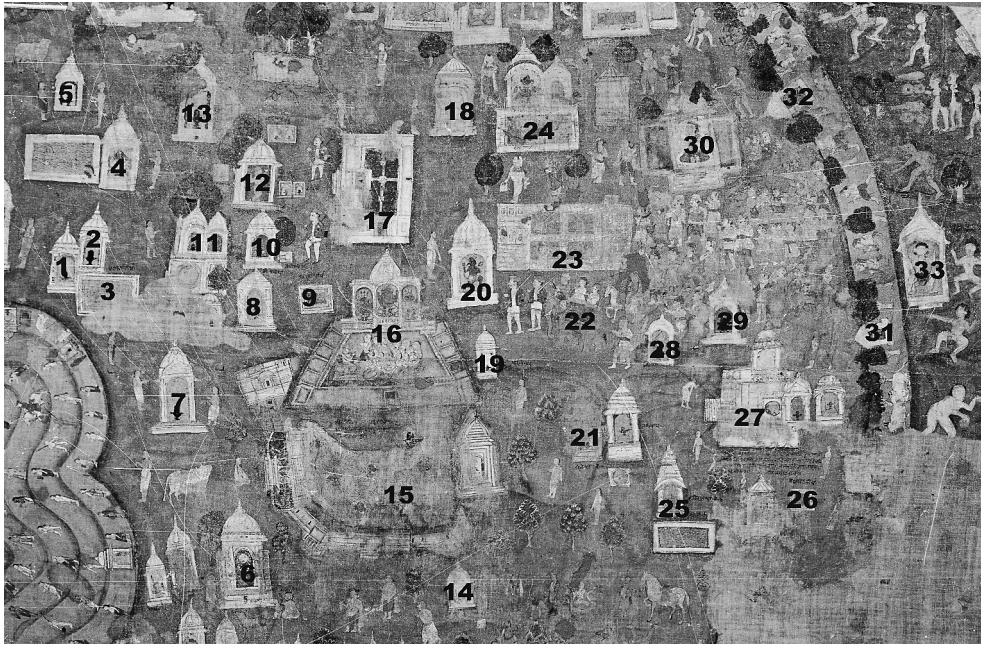53   White shrine, no image visible, inscription below not legible.

Fig. 22.11: Section between Antargṛha- and Avimuktayātrā.

1   White shrine with *liṅga*, inscription: *āgastīśvara* (AG14).
2   White shrine with *liṅga*, inscription: *vyāseśvara*.
3   Rectangular tank, inscription: *ghaṃṭakarṇatīrtha*.
4   White shrine with Gaṇeśa image, tank to the left and male figure standing to the right, inscription below: *jyeṣṭhavināyaka* (ChV37).
5   White shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
6   Kālabhairava. White temple with blue lines and two male figures sitting to the left and right of the *garbhagṛha*. The image is covered with red cloths and necklaces. Inscription on the right side of the pedestal: *kālabhai…*.
7   White shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
8   White shrine with *liṅga*, faded, no inscription.
9   White rectangular tank, inscription above: *daṃḍakhātatīrthaḥ*.
10   White shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *jaigīṣavyeśvara*. On the right side a small rectangular structure with circle in the middle: *jaigīṣavyaguhā*.

11   Two small shrines with *liṅgas* and round well below, no inscriptions.
12   Shrine with image standing, traces of inscriptions to the right not legible.
13   Shrine with *liṅga*, faded, no inscription.
14   Small shrine, faded, no inscription.
15   Pond with walls in the south and east and a temple with *liṅga* in the north. The
      inscription above the open side in three lines is partly damaged and could not be
      identified: *maṃdā…nī…vṛ…vai… / dhyameśvaraṃ // ekaviṃśa…ū…pe…o… /
      …prā…keva… //.* See also Fig. 22.14, no. 59.
      Identification: Mandākinītīrtha. The *liṅga* is probably Madhyameśvara situated
      to the north of Mandākinī, Mandākinīśvara is also possible. The identification of
      the two lakes Mandākinī and Matsyodarī is important for the dating of the map.
      These lakes of once substantial size were drained and reduced in size during the
      1820s (Eck 1982: 50). Prinsep's map of 1822 still shows Mandākinī of
      considerable size with its famous tame turtles. Matsyodarī is also shown as a big
      lake linked to other ponds. The topographical map of 1867 (see Appendix 1, no
      42) depicts both water places as rectangular ponds. The analyzed map still shows
      Mandākinī as a large body of water whereas Matsyodarī (see 17) is already
      depicted as a standardized small rectangular tank. This indicates that the map
      was produced after 1822 and before 1867.
16   Structure in the form of a trapezium with a teacher seated in front and a group of
      male and female listeners. The three-lined inscription below is faded and
      damaged. On the upper side three Gaṇeśa shrines. The central shrine with
      inscription on the pedestal: *vakratuṇḍa* (ChV17).
17   White rectangular building with courtyard and garden, no inscription.
18   Shrine, faded, no inscription.
19   Jambukeśvara. White shrine with *liṅga,* inscription to the right: *…ukeśvara ve.
      42*.
20   White temple with Hanumān image, no inscription.
21   Two white shrines with *liṅga*. The left is damaged, inscription below: *ratneśvara*.
      The other shrine is painted with blue background and two red lines on the
      pedestal; the inscription on the right is not legible. Suggested identification:
      Satīśvara.
22   Procession with two soldiers/guardians followed by an elephant with two figures
      seated on a *hauda*, a white horse is depicted behind. A large group walks behind;
      another elephant is visible at the end. At the end of the group four men seem to
      carry a group of four figures on a palanquin. Red flags are visible and the man
      and woman in the middle are possibly Rāma and Sītā. But the scene is barely
      visible and the traces of inscriptions are not legible. The whole scene looks like a
      Rāmlīlā with royal participation.
23   Large white building with courtyard in four rectangular sections painted red and
      yellow, no inscription.
24   Two shrines with rectangular tank below. The left shrine shows a Gaṇeśa image,
      the rest is faded, the inscriptions are not legible.

25 Haratīrthatālāb. Shrine with elaborate roof with two red lines, image not visible. Inscription on the right: *kṛtivāseśvara ve. 4*. Identification: Kṛttivāseśvara. Large rectangular tank below, inscription on top not legible.

26 Small white rectangular tank, inscription above: *machodarītīrtha*. See no. 13 Mandākinītīrtha for historical observations.

27 Large white building with a shrine on top, small round well and two white *liṅga* shrines painted red and blue inside, partly damaged. Below is an inscription with four lines, not legible. The first shrine has no visible image, the inscription on the pedestal reads: *vṛṣṭavya…śva…*. Suggested identification: Vṛddhakāleśvara with Kālakūpa.

28 White shrine with *liṅga* and blue background, no inscription.

29 White shrine with *liṅga* and red background, no inscription.

30 Temple with seated image of Goddess, a rectangular tank in the background extends to both sides, no inscriptions.

31 Small shrine with *liṅga* on the road of the Avimuktayātrā, no inscription.

32 Shrine with *liṅga* on the road of the Avimuktayātrā, no inscription.

33 Shrine with image (seated on a swing?), no inscription.

Fig. 22.12: North-western section of Nagarapradakṣiṇā- and Pañcakrośīyātrā with Śivapura.

1   White shrine with red *liṅga,* rectangular pond below and male figure sitting to the right, no inscription.
2   Blue shrine with Gaṇeśa, no inscription.
3   White square tank, no inscription.
4   Shrine with standing image, faded, no inscription.
5   Shrine with *liṅga*, faded, no inscription.
6   Yoginī with long black hair, no inscription.
7   Blue Yoginī carrying a red ball/skull (?) in her right hand, no inscription.
8   Dancing Yoginī holding a red ball/skull (?) in her right hand, no inscription.
9   Yoginī, faded, no inscription.
10 Yoginī with large crocodile-like mouth, no inscription.
11 Long rectangular pond with four small *liṅga* shrines, no inscriptions.
12 Small white rectangular pond and two shrines with standing figure and red pillar, no inscriptions. Suggested identification: Lāṭbhairava also called Kulastambha-bhairava and pond Kapālamocana.
13 Rectangular tank, no inscription.

14   Temple with sun god and rectangular pond below. To the left a seated female figure, inscription at the right side: *uttarārkāditya 2*. Suggested identification of the pond: Bakariyākuṇḍa.
15   Space with square tank surrounded by open ground and framed by trees, several figures are standing and resting, no inscription.
16   Temple with Gaṇeśa image, no inscription.
17   Horse chariot on the path of the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā with four wheels and one figure seated.
18   Two shrines, faded, no inscriptions.
19   Yūpasarovaratīrtha (PK88). Rectangular tank with white pillar in the middle, no inscription.
20   Large rectangular tank and *liṅga* shrine surrounded by pilgrims, no inscriptions. Possible identification: Svargabhūmi with Pṛthvīśvara (PK86, 87).
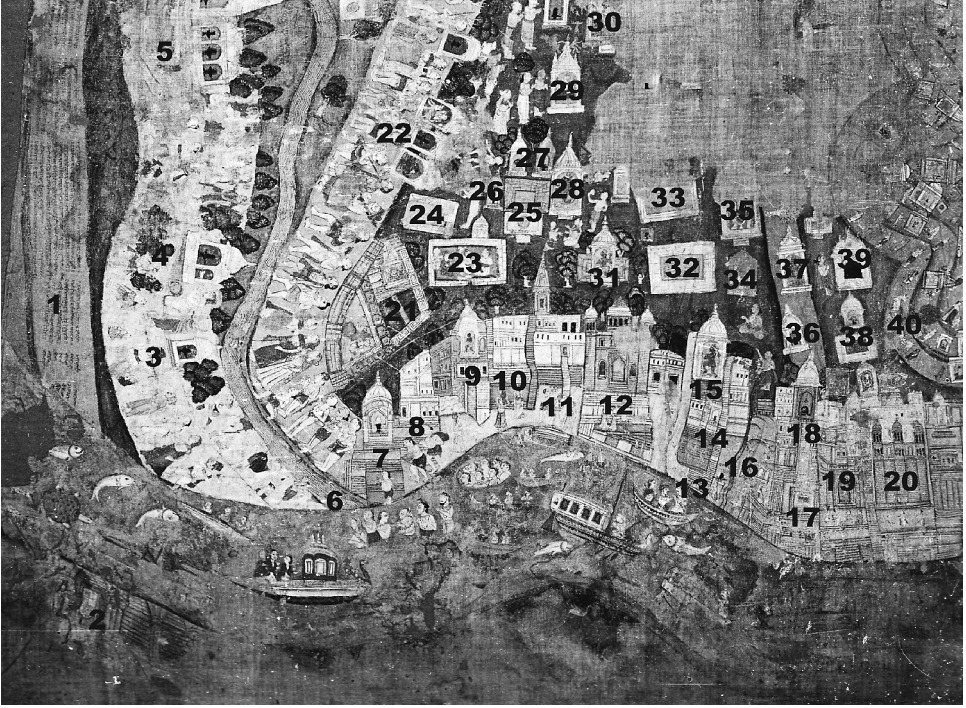21   Pañcapāṇḍava (PK84/1) in the village Śivapura. Five small shrines with series of *liṅgas*, no inscription.

Fig. 22.13: From Asisaṃgama to Rāṇāmahal Ghāṭ.

1 Several Sanskrit verses are quoted in 5 columns in this section. These quotations
   extend to the sections in Fig. 22.9 and 22.5 in the west. Another sequence is given in
   the northern corner of the map (Fig. 22.16, 22.12, 22.8). The artist has written these
   two sequences of verses in the form of a green band which depicts the Pañcakrośī-
   yātrā in the shape of a half circle.
2 Rāmnagar Palace, constructed in the middle of the 18th century. The far bank of the
   river Gaṅgā is almost completely faded. In this section some traces of buildings are
   still visible.
3 This small shrine with a *liṅga* is the first on the Pañcakrośīyātrā after the road
   leaves the confluence of Asi and Gaṅgā, no inscription.
4 Viṣvakseneśvara (PK22). Shrine with *liṅga*, Nandī and a small round well. To the
   right a male and female devotee are standing with folded hands. The inscription
   below is only partly legible: …*seneśvarāya*.
5 Cluster of temples at Kardameśvara (PK23–28), village Kandvām. For details see
   Fig. 22.9, no. 1–4.
6 Confluence of the rivers Asi and Gaṅgā (*asisaṃgama*).
7 Shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription. Identification: Asisaṃgameśvara (PK18). Com-
   pare to no. 26.
8 White building, inscription: *tulasīdāsāghaṭa*.
9 Shrine with Hanumān statue, inscription not legible.

10   White riverfront building, inscription: *vaccharājaghāṭa*.
11   White riverfront building with steps leading down to the river, inscription: *paṣṭhavācaghāṭa* (?).
12   Large red riverfront building with central entrance and two towers at each side, three figures visible below. The inscription above their heads is not legible. Suggested identification: Cet Singh Ghāṭ.
13   Inscription on the steps *hanumaṃtaghāṭa*.
14   Small shrine with *liṅga*, inscription beneath: *hanumadīśa* (PK15).
15   Hanumān Mandir at Hanumān Ghāṭ. Shrine with Hanumān, no inscription.
16   Smaśāneśvara at Hariścandra Ghāṭ. *Liṅga* on platform, inscription above: *smaśāneśvara*.
17   Pond at the Ghāṭ, inscription *gaurīkuṇḍa.*
18   Temple above steps with large *liṅga* and bell, inscription beneath *kedāreśvara* (PK14). See also Fig. 22.14, no. 2.
19   Causaṭṭī Ghāṭ. Large building at the riverfront, inscription above the gateway: *śrīmātācāghāṭa*.
20   Rāṇāmahala Ghāṭ. Large building at the riverfront, no inscription.
21   Jagannātha temple near Asī Ghāṭ. Temple compound with garden and shrine, no inscription.
22   Three small shrines along the path of the Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā with Gaṇeśa, *liṅga* and Bhairava, no inscriptions. Identification uncertain. See Fig. 22.9, no. 14–17.
23   Walled compound (*maṭha?*) with five persons facing their guru (?), no inscription.
24   Rectangular tank, no inscription. Possible identification: Puṣkarakuṇḍa.
25   Lolārkādityakuṇḍa. Red rectangular and white round well, inscription above the white steps: *lolārkāditya*….
26   Small shrine with *liṅga*, inscription at bottom: *saṃgameśvara*. Compare to no. 7.
27   Two shrines, on the left image of sun god, inscription: …*kāditya*, identification Lolārkāditya (PK16). On the right a small shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
28   To the right a slightly bigger shrine with Gaṇeśa image and red-yellow flag, inscription: *arkavināyaka* (PK17, ChV1).
29   Small shrine with four-armed goddess, two male and one female figure standing to the right, monkeys on the roof top. Inscription to the right, two lines, not legible.
30   Shrine with eight-armed goddess, only partly visible, inscription below not legible. Suggested identification: Durgādevī. Compare to Fig. 22.10, no. 3.
31   Shrine with Hanumān statue and rectangular structure beneath, no inscription.
32   Rectangular tank with steps, no inscription.
33   Rectangular tank, partly damaged, no inscription.
34   Small blue shrine with Gaṇeśa, no inscription.
35   Shrine with standing image, damaged in upper part, inscription on pedestal not legible.
36   On the path of the Avimuktayātrā small white shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.

37   Gaṇeśa temple, inscription: *lamvodaravināyaka,* identification Lambodaravi-
      nāyaka (AV18, ChV9). Compare Fig. 22.14, no. 1.
38   Small shrine with *liṅga* an rectangular tank below, no inscription.
39   Shrine, no image visible, no inscription.
40   The first two of the five rings of the Antargṛhayātrā surrounding the Viśvanātha
      temple area.

Fig. 22.14: Viśvanātha temple complex with central Ghāṭs and Aurangzeb Mosque.

1   The Avimuktayātrā is marked green and starts with a small *liṅga*-shrine with no
      inscription. The following Gaṇeśa temple is inscribed beneath with: *lamvodara
      vināyaka* (AV18, ChV9). Compare Fig. 22.13, no. 28.
2   Temple with *liṅga* and bell, inscription beneath: *kedāreśvara* (PK14). Compare
      Fig. 1913, no. 26.
3   *Kuṇḍa* at the Ghāṭ, inscription: *gaurīkuṇḍa.* Compare Fig. 22.13, no. 27.
4   Causaṭṭī Ghāṭ. Large building at the riverfront, inscription above the gateway:
      śrīmātācāghāṭa. Compare Fig. 22.13, no. 29.
5   Rāṇāmahala Ghāṭ. Large building at the riverfront, no inscription. Compare Fig.
      22.13, no. 30.
6   Structure at the riverfront with three windows and small *liṅga* on the left side.
      Inscription: *daśahareśvaraghāṭa.*
7   White temple with *liṅga*, inscription below: *sarveśvara* (PK13).
8   Inscription above rectangular structure: *daśāśvamedheśvara* (PK11).

