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Māhātmyas as Evolving Entities: A Text-Critical Study of a Selection of Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas Attributed to the Brahmapurāṇa

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Leiden University
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***Māhātmyas* as Evolving Entities**

A Text-Critical Study of a Selection of *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* Attributed to the *Brahmapurāṇa*

Asian Studies Research MA thesis
Olli-Pekka Antero Littunen

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1. Introduction

The religious literature of Hinduism is multifaceted – mythological literature, poetry, philosophical treatises, ritual manuals, law texts, satire, and various other types of literature are brought forth in an enormous body of texts. Among this mass of material is a genre of glorificatory literature called *Māhātmya*, which is the main focus of this research. As much of Hindu literature – including the *Māhātmyas* I will discuss – is authorless and intertextual, processes of composition and transmission are rarely easy to track down. Even after being written down, the texts show a tendency to evolve, taking on new forms through scribal transmission and deliberate alterations. This thesis is an attempt to use a selection of *Māhātmyas* to increase our understanding of how these kinds of texts come to being and how we can understand their processes of composition and transmission. Analyzing these *Māhātmyas* contributes to a debate in recent scholarship regarding issues of textual reuse, and sheds light on the concept of authorship, especially regarding the authorless religious literature of Hinduism.

To introduce the reader to the topic at hand, I will initially introduce Vārāṇasī, the city which my source texts discuss. Then, I explain the sources themselves: my main source texts, the compendium and manuscript they are contained in, and their genre. I proceed by discussing scribal transmission, other relevant texts, previous academic work related to my research, and how my approach relates to earlier work. Following this, I elaborate on the relevance of my research and state the main research question and sub-questions. Finally, I will briefly explain why a specific typological approach was necessary and discuss the structure of the thesis.

Vārāṇasī

The city of Vārāṇasī¹ is situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā (Ganges) river in Uttar Pradesh, India. Vārāṇasī is famous for its religious traditions and learning, especially related to Hinduism and Sanskrit, and is one of the most popular and important pilgrimage destinations for Hindus all over the world. The nearby site of Sārnāth, the deer park where the Buddha gave his first sermon to his disciples, makes the city important from a Buddhist point of view as well. Vārāṇasī has been ruled by multiple different kings and rulers over the ages, first as the capital of the Kāśī kingdom, and

¹ Regarding the spelling of words, I follow IAST (International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration).

The city of Vārāṇasī is also known as Kāśī, Banāras, and various other names. For clarity, I use the name Vārāṇasī when referring to the city.

It should be noted that regarding the names of places, I use diacritics following the IAST system, but do not add a final “a” vowel to words that are commonly spelled following vernacular conventions. For example: Uttar Pradesh instead of Uttara Pradeshā and Uttarakhaṇḍ instead of Uttarakhaṇḍa. For the names of individuals (and languages), I follow common vernacular spelling conventions unless these names refer to historical figures. For example: Narendra Modi instead of Narendra Modī, but Lakṣmīdhara instead of Lakshmidhara.

later under Mughal and British rule.² Mentions of the area, or specific parts of it, appear in various Sanskrit and vernacular textual works over the ages. Presently, Śīva worship³ is the “stream” of Hinduism that is most closely associated with Vārāṇasī, and the Śaivite Kāśī Viśvanātha temple housing the Viśveśvara *liṅga*⁴ is generally considered to be the most important among the thousands of temples found in the area.⁵ The city is also a popular domestic and international tourist destination, largely due to its magnificent riverfront and reputation as one of the oldest continuously inhabited places in the world – although its ancient, timeless nature is often exaggerated.⁶ To give a brief but non-comprehensive overview, the earliest settlement of Vārāṇasī was in the 8th century BCE, Buddhists came to Sārnāth in the 5th century BCE, the city emerged as a religious destination in the 3rd century CE, and subsequently consolidated its status as an important pilgrimage site through textual production, especially after the 13th century CE in a text called *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (Bakker 1996, 33-35, 43).

Main Source Texts

This research is based on three *adhyāyas* (chapters), 30-32, of a compendium of Sanskrit *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*, texts promoting the “greatness” (*māhātmya*) of Vārāṇasī.⁷ The current compendium is found within a palm-leaf manuscript likely written in Vārāṇasī, but presently located in the Kaiser Library in Kāthmāṇḍū under accession number 66 (Bisschop 2021b, 5) (see fig. 1).⁸ Because of the old Nāgarī script it was written in and the existence of comparable but more easily datable manuscripts (from 12th-century CE Vārāṇasī), we know that the manuscript is likely from between the late 12th and at the latest the early 13th century CE (ibid., 5, 19).⁹ In addition to the palm-leaf manuscripts, I have access to a later apograph.¹⁰

² The Kāśī kingdom came to being in the 5th century CE (Kulke and Rothermund 2016, 29); and later, Mughal rule lasted until 1775 when the British took over (ibid., 187).

³ Also known as “Śaivism”, which is the term I use from here onwards. For Viṣṇu worship, I use “Vaiṣṇavism”. The adjective forms of these words are “Śaivite” and “Vaiṣṇavite”.

⁴ In short, an aniconic representation of Śīva.

⁵ The Viśvanātha temple has been *the* central temple in Vārāṇasī from *circa* the second half of the 12th century CE onwards (see *Skandapurāṇa IIA*, 71-75).

⁶ See e.g. the famous quote by Mark Twain regarding Vārāṇasī: it is “older than history, older than tradition, older even than legend, and looks twice as old as all of them put together” (Twain 1897, 480).

⁷ From here onwards, I use “*adhyāya*” for the chapters of the compendium, and “chapter” for the chapters of this thesis and any other sources.

⁸ I have been able to use colour photographs of the manuscript kindly provided by Peter Bisschop. Originally microfilmed by the NGMPP (Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project) on reel C 6/3.

⁹ It should be noted here that the age of the physical manuscript does not equal the age of the texts it contains. Additionally, as the late 12th-century CE dating seems more likely than the early 13th-century CE dating, I will use the late 12th century CE as the upper limit regarding the dating of the *adhyāyas* I discuss.

¹⁰ The apograph, that is, a copy of the manuscript, is written in the Devanāgarī script. I have been able to use a digitized version of a NGMPP microfilm (reel E 766/7).

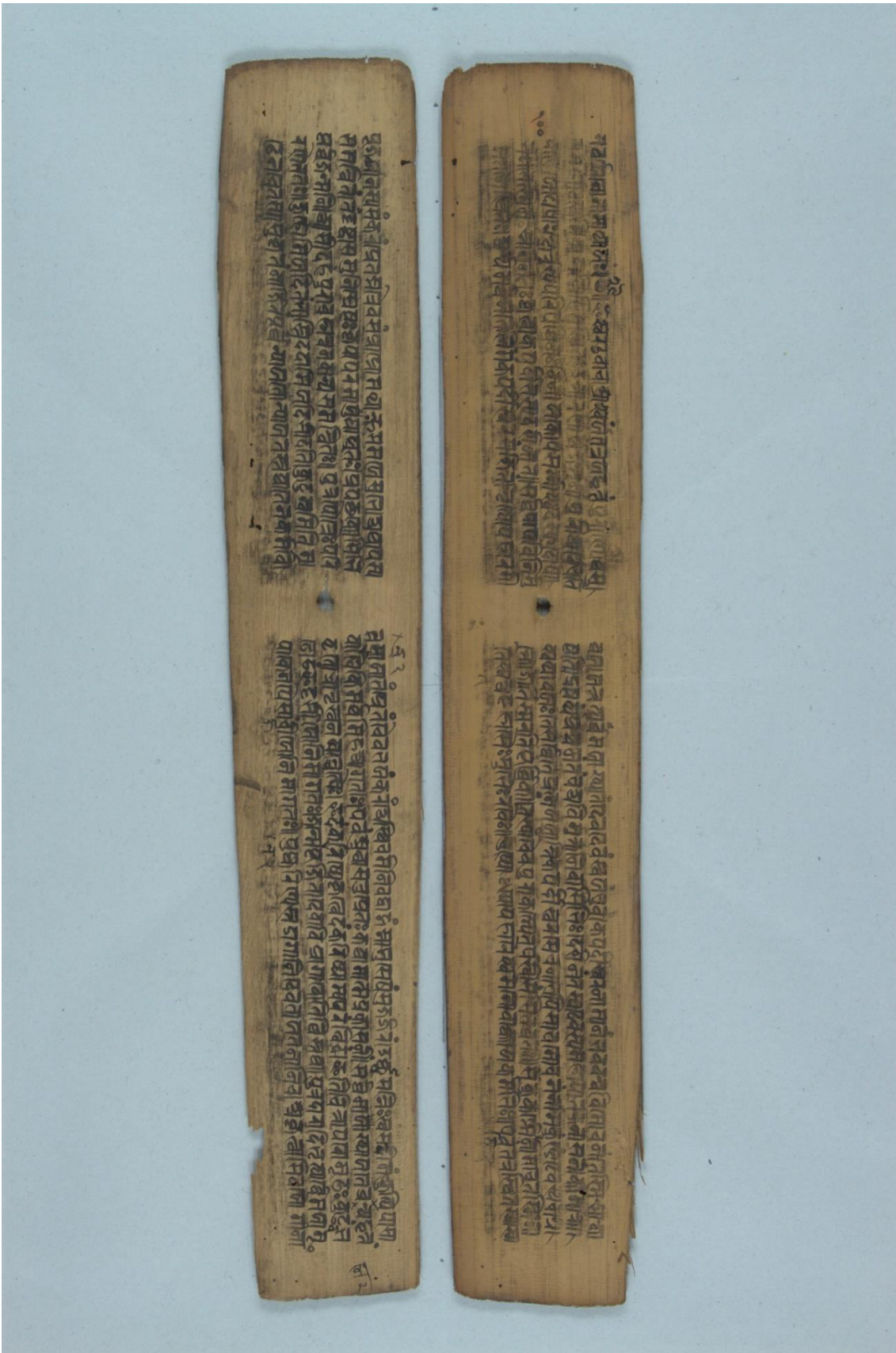


Fig. 1. Two folios of the manuscript (Kaiser Library, Kāthmāṇḍū, 66, folios 100^v-101^r). Note the illegible and smudged parts, which are unfortunately characteristic of the manuscript in general. However, these two folios are the most extreme example I have dealt with.

The manuscript can be considered to be a “multiple-text manuscript”. A multiple-text manuscript is a single codicological unit made from two or more texts or a result of “one production process delimited in time and space” (Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 15-16). There are two possible scenarios for the origin of this multiple-text manuscript. First, it is a copy of an earlier compendium – and as such, the current compendium is a result of a single production process. The evolution of the compendium over time has then involved copying the entire compendium from one manuscript to another. However, the *Māhātmyas* were already produced earlier and then added to the compendium. They were copied from older texts either to this version of the compendium or an earlier version which contained less *adhyāyas*.¹¹ Second, it is *the* compendium and not a copy; it is a “new” text made from *Māhātmyas* taken from different *Purāṇas* or other works – and as such, a single codicological unit made from multiple texts. The evolution of the compendium itself – ignoring the earlier evolution of the *Māhātmyas* – has then only involved what has happened *after* the compendium was written on these specific palm-leaves through the addition of later corrections (see fig. 2).

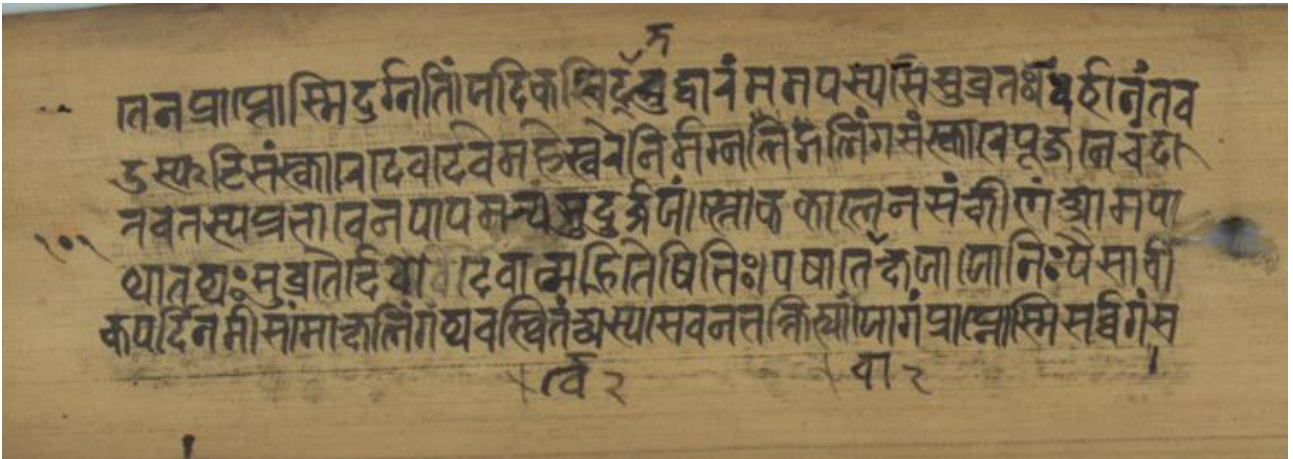


Fig. 2. A part of a folio of the manuscript, showing marginal additions, corrections made by erasing and writing over the previous text, and retraced syllables (Kaiser Library, Kāthmāṇḍū, 66, first half of folio 101^v).

The physical manuscript (the current codicological unit) contains the compendium (the current textual frame) which in itself is a selection of *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* attributed to various *Purāṇas*. The manuscript itself is merely the physical frame containing the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* compendium.

¹¹ As the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* were likely not all formerly independent texts, but were part of larger texts, the manuscript is not a “composite manuscript”, a manuscript “made up of formerly independent units” (Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 15-16). Whether or not these specific *Māhātmyas* were independent codicological units before their inclusion in their previous textual frames, is another question and would require further research.

That is, the manuscript – the palm-leaves – are not the “text” itself. The manuscript is the physical manifestation of the compendium, whereas the compendium is its own textual entity, and both the manuscript and the compendium are evolving entities. If the compendium existed in another form before being written down on these specific palm-leaves, it is possible that it has absorbed new parts – perhaps even entire *adhyāyas*. What we know for sure is that the compendium has evolved due to those corrections, additions, and alterations which are visible in the current manuscript.

A possible title for the compendium is *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyasamgraha* (Bisschop 2021b, 9). I have selected *adhyāyas* 30-32 because they are all attributed to the same text, referred to as “*Brahmapurāṇa*”, and thus form a unit of *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* within the compendium. “*Brahmapurāṇa*” is within quotation marks here, as the *Māhātmyas* do not correspond with any extant version of the *Brahmapurāṇa*, and as such, provide us with a view of Vārāṇasī that is otherwise lost. The extant *Brahmapurāṇa* is not earlier than the beginning of the 10th century CE – although some chapters might be older – and not later than 1200 CE (Hazra 1940, 155-156).

The compendium is a problematic source as it is a collection of texts supposedly quoted from various *Purāṇas* (Bisschop 2021b, 5). That is, a compiler wrote down sections from multiple texts to create the compendium. In this way, it is not a single “text”. We do not even know if the compendium was created at a single point in time or if it has gone through different versions, with scribes/compilers/authors adding and altering its texts. The irregular language of the compendium (and the sometimes poor state of the manuscript; see fig. 1) poses yet another problem as it can make it difficult to figure out what is meant. However, although problematic, the compendium is a fascinating source, offering a glimpse into the evolution of *Māhātmya* texts and irregular, under-researched registers of Sanskrit. The other *Māhātmyas* of the manuscript are also unresearched, except for research done by Mersch (2013) and Bisschop (2021b).

The three *Māhātmyas* discussed here have changed because of being a part of the compendium. They have been quoted from the text referred to as “*Brahmapurāṇa*”, “corrected” in the current manuscript, and possibly copied to new palm-leaves when the earlier ones disintegrated. Oral transmission has likely been a part of these processes. That is, in addition to the fluidity of the *Māhātmyas* themselves, the compendium is also an “evolving entity”, as mentioned before. Due to this fluidity, I have chosen to use “evolving entities” in the title of this thesis. I have borrowed this term from Friedrich and Schwarke: “the codex, *per analogiam* the book in general, is an evolving entity, an artefact with a history of its own” (Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 16).

Adhyāyas 30-32, as a “*Brahmapurāṇa*”-attributed section of the manuscript compendium, follow each other in a semi-logical procession. However, although the three *adhyāyas* are attributed to a “*Brahmapurāṇa*”, they are not necessarily from the same text. That is, even if we assume that

at the time of the creation of the compendium (or an earlier version of it), these *adhyāyas* were copied from a text which was then called *Brahmapurāṇa*, we still cannot know whether this text was a single text or if multiple texts with the same name existed. We do not even know if multiple names were used; *Brahmapurāṇa* might be a name that was given to the text after it was created. It is also possible that *adhyāyas* were added later to the compendium, and this “*Brahmapurāṇa*” section was initially shorter.

When dealing with such fluid literature, it is unclear how much a text needs to change for it to become another text. Further, should we understand a text as a singular, fixed entity at a specific point in time, or as a fluid, evolving entity consisting of various previous and current versions? I believe that in researching and editing this kind of literature, we are inevitably dealing with both. My research is an attempt to investigate a text at a specific, fixed point in time and space – a part of a “*Brahmapurāṇa*” found in a collection of *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*. This “*Brahmapurāṇa*”, then, is only a specific part of the evolution of a larger entity, consisting of all the texts named *Brahmapurāṇa*. On a wider scale, the *Brahmapurāṇa* is a complex, evolving entity made up of every text called *Brahmapurāṇa* or attributed to it – even if they are different from each other and their name is the only connecting factor between them. More specifically, the “*Brahmapurāṇa*” can be found in two parts within the compendium, since *adhyāyas* 15-19 are also attributed to a non-extant “*Brahmapurāṇa*” (Bisschop 2021b, 6). *Adhyāyas* 30-32 (and *adhyāyas* 15-19) have not been published before. Each of these *adhyāyas* can be understood to be a *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* on its own, although the *adhyāyas* can also be understood together as comprising a single *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*.

Māhātmya as a Genre of Literature

Māhātmyas are a type of glorification literature largely written in Sanskrit, but also in other languages, and are often found within the mythological literary genre of the *Purāṇas*. Both *Māhātmyas* and their common “hosts”, the *Purāṇas*, are very intertextual, reusing and adapting earlier information for their own purposes (Bisschop 2019, 166-167). The first *Purāṇas* started to be composed most likely around 0-500 CE (ibid., 166). Traditionally, there are 18 major and 18 minor *Purāṇas*, but these lists are not fixed and “the actual Purāṇic text corpus far outnumbers this canonical classification and is considerably more complex” (ibid.). Although new *Purāṇas* are not created anymore, the composition of *Māhātmyas* in vernacular languages has taken place in the present age in the form of pilgrimage pamphlets, which started to be made more widely from the end of the 19th century CE onwards due to the availability of new printing technology (Pinkney 2016, 232). These “modern” *Māhātmyas* were (and are) most widely made in those places where road and railway connections have made pilgrimage easier (ibid.). For example, as road

construction projects have created easier access to pilgrimage sites in the north Indian state of Uttarakhand, Hindi *Māhātmyas* related to pilgrimage in the area have increased in number (ibid., 230-233). Thus, the intertextual nature of *Māhātmyas* as constantly in flux can be seen even now, as improved transportation possibilities lead to the creation of new *Māhātmyas*, and current, possibly group-specific understandings of the subject matter influence the depictions.

Regarding *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* in particular, and *Māhātmyas* dealing with sacred sites in general, the texts include information related specifically to pilgrimage and temple worship in addition to narratives of a mythological nature (Mersch 2013, 7-8). This information, according to Mersch, consists of three elements: mythological stories that explain the holiness of the place, explanations of the rituals which should be performed there, and the reason for pilgrimage – that is, the rewards that can be obtained by the pilgrim (ibid.). As we will see below, the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* I discuss do not contain very detailed information about which rituals should be performed, and mainly emphasize *liṅga* worship on a general level. Mythological stories glorifying the holiness of the place and the rewards that a pilgrim can get are spoken about in more detail.

Scribal Transmission

The scribal transmission of *Purāṇas* has in many cases most likely involved oral aspects. That is, one person reciting a text, perhaps from a written document or even partly from memory, and another memorizing or writing it down. Such transmission – combined with reinterpreting and changing texts to fit with contemporary understandings of the subject matter or the language – is a major factor regarding the inherent fluidity of Purāṇic texts (Fleming 2014, 60). Thus, the *Māhātmyas* discussed here contain “literary revision, additions, recontextualization, and excerption, as perhaps shaped by changing settings of oral recitation as well as scribal reinterpretation” (ibid.). Due to this instability and the additions and alterations of the manuscript itself, the texts have multiple different and unknown authors. Even the scribes – who might simultaneously be authors or compilers – are unknown. The manuscript provides small glimpses of earlier readers of the texts due to the various corrections, retraced syllables, and additions (see fig. 2). However, these glimpses remain very subjective, and marginal additions cannot be completely objectively separated from retraced syllables or corrections.¹² On the basis of the presence of two different handwriting

¹² Marginal additions could have been more useful – were they longer and more numerous – but due to their brief nature, not much can be deduced from them. Isabelle Ratié’s 2018 “For an Indian Philology of Margins” uses marginal additions to gain insights into Kashmirian manuscripts. However, Ratié’s sources contain lengthy and more concise marginal additions, making it easier to form conclusions based on them.

styles and two dates found in the manuscript, Sanne Mersch came to the conclusion that there were at least three scribes: a first scribe who copied the manuscript, and two others – significantly later Nepalese scribes – who altered the text in the 16th and 17th century CE (Mersch 2013, 25-26). Regarding *adhyāyas* 30-32, the marginal additions are clearly made in another handwriting and sometimes even another script. Thus, it is certain that *at least* two individuals worked on *adhyāyas* 30-32: an earlier “copier” and one of the two later “correctors” in Nepal. However, it is possible that a “copier” and *both* “correctors” worked on the *adhyāyas*, although as the corrections are often smudged and quite difficult to read (ibid.), we cannot be sure. On the one hand, many irregularities in *adhyāyas* 30-32 seem to be a result of poor transmission (whether oral or textual). On the other hand, later alterations can create irregularities. In both scenarios, an overall different understanding of Sanskrit makes the text even more peculiar. In this way, *adhyāyas* 30-32 contain unintended alterations arising from transmission issues *and* deliberate changes made by the scribes/compilers/authors.

Other Source Texts

Due to the intertextuality of the three *adhyāyas*, I have also inspected sources that contain textual parallels and content overlap with the texts I discuss. The *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, *Viṣṇudharma*, and a “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” quoted by Lakṣmīdhara in his 12th-century CE *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* are the most crucial. Dating these texts is difficult due to their intertextual nature – only broad estimates can be given – and separate parts of a text might be datable to different timeframes. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* chapters overlapping with the text here have been dated speculatively to between 700-800 CE and more firmly to 700-1150 CE and the respective *Padmapurāṇa* chapters (which are most likely borrowed from the *Kūrmapurāṇa*) to between 950-1400 CE (Hazra 1940, 73-74, 109-112). The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, the longest and most famous *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*, has been dated to the 14th century CE (Bisschop 2021b, 15). The *Viṣṇudharma*, which is not a Purāṇic text or a *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*, does not discuss Vārāṇasī or Śiva at all but instead promotes Viṣṇu worship, and can be firmly dated only very broadly between the 3rd and 11th century CE (Grünendahl 1983, 64-66, 72-73).¹³ In any case, it is certainly older than *adhyāyas* 30-32, which will be dated below. The “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” cannot be later than the first half of the 12th century CE, since that is when Lakṣmīdhara created the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* (Aiyangar 1942, xviii) by quoting *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* from various currently extant and no longer

¹³ The oldest *Viṣṇudharma* palm-leaf manuscripts are found in Nepal, and their text contains many similar language-related peculiarities as the *adhyāyas* inspected here (Grünendahl 1983, 27).

extant *Purāṇas*.¹⁴ The “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” as quoted by Lakṣmīdhara is a *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*. That is, it is a part of a similar project as the compendium discussed here – a selected quotation of a *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* from a text supposedly called *Liṅgapurāṇa*. It is not the “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” in full. As Lakṣmīdhara’s text is from the 12th century CE, it is roughly contemporaneous to the compendium containing *adhyāyas* 30-32. It also involves the same problems related to intertextuality and non-extant *Māhātmyas*. However, contrary to the three *adhyāyas* I discuss, we know that Lakṣmīdhara himself created his compendium, and we know that his aim was to quote *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*. By researching the three *adhyāyas*, we gain more understanding regarding how Lakṣmīdhara might have created his compendium; why some of the *Purāṇas* he quotes are presently not found anywhere else, and in which ways these kinds of compendiums can evolve over time.

Other Academic Work and My Approach

The academic studies most closely related to my research are by Peter Bisschop (2021b) and Sanne Mersch (2013), who both edit and discuss texts from the same manuscript. Bisschop has studied and published the first, longest *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* of the compendium, and his approach involving a critical edition¹⁵ with philological notes and a synopsis has informed my approach. Mersch has studied *adhyāya* 23, providing a critical edition, philological notes, and a translation. I have attempted to date and place the specific *adhyāyas* which I study, whereas Mersch has dated and placed the manuscript containing the compendium as a whole, placing the creation (the copying) of the current manuscript to 12th-century CE Vārāṇasī, based on orthographical similarities with a *Manusmṛti* manuscript which was copied in Vārāṇasī in 1182 CE (Mersch 2013, 9). As mentioned above, Bisschop has dated the manuscript to the late 12th century CE¹⁶ (Bisschop 2021b, 5). Further, as will be shown below, my analysis points towards *adhyāyas* 30-32 – that is, the texts, not the manuscript itself – being from the 12th century CE as well. In short, my aim has been to provide critical editions of each of the three *adhyāyas*, analyze their content, date and place them, and translate the texts to English. I have also provided philological notes that accompany the edition to explain my editorial choices, specific translations, and various concepts.