9 Temple with goddess, no inscription. Suggested identification: Bandīdevī (PK12) at Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ.

10 Godauliā nālā. Thin slightly curved double line leading north of Mān Mandir Ghāṭ (no. 11) to the river, no inscription. The rivulet has been replaced by a road that approaches Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ from Godauliā crossing. The works on a drainage system in Banaras were supervised by James Prinsep. The conversion of the Godauliā rivulet and the tanks Matsyodarī and Mandākinī took place in the latter half of the 1820s (Nair 1999: 130–134). The work on Matsyodarī Tālāb was completed on July 31, 1827 (See Fig. 22.11, no. 13, 17). Prinsep's map "City of Bunarus" (1822, see app. 1, id. no. 41) shows the "Godouliya Nala" with the remark "dry when the River is low" written on the last section. On the map "Cantoments of Sikrola and Pandypoor ..." (1869, id. no.42) no traces of the rivulet are left.

11 Red building at riverfront with four windows on top and small *liṅga* at the bottom. Inscription below the windows: *mānamaṃdīra kā ghāṭa*. Inscription below the *liṅga*: *mīra kā ghāṭa*.

12 Red building with entrance in the middle and two towers in the left and right corners. The inscription above: *gaṃgāditya*, beneath the building and above the steps the inscription: *rājarājeśvara kā ghāṭa.*

13 Lalitādevī (AG7, PK5). Two-armed standing figure of goddess in front of red background, no inscription.

14 White steps leading to the river with the vertical inscription: *jalasaī ghāṭa*. The section to the right is partly damaged and faded. The position and sequence suggests identification as Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ. Traces of a rectangular blue structure most likely depict the *kuṇḍa* Cakrapuṣkariṇī, the Devī image below possibly depicts Maṇikarṇikādevī (AG1, PK1).

15 White building with five shrines: three *liṅgas* followed by a Devī image and another *liṅga*, no inscriptions.

16 White shrine with Gaṇeśa above white steps (compare no. 13), inscription on roof: *siddhivināyaka* (PK3, ChV8).

17 Small shrine with *liṅga*, written above: *parvateśvara* (AG5, AV50). This is the first identified shrine on the fifth and outermost circle of the five rings which depict the circumambulation of the Antargṛhayātrā (AG) procession. The following identified shrines are numbered in the sequence of the procession:

18 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription at bottom *1 ādivārāheśvara* (AG12, PK10). For the upper part of the Antargṛhayātrā see Fig. 22.10, no. 21–26 for AG14, 16, 17 and 20–22.

19 White shrine painted blue inside, no image visible. Inscription below: *bhāra-bhūteśvara* (AG23).

20 White shrine with red flag, no icon visible, inscription below: *citra…śvara* (read Citragupteśvara AG24).

21 White shrine with red flag, no icon visible, inscription below: *citragh…devī* (read Citraghaṇṭādevī AG25). To the left is a small Gaṇeśa shrine with red icon, inscription: *citra…vināyaka* (read Citraghaṇṭavināyaka, ChV46).

22 White shrine, no icon visible, inscription below: *paśupatīśvara 22* (AG26).

23   Red shrine with red flag, no image visible, inscription below: *pitāmaheśvara* (AG27).
24   Small white shrine, inscription above: *aśvineśvara.* Possible identification: Agnīśvara (AG 32)?
25   Shrine with *liṅga*, male figure with red *luṅgī* standing to the left. Inscription: *vīreśvarāya namaḥ* (AG30).
26   White shrine with red flag, inscription at bottom: *trisandheśvara* (AG40).
27   Shrine with Devī image, inscription: *viśālaṣī 35* (AG41).
28   Small shrine with *liṅga*, inscription below: *dharmeśvara* (AG42), to the left a small well with person standing to the right, inscription: *dharmakūpa*.
29   Shrine with inscription on right side *āsāvināyaka* (AG44, ChV42).
30   Small white shrine with *liṅga*, faded, inscription above: *upaśāṃteśvara*. Not part of Antargṛhayātrā but Avimuktayātrā 42.
31   Small shrine with *liṅga*, inscription beneath: *amṛteśvara.* Not part of Antargṛhayātrā but of Avimuktayātrā (57).
32   Small shrine and round tank. Inscription: *bhāvānītīrtha* (?). Possible identification: Bhavānīśaṃkara (AG51).
33   White shrine with inscription on right side: *manaḥprakāmeśvara* (AG48).
34   White shrine with inscription below: *dhuṃdhirāja* (AG52).
35   Gaṇeśa temple in the west above Śṛmgāramaṇḍapa (43), no inscription. Identification: Dvāravināyaka (ChV55). This is the first place located in the central area. In addition to the Viśvanātha temple and several faded shrines it is possible to identify four pavilions (43–46) and eight Vināyakas (35–42). The Vināyaka no. 36 does not fit into the expected sequence.
36   Gaṇeśa temple with inscription at bottom: *sumukhavināyaka* (AG74, ChV51). The Vināyaka expected in the north-west would be: Avimuktavināyaka (ChV56).
37   Gaṇeśa temple, no inscription. Vināyaka in the north: Modavināyaka (AG72, ChV49).
38   Gaṇeśa temple, no inscription. Vināyaka in the north-east: Pramodavināyaka (AG73, ChV50).
39   Gaṇeśa temple, no inscription. Vināyaka in the east: Sumukhavināyaka (AG74, ChV51).
40   Gaṇeśa temple, no inscription. Vināyaka in the south-east: Durmukhavināyaka (AG75, ChV52).
41   Gaṇeśa temple, no inscription. Vināyaka in the south: Gaṇanāthavināyaka (AG76, ChV53).
42   Gaṇeśa temple, no inscription. Vināyaka in the south-west: Jñānavināyaka (ChV54).
43   Pavilion above the roof of the Viśvanātha temple, inscription below on the left: *śṛmgāramaṇḍapa*. The four pavilions are placed in the cardinal directions. The Śṛmgāramaṇḍapa is situated in the west.
44   Pavilion to the north of the Viśvanātha temple, inscription: *aiśvaryamaṇḍapa*.
45   Jñānamaṇḍapa. Pavilion in the east, no inscription.
46   Muktimaṇḍapa. Pavilion in the south, no inscription.

47 Viśvanātha temple with temple priests and devotees in the *garbhagṛha* and outside, no inscription.

48 Large red building on the riverfront with gate leading to the river and two towers on both sides. Faded, no inscription. The position and the structure of the building suggest that this is the Mahal built in 1795 by Bhoṃsalā Mahārāja at the present day Bhoṃsalāghāṭ. This date serves as *terminus post quem* for the dating of the map. For a dating according the water places see Fig. 22.11, no. 13, 17.

49 Grey three-story building with five windows per floor, inscription at bottom: *śrī…maṭha*. Identification uncertain.

50 Inscription at the foot of curved steps: *agnīśvara ghāṭa*.

51 Series of five shrines with the five gods of the *pañcāyatanapūjā* Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Devī, Śivaliṅga and Sūrya. Beneath the small shrine above the following inscription …*vināyaka* is visible.

52 Aurangzeb Mosque at the river front. Faded, no inscription.

53 Below the mosque, inscription: *paṃcagaṃgā ghāṭa*.

54 Small shrine to the right of steps, inscription: *biṃdumādhava* (AV37, NP54).

55 White building with (Viṣṇu?) image and rectangular tank above, inscription below not legible.

56 White shrine, damaged, no icon visible, inscription below: *amarda….* Possible identification: Amardakeśvara.

57 White temple with Bhairava image, inscription below: *kālabhairava.*

58 White two-story temple with two stories and five Gaṇeśas, one central and two on each side. The inscriptions are barely legible (*rathi-/ravivināyaka* in the centre, *dagdhāvināyka* and *ghṛta-* or *dhṛtavināyaka* on the left and right side?).

59 Mandākinītīrtha. Pond with walls in the south and east and a temple with *liṅga* in the north. The inscription above the open side in three lines is partly damaged and could not be identified:

> *maṃdā…nī…vṛ…vai… / dhyameśvaraṃ / ekaviṃśa…ū…pe…o… / … prā …keva…*

> The *liṅga* is probably Madhyameśvara situated to the north of Mandākinī, Mandākinīśvara is also possible. See also Fig. 22.11, no. 15.

Fig. 22.15: North-eastern section with the Ādikeśava temple and Varuṇasaṃgama.

1 The ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are depicted in two rows. Visible in the upper row from left: Kṛṣṇa with flute, Rāma with Hanumān before him, seated figure faded out (Buddha?), standing male figure, a white horse (Kalki). The second row shows: Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha, the following two incarnations (Nārasiṃha and Vāmana) are not visible. Traces of a longer inscription are visible but illegible.

2 Two white shrines with *liṅga*. The left one is damaged, inscription below: *ratneśvara*. The other shrine is painted with blue background and two red lines on the pedestal; the inscription on the right is not legible. Suggested identification: Satīśvara.

3 Haratīrthatālāb and Kṛttivāseśvara. Shrine with elaborate roof with two red lines, image not visible. Inscription on the right: *kṛtivāseśvara ve. 4*. Large rectangular tank below, inscription on top not legible.

4 Sequence of three white shrines above the Ghāṭs with two images of goddesses (left and right) and one image of Hanumān (central), no inscriptions.

5 Hanumān image below small *liṅga* shrine, no inscription.

6 First floor of a white three-storeyed structure with three shrines on each floor. The sequence of the images and the deciphered inscriptions allow the following tentative identifications. Shrine to the left with image of sun god, no inscription. Suggested identification: Aruṇāditya (back of Trilocaneśvara). Shrine in the centre with blue background and *liṅga*, no inscription. Suggested identification:

Kāmeśvara (north of Trilocaneśvara). Shrine to the right with image of sun god, inscription below: *khakholkāditya* (inside Kāmeśvara).

7 On the second floor two Gaṇeśas on the left and right, and a *liṅga* in the centre, no inscriptions. Suggested identifications of the two Gaṇeśas: Uddaṇḍa-muṇḍavināyaka (Trilocana temple, ChV32) and Modakapriyavināyaka (in the compound of Trilocaneśvara, ChV24), the sides being interchangeable. Shrine with *liṅga* in the centre, suggested identification: Trilocaneśvara.

8 On the third floor three shrines with *liṅgas*. Central shrine with red background, inscription above the *liṅga*: *ādimahādeva*. Identification: Ādimahādeva (behind Trilocana). Suggested identifications for the two other *liṅgas*: Mahānādeśvara (behind Ādimahādeva) and Narmadeśvara (behind Trilocana).

9 Inscription in five lines, not legible.

10 Curved double line leading to the Ganges, inscription: *teliyā*…. Identification: the small stream Teliyānālā.

11 Inscription on the steps: *prahlādaghāṭa*.

12 Two white shrines with two floors each and steps in the middle. On the left a Gaṇeśa on top and a *liṅga* below, no inscription. On the right a *liṅga* on the first floor and a Gaṇeśa below. To the right side of this *liṅga*, inscription: *svar-līneśvara*. The other *liṅga* might be Prahlādeśvara, Gaṇeśas in the vicinity are Varadavināyaka (ChV23) and Picaṇḍilavināyka (ChV31).

13 Inscription at bottom of steps leading to the river: *rājaghāṭa*.

14 White temple with Gaṇeśa image, inscription: *praṇavavināyaka* (ChV16).

15 White building with red central entrance, inscription: *junākoṭa*. Possible identi-fication: Muslim tomb at Rāj Ghāṭ plateau.

16 Inscription below the steps on the left side of Ādikeśava Ghāṭ, 10 lines:

1 *laiṃge. ataḥ paraṃ* / 2 *tu saṃveghaṃ gaṃgā-* / 3 *varuṇasaṃgamaṃ.* / 4 *śravaṇa…* / 5 *daśīyau-* / 6 *ge budhvā* / 7 *royadā bhavet* / 8 *tadā tasmin na-* / 9 *raḥ snātvā sanni-* / 10 *hatyāpalaṃ bhavet.*

Compare with the quotation attributed to the *Liṅgapurāṇa* in the *Tīrthavivecana-kāṇḍa* (p. 45):

ataḥ paraṃ tu saṃvedyaṃ gaṃgāvaraṇasaṃgamam / *śravaṇadvādaśīyogo budhavāre yadā bhavet* / *tadā tasmin naraḥ snātvā sannihatyā phalaṃ labhet.*

"Therefore the confluence of Gaṅgā and Varaṇa is the best junction of two rivers (*saṃvedya*). The person who bathes there on a Wednesday on *śravaṇa-dvādaśīyoga* (i.e. the twelfth of the light half of the month Bhādra connected with the constellation *śravaṇa*) will obtain the fruit of being liberated (*san-nihatyā*)."

17 Inscription below the steps on the right side: *viṣṇupādodaka tīrthāya*.

18 The two procession roads Nagarapradakṣiṇāyātrā on the left and Pañcakrośīyātrā on the right side of the river Varuṇā.

19 Cluster of temples and shrines at Ādikeśava Ghāṭ. On top of the steps four white temples with Gaṇeśa on left side, large temple with Viṣṇu image and inscription: *ādikeśavāya* on top. To the left of Ādikeśava (PK93) another shrine with standing figure and one shrine with *liṅga* painted blue inside, inscription on the left: *saṃgameśvarāya ve. 30,* identification: Varuṇasaṃgameśvara (PK94). The

suggested identification is Kharvavināyaka (PK95, ChV7) for the Gaṇeśa and Jñānakeśava for the standing image. On the steps below four shrines with two *liṅgas* at the corners, a Gaṇeśa and a sun god, no inscriptions. The two *liṅgas* are probably Nakṣatreśvara and Vedeśvara, both close to the Gaṇeśa Cintāharaṇa. The Sun god is likely to be Keśavāditya.

20 Rectangular pool split into two parts, no inscription.
21 Small shrine with *liṅga*, no inscription.
22 Rectangular pool with four *liṅga* shrines, no inscription.
23 Garden surrounded by trees with a rectangular tank and women and men sitting, no inscription.
24 Small white rectangular pond and two shrines with standing figure and red pillar, no inscriptions. Suggested identification: Lāṭ Bhairava also called Kulastambha-bhairava and pond Kapālamocana.
25 Rectangular tank, no inscription.
26 Blue Yoginī with long black hair and red bowl in her left hand, no inscription.
27 Yoginī with long blue sword, faded, no inscription.
28 Yoginī with large mouth, no inscription.
29 White Yoginī, faded, no inscription.
30 Blue Yoginī, damaged, no inscription.
31 Blue Yoginī with long neck and bird-like head, no inscription.
32 Yoginī with black hair, damaged, no inscription.

Fig. 22.16: North-eastern corner with Nagarapradakṣiṇā- and Pañcakrośīyātrā.

1 Round white structure with blue segments on the banks of river Varuṇā. Inscription on top: *kapiladhārā tī* (= Vṛṣabhadhvajatīrtha PK89).

2 White temple with *liṅga* and blue background on the far right or northern corner of the map, almost completely faded. Inscription below: *mārkaṇḍeśvara*. Identification: temple of Mārkandeśvara, situated at Kaithi ca. 27 km northeast of Banaras at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Gomatī, frequented by many pilgrims at Śivarātri. Including this sacred place was obviously more important to the mapmaker than considerations of the (correct) distance involved.

Pilgrims in Banaras is an example of a map that, unlike topographical maps, does not "desocialize" the territory that it represents. In contrast to Harley's statement that "Maps as an impersonal type of knowledge tend to 'desocialize' the territory they represent. They foster the notion of a socially empty space." (Harley 1988: 303) the described map fosters the notion of a populated, socially full space. In a combination of a panoramic view of the riverfront, four processional routes and numerous individual temples, shrines and fords, it creates a lively and colourful image of the territory. The approximately 400 places given in the legends are depicted on the map because they formed part of one of these three, sometimes overlapping, categories. The differences of the two pictorial maps described are obvious: on the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* individuals occur only in rare cases and the representation of the places is symbolic, whereas the mapmaker of *Pilgrims in Banaras* has created recognizable images of the places he depicted.

Three scenes showing Kṛṣṇa playing the flute surrounded by Gopīs (Fig. 22.2, no. 13), the Rāmlīlā with royal participation (Fig. 22.11, no. 22) and the depiction of the ten incarnations of Rāma in Fig. 22.15 (no.1) suggest a Vaiṣṇava background of the map. Since no direct evidence on the social and cultural context of the map *Pilgrims in Banaras* is available, one can only speculate that the production of the map might be linked to royal patronage and the Vaiṣṇava-bhakti milieu of Rajasthan. Especially in the 18th century the links between the princely states of Rajasthan and Banaras are manifold. The panoramic view given on *Pilgrims in Banaras* documents this interaction by depicting the Mān Mandir Ghāṭ (Fig. 22.14, no.11) and the Cet Singh Ghāṭ (Fig. 22.13, no.12). As has been discussed, the largely inaccessible holdings of the City Palace in Jaipur testify for a cartographical tradition, which included maps of Banaras, reaching at least back to the 17th century. The two studied pictorial maps have therefore most likely not been produced in Banaras, whereas the printed maps studied in the following section are cultural productions of the citizens of Banaras.

4.3 The *Saptapurīyātrādiprakāśapatra* Printed in 1873

Saptapurīyātrādiprakāśapatra (no. 10.2, BA4)
Vārāṇasī 1873.
Printed for Jaṅga Bahādur Siṃha (Citaipur), Banaras Akhbar Press.
Lithography on paper, black and white,
language Hindi, script Devanāgarī.
Private collection Shashank Singh, Vārāṇasī.
76 x 72 cm.

Early Printed Maps of Banaras

The earliest known printed maps produced in Banaras all date back to the 1870's. Among these three maps the *Saptapurīyātrādiprakāśapatra* (1873), is the oldest, followed by the map *Kāśīdarpaṇa* of Kailāsanātha Sukula (1876), and the *Kāśīdarpaṇapūrti* (1877) by Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī. The factors leading to the production of these early printed maps are multilayered. The emergence of print culture and the spread of lithography in Banaras during the mid-19th century made it possible to produce and distribute printed maps to a wider public.[58] In addition, during the second half of the 19th century the railways of colonial India became an important factor regarding the promotion of pilgrimage.[59] The connection between the promotion of pilgrimage, and the distribution of pilgrimage brochures, as well as maps, is documented by the legends on the map *Saptapurīyātrādiprakāśapatra*, where the station master's bungalow is mentioned as a place where one could obtain a booklet on processions in Banaras (*Kāśīyātrākalpalatā*). Western cartographical tradition was introduced in Banaras by way of British topographical maps which made their appearance during the first half of the 19th century. We are aware of only two maps produced prior to the 1870s': James Prinsep's map *The City of Bunarus* (1822) and the map *Cantonments of Sikrol and Pandypoor also The Civil Station & City of Benares* which was printed in 1869 in Calcutta.[60] There is direct evidence that Western cartographic tradition has influenced local discourses on the sacred spatiality of Banaras. On the map *Kāśīdarpaṇapūrti*, Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī indicates that both the well known canon of puranic textual sources as well as "British maps" (*aṃgrejī nakśā*) were utilized as source material in the

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58 See Stark (2007) for a recent study on early print culture and lithography in Banaras (chap.1).

59 See Kerr (2001) and Ahuja (2003) for studies of the effects of railways on pilgrimage in the 19th and 20th centuries. For a recent contribution on society and circulation see Markovits & Pouchepadass & Subrahmanyam (2003).

60 See Appendix 1, map nos.41 and 42. I have compared some aspects of Prinsep's map and the Sukula's *Kāśīdarpaṇa* in Gengnagel (2003). See Edney (1997) for a survey of the cartographic tradition of British India.

map's production.[61] He does not specify which maps he used, but it is very likely that the two above-mentioned topographical maps are among them.

The debate over the Pañcakrośīyātrā which was initiated in the 1850's, along with the subsequent shifting of the road of the Pañcakrośīyātrā in the section between Bhīmacaṇḍī and Rāmeśvara, also involved the use of technology, in the form of measurement and surveying.[62] Since only Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī has given a direct reference to this dispute on his map, it is not possible to prove beyond doubt that the above-mentioned printed maps arose from, and therefore reflect, the conflict in question. I will, however, highlight some less obvious possible allusions to this conflict. In my view, it seems likely that the debate concerning pilgrimage practice, as well as the general atmosphere of revival and reconstruction of religious and ritual practice, considerably influenced the motives of the three mapmakers. The encounter with western technology and science was embedded in an atmosphere of religious revivalism, and the emergence of Hindu nationalism. This historical background is underlined by the famous playwright and journalist Bhāratendu Hariścandra of Banaras who, as was shown in chapter 3, was also involved in the debate regarding the performance of the Pañcakrośīyātrā. He stated in 1872 that "it is desirable that religion, which has gone to such a degree of corruption now, should be looked after with much care and concern by the Indians" (Dalmia 1997: 359). Hence, it is through the lens of this briefly outlined historical, social and religious background that the early printed maps of Banaras should be examined.

On the two Versions of the Map

Two versions of the map *Saptapurīyātrādiprakāśapatra* are, at present, known. One is a coloured map painted on paper, the dimensions of which are 72 x 76 cm (no. 10.1, Plate 4). This coloured map was first published as map 27 under the title "Kashi" in a detailed view, along with a somewhat smaller complete view, together with a short description by Susan Gole (1989: 66). These first two reproductions of the map are based on photographs given to Susan Gole by a Paris-based art collector. Aside from these 8 photographs no further material concerning this coloured map is at present available, and the details of the map are only partially depicted in these snapshots. The inscriptions at the bottom of the map are not readable.[63] Based on the available data, I undertook a tentative description of this coloured version of the map in a preliminary study (Gengnagel 2000).[64]

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61 See chapter 2.4 on Kṛṣṇacandra Dharmādhikārī's map and the book *Kāśīdarpaṇam* with the text and translation of this passage.

62 See chapter 3.1 for a description of this debate.

63 The map collector was contacted and finally responded in December 2000. Investigation concerning the whereabouts of the map has, to date, been unsuccessful.

64 See plate 2 for a reproduction of the coloured version.

In spring 2000 Niels Gutschow discovered that besides this coloured map, a black and white version, framed and mounted on paper, is preserved in the private collections of Shashank Singh in Banaras (no. 10.2).[65] The relationship between the coloured and black and white versions of the map remain, thus far, unclear. It is obvious, however, that the two maps are similar while not identical. The inscriptions are identical in content but written with slight differences, and the same holds true for the painted items. Variation is found in minor details, but not in the content or general structure of the maps. It seems therefore obvious that one map must be the prototype, and the other a copy. The chronological relationship remains, however, difficult to establish since the coloured version of the map could not be studied in detail. In the case of Sukula's map *Kāśīdarpaṇa* (no. 11.1), printed in 1876, Joachim K. Bautze saw in Udaipur a painted version (no. 11.2). The relation of these two items poses a similar kind of problem.[66] In view of the above, it is important to bear in mind that the early printed maps might well be copies or variants of earlier painted maps that have not yet seen the light of day. In the case of the *Saptapurīyātrādiprakāśapatra* it seems very likely, however, that the original map was lithographed in Banaras in 1873, and that the coloured version is a copy, painted at a later date, of the original black and white print.

The following first complete description and analysis of the map is based primarily on the printed black and white version of Bahadur Singh's map as preserved in Banaras (Fig. 20). Examination of the original, along with photographs, and a photocopy were utilized to decipher the map's legends.

The Structure of the Map

The map consists of two basic layers: the elements depicted inside and atop the central circle, and the items placed outside this circle at the bottom of the map. The map is dominated by a circular structure delimited by a line covered at its outer limits with grass, bushes and trees. The interior space of the circle is oriented towards the west and is framed by the three well-known rivers; Gaṅgā, flowing from left to right and south to north, and her two tributaries, Asī, on the left and, Varaṇā, on the right. The space below the Gaṅgā is empty with the exception of the depiction of a bull. All the temples and shrines are situated above the river, and the objects within this space above the Gaṅgā are displayed symmetrically. This holds true as well for the two shrines, and the lone figures depicted to the left and right of the two tributaries on either side.

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65 The black and white version was reproduced as an image without further comments in Eicher's *Varanasi City Guide* (2002: 55).

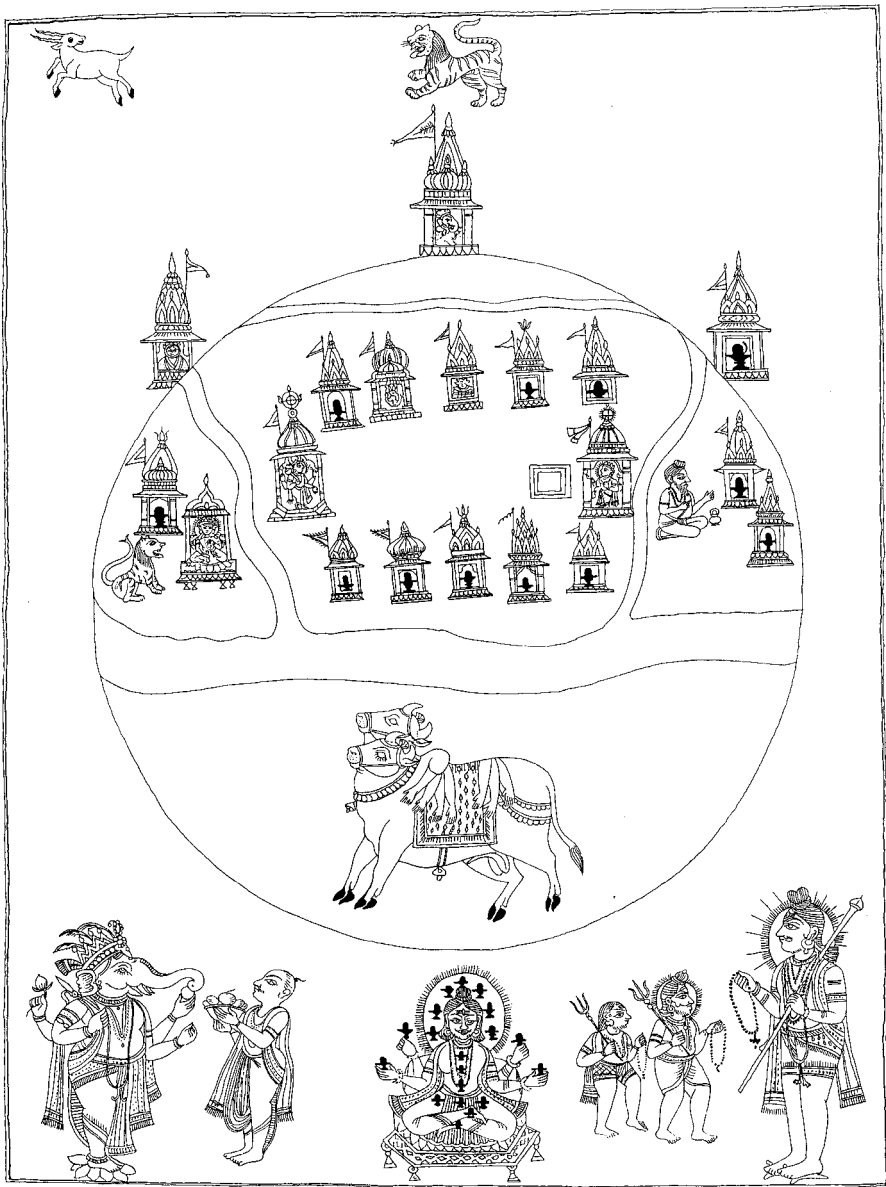66 See chapter 4.4 for a brief discussion of this matter.

Fig. 23: The map *Saptapurīyātrādiprakāśapatra*. Drawing by Anil Basukala.

The central space is delineated on three sides by the three rivers, and a double line at the top. Inside this space are two rows with five shrines each, connected by one shrine on each side. These shrines and temples bear the inscriptions Asimādhava

(7)[67], Dvāravatīśvara (8), Ḍhuṃḍhirāja (9), Annapūrṇā (10), Viśveśvara (11), Mathureśvara (12), Ādikeśava (14), Saṃgameśvara (15), Daśāśvamedheśvara (16), Maṇikarṇikeśvara (17), Gabhastīśvara (18) and Varaṇasamgameśvara (19). A rectangular tank called Mathurātīrtha (13), located in the middle section on the right side is an exception to the fundamental, symmetrical structure. There are three shrines placed on the outer borders of the circle. These are Bhīmacaṇḍī (1), on the upper left, Dehalīvināyaka (2), on top of the circle, and the temple, Rāmeśvara-Ayodhyā (3), to the right. Their position is therefore prominent, and seems to transcend the otherwise strict separation between the inside and outside of the circle. Two temples, Kardameśvara (4) and Ayutabhujādevī (6), have been placed in the south, or to the left of the river Asī. Kapiladhārā (21) and Vaśiṣṭeśvara (22) occupy a corresponding position in north of the river Varaṇā. The area above and behind the circular structure is covered with trees and contains a deer as well as a tiger. At the bottom of this area six figures are depicted, and the seated figure in the centre forms a central axis relative to the shrine atop the circle and the tiger pictured above. The script of the map is Devanāgarī, and the language is a mixture of grammatically incorrect, or colloquial Sanskrit, and a highly Sanskritized Hindi. In some places long and short -i ("*yātrādī*"; "*vīdhi*") are mixed up, and some local Bhojpurī forms ("*kuṃjī*"; "*mo*") are also included.

The Agents: Mapmakers, Printers and other Specialists

The rectangular map is framed by a black double line. Text is inscribed in three different areas of the margins. The following title is given at the top (see A in the drawing of the map):

> *kāśyāṃ kāśīrahasyādīgraṃthaṃ pramāṇena vasaṃtādikratau saptapurīyātrādīprakāśapatram.*
> The published document (*prakāśapatra*) concerning the pilgrimage to the Seven Cities etc. in Kāśī [that is performed] in each season beginning in spring (*vasanta*) [relying] on the *Kāśīrahasya* and others books as its scriptural authority.

The legends inscribed on the map provide further information about the people involved in the production of this piece. The line at the bottom of the map reads as follows:

> *citaīpura ke śrīyuta bābū jaṃga bahādura siṃha ke ājñānusāra rāmakṛṣṇa dīkṣita jī ke saṃmatī se govinda raghunātha thate ke ājñānusāra viśvanātha balhe ne banārāsa akhbāra ke chāpekhāne me chapavāyā. san 1873.*
> Printed by Viśvanātha Balhe according to the order of Govinda Raghunātha Thate at the Banārās Akhbār Press in 1873 at the request of Bābū Jaṅga Bahādur Siṃha, from Citaipur, with the approval of Rāmakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita.

The fact that Bābū Jaṅg Bahādur Singh from Citaipur was the patron of the map making process in this case is confirmed in another section of the map. On the left

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67 The numbers refer to the numbering given in the drawing of the map below.

side of the Asī river, and above the Gaṅgā, two shrines and a tiger are depicted: the one with a *liṅga* is identified as Kardameśvara, and the other containing a Goddess is inscribed with the legend Ayutabhujādevī. Surrounding the lion the following words appear:

> *śrī bābū jaṃga bahādura siṃha durgābāga me kardameśvara kī saṛak*
> Bābū Jaṅg Bahādur Singh in Durgā's Garden on the road to Kardameśvara.

We discovered a Durgā temple in a garden situated in Chitaīpur along the Pañca-krośī road leading to the Kardameśvara temple in the village Kandwa. An inscription at the entrance to the garden confirmed that the temple belongs to the family of Jaṅg Bahādur Singh. It is therefore likely that Ayutābhujādevī was incorporated into the map because she was the personal goddess of Jaṅg Bahādur Singh's family. The production of the map could well be linked to the construction of Ayutābhujādevī's temple, but we could not find conclusive evidence supporting this hypothesis. The term "public document" (*prakāśapatra*, see A above) used in the title of the map might refer to a specific occasion that is linked to the production of the map. The text in the right hand margin (C) gives the following information regarding an additional textual source that could be consulted by the users of the map:

> *is ke parijñārtha*[68] *choṭī sī pustaka kāśīyātrākalpalatā milane ke do sthāna, prathama iṣṭeśana masṭar ke baṃgale par, dvitīya maṃgalāgaurī banāra[sa] akhbāra ke chāpekhāne meṃ.*
> For a better understanding (*parijñāna*) of this [map] the booklet *Kāśīyātrākalpa-latā* can be obtained in two places: first at the station master's bungalow, second at the *Banāras Akhbār Press* at Maṅgalagaurī.