¹⁴ The extant *Liṅgapurāṇa* can be dated to approximately 600-1000 CE (Hazra 1940, 94-95).

¹⁵ A critical edition is an attempt at getting as close as possible to a no longer surviving earlier form by inspecting and editing various instances of a text. See more detailed discussion below in chapter 2 “Methods and Methodology”.

¹⁶ Or the early 13th century CE at the latest, although this seems less likely due to the comparable manuscripts being from the 12th century CE (Bisschop 2021b, 19).

Relevance of the Research

Similarly to Smith regarding his work on *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*, I cannot claim that these three *Māhātmyas* are “necessarily the most representative or important texts of the vast Vārāṇasī māhātmya genre” (Smith 2007, 3). Why, then, are these specific *Māhātmyas* relevant or important to study? As far as I am concerned, their relevance is threefold. Firstly, we can get closer to the actual production of these texts. These *Māhātmyas* are especially eccentric in terms of language. They are not “perfect” works made by highly acclaimed or skillful authors, but instead they were most likely made by individuals with less knowledge of (or adherence to) Classical Sanskrit grammar rules.¹⁷ We can see how the authors use Sanskrit in peculiar ways, thus revealing their humanity and simultaneously increasing our understanding of different registers of Sanskrit in historical times. Secondly, these *Māhātmyas* can be used to further understand the physical realities of their temporal and spatial contexts. Even though having a theological perspective, *Māhātmyas* are still “emplaced” (Cecil 2020, 2). They are focused on specific locations (see fig. 3), rituals, and other “real” things.¹⁸ This emplacedness, requiring the texts to refer to actual physical things instead of operating purely on a “gods-eye view” level, gives us a closer access to the creation of Hindu mythology. Finally, as *Māhātmyas*, and especially as *Māhātmyas* within a compendium, these texts are a part of an ongoing process of absorbing and reusing information. As more skilled authors adopt information from earlier *Māhātmyas* and transform them into more successful, canonical forms, the earlier sources become less popular and may even disappear. We can treat these three *Māhātmyas* as imperfect building blocks for the narratives and beliefs of later, more popular local traditions, and as such, these texts are crucial in gaining more insight into the whole process of creating a mythology of Vārāṇasī. As the *Māhātmyas* researched here cannot be found in any extant source, they are “lost” building blocks, giving us access to information in a form that is not present in other texts. Simultaneously, as these *Māhātmyas* are very intertextual, paralleling and overlapping with multiple other texts, we know that the information they contain is partially found elsewhere as well. That is, although they are “lost” *Māhātmyas*, these texts are not some kind of anomaly, disconnected from the body of texts they are a part of. Thus, the information these *Māhātmyas* contain may provide us with new insights. By analyzing the different ways how information is recycled and reused, processes of composition and transmission of *Māhātmya* literature as a whole become more evident.

¹⁷ See chapter 8 “Notes on the Critical Edition and Translation” below for a list of grammatical irregularities found in the texts. “Classical Sanskrit” refers to Sanskrit as standardized by Pāṇini, possibly in approximately the 5th century BCE (Misra 2017, 14).

¹⁸ It should be noted, however, that I do not mean to say that religious beliefs are not real to the believers.

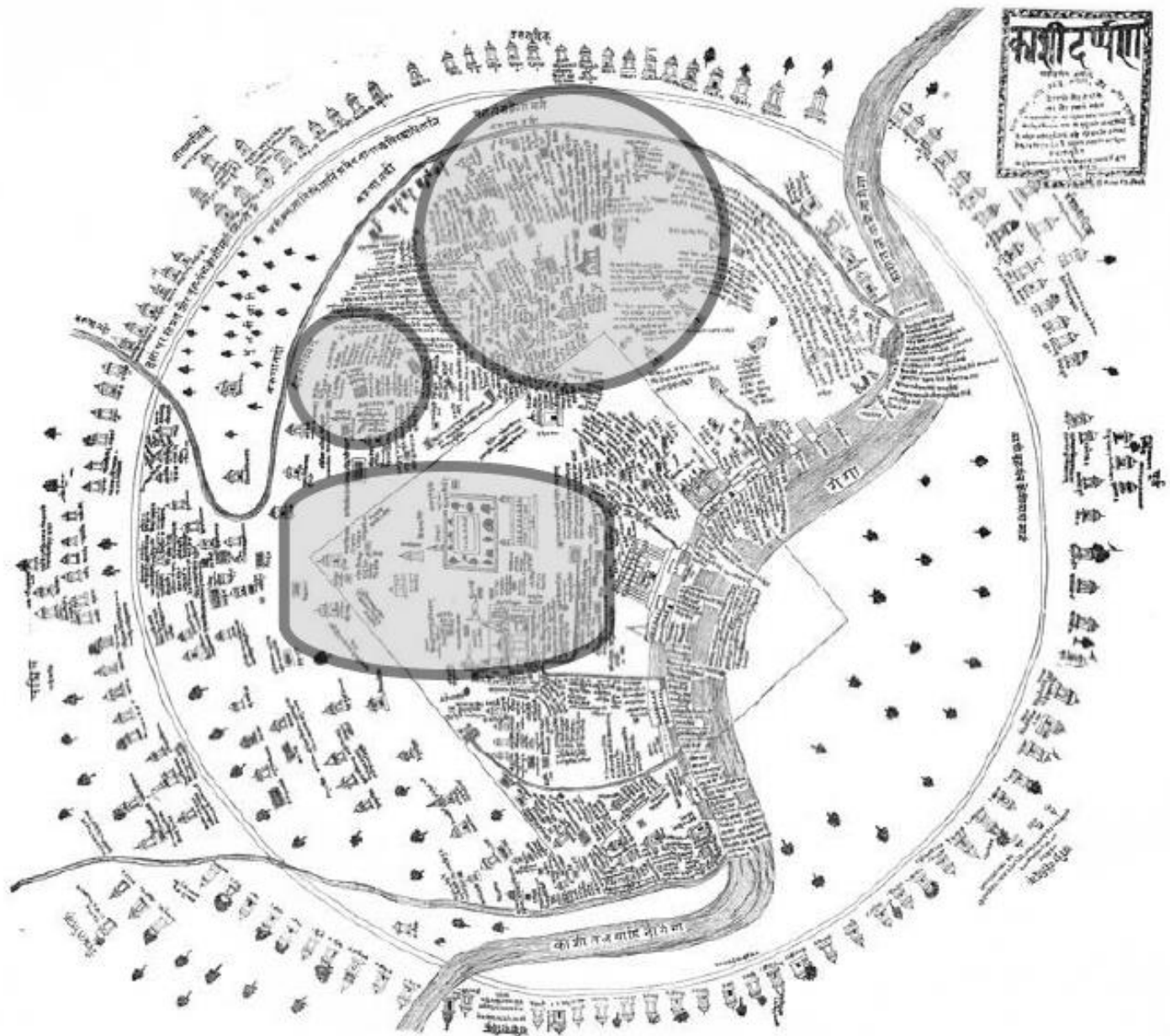


Fig. 3. Locations mentioned in the three *Māhātmyas* as placed on the *Kāśīdarpaṇa*, a pilgrimage map from 1867 CE. Some of the locations are mentioned in more than one of the *adhyāyas* discussed here, and as such, the three shapes do not represent the locations as they are found in the three separate texts. Instead, the shapes signify three approximate areas within Vārāṇasī where the locations can be found. Moving from top to bottom, the large circle contains Ḍṛmicāṇḍeśvara (as Drumacaṇḍeśa), Hastipāleśa, Kṛttivāseśa, Oṃkāreśa, and Svarlīneśa; the small circle contains Jyeṣṭheśa; and the shape on the bottom contains Avimukteśa, Madhyameśvara, Maheśvara, and Tryāmbakeśa. Pañcāyatana, which we can assume is an epithet for Oṃkāreśa, is not mentioned in the map. Kapardin/Kapardīśvara and Piśācamocana are not mentioned either. The image is placed so that the northern direction is roughly upwards. (Image from Singh 2011, 44; alterations mine.)

Additionally, the process of reusing pilgrimage-related information for various goals, enforcing specific hierarchies of importance and power, is evident even at the present time. The “Vishwanath Corridor” project, initiated by the current prime minister of India, Narendra Modi and his party, the BJP, has involved clearing a maze of alleys close to the current Kāśī Viśvanātha temple to allow easier access and more facilities for pilgrims (Agarwal 2019). Modi inaugurated the first phase of the project on the 13th of December 2021 (Mahaprashasta 2021). In this way, the Vishwanath Corridor project is very concretely related to how power wielded by a politically powerful group can lead to physical changes in the religious landscape of a location. The authority that Modi is building on is partially based on a body of literature that emphasizes – and creates – the religious significance and power of Vārāṇasī. Thus, this research can explain one aspect of what has given rise to the special importance of Vārāṇasī and made it such a desirable location for powerful individuals to control and use for their own purposes.

Research Questions and the Aim of the Research

The main focus of my research has been to analyze the three *adhyāyas* and through them, find out more information about how *Māhātmyas* are created and transmitted. If we can understand more about the process of creation and composition of these three *adhyāyas*, we may be able to reach a more comprehensive understanding of other *Māhātmyas*, other intertextual literature, or even other compendiums, such as the aforementioned *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* by Lakṣmīdhara. Understanding how an intertextual, fluid *Māhātmya* comes into being and is transmitted can help to systematically analyze it and extract relevant information such as linguistic, historical, or mythological details. That is, a detailed understanding of the creation and transmission of a *Māhātmya* makes it possible to analyze aspects of the text in a way which does not require taking it at face value. As a central question in this research, I attempt to answer: How can *adhyāyas* 30-32 of the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyasaṃgraha* help in understanding processes of composition and transmission of *Māhātmya* literature?

To enable a more detailed look into the primary sources, I have formulated five sub-questions. Firstly, what are the connecting factors between these three *adhyāyas* and how do they relate to the rest of the compendium? Secondly, what stories do the texts contain and can these stories be found elsewhere? Thirdly, what are the spatial contexts of the texts in relation to historical Vārāṇasī? Fourthly, what are the temporal contexts of the texts? Finally, what types of processes of composition and transmission of *Māhātmya* literature can be identified in each of the *adhyāyas*?

Further, the compendium attributes its *Māhātmyas* to various *Purāṇas* in a rather haphazard way, with most quotations not matching the extant versions of the *Purāṇas* they refer to (Bisschop 2021b, 5-7).¹⁹ Thus, as we cannot be sure of the exact origins of the texts of the compendium via the *Purāṇa*-attributions, each *Māhātmya* needs to be analyzed separately instead of directly assuming that the texts were from a single source that might have been called *Brahmapurāṇa*. For this reason, I have formulated *adhyāya*-specific sub-questions which have helped me in my analysis. (These sub-questions refer to more specific subject matter found in the texts themselves, and as such introduce names and concepts which will be explained in more detail only later in this thesis.) Regarding *adhyāya* 30, I seek to find out how and why Kapardīśvara, Piśācamocana, and Śāṅkukarṇa's meeting with the ghost are discussed; and how the Śāṅkukarṇa story overlaps with its variants in the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, and *Viṣṇudharma*. Regarding *adhyāya* 31, I seek to find out whether the three names ending in *-aṣṭaka* given in the text refer to the same prayer or if they have some other, separate meaning as well; and what are the connecting factors between the locations mentioned in this *adhyāya*. Regarding *adhyāya* 32, I seek to find out why there is a split in the text that moves from Vārāṇasī-specific information to a more general Śaivite realm; why *adhyāya* 19 is repeated within *adhyāya* 32; and, if *adhyāya* 32 is indeed intended to be a “conclusion” of the “*Brahmapurāṇa*”-attributed section, what might be the reasons for it.

Need for a Specific Typological Approach

Due to the intertextual and fluid nature of the texts I discuss, and *Māhātmyas* in general, one possible way of trying to understand their composition and transmission processes is by using the concepts of “adaptive reuse” and “simple re-use”, which are two extremes on a sliding scale of re(-)use (Freschi and Maas 2017, 13-14).²⁰ Adaptive reuse entails using an object – which needs to be identifiable as being reused – to fit a new purpose, whereas simple re-use entails using an object – which should usually *not* be identifiable as being re-used – in the same way it was used before

¹⁹ *Adhyāyas* 15-19 are also attributed to a “*Brahmapurāṇa*”, but are not discussed here due to space limitations, except for *adhyāya* 19, which is discussed in more detail alongside *adhyāya* 32 due to its textual parallels. *Adhyāyas* 20-29 remain in between the two “*Brahmapurāṇa*”-attributed sections. *Adhyāyas* 20-22 are attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa*, 23 to the *Vāyupurāṇa*, 24-27 to the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, 28 to the *Śivapurāṇa*, and 29 to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (Bisschop 2021b, 6-7). However, 20-22 are attributable to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, 23 to the *Skandapurāṇa*, 24-27 to a “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara in his *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* and to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, 28 again to the *Skandapurāṇa*, whereas 29 is not found in any extant source (ibid.). I have edited *adhyāya* 29 for an earlier paper in 2020, which made it possible for me to search for parallels in that text as well. However, I was able to find only minor content overlap between my primary sources in this thesis and *adhyāya* 29.

²⁰ As for the words “re-use” and “reuse”, I follow the same approach as Freschi and Maas, who have chosen to use the hyphen in “simple re-use” but left it out from “adaptive reuse” to distinguish the terms better (Freschi and Maas 2017, 14).

(ibid.). However, as will be argued below, these concepts do not provide many insights regarding the texts I discuss, and an approach that enables a closer look into the processes underlying the composition and transmission of *Māhātmya* literature is needed.

To identify and discuss processes of composition and transmission found in my source texts, I have developed a fourfold typological approach, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The typology – partially based on the notion of “hypertextuality” of Gérard Genette (1997, 5) – consists of four different but occasionally overlapping types of intertextuality. The four types are specifically created for *Māhātmya* literature through analyzing the three *adhyāyas* discussed here, and as such, are a central result of this research. The typological approach, combined with the aforementioned process of creating a critical edition and translation accompanied with philological notes, enables a more systematic analysis of the three *adhyāyas*.

Thesis Structure

From here onwards, I initially discuss my methods and methodology in more detail (chapter 2). This is followed by three chapters of analysis (chapters 3-5), one for each *adhyāya*.²¹ Then, I connect and compare the *adhyāyas* with each other (chapter 6), followed by a conclusion (chapter 7). Further, I discuss technical aspects of the critical edition such as language-related irregularities and abbreviations used (chapter 8). Finally, I present the critical editions and translations as appendices.

²¹ The names of these chapters follow the colophons of the palm-leaf manuscript, without the phrase “in the *Brahmapurāṇa*”. That is: “Description of the Piśācamocana *Tīrtha*” (chapter 3), “Description of the *Guhyāṣṭaka*” (chapter 4), and “*Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*” (chapter 5).

2. Methods and Methodology

As the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* discussed here are irregular texts, editing and researching them has been difficult. Thus, my research methods and methodology accommodate various less straightforward aspects. That is, what might the no longer surviving earlier form of the text be like and how to get as close as possible to it? How to present the editions and translations in a way that the reader will understand what is going on without compromising the complexities involved? When and how to correct the texts? How to distinguish scribal errors from irregular textual variants? How to identify the evolution of the texts and account for their intertextual nature?

In this chapter, I firstly describe how I approach transcribing, editing, and translating the three *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*. Secondly, I discuss the typological approach that I have adopted.

Critical Edition and Translation

The process of creating a critical edition and translation, especially from such a peculiar source, is to some extent subjective. To highlight my choices, I have provided the reader with footnotes and philological commentary that accompany the edition and translation. Alternative translations and interpretations, unclear passages, terminology, and possible missing sections are discussed alongside the edition, and in the main body of the text when they are especially relevant.

Perhaps obviously, understanding what is taught by the texts was essential. Temporal, spatial, personal, textual, and other contexts had to be unveiled to get an idea about what the texts were trying to say. Only after more contextual knowledge was gained, it was possible to reach a more detailed understanding of the primary source texts.

The palm-leaf manuscript (V₁) is written in the old Nāgarī script, and the apograph (V₂) uses Devanāgarī.²² The palm-leaf manuscript is written quite sloppily (see fig. 1). Some parts have been erased, some retraced on top of older ones, corrections have been added in various ways (see fig. 2), and the script is not consistent regarding diacritics (see fig. 4).²³

²² See more detailed information of the manuscript and the apograph in chapter 8 “Notes on the Critical Edition and Translation”.

²³ Marginal additions and corrections to the text were written by another scribe, or possibly multiple scribes, using a different handwriting.

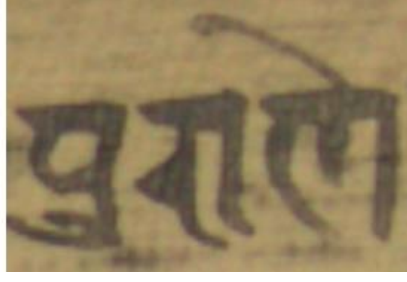


Fig. 4. Example of diacritic differences. *Left: purāṇe* (Kaiser Library, Kāthmāṇḍū, 66, part of folio 103^r). *Right: purāṇe* (ibid., part of folio 104^v). Note the difference in the diacritics used for the vowel *e*.

The language of the texts in the manuscript is quite non-standard. Thus, transcribing the text was not only about understanding the script, but also about making sense of what was actually written on the palm-leaf. Figuring out the *ante correctionem* and *post correctionem* readings²⁴ of the text was crucial, since the *adhyāyas* contain various instances where there are two or more possible readings. These options are discussed in the footnotes of the critical edition and translation, and they are visible in the positive philological apparatus.²⁵

Regarding the editions, a precise and comprehensive textual apparatus allows the reader to see why I selected specific readings and which parts of the text remain unclear to me. It is possible that two variant readings both lead to valid interpretations, and this is visible in the apparatus to achieve transparency.²⁶ Additionally, if the V_1 and V_2 readings have the same meaning but use synonyms or differ in terms of compounds, for example, V_1 is followed since it is the source from which V_2 has been copied.²⁷ The editing process was also supported by other sources. Sometimes it was possible to make sense of unclear parts by finding textual parallels or content overlap, studying terminology, or increasing other contextual knowledge.

Importantly, the edition is not an attempt to change the text to a more regular, Classical Sanskrit form. Irregular grammatical aspects of the text are retained as much as possible, instead of being changed to their “correct”, standardized forms. An attempt to reach a presumed earlier form of the text must include trying to recreate it on the level of language as well, even if the language is non-standard. However, it is not always clear which irregular grammatical aspects are a result of

²⁴ That is, the readings before correction and after correction.

²⁵ That is, I have created a critical edition with an apparatus that shows all textual variants and their sources – all the evidence – instead of only reporting those variants and sources which differ from the selected reading.

²⁶ For example, in *adhyāya* 30 verse **21c**, *saṅkṣīṇam* “completely destroyed” (V_1) has been chosen by me over *saṅkīrṇam* “mixed together” (V_2), since it fits the context better and is from the older textual witness (V_1).

²⁷ For example, in *adhyāya* 30 verse **25b**, I have chosen the V_1 reading *mokṣaliṅgam vyavasthitam* instead of the compounded reading *mokṣaliṅgavyavasthitam* from V_2 .

using a different register of Sanskrit, and which are due to errors and later alterations.²⁸ Nonetheless, some aspects that I consider to be errors have been corrected in the critical edition.²⁹ The irregular aspects are not constant throughout the *adhyāyas*. Such inconsistency regarding the irregularities is likely a combined result of copying and corrections by multiple individuals throughout time. Thus, no absolute rules – other than irregularity – can be created for the non-standard Sanskrit encountered here. Although it is impossible to create absolute rules, the peculiar linguistic aspects may help in trying to understand different forms of non-standard Sanskrit literary output. The edited texts are further proof of the existence of various irregularities identified by others working on similar sources.³⁰

As for corrections through emendations and conjecture, the aim is to reconstruct a presumed earlier form of the text. That is, the furthest point that I can reach through editing. By “emendation”, I mean correcting wrong readings that are clearly a result of transmission errors, and as such, can more easily be returned to an earlier state. By “conjecture” (i.e., a conjectural emendation), I mean correcting parts that are more doubtful, but for which an educated guess can still be made.³¹ More trivial parts of the text such as geminations or additional *anusvāras* have been silently corrected in order to keep the critical apparatus readable.³² The silent corrections are only visible in the selected readings; all other variants are presented in the apparatus in an uncorrected form.³³

It is not clear which irregularities are a result of poor scribal transmission and which are original. Because of this uncertainty, editing the text was problematic. The no longer surviving earlier form of the text clearly contained irregular, non-standard Sanskrit and thus the grammatical irregularities found in the current manuscript are not entirely a product of poor scribal transmission. For this reason, a choice had to be made between readings that are likely “original” though being ambiguous or incomprehensible, and readings that seem less “original”, but which are more easily understandable. As an objective end result is not possible, I have followed the approach of Csaba Kiss, who encountered similar issues in editing the *Brahmayāmalatantra*:

²⁸ For example, *adhyāya* 30 verse **11b** contains the variants °*prakāśanīm* (V₁) and °*prakāśinīm* (V₂), both resulting in a feminine singular accusative meaning “illuminating”. I selected the V₁ reading °*prakāśanīm* for the edition, although it is non-standard Sanskrit – °*prakāśinīm* is the correct form.

²⁹ For example, I have corrected the usage of *ya* instead of *ja* (30.19a, 30.27d, and 30.29a), and specific mismatches between plural and singular (e.g. °*bhājanaḥ* 30.35d and °*pālayante* 32.7d).

³⁰ For example, irregular usage of nouns in the stem-form, gender mismatches, geminations, and irregular or absent *sandhi*. For lists of such irregularities, see e.g. the work of Bisschop (2021b, 16-19) or Kiss (2015, 77-87).

³¹ All the emendations and conjecture are indicated in the apparatus. For all abbreviations regarding the apparatus, see the chapter 8 section “List of Abbreviations” below.

³² For a systematic list of silent corrections, see the chapter 8 section “Silent Corrections” below.

³³ For example, see the V₁ *ante correctionem* reading of *adhyāya* 30, verse **11c**: *sarvva*° *māyākyāyate bran*°. In this reading, the gemination in *sarvva*° is still visible in the apparatus since the reading was not selected for the edited verse.

“In many cases, my judgement on non-standard forms has *more to do with intuition than rationality*, more specifically with intuition formed on the basis of my experience of the text, including impressions of the redactors’ style, rhetoric etc., vs. reasoned argument” (Kiss 2015, 74, italics mine).

Thus, the editions produced here do not represent any “original” text, but they are an attempt at reaching a no longer surviving, *earlier* form of the text. Importantly, as the exact nature of the Sanskrit used in the earlier text is unclear, even emendations remain subjective. Due to this problematic and uncertain nature of my main primary source, translating was crucial. Without translating the passages, it would have been very difficult to justify my interpretations – and thus also the emendations and conjectures – of the edition itself. Again, it is useful to quote Csaba Kiss:

Translating the Sanskrit texts has proved to be much more important, and the apparatus less important, here in this volume than in an ordinary critical edition. Often, e.g. in the case of sentences with stem-form nouns, the accepted readings can be interpreted in several different ways. My translation tries to provide the most likely interpretation and I attempt to clarify in the footnotes how I take the ambiguous forms. It is needless to say that the exact purport of a great number of the passages ... edited in this volume are still obscure to me” (Kiss 2015, 75).

I have tried to translate the verses as literally as possible without compromising the legibility of the English text and the ability of the English sentences to retain what I believe is the intended meaning of the verses.

Other Considerations

Due to the fluidity resulting from textual transmission and later alterations, any Purāṇic text needs to be analyzed in connection with other texts. To account for this fluidity during my research – and simultaneously identify different types of processes of composition and transmission of *Māhātmya* literature – I have tried to be as thorough as possible regarding content overlap and textual parallels. Perhaps surprisingly, to find the connections between these three *adhyāyas* and other texts, I had to initially treat each verse, *pāda*, or even compound, as a single unit. That is, I took the texts apart and analyzed their various constituent parts to better understand the *adhyāyas* as a whole. In addition to “old-fashioned” reading, this approach involved searching for phrases and keywords from text files using digital tools. I employed a “hermeneutic circle of interpretation” which requires the inspection of each piece of information on its own, but also as related to the whole (Palmer 1969, 87).

Typological Approach

As mentioned above (see chapter 1 section “Need for a Specific Typological Approach”), merely identifying and speculating about adaptive and simple re(-)use is not enough – it does not help to pinpoint the more precise processes underlying the transmission and composition of these *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*. For this reason, my approach is more similar to the five-fold typology of transtextuality – that is, “all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts” – that the French literary theorist Gérard Genette has laid out (Genette 1997, 1). His first type is “intertextuality”, meaning one text being present within another text; the second type is the “paratext”, meaning the connections a text has to its secondary setting consisting of the title, subtitles, forewords, marginal notes, etc.; the third type is “metatextuality”, meaning one text discussing another text without necessarily citing it, much like a commentary would do; the fourth type is “hypertextuality”, which means “any relationship uniting a text B... to an earlier text A, upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary”; and the fifth type, “architextuality”, meaning the most abstract and generic qualities of a text such as genre (ibid., 1-5). The fourth type can consist of two subtypes: “saying the same thing differently” – that is, telling the same story in another way – and “saying another thing similarly” – that is, telling another story using the style of the first story (ibid., 6). In the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* discussed here, this fourth type is the most evident: there is no concrete “text within another text”; the “paratext” is mainly limited to minimal marginal notes; and there is no direct “commentary” of any other texts.