The booklet *Kāśīyātrākalpalatā* could not be located. The given reference to the station master's bungalow highlights the role of the railway authorities in the distribution of pilgrimage literature and maps promoting pilgrimage:

> (...) there is considerable evidence to show that the railways of colonial India sought to tap into established pilgrimage routes as a source of passengers and later to promote actively the desirability of pilgrimage and the use of the train to do so. As the Bihar and Orissa Pilgrim Committee noted: "The Pilgrim traffic is admittedly a source of considerable profit to the railways". (Kerr 2001: 323)

Another person involved in the map making is Govind Raghunāth Thatte, the owner and editor of the *Banaras Akhbar* Press. The following information is given by Dalmia and Kesavan about him and his press[69]:

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68 The word *parinārtha* has been corrected and now reads *parijñārtha*. The syllable *jñā* in the beginning of the line and the small sign underneath the word seem to highlight this correction.

69 On Rāmakrṣṇa Dīkṣita see Upādhyāya (1994: 201–202). He was a friend of Govinda Bhaṭṭa, the teacher of the then three year old Śrī Bālśāstrī, born in 1836.

The first Hindi newspaper to come out in the North-Western Provinces was the *Banāras Akhbār*, established under the guidance of Rājā Śivaprasād in Banaras in 1845. Its editor was Raghunāth Thatte, a Maharashtrian, and it carried local news and translations from Sanskrit law books. (Dalmia 1997: 229)

B. S. Kesavan states about the *Banaras Akhbar* under the heading "Encounter with the Ruling British":

The *Banaras Akhbar*, the first purely Hindi paper in Devanagari character from the North was initiated by the celebrated Raja Sivaprasad, *Sitare Hind* of Banaras. It was started in 1844, edited by Govind Raghunath Thatte, and financed by the Maharaja of Nepal whose family resided in Banaras. The first few issues of *Banaras Akhbar* were lithographed, later the paper owned a typography press under the same name. (...) Govind Raghunath Thatte utilized the newspaper, among other purposes, to zealously defend the Hindu religion against the onslaught of the Christian Missionaries. He also serialized the Hindi translations of the Sanskrit Smrities. (Kesavan 1997: 270–271)

In 1873, the first sign of political confrontation is evidenced between the ruling party and the vernacular papers of North-Western Provinces. A loyal paper like the *Banaras Akhbar* was fined Rs 1000 for giving a false report of the police conduct. It was on the intervention of Sivaprasad that the fine was remitted. The Government, conscious of the benefit, in the beginning, stretched a helping hand, by subscribing to a significant number, but when the aid was withdrawn, the journal had to live a tiresome existence for decades. The predominance of Urdu still marked the Hindi periodicals. The number of native subscribers was very small. (Kesavan 1997: 277–278)

Places and Inscriptions on the Map

1 Shrine with Devī image, situated on the outer limits of the circle above the river Asī. Inscription above the shrine: *bhīmacaṃḍī*.
2 Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, situated on the outer limits on top of the circle in the Western section of the map. Inscription on the right: *dehalīvināyaka*.
3 Shrine with *liṅga* situated on the outer limits of the circle above the river Varaṇā. Inscription above the shrine: *rāmeśvara-ayodhyā*.
4 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the left: *kardameśvara*.
5 Seated tiger, inscribed line behind and below the tiger: *śrī bābū jaṃga bahādura siṃha durgābāga me kardameśvara kī saraka*.
6 Shrine with Devī image, inscription above: *ayutabhujādevī*.
7 Shrine with four-armed standing male image, inscription on the left: *asimādhava*.
8 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the left: *dvārāvatīśvara*.
9 Shrine with Gaṇeśa image, inscription above: *ḍhuṃḍhīrāja*.
10 Shrine with Devī image, inscription above: *annapūrṇā*.
11 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *viśveśvara*.
12 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the right: *mathureśvara*.
13 Square tank, inscription above: *mathurātīrtha*.

14   Shrine with four-armed standing male image, inscription on the right: *ādikeśava*.
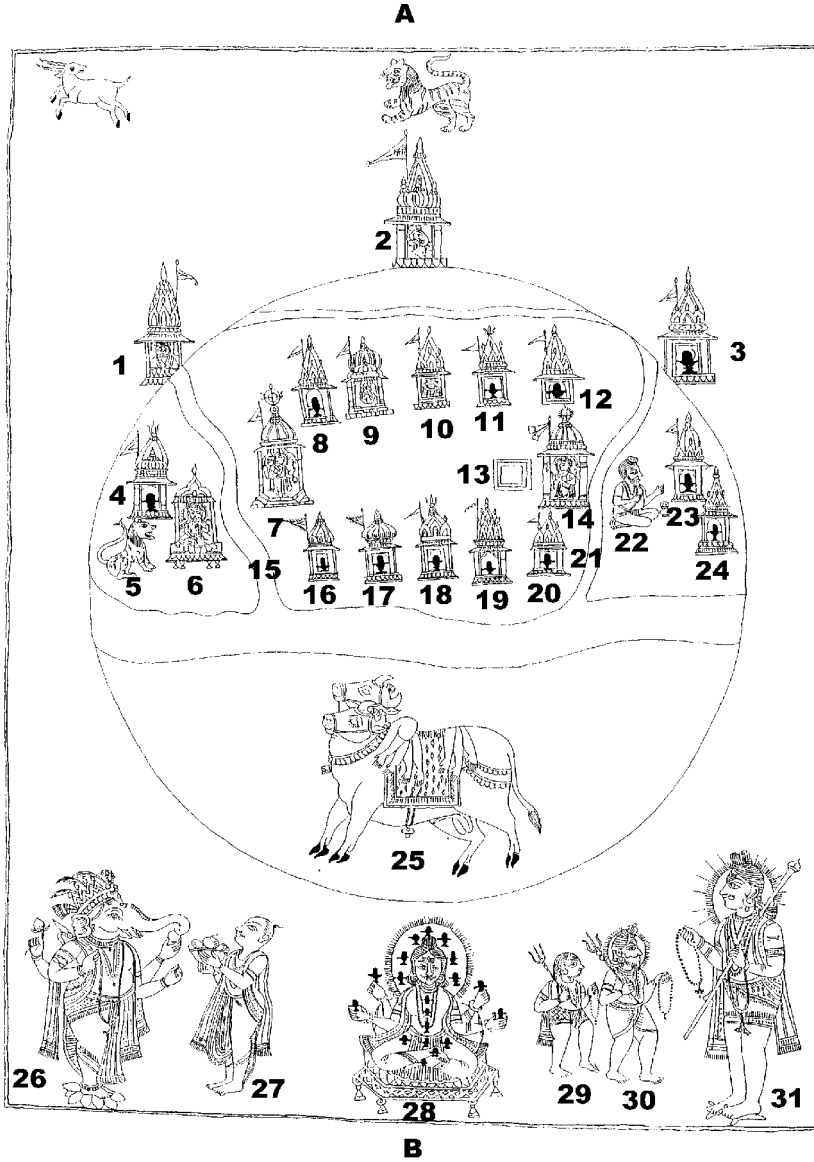15   Inscription on the right side of the river: *asisaṃgama*.

Fig. 24: Captions on the map *Saptapurīyātrādiprakāśapatra*. Drawing by Anil Basukala.

16   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *saṃgameśvara*.
17   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *daśāśvamedheśvara*.
18   Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *maṇikaraṇikeśvara*.

19 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *gabhastīśvara*.
20 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the left: *varaṇasaṃgameśvara*.
21 Inscription on the left side of the river: *varaṇasaṃgama*.
22 Seated male figure with small pot or bowl before him. Inscription below: *saptarṣī-yātrā*.
23 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription above: *kapiladhārā mo vṛṣabhadhvajeśvara*.
24 Shrine with *liṅga*, inscription on the right: *vaśiṣṭheśvara*.
25 Bull with two heads and seven arms. Inscription on the left: *cāturamāsya mahātme skaṃdapurāṇokte dharmasvarūpaṃ*. To the right: *is kāśī rūpī parama dharmo kī vīdhi jñānarūpī kuṃjī bālakṛṣṇajī ke samīpa prāpta ho vegī* <u>*hasbe*</u> *rādhākṛṣṇa upādhyā mahalle rāṇāmahala*.
26 Standing Gaṇeśa image. Inscription to the left: *kāśīkhaṃde kāśīyātrādau dehalīvināyakapūjā pūrvāṃga uttarāṃgavidhāna kara ke karai*.
27 Standing male figure holding a bowl with offerings in his hands. Inscription starting to the left of the figure: *yātrādi dharmapradarśaka rāmakṛṣṇadīkṣita gorajī mahalle kālabhairava durgā halavāī kī dukāna*.
28 Four-armed male image seated on a throne. The body is covered with nineteen small *liṅgas*. Inscription on the left side: *kāśīkhaṃde adhyāya 33 viśveśvarasya liṃgātmakaṃ svarūpam*. See Fig. 25 and the following section on the Aṅgayātrā.
29 Small standing male figure with trident in his right and *mālā* in his left hand. Inscription above: *vibhramagaṇa*.
30 Standing male figure with halo, trident in his right, and *mālā* in his left hand. Inscription above: *sambhramagaṇa*.
31 Large standing male figure with halo, club in his left and *mālā* in his right hand. Inscription above his head: *daṃdapāṇī*. A line leading from his feet to his head: *kāśīkhaṃde jñānavāpī paścimabhāge daṃdapāṇisaṃbhramavibhramagaṇa pūjā kāśīyātrādi adhikārasiddhiḥ*.

The Processions Indicated on the Map

Why Bahadur Singh chose to depict what he did remains something of a mystery. The map is multilayered in character and does not deal exclusively with the visual representation of one single procession. Although the procession to the seven cities (Saptapurīyātrā) figures prominently, and is mentioned in the title itself, several other processions and pilgrimages appear as well. In addition to the Saptapurīyātrā, the Saptarṣīyātrā and the Kāśīyātrā are explicitly named in the legends of the map, and processions such as the Aṅgayātrā and the Pañcakrośīyātrā are implicitly represented on the map.

The Saptapurī- or Ṛtuyātrā

The "Pilgrimage to the Seven Cities" (*saptapurīyātrā*) is a central element, and is referenced in the title of the map. This, in effect, links Banaras to six famous Indian pilgrimage sites and indicates that one need not leave Banaras' sacred topography

in order to access them.[70] Instead of travelling the subcontinent one simply visits the temples representing the deities of the respective six cities. The often quoted verse in the *Kāśīrahasya* refers to the cities as follows:

> *ayodhyā mathurā kāśī māyā kāñcī hy avantikā*
> *purī dvāravatī jñeyāḥ saptaite mokṣadāyikāḥ. (Kāśīrahasya* 13.45*)*

> Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Kāśī, Māyā (Haridvār), Kāñcī, Avanti (Ujjain), and the city of Dvāravatī: these are the Seven Cities that bestow liberation.

In chapter 13 of the *Kāśīrahasya* there is a detailed description of this *yātrā*. The pilgrimage to the six cities, as well as to Kāśī itself, is not performed *vis à vis* one single *yātrā*. For every city a season is specified where one of the *yātrās* should be carried out. This also explains the name *ṛtuyātrā*, or "pilgrimage according to the seasons", used for this type of pilgrimage. The correlation between the seasons and the "towns" to be visited, along with the corresponding relationship between time and space is indicated as follows:

Mathurā	Vasant
Ayodhyā	Grīṣma
Dvārakā	Śrāvaṇa
Viṣṇukāñcī	Kārtika
Avanti	Hemanta
Māyā/Haridvār	Śiśira
Kāśī	Vasant (or all seasons)

The *yātrās* to the Seven Cities are not performed by simply visiting one site. Every city has its own sequence of places to be visited. In fact, the "Pilgrimage to the Seven Cities" consists of seven separate processions. Kedarnātha Vyās lists a total of 168 places. 15 sites are linked to the pilgrimage to the city Mathurā, 31 to the city Ayodhyā, 17 to Dvārkā, 31 to Viṣṇukāñcī, 16 to Avanti, 27 to Haridvāra, and 31 to Kāśī (1987: 166–173). I have found no information about the actual performance of this pilgrimage. It is therefore not possible to say how these seven processions to the seven cities were put into practice.

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70 The Saptapurīyātrā is represented on most of the maps of Banaras that I have studied, see the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* (S319, S389, S480, S630, S518) and the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*.

The Aṅgayātrā or the Procession to Śiva's Limbs

The textual reference to the "Procession to the Limbs" (*aṅgayātrā*) of Śiva is the description of Kṛttivāseśvara in *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 33.166cd–172ab:

> kṛttivāseśvarasyaiṣā mahāprāsādanirmitiḥ // 166
> yāṃ dṛṣṭvāpi naro dūrāt kṛttivāsaḥ padaṃ labhet /
> sarveṣām api liṅgānāṃ maulitvaṃ[71] kṛttivāsasaḥ // 167
> oṃkāreśaḥ śikhā jñeyā, locanāni trilocanaḥ /
> gokarṇabhārabhūteśau tatkarṇau parikīrtitau // 168
> viśveśvarāvimuktau ca dvāv etau dakṣiṇau karau /
> dharmeśamaṇikarṇeśau dvau karau dakṣiṇetarau // 169
> kāleśvarakarpadīśau caraṇāv atinirmalau /
> jyeṣṭheśvaro nitambaś ca, nābhir vai madhyameśvaraḥ // 170
> kapardo 'sya mahādevaḥ, śirobhūṣā śrutīśvaraḥ /
> candreśo hṛdayaṃ, tasya ātmā vīreśvaraḥ paraḥ // 171
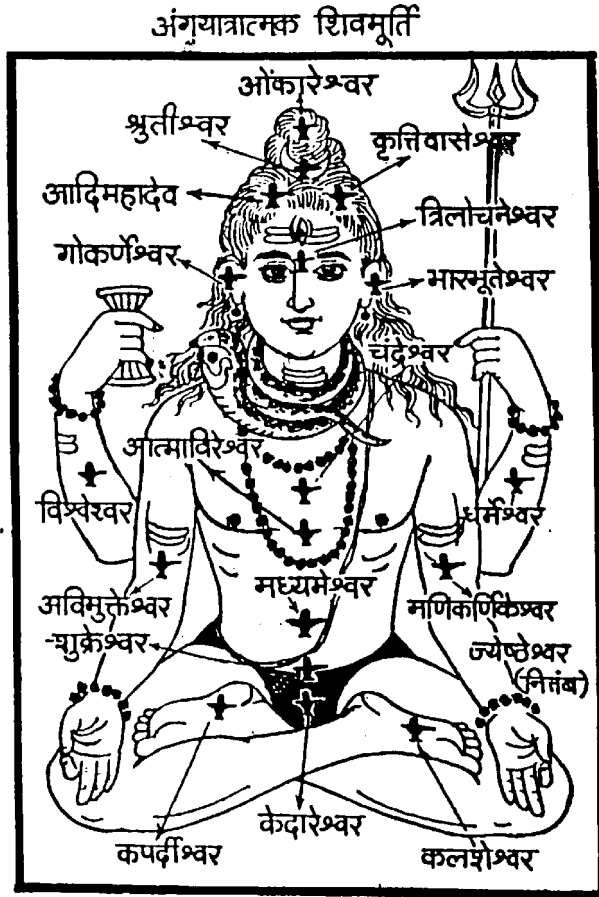> liṅgaṃ tasya tu kedāraḥ, śukraṃ śukreśvaraṃ viduḥ /

This is the creation of the great temple of Kṛttivāseśvara. One who sees it even from far away will reach the abode of Kṛttivāsas.

Of all the *liṅga*s Kṛttivāsa is the head, Oṃkāreśa should be known as the tuft of the hair, Trilocana is the [three] eyes, Gokarṇa and Bhārabhūteśa are praised as the two ears, the two Viśveśvara and Avimukta are the two right hands, Dharmeśa and Maṇikarṇeśa are the two left hands, Kāleśvara and Karpadīśa are the extremely pure feet, Jyeṣṭheśvara is the buttocks, Madhyameśvara is the navel, Mahādeva is the knotted hair, Śrutīśvara the head-ornament, Candreśa the heart, his soul is the highest Vīreśvara, his penis is Kedāra, Śukreśvara is known as the semen.

This textual passage leads to the following list of 19 *liṅgas*:

1. Kṛttivāsas
2. Oṃkāra
3. Trilocana
4. Gokarṇa
5. Bhārabhūteśa
6. Viśveśvara
7. Avimukta
8. Dharmeśa
9. Maṇikarṇeśa
10. Kāleśvara
11. Kapardīśa
12. Jyeṣṭheśvara
13. Madhyameśvara
14. Mahādeva
15. Śrutīśvara
16. Candreśa
17. Vīreśvara
18. Kedāra
19. Śukreśvara

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71 Variant reading: *"sarveṣān ity ārabhya yāv etāv" ity ataḥ prāktanena granthena.*

Fig. 25: The body of Śiva covered with 19 *liṅgas*. Source: *Kāśīdarśikā*, not dated.

To my knowledge, this passage of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* has seldom been depicted, neither in works of art, nor on maps, in printed publications, etc. The image of Śiva or Kṛttivāseśvara covered with 19 *liṅgas* could only be found on the map in question and in the *Kāśīdarśikā*, a pamphlet dealing with the performance of processions in Banaras (Fig. 25). The booklet *Kāśīdarśikā* associates the upper, central and lower part of Śiva's body to the three sections Omkāra-, Viśveśvara- and Kedārakhaṇḍa.
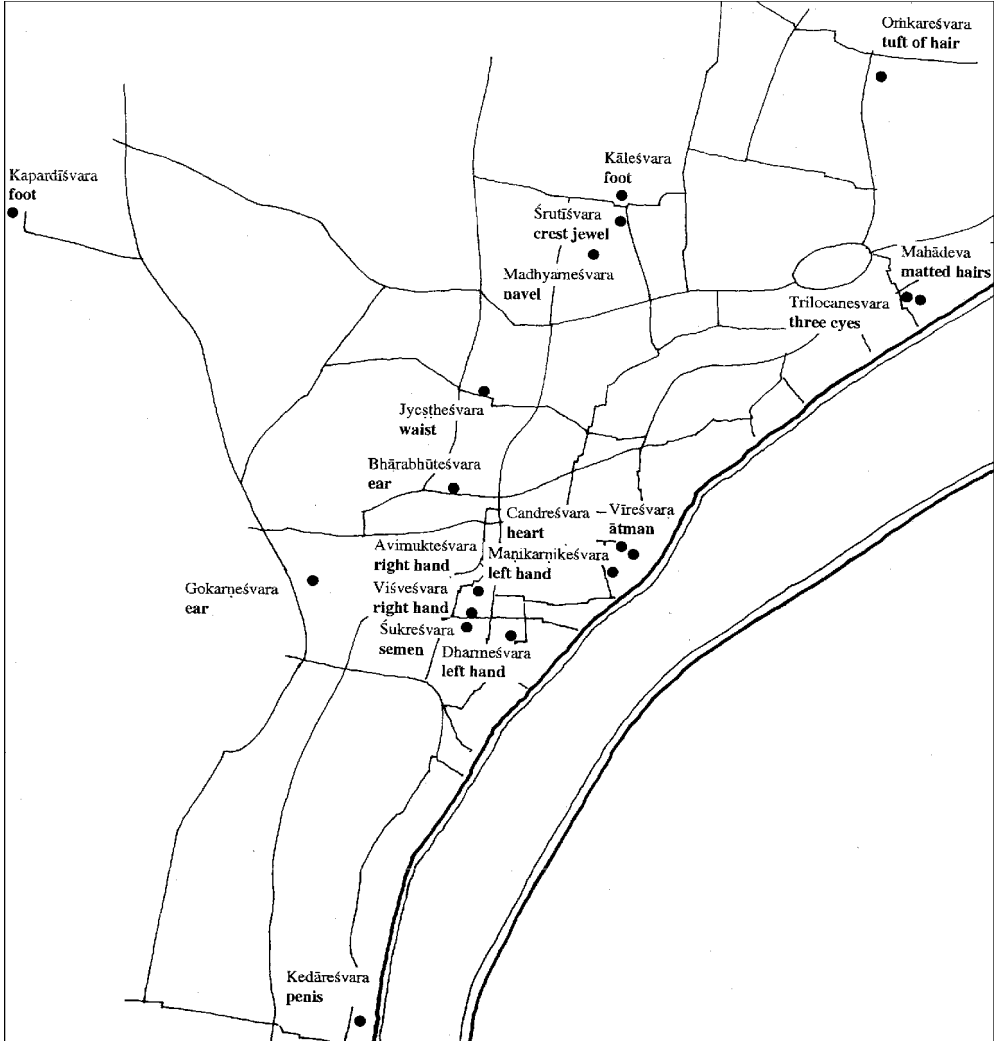
Fig. 26: The 19 *liṅgas* that constitute Śiva's body and their location. Map by Niels Gutschow, on the basis to the 1928 survey).

The location of the 19 temples, which correspond directly to the various parts of Śiva's body, are given on the following page. Research on the map, carried out in collaboration with Niels Gutschow, included the use of a topographical map in an effort to determine whether the shape of Siva's body would be apparent when viewed in the spatial sequence of the above-described temples. Our endeavor, however, was unsuccessful.

4.4 The *Mirror of Kāśī* (*Kāśīdarpaṇa)* by Kailāsanātha Sukula

Kāśīdarpaṇa (map 11.1, BA5)
Vārāṇasī, 1876.
Printed at the Vidyodaya Press for Kailāsanātha Sukula.
Language: Sanskrit and Hindi, script Devanāgarī.
Lithography on cloth, private collection Niels Gutschow;
Lithography on paper, British Library 53345(2).
79 x 92 cm.

Kailāsanātha Sukula's map entitled *Kāśīdarpaṇa*, *"A Mirror of Kāśī"*, was printed in Vārāṇasī in 1876 at the *Vidyodaya Press*. Five lithographic stone cuts were printed on cloth as well as on paper, and the map's dimensions are 79 x 92 cm. The circulation of this map, which was described by the British administration as "a rude sketch of the city of Benares", amounted to the considerable number of 5000 copies.[72] Prints of the map are preserved in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan (Vārāṇasī), the British Library (Cat. no. 53345.2), and in private collections.

Of all the known religious maps of Vārāṇasī, Sukula's *Kāśīdarpaṇa* has received by far the most attention.[73] The large number of prints, and its accessibility in various collections might explain why. The circular shape which resembles a Maṇḍala has certainly increased interest in this piece of religious cartography. My task in this chapter will be to present Sukula's map in the context of the religious cartography of nineteenth-century Banaras. The examination of this printed map as a spatial text leads me to view it as a "word picture" with relatively few standardized, symbolical, pictorial representations of temples, shrines and water places, and a large number of sacred places only indicated by the inscribed legends.

The description of the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* presented in this chapter is supplemented by an interactive presentation published in the internet in 2001 (*www.benares.uni-hd.de*; Gengnagel & Michaels 2001).[74] This web-based "virtual" representation named *Kailāsanātha Sukula's Mirror of Kāśī (Kāśīdarpaṇa). A historical map of*

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72 See below for the description of the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* and a reference (fn. 6) on the number of copies from the India Office Library kindly provided by my colleague Ulrike Stark.

73 For publications on the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* see: Pieper 1979: 216; Schwartzberg 1992: 454; Singh 1988: Fig. 5, 1993: 6; Gutschow & Michaels 1993: 32–33; Gutschow 1994: 196, 2006: 55–66; Lannoy 1999: 441; Michaels 2000: 216; Gengnagel 2003: 263.

74 This virtual representation of the map was prepared by the "Benares Arbeitskreis" of the *Vārāṇasī Research Project* at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg by the author together with Michaela Dimmers, Birgit Mayer-König, Axel Michaels, and Andreas Roock (see the editorial of the web-page). The web-based project is affiliated with the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI), Berkeley. Margaret Pearce has used screen shots of the virtual *Mirror of Kāśī* for her presentation of "Maps of Pilgrims" (Pearce 2003: 36–40). For a recent major update and relaunch based on the HyperImage technology see *www.kashidarpana.uni-hd.de* (Gengnagel & HyperEvaluation Team 2011).

Vārāṇasī based on the Kāśīkhaṇḍa and related texts was the result of the first complete reading of the extensive legends and inscriptions linked to more than 1250 names of temples, gods, goddesses and places.
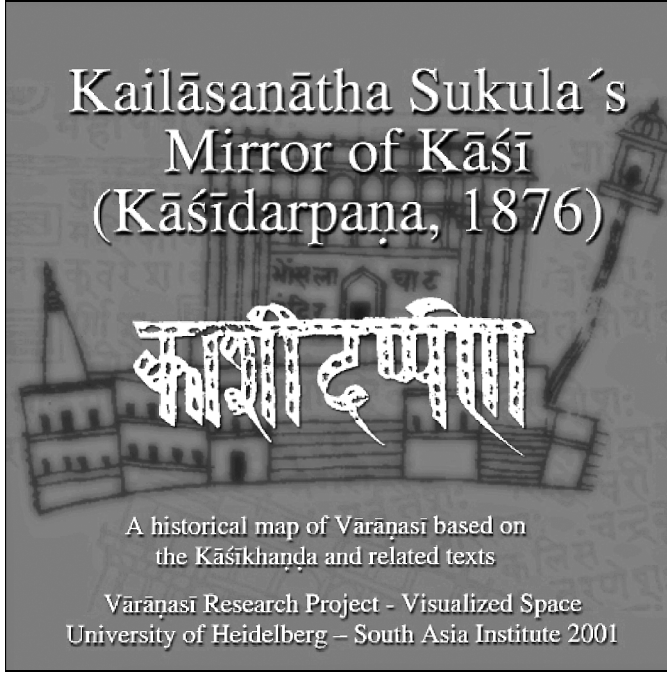

Fig. 27: Title page of the virtual Mirror of Kāśī at *www.benares.uni-hd.de*.

The advantages of hypertext application have been used to render an interactive search of inscribed legends and cartographic space possible. All names and places given on Sukula's map have been indexed. In order to make all details accessible the map has been cut into nine rows that give 8 slightly overlapping detailed views of the map's various sections. These 72 detailed parts of the map are numbered from K1 to K72 and these numbers are indicated at the upper left of each section. On each of these 72 images it is possible to click on the objects and a popup window will open which contains the respective symbol, the Sanskrit and Hindi inscriptions in the original Devanāgarī script, the transcription, a translation, and further remarks regarding the textual references. A navigation cross in the upper right allows direct access to the surrounding sections of the map. The 751 text blocks found on the map have been numbered (S1 to S751), and these numbers are used as references in the following chapter as well. Every entry is indexed in the "General Index" and linked to the maps. To the left of the entries the number of the map is given, to the right the object-number linked directly to the popup. The entry "34 – Abhayadavināyaka – S605f" thus stands for the sixth (indicated by the letter

f) entry in popup S605 on map K34. The search for a specific entry on the map is–especially in the case of larger text blocks–sometimes difficult. We have therefore indicated the first name and the number of the pop-ups in the flags which appear when moving the mouse over the map. Linked to this presentation of the map is an introduction, the electronic index of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, the catalogue of the Banaras Archives as well as a select bibliography.

Fig. 28: Cartouche of Sukula's *Kāśīdarpaṇa* printed in the left (eastern) corner (S0). Source: British Library no. 53345(2).

The Title of the Map

According to Kailāsanātha Sukula the *Mirror of Kāśī* represents the sacred topography of Vārāṇasī based altogether on six different *Purāṇas*. The printed map is meant to make Kāśī constantly visible for those who do not live in the town. A cartouche is printed in the left upper corner.[75] It gives the following information about the mapmaker, date and purpose of its production:

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75 The position of this cartouche is crucial for the decision how the map is oriented. If the title would be on top, the map would show an unusual eastern orientation. See for a discussion the arguments given in chapter 4.4.

> *kāśīdarpaṇa*
> *arthāt*
> *liṃga, śiva, naṃdi, skaṃda, gaṇeśa, aur agni purāṇokta*
> *devatāoṃ aur tīrthoṃ ke*
> *nāma aur sthānoṃ sahita*
> *śrī vārāṇasīpurī kā sūkṣma uttama parilekha*
> *śrī paṃdita kailāsa nātha jī sukula ne anyadeśiyoṃ*
> *ke sarvadā kāśī darśanārtha baṛe pariśrama se banā kara*
> *aikṭ 25 san 1867 ke anusāra rajaṣṭarī karā diyā*
> *śrī kāśīpurī meṃ*
> *śrī ḍhuṃḍhirājaśāstrī jī ke vidyodaya mudrālaya meṃ chapā*
> *bhādra śu. 13 saṃ. 1933*
> *śubham*

The *Mirror of Kāśī*

The *Mirror of Kāśī*, i.e. the fine and excellent picture (*parilekha*) of the city of Vārāṇasī as told in the *Liṅga-*, *Śiva-*, *Nandi-*, *Skanda-*, *Gaṇeśa-* and *Agnipurāṇa*, along with the names and places of deities and *tīrthas* prepared with great effort by Paṇḍita Kailāsanātha Sukula so that those living at other places are [able] to visualize Kāśī at any time. Registered under Act 25 in the year 1867, printed in the city of Kāśī at the Vidyodaya Press of Ḍhuṇḍhirāja Śāstrī on the 13th of the light half [of the month] Bhādra *saṃvat* 1933 [1st September 1876]. May there be fortune.

The given enumeration of six *Purāṇas* as textual sources suggests a direct relationship between the inscribed text on the map and its textual sources. A detailed analysis of the inscriptions will show that in contrast to other maps; direct and clearly identified references to these sources are rarely found on the map.[76] At first glance, we observe that the sheer number of legends on the map is significant, and is certainly greater than on any other map of Vārāṇasī that has yet to be studied. The relation between the above-mentioned textual sources and the legends given on the *Mirror of Kāśī* will therefore be analyzed in detail, and the map will be viewed as a two-dimensional "spatial text" on the sacred topography of Vārāṇasī.

The reference to the registration of the map under Act XXV of 1867 refers to the compulsory registration of all printed publications, including maps, which was demanded at the time by the British administration. This registration led to the following entry on the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* available at the India Office Library:

> Kashi Darpan. Benares Mirror. Hindi. Kailash Nath Shukla. author. Map. Pandit Dhundhi Raj, printer, and Kailas Nath Shukla, publisher, Benares. 1st September 1876. 1 Sheet. 1st, 5,000. L, Rs. a. p.: 0-4-0. Copyright registered under sections

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76 I am aware of only one instance where Sukula directly refers to a textual source. This is the case in a peculiar double enumeration of names in S304.

18 and 19 of Act XXX of 1876 by Kailas Nath of Benares. [[Remarks]]: A rude sketch of the city of Benares, showing the Hindu temples, &c.[77]

The number of prints of the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* that were produced at a price of four Annas is particularly considerable when one compares the 5000 copies to the Hindi periodicals that were printed at that time in Banaras. Their circulation ranged from c. 100 up to c. 800, a remarkable difference.[78] The large number of prints of the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* is certainly one of the reasons that this map has received the most attention of all religious maps on Banaras. Although I do not have any data about the actual circulation of the map, the numbers of copies suggest, that printing and publishing this map might have been an economic success for the author Kailāsa-nātha Sukula and the publisher Ḍhuṇḍhirāja Śāstrī.

The Cardinal Directions and the Orientation of the Map

The map displays a combination of geometrical features as well as the depiction of elements of the sacred landscape of the city. The basic geometrical feature is the map's *maṇḍala*-like circular form and it is precisely because of this circular outline that the map is not limited to displaying one, singular perspective. Embedded in this circle is a square containing almost all of the central buildings at the river front as well as in the city centre. This central square is a feature also found on the pictorial map *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*, and appears in maps printed later, as well.[79] No direct indication concerning the significance of this square is given on Sukula's map. It seems, however, likely to me that this square signifies the inner area of the *kāśīkṣetra*, which is called Avimukta. The innermost area of the field is defined by the circumambulation of the Antargṛhayātrā; the outer limits are demarcated by the Pañcakrośīyātrā, and the central city space is delineated by the Avimuktayātrā.[80]

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77 See the "Statement of Particulars regarding Books, Maps, &c., Published in the N.W. Provinces and registered under Act XXV. of 1867 (= Quarterly List of Publications) NWP SVP 412/38" under the section "1876, 3rd Quarter, Miscellaneous". Thanks to Ulrike Stark for this reference.

78 See for some examples Kesavan (1997: 277–278): "The predominance of Urdu still marked the Hindi periodicals. The number of native subscribers was very small. Buddhiprakas issued 105 copies 100 going to the Government and five to natives. Out of 81 copies of the Jagat Samacar, 80 were going to the Government and only one to the subscriber. Kavi Vacan Sudha has the largest circulation of 312 but it did not match the Urdu Lawrence Gazette (400) and Agra Akbhar (398). Kasi Patrika's circulation in 1876 was 450 as opposed to Oudh Akhbar which amounted to 820."