I have expanded on Genette’s “hypertextual” type by determining four subtypes based on the information found in my main primary sources. The first is the “verbatim” type, which is the most intertextual and accounts for actual textual parallels. The second is the “idea” type, which accounts for shared concepts and terminology. This second type is partially comparable to Genette’s “saying another thing similarly” subtype (Genette 1997, 6). The third is the “story” type, which accounts for content overlap, paraphrasing, and story structure but not textual parallels. This third type is comparable to Genette’s subtype of “saying the same thing differently” (ibid.). The fourth is the “internal” type, which accounts for intertextuality within the compendium itself. These four types are not separate; they often overlap and connect with each other. Thus, it is important to emphasize here that if I write that an *adhyāya* is *mainly* of the verbatim type, for example, I do not mean that the other types are not present – most of the time some other types are also identifiable, albeit in a more *minor* way.³⁴

³⁴ *Adhyāya* 30, for example, contains many (sometimes inseparable) instances of the first three types, but no significant instance of the fourth type. Additionally, the internal type, as “intertextuality within the compendium” can accommodate the other three types within itself. For example, a direct parallel with another *adhyāya* in the compendium

Additionally, the types do not directly reveal information about what existed first – that is, where an idea, a term, a specific story structure, or a phrase is originally from. For dating the texts and establishing their relationships with other texts, it is still crucial to try to find out such information. Thus, regarding textual parallels, content overlap, and story structure (types one and three), we need to know which source containing the parallel, overlap, or story is the oldest. Regarding shared concepts and terminology (type two), we need to find out the first instance of a concept or a term – and figure out if it is used in the same way as in our target source, since concepts and terms evolve and take on additional or different meanings. Regarding intertextuality within the compendium (type four), we might speculate about which part of the compendium a specific verse or an idea was in first by inspecting what surrounds it. For example, if an *adhyāya* contains information found in another *adhyāya* but adds something or leaves something out. However, we still cannot know if these internal elements are due to using material from the compendium or whether they stem from another, similar source. The overlap and parallels might be from an earlier, related text (or multiple texts), and not necessarily a result of using material from within the compendium itself. Crucially, determining which source was first is generally not very easy when it comes to the often patchwork-like Purāṇic literature. The internal type also begs the question whether there was an “author” or “compiler” who intelligently put the compendium together. Thus, we cannot know whether the presence of the internal type is deliberate or unintentional.

I developed the typological approach to reach a more detailed explanation of *Māhātmya* creation and transmission processes, specifically for the three *adhyāyas* discussed here. Importantly, the typological approach initially arose from a close analysis of the *adhyāyas*. In this way, the typological approach enabled further, more detailed analysis of the same texts that allowed me to create the approach in the first place.

By contrast, the aforementioned concepts of adaptive reuse and simple re-use did not suffice for the intertextual, authorless literature I discuss. To reiterate, adaptive reuse entails using an object – which needs to be identifiable as being reused – to fit a new purpose, whereas simple re-use entails using an object – which should usually *not* be identifiable as being re-used – in the same way it was used before (Freschi and Maas 2017, 13-14). However, when is any textual source re-used in the same way as before? Repeating a text *in full* with no other elements is “reproduction” (ibid., 20), but using the same text within another text constitutes re(-)use. As for the *adhyāyas* discussed here, they are copied (presumably) in full, and attributed to a “*Brahmapurāṇa*”. They could otherwise be

can be understood as an “internal verbatim” type, and the usage of the same terminology as another *adhyāya* in the compendium as an “internal idea” type.

considered an example of adaptive reuse – but, importantly, their purpose has not really changed as they are still *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*. The texts have merely been put into the compendium, but their purpose of proclaiming the greatness of Vārāṇasī is still the same. They cannot be an example of simple re-use either, as they are deliberately identifiable as being re-used because of the “*Brahmapurāṇa*”-attribution. Additionally, “economic reasons are more relevant” regarding simple re-use, and “changes of purpose ... and authorial expectations concerning the audience’s recognition of the reuse” are more relevant for adaptive reuse (ibid.). We cannot know about economic reasons regarding these *adhyāyas* and thinking about the audience remains speculative.

The audiences at the time of the texts’ composition could have viewed the texts differently: “a shift in the time, place, context, or social position of the audience may lead to varying interpretations of a given instance of re(-)use as being more or less adaptive or simple” (Freschi and Maas 2017, 15). A more educated³⁵ audience contemporary to the texts’ initial composition (that is, before they became a part of the compendium) might have easily recognized the textual parallels and content overlap whereas a less educated audience might not have caught on to the extent of the texts’ intertextuality. That is, a more educated audience would have likely understood the texts from an adaptive reuse perspective, as they would have noticed the presence of reuse, and a less educated audience – believing the texts are new works – would have viewed them from a simple re-use perspective. On the one hand, it is possible that some earlier authors/scribes/compilers wanted to present the texts as new works and counted on the audience not noticing that elements from other texts were present (simple re-use). On the other hand, it is possible that the texts were deliberately meant to be identifiable as containing elements from other texts (adaptive reuse).

The usefulness of thinking about adaptive reuse and simple re-use is therefore diminished regarding these three *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*. The two types of re(-)use exist on a sliding scale where re(-)use can be both adaptive and simple at the same time (Freschi and Maas 2017, 14). We can only say that the *adhyāyas* can be placed somewhere on the scale of simple and adaptive re(-)use – it is clear that some kind of re(-)use has taken place, but further details are unavailable. Thus, the two types of re(-)use remain quite speculative, and do not provide very much insight into the actual creation and transmission processes of *Māhātmyas*.

The fourfold typological approach, then, is my solution to understand the composition of the *adhyāyas*. The types – even if they are not the neatly separate categories they might seem to be – allow me to unpack my primary sources in a more systematic manner. The typological approach brings structure to an otherwise unsystematic process of identifying pieces of information and

³⁵ With “educated”, I mean those who were more acquainted with the Purāṇic textual tradition – not “educated” in the contemporary sense.

checking them against all the possible sources I can connect them with. That is, the types provide a method for me to present my research findings in a manner that is an answer to my research question instead of merely a bullet-point list of findings and speculation. Thus, the types assist in compartmentalizing the fluid and intertextual literary genre of *Māhātmyas*, and I believe this typological approach can be of use in analyzing other similar texts as well.

The following chapter is the first of a part of three chapters (chapters 3-5) dedicated to analyzing each of the *adhyāyas* one by one. In these chapters I discuss the *adhyāyas*, interpret their contents, and place them in their respective spatial, temporal, and textual contexts. The three chapters are followed by a chapter that connects and compares the *adhyāyas* with each other (chapter 6), and a conclusion (chapter 7). Then, I discuss the technical aspects of the critical edition (chapter 8), followed by the edition and annotated translation, and a representation of selected data as appendices.

3. Contents and Contextualization – *Adhyāya 30: Description of the Piśācamocana Tīrtha*

The 30th *adhyāya* of the compendium revolves around a story about a Śaiva ascetic called Śaṅkukarṇa³⁶ meeting with a ghost-like being in Vārāṇasī. The main location is the area near a *liṅga* called Kapardīśvara and a pond called Piśācamocana.³⁷ The story is found in various other sources, albeit in a slightly different form.

I begin with a general interpretation of the story. The main content-related issues involve the text's reference to the ghost as both a *preta* and a *piśāca*,³⁸ the absence of any mention of the presently famous Viśveśvara *liṅga*, and the presence of Śaiva Siddhānta thought in the text.³⁹ The general interpretation is followed by an attempt to place the text in its spatial and temporal contexts. Then, I discuss textual parallels and content overlap with versions of the story found in the *Viṣṇudharma*, the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, the *Padmapurāṇa*, and the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*. Finally, the types of intertextuality found in this *adhyāya* are considered.

A General Interpretation – Adhyāya 30

In short, the story involves the ascetic Śaṅkukarṇa, who is dwelling next to the Piśācamocana pond and worshipping the Kapardīśvara *liṅga*. He is approached by a ghost, who is in a very poor physical and mental condition. The ghost asks Śaṅkukarṇa for a way to escape his pitiful existence, and Śaṅkukarṇa instructs the ghost to bathe in the pond while keeping Kapardīśvara in mind. The ghost follows Śaṅkukarṇa's instructions, and subsequently becomes liberated in a magnificent way while being surrounded by various celestial beings. Śaṅkukarṇa then mutters a prayer and becomes liberated himself.

The narrator of the story is Īśvara (i.e., Śiva), who is talking to “the vow-abiding one” (feminine vocative singular *suvrate*), most likely Śiva's wife Devī, the Goddess. The story narrated by Īśvara contains the dialogue between Śaṅkukarṇa and the ghost, with Śaṅkukarṇa doing most of the talking as he gives instructions and mutters his prayer. The ghost merely talks about his own situation and background. In verses 1-9, Īśvara is setting the scene for the story. Verse 10 has Śaṅkukarṇa asking a question, followed by the answer of the ghost, which lasts from verse 11 to 18.

³⁶ The name Śaṅkukarṇa can refer either to a specific *gaṇa* (an “attendant” of Śiva), a Śaiva sanctuary in the Northwest, the southern part of Vārāṇasī, or, as we see in this *adhyāya*, to an ascetic (Dey 1927, 177).

³⁷ Kapardīśvara is also called Kapardin in the *adhyāya*. For the sake of clarity, I use Kapardīśvara when referring to the *liṅga*, because names of *liṅgas* often end in *-īśvara*.

³⁸ For the sake of clarity, I use the term “ghost” for the *preta/piśāca*, except when referring to specific verses and in the discussions regarding the terms themselves.

³⁹ From here onwards, I often refer to Śaiva Siddhānta only as Siddhānta. For further information about Siddhānta, see e.g. Davis 1991.

Then, Śaṅkukarṇa gives his instructions in verses 19-31. In verses 32-36, we go back to Īśvara narrating the story, followed by Śaṅkukarṇa's prayer in verse 37. Subsequently, in verses 38-40 Īśvara is finishing the story.

The main idea, as with *Māhātmyas* in general, is to emphasize the greatness and the liberating power that Kapardīśvara and the Piśācamocana pond possess. To become liberated in this location does not seem to require one to have any specific initiation or esoteric knowledge or be any kind of more advanced practitioner (such as Śaṅkukarṇa, who is an ascetic). The instruction Śaṅkukarṇa imparts should not normally be given to ghosts, as it is secret knowledge (verses 30-31). Śaṅkukarṇa is moved by the poor condition of the ghost, and he knows that the ghost has participated in raising a *liṅga* ten lives ago (verse 19). It seems Śaṅkukarṇa's compassion and the ghost's auspicious action ten lives ago are what enables the ghost to gain liberation. Because Śaṅkukarṇa's instruction is so special that it should not be ordinarily given to just anyone, *adhyāya* 30 further emphasizes the liberating power of Kapardīśvara and the Piśācamocana pond by imparting the secret knowledge to anyone who has access to the text.

The Viśveśvara *liṅga*, which started its gradual rise to fame around the middle of the 12th century CE (Bisschop 2021b, 15) and is presently the most popular *liṅga* in Vārāṇasī, is not mentioned at all in this *adhyāya*.⁴⁰ In the Śaṅkukarṇa narratives of both the *Kūrma-* and *Padmapurāṇa*, Viśveśvara is a *liṅga* which does not instantly grant liberation to the ghost. When he is still a man, the ghost dies after seeing and worshipping Viśveśvara, but instead of becoming liberated, he becomes a ghost.⁴¹ He manages to obtain liberation only via Śaṅkukarṇa's instruction. Thus, when the *Kūrma-*

⁴⁰ The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* and *Viṣṇudharma* do not mention Viśveśvara in the chapters containing the Śaṅkukarṇa story either. However, in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* the location is clearly central: *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* chapter 99 is dedicated to the greatness of Viśveśvara, and the name appears repeatedly elsewhere in the text. In the *Viṣṇudharma* (36.16), Viśveśvara is briefly mentioned in a list of pilgrimage locations in the chapter preceding the Śaṅkukarṇa story.

⁴¹ *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1,31.23-25:

*ekadā bhagavān devo govṛṣeśvaravāhanaḥ /
viśveśvaro vārāṇasyāṃ dṛṣṭaḥ sprṣṭo namaskṛtaḥ // 23 //*

“One time the prosperous lord, the god who has a bull as his vehicle, Viśveśvara, was seen, touched, and worshipped [by me] in Vārāṇasī.”

*tadā cireṇa kālena pañcatvam aham āgataḥ /
na dṛṣṭam tan mayā ghoram yamasya vadanam mune // 24 //*

“Then, in a short time, I arrived to dissolution (i.e., died), [but] the horrific face of Yama was not seen by me, O sage.”

*īdrśīm yonim āpannaḥ paiśācīm kṣudhayānvitah /
pipāsayādhunākrānto na jānāmi hitāhitam // 25 //*

“I obtained such a demonic (i.e., *piśāca*) birth; accompanied by hunger and now overcome by thirst, I do not know [what is] good [and what is] evil.”

Padmapurāṇa 1,35.21-23ab:

*ekadā bhagavān devo govṛṣeśvaravāhanaḥ /
viśveśvaro vārāṇasyāṃ dṛṣṭaḥ sprṣṭo namaskṛtaḥ // 21 //*

“One time the prosperous lord, the god who has a bull as his vehicle, Viśveśvara, was seen, touched, and worshipped [by me] in Vārāṇasī.”

and *Padmapurāṇa* passages were written, Viśveśvara had most likely not yet gained its central status, although both of these *Purāṇas* mention the greatness of Viśveśvara.⁴² That is, Viśveśvara was known to the authors of these *Purāṇas*, but it was not considered central or important for the story.⁴³

It is likely that in *adhyāya* 30, Viśveśvara was deliberately excluded to emphasize Kapardīśvara and Piśācamocana. After all, the *adhyāya* is not dedicated to Viśveśvara. There is a difference in the function of Viśveśvara and that of Kapardīśvara and the Piśācamocana pond. If someone has acted in such a despicable way that he will become a ghost upon dying, merely worshipping Viśveśvara might not suffice. For final liberation, Piśācamocana is needed instead. Piśācamocana is necessary for freedom from this specific unfortunate type of existence, and that is why other locations will not yield the same results.

The *adhyāya* uses the term “*Śivayogin*” (verse 17) and mentions the “36 *tattvas*” and the attainment of a body that is similar to Śiva (verse 35), all of which can be connected with Siddhānta thought. Based on these ideas, we know that the authors of the *adhyāya* were most likely influenced by Siddhānta. It is clear that Śiva is the central deity in this *adhyāya*. However, the centrality of Śiva could have been established without mentioning Siddhānta ideas. As for the ideas themselves, “*Śivayogin*” is quite general and could be understood as a general term referring to an ascetic devoted to Śiva. The 36 *tattvas*, however, are more specific and give us some insight regarding the nature of this *adhyāya*. Because of the presence of the 36 *tattvas*, and especially because of mentioning how the ghost manages to go beyond all of them, a reader acquainted with Siddhānta ideas will understand that what is meant is the highest possible liberation. Attaining a state that is similar to Śiva is the central goal of Siddhānta devotees. To properly worship Śiva, the subtle body of the devotee needs to be purified and subsequently reconstructed with mantras, making it more

*tadā cireṇa kālena pañcatvam aham āgataḥ /
na dr̥ṣṭaṃ tan mahāghoraṃ yamasya sadanaṃ mune // 22 //*

“Then, in a short time, I arrived to dissolution (i.e., died), [but] the extremely horrific abode of Yama was not seen [by me], O sage.”

pipāsayādhunākrānto na jānāmi hitāhitam /

“Now overcome by thirst, I do not know [what is] good [and what is] evil.”

⁴² The mention of Viśveśvara in the Śaṅkukarṇa narrative of the *Kūrmapurāṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa* could mean that Hazra’s speculative dating of the *Kūrmapurāṇa* chapters overlapping with *adhyāya* 30 must be later, closer to the latest point of the firmer dating (1150 CE) which he gives for the *Kūrmapurāṇa*; and similarly, the dating of the respective *Padmapurāṇa* chapters should then be closer to the earliest possible time (950 CE) he gives (Hazra 1940, 73-74, 109-112).

⁴³ *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1,31.28 and *Padmapurāṇa* 1,35.25cd-26ab (differences from the *Padmapurāṇa* in brackets):

*yat tvayā bhagavān pūrvam dr̥ṣṭo viśveśvaraḥ śivaḥ /
saṃspr̥ṣṭo vandito bhūyaḥ (bhuyah) ko ’nyas tvatsadr̥śo bhuvi //*

“Since you have previously seen the divine Śiva, Viśveśvara, [which is] touched [and] venerated exceedingly; who else is equal to you on earth?”

similar to Śiva; and purifying one's subtle body means purifying all of the 36 *tattvas* (Davis 1991, 51-60).

Adhyāya 30 contains mainly practical instructions, but the presence of the 36 *tattvas* and attaining a body like that of Śiva adds more specific, esoteric information. The nature of the *adhyāya* complies with that of Siddhānta as a tradition with a dual focus on philosophical knowledge (*jñāna*) and ritual action (*kriyā*) (Davis 1991, ix). However, although *adhyāya* 30 contains the 36 *tattvas* on the side of *jñāna*, it still emphasizes *kriyā* due to the practical nature of Śaṅkukarṇa's instruction. The rest of the text is quite straightforward; except for the 36 *tattvas* and the mention of a Śiva-like body, there are no other esoteric concepts that would be difficult to understand for lay readers. Thus, lay devotees can be considered the main target demographic of the text. It is likely that those with a more esoteric background would have had other, more detailed texts to consult.

Additionally, Pāśupata thought is present in the text. Verse 37, which is Śaṅkukarṇa's prayer, has the dative *bhavodbhavāya* ("to Bhavodbhava"), which refers to the first of the Pāśupata *brahmantras*, the Sadyojāta *mantra*.⁴⁴ This single dative is the only clear allusion to Pāśupatas in *adhyāya* 30.

Spatial Context – Adhyāya 30

In telling the story of the ghost and his meeting with Śaṅkukarṇa, *adhyāya* 30 provides us with a few pieces of evidence regarding the location where the story takes place. In verses 1-4, the greatness of Kapardīśvara is described, leading to verse 5 which announces that "In front of the god is the pond called Piśācamocana."⁴⁵ Thus, the Kapardīśvara and Piśācamocana of *adhyāya* 30 are

⁴⁴ There are five *brahmantras*, each ending a section of the *Pāśupatasūtra* (PS), the basic text of the Pāśupatas (Bisschop 2014, 28). The beginnings of the mantras are understood as being names and forms of god, of which Sadyojāta is the first (ibid.). See *Pāśupatasūtra* 1,40-44:

*sadyojātaṃ prapadyāmi sadyojātāya vai namaḥ /
bhava bhava nātibhava bhajasva mām bhavodbhavaḥ //*

⁴⁵ The Piśācamocana pond is mentioned after Kapardīśvara in various sources. *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1,31.2cd:

*piśācamocane tīrthe pūjayām āsa śūlinam /
"[He] worshipped Śūlin (i.e., Śiva) at the Piśācamocana tīrtha."*
Padmapurāṇa 1,35.2ab:

*piśācamocanaṃ nāma tīrtham anyat tataḥ sthitam /
"The other tīrtha called Piśācamocana [is also] situated there."*

And *Saurapurāṇa* 1,6.40ab:

*piśācamocanaṃ nāma tatra tīrtham anuttamam /
"There [is] the unsurpassed tīrtha called Piśācamocana."*

Kapardīśvara's proximity to Piśācamocana is seen in several pilgrimage maps. The 1867 CE *Kāśīdarpaṇa*, largely based on the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, has a drawing of a pond with "Piśācamocana tīrtha" and "Kapardīśvara" written next to it (Singh 2011 [2002], 41-42). The *Stylized Map of Vārāṇasī* and *The Pictorial Map Pilgrims in Banaras* have water pools that can possibly be identified as Piśācamocana (Gengnagel 2011, 104, 125).

directly next to each other. Verse 29 connects Kapardīśvara with Kṛttivāsa,⁴⁶ which might mean that in this *adhyāya*, Kṛttivāsa is a place that is relatively close to Kapardīśvara and Piśācamocana.⁴⁷

It is possible that some locations have changed place or been destroyed, for example by new rulers of the city who wished to establish their dominance in the area by replacing popular sites with something of their own creation.⁴⁸ I find it unlikely that the Piśācamocana pond itself would have originally been in another place; a *liṅga* is much easier to move (or destroy) than a pond. However, due to the fluctuating water levels of the Gaṅgā river, ponds can change place, at least seasonally.⁴⁹ Additionally, man-made alterations have happened in the past: in the 1820s, the substantial Matsyodarī and Mandākinī lakes were drained by the British colonial administration due to stagnant water (Eck 1999, 49-50). Thus, it is not impossible that the Piśācamocana pond might have changed location at some point in time during its existence.

Temporal Context – Adhyāya 30

We know from palaeographic evidence that most likely the latest possible date of the composition (*terminus ante quem*) of *adhyāya 30* is the late 12th century CE (Bisschop 2021b, 5). As for the earliest possible date of its composition (*terminus post quem*), the content overlap and parallels with

⁴⁶ Kṛttivāsa is a famous, ancient *liṅga* in Vārāṇasī (Eck 1999, 358), and it is mentioned extensively in various *Purāṇas*, as well as the “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” quoted by Lakṣmīdhara. *Adhyāya 31* mentions Kṛttivāsa in connection with Kapardīśvara (here as Kapardīśa) in verse 11:

*kṛttivāsasam īśānaṃ namasyāmi namo namaḥ /
kapardīśaṃ namasyāmi jātismṛtipradaṃ nṛṇām // 11 //*

“I pay homage to Lord Kṛttivāsa, obeisance [to him]; I pay homage to Kapardīśa, the one who bestows the memories of past lives to men.”

Kṛttivāsa can also refer to Śiva as Kṛttivāsa (“the one with a skin as a garment”), a name with a seemingly Purāṇic origin. Thus, while referring to a specific *liṅga*, Kṛttivāsa can be understood as simultaneously referring to the omnipresent Śiva, of whom every *liṅga* is a manifestation. The variant name Kṛttivāseśvara very likely refers to a specific *liṅga*. The *nirukti* (etymological interpretation) of Kṛttivāsa is given in both the *Kūrma-* and *Padmapurāṇa* in the *adhyāyas* preceding the Śāṅkukarṇa story. *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1,30.18 and *Padmapurāṇa* 1,34.14cd-15ab:

*hatvā gajākṛtiṃ daityaṃ śūlenāvajñayā haraḥ /
vāsaḥ tasyākarot kṛtiṃ kṛttivāseśvaras tataḥ // 18 //*

“Hara (i.e., Śiva), having killed with his spear [and] with contempt the demon who had the appearance of an elephant, made a garment of its skin; therefore [he is called] Kṛttivāseśvara.”

⁴⁷ The site presently associated with Kṛttivāsa is at least two kilometers away from the Piśācamocana pond. Eck places Kṛttivāseśvara north-east of the area currently called Maidāgin (Eck 1999, 358).

⁴⁸ For example, Kṛttivāsa used to be a part of “the heart of the sacred city until the twelfth century, and it was this part of the city that was dealt the hardest blows during the Muslim centuries” (Eck 1999, 119-120). According to Eck, the ancient site of Kṛttivāsa is currently occupied by a mosque, and no *liṅga* remains, but Hindus are still allowed to enter the premises and worship once a year during Mahāśivarātri (ibid., 276). One (unclear and seemingly not very reliable) website claims that a new temple was built nearby after the destruction of the original, and that presently, a new *liṅga* has been installed in the temple’s earlier location (Bharat Temples, n.d.). If we take this information at face value, it would mean that at the moment there are two *liṅgas* in Vārāṇasī called Kṛttivāsa.

⁴⁹ An event called Matsyodarī Sangam is recorded in a 12th-century CE inscription and seems to be referred to in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (Eck 1999, 117-118). This event has likely happened periodically during heavy rain, causing central Vārāṇasī to become encircled by water, and only after the city’s drainage system became more modern, the event has ceased to happen (ibid., 116-118).

other texts do not provide much assistance since they are not very substantial. Most overlap and parallels are found with Purāṇic texts, which are already very fluid and intertextual, making their dating very difficult (Bisschop 2019, 165-166). Because of this fluidity, the best way to establish a *terminus post quem* is through terms mentioned in the text.

Verse 35: “From *tattva* to *tattva*, he completely transgressed as far as beyond the 36th [*tattva*]; [and thus] having attained a body similar to Śiva, he remains partaking of merit”. This verse connects the *adhyāya* to Siddhānta. The 36 *tattvas* are a Siddhānta concept (Davis 1991, 53), an evolution of the earlier Sāṃkhya system of thought which contained less *tattvas*:

“The Tantras of the Śaiva Siddhānta... added principles to the top, demonstrating that the Sāṃkhyas had correctly grasped the nature of only the inferior levels of the universe, and they attempted to place worlds inherited from older Śaiva scriptures on the levels of these various principles.”