79 In chapter 4.1 the rectangular area on the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* is discussed.

80 See also the pictorial map *Pilgrims in Banaras* that depicts the Avimuktayātrā as a green half circle (chap. 4.2).
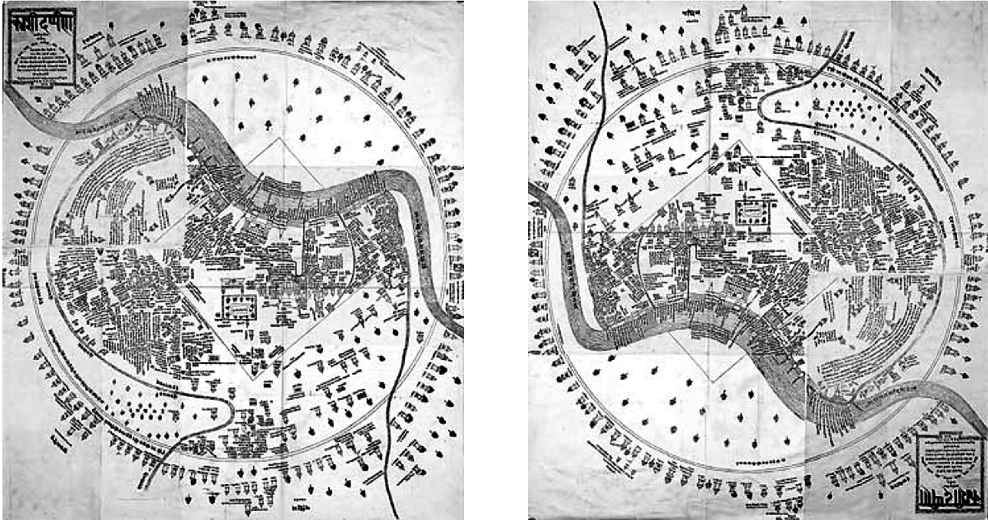
Fig. 29: The *Kāśīdarpaṇa* with eastern (at the left) and western (at the right) orientation.

The sacred topography of Vārāṇasī is represented by the depiction of the Gaṅgā which traverses the outer circle from right to left–or south to north–in a bow-shaped arc. As additional landmarks the two tributaries of the Gaṅgā are shown: the rivers Asī in the south and Varaṇā in the north. There are also four small streams flowing from the city area into the Gaṅgā.[81]

On the map the eight cardinal directions are shown outside the circular line that demarcates the sacred space of the city. Together with the indication of the cardinal directions, a protective shield or enclosure (*āvaraṇa*), consisting of a fixed number of beings, is associated with each direction.[82] In the case of the eastern direction the legend reads as follows (S90):

> *pūrva. śrī gaṇeśāya namaḥ. pūrvādik. ataḥ param bhūtāvalyāvaraṇam.*
> East. Salutation to Gaṇeśa. Eastern direction. Further on [follows] a protective shield (*āvaraṇa*) [consisting] of a series of beings.

I have selected this statement because the enumeration of this group of beings is started in its textual source–the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* chapter 72–with the names of shrines that are situated in the eastern, ritually pure direction. This sequence of enumeration, along with the salutation to Gaṇeśa in the eastern portion of the map indicates that this is probably where the mapmaker began to work. Sukula asked

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81 These small streams or channels are not named in all cases. The first in the south ends in a pond named Godāvarī, the second is most likely the Brahmanāla, for the third and fourth stream no name is inscribed.

82 The sentence about the *āvaraṇa* is inscribed in all directions, with the sole exception of the north. A lack of space at that specific area in the north might be the reason for this.

Gaṇeśa for the removal of all hindrances during the process of map-making and for a successful accomplishment of his task. If this hypothesis is correct, this starting point in the east has obviously influenced the position of the cartouche in the left eastern corner. In this sense, this example of oriental cartography allows us to observe the process of literally "orienting", that is, "easting", a map (Fig. 29).[83]

But by "easting" the map *Kāśīdarpaṇa* one does not obtain the sole correct orientation. The map displays multiple perspectives and no single one is the "correct" orientation. This is, of course, obvious concerning the outer circle. From there one views the map in bird's-eye-perspective, and it must be viewed from the top and turned in order to be read. Even if one only looks at the inner content of the map the easting of the map causes a problem. The orientation of the temples and shrines, as well as the vast majority of the legends, creates the impression that the easted map is upside-down, since these objects and legends are oriented towards the east. In other words: if the map is looked at in a western orientation (Fig. 29, right) the temples and legends are in the correct position. This means that the gods are facing east, which is the standard orientation of the Hindu temple. This eastward orientation of the vast majority of the temples has obviously influenced the inscribed text which, in the inner area, is generally orientated in the same manner as the temples. The only exceptions are the names of the *tīrthas* along the Gaṅgā, and some large text blocks that have received different orientation because of lack of space. If west was shown at the top of this map it would render the legends legible, and it would match the orientation of all other religious maps of Banaras. The virtual *Mirror of Kāśī* is therefore presented with a western orientation.

To sum up, the various factors which influenced the orientation of Sukula's map create a multiplicity of possible perspectives. In my view, however, this tension has its own internal logic, if you will. Instead of postulating one single and "correct" orientation, I would rather hold that elements like the placement of the inscription, the circular shape, and the orientation of the inscriptions as well as the temples suggest a multi-layered or dynamic perspective and orientation of the map.[84] The purely conventional practice of "northing" maps, however, has led to reproductions of Sukula's map wherein the orientation of the map has been deliberately changed and "corrected" according to Western cartographic standards.[85]

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83 See Gordon (1970) for a discussion of sacred directions and orientation of maps.

84 See the attempt to visualize the dynamic perspective in the introduction to the Internet-based *Kāśīdarpaṇa*.

85 Singh is northing the map (1988: Fig. 5; 1993: Fig. 2) by changing the position of the title and reproduces a replica with "minor corrections and adjustments in letters and directions" (Singh 1988: 9, n.1). Pieper simply turns the map so that north is at the top (1979: 216). See also the remarks by Michaels (2000: 201).

Protecting Sacred Space: The Outer Circle

The outer area of the map is marked by a circular double line which creates the impression of a "ring road" encircling the city. The visual impression of a road-like shape is confirmed by three inscriptions given by Sukula, which are linked to this circular double line. In the north, Sukula gives the words *vṛhat paṃcakrośamārga* (S493) "the road of the large Pañcakrośa". In the eastern section *kāśī bṛhatpaṃcakrośīyātrā mārga* (S525) "the road of the large Pañcakrośī procession in Kāśī", is found. In the western section Sukula refers to both a small and a large version of the Pañcakrośīyātrā *ihāṃ para sāṃprata aur vṛhatpaṃcakrośīmārga milatai hai* (S37) "Here the current [path] and the large Pañcakrośī path do meet." The reference to a large Pañcakrośīyātrā seems to refer to an extended version of this procession, which is also sometimes called *caurāsīkrośīyātrā*. Whether this procession was ever actually performed is not certain, as it appears to be primarily of mythological character. The short description and list given by Singh (1993: 39–43) is based on the map *Kāśīdarpaṇa*. It is important to note, however, that the quoted sentences are the only direct references to pilgrimage practice as Sukula refrained from showing pilgrimage routes. In sharp contrast to the pictorial map *Pilgrims in Banaras*, not a single pilgrim is depicted on the entire map, probably because there are no roads which they could inhabit. Sukula presents sacred space in a highly abstract form; the enactment and construction of sacred spaces *vis à vis* pilgrimage practice is not attempted on this map. As will be illustrated below regarding the Saptapurīyātrā, references to other processions must be inferred from the names mentioned. The dominant visual impression created by the "word picture" *Kāśīdarpaṇa*, is a circular shaped space, bisected by the Gaṅgā and dotted with an infinite number of sacred places.

The protective shield mentioned above is linked to each of the eight directions. We find a pattern in which each of the eight cardinal directions consists of twelve Śaktis, one Durgā, one Bhairava and three Vetālas. Textual references in chapter 72 of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* for all of these gods, goddesses and demons. In this chapter a veritable army consisting of 96 Śaktis (72.3–14)[86], 8 Durgās (72.90–91), 8 Bhairavas (72.93) and 64 Vetālas (72.97–100) is displayed in a spatial pattern which starts in the east and ends in the northeast. The mythological context is a fight between the goddess Umā and the male demon, Durga. The Śaktis, which number 90 million altogether though only 96 are named here, are birthed from the limbs of Umā in order to fight against the demon. The protective function of these divine beings is underlined in the following passage:

> *trailokyavijayādyāś ca jvālāmukhyantagāś ca yāḥ*
> *śaktayo 'tra mayā khyātā mune kalaśasambhava*
> *tāḥ kāśīṃ parirakṣanti caturdikṣūdyatāyudhāḥ*

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86 See below for the splitting of the compounds of this passage and the question of the numbering of the Śaktis.

tāḥ samarcyāḥ prayatnena mahāvighnapraśāntaye
bhairavā rurumukhyāś ca mahābhayanivārakāḥ
sampūjyāḥ sarvadā kāśyāṃ sarvasampattihetavaḥ
vidyujjihvaprabhṛtayo vetālā ugrarūpiṇaḥ
atyugrān api vighnaughān hariṣyanty arcitā iha. Kāśīkhaṇḍa 72.101–104.

The Śaktis, Potborn Sage, that I have mentioned here beginning with Trailokya-vijayā and ending with Jvālāmukhī protect Kāśī in the four directions with raised weapons. To extinguish all great obstacles they should be worshipped with special effort.
The Bhairavas, headed by Ruru, are sending off great fear. They are the cause of all prosperity [and] should always be adored in Kāśī.
The Vetālas beginning with Vidyujjihva have a fierceful form. On being wor-shipped here [in Kāśī], they will even remove a huge number of fierceful ob-stacles.

This spatial text has been transformed on Sukula's map into a cartographic representation of sacred space. The close interrelation between text and carto-graphic visualization is characteristic in mapping the sacred space of Banaras. This is the case with Sukula's map, as well, but in a specific form. As will be illustrated, Sukula does not quote spatial texts with references and verse numbers. Instead, he "echoes" the wording of these sources without providing an exact rendering of the original passages. In the case of the protective shield, for example, he relies on the lists given in chapter 72 of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* without actually quoting them. To cite just one example concerning the legends of one of the 96 Śaktis I will give the entry of the Śakti Mayūravadanā, the last of the 12 Śaktis, situated in the outer circle of the map in the Southwest (S12):

mayūravadanā 12 / iti dvādaśanirṛtidikśaktayaḥ / atha paścimā dikśaktayaḥ
Mayūravadanā 12. These are the 12 Śaktis of the southwestern direction. Now [follow] the Śaktis in the western direction.[87]

This legend is inscribed beneath a small temple adjacent to a series of eleven temples that bear the names of the other eleven Śaktis linked to the southwestern direction. A new series of Śaktis in the western section is mentioned, and begins with the Śakti Kākī (S17) as the first of the following twelve Śaktis in the west. The names of the remaining entities in the west, Vetāla, Bhairava and Durgā (S15), are shown below an empty shrine:

gartanetra 1 / krodhanabhairava 5 / gajāsyā durgā 5

The Krodhanabhairava and Gajāsyā Durgā are the fifth of their respective group because their enumeration has started in the East with number one and has reached

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87 All the names of the Śaktis mentioned in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* are found on Sukula's map with, the exception of Trijaganmātā, the sixth Śakti in the East.

number four in the Southwest.[88] The Vetāla Gartanetra is assigned the number one because he is the first of the eight Vetālas in the west. The name of the second Vetāla in the west is inscribed as Mahānetra, below a shrine with *liṅga* (S16). The next shrine has the following inscription:

> *tuchanetraḥ 3 anuktanāmānaḥ paṃca ity aṣṭavetālāḥ paścimādikrakṣakāḥ.*
> Tuchanetra [Vetāla no.] 3, five [of their] names are not listed. These eight Vetālas are the protectors of the western direction.

This legend illustrates the rendering for all the Vetālas in the eight directions. Only the first three are named and the following five remain unmentioned.[89]

The 96 Śaktis in *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* Chapter 72

With regard to the outer circle of the *Kāśīdarpaṇa*, the spatial text of *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* chapter 72 is literally inscribed on the map. In the case of the 96 Śaktis, this leads to a visualization of the textual source which splits the list of names in a way that is not obvious when reading the long enumeration of the Śaktis' names in the textual source. But the spatial structure on the map clearly indicates that the outer circular area consists of eight groups of twelve Śaktis distributed in the eight cardinal directions. It is only by reading the text with the help of the map that this structure becomes evident. This is at least indicated by the fact that in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* edition of 1996 (p. 479–480) neither in the Sanskrit text nor in the Hindi commentary *Nārāyaṇī* the sequence and structure of 96 names is taken into account; the given names of Śaktis are not listed according to a sequence of eight groups with twelve Śaktis each. It is therefore not surprising that the translation given by Tagare (1997: 220–221) does not structure the given list of names into a sequence of 96 Śaktis. The case of the 96 Śaktis on Sukula's map can be understood as an example of an interpretation of the textual source according to the spatial structure underlying the cartographic representation of this text.

In order to illustrate this I will give in the following table the names and the sequence of Śaktis as given on Sukula's map. The numbers given on the map are included together with the names, inconsistencies are marked by brackets. To this table is added the text of *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* chapter 72.1–13. Inserted are the suggested numbers and the splitting of compounds and *sandhis* where necessary.

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88 See *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 72.90 (Durgā) and 93 (Bhairava) for the textual reference.
89 See *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 72.98 for the list of the named Vetālas.

East	Southeast	South	Southwest
Trailokyavijayā 1	Jayā 1	Vidyujjihvā 1	Buddhi 1
Tārā 2	Jayantī 2	Śivā 2	Svadhā 2
Kṣamī 3	Vijayā 3	Ravā 3	Svāhā 3
Trailokyasundarī 4	Jalāśī	Trinetrā 4	Mahā 4
Tripurā 5	Aparājitā 5	Trivaktrā 5	Nidrā 5
[Trijaganmātā]	Śaṃkhinī 6	Tripadā 6	Śavāsanā 6
Bhīmā 7	Gajavaktrā 7	Sarvamaṅgalā 7	[Pāśapāṇi]
Tripurabhairavī 8	Mahiṣaghnī 8	Huṅkāraheti 8	Kharamukhā 8
Kāmākhyā 9	Raṇapriyā 9	Tāleśī 9	Vajrā 9
Kamalākṣī 10	Śubhā 10	Sarpāsyā 10	Tārā 10
Dhṛti 11	Ānandā 15 (sic)	Sarvasundarī	Taḍānanā 11
Tripuratāpanī 12	Koṭarākṣī 12	11 Siddhi 12	Mayūravadanā 12

West	Northwest	North	Northeast
Kākī 1	Svārātmikā 1	Rakṣoghnī 1	Siddhikarī 1
Śukā 2	Trivargā 2	Daityatāpinī 2	Chinnamastā 2
Bhāsī 3	Garvarahitā 3	Stambhinī 3	Śubhānanā 3
Garutmatī 4	Ajayā 4	Mohinī 4	Śākambharī 4
Padmāvatī 5	Jayahāriṇī 5	Māyā 5	Mokṣalakṣmī 5
Padmakeśī 6	Jayasiddhi 6	Bahunāmā 6	Trivargaphaladāyinī 6
Padmāsyā 7	Tapaḥsiddhi 7	Bālā 7	Vātālī 7
Padmavāsinī 6 (sic)	Yogasiddhi 8	Utkaṭā 8	Jṛmbhalī 8
Akṣarā 9	Parā 9	Uccāṭinī 9	Klinnā 9
Tryakṣarā 10	Amṛtā 10	Maholkā 10	Aśvārūḍhā 10
Tanvī 11	Maitrīkṛtā 11	Śaṃkarī 11	Sureśvarī 11
Praṇaveśī 12	Mitranetrā 12	Kṣemakarī 12	Jvālāmukhī 12

The following interpretation of the text is problematic in only one instance, as the splitting of the compound *vajratārā* in verse 7 into the names of the Śaktis 45 *vajrā* and 46 *tārā* is necessary, in order to be aligned with our inferred structure. Metrically, however, the reading *vajrātārā* is unproblematic. The splitting of other compounds is possible due to the vowel *sandhi*. I have indicated this possible splitting and the counting of the Śaktis in the following verses:

> *agastya uvāca*
> *pārvatihṛdayānanda skanda sarvajñanandana*
> *kāḥ kās tu śaktayas tā vai tāsāṃ nāmāni me vada / 1*
>
> *skanda uvāca*
> *tāsāṃ paramśaktīnām umāvayavasambhavām*
> *ākhyāmy ākhyāṃ śṛṇu mune kumbhasambhava tattvataḥ / 2*
> *trailokyavijayā (1) tārā (2) kṣamā (3) trailokyasundarī (4)*
> *tripurā (5) trijaganmātā (6) bhīmā (7) tripurabhairavī (8) / 3*
> *kāmākhyā (9) kamalākṣī (10) ca dhṛtis (11) tripuratāpanī (12)*
> *jayā (13) jayantī (14) vijayā (15) jaleśī (16) ca- -aparājitā (17) /4*

śaṃkhinī (18) gajavaktrā (19) ca mahiṣaghnī (20) raṇapriyā (21)
śubhā-(22)-ānandā (23) koṭarākṣī (24) vidyujjihvā (25) śivā (26) ravā (27) / 5
trinetrā (28) ca trivaktrā (29) tripadā (30) sarvamaṅgalā (31)
huṅkārahetis (32) tāleśī (33) sarpāsyā (34) sarvasundarī (35) / 6
siddhir (36) buddhiḥ (37) svadhā (38) svāhā (39) mahā (40) nidrā (41) śarāsanā (42)
pāśapāṇiḥ (43) kharamukhī (44) vajrā (45) tārā (46) ṣaḍānanā (47) / 7
mayūravadanā (48) kākī (49) śukī (50) māsī (51) garutmatī (52)
padmāvatī (53) padmakeśī (54) padmāsyā (55) padmavāsinī (56) / 8
akṣarā (57) tryakṣarā (58) tantuḥ (59) praṇaveśī (60) svarātmikā (61)
trivargā (62) garvarahitā (63) ajapā (64) japahāriṇī (65) / 9
japasiddhis (66) tapaḥsiddhir (67) yogasiddhiḥ (68) parā- (69) -amṛtā (70)
maitrīkṛn (71) mitranetrā (72) ca rakṣoghnī (73) daityatāpanī (74) / 10
stambhanī (75) mohanī (76) māyā (77) bahumāyā (78) balā- (79) -utkaṭā (80)
uccāṭanī (81) maholkāsyā (82) danujendrakṣayaṅkarī (83) / 11
kṣemaṅkarī (84) siddhikarī (85) chinnamastā (86) śubhānanā (87)
śākambharī (88) mokṣalakṣmīs (89) trivargaphaladāyinī (90) / 12
vārtālī (91) jambhalī (92) klinnā (93) aśvārūḍhā (94) sureśvarī (95)
jvālāmukhī (96) prabhṛtayo navakoṭyo mahābalāḥ / 13.

It is difficult to prove that these verses were originally intended to enumerate 96 Śaktis in a sequence from east to northeast. In the context of this passage it is only stated that the naming of the first of the 90 million Śaktis is intended. But why should the enumeration of the first names of these 90 million Śaktis stop somewhere short of the number 96? What can be stated with certainty is the fact that in 1876 Kailāsanātha Sukula interpreted this list as a sequence of Śaktis grouped into a spatial structure of eight groups of twelve Śaktis. The modern editors as well as the translator of the text obviously were not aware of this possible interpretation, but I suggest that the rendering in Sukula's *Kāśīdarpaṇa* is worthy of consideration.

Water Places along the River

The principle elucidated above also holds true for the numerous fords and bathing places (*ghāṭs*) shown along the river front. The enumeration relies largely on two passages in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*. In chapter 83 the *tīrthas* are listed in a sequence from south to north up to the Bhagīrathī and Vīra Tīrtha (60–112), and in chapter 84 the enumeration begins in the north and moves up to the Bhagīrathī Tīrtha (2–105).

   More than 120 different names of water places and fords are inscribed along the river front on the river Gaṅgā. The terms used by Sukula are *ghāṭa*, *tīrtha*, *hrada*, *srotas* and *sravā*. Most of the mentioned spots and places can be found in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* where, in chapter 83.60–112, a sequence of the *tīrthas* are described moving from the confluence of the rivers Asī and Gaṅgā to the north up to the Bhagīrathī and Vīra Tīrtha. In chapter 84.2–105 the enumeration of the *tīrthas*

begins in the north at the confluence of Varuṇā and Gaṅgā, and moves upriver to the *tīrthas* south of Maṇikarṇikā; ending with the Bhagīrathī Tīrtha.

The Textual Content of the Map

There are several examples of what I refer to as an "echoing" of scriptural sources. The texts are not quoted literally. Instead, they are given in various forms. One example of similar, but not exact, wording is the entry for the Puṣkaratīrtha (S426):

> *puṣkaratīrthaṃ puṣkarāt āyāgaṃdheśaḥ*
> Āyāgandheśa [has come] from Puṣkara [to the] Puṣkaratīrtha.

This entry corresponds to *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 69.20–21 although the wording is not the same:

> *ayogandheśvaraṃ liṅgaṃ puṣkarāt tīrthasattamāt*
> *āvirāsīd iha mahatpuṣkareṇa sahaiva tu.*
> The *liṅga* Ayogandheśvara has manifested itself here [coming] together with the great Puṣkara from the best *tīrtha*, Puṣkara.

A similar case is found concerning the Haṃsatīrtha (S447), situated near the Kṛtti-vāseśvara temple:

> *haṃsatīrthaṃ paritaḥ / kātyāyaneśādi / cyavaneśāṃtāni / liṃgāni dviśaro- / ktāḥ 800*
> Around Haṃsatīrtha are said [to be] two hundred [read *dviśata*] *liṅgas*, starting with Kātyāyaneśa and ending with Cyavaneśa, 800.

These words are linked to the verses in *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 68.65–66:

> *haṃsatīrthasya parito liṅgānām ayutaṃ mune*
> *pratiṣṭhitaṃ munivarair atrāsti dviśatottaram*
> *ekaikaṃ siddhidaṃ nṝṇām avimuktanivāsinām*
> *liṅgaṃ kātyāyaneśādi cyavaneśāntam eva hi.*
> Here, O sage, around Haṃsatīrtha are ten thousand and two hundred *liṅgas* installed by the best sages. Each of these *liṅgas*, starting with Kātyāyaneśa and ending with Cyavaneśa, grants supernatural powers to the residents of Avimukta.

In many cases the syntactical relations of the words are lost and the use of case-endings is only intelligible by way of identification of the corresponding verses of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*. This is the case for Nairṭyeśa (S605):

> *ayam eva laṃkāpuryāḥ rā- / ghavāt / nairṭyeśaḥ / maruteśaḥ paulastyeśaḥ / nāradeśaḥ hariścaṃdreśaḥ / abhayadavināyaka / catuḥṣaṣṭisarasvatī*

The reason for the ablatives *laṃkāpuryāḥ* and *rāghavāt* can be deduced by looking at the following verses of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (69.159–160):

> *laṅkāpuryāḥ samāgacchan marukeśvarasaṃjñakam*
> *liṅgaṃ yad arcanāt pūṃsāṃ na bhayaṃ rakṣasāṃ bhavet.*
> *nairṛtyāṃ diśi tal liṅgaṃ nairṛteśvarasaṃjñakam*
> *paulastyarāghavāt paścāt pūjitaṃ sarvaduṣṭahṛt.*

[The *liṅga*] called Marukeśvara has come from the city of Laṅkā. Through the worship of this *liṅga* men have no fear of Rakṣasas.

The *liṅga* in the south-western direction is called Nairṛteśvara. Worshipped after Paulastyarāghava, it removes all evil.

A final, simple example may help illustrate Sukula's habit of providing map legends that are only indirectly linked to the corresponding textual sources. The short entry Kukkuṭeśa (S305) reads as follows:

> *kukkuṭeśa saumya- / sthānāt*

The corresponding passage of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (69.75cd) gives the following text:

> *saumyasthānād ihāyāto bhagavān kukkuṭeśvaraḥ.*

In each of the above examples, Sukula refrained from providing references for the legend in question. The search for references for the texts utilized by Sukula is therefore limited to the information found adjacent to the title of the map (see above). One instance where Sukula directly refers to his textual source is found in an enumeration of a group beginning with Vīrabhadra (S314). In this case the reason is that he mentions two slightly differing enumerations of this group said to be situated at the river Asī, the very place where they are named on Sukula's map. The text inscribed on the map reads:

> *vīrabhadra 1 nala 2 kardamāliḥptavigra- / haḥ ghaṃṭākarṇa 4 dīrghākṣa 5 skāṃdo- / -ktāḥ 1 vīra- / bhadra nabhaḥ 2 ka- / rdamāli 3 sthūlakaraṇa vā- / rāṇasīrakṣakāḥ kāśī- / khaṃdoktāḥ*
> Vīrabhadra (1), Nala (2), Kardamāliptavigraha, Ghaṇṭākarṇā (4), Dīrghākṣa (5) are mentioned in the *Skanda-[Purāṇa]*. Vīrabhadra (1), Nabha (2), Kardamāli (3), Sthūlakarṇa are mentioned as the guardians of Vārāṇasī in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*.

Chapter 74 of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (50–57) enumerates the "Great Retinue" (*mahā-pāriṣada*) of Śiva. Commencing in the east, these protectors of the *kāśīkṣetra* are Aṭṭahāsa, Bhūtadhātrīśa, Gokarṇa and Ghaṇṭākarṇa. Situated in the respective intermediate directions are Chāgavaktra, Bhīṣaṇa, Śaṅkukarṇa and Dṛmicaṇḍa. The Gaṇas situated in the east of the Gaṅgā are Kālākṣa, Raṇabhadra, Kauleya and Kālakampana. Finally, verse 55 indicates the names found on Sukula's map:

> *vīrabhadro nabhaś caiva kardamāliptavigrahaḥ*
> *sthūlakarṇo mahābāhur asipāre vyavasthitāḥ.*
> Vīrabhadra, Nabha, Kardamāliptavigraha, Sthūlakarṇa and Mahābāhu[90] are situated at the opposite side of the [river] Asi.

The above examples indicate the oblique manner in which Sukula utilized textual sources. A literal direct quotation of these sources could not be found in any case.

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90 It is possible that the verse refers to only four names and one should translate with Tagare "Sthūlakarṇa of powerful arms" (p. 249). The Hindi commentary *Nārāyaṇī* has "*sthūlakarṇa aur mahābāhu*" .

Instead, the corresponding textual sources have to be tracked down in indices in a rather labourious effort. Several possibilities come to mind that might explain this relation of textual source and legends on the map. The "echoing" of verses concerning the sacred space of Banaras might reflect the usage of secondary compilations of quotations concerning the sacred geography of Banaras. Non-Sanskritists might also have been involved in the process of the production of the printed map–which could account for the peculiar mixture of the usage of Sanskrit and Hindi on the map. In contrast to the map *Pilgrims in Banaras*, the literal rendering of *ślokas* of the spatial texts was not intended. The legends are focussed on the enumeration of the names of gods and places. In one specific case–the enumeration beginning with Aruṇāditya in S513–is an extremely long list of names that are given in the nominative singular. In between, some ablative or locative forms are given, but no verbal forms were been used:

> *aruṇāditya pārvatīśaḥ mahādevasamīpeḥ rudrakoṭitīrthāt mahāyogīśaḥ pārvatīśa-samīpe atra rudrasthalīsaṃjñā / dadhīśaḥ goprekṣeśaḥ vijvareśaḥ vedeśaḥ catur-vedeśaḥ yajñeśaḥ purāṇeśaḥ dharmaśāstreśaḥ maṃdarīśaḥ picaṃdilavināyakaḥ prahlādeśaḥ svalīneśaḥ goḥpū. / hiraṇyakaśipor liṃgaṃ hiraṇyakūpaś ca siddhivi-nāyakaviśvasthānāt vimaleśaḥ svarlīnāt paścime vairocaneśaḥ vekuṃṭhamādhavaḥ sahivāsuratīrthaṃ / bāratīrthaṃ balīśaḥ balīkeśavaḥ balipūrveḥ valivāmānaḥ vṛṣabhadhvajād vṛṣeśaḥ bāṇeśasamīpeḥ śaṃkhamādhavaḥ śeṣamādhavaḥ lakṣmī-nṛsiṃha varada-/ vināyakaḥ gopigoviṃdapratīcyāṃ nārāyaṇī vidāranṛsiṃha vā-rāhā yajñavārāhī śivadūtī atraiva yajñavārāhapaścime hayagrīvaḥ nārāy-/ aṇaḥ bāmanakeśavaḥ bhadrakeśavaḥ dattātreyeśaḥ dakṣiṇe ādigavādharī ādityakeśaḥ praṇavavināyakaḥ prahlādakeśavaḥ nāradakeśavaḥ tārkṣa-/ eśavaḥ jñānakeśavaḥ kharvavināyakaḥ bhairavāt saṃhārabhairavaḥ*

It was possible to trace most of the above-given names utilizing the electronic index of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*. Unfortunately, it didn't clarify the meaning of this passage, which is based on one textual source that enumerates the given names in a similar sequence.[91] The quoted text block begins with seven long lines in a section of the map that is roughly situated between the Trilocaneśvara temple (S507) and the Prahlādaghāṭ (S508), with the last line found just above the Ādikeśava temple (S509). The ends of the lines are situated in the area of Modakavināyaka (S512) and Kharvavināyaka (S496). The three temples and two tanks placed between the seven lines of this inscription are not linked to any of the given names. A direct link between the mentioned place names and specific places on the map is therefore difficult to establish. The text block illustrates the impressive number of sacred places, and has by way of this extensive enumeration become part of the "word picture" *Kāśīdarpaṇa*. It is likely that few have actually read these lines, and attempted to trace their textual roots.

   Not all inscriptions given on the map are found in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*. At the Dehalīvināyaka temple, the western entrance to the city and halting place of the

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91 For references see the list given in the popup-window S513.

Pañcakrośīyātrā, all the sixteen names of the Ṣoḍaśavināyaka that are represented as a set of sixteen small icons on the back of the Dehalīvināyaka are enumerated. The names are inscribed together with their respective number to the left and right of an image of the Dehalīvināyaka temple:[92]
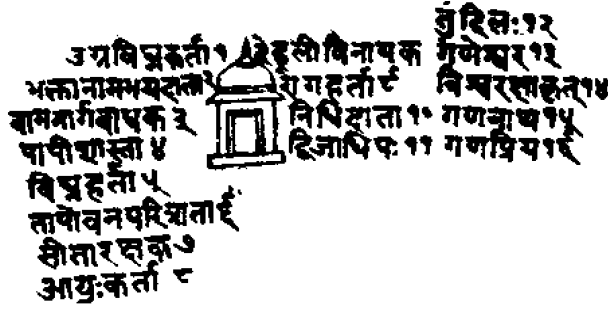

Fig. 30: The Dehalīvināyaka temple (S376) with the names of the Ṣoḍaśavināyakas (S377).

> *ugravighnakartā 1/ bhaktānām abhayadātā 2/ vāmamārgabādhaka 3/ pāpīśāstā 4/ vighnahartā 5/ tāpovanaparitrātā 6/ sītārakṣaka 7/ āyuḥkartā 8/ rogahartā 9/ nidhidātā 10/ dvijādhipaḥ 11/ tuṃdilaḥ 12/ gaṇeśvara 13/ viśvarakṣākṛt 14/ gaṇanātha 15/ gaṇapriya 16*

Neither the name Ṣoḍaśavināyaka, nor the list of the sixteen Vināyakas is found in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*. The description of the Pañcakrośīyātrā in chapter 10 of the *Kāśīrahasya* includes the name Ṣoḍaśavināyaka without listing the sixteen names.[93] The names of these Vināyakas are, however, included in the description of the Pañcakrośīyātrā in the manuscript *Pañcakrośīvidhāna* (p. 7)[94]. The names of the Ṣoḍaśavināyakas do, indeed, form part of the spatial knowledge of pilgrimage practice. This is confirmed through secondary sources on the Pañcakrośīyātrā: the *Kāśīdhyānamālā* by Gaurī Śaṃkar Dīkṣita, which gives small images of the sixteen Gaṇeśas ([2]1929: 41). The sixteen names can also be found in the description of the Pañcakrośīyātrā by Herbert (1957: 27). Whereas both the *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī*

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92 See pop-up S377 for an image with a back view of the Dehalīvināyaka temple.

93 *tato gacched dehalīśam vighnapūganivāraṇam / modakaiḥ pṛthukair lājais saktubhiś cekṣu-parvabhiḥ / pūjayec chraddhayā devan tan dehalīvināyakam / tatpārśve ṣoḍaśa punar vighnanāthān samarcayet. Kāśīrahasya* 10.44–45.