(Tāntrikābhīdhānakośa III Ṭ–PH, s.v. *tattva*, 29)

Verse 37, which is Śaṅkukarṇa’s prayer, contains the following invocation: “To the one who is worshipped and praised by the leaders of the *gaṇas*, the one who speaks the *Siddhāntas*, the *Vidyās* and the *Āgamas*.” The Siddhānta terminology indicates that the text cannot be earlier than the 7th century CE, because that was approximately when Siddhānta began to emerge (Sanderson 2006, 40; Goodall 2004, xxii). Further, Siddhānta started to take on a more clearly distinct form only from the 9th century CE onwards (Davis 1991, 14), which allows us to move the *terminus post quem* quite confidently to the 9th century CE. *Vidyās* can refer to knowledge (*vidyā*) in general, but here more likely to the *Vedas* – which are much older than the 9th century CE – and *Āgamas* in a Hindu context refer to Śaivite tantric treatises, of which there were already many in the beginning of the 8th century CE (ibid., 12). As such, *Vidyās* and *Āgamas* do not enable any further dating possibilities than those which can be deduced from the phrase “the *Siddhāntas*”.

By focusing on the number of the *tattvas*, we can solidify the post 9th-century CE timeframe, since generally the fewer the *tattvas*, the older the text (Tāntrikābhīdhānakośa III Ṭ–PH, s.v. *tattva*, 29).⁵⁰ The *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, for example, contains a list of 10 *tattvas* (ibid., 29-30), and it has been dated to approximately between the 5th and 7th century CE (Goodall et al. 2015, 35). The *Kriyākramadyotikā* by Aghoraśiva, written in the 12th century CE, contains a 36-*tattva*

⁵⁰ The *Bhairavaprādurbhāva*, the opening Māhātmya of the compendium which is from *circa* the second half of the 12th century CE (Bisschop 2021b, 9), mentions only 25 or 26 *tattvas* and as such, represents a more traditional Pāśupata perspective (Bisschop 2005, 540). *Bhairavaprādurbhāva* 12.12ab: *pañcaviṃśātmake tattve śadvimśam tat prakīrtitam /* “He is praised as the twenty-sixth, [beyond?] the twenty-five *tattvas*”

system (Surdam 1984, viii, 237). Abhinavagupta, who lived from 975 to 1025 (Johnson 2009, s.v. Abhinavagupta) enhanced the 36-*tattva* system by adding two *tattvas*, the purpose of which was at least partially “to demonstrate the superiority of the more esoteric tantric systems” (Tāntrikābhīdhānakośa III Ṭ–PH, s.v. *tattva*, 30-31). The oldest mention of 36 *tattvas* that I have been able to identify is found in the 9th-10th century CE *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*.⁵¹

Further, *adhyāya* 30 seems to be made for a lay audience. However, Siddhānta was largely serving the elite until the 12th century CE and started to reach the general public only in the late first and early second millennium (Gollner 2021, 14-16). If we assume that we are dealing here with a mention of a Siddhānta concept that was already widely known – as the target demographic of this text is the laity – it makes sense to adopt a *terminus post quem* of at least the late 10th or the 11th century CE.

Lakṣmīdhara has not quoted this *Māhātmya* in his early 12th century CE *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa*. The absence of a quotation by Lakṣmīdhara can mean that the text discussed here was composed after the first half of the 12th century CE, but it can also mean that Lakṣmīdhara was not aware of this *Māhātmya* or that he ignored it on purpose. Regarding the contents of *adhyāya* 30, it does not seem likely that Lakṣmīdhara would have disagreed with the text and ignored it for that reason, but it is possible that he already had texts that he considered better to quote – after all, it does not seem that his purpose was to quote every possible *Māhātmya*.

Thus, based on the solidification of Śaiva Siddhānta thought in the 9th century CE, the oldest mention of the 36 *tattvas* in the 9th-10th century CE *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, and the late 12th-century CE palaeographic evidence of the manuscript itself, we can conservatively date *adhyāya* 30 to between the 9th and the late 12th centuries CE. Further, based on the increasing lay orientation of Siddhānta in the 10th and early 11th centuries CE, and the absence of a quotation by Lakṣmīdhara, a more speculative dating of the text is the latter half of the 12th century CE.

*Textual Parallels and Content Overlap – Adhyāya 30*⁵²

The story of Śaṅkukarṇa and the ghost is present in multiple other sources. For a start, there is a reference to Śaṅkukarṇa in *adhyāya* 29 of the same compendium.⁵³ *Adhyāya* 29 focuses on the

⁵¹ *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 6.6:

*ṣaṭtriṃśattattvabhēdena nyāso 'yaṃ samudāhṛtaḥ /
adhunā pañcatattvāni yathā dehe tathocyate //*

“With the breaking open of the 36 *tattvas*, this one [is] called Nyāsa/the fixed one (?); now the five *tattvas*, as [they are] in the body, are proclaimed.”

⁵² The most crucial overlap and textual parallels are shown in the footnotes of the edition.

⁵³ *Adhyāya* 29 can be conservatively dated to the 9th-early 13th century CE, and less conservatively to the 12th century CE (Littunen 2020, 12-13). *Adhyāya* 29, verse 5:
iḍāyāṃ ca sthitaṃ devaṃ ḍṛmicāṇḍeśvaraṃ param /

Om̐kāreśvara temple in Vārāṇasī, and is attributed to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, although it is not found in any extant version of that *Purāṇa*.

An idea expressed in verse 20 regarding the beneficiality of establishing and worshipping *liṅgas* is mentioned in verses 13 and 14 of *adhyāya* 32. Verse 14 contains a partial textual parallel.⁵⁴

The closest textual parallels for the story are with a different text altogether, namely the *Viṣṇudharma*. Multiple verses are almost identical, and narrate a similar story, although the interlocutors and context are not the same since the *Viṣṇudharma* focuses on Viṣṇu instead of Śiva, and Vārāṇasī is not mentioned at all. In the *Viṣṇudharma*, the ghost is called Vīrabhadra, and a brahmin called Pipīta is the person who helps him. The main structure of the story is the same: Vīrabhadra has neglected his spiritual duties and ended up as a ghost after his death. Pipīta then sees Vīrabhadra and helps him out of compassion. Instead of bathing in a pond, as instructed by Śaṅkukarṇa in *adhyāya* 30, Pipīta's instruction requires a fast which should help Vīrabhadra within a few days. The fast is possible for Vīrabhadra because he has observed another fast ten lives ago, similarly to how in *adhyāya* 30, liberation is possible for the ghost because he has been a part of establishing a *liṅga* ten lives ago (verse 19). Thus, *Viṣṇudharma* and *adhyāya* 30 contain the "same" story; the contextual difference between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism and the connection with Vārāṇasī are the main separating factors. It is possible that the two texts have a similar origin, such as an older currently non-extant Purāṇic text. It could also be that the *Viṣṇudharma* story was used to create *adhyāya* 30.

The same story, for the most part, is found in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* and the *Kūrma-* and *Padmapurāṇa*.⁵⁵ These three texts overlap with *adhyāya* 30 on the level of content and story structure, following the same pattern of the ascetic meeting the ghost, the ghost begging for help and receiving it, and the eventual liberation of both characters. Some textual parallels exist as well,

kapardaṃ piṅgalāyāṃ ca śaṅkukarṇasya siddhidam // 5 //

"The supreme god Dṛmicāṇḍeśvara is present in Iḍā; and Kaparda is in Piṅgalā, granting *siddhi* (i.e., success or supernatural powers) to Śaṅkukarṇa."

⁵⁴ *Adhyāya* 30, verse 20:

*svato vā parato buddhyā dānenāpy uddharedyadi /
liṅgaṃ yasmin kṣetramadhye tatsaṃskāre 'pi mucyate //*

"If one should raise a *liṅga*, by oneself, by another, with intention or through giving, in the middle of whichever field, one is liberated at its consecration."

Cf. *adhyāya* 32, verses 13-14:

*yadā svayambhūliṅgasya pratiṣṭhāphalam aśnute /
śivaḥ sāksād bhavaḥ so 'tha divyaliṅgapratiṣṭhite // 13 //*

"At that time, he obtains the fruit of the installing of the *svayambhūliṅga*; [since] certainly he, Śiva, is present when the divine *liṅga* is installed."

*svato vā parato vāpi preraṇād vā kariṣyate /
yaḥ kaścī puruṣas tasmāc chivatvam upagamyate // 14 //*

"One should do it either by one's self or by another, or even because of a command; therefore, a special kind of man obtains Śiva-ness."

⁵⁵ That is, in *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 54, *Kūrmapurāṇa* 31, and *Padmapurāṇa* 35.

although they are not very substantial; the parallels are always shorter than a single verse. Most commonly, the verses transmit roughly the same idea but use synonyms, differ in terms of syntax, or have an idea that is expressed in a single verse in *adhyāya* 30 split among multiple verses.

There are various differences between the Śāṅkukarṇa story in *adhyāya* 30 and the two aforementioned *Purāṇas*. *Adhyāya* 30 does not indicate that Śāṅkukarṇa merges with the *liṅga* as in the *Kūrma*- and *Padmapurāṇa*, but he becomes “the flame of the sky” and is “in the state of dissolution” (verse 38) (i.e., he is liberated).⁵⁶ It is not explicitly mentioned whether Śāṅkukarṇa obtains a Śiva-like body as the ghost does. Perhaps we can understand that Śāṅkukarṇa already possesses a Śiva-like body and is using it to conduct his worship and be able to give the ghost instructions in the first place; his encounter with the ghost only serves as a final push for the ascetic to decide to obtain liberation.

Regarding the prayer by Śāṅkukarṇa, the *Kūrma*- and *Padmapurāṇa* have an almost identical section with each other, whereas the prayer in *adhyāya* 30 (verse 37) is entirely different.⁵⁷ The idea is the same, but the terms are not, although they do refer to Śiva in a general sense. Additionally, the two *Purāṇas* mainly use the accusative case, whereas *adhyāya* 30 uses the dative, making the structure of the prayers different.

Regarding the chronological order of the story, in *adhyāya* 30 Śāṅkukarṇa is depicted worshipping the Kapardīśvara *liṅga* already when the ghost approaches him. In the *Kūrma*- and the *Padmapurāṇa*, Śāṅkukarṇa is said to be worshipping Śāṅkara (i.e., Śiva) instead of the Kapardīśvara *liṅga*, and the *liṅga* only appears after the ghost is liberated and Śāṅkukarṇa falls to the ground “like a stick”.⁵⁸ In the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, the *liṅga* is already present from the start. The

⁵⁶ In the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* and the *Viṣṇudharma*, the ascetics – called Vālmīki and Pipīta, respectively – are also liberated, but no specific merging with a *liṅga* is mentioned. The liberation of Vālmīki is mentioned in *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 54.82:

tapodhano 'pi taṃ dṛṣṭvā mahāścaryaṃ ghaṭodbhava / kapardīśvaram ārādhya kālān nirvāṇam āptavān // 82 //

“And the great ascetic, having seen that greatly astonishing one, O Ghaṭodbhava (i.e., Agastya, the one born from a water-pot), he obtained liberation after worshipping Kapardīśvara.”

As for the liberation of Pipīta, see *Viṣṇudharma* 37.46:

vīrabhadraṃ samāśvāsya yayāv itthaṃ mahāmuniḥ / so 'py alpēnaiva kālena tato mokṣam avāptavān // 46 //

“The great sage, having comforted Vīrabhadra, went away in this manner, and in a short time, he obtained liberation in that place.”

⁵⁷ The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* and *Viṣṇudharma* chapters do not have such a prayer at all.

⁵⁸ Falling to the ground like a stick likely refers to the most intense version of prostration, called “*daṇḍavat praṇāma*”. *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1,31.46-48 and *Padmapurāṇa* 1,35.44-46:

stutva ivaṃ śāṅkukarṇo 'sau ('pi) bhagavantam kapardinam / papāta daṇḍavad bhūmau proccaran praṇavam param // 46 (44) //

“That Śāṅkukarṇa, having praised the divine Kapardin in that way, fell down to the ground like a stick, uttering the supreme Praṇava (i.e., the syllable Om).”

taikṣaṇāt paramaṃ liṅgaṃ prādurbhūtaṃ śivātmakam /

jñānam ānandam advaitam (atyantaṃ) koṭikālāgnisannibham (koṭijvālāgnisannibham) // 47 (45) //

Viṣṇudharma, due to its focus on Viṣṇu instead of Śiva, does not discuss any *liṅga*. Additionally, the mention of the beneficial act done ten lives ago (verse 19) only overlaps with the *Viṣṇudharma* telling of the story and is completely absent from the other aforementioned texts.

As for Śaiva Siddhānta ideas, “creating pools for Śivayogins” (verse 17) does not appear in the *Viṣṇudharma*, the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, or the *Padmapurāṇa*.⁵⁹ The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* briefly mentions Śivayogins in verse 84, related to how beneficial it is for the devotee to feed Śivayogins at Piśācamocana.⁶⁰ As for the 36 *tattvas*, they are not mentioned in any of the sources containing content overlap or textual parallels with *adhyāya* 30.

Regarding other terminology, *adhyāya* 30 uses two terms with slightly different connotations to describe the ghost. *Preta* is used in verses 8-9 and 11 (as *asurapreta*) and *piśāca* is used in verses 16, 32, and 36. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharma* use *preta*, the *Padmapurāṇa* uses *piśāca*, and the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* uses both *piśāca* and *rākṣasa*.⁶¹ A *preta* is what could perhaps be called a “wandering soul” or a “ghost”, whereas a *piśāca* is a slightly more malevolent being. Why are two different terms then used in *adhyāya* 30? One cannot usually be both a *preta* and a *piśāca* since *preta* refers to a person who has not had the proper rites done after cremation and has then ended up as a “ghost”, and *piśāca* implies that the person has done something bad in his life which has then resulted in a slightly different, miserable state of existence (Eck 1999, 342). Based on how the ghost is described as quite horrible-looking (verse 9), and how he tells Śaṅkukarṇa that the reasons why he has ended up in this despicable state are due to his own bad and foolish deeds (verses 11-17), we can deduce that what is meant is someone who has done something very bad in his previous existence, that is, a *piśāca*. The name of the pond, Piśācamocana (“the liberation of *piśācas*”), points towards *piśāca* being the main term. In any case, the usage of these specific terms to refer to the ghost seems to be secondary to describing someone who is in a very unfortunate state. The ghost is merely someone who is in desperate need of help, and whichever terms are used seem to be

“Immediately, a supreme *liṅga* consisting of the essence of Śiva appeared, [which was] knowledgeable, blissful, unique, [and] similar in appearance to ten million fires of the end of the world.”

śaṅkukarṇo ‘tha muktātmā tadātmā sarvago ‘malah / nililye (vililye) vimale liṅge tadadbhutam ivābhavat // 48 (46) //

“Then, Śaṅkukarṇa [who had] a liberated soul, [and] that soul [was] omnipresent [and] flawless, became fixed in the pure *liṅga*, that marvelous [*liṅga*] which was produced [there].”

⁵⁹ Regarding serving other beings, the *Kūrmapurāṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa* mention “gods, cows, guests, and virtuous deeds”, an idea that is also expressed in *adhyāya* 30 verse 15.

⁶⁰ *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 54.84:

piśācamocane tīrthe saṁbhojya śivayoginam / koṭibhojyaphalam samyag ekaika parisamkhyayā // 84 //

“Having fed one Śivayogin at the *tīrtha* of the liberation of Piśācas, the combined amount of (lit. ‘by the counting together’) the fruit of ten million feedings [is obtained] in the correct way, [as if feeding each person] one by one.”

⁶¹ With *rākṣasa*, the type of being that is meant is what could be called a “demon” in English: “*Rākṣasas* tend to be earthly but superhuman beings that often possess magic and are disposed to evil acts, such as defiling vedic sacrifices or devouring human beings” (Rodrigues 2018).

present more for emphasizing the pathetic nature of the ghost instead of clearly referring to a more specific type of being. Thus, I believe that the terms are used interchangeably, with *piśāca* as the main term, that is, the intended meaning. *Bhūta* can be used in a similar way: “*Bhūta* is a generic term for a host of created beings. In the *Gr̥hyasūtras*, it is applied to virtually all created components of reality (i.e., *prakṛti*), including *rākṣasas* and *yakṣas*, but it most certainly includes the entire array of devilish beings” (Rodrigues 2018).

It is possible that *adhyāya* 30 was created using two sources, of which one uses *preta* and the other uses *piśāca* to refer to the ghost, and the author(s) used the terms interchangeably. However, the usage of multiple terms could also be a result of *adhyāya* 30 originating in a text similar to the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* which already uses multiple terms – although not the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* itself since it is newer, likely from the 14th century CE (Bisschop 2021b, 15), and uses the term *rākṣasa* which is not found in *adhyāya* 30.

Concluding Discussion – Adhyāya 30

In terms of typology, *Adhyāya* 30 fits with the “verbatim”, “idea”, and “story” types of intertextuality. It contains several textual parallels (the verbatim type), shares conceptual information (the idea type), and overlaps in terms of content, paraphrasing and story structure (the story type).⁶² The textual parallels with the *Viṣṇudharma* are the most substantial, serving as a clear example of the verbatim type. As for the story type, the content and structural overlap with the *Viṣṇudharma*, the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, the *Padmapurāṇa*, and the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* is so evident that we can consider them to be different versions of a single story.⁶³ The idea type is evident in the Siddhānta and Pāśupata ideas of the *adhyāya*.

As for further understanding processes of composition and transmission of *Māhātmya* literature, *adhyāya* 30 helps in two ways. Firstly, it serves as an example of the verbatim, idea, and story types, and thus shows how to recognize these types in a concrete way. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, *adhyāya* 30 contains a combination of the three most common types. The fourth, “internal” type requires special circumstances and as such is surely rarer. Thus, *adhyāya* 30 shows us how single *Māhātmyas*, and even single verses or lines, can simultaneously contain multiple types of intertextuality.

⁶² It should be mentioned here that percentage-wise, *adhyāya* 32 has more textual parallels (5 verses out of 15). However, as the parallels of *adhyāya* 32 are with *adhyāya* 19 of the same compendium, *adhyāya* 32 fits better within the “internal” type of *Māhātmya* production.

⁶³ Because *adhyāya* 30 is a mix of three different types, my primary example for the idea type is *adhyāya* 31, which, as I will show below, is a clearer example of this specific type on its own.

4. Contents and Contextualization – *Adhyāya 31: Description of the Guhyāṣṭaka*

The 31st *adhyāya* of the compendium involves Brahma asking Īśvara (i.e., Śiva) about *tīrthas* – “crossing-places” or “fords” – which are famous pilgrimage destinations. The main idea is to tell about the greatness of eight especially important *tīrthas* in Vārāṇasī and reveal their names. The combination of places is called *Śivāṣṭaka* in verse 15, *Avimuktāṣṭaka* in verse 19, and *Guhyāṣṭaka* in the colophon. Simultaneously, the verses that reveal the names of the *tīrthas* also form a prayer announcing their greatness.

I begin with a general interpretation of the *adhyāya*, followed by placing the text in its spatial and temporal contexts. Then, I discuss textual parallels and content overlap. Finally, the types of intertextuality found in this *adhyāya* are considered.

A General Interpretation – Adhyāya 31

Regarding the structure of *adhyāya 31*, verse 1 starts with a question: Brahma inquires Śiva about the *tīrthas*. The interlocutor for the rest of this *adhyāya* is Śiva himself (as Īśvara). Verses 2-7 emphasize the greatness of the prayer and the *tīrthas*. Then, the prayer itself (verses 8-15) is given, revealing the names of the *tīrthas*. The last five verses (16-20) explain to whom the prayer should be told, how it should be used, and its beneficial effects.

Since the *adhyāya* is focused on the prayer, it does not contain any story *per se*. It is quite clearly an instruction for those who hear the verses, and as such, the *adhyāya* is practical in nature. The emphasis is on the specific prayer as *the* greatest prayer – it contains the names of the best, most beneficial places that a pilgrim should visit in Vārāṇasī. The prayer is not described as only a prayer, it is

“The *tīrtha* better than [other] *tīrthas*, the vow better than [other] vows; the muttered prayer better than [other] muttered prayers, the best meditation of meditations. The yoga better than [other] yogas, the great highest secret...” (verses 6-7ab)

Thus, these verses describe the prayer in a hyperbolic or metaphoric way: it is a vow, meditation, yoga, and a great secret. The prayer is so great that it can be considered a *tīrtha* itself – the prayer is so magnificent that it allows one to “cross over” merely by knowing it.

As for the narration of the *adhyāya*, the end of verse 7, “...that, to you I will tell, O Brahma, having bowed to the great Śiva” is slightly confusing, since after all, this is Śiva speaking. I believe this part should be understood as Śiva (as Īśvara), bowing to himself. That is, the personal form of Śiva who is narrating the story is bowing to his own existence in an “impersonal” form – a *līṅga*,

most likely. Perhaps a specific *liṅga* is meant, from which a devotee should start a pilgrimage route consisting of all the locations mentioned in the prayer. However, it is also possible that this passage is merely a result of bad editing by the author(s) of the *Māhātmya*.

Adhyāya 31 clearly states that by following its instructions, liberation is obtained: “and the brahmins, situated at the front in these places; after seeing them once, a wise man will surely cross over from transmigration” (verse 18). This verse gives a possible hint regarding for whom this prayer is meant: “a wise man” (*vipra*) often has the meaning “brahmin”. This would mean that the prayer was meant only for brahmins – although due to the lay orientation of the *adhyāya* (and *adhyāyas* 30 and 32) and the universally liberating results of knowing the prayer, “wise man” is most likely a better translation, and the phrase is not supposed to exclude any specific group. Verse 16, however, excludes a group based on their beliefs: “one should not give this to [any] wicked, non-believing, Śāstra-transgressing [person]; and [it is] not to be taught anywhere to one delighting in the Tarkaśāstra”. What is meant with this verse is that those who do not rely on faith are excluded. That is, those who are atheists (*nāstika*), do not follow the Śāstras (*śāstradūṣaka*), and are asking critical questions in the manner of the Tarkaśāstra (“the science of reasoning” [Monier-Williams 1899, 440]) (*tarkaśāstrarata*), should not be given this prayer. It is enough to have faith and devotion to benefit from the prayer, but any “critics” cannot gain the benefits from merely knowing the prayer, and for this reason they should not be given it in the first place.

It should be emphasized that the prayer in itself nor only visiting the places mentioned in it does not seem to be the only prerequisite for liberation, as we can see from verse 17:

“[It is] to be muttered as a prayer in the end-time, if he should desire the attainment of liberation; having become a pure, controlled self, [one] should surely remember it during the three divisions of the day (i.e. the dawn, the noon, and the sunset); the reciter [then] becomes liberated from the snares of worldly illusion and proceeds to the state of Śiva.”

That is, a regulated practice involving continued use of the prayer is another requirement for successful liberation. The prayer should be muttered at the time of death, and during each of the three parts of the day to become liberated. The “state of Śiva” (*śivatā*) can be connected to Siddhānta thought, as the ultimate aim of Siddhānta is to become similar to Śiva. “Having become a pure, controlled self” can be understood as referring to Siddhānta practice, since to become similar to Śiva, a devotee needs to first purify his body and then internally reconstruct it by mantras (Davis 1991, 52). This process needs initiation, and controlled practice is necessary to gradually proceed towards Śiva-ness: “Śaiva siddhānta texts always prescribe a rigorously active program of study,

proper conduct, yogic discipline, and ritual action” (ibid., 27) although such practice is not enough on its own and Śiva’s divine grace is also a necessity. It seems that muttering the prayer and physically visiting the places described in it would give the devotee both controlled practice (through using the prayer continuously) and divine grace (through visiting the pilgrimage locations described in the prayer itself).⁶⁴

In sum, *adhyāya* 31 is a pilgrimage “guide” and a “mental map” for a lay Śiva devotee. It gives the prayer to be used during religious practice, and simultaneously, the prayer itself gives a list of important pilgrimage locations which can enhance the devotee’s prospects in obtaining liberation. It was most likely written by someone involved – through worship or work as a priest, for example – with the locations mentioned in the prayer, and thus the target demographic would be lay Śiva devotees living in Vārāṇasī or coming there for pilgrimage. Further, considering the brahmin-discussion and the Siddhānta-like programme of daily practice, we can speculate that these devotees should be male brahmins initiated to the Siddhānta system.

Spatial Context – Adhyāya 31

The list of names mentioned in (and before) the prayer connects *adhyāya* 31 with the spatial reality of Vārāṇasī. Some of the names can still be identified in contemporary Vārāṇasī as *liṅgas*, although this does not mean that they are the same.⁶⁵ These pilgrimage destinations can change name and place and be torn down – sometimes to be built again in another location. What follows is an attempt to see where these *liṅgas* and the temples housing them might have been located in the 12th century CE.⁶⁶

The *adhyāya* mentions multiple names, of which some likely refer to the same *liṅga* or place: Dṛmicāṇḍeśvara is Dṛmicāṇḍa; Kapardin is Kapardīśa; and Pañcāyatana is Oṃkāra.⁶⁷ The name Avimukta is used to refer to the city itself: “I am delighting, always, at the supreme field of

⁶⁴ According to Siddhānta thought, the “liberating initiation” (*nirvāṇadīkṣā*) confers Śiva’s grace on the devotee – although there are two lower initiations that should be obtained before the liberating one, and the devotee’s guru should observe the practitioner and deem him fit for the “liberating initiation” before it can even have its desired effect (Davis 1991, 89-94).

⁶⁵ See fig. 3 for a placement of the *liṅgas* on a pilgrimage map of Vārāṇasī from 1876, the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* (Gengnagel 2011, 162). The spatial situation in the 12th century CE was probably different, but as the *liṅgas* placed on the map are mainly clustered together, it seems likely that the *liṅgas* discussed in *adhyāya* 31 were located in the northern side of Vārāṇasī.

⁶⁶ The reasons for a 12th-century CE dating are discussed below in “Temporal Context – *Adhyāya* 31”.

⁶⁷ See *adhyāya* 31, verse 3ab: “...the most excellent place Oṃkāra, [also] called Pañcāyatana.” According to Mani (1975, 562), Pañcāyatana and Oṃkāra refer to the same idol. Additionally, *adhyāya* 29 of the compendium, attributed to the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*, discusses Pañcāyatana in connection with Oṃkāreśvara.

Avimukta” (verse 3ef).⁶⁸ Śiva Śaṅkara quite clearly refers to Śiva, and Tryambaka and Maheśvara can possibly be understood as additional epithets. We are then left with eight “main” names, as given in the prayer: Omkāra, Svarlīna, Kṛttivāsa, Kapardīśa, Dṛmicanḍa, Jyeṣṭheśvara, Madhyameśa, and Hastipāleśvara.

These eight names can be understood against the background of the notion of the *pañcāṣṭaka*. The *aṣṭakas*, in Śaiva Siddhānta, are “groups of eight worlds that are placed in a hierarchical order of the five *tattvas* Water, Fire, Wind, Ether and the Ego-principle (*ahaṃkāra*)”, of which the lowest five groups of eight are called *pañcāṣṭaka* (Bisschop 2006, 27). These lowest five groups have names of Śaiva sanctuaries (ibid.). The names associated with the *Guhyāṣṭaka* (the name of *adhyāya* 31 as given in its colophon), are most commonly Gayā, Kurukṣetra, Nākhala, Kanakhala, Vimāla, Aṭṭahāsa, Mahendra, and Bhīmakeśvara; and alternatively Amareśa, Prabhāsa, Naimiśa, Puṣkara, Āṣāḍhi, Diṇḍin, Bhārabhūti, and Lakulīśa (Tāntrikābhidhānakośa, s.v. *guhyāṣṭaka*, 200-201). Neither of these lists corresponds with the list of names in the prayer of *adhyāya* 31.⁶⁹ Even though the names do not match, it is likely that the list given in *adhyāya* 31 is an attempt at creating a localized, Vārāṇasī-centric *aṣṭaka*, using the *pañcāṣṭakas* as a template. The mention of the prayer as *Avimuktāṣṭaka* points towards this idea. Additionally, the popular concept of Vārāṇasī being a microcosm of India, and the known process of transposing famous pilgrimage destinations from elsewhere in South Asia into the spatial context of Vārāṇasī, point towards a localized version.⁷⁰

The names are significant for three main reasons. Firstly, this selection of *liṅgas* has been specifically chosen for *adhyāya* 31, even though other *liṅgas* were surely present. Secondly, the *liṅgas* are depicted as magnificent and highly important, and some of them used to be famous, such as Omkāreśvara and Madhyameśvara. Thirdly, these temples and the *liṅgas* within them – at least when placed on pilgrimage maps such as the *Kāśīdarpaṇa* (see fig.3) – are within the oldest and most central areas of Vārāṇasī. They are not minor “tiny temples” such as family shrines or small

⁶⁸ A *liṅga* called Avimukteśvara does exist in Vārāṇasī. It was famous in the *Purāṇas* but has been assimilated to the temple compound of the presently more famous Viśveśvara *liṅga* (Eck 1999, 129). In any case, it is unlikely that this *liṅga* is what is referred to here, as Avimukta is called a “field” (*kṣetra*).

⁶⁹ The lists of the other four *pañcāṣṭakas* do not match with *adhyāya* 31 either. They are Amareśa, Prabhāsa, Naimiśa, Puṣkara, Āṣāḍhin, Diṇḍimuṇḍi, Bhārabhūti, and Lākuli; Hariścandra, Śrīparvata, Jalpa, Āmrāṭikeśvara, Madhyama, Mahākāla, Kedāra, and Bhairava; Bhastrāpada, Rudrakotī, Avimukta, Mahālaya, Gokarṇa, Bhadrakarṇa, Suvarṇākṣa, and Sthāṇu; and Chagalaṇḍa, Duraṇḍa, Makoṭa, Maṇḍaleśvara, Kālañjara, Śaṅkukarṇa, Sthūleśvara, and Sthaleśvara (Bisschop 2006, 30-32).

⁷⁰ The “microcosm” idea is evident in multiple works about Vārāṇasī: see e.g., Eck 1999, 23-24; or Singh 2011, 48-53. Vārāṇasī does contain transposed versions of each of the famous 12 *vyotirliṅgas* (see Lazzaretti 2013), of which two are part of the list of names in *adhyāya* 31: Omkāra (i.e., Omkāreśvara) and Tryambaka (i.e., Tryambakeśvara). However, there is not enough evidence to suggest that the names in *adhyāya* 31 would point to an alternative list of the names of the 12 *vyotirliṅgas*.

temples of specific neighbourhoods, which often do not seek to promote sectarian ideas or other hierarchical structures, “concerns which sometimes motivate the Brahman composers of texts and their temples” (Haskett 2018, 6-9). Most, if not all, of these *liṅgas* must have been popular at the time of the writing of *adhyāya* 31. Thus, the *liṅgas* mentioned here were quite likely not chosen to popularize minor locations, but instead to increase or reinforce their already existing popularity.

Temporal Context – Adhyāya 31

As mentioned above, the *terminus ante quem* of the text is the late 12th century CE, as established by palaeographic evidence in the manuscript (Bisschop 2021b, 5). The textual parallels, as they are almost non-existent regarding this *adhyāya*, are not of much help here, and yet again, the fluid and intertextual nature of *Purāṇas* complicates matters further. Thus, figuring out the *terminus post quem* of *adhyāya* 31 is, similarly to *adhyāya* 30, best done by using the terms found in the text.

As for the *aṣṭaka* concept, it is found in various Śaivite scriptures, including the *Śivadharmā* corpus, in which the *aṣṭaka* might be represented in an older form (Bisschop 2006, 27-28). The central parts of the *Śivadharmā* corpus – the *Śivadharmottara* and *Śivadharmāśāstra* – are possibly as old as the 7th century CE (De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 589).

Regarding the names found in *adhyāya* 31, some of them can be found in multiple other texts: the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, the extant *Liṅgapurāṇa*, the “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, the *Nāradapurāṇa*, and the *Padmapurāṇa*.⁷¹ As with *Purāṇas* in general, dating these texts is difficult and only broad estimates can be given. The oldest of the aforementioned texts containing some of the names found in *adhyāya* 31 is most likely the *Kūrmapurāṇa* – the parts containing the names can likely be dated to the 7th-8th century CE (Hazra 1940, 73-74) – or the extant *Liṅgapurāṇa*, which can be dated to somewhere between 600-1000 CE (ibid., 94-95).⁷² Thus, based on the earliest appearances of some of the names in *adhyāya* 31 in other sources, we can suggest a *terminus post quem* of around the 7th-8th century CE.

Sāṃkhya and Yoga are mentioned in verse four. Yoga is too general a term to be of help, and Sāṃkhya already existed in the 4th century CE (Flood 2015, 232). Verse 17 contains a quite clear Siddhānta way of reaching liberation: one needs to become a “pure, controlled self”, practice regularly, and then proceed to the “state of Śiva”. The argument about Siddhānta gaining a more lay

⁷¹ The names found in each source are listed below in this chapter. See “Textual Parallels and Content Overlap – *Adhyāya* 31”.

⁷² The newest of these texts is the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, datable to the 14th century CE (Bisschop 2021b, 15). The “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” quoted by Lakṣmīdhara cannot be newer than the first half of the 12th century since that is when Lakṣmīdhara wrote his text. The *Nāradapurāṇa* is datable to around 875-1000 CE, although the chapter containing the names discussed here is most likely later (Hazra 1940, 132). The *Padmapurāṇa* is datable to between 950-1400 CE (ibid., 109-112).

orientation in the late 10th-early 11th centuries CE is valid here as well. Thus, we can move the *terminus post quem* to this timeframe. However, additional evidence from related Siddhānta concepts – such as *tattvas* as in *adhyāya* 30 – is unavailable, and this dating thus remains speculative. As with *adhyāya* 30, the absence of any quotation by Lakṣmīdhara in his early 12th-century CE *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* suggests a *terminus post quem* that is later than the first half of the 12th century CE.

In sum, a firm dating for *adhyāya* 31 is between the 7th (not the 9th as with *adhyāya* 30, since the Siddhānta concepts found here are less revealing) and the late 12th century CE, based on the likely appearance of the first *Śivadharmā* texts and the paleographical evidence from the manuscript. More precisely, due to the increasingly lay orientation of the Siddhānta school and the absence of a quote by Lakṣmīdhara, we can assume that the text is approximately from the latter half of the 12th century CE.

Textual Parallels and Content Overlap – Adhyāya 31

This *adhyāya* contains very few textual parallels, and even the ones that it contains are only short phrases, not full verses, or even full lines. “*Satyam satyam mayoditam*” (verse 3), “*ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi*” (verse 2), and “*rahasyam paramam mama*” (verse 2) are the only parallels, and as they are all very general in meaning, I do not consider them to be textual parallels as such – these set phrases could be present in any *Māhātmya*, *Purāṇa*, or in other Sanskrit literature.⁷³ The phrases are common ways of adding emphasis, “stock phrases” which can be understood idiomatically. For example, “*rahasyam paramam mama*” (“my most excellent secret”) does not literally refer to a secret but merely adds emphasis to how beneficial the message of the text is.

The aforementioned eight names – which can probably be understood as being based on the concept of the *pañcāṣṭaka* – can be considered content overlap, although the names listed in *adhyāya* 31 and the commonly known *pañcāṣṭakas* do not match. That is, the content overlap is only present if we assume that what we have here is supposed to be based on a *pañcāṣṭaka* and not something else.

As mentioned above, many of the names in *adhyāya* 31 can be found in other texts. The extant *Liṅgapurāṇa* (1,92) lists Avimukteśvara, Ḍṛmicāṇḍeśvara, Kṛttivāsa, Madhyameśa, Oṃkāra, and Svarlīneśvara, but does not mention Hastipāleśvara or Jyeṣṭheśvara. The “*Liṅgapurāṇa*” mentions Ḍṛmicāṇḍeśvara, Hastipāleśvara, Kapardīśvara, Kṛttivāsa, Madhyameśa, Oṃkāra, and

⁷³ “*Satyam satyam mayoditam*” is found repeatedly in the *Nāradapurāṇa* and the *Vāmanapurāṇa* and other Sanskrit texts. “*Rahasyam paramam mama*” can be found in *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 3,7.12. “*Ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi*” is found in various *Purāṇas*, repeatedly in the *Mahābhārata*, in other Sanskrit literature, and in *adhyāya* 1, verse 33 of the compendium.

Svarlīna, but no Avimukteśvara or Jyeṣṭheśvara. Although these names are found in the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and Lakṣmīdhara’s “*Liṅgapurāṇa*”, they are not present in a similar list-like form as in *adhyāya* 31. In the “*Liṅgapurāṇa*”, the names are found scattered within chapters called “*guhyaṅyatanavarṇana*” (i.e., “the description of secret abodes”). In the extant *Liṅgapurāṇa*, Ḍṛmicāṇḍeśvara (as Drumacaṇḍeśvara), Madhyameśvara, and Oṃkāra are part of a (not Vārāṇasī-specific) list that refers to more sites than those directly mentioned in the text.⁷⁴

Some of the names in *adhyāya* 31 are found in a list-like section of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (33.167-170): Jyeṣṭheśvara, Kapardīśa, Kṛttivāseśvara, Madhyameśvara, and Oṃkāreśa. Svarlīna is also found in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, but it is not accompanied by any of the other names, and it is found considerably earlier in the text than the “list” discussed here.⁷⁵ Kapardīśvara is found in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (54.80 and 54.82), *Nāradaṅpurāṇa* (1,123.64) and *Padmapurāṇā* (35).⁷⁶

Kapardīśvara, Kṛttivāseśvara, Madhyameśvara, and Oṃkāra are found in the *Kūṛmapurāṇa* in a list-like section, and the same names, except for Kapardīśvara being Kandarpeśvara, occur in the *Padmapurāṇa*.⁷⁷ Both of these *Purāṇas* include Viśveśvara, which is nowhere to be found in *adhyāya* 31. These list-like sections have the same general idea as *adhyāya* 31 – creating a list of important locations in Vārāṇasī. However, they differ in terms of the names mentioned, and are clearly a part of another hierarchical construction of pilgrimage destinations.

Overlap with other *adhyāyas* of the compendium is also present. Kapardīśvara is the main location – with the Piśācamocana pond – of *adhyāya* 30 of the compendium, and it is mentioned in *adhyāyas* 29 and 18. Ḍṛmicāṇḍeśvara is mentioned in *adhyāyas* 29, 18, 13, and 5; Kṛttivāsa in

⁷⁴ *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1,92.138ab:

yāni cānyāni puṅyāni sthānāni mama bhūtale /

“And those other auspicious places of mine on earth...”.

These other places are not mentioned by name.

⁷⁵ *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 33.123:

svayaṃ līno maheśo ’tra bhaktakāmasaṃṛddhaye / (maheśotra emended to maheśo ’tra by me)

tasmāt svarlīnasaṃjñāsya devadevasya śūlīnaḥ //

“Maheśa (the great lord) himself [is] staying here, for the success of the wishes of the devotees; therefore, the god of gods, the one with a spear/trident [is] known as Svarlīna.” The two genitives in the latter half of the verse are strange. My interpretation here is based on the Hindi commentary of the Jangamwadi Math edition of the first half of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (see bibliography).

⁷⁶ The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* and *Padmapurāṇa* chapters regarding Kapardīśvara are also discussed above as related to *adhyāya* 30 of the compendium.

⁷⁷ *Kūṛmapurāṇa* 1,30.12:

kṛttivāseśvaraṃ liṅgaṃ madhyameśvaraṃ uttamam /

viśveśvaraṃ tathoṃkāraṃ kapardīśvaraṃ eva ca // 12 //

“The Kṛttivāseśvara liṅga, the supreme Madhyameśvara, Viśveśvara, and also Oṃkāra [and] Kapardīśvara.”

Padmapurāṇa 3,34.10:

kṛttivāseśvaraṃ liṅgaṃ madhyameśvaraṃ uttamam /

viśveśvaraṃ tathoṃkāraṃ kandarpeśvaraṃ eva ca // 10 //

“The Kṛttivāseśvara liṅga, the supreme Madhyameśvara, Viśveśvara, and also Oṃkāra [and] Kandarpeśvara.”

adhyāyas 30, 19, 18, 17, and 13; Madhyameśvara in *adhyāyas* 18 (as Madhyameśa), 13, and 11; Oṃkāreśvara in *adhyāyas* 29 and 12; Pañcāyatana in *adhyāya* 29; and Svarlīna in *adhyāya* 8. Thus, it seems that the locations of many *adhyāyas* overlap and can be a part of the “pilgrimage hierarchy” of the compendium.

In sum, *adhyāya* 31 contains very few instances that could even remotely be considered textual parallels. Content overlap is minor; mere names of locations are not enough to establish firmer links with other texts – especially when the names are not found together but are instead scattered around a larger work such as the *Līṅgapurāṇa*. Based on current evidence, the list of names in *adhyāya* 31 seems to be a Vārāṇasī-specific construction that uses the concept of the *pañcāṣṭaka* to organize its content. That is, it is a unique text that was either a part of an earlier, currently non-extant “*Brahmapurāṇa*”; or an *adhyāya* created specifically for the compendium and only later attributed to the “*Brahmapurāṇa*”.

Concluding Discussion – Adhyāya 31

The three terms used in this chapter – *Guhyāṣṭaka*, *Avimuktāṣṭaka*, and *Śivāṣṭaka* – probably refer to the same idea. This idea is simultaneously the prayer and the eight main names mentioned within it. The locations are connected by being a part of a mnemonic prayer – as such forming a more specific group of pilgrimage sites than merely “Śaiva locations in Vārāṇasī”. Most likely, the locations were relatively close to each other within Vārāṇasī, as argued above.

The locations create a pilgrimage hierarchy and instruct the reader to visit these specific places in Vārāṇasī. Verse 19 instructs the pilgrims to mutter the prayer and visit these specific locations: “Surely Deva [is worshipped with] that desirable, excessively lofty utterance, and not through other deities”. That is, the pilgrim should visit these specific locations, worshipping by using the prayer given in the text, and in this way, liberation will be obtained.

As seen in the analysis above, the “verbatim” type is not present in *adhyāya* 31, unless stock phrases such as *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi* are understood as direct quotations, which they obviously are not. The “story” type is not clearly identifiable here either, since – although similar “lists” of locations and prayers exist in various texts – there is no clear story or a more specific structure that would make it possible to say that paraphrasing is taking place. Genette’s “saying a different thing in the same style” type of hypertextuality (Genette 1997, 6) is closer to what is happening here. However, a direct relationship with another text – a criteria Genette’s hypertextuality has – is not identifiable (ibid., 5). The “idea” type, accounting for shared concepts and terminology, is the main type of intertextuality in this *adhyāya*. The eight names (that can possibly be understood as being

based on the *pañcāṣṭaka* concept) and the Siddhānta ideas are our evidence for the idea type since they are found in various other texts as well. Additionally, as various names in the list of *adhyāya* 31 are found in other *adhyāyas* of the compendium, the “internal” type is also present here, albeit in a quite minor way. The internal type can here be further categorized as the “internal *idea* type of intertextuality”.

5. Contents and Contextualization – *Adhyāya 32: Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*

The 32nd *adhyāya* of the compendium is a “conclusion” to the three “*Brahmapurāṇa*” *adhyāyas*. It is the shortest of the three and has a more general focus on Vārāṇasī instead of specific locations within the city. It contains a parallel with the five-verse *adhyāya* 19 – the last *adhyāya* of another “*Brahmapurāṇa*”-attributed section in the compendium – that is almost entirely verbatim and adds more verses. Thus, *adhyāya* 32 serves as the clearest example of the internal type of intertextuality.

As with the two other *adhyāyas*, I begin with a general interpretation, followed by placing the text in its spatial and temporal contexts. Then, I discuss textual parallels and content overlap. Finally, the types of intertextuality found in this *adhyāya* are considered.

A General Interpretation – Adhyāya 32

The *adhyāya* is entirely narrated by Sanatkumāra, who is talking to sages or brahmins – or brahmin sages (verse 9).⁷⁸ The ninth verse represents a possible break in the story: before it, the greatness of Avimukta/Vārāṇasī and the amazing results of religious actions done in the area are listed by Sanatkumāra. However, from verse 10 onwards, the *adhyāya* simply moves to more general praise for *liṅga*-worship and Śiva. No locations are mentioned in this latter part.

There is no real “story” *per se*. The only clearly topographical names mentioned are Avimukta and Vārāṇasī and the information given is very general. A mention of Viśveśvara is present in verse eight (as Viśveśa), but it is somewhat unclear if this merely refers to Śiva as the “lord of the universe” or to a specific *liṅga* or location in Vārāṇasī. The placement of the *adhyāya* as the last part of the “*Brahmapurāṇa*” section and its general nature point towards it being intended as a “conclusion” of the section.

As for the parallels with *adhyāya* 19, there are two likely options. On the one hand, it could be that there were two source texts, one for *adhyāya* 19 and another for *adhyāya* 32. It could be that these two source texts evolved from a single source text, and the differences are a result of adding or removing verses. This addition or removal of verses, then, could have been a novel attempt to adapt the earlier source text to contemporary times. On the other hand, it is possible that there was one source text from which the same *adhyāya* was copied twice. *Adhyāyas* 19 and 32 then gradually became more and more different from each other because of oral transmission and scribal errors while they were already a part of the compendium. However, as this option means that the same *adhyāya* would have been copied to the compendium twice, the first option seems more likely.

⁷⁸ *Adhyāya* 19 has a single verse by a *sūta*, and the other four are by Sanatkumāra. Thus, Sanatkumāra and the *sūta* are talking in *adhyāya* 19, and in *adhyāya* 32 only Sanatkumāra is directly mentioned as an interlocutor.

Spatial Context – Adhyāya 32

The broad spatial context of *adhyāya* 32 is – perhaps obviously – Vārāṇasī. Avimukta merely refers to Vārāṇasī and as such does not help in creating a more specific spatial image of the *adhyāya*. The aforementioned presence of Viśveśa in the *adhyāya* (verse 8) does not help much either. In any case, Viśveśa – if we assume that it refers to the *liṅga* and is not merely an epithet⁷⁹ – is the only specific toponym in *adhyāya* 32. The parallels with *adhyāya* 19 do not help either as they do not mention any other locations.

Temporal Context – Adhyāya 32

Unfortunately, *adhyāya* 32 contains very few clues regarding its age. The textual parallels are with *adhyāya* 19 of the compendium and as such they do not help with dating. Regarding using terms and concepts to date *adhyāya* 32, there are many general terms that do not help to narrow down the timeframe. The idea of propitiating a deity through “bathing, worship, and oblation” (verse 5), is too common to be of help. Further, the concept of *liṅga* worship being so beneficial that it does not matter why (own wish, someone’s command, or even accidentally) one worships a *liṅga* is of no use in dating.

The main pieces of evidence for a *terminus post quem* are the mention of “Śiva-ness” in verse 14, and the move to more general praise of *liṅga* worship. “Śiva-ness” can be connected with Siddhānta, the goal of which is to become equal with Śiva in many ways, but still retain some kind of autonomy (Davis 1991, 24). Verses 6 and 15 refer to the idea of being liberated while still alive, instead of gaining liberation by living through *karmas* in repeated rebirths or through Vedic rituals. Being liberated while alive can signify a more tantric, rapid way of reaching liberation, especially as the concept is applied here to the “ordinary” practitioner instead of more well-known, “famous” liberated beings. This possibly tantric background of the latter parts of *adhyāya* 32 points again towards a Siddhānta origin. As mentioned above, Siddhānta thought solidified in the 9th century CE (ibid., 14), and was mainly “elite” until the 12th century CE, starting to reach the general public in the late first and early second millennium (Gollner 2021, 14-16). The target demographic of *adhyāya* 32 seems to be the laity.

Lakṣmīdhara does not quote *adhyāya* 32 (or 19) in his early 12th-century CE *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* either. As with *adhyāyas* 30 and 31, the absence of a quotation can mean that Lakṣmīdhara did not know the text or ignored it for some reason, or that the text did not yet exist in the early 12th century CE.

⁷⁹ In addition to Śiva, Viśveśa can be an epithet for Brahma and Viṣṇu as well (Monier-Williams 1899, 994).

In sum, based on the presence of Siddhānta ideas in the text and the palaeographical evidence, a firm dating for *adhyāya* 32 is between the 9th and the late 12th century CE. Further, based on the increasing lay orientation of Siddhānta in the 10th and 11th centuries CE, the *terminus post quem* can be moved to the 10th-11th century CE. However, if we also consider the fact that Lakṣmīdhara does not quote this text, we reach a more speculative dating of the latter half of the 12th century CE, making this *adhyāya* approximately as old as *adhyāyas* 30 and 31.

Textual Parallels and Content Overlap – Adhyāya 32

Adhyāya 32 contains *adhyāya* 19 in almost verbatim quotations. Verses 1-4 in both *adhyāyas* parallel each other, and verse 9 of *adhyāya* 32 parallels verse 5 of *adhyāya* 19. However, there are two main differences between the parallel verses in the two *adhyāyas*. Firstly, the initial verse contains the epithet “*padmajanman*” (“lotus-born”) in *adhyāya* 32, whereas in *adhyāya* 19, we have “*vanajanman*” (“forest-born”).⁸⁰ *Padmajanman* surely refers to Brahma as he was born from a lotus (Mani 1975, 365), whereas *vanajanman* is slightly unclear. Secondly, according to verse 3 of *adhyāya* 32, *siddhis* are obtained, whereas according to verse 3 of *adhyāya* 19, liberation (*mukti*) is obtained instead. The *padmajanman-vanajanman* and *siddhi-mukti* differences can point towards two origin texts, although they can also be a result of major errors in oral transmission, or scribal conjecture aimed at correcting illegible words.

The colophons of *adhyāyas* 32 and 19 are not the same. *Adhyāya* 32 has only “the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* in the *Brahmapurāṇa*”, whereas *adhyāya* 19 has “the description of *Vārāṇasī* in the *Kṛttivāsamāhātmya* in the *Brahmapurāṇa*”. This difference points toward *adhyāya* 32 being intended as a more general *adhyāya* or that it signals the end of the “*Brahmapurāṇa*” *Māhātmyas* as quoted in the compendium. *Adhyāya* 19 is more clearly connected to *Kṛttivāsa*. However, as *adhyāya* 19 only contains five verses and *Kṛttivāsa* is not mentioned elsewhere than in the colophon, we can assume that the “original” *adhyāya* 19 contained more verses and parts have been lost over time. Which parts these are, is not possible to say, since the verses themselves do not reveal any clear gaps.

⁸⁰ *Adhyāya* 32, verse 1:

*etac chrutvā mayā pūrvaṃ prasādāt padmajanmanah /
tasmāj jagāma taṃ sthānam avimuktaṃ sureśvaram //*

“After this has been heard by me before, because of the kindness of the lotus-born; therefore, I went to that place, Avimukta, the lord of the gods.”

Cf. *adhyāya* 19, verse 1:

*etac chrutāṃ mayā pūrvaṃ prasādād vanajanmanah /
tasmāj jagāma tatrasthaṃ avimukte ca īśvaram //*

“After this has been heard by me before, because of the kindness of the forest-born; therefore, I went there to that place, the lord in Avimukta.”

As for the mention of Viśveśa – if we assume that it refers to Viśveśvara – found in *adhyāya* 32 and not in *adhyāya* 19, it is possible that Viśveśvara could have been thought of as insignificant, or even deliberately excluded from *adhyāya* 19 in order to promote other locations (such as Kṛttivāsa which is mentioned in the colophon of *adhyāya* 19).⁸¹ However, as the popularity of Viśveśvara had not yet reached its peak when the manuscript was created, it is unlikely that Viśveśvara was originally a part of *adhyāya* 19 and was deliberately removed – it would not have eclipsed any other sites such as Kṛttivāsa at that time.⁸² Additionally, the mention of Viśveśa in *adhyāya* 32 is not done in a way that would emphasize its centrality.⁸³

What separates the two texts are the multiple verses in *adhyāya* 32 that are not shared by *adhyāya* 19. Verses 5-7 talk about what happens to the sages when they are in Vārāṇasī. They obtain *siddhis*⁸⁴ according to their own actions (verse 5); some become liberated, and some choose to enjoy pleasures according to their own wishes (verse 6); some become *yogeśvaras*,⁸⁵ and some reach *samādhi*,⁸⁶ whereas others choose to become protectors of the world and stay behind (verse 7). Verse 8 – in addition to containing the mention of Viśveśa – refers to someone/something who creates heat and rain and grants *siddhis* “by the favour of Devadeva, the lord of the universe (i.e., Viśveśa), the husband of Umā”. Creating heat and rain refers to an Upaniṣadic understanding of the sun – but does the sun grant *siddhis*? Perhaps we can combine the mention of Kṛttivāsa from the colophon of *adhyāya* 19 with this idea and understand that the Kṛttivāsa *liṅga* is comparable to the sun – it is as powerful – and it grants *siddhis* through the favour of Śiva.

Verses 10-15 are more general statements about the benefits of installing *liṅgas* and their worship. They refer to a single person, whereas the verses before them mainly refer to multiple sages. Verses 10-15 are meant to emphasize the greatness of *liṅgas* and as such they are not supposed to mention what the sages obtain in Vārāṇasī. Instead, these verses are intended for the reader or listener – the sages are the example, whereas verses 10-15 are the direct statements of

⁸¹ It should be noted here that Kṛttivāsa – similarly to Viśveśa – can be an epithet for Śiva and it is thus not clear if its mention in the colophon of *adhyāya* 19 refers to a location.

⁸² Kṛttivāsa was quite relevant in the 12th century CE. Even the Vaiṣṇavite Gāhaḍavāla king Jayacandra performed a *tulāpuruṣa* rite “in the presence of Kṛttivāsas (Śiva)” in 1175 CE, instead of opting for an image of Ādikeśava (Viṣṇu), as his predecessor Candradeva had done in 1100 CE (Schmiedchen 2006, 160).

⁸³ *Adhyāya* 32, verse 8:

*tapanam varṣanam kurvan sarvā siddhīḥ prayacchati /
prasādad devadevasya viśveśasya umāpateḥ //*

“Creating heat [and] rain, he grants all the *siddhis* by the favour of Devadeva, the lord of the universe (i.e., Viśveśa), the husband of Umā.”

⁸⁴ *Siddhi* can mean “success”, but also “spiritual gifts”, “superhuman powers”, or even “liberation or salvation” (Mani 1975, 648, 732, 742).

⁸⁵ *Yogeśvara*, literally “lord of Yoga”, is used here to denote a position of someone who is a highly advanced – and most likely respected – practitioner of Yoga.

⁸⁶ *Samādhi* can denote the union of the soul and the mind, or “the union of mind with God” (Mani 1975, 64, 899)

beneficiality. In short, the idea may be formulated as follows: “the sages worshipped here and got good results, and for that reason you, as the audience, should do the same”. Additionally, verses 13 and 14 of *adhyāya* 32 parallel the idea of *liṅga* worship as given in verse 20 of *adhyāya* 30 of the compendium.⁸⁷

Concluding Discussion – Adhyāya 32

The verses shared between *adhyāya* 32 and *adhyāya* 19 most likely derive from two different sources, as argued above. A problem still remains: why include two *adhyāyas* in the compendium which are so similar? On the one hand, the scribal work of the manuscript is clearly sloppy. Perhaps the scribe forgot, or did not realize, that the verses were present in both *adhyāya* 32 and 19. On the other hand, stock phrases such as *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi* can be found in various sources. Perhaps the scribe considered these five verses to be a template consisting of stock phrases. That is, these verses would then be a general way of emphasizing the greatness of Vārāṇasī, usable within the context of the “*Brahmapurāṇa*”.

As for the split in *adhyāya* 32 that moves from Vārāṇasī-specific information to a more general Śaivite realm, treating the verses from *adhyāya* 19 as a template consisting of stock phrases is a possible answer. The main purpose of *adhyāya* 32 is to glorify *liṅga* worship within the spatial context of Vārāṇasī. The latter half of the *adhyāya* is the *liṅga* worship part, and the former half is a template used to connect the general statements about *liṅgas* with Vārāṇasī. A related possibility is that the added verses in *adhyāya* 32, which are mainly in the latter half of the text and contain Siddhānta ideas, were taken from another, more tantric source.

As mentioned above, *adhyāya* 32 is the main example of the internal type of intertextuality due to containing five verses paralleling *adhyāya* 19. As the parallels with *adhyāya* 19 are almost verbatim, *adhyāya* 32 contains the “internal *verbatim* type of intertextuality.” Further, as the first four verses of *adhyāya* 32 are in the same order as in *adhyāya* 19, they can be considered to overlap in terms of story structure – and, perhaps obviously, also content. Thus, they are an example of the “internal *story* type” as well. Additionally, the idea of *liṅga* worship given in verse 20 of *adhyāya* 30 is very similar (but not similar enough to really be considered to be of the story type) to the idea

⁸⁷ *Adhyāya* 30, verse 19:

*svato vā parato buddhyā dānenāpy uddhared yadi /
liṅgaṃ yasmin kṣetramadhye tatsaṃskāre 'pi mucyate //*

“...if one should raise a *liṅga*, by oneself, by another, with intention or through giving, in the middle of whichever field, one is liberated at its consecration.”

in verses 13-14 of *adhyāya* 32. Thus, *adhyāya* 32 contains an instance of the “internal *idea* type of intertextuality” as well.

Adhyāya 32 shows a clear example of the most complex type of intertextuality: the internal type. It is the most complex because it can – and more likely than not, does – contain the other three types, as seen above. In all its complexity and continuous overlap with the other types, the internal type depicts the fluid nature of *Māhātmya* literature.

6. Connecting and Comparing the *Adhyāyas*

The three selected *adhyāyas* do not have an obvious logical order. Although it is the first, *adhyāya* 30 is not really an introduction as it proceeds directly to praising the greatness of Kapardīśvara. *Adhyāya* 31 mainly gives a list, a “pilgrimage hierarchy” of specific sites in Vārāṇasī. *Adhyāya* 32 is more clearly a “conclusion”, due to its placement and the way it is structured. In any case, the *adhyāyas* – although discussing similar topics and mentioning some of the same locations – are somewhat disconnected and could easily be placed in an alternative order and still make as much sense.

The “*Brahmapurāṇa*”-attributed section starts with the Śaṅkukarṇa story in *adhyāya* 30, but the following two *adhyāyas* do not build up on it. Some locations/*liṅgas* present in *adhyāya* 30 are briefly mentioned again in *adhyāya* 31, but not discussed further. *Adhyāya* 32 is more general in nature, mainly praising Vārāṇasī and emphasizing the beneficiality of *liṅga* worship. Thus, the *adhyāyas* are connected through Vārāṇasī and by mentioning some of the same ideas and names, but they do not form a unified story which would link the three *adhyāyas* together.

As mentioned above, *adhyāya* 29 is attributed to a “*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*”. Similarly to most of the different *Purāṇa*-attributed sections in the compendium, *adhyāya* 29 ends and *adhyāya* 30 starts abruptly with no meaningful connection between the *adhyāyas* (Bisschop 2021b, 7). The only clear connecting factor is the mention of Śaṅkukarṇa in *adhyāya* 29. We cannot be sure if this mention was the reason why these *adhyāyas* were placed after each other in the compendium, but it seems likely. The connections between the main locations of *adhyāyas* 29 and 30 can also be a result of belonging to a specific pilgrimage hierarchy.

Adhyāya 30 is the first of the three “*Brahmapurāṇa*”-attributed *adhyāyas*, and as such, it marks the start of the section. However, it cannot really be considered introductory for the “*Brahmapurāṇa*” section, as it merely mentions relevant locations within the *adhyāya* and then proceeds with the Śaṅkukarṇa story. The story contains the first prayer taught in these three texts. There are no proper introductions to any of the three *adhyāyas*. This lack of introductions is most likely a result of the nature of the compendium as a selection of *Māhātmyas* taken from the texts they were a part of. These earlier frame texts of the *Māhātmyas* were most likely *Purāṇas*, although many of the attributions in the manuscript do not correspond with the extant versions of those *Purāṇas* (Bisschop 2021b, 6-7). The close textual parallels with the *Viṣṇudharma* seen in *adhyāya* 30 and the possibility of *adhyāya* 31 being created only for this compendium do, however, open up

another possible interpretation: some of these *Māhātmyas* might not have been a part of any *Purāṇa* in the first place.

Adhyāya 31 is the middle part, containing another prayer and a “list” of pilgrimage locations. It is connected with its preceding *adhyāya* through the general emphasis of Vārāṇasī as a great, liberating pilgrimage destination, and a few locations (Kapardīśvara and Kṛttivāsa). Oṃkāra and *Pañcāyatana* connect it with *adhyāya* 29. It is possible that *adhyāya* 31 was originally separate from *adhyāya* 30, at least in its current form, and they only became a part of the same “*Brahmapurāṇa*” within the compendium. However, as *Māhātmyas* often quickly go through various topics regarding their subjects, it is possible that *adhyāyas* 30 and 31 were part of the same text earlier, and the apparent disconnect is merely a result of moving onwards in the account of describing the greatness of Vārāṇasī. The sections of the *Kūrmapurāṇa* and *Padmapurāṇa* that deal with the greatness of Vārāṇasī proceed in a similar manner.⁸⁸ *Adhyāyas* 30 and 31 can be speculatively dated to the latter half of the 12th century CE, which makes it more likely that they were copied from the same source text. On the other hand, since *adhyāya* 31 is largely a “list” of locations in Vārāṇasī, it could also be a new text, created for the compendium using the *pañcāṣṭaka* concept and/or other list-like *Māhātmyas* as a template.

As its main purpose is to present the prayer and the locations, *adhyāya* 31 is substantially shorter than *adhyāya* 30. *Adhyāya* 31 contains 20 verses, whereas *adhyāya* 30 contains 40, of which one verse is a substantially long prayer (verse 37). The purpose of these two prayers is not the same; *adhyāya* 30 praises Śiva in a more general way, using various epithets that cannot be directly connected with locations, and *adhyāya* 31 – while praising Śiva – presents a list of locations for the pilgrim to visit. Because of this prompt nature, *adhyāya* 31 does not need as many verses as *adhyāya* 30 to achieve its purpose. As *adhyāya* 31 is not focused on telling a story, giving the prayer and the “list” of names does not require as much space.

The general and short (15 verses) nature of *adhyāya* 32 is partially explained by its placement within the compendium. As the last of the three, it closes the section, and as such, it needs to be general and prompt. Even if the *adhyāyas* were not originally part of the same source text, it is possible that *adhyāya* 32 was chosen by the compilers/authors because it can act as a conclusion. The possible usage of the template consisting of stock phrases in *adhyāya* 32 as a connecting factor between Vārāṇasī and the more general statements about *liṅga* worship points

⁸⁸ For example, *Padmapurāṇa* chapter 34 contains an account of the greatness of Kṛttivāseśvara, and chapter 35 – somewhat abruptly – moves on to discussing the greatness of Kapardīśvara. Both these chapters are part of a section elaborating on the different liberating and important aspects of Vārāṇasī, framed as a conversation between the sage Nārada and the king Yudhiṣṭhira. *Padmapurāṇa* chapter 33 – the introductory chapter regarding the greatness of Vārāṇasī in this section – also contains a “sub-interlocutor” frame with Śiva talking to his wife Pārvatī.

towards an idea of having a concluding section. That is, the placement of the *adhyāya*, its general nature, and the usage of the template verses together create an *adhyāya* that does not really give new information. No new locations (except Viśveśa, if we consider it to mean Viśveśvara instead of being an epithet for Śiva) are mentioned, no new characters are introduced, and the statements about *liṅga* worship being beneficial are already implied in *adhyāyas* 30 and 31. As for its dating, *adhyāya* 32 is most likely from the latter half of the 12th century CE, similarly to the other two *adhyāyas*.

The sequence of *adhyāyas* starts by introducing the section by telling a story about gaining liberation in Vārāṇasī (*adhyāya* 30). Then, important locations (*liṅgas*) are revealed, and a prayer is given that can possibly be used for worship in these locations (*adhyāya* 31). Finally, a general glorification of the city and *liṅga* worship is presented in a brief, conclusion-like manner (*adhyāya* 32).

Interlocutors

As for the interlocutors of the texts, *adhyāya* 30 has Śiva talking to Devī. The speech of Śiva contains a conversation between Śaṅkukaṛṇa and the ghost – although only Śiva and Śaṅkukaṛṇa are directly mentioned as the ones who are speaking. The story switches back to Śiva two times with no direct indication of a change in speaker.⁸⁹ *Adhyāya* 31 has Brahma asking Śiva about the secret and auspicious places of Vārāṇasī, which Śiva then explains by imparting the list of locations. *Adhyāya* 32 starts with a statement by Sanatkumāra indicating that what he is about to say to the sages he has heard from Brahma.⁹⁰ Although it makes sense to assume a procession of information from Śiva to Brahma and from Brahma to Sanatkumāra, it would seem logical to first have a section between *adhyāyas* 31 and 32 that would describe how Brahma instructs Sanatkumāra, and only then move to Sanatkumāra instructing the sages. There seems to be a gap in content here.

The somewhat unclear narration structure of the three *adhyāyas* can be explained in two ways. First, the *adhyāyas* were taken from (or were created by using) different parts of a single “*Brahmapurāṇa*” and were thus not directly after each other in their origin text. This would explain the gap in narration due to intermediate *adhyāyas* or verses being excluded. Second, the *adhyāyas* were taken from (or were created by using) two or more different texts, or two or more different stages of the evolution of a single text (which could then be considered different texts in any case).

⁸⁹ Verse 32 moves to Śiva from Śaṅkukaṛṇa, verse 37 moves back to Śaṅkukaṛṇa as he utters his verse of praise, and verse 38 again moves back to Śiva who then finishes the story.

⁹⁰ Additionally, *adhyāya* 19, which is quoted in *adhyāya* 32, contains one verse by a *sūta*.

This would explain the gap in narration due to different origin texts or different stages of the evolution of a text in which interlocutors have been added, altered, or removed.

Purāṇa-attributions

It is possible that the *Purāṇa*-attributions of *adhyāyas* 30-32 were later additions. However, why then attribute these *adhyāyas* to the “*Brahmapurāṇa*”, specifically? The interlocutors of *adhyāyas* 31 and 32 – Brahma and Śiva for *adhyāya* 31, and Sanatkumāra telling the sages what he has heard from Brahma in 32 – may have been the reason for attributing these texts to the “*Brahmapurāṇa*”.⁹¹ However, *adhyāya* 30 has Śiva talking to Devī, which gives no direct reason for any “*Brahmapurāṇa*”-attribution. Further, the numbering of these *adhyāyas* has been added after the texts were already written down on these specific palm-leaves. As the interlocutors are fairly disconnected and the numbering was done afterwards, it is likely that these three *adhyāyas* were only placed in this specific order within the compendium. That is, even if the texts were copied from a single source text, the *adhyāyas* were not in the same order in the source text as they are in the current compendium.

Even if the *adhyāyas* of this section are only vaguely connected by focusing on Vārāṇasī and sharing a few ideas and names, the “*Brahmapurāṇa*” section in the compendium itself is still made to be a separate section. Perhaps this separateness was already clear from the disconnected nature of the sections of the compendium, but the analysis of *adhyāyas* 30-32 provides more proof. As *adhyāya* 32 is likely intended to be a “conclusion” to the section, it seems that the compiler has made at least a minor attempt at providing a “*Brahmapurāṇa*” section that has a clearer end. *Adhyāya* 30 – as it is the first of the section – could perhaps be understood to serve the purpose of being introductory. However, *adhyāya* 30 is introductory mainly due to its placement which links it to the treatment of Śaṅkukarṇa in *adhyāya* 29, and if taken as a completely separate section and read without knowledge of the preceding parts in the compendium, it does not necessarily seem like an introduction. Understanding that the *adhyāya* is already the 30th within the compendium makes it more fitting in terms of placement. Why introduce Vārāṇasī or anything more general if it has already been said before? However, any attempt at a more general introduction is not really made in the first *adhyāya* of the compendium either (see Bisschop 2021b, 121-128). The sections have

⁹¹ For example, *adhyāyas* 20-22 in the compendium have been mistakenly attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa* even though they should have been attributed to *Matsyapurāṇa* chapters 181-183, possibly because *Matsyapurāṇa* chapter 181 ends with an announcement by Skanda (Bisschop 2021b, 6).

The mention of a *sūta* in chapter 19 is not very significant evidence, since in addition to the extant *Brahmapurāṇa* multiple other *Purāṇas* – the *Kūrma*- and *Padmapurāṇa*, for example – start with a conversation between the *sūta* Romaharṣaṇa and a group of sages.

“introductions” only to their own topics. As we are dealing with *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas*, this lack of proper introductions might be obvious – after all, it is assumed that the reader already knows what *Vārāṇasī* is, or what *tīrthas* or *liṅgas* are – and for this reason a more detailed introduction is not necessary. It is enough to have the interlocutors start a conversation “...tell me about the magnificent *tīrthas* in *Vārāṇasī*...” without additional details. Perhaps for some readers from our contemporary time, or from outside of South Asia, for example, these details would be necessary. However, for a reader in 12th century South Asia, especially one with knowledge of Sanskrit texts in general, the additional details would be mostly unnecessary. As for who the texts (or the entire compendium) might be written for, we can only speculate. Perhaps the work was commissioned by a private individual or a religious community (related to a specific temple, for example). Since the texts are presently found in Nepal, it is possible that the work was commissioned by someone living in Nepal who wanted access to the texts for pilgrimage-related purposes.⁹²

Types of Intertextuality in the Adhyāyas

As for the typological approach employed here, each *adhyāya* presents a different scenario, although overlap is present. *Adhyāya* 30 contains mainly the verbatim type, as combined with the story and idea types; *adhyāya* 31 mainly the idea type; and *adhyāya* 32 mainly the internal type. However, as mentioned above, the type identified as the *main* type of a chapter is the type that is most widely present or the most significant, although the other types may be simultaneously found in the text.

Compared with the other two *adhyāyas*, *adhyāya* 30 is the clearest example of the verbatim and story types. It exemplifies the verbatim type through its direct quotations, although it is often the case that a single verse is partially a direct quotation and partially paraphrased. *Adhyāya* 32 could have worked as an example of the verbatim type, but as its textual parallels and story structure are with *adhyāya* 19 of the same compendium, *adhyāya* 32 is better employed as an example of the internal type.

The idea type is most clearly present in *adhyāya* 31, through the *pañcāṣṭaka* concept and the Siddhānta ideas. *Adhyāya* 31 does not contain the verbatim or story type since it contains no direct quotations (I do not consider single names to be quotations) and no clearly paraphrased passages.

The most evident example of the internal type is found in *adhyāya* 32, as it quotes *adhyāya* 19 in its entirety, almost verbatim. Further, each of the three *adhyāyas* contains the internal type in

⁹² See also Mersch 2013, 9-10.

some way – at least through repeating some of the same names – but no other *adhyāya* except 32 directly quotes passages from the other *adhyāyas* of the compendium.⁹³

As to what we can learn about processes of composition and transmission of *Māhātmya* literature through these three types, each *adhyāya* provides a different example. *Adhyāya* 30 contains mainly the verbatim type, but at the same time it is the most “mixed” of the three. As such, it is the most clearly layered example of *Māhātmyas* – it has direct textual parallels with the *Viṣṇudharma*, the Śaṅkukarṇa story in a paraphrased form, and ideas that are found in other texts. *Adhyāya* 31, next, only borrows concepts and names, and thus mainly contains the idea type of intertextuality. The internal type requires special circumstances (e.g., a compendium or a single, most likely longer, text that has gone through multiple phases of copying, correction, and other alterations). I believe most *Māhātmyas* will rather contain a mix of the verbatim, story, and idea types, whereas on rare occasions, the internal type is present.

Importantly, analyzing *adhyāya* 30 made it possible to analyze *adhyāyas* 31 and 32 as well. Without *adhyāya* 30 – as it contains the most comprehensive example of the types except for the internal type – analyzing the other two *adhyāyas* would not have resulted in the creation of the typological approach. *Adhyāya* 32 was useful because it provided the example of the internal type, which is not present in the same way in the other two *adhyāyas*. However, *adhyāya* 31 did not add much to the typology since it only contains the idea type. That is, the intertextuality in *adhyāya* 31 is the least pronounced, making *adhyāya* 31 the least relevant text for the analysis of *Māhātmya* composition and transmission.

The types assist in looking at each “layer” of the creation of *Māhātmya* literature in a more systematic way. The creation of *Māhātmyas* starts with an author using previous knowledge to create a text or a verse. This previous knowledge contains ideas related to content, but also language knowledge which is required to create something related to spoken or written texts in Sanskrit in the first place. The author might begin with using an already existing text, partially or in a modified form. Then, these ideas are paraphrased and quoted by others within new contexts. Ideas are again added to create new texts or make earlier texts match with contemporary understandings. The internal type exists most often in the last phase, although *Māhātmya* creation and transmission processes are not as clearly defined or linear as it might seem, and the internal type can be present earlier as well.

⁹³ Researching all the *adhyāyas* of the compendium would very likely reveal more instances of the internal type of intertextuality (as well as instances of the other three types).

Authors, Scribes, and Compilers

How, then, have the authors, scribes, and compilers influenced the creation of these texts? It could be that the manuscript that we have now is a record of a previous compendium. On the one hand, this presumed earlier compendium could have been as imperfect as the current one, containing the same irregular language and all the errors. On the other hand, it could be that an earlier version existed which was later altered by scribes or other individuals. Further, the current compendium could be a “new” work, collected from other texts and put together by a scribe. However, due to the amount and inconsistent nature of the scribal errors found in the compendium, I find it most likely that it is not the original compendium, but instead a record of a previous work that has been altered. It is hard to believe that *all* the scribal errors would have been a part of an earlier compendium or the source texts the *Māhātmyas* were copied from.

The parallels between *adhyāya* 32 and *adhyāya* 19 – that is, our prime example of the internal type of intertextuality – provide some information regarding the anonymous individuals involved in the creation of the current compendium. On the one hand, it is possible that an earlier compendium existed which had less *adhyāyas*, and the current version is an extended work with *adhyāya* 32 or 19 being a later addition. The added *adhyāya*, then, can be from another “*Brahmapurāṇa*”, or from another evolutionary phase of the “*Brahmapurāṇa*”. On the other hand, it is possible that the “*Brahmapurāṇa*” already contained the same parallels, and they were merely carried over to the compendium. As for how the compilers/copiers/scribes treated the parallels, there are again two options. Either the parallels between the two *adhyāyas* were not noticed, or they were considered “normal”, possibly because of understanding the parallels as a template consisting of stock phrases.

Additionally, the later numbering of the *adhyāyas* tells us that the compilers/copiers/scribes of the compendium might have wanted to “organize” the texts. Thus, merely correcting the language was not enough, and the *adhyāyas* needed to be numbered to systematize the compendium.

Concluding Discussion

In sum, the three *adhyāyas* present three different scenarios of how to use earlier information for contemporary purposes. *Adhyāya* 30 quotes parts of an existent Śaṅkukarṇa story, but also paraphrases parts and adds ideas not found in other tellings of the “same” story. This approach legitimizes Kapardīśvara, Kṛttivāsa, and Piśācamocana, simultaneously adding Siddhānta concepts to make the *adhyāya* fit a specific type of thinking, and possibly to “contemporize” the text.

Further, the main parallels are with the *Viṣṇudharma*, a Vaiṣṇavite text. Thus, it is possible that *adhyāya* 30 has taken a Vaiṣṇavite story, given it a Śaivite meaning, and adapted it to fit the context of Vārāṇasī.

Adhyāya 31 does not need to use direct quotations – it merely uses the idea type to create a list – and as such, it could be a “new” text (that is, *adhyāya* 31 was possibly new when it first came to be a part of the compendium). As for the existence of similar lists, we can understand the idea type to apply here to the concept of how to present a list of names in a *Māhātmya*. The style is very prompt, announcing name after name, with the addition of a few adjectives for emphasis. Providing a prayer with a list of names is quite fitting as it simultaneously lists the places and gives the prayer that can be used for worship – or even as a mnemonic for remembering which places to visit as a pilgrim.

Adhyāya 32 is quite different from the two other *adhyāyas* due to the internal type of intertextuality. It is possible that the creation of *adhyāya* 32 is more related to *transmission* instead of *creation*. That is, the usage of a template consisting of stock phrases, or *adhyāyas* 32 and 19 representing two different source texts (or two evolutionary phases of a source text), can explain the presence of the internal type in *adhyāya* 32.

As for their spatial contexts, all three *adhyāyas* are very likely from Vārāṇasī. They are approximately of the same age, from the latter half of the 12th century CE.

The general nature of the information given in these *adhyāyas* points towards the target demographic being the laity, although they contain more esoteric information such as the Siddhānta ideas or the reference to the first Pāśupata *brahmamantra*. Perhaps we can understand the texts to be primarily targeted towards the “initiated laity”. However, the texts remain general enough so that any pilgrim wanting to visit Vārāṇasī can benefit, even if these few more specific ideas – or the precise locations of each pilgrimage site – remain only superficially understood.

7. Conclusion

The *Māhātmya* creation process – if we go back in time – starts with an author using earlier acquired knowledge to create a *Māhātmya*. This knowledge can be anything from pilgrimage site locations, prayers, specific verses or texts, story structures, meters, other language knowledge, etc. Later on, the resulting *Māhātmya* can be quoted verbatim, paraphrased by others, or have new elements added to either enhance or update the original or to create an entirely new *Māhātmya* using the older one as a blueprint. The scribal and redactional dimension (the transmission) is then added to this creation process. The *Māhātmya* can be copied on its own or included in other textual frames such as compendiums (then involving a compiler who might also be a scribe), altered by individuals “correcting” or “updating” it, or perhaps even memorized and taught orally to other individuals.

This research resulted in the creation of a typological system to further analyze *Māhātmya* texts, and I believe the same approach can be – at least if adapted – used for other texts that contain instances of intertextuality. Creating the editions was key in my research since it allowed me to identify four types of intertextuality. A critical edition enables researchers to really know their sources and obtain knowledge that is not available otherwise. Reading and analyzing the text at face value – that is, without attempting to reach a non-extant earlier version of the text and comparing the text with other texts – would have caused the types of intertextuality to largely remain hidden. Comparison with other primary source materials such as similar *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyas* in extant *Purāṇas* was also made possible by preparing the editions.

The typological approach helped me to reach more concrete results. Speculating about whether these texts contain adaptive reuse, simple re-use, or any kind of mix of these types of re(-)use⁹⁴ does not work very well for authorless, intertextual literature devoid of any explicitly marked quotations, especially since we do not know who might have had access to the texts before. My initial analysis showed that these types of re(-)use did not allow me to gain further insights, and I had to create my own typology to gain a better understanding of the complex processes of composition and transmission of *Māhātmya* literature.

What I expected to find was that the *adhyāyas* quote and use *Purāṇas*. This was most clearly visible in *adhyāya* 30 through textual parallels and paraphrasing, and in *adhyāya* 31 through the “list” –

⁹⁴ As put forth by Freschi and Maas (2017, 13-14).

that is, using a Purāṇic “style” in creating a text out of partially new material. Finding direct textual parallels with a non-Purāṇic text, that is, *adhyāya* 30 paralleling the *Viṣṇudharma*, was unexpected.

I did not expect to find that five verses in *adhyāya* 32 parallel five verses in *adhyāya* 19 from the same compendium. The internal type of intertextuality was identified from this instance, since although the other *adhyāyas* overlap with each other in more minor ways such as mentioning some of the same names and concepts, they are not so clearly “internal” as *adhyāyas* 32 and 19 are. The internal type led to the dimension of the scribes/authors/compilers becoming more nuanced, as the repetition of an *adhyāya* within another *adhyāya* can point towards the usage of stock phrases as a template, the existence of two or more “*Brahmapurāṇas*”, or simply a mistake – that is, not noticing that five verses are found in two *adhyāyas* in an almost identical form. On the other hand, as *Māhātmyas* are intertextual by nature, it could be that the repetition was simply not noticed or an issue.

Further, the verbatim and story types (as in *adhyāya* 30) signify clearer, more direct intertextuality (and a higher likelihood of adaptive, purposefully noticeable reuse). The idea type signifies a looser kind of intertextuality – based more on knowledge of the topics at hand than quotations or paraphrases. On a general level, we can say that if a *Māhātmya* contains only the idea type (as in *adhyāya* 31), it is more representative of what we would call a new composition (or at least “new” in the sense of not containing direct parallels or paraphrases).

Thus, the way in which *Māhātmyas* come into being is highly multifaceted. Using the typological approach to unpack the different ways that these texts have evolved has shed more light on their processes of composition and transmission. However, I cannot claim that the results of this research somehow “simplify” or “standardize” the evolution of *Māhātmyas*, even though they have made it possible to identify likely scenarios about the different evolutionary stages of these texts. To be more precise, the opposite has happened: the complexity of *Māhātmyas* has become more pronounced. That is, the patchwork-like nature of these texts is reflected in the typological approach – even the types overlap and do not form any kind of solid categories that could somehow contain the fluidity of *Māhātmya* literature. *Māhātmyas* are truly “evolving entities”.

Although the “dissecting” of Sanskrit texts that is made possible by critical editions – here combined with the typological approach – might be disliked by those wishing to take the texts at face value, I believe that analyzing *Māhātmyas* in this way does not take away any of the inherent worth of these culturally and historically important texts.⁹⁵ On the contrary, to understand texts like

⁹⁵ See Bisschop 2021a and its discussion of Raj Balkaran’s attempts to create a division between scholars such as Balkaran himself who try to understand *Purāṇas* at face value (that is, with no real text-critical approach and faithfully

these we need to look at as many likely phases in their composition and transmission as possible. The intertextuality and fluidity found in these *Māhātmyas* helps us understand them as a living tradition. The irregularity and intertextuality of these texts merely serves as further proof of the non-stagnancy of Purāṇic literature. Although challenging for the philologist or any other researcher aiming to get to terms with the material, I see the continuous evolution of *Māhātmyas* as a positive aspect. Such a constant state of flux makes the vitality of this type of Sanskrit literature more evident and marks them out as a unique body of literature.

Identifying different phases in the evolution of an ever-changing body of texts can help to distinguish different registers of Sanskrit, shed light on the creation of mythology through the emplaced nature of the texts, and recognize different textual building blocks that have later found their way into more canonical texts. The information contained in *Māhātmya* literature can help us understand processes of composition and transmission – not only of *Māhātmyas*, but also of other intertextual Sanskrit literature. Studying *Māhātmyas* is especially exciting because one can find multiple forms of the “same” text and even discover “lost” *Māhātmyas* that are attributed to specific texts but are not found in the extant versions of those texts. This kind of fluidity makes *Māhātmyas* a treasure trove which allows a unique kind of access to the past.

As for further research directions, the most crucial one would be to critically edit, translate, and analyze the rest of the *adhyāyas* of the compendium and see if the typological approach works for the entire body of texts. More thoroughly inspecting the other “*Brahmapurāṇa*” section (*adhyāyas* 15-19) could be the first target. Gaining more insight into the irregular Sanskrit found in these texts will also become possible by a thorough analysis of the entire compendium. I am sure that more linguistic patterns – even additional types of intertextuality – will show up by researching the remaining *adhyāyas* in the compendium. Further, I hope to apply the typological approach to other *Māhātmyas* outside of this compendium to see if the types remain equally functional or if they need to be adapted or supplemented.

Yet another potential future research direction enabled by these texts would be to investigate the spread of texts and the surrounding historical circumstances in more detail. How did the manuscript end up in Nepal after being made in Vārāṇasī? Why did it disappear from Vārāṇasī? Is it possible, for example, that the compendium has been created from the textual remains found in a library or temple after the location was destroyed by invading forces in the first centuries of the second millennium? Such a scenario could explain the mistakes in the compendium, as the

believing that the extant versions of *Purāṇas* are somehow representative of the tradition as a whole) and those who “dissect” the texts by critical editions (Bisschop 2021a, 164, 174).

compendium could then be understood more as an attempt to save the remaining texts by copying, instead of intelligently compiling *Māhātmyas*.

8. Notes on the Critical Edition and Translation

The two sources available for the text are as follows:

- V₁ Kaiser Library, Kāṭhmāṇḍū. Acc. no. 66, 145 folios, incomplete. The *Māhātmyas* edited here cover folios 100^v-105^r (*adhyāyas* 30-32), and 79^v-80^r (*adhyāya* 19). Palm leaf (32 x 4.7 cm, one string hole), old Nāgarī script, ca. 12th-13th century CE. Microfilmed by the NGMPP on reel C 6/3. Colour photographs of the manuscript were kindly provided by Peter Bisschop.
- V₂ Private Collection, Praveen Sharma. 144 folios, incomplete. The *Māhātmyas* edited here cover folios 123^r-130^r (*adhyāyas* 30-32), and 95^r-95^v (*adhyāya* 19). Paper (22.9 x 10 cm), Devanāgarī script. Apograph of V₁. Microfilmed by the NGMPP on reel E 766/7 (also on 1418/2). I have been able to use a digitized version of the microfilm.

Devanāgarī script is used for the edited verses, but roman transliteration (in the IAST transliteration scheme) is used for Sanskrit passages or words which are placed in footnotes or elsewhere in the text body. Regarding the fonts, I have chosen to use Nirmala UI (12pt) for the verses, Nirmala UI (10pt) for the apparatus, and Times New Roman for the rest (12pt in the body and 10pt for footnotes). For the sake of clarity, when interlocutors are directly mentioned in the edition (such as “*Īśvara uvāca*”), they are aligned to the center. Other parts of the text are aligned left.

As for the structure, the Sanskrit verses are given first, followed by the philological apparatus. Translations are present after each verse and apparatus and follow the Sanskrit in terms of sentence structure as much as possible. Page breaks are added in a way that any single verse is not split on two pages, and neither are its apparatus and translation. Square brackets indicate parts that were not present in the Sanskrit text, but which have been added by me to make the English text more legible. Parentheses in the English sentences contain additional explanations. Places where I suspect part of the text has been lost are indicated by three dots between square brackets ([...]), and parts that seem beyond repair are indicated by crux-marks (†). Footnote numbers are placed after *danḍas* if they refer to the Devanāgarī verses, but in the English translations, they can be even in the middle of a sentence. Footnotes concerning the apparatus are placed only after the entire apparatus for a specific verse.

I generally do not translate names of characters or places, although I most often translate epithets. Regarding more specific terms that are not translatable as single English words, or words

that occur frequently throughout the text such as *liṅga* and *tīrtha*, I have chosen to use the Sanskrit words themselves in roman script. If needed, these terms are explained in the footnotes of the edition or in the earlier thesis chapters.

The philological apparatus initially provides the verse number and *pāda* letter in **bold**, then the selected reading, followed by the lemma sign (|) and the source of the reading. After that, the variant readings and their sources are given, separated by commas. Different *pādas* are separated by semicolons, and multiple apparatus entries within single *pādas* by a comma and the bullet symbol (●). Parentheses in the apparatus indicate unclear or illegible parts and contain details such as whether specific syllables or words are retraced or unmetrical. Plus-signs (+) enclose added syllables, and °-symbols indicate specific words which are treated in the apparatus as separate whereas they are compounded with other words in the Sanskrit text. What follows is an example of the verse, apparatus, and translation, as seen in *adhyāya* 30, verse 5:

पिशाचमोचनं नाम कुण्डं देवस्य चाग्रतः।

तस्मिन्स्नानं नरः कृत्वा कपर्दीश्वरदर्शनात्।

सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो जातिं स्मरति पूर्विकाम् ॥ ५ ॥

5b चाग्रतः] V₂, चाग्र(तः) V₁; **5c** तस्मिन्स्नानं] V₂, (तस्मिन्)स्नान(न) V₁ (unmetrical), ● नरः] V₂, नतः V₁; **5d** कपर्दीश्वरदर्शनात्] V₂, कपर्दीस(स्य) द(र्शना)त् V₁ (unmetrical); **5e** °पाप° V₁ (retraced); **5f** जातिं] V₁, जातं V₂

“In front of the god is the pond called Piśācamocana. A man, having bathed in that place, because of seeing Kapardīśvara, [is] liberated from all sins, [and] remembers [his] previous birth.”

Silent Corrections

Not all irregular aspects are visible in the apparatus. Some of these aspects have been silently corrected, and are listed below:

- *Anusvāras* have been corrected to their corresponding nasals, and *anusvāras* before *daṇḍas* have been changed to *m*.
- “Unnecessary”, additional *anusvāras* have been removed.
- *Avagrahas* have been added if necessary; none of the *adhyāyas* discussed here use them.
- *Śa* and *sa* are used quite irregularly. V₁ uses *sa* very often in place of *śa*. These instances have only been reported in the apparatus if both *śa* and *sa* result in a meaningful variant.
- *Va*-syllables have been changed to *ba*-syllables whenever necessary; none of the *adhyāyas* make a distinction between these two characters – they only use *va*.

- Geminations and degeminations have been corrected. It is common in both V₁ and V₂ that *rephas* cause geminations, as in *sarvva* for *sarva*, for example.
- *Cchas* which are used to indicate a change in speaker are not shown in the edition.
- It should be noted that the conjunct character *ccha* (चछ) looks very much like *cha* (छ) in both sources, especially in V₁. Thus, multiple instances which would have required emending if the *cchas* would have been understood as *chas* are not silently corrected or visible in the apparatus.

The single exception to the silent corrections mentioned above is when reporting readings in the apparatus. Only the main reading is reported in its “corrected” form, whereas the other readings still contain all the irregularities from their respective sources.

List of Grammatical Irregularities

In the following list, instances of using the ablative as instrumental and using the accusative as dative are not separately noted, as they are generally accepted usage. Especially the latter is very common in these three texts.

Sandhi:

- Absence of external *sandhi*:⁹⁶ *ca īśvaram* 19.1d; *śubhaiḥ ravaiḥ* 30.7d; *iha āgataḥ* 30.10d; *atra upāyo* 30.24c; *śivaśaṅkarāya anugrahakarāya, nivartakāya ātmadarśanavyāpakāya,* and *śaṅkarāya aṣṭarūpāya* 31.8; *viśveśasya umāpateḥ* 32.8d

Nouns, pronouns, and adjectives:

- Masculine adjective for neuter noun: *bahuḥ* 32.11c
- Masculine noun treated as neuter: *yogaṃ* 31.7a
- Singular for plural: *atithiḥ* 30.15b
- Accusative for nominative: *taṃ* 30.3a
- Irregular usage of stem form of noun: *krpā°* (for *krpayā*) 30.10b
- Irregular noun form: °*svasura*° (for *svasṛ*) 30.12d; *janme* (for *janmani*) 30.15a, 30.19a

Verbal forms:

- Passive for active: *upagamyate* 32.14d
- Present active participle as past: *paśyat* 30.9a

⁹⁶ Absence of external *sandhi* at *pāda*-break, which occurs frequently in the texts, is not reported.

- Present for future: *vijānāsi* 30.28c
- Third person for first person: *āsīt* 30.12a
- Active conjugation instead of middle conjugation: *mucyasi* (for *mucyase*) 30.26d

Syntax:

- Dative/genitive for ablative: *me* 30.39c
- Genitive for instrumental: *jñānasya* 30.36b
- Instrumental for ablative: *yonyā* 30.27b; *mohapāśais* 31.17e
- Instrumental for locative: *ebhiḥ sthānais* 31.18b
- Locative for dative: *pātaka* 30.22b; *piśāceṣu* 30.31a; *yogādhikāre* 30.31i; *guṇādhikāre* 30.31i; *munīndre śvete* 30.37j; *piśune* 31.16a; *nāstike śāstradūṣake* 31.16b
- Nominative for accusative: *niśvasan* 30.9e

Metre:

- Unrecognizable 12-syllable-per-*pāda* verse: 30.40

List of Abbreviations

conj.	conjecture	em.	emendation
ac	before correction	pc	after correction
omit.	omitted		

Appendix I: Edition and Translation of *Adhyāya 30*⁹⁷

ईश्वर उवाच ॥

“The Lord said:”

आश्चर्यं तत्र यद्वृत्तं पुराणे यथा सुव्रते। [...] ⁹⁸

यत्तत्पूर्वं मयाख्यातं देवदेवं स्वयंभुवम्।

कपर्दीश्वरनामानं भवबन्धविमोचनम् ॥ १ ॥ ⁹⁹

1a आश्च° V₁ (retraced) , • यद्वृत्तं] V₂, य(ह्)त्तं V₁ ; **1b** पुराणे यथा] conj. , पुरा(णे यथा) V_{1ac} , पुरा(णे -य-थ) V_{1pc} (unmetrical) , पुराणैरथ V₂

“That marvellous [thing] which has happened there, in the same way as in the Purāṇa, O vow-abiding one [...] (?); that which was told by me before, the self-manifested Devadeva is named Kapardīśvara, liberating from the bondage of existence.”

तस्मिन्साक्षान्महादेवो नित्यमस्ति हि संस्थितः।

उत्तारणार्थं जन्तूनां पुरीद्वारे च तिष्ठति ॥ २ ॥

2a °साक्षान्महादेवो] V₂ , °(साक्षान्महादेवो) V₁ ; **2b** नित्यमस्ति] conj. , °(स्मिन्—यन्नि) V₁ , नित्यसंति V₂ , • संस्थितः] V₂ , (संस्थितः) V₁ ; **2c** उत्तारणार्थं जन्तूनां] V₂ , (उत्तारणार्थं जंतूनां) V₁ ; **2d** पुरीद्वारे] V₂ , पुरा(द्वा)रे V_{1ac} , पुरी(द्वा)रे V_{1pc}

“In that place, Mahādeva is certainly always situated in bodily form; and he stands at the door of the town in order to rescue living beings.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ V₁: 100^v-103^f; V₂: 123^f-127^f.

⁹⁸ *Suvrate* is probably a vocative to Devī; from *suvratā*. Additionally, because this verse contains three lines, and its syntax is strange and incomplete, it is likely that a line is missing here. It seems that *pādas b* and *c* should be taken together, which increases the likelihood of a missing line.

⁹⁹ V₁ verses **1-8** are quite smudged and illegible. A large part of the first side of the manuscript is in a poor condition. It is possible that almost all of the text on the first and second side of the manuscript (up to verse **17c**) has been retraced. That is, the scribe has rewritten the characters on top of older, worn-out ones. This retracing adds yet another dimension of subjectivity to the manuscript, since it is possible that the scribe who retraced the letters was not the same person who originally wrote down the text on these specific palm-leaves. Additionally, the ink on these two sides has spread, making it seem like the manuscript was closed before the ink had properly dried, causing smudging. This smudging is a possible reason for the retracing. Marginal additions in the manuscript have been done with a different handwriting, even a different script. Thus, it is likely that at least two individuals – the person who wrote the text on the palm-leaves and a later “corrector” – have contributed to writing, retracing, or adding things to the text.

¹⁰⁰ *Uttāraṇārthaṃ* is used adverbially here.

द्रष्टव्यं प्रथमं तं च अविमुक्तनिवासिभिः।

दर्शनं तस्य देवस्य महापातकनाशनम्॥ ३ ॥¹⁰¹

3a प्रथमं] V₁, प्र(थ)मं V₂; **3b** अविमुक्त°] V₁, अविक्त° V₂ (unmetrical)

“And he is to be seen first by the inhabitants of Avimukta; the *darśana* of that god destroys great sins.”

कामक्रोधादयो दोषाः क्षेत्रस्य परिपन्थिनः।

विनायकोपसर्गाश्च दस्युदोषाश्च व्याधयः।¹⁰²

ते सर्वे प्रलयं यान्ति कपर्दीश्वरसेवनात्॥ ४ ॥

4a कामक्रोधादयो] conj., का(मक्रोका--ये) V₁, कामक्रोधयो V₂ (unmetrical); **4c** विनायकोपसर्गाश्च] em., विनायकोपस(र्गा)श्च V₁, विनायकोविसर्गाश्च V₂; **4d** दस्यु°] V₂, (दस्यु)° V₁; **4e** ते सर्वे प्रलयं] V₂, ते सर्वे ते प्र(ल)य V₁ (unmetrical); **4f** °सेवनात्] V₁, °सेचनात् V₂

“Faults such as desire and anger, the hindrances of the field, the obstacles and misfortunes, the faults of the enemies of the gods, and diseases; all these are destroyed by the worship of Kapardīśvara.”

पिशाचमोचनं नाम कुण्डं देवस्य चाग्रतः।

तस्मिन्स्नानं नरः कृत्वा कपर्दीश्वरदर्शनात्।

सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो जातिं स्मरति पूर्विकाम्॥ ५ ॥

5b चाग्रतः] V₂, चाग्र(तः) V₁; **5c** तस्मिन्स्नानं] V₂, (तस्मिन्)स्ना(न) V₁ (unmetrical), • नरः] V₂, नतः V₁; **5d** कपर्दीश्वरदर्शनात्] V₂, कपर्दीस(स्य) दर्शनात् V₁ (unmetrical); **5e** °पाप° V₁ (retraced); **5f** जातिं] V₁, जातं V₂

“In front of the god is the pond called Piśācamocana. A man, having bathed in that place, because of seeing Kapardīśvara, [is] liberated from all sins, [and] remembers [his] previous birth.”

तस्यां चैव पुरा कल्पे तपस्वी शंसितव्रतः।

शङ्कुकर्णेति नामा च तस्मिन्नायतने स्थितः॥ ६ ॥

“And there (in Vārāṇasī), in a previous *kalpa*, an ascetic of praiseworthy vows named Śaṅkukarṇa was situated in that abode.”

¹⁰¹ The accusative singular *taṃ* is irregularly used here instead of the nominative singular *saḥ*.

¹⁰² *Dasyudoṣāḥ* “the faults of the barbarians/enemies of the gods” (translated as a gen. *tatpuruṣa*). *Adhyāya 13.84* of this same manuscript compendium has a similar line as well, although with *daśa doṣāḥ* “the 10 faults”:
vināyakopasargās ca daśa doṣās tathāparāḥ / evaṃ te caiva rakṣanti avimuktaṃ ca ye gataḥ // 84 //

अर्च्यमर्चयते लिङ्गं कपर्दीश्वरसंज्ञितम्।

नृत्योपहारगीतैश्च अट्टहासैः शुभैः रवैः।

पुष्पधूपोपहारैश्च मनोवाक्कायकर्मभिः ॥ ७ ॥¹⁰³

7a अर्च्यमर्चयते] em. , अ(र्च्य)मर्चयते V₁ , अन्यमर्चयते V₂ ; **7d** शुभैः रवैः] V₁ सुभैरवैः V₂ ; **7e** पुष्प°] V₂ , (पु)ष्पो V_{1ac} , (पु)ष्प° V_{1pc}

“He worships a venerable *liṅga* known as Kapardīśvara with dancing, food, and singing; with boisterous laughs [and] auspicious sounds; with offerings of flowers and incense; with [these] actions of the mind, voice, and body.”

एवं तत्र स्थितस्यास्य पूजमानस्य शङ्करम्।

प्रेतस्तत्रैव सम्प्राप्तो मध्याह्नसमये शुभे ॥ ८ ॥

8d मध्याह्न] V₂ , मध्यारु V_{1ac} , मध्यान्ह V_{1pc}

“As he was standing there worshipping Śaṅkara in this way, a *preta* (i.e., a “ghost”) arrived right there at the auspicious time of mid-day.”

अथापश्यत्तमायातं प्रेतं चैव भयंकरम्।

अस्थिचर्मनिबद्धाङ्गं स्नायुशेषं सुजर्जरम्।

उच्छ्वासन्निश्वसन्दीनं क्षुत्पिपासासमन्वितम् ॥ ९ ॥

9c अस्थि°] V₁ , अ(स्मि)° V₂ , • °चर्मनिबद्धाङ्गं] V₁ , °चर्मनि(व)द्धाङ्ग V₂ ; **9d** स्नायु°] V₁ , स्नातु° V₂ ; **9e** उच्छ्वासन्°] V_{1pc} , उ(च्छ)सन् V_{1ac} , उच्छसन्° V₂ , • °निश्वसन्°] V₂ , °निःस्वसन्° V₁

“Then, he (i.e., Śaṅkukarṇa) saw that terrible ghost who had arrived. [He was] made up entirely of bone and skin, and the remaining ligament(s) [were] thoroughly decayed; [he was] sighing [and] hissing miserably, [and] full of hunger and thirst.”

¹⁰³ The V₂ reading of *pāda d subhairavaiḥ*, as an adjective “very terrifying” qualifying *aṭṭahāsaiḥ*, could also be a valid interpretation. However, as the worship activities described in this verse are associated with the Pāśupatas, the irregular V₁ reading *śubhaiḥ ravaiḥ* “auspicious sounds” seems to make more sense than “very terrifying”. Perhaps *śubhaiḥ ravaiḥ* refers to the act of “bellowing like a bull”, which a Pāśupata ascetic should perform daily (Acharya 2013, 109). Additionally, since using the regular *sandhi* for *śubhaiḥ ravaiḥ* would result in *śubhairavaiḥ*, and V₁ often uses *sa* in place of *śa*, it is possible that the copier of V₂ was supposed to write *śubhairavaiḥ* but ended up writing *subhairavaiḥ*.

तं दृष्ट्वा स मुनिश्रेष्ठः कृपापरमया युतः।¹⁰⁴

पप्रच्छ को भवान्किं च किमर्थमिह आगतः॥ १० ॥

10b कृपापरमया] V₂, कृपापरमा-यु-घा V₁ **10c** पप्रच्छ को] conj., प्रपछ(को)सि V₁ (unmetrical), पप्र(च्छो)स्मि V₂, • भवान्किं च] V₂, भिवा+(न)+(वि) V_{1ac} (unmetrical), भिवा+(न)+(वे) V_{1pc} (unmetrical); **10d** आगतः] V₂, आगताः V₁

“Having seen him (i.e., the ghost), he, the best of sages, possessed of extreme pity, asked: ‘Who are you, and for what reason have you come here?’”

एवं श्रुत्वा स तु प्रेतः कथामात्मप्रकाशनीम्।

सर्वमाख्यायते ब्रह्मन्यद्वृत्तं पूर्वजन्मनि॥ ११ ॥

11a श्रुत्वा स तु प्रेतः] V₁, श्रुत्वासुरप्रेतः V₂; **11b** कथामात्मप्रकाशनीम्] V₁, कथामात्मप्रकाशिनीं V₂; **11c** सर्वमाख्यायते ब्रह्मन्°] V_{1pc}V₂, सर्वमायाख्यायते ब्रन्° V_{1ac}¹⁰⁵

“Having heard this, the ghost [started to tell] a self-illuminating story: ‘All that has occurred in [my] previous life, is [now] made known [to you by me], O brahman.’”

आसीदहं पुरा ब्रह्मन्धनधान्यसमन्वितः।¹⁰⁶

पुत्रपौत्रैः परिवृतो भ्रातृस्वसुरमातुलैः॥ १२ ॥

12b धनधान्य°] V₁, (व)नधान्य V₂; **12d** भ्रातृस्वसुरमातुलैः] em., भ्रातृस्व(मातुलैः) V₁ (unmetrical), भ्रातृस्वसुरमातुलैः V₂

“[At one time] before, O brahman, there was I, fully endowed with wealth and grain, surrounded by [my] sons, grandsons, brothers, sisters, and uncles.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Kṛpāparamayā* is not good Sanskrit and has been translated here as *kṛpayā paramayā*. The conjecture *kṛpayā paramayā*, however, does not fit with the verse since it would create a nine-syllable *pāda*. It seems likely that the strange compound *kṛpā-paramayā* is present because the composer/scribe has wanted to have eight syllables instead of nine in this *pāda*. The irregular, more “flexible” nature of the Sanskrit evident throughout this *adhyaḥya* provides us with a reason to think that this compound is deliberate instead of being an outright mistake.

¹⁰⁵ It seems that in the V_{1pc} reading that has been adopted here, the person who has added the syllable *hma* to create *brahman*, is not the same person who wrote the main text. The thickness of the line and the handwriting are different.

¹⁰⁶ The phrase *āsīd ahaṃ* irregularly uses a 3rd person verb (*āsīd*) with a first-person pronoun (*ahaṃ*). It has been translated as “[there] was I” to stay as close to the Sanskrit as possible.

¹⁰⁷ *Bhrātr̥svasuramātulaiḥ* is understood here as “brothers, sisters, and uncles”. However, this interpretation requires us to treat “sister” as an *a*-ending noun *svasura*, whereas normally it would be *svasr̥*. It is likely that the choice to create the noun *svasura* from *svasr̥* has been made because of the meter; *bhrātr̥svasr̥mātulaiḥ* is unmetrical, containing seven instead of eight syllables.

[...] इदं करिष्ये कृत्वेदं करिष्याम्यपरं त्विदम्।

इति चिन्तापरो मूढः कुटुम्बभरणे ततः ॥ १३ ॥¹⁰⁸

“[...] 'I will do this after doing this and then I will do this'; [I was] occupied in thought like this, [only focusing] on supporting the family; thereupon...”

[...] जुहोमि यदि तन्नास्ति ददामि यदि सीदति।

कुटुम्बमिति मूढो ऽहं ईदृशीं योनिमागतः ॥ १४ ॥¹⁰⁹

14a तन्नास्ति] V₁, तं भस्ति V_{2ac}, तं भास्ति V_{2pc}; **14d** ईदृशीं] V₂, इदृसीं V₁

“[...] 'I [will] sacrifice to him if he appears (?), I [will] give if he sits [in front of me]' (?). Thus I, deluded, thinking about my family, have arrived into such a womb.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ It seems likely that a line is missing before this verse, because the quote in **13ab** does not explain what it is exactly that the ghost was doing. *Pādas ab* are paralleled by *Viṣṇudharma 37.23ab*:

idaṃ kariṣye kṛtvedam kariṣyāmy aparaṃ tv idam /

¹⁰⁹ It seems likely that a line is missing before this verse, because the connection between the end of verse **13** (narration) and the start of verse **14** (quote) gives an abrupt pause to the text. *Pādas abc* are paralleled by *Viṣṇudharma 37.24*:

juhomi yadi tan nāsti dadāmi yadi sīdati /

kuṭumbam iti mūḍho 'haṃ tena dahyāmi durmatih //

Pāda d is also very close in meaning: “because of that, I, the foolish one, burn”. The existence as a detestable *piśāca* can be understood as “burning”; that is, a very undesirable form of existence.

¹¹⁰ The interpretation of the first two *pādas* of this verse is quite unclear, and I have had to supply quite a lot of information in square brackets to reach a readable sentence. The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, which contains the story in another form, has ghosts waiting outside Vārāṇasī for Śiva to come out and grant mercy to them. The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* passage combined with the fact that Śiva is very central here content-wise, means that “he” in this verse is most likely Śiva. *Kāśīkhaṇḍa 54.37-39*:

praveśo nāsti cāsmākaṃ pretānāṃ tapasāṃ nidhe /

mahatāṃ pātakānāṃ ca vārāṇasyāṃ śivājñayā // 37 //

adyāpi tāni pāpāni tad bahir nirgamecchayā /

bahir eva hi tiṣṭhaṃti śimni pramathasādhvasāt // 38 //

adya śvo vā paraśvo vā sa bahir nirgamiṣyati / (nirgamiṣyati emended by me from nirgamiṣyati)

ity āśayā sthitāḥ smo vai yāvad adya tapodhana // 39 //

“By the command of Śiva, O storehouse of austerities, we ghosts and great sins do not have the right of entry in Vārāṇasī. Even today those sins wait outside for him to come out. They are afraid of the Pramathas guarding the border. O ascetic, till today we stood waiting with the hope that he would come out today, tomorrow or the day after” (Tagare 1997, 31).

जन्मे न पूजिता देवा विप्रा गावो ऽतिथिस्तथा।

पुत्रदारादिभृत्यार्थे मया मूढेन चेतसा ॥ १५ ॥¹¹¹

15a जन्मे न] V_{1pc}, जन्मे V_{1ac} (unmetrical), जन्मना V₂; **15cd** °भृत्यार्थे मया] V₁, °भृत्याद्यैर्मया V₂

“At birth, the gods were not worshipped, [and] in the same way wise men, cattle, [and] guest(s) [were not worshipped by me]. For the sake of the support of [my] sons, [my] wife, and so on, [they were worshipped (?)] by me with [my] foolish mind.”

सुकृतं नार्जितं पूर्वं न्यायतो ऽन्यायतस्तथा।

तेन कर्मविपाकेन पैशाचीं योनिमागतः ॥ १६ ॥

16a पूर्वं] V₁, पूर्वं V₂ **16d** पैशाचीं] V₂, पैसां+(ञ्)+ची V₁

“A good deed has not been previously earned, neither correctly nor incorrectly. Through that maturing (i.e., the consequences) of *karmas*, I have arrived into the *piśāca* womb.”¹¹²

पुष्करिण्यस्तडागानि देवतायतनानि च।

अकृत्वा शिवयोगीनां तेन प्राप्तो ऽस्मि दुर्गतिम् ॥ १७ ॥

17c शिवयोगीनां] V_{1pc}V₂, शिवयोगानां V_{1ac}; **17d** दुर्गतिम्] V₂, दुर्गतिं V₁

“Because I have not made lotus pools, tanks, and abodes of deities for the Śivayogins; therefore, I have obtained misfortune.”

यदि कश्चित्तनुद्वारं मम पश्यसि सुव्रत।

दर्शनं तव योगीन्द्र आह्लादो मे मनोगतः ॥ १८ ॥ छ ॥

18a कश्चित्तनुद्वारं] V₂, कश्चिद्+(त)+(नु)द्वारं V₁; **18b** सुव्रत] V₂, सुव्रतः V₁; **18c** तव] V_{1pc}V₂, तव V_{1ac} (unmetrical); **18d** आह्लादो] V₂, (का)ल्हादो V_{1ac}, (ल्का)ल्हादो V_{1pc} (ल्का partially retraced)

“[Please tell me] if you see any thin door for me (i.e., “any way out”), O virtuous one; your *darśana*, O lord of *yogins*, is a delightful thought for me.”

¹¹¹ *Pāda a* is paralleled by *Viṣṇudharma 37.30*. There is one exception: the *Viṣṇudharma* passage has the reading *yan me* instead of *janme* (which is a wrong locative singular form; the locative singular from *janman* should be *janmani*). This difference points towards the fact that the *adhyāya* edited here contains multiple instances where the *ya*-syllable has been used instead of *ja*. In the verse edited here, *janme* seems to be a more logical choice than *yan me*, since the discussion revolves around how the ghost has been born into his undesirable form. Also, *janme* fits the meter whereas *janmani* would be unmetrical. See *Viṣṇudharma 37.30*:

*yan me na pūjita devāḥ kuṭumbam poṣitaṃ param /
ekāki tena dahyāmi ye 'puṣtās te 'nyato gatāḥ //*

¹¹² It seems that the ghost is suggesting here that good deeds can be done inadvertently. Also, as in verse **12**, the ghost is speaking about himself in the third person, connecting an absent *ahaṃ* with the masculine nominative singular *āgataḥ*. The word *piśāca* to refer to the ghost is used here for the first time in this chapter. For more on the usage of both *preta* and *piśāca* to refer to the ghost, see the chapter 3 section “Contents and Contextualization – *Adhyāya 30*” above.

शङ्कुकर्ण उवाच ॥

“Śaṅkukarṇa said:”

अतीते दशमे जन्मे प्रेरणं च त्वया कृतम् । [...] ¹¹³

खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारे देवदेवे महेश्वरे ।

निर्मग्नलिङ्गसंस्कारे पूजने चन्दने तथा ॥ १९ ॥

19a जन्मे] em., यन्मे V_{1ac}, यन्मे V_{1pc}, यामे V₂; **19b** कृतम्] V₁, कृते V₂; **19c** खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारे] V₂, खंडस्फुटिसंस्कारे V₁ (unmetrical); **19e** °लिङ्ग°] V_{1pc}V₂, °लिङ्गलिङ्ग° V_{1ac} (unmetrical)

“Ten lives ago, my command was done by you; [...] during the repairing of what is broken and damaged at the [place of the] god of gods, Maheśvara; during the consecration of the *liṅga* which had sunk, [done] through worship [and] sandalwood in that way...”¹¹⁴

स्वतो वा परतो बुद्ध्या दानेनाप्युद्धरेद्यदि ।

लिङ्गं यस्मिन्क्षेत्रमध्ये तत्संस्कारे ऽपि मुच्यते ॥ २० ॥

“...if one should raise a *liṅga*, by oneself, by another, with intention or through giving, in the middle of whichever field, one is liberated at its consecration.”

¹¹³ The emendation *janme* is another one of the instances in this *adhyāya* (see footnote 111) where the scribe has written a *ya*-syllable instead of a *ja*-syllable. It should be noted, however, that *janme* is the same wrong locative singular form from *janman* as in verse 15. The first *pāda* is partially paralleled by *Viṣṇudharma* 37.40:

*atīte daśame janmany acyutarādhanecchayā /
sukarmajayadāṃ bhadra dvādaśīm tvam upoṣitaḥ //*

¹¹⁴ It is likely that a line is missing after *pāda* b because this verse contains six *pādas*. There is a gap regarding content as well; we are not explicitly told what is meant by “my command”. What was this auspicious command that the ghost obeyed ten lives ago? *Khaṇḍasphuṭitasamskāre* refers to the act of donating or repairing something broken and damaged in a temple. Apparently, the ghost has done such an auspicious act ten lives ago, as commanded by Śaṅkukarṇa. The object that has been repaired (and then consecrated), seems to be a *liṅga* that has sunk, most likely into the ground. However, this could refer to replacing a previous, sunken *liṅga* with a new *liṅga* (which was then consecrated). In any case, the idea of a sunken *liṅga* corresponds with the next verse (20), which mentions the act of raising a *liṅga*.

तव तस्य प्रभावेन पापमन्यं सुदुर्जयम्।

स्तोककालेन सङ्घीणं आमपात्रे यथा जलम्॥ २१ ॥¹¹⁵

21b पापमन्यं सुदुर्जयम्] V_{1ac} , पापमन्यसुदुर्जयम् V_{1pc} (न्य सु retraced) , पापमन्यसुदुर्जयं V₂ ; **21c** सङ्घीणं] V₁ , संकीर्णं V₂

“Through the power of that [act] of you, any other difficult-to-conquer evil has been destroyed completely in a short time, like water in an unhardened vessel.”¹¹⁶

तस्मान्नेरेण पुण्याय पतितव्यं न पातके।¹¹⁷

लिङ्गद्वेषी नरो याति कुष्माण्डक्षयमन्दिरम्॥ २२ ॥

22c लिङ्गद्वेषी] V₂ , लिंगद्वेषा V_{1pc} , V_{ac} unclear , • नरो] V_{1pc}V₂ , नरा V_{1ac}

“Therefore, a man should become meritorious, and not succumb to sin/crime; a man malignant against a *liṅga* goes to the temple of destruction of Kuṣmāṇḍa.”

ध्यातव्यः सुव्रतैर्देवो देवात्मत्वहितैषिभिः।

एषा ते चाक्षया योनिः पैशाची नरकादनी॥ २३ ॥

23a सुव्रतैर्देवो] V_{1pc}V₂ , सुव्रतैर्देव(व) V_{1ac} ; **23b** देवात्मत्व°] V_{1pc} , (वि)दैवात्म V_{1ac} , दैवात्मत्व° V₂ ; **23c** चाक्षया] V_{1pc} , क्षया V_{1ac} (unmetrical) , चाक्षयो V₂ ; **23d** नरकादनी] V₁ , °नदनी V₂ (unmetrical)

“The god should be thought of by those who observe their vows well, who are striving for the suitable essence of divinity; and for you, this undecaying *piśāca* womb grants hell.”

¹¹⁵ A partial parallel, containing the reading “like water in a new vessel” instead of “like water in an unhardened vessel” is found in *Viṣṇudharma 37.41cd*. A “new vessel” can mean the same thing as an “unhardened vessel”. We could understand that this simile means that evil is destroyed in the same way as water evaporates through the pores of a clay vessel. However, the comparison of water with evil seems somewhat unlikely. Another, more likely option is that “evil” is represented by the heat in the water. In South Asia, clay pots are often used to keep water cool during periods of hot weather. As water is put into a clay pot during hot weather, it seeps through the clay and evaporates on the outer surface. In this way, the water in the vessel remains relatively cold and the “evil heat” has been removed. *Viṣṇudharma 37.41cd*:

alpāir ahobhiḥ saṁkṣīṇaṁ navapātre yathā jalam //

“Like water in a new vessel, completely destroyed in a few days.”

¹¹⁶ *Samkīrṇaṁ* could lead to another interpretation of water mixed (*saṁkīrṇa*) with something else. However, since what the water would be mixed with is not mentioned, and *saṁkṣīṇaṁ* is the V₁ reading (which is found also in *Viṣṇudharma 37.41c*), I have chosen *saṁkṣīṇaṁ* over *saṁkīrṇaṁ*.

¹¹⁷ *Pādas ab* are paralleled by *Viṣṇudharma 37.49ab*:
tasmān nareṇa punyāya patitavyaṁ na pātake /

न शक्नुवन्ति निर्मोक्तुं ब्रह्माद्या देवसत्तमाः।

एको ह्यत्र उपायो ऽस्ति त्रिषु लोकेषु नास्ति यः ॥ २४ ॥

24a न शक्नुवन्ति] em. , (-त- स।)क्नुवन्ति V₁ , ते शक्नुवन्ति V₂ , • निर्मोक्तुं] V₁ , निर्मोक्तुं V₂ ; **24d** त्रिषु] V₂ , (षू) V_{1ac} (unmetrical) , (+उ+ष्ठ) V_{1pc}

“The best gods, starting with Brahma, are not able to free themselves; the unique method is here [in Vārāṇasī], which is not [found elsewhere] in the three worlds.”

इदं कपर्दिनमीशं मोक्षलिङ्गं व्यवस्थितम्।

अस्य सेवनभक्तिभ्यां योगं प्राप्तो ऽस्मि सर्वगम् ॥ २५ ॥

25a इदं] V₁ , एवं V₂ , • कपर्दिनमीशं] V₁ , कपर्दिनमीशानं V₂ (unmetrical) ; **25b** मोक्षलिङ्गं व्यवस्थितम्] V₁ , मोक्षलिङ्गव्यवस्थितं V₂ ; **25c** सेवनभक्तिभ्यां] V₁ , सेवनभक्तिभ्यां V₂ ; **25d** प्राप्तो] em. , प्राप्नो V₁V₂

“This is the lord Kapardin, the liberating *liṅga* established [here]. Through worship and devotion of this [*liṅga*], I have obtained omnipresent yoga.”

सर्वं जानामि कर्तव्यं भुवनेषु द्विसप्तसु।

तवोपदेशं दास्यामि येन मुच्यसि बन्धनात् ॥ २६ ॥¹¹⁸

26a जानामि] V_{1pc}V₂ , (र्जना)मि V_{1ac}

“I know everything that should be done in the 21 worlds; I will give your instruction, by which you are liberated from bondage.”

शृणुष्वावहितो भूत्वा येन योन्या विमुच्यसे।

योगं प्रवर्तते श्रेष्ठं जातिस्मरणसंयुतम् ॥ २७ ॥¹¹⁹

27a शृणुष्वावहितो] V₂ , सृणु(ष्वाहि)तो V₁ (unmetrical) , • भूत्वा] V_{1pc}V₂ , भूत्वा V_{1ac} ; **27b** विमुच्यसे] V₁ , विमुच्यते V₂ ; **27d** जाति°] em. , याति V₁ , • स्मरणसंयुतम्] V_{1pc} , स्मरणं सम्युतं V_{1ac}

“Hear [this] attentively, so that you are liberated from this form; [and] the supreme yoga, the remembrance of past births, comes about.”

¹¹⁸ The verb *mucyasi*, in the active conjugation, has been chosen here over the expected middle conjugation *mucyase* because of the meter.

¹¹⁹ *Pādas 27cd* are not present in the apograph (V₂). Also, in *pāda c*, the scribe has again used a *ya* instead of a *ja*; that is why *yāti* has been emended by me to *jāti*. Contextually, *jāti* fits here better than *yāti*.

त्रिकालज्ञानसंपन्नं सर्वदेवेषु दुर्लभम्।

एतत्सर्वं विजानासि कपर्दीश्वरसेवनात् ॥ २८ ॥

28a त्रिकालज्ञानसंपन्नं] em. , -त्रिकालज्ञानसंपत्तिन्नं- V₁ (unmetrical) , त्रिकालज्ञानसंपत्तिः V₂ ; **28c** विजानासि] V₁ , विनासि V₂ (unmetrical)

“Perfect knowledge of the three times which is hard to obtain [even] among all the deities; you [will get to] know all this from worshiping Kapardīśvara.”

जातिस्मरत्वं संप्राप्ता वयमस्यैव कीर्तनात्।

कपर्दिकृत्तिवासाभ्यां पूजनात्सततं शुचिः ॥ २९ ॥¹²⁰

29a जाति°] em. , याति V₁V₂ ; **29ab** संप्राप्ता] V₁ , संप्राप्त V₂ ; **29b** कीर्तनात्] V₂ पूजनात् V₁ ; **29c** कपर्दिकृत्तिवासाभ्यां] em. , कपर्दिकृत्तिवासाभ्यां V₁ , कपर्दिकृत्तिवासाभ्यां V₂

“We have obtained remembrance of past lives through the praise of him; from the worship of Kapardin and Kṛttivāsa,¹²¹ one is constantly radiant.”

षण्मासाभ्यन्तराच्चैव योगमुत्पद्यते नृणाम्।

एतद्रहस्यमाख्यातं त्रिदशेष्वपि दुर्लभम् ॥ ३० ॥

30c एतद्रहस्यमाख्यातं] V_{1pc}V₂ एतद्रहस्यामाख्यातं V_{1ac} ; **30d** त्रिदशेष्वपि] V_{1pc}V₂ , (तु)दशेष्वपि V_{1ac}

“After a period of time of six months, union arises for men; thus, this secret, difficult to obtain even among the gods, has been made known.”

पिशाचेषु न वक्तव्यं समयस्ते त्रिधास्थितः। [...]

स्नानं कुरुष्व शीघ्रं त्वं अस्मिंस्तीर्थे सुगोपिते।

येनेमां कुत्सितां योनिं क्षिप्रमेव त्यजिष्यसि ॥ ३१ ॥

31c शीघ्रं त्वं] V₁ , शीघ्रत्वं V₂ ; **31d** अस्मिंस्तीर्थे] V₂ , अस्मिंस्तीर्थे V₁

“It should not be told to *piśācas*, [and] the occasion is threefold for you; [...] take a bath quickly at this well-concealed *tīrtha*, because of which you will quickly get rid of this contemptible form.”¹²²

¹²⁰ Here again, the scribe has used *ya* instead of *ja*, and that is why *yāti* has been emended to *jāti*.

¹²¹ *Kapardikṛttivāsabhyām* is a dative used as a genitive in the English translation. A more literal translation would be “from the worship to Kapardin and Kṛttivāsa”.

¹²² It is possible that a line is missing from this verse after *pāda b* since the verse has six *pādas* and the content has a gap regarding the “threefold occasion”. There could have been a line explaining what these three things are. However, the following verse seems to elaborate on this point, mentioning having a mind filled with compassion, keeping Kapardin in mind, and bathing at the *tīrtha*. Thus, it is feasible that the explanation in the following verse was considered to be enough, and there is no missing line. Additionally, this verse uses the locative plural *piśāceṣu* irregularly as a dative plural.

एवमुक्तः पिशाचस्तु करुणाविष्टचेतसः।

शङ्कुकर्णेन चादिष्टो देवदेवस्य चाग्रतः।

देवं कपर्दिनं स्मृत्वा तस्मिंस्तीर्थे निमज्जितः॥ ३२ ॥

32a एवमुक्तः] em. , एवमुक्त V₁V₂; **32b** करुणाविष्टचेतसः] V₁ , करुणाविष्टचेतसः V₂; **32c** चादिष्टो] V_{1pc}V₂ , दि(मा) V_{1ac} (unmetrical); **32f** तस्मिंस्तीर्थे] V₂ , स्त(स्मीं)स्तीर्थे V_{1pc} , V_{1ac} unclear , • निमज्जितः] em. , निमज्जितः V₁V₂

“Being addressed thus, the *piśāca*, whose mind was filled with compassion, and having been instructed by Śaṅkukarṇa in front of Devadeva, and having kept in mind the god Kapardin, immersed himself [in the water] at that *tīrtha*.”¹²³

तत्क्षणान्मृष्टसलिलो दिव्यरूपवपुर्धरः।

दिव्याभरणसंयुक्तो दिव्यमाल्यानुलेपनः॥ ३३ ॥

33a तत्क्षणान्मृष्ट°] em. , तत्क्षणान्मृष्ट° V₁ , तत् क्षणान्मृष्ट° V₂; **33b** दिव्यरूपवपुर्धरः] V₂ , दिव्यरूपवपुर्धरः V₁; **33c** दिव्याभरणसंयुक्तो] em. , दिव्यां वराभरणयुक्तो V₁V₂ (unmetrical); **33d** दिव्यमाल्यानुलेपनः] V_{1pc}V₂ दिव्यमाललेपनः V_{1ac} (unmetrical)

“At that moment, he was purified by the water, bearing a body with a divine form; joined with divine ornaments [and] anointed with a divine garland.”

विमानवरमारुह्य बालार्कशतसप्रभः।

उत्पतद्वियन्मार्गं तं भित्त्वा ब्रह्माण्डकर्परम्॥ ३४ ॥

34c उत्पतद्वियन्मार्गं तं] em. , उत्पतद्वियन्मार्गन्तं V₁ , उत्पतद्वियन्मार्गन्तं V₂

“Having mounted the best celestial vehicle, possessing the same brilliance as a hundred newly risen suns, he ascended to the path of heaven, moving [around], and breaking through the shell of the universe.”¹²⁴

¹²³ The second “and” (*ca*) from *pāda d* is translated here with *pāda e*, to create “and having kept in mind...” It seems that the “and” in the second line is a verse-filler, but it is possible to translate with the third line.

¹²⁴ The concept of breaking through the shell of the universe, using the same word *brahmāṇḍakarpara* is found in the *Mokṣopāya* 3,29.53, 3,31.5, 3,59.9, and 5,30.15:

iti prakathayantyaū te prāpte brahmāṇḍakarparam /
bhramaryāv iva śailasya kuḍyaṃ nibiḍamaṇḍalam // 53 //
viveśa bhartṛsaṅkalpasamsāraṃ kañcid ātatam /
samsārāvaraṇaṃ bhittvā bhittvā brahmāṇḍakarparam // 5 //
vāyvindrāsurasiddhānāṃ lokān ullaṅghya lāghavāt /
brahmaviṣṇumaheśānāṃ prāpa brahmāṇḍakarparam // 9 //
samastakulaśailendrapīṇḍapīṭhodbhaṭodaram /
dordrumādhūnanoddhūtasphuṭabrahmāṇḍakarparam // 15 //

तत्त्वं तत्त्वं समुल्लङ्घ्य यावत्षट्त्रिंशमात्परम्।

शिवे समवपुर्भूत्वा स्थितो ऽसौ पुण्यभाजनः ॥ ३५ ॥

35c शिवे] V_{1ac} , सिव° V_{1pc} , शिव° V_2 ; **35d** ऽसौ पुण्यभाजनः] em., सौ पुण्यभाजनाः $V_{1pc}V_2$, पुण्यभाजनाः V_{1ac} (