94 *dehalīśapārśvagataṣoḍaśavighnapān saṃpūjya / ugravighnakartre namaḥ / bhaktānām abhayadātre namaḥ / vāmamārgaprabādhakāya namaḥ / pāpīśāstre namaḥ / vighnaharte namaḥ / tapovanaparitrātre namaḥ / sītārakṣakāya./ āyuṣkartre namaḥ / rogahartre namaḥ / nidhidātre namaḥ / dvijādhipāya./ tuṃdilāya./ gaṇeśvarāya./ viśvarakṣākṛte namaḥ / gaṇa-nāthāya./ gaṇapriyāya./ iti ṣoḍaśanāmāni. Pañcakrośīvidhāna* folio 3r.

and the map *Pilgrims in Banaras*[95] depict an image of the sixteen small shrines with the Gaṇeśa icons in the upper western section of these pictorial maps, Sukula in his text-oriented map merely gives a list of names without any pictorial representation. This is yet another example underlining the textual focus of Sukula's map.

The *Kāśīdarpaṇa* and the Depiction of Processions

I have already pointed out that Sukula, with the exception of the Pañcakrośīyātrā, does not refer directly to processions. Neither processional roads nor pilgrims are visible on the map. The given names and clusters of places are, however, linked to pilgrimage practice as will be shown concerning the Saptapurīyātrā; the processions to the seven cities Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Dvārkā, Kāñcī, Avanti, Māyāpurī (Haridvār), and Kāśī. In order to illustrate the way the map represents these places I will list 5 references for this procession found on the map. As the procession itself is not mentioned, it is only via the location of the legends and the spatial pattern indicated by the names of neighbouring shrines and temples that one can deduce that the legend referring to the respective city can be linked to the performance of the Saptapurīyātrā. The Saptapurīyātrā itself consists of 7 different processions that are to be performed separately in various sections of Banaras. Their respective spatial centre consists of a place that represents one of the seven cities.[96]

The entry Māyāpurī (S319) refers to one of the processions of the Saptapurīyātrā. This pilgrimage to Māyāpurī is performed in the area of Asī (*asī-sambhedakoṇe*) and thus includes many places shown by Sukula on this section of the map. The names of the *liṅgas* Bāṇeśa, Mayūreśa, Kuṇḍodareśa (*Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 53.78–90) are mentioned together with the city Māyāpurī. The pilgrimage to Avantikāpurī (S480) is performed around the area of the temple of Vṛddhakāleśvara and the Vṛddhakālakūpa and likewise includes many places depicted by Sukula on this section of the map. The pilgrimage to Viṣṇukāñcī (S518) is performed in the area of Bindumādhava (*bindumādhavapārśva*) and includes many places indicated by Sukula on this section of the map. Among others, one finds Durgādevī, Dhūtapāpeśaḥ, Bindumādhava, Viṣṇukāñci, Kiraṇyeśa, Makheśa, Someśa and Kālavināyaka. The pilgrimage to Kāśī (S630) is a pilgrimage within Kāśī that starts at the Lalitāghāṭa with the Kāśīpurītīrtha, and moves on to the Kāśīdevī, Lalitādevī, and Gaṅgākeśava. The places Gaṅgākeśava, Kāśī, Lalitā, and Hiraṇyākeśa are given by Sukula on this section of the map. The pilgrimage to Ayodhyā (S389) is performed in the area of Rāmeśvara in the village Karaun. The names Lakṣmaṇa, Sītārāmacandra and Ayodhyāpurī are given to the right of the temple of Rāmeśvara.

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95 See the references to the Ṣoḍaśavināyakas on the two pictorial maps in chapter 4.1 "Legend to the outer circle" (no. 143) and chapter 4.2 "Dehalīvināyaka and the road to Rāmeśvara" (Fig. 22.3, no. 3).

96 See Kedarnāth Vyās (1987: 166–173) for a description and list of the Saptapurīyātrā based on *Kāśīrahasya* chapter 13.

Visualizing Sacred Spaces

The *Kāśīdarpaṇa* generally depicts sacred places, shrines and temples by standardized small shrines or round and rectangular water places. The small temples are depicted with a pedestal and slightly varying roofs. Their inner space contains either a small pillar, signifying a *liṅga,* or is left void. No icons are shown in any of the temples. Of course, in contrast to the above-described pictorial maps; many temples and places are represented only with words, not symbols. In the following section I will detail some aspects of specific representations of places that do not represent the standardized symbolic representation one normally finds on Sukula's map.
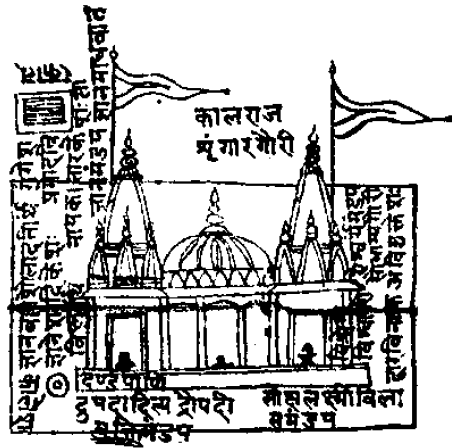

Fig. 31: The Viśvanātha temple cluster with the well Jñānavāpī in the west

The Viśvanātha temple compound is depicted as the largest temple structure on the map. It consists of a temple building which contains one *liṅga* on the left and right side.[97] Even though it is the main temple of the sacred field, Sukula has refrained from emphasizing the importance of this place by giving it a size that would dominate the map. The *śikhāras* of the temples on the left and right are flagged. The hall in the middle of the temple has a cupola and measures roughly double the size in ground surface. The inscriptions are not linked directly to the temple. On the right the names of the two *liṅgas* Viśveśvara and Avimukteśa are given. Jñāneśa and Nandikeśa are inscribed on the left, together with the round well, Jñānavāpī. On the upper left the names of the two *liṅgas* Gaṅgeśa and Tārakeśa are inscribed. Above the central temple the name Kālarāja is given. It is not, therefore, obvious who the three depicted *liṅgas* represent. The third *liṅga* should be one of the five

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97 The Viśveśvara temple cluster is displayed as "Ausschnitt-4" on the *Mirror of Kāśī*. The whole temple area includes pop-up windows S650–S655.

gods mentioned above. Four pavilions are depicted: the Mokṣalakṣmīvilāsa-
maṇḍapa and the Muktimaṇḍapa below the platform of the three temples, the
Jñānamaṇḍapa to the left, and the Aiśvaryamaṇḍapa to the right. In addition the
names of the Vināyakas Dvāravināyaka, Pramodavināyaka and Daṇḍapāṇi are
given. The three Gaurīs Viśvāgaurī, Saubhāgyagaurī and Śṛṅgāragaurī are also
named in this area of the Viśvanātha temple cluster. Unlike the two pictorial maps
Stylised map of Vārāṇasī and *Pilgrims in Banaras* Sukula's map lacks the orien-
tation of the pavilions and Vināyakas in the cardinal directions which reflect the
spatial structure of the Antargṛhayātrā.[98]

Fig. 32: The Madhyameśvara temple.

The centre of the circular *kāśīkṣetra*, the temple of Madhyameśvara (S679), is
assigned no special importance, regarding either its size or position. The small
temple is represented as just one of many other temples shown on the map. No
specific features were added by Sukula in order to highlight Madhyameśvara's
position based on the sacred notion of centrality. The *Kāśīdarpaṇa* rather seems to
stress the position in space in relation to nearby places, such as the Mandākinītīrtha
(S683), and the Town Hall (S684) and depicts the actual size and importance of the
temple.

Fig. 33: Bhīmacaṇḍī with the Gandharvasāgara (S5, 6).

Linked to Madhyameśvara is the geometrical construction of the Pañcakrośīyātrā.
As previously discussed, the distance between Madhyameśvara and Dehalī-
vināyaka, as well as the position of the two temples Bhīmacaṇḍī, and Dehalīvi-

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98 See the chapters 4.1 and 4.2 for a description of these inner sections of the map.

nāyaka, along the ideal circular line of the Pañcakrośīyātrā was of great sig-
nificance regarding the nineteenth-century debate on the correct path of the Pañca-
krośīyātrā. The fact that the Bhīmacaṇḍī temple and the Gandharvasāgara are
placed outside the limits of the *kāśīkṣetra*, as marked by the double circular line
that represents the small and large Pañcakrośīyātrā, is at least noteworthy. All other
temples and shrines shown outside this area are linked to the protective shield of
Śaktis, Vetālas, Bhairavas and Durgās. This placement outside the field might have
occured by mistake or, as I would suggest, is a hint concerning Sukula's awareness
of the Pañcakrośī debate focused on the section between Bhīmacaṇḍī and
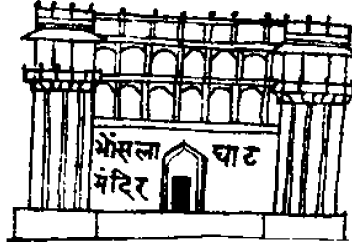Rāmeśvara.

Fig. 34: The building at Bhoṃsalā Ghāṭ (S717).

The Bhoṃsalā Ghāṭ Mandir, of importance for the dating of the map *Pilgrims in
Banaras* (see chap. 4.2), is depicted as one of the few prominent buildings and
landmarks at the riverfront. The bathing place (*ghāṭ*) is named after the King
Bhoṃsalā of Nāgpur who sponsored the construction of a temple of Lakṣmī-
Nārāyaṇa, and a palace, in 1795.[99]
    The *Aurangzeb Mosque* is another example of a prominent landmark at the
riverfront. The mosque, called simply "The Minarets" on Prinsep's map, was
erected around 1670 by order of Aurangzeb. It is important to note that on a map
that is generally classified as a Hindu religious map the mapmaker apparently felt
no need to suppress this prominent feature of Muslim faith and architecture. This is
also the case regarding the two pictorial maps, *Stylised map of Vārāṇasī* (no. 312)
and *Pilgrims in Banaras* (no. 14.52), both of which includes the mosque, as well. I
am not, however, aware of any other representations of Muslim sacred space on
either Sukula's map, or the other studied items. The image of the Aurangzeb
Mosque forms part of the panoramic view of the river-front and as such was likely
incorporated into the maps.

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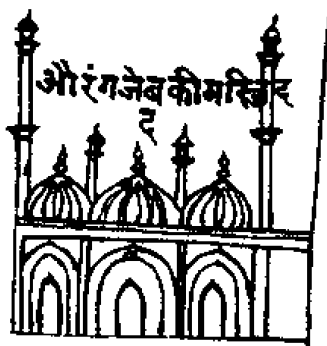99 See Śaṃkar (1996: 69) and a photo of the Ghāṭ in S717.

Fig. 35: The Aurangzeb Mosque (S715).

Mapping sacred spaces always includes a process of selection. The map, *Sapta-puṛīyātrādipatra*, which is highly selective, does not include the Aurangzeb Mosque. The Muslim sacred space of Banaras is largely neglected on the studied maps and, as a result, does not form part of the present study; although spatial practice as observed in Banaras does not distinguish clearly between Hindu and Muslim sacred spaces. The complex and sensitive interrelation would certainly merit closer study. The modern map, *The City of Banāras*, which is included in Diana Eck's book on Banaras (Eck 1982: 2), and thus has the widest circulation of all printed maps depicting Banaras; includes more than fifty sacred Hindu places, but not a single entry of Muslim sacred space. This provides yet another example of the selective character of cartography and the necessity to reflect on this process of selection.[100]
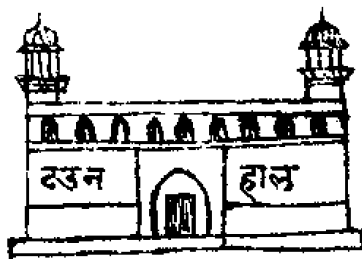

Fig. 36: The Town Hall inaugurated in 1876 (S684).

The *Town Hall*, or Alfred Hall, commemorates a visit by Prince Alfred to Banaras in 1870. Construction of the hall was commenced in January 1873, completed in

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100 See also Gengnagel (2000: 225) on the process of selection.

December 1875, and opened by the Prince of Wales in January 1876; the same year Kailāsanātha Sukula's map was printed. The Town Hall is therefore the newest building shown, and its incorporation is one of the few examples of a secular, newly constructed building on the map. This is an important example of fluidity regarding the seemingly clear-cut distinction between the representation of sacred and secular space. Modern buildings which are part of the infrastructure of Banaras are not totally excluded from the depiction of the "sacred" topography of Banaras. While this feature is found in selected cases on maps from the nineteenth century, the inclusion of infrastructure and "everyday" life becomes more prominent on maps from the 20th century.[101] A strict distinction between "everyday" topography ("Alltagstopographie") and religious or sacred topography ("Sakraltopographie") as suggested by Hauser-Schäublin (2003), is problematic and was obviously not intended in most of the studied examples of the religious cartography of Banaras.[102]

Fig. 37: The Mandākinī as part of a fenced structure of public space (S683).

Another example of the incorporation of elements of "profane" everyday culture is the image of Mandākinītīrtha.[103] The conversion of the Godauliā rivulet and the Matsyodarī and Mandākinī lakes occurred in the latter half of the 1820s. The two lakes, once of substantial size, were drained and reduced in size.[104] Prinsep's map of 1822 still shows Mandākinī of considerable size, with its famous tame turtles. Matsyodarī is also shown as a big lake linked to some smaller ponds. The topographical map of 1867 (see Appendix 1, no. 42) depicts both water places as rectangular. On Sukula's map Mandākinī (S383) is a rectangular tank surrounded by trees within a fenced enclosure. The lake is converted to a water place that forms part of a park for public recreation. The whole structure is comparable in

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101 See for example the *Map of Kashi* (no. 22) analyzed by Michaels (2000) that includes streets, cars, the railway, the post office, as well as a clock-tower.

102 Hauser-Schäublin has already pointed out that this distinction is "nicht unproblematisch" (not unproblematic) (2003: 47, n. 7).

103 See also the identification of the Mandākinītīrtha on the map *Pilgrims in Banaras* (Fig. 1.11, no. 15).

104 See Nair (1999: 130–134) and Eck (1982: 50).

size to the Viśvanātha temple compound and the Town Hall. The Matsyodarītīrtha (S410) is shown as a small rectangular tank.

The previous two examples show that the indigenous religious cartography of Banaras, as represented on Sukula's map, does not necessarily exclude modern "profane" buildings, nor does it suppress the representation of prominent landmarks such as the Aurangzeb Mosque. One could argue that these features are represented precisely because they are landmarks and thus necessary for the orientation of the pilgrim. But is Sukula's map really "designed to help the pilgrims find their way round the holy sites" as Jan Pieper (1979: 215) stated in his pioneering article on Sukula's map? This raises some questions, which brings us back to the first map of Banaras produced from a Western cartographic perspective, by James Prinsep, in 1822.

Detailed cartography of one of the most important processions in the central area (Plate 3.1), along with the location of its various temples, would certainly be of greater assistance to the pilgrim who wants "to find his way round the holy sites" than Sukula's perplexing array of places. In addition, one should keep in mind that making sense of the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* would necessitate a high degree of cartographical literacy. But is reading this map and orientation in space actually intended by the mapmaker? If Sukula's map is not meant for the orientation of the pilgrim what could its purpose be? Should one adopt, in contrast to the statement of Jan Pieper, the position of Benedict Anderson who states that cosmological representations of sacred space are "useless for any journey save that in search of merit and salvation" (1993: 171)? Sukula himself stated that he attempted, with this map, to enable "people of other places to see Kāśī". They are provided with a picture and souvenir of the city that depicts the basic elements of its sacred topography: a large number of sacred places as well as important landmarks drawn within an ideal circular form; not to scale but occasionally in correct relative position to each other. This accuracy with regard to spatial relations is not, however, helpful for the orientation in ordinary space. The sacred spaces of Banaras are "mirrored" in Sukula's map and are thus transformed into an imagined space. Moreover, by the usage of the word *darśana* ("seeing") Sukula alludes to the key purpose of the map and refers to a central act of Hindu worship: seeing a divine image and being seen by it.[105] Pictorial representations of sacred spaces become objects of this mutual "seeing", as documented by an Indian tradition that has produced paintings of sacred places on cloths; the so-called *tīrthapaṭas*. By looking at these "sacred hangings" one gains religious merit and there is evidence that–for those who are not able to travel–these *paṭas* are "displayed in open areas so [that] they might have darshana of the holy site" (Talwar & Krishna 1979: 83).[106] By viewing the historical and social context of 19th century Banaras through the

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105 See Eck (1981) and Michaels (2004: 230–232).

106 The remarks of Talwar & Krishna (1979: 82–84) are made in the context of Jain *paṭas* but are very fitting, indeed, in the context of Banaras' pilgrimage maps.

"word picture" created by Kailāsanātha Sukula, one observes how the mapmaker made use of newly developed print technology in order that "having *darśana*", i.e. seeing the sacred spaces of Banaras and being seen by them; was made possible for many people beyond the actual physical limits of the sacred city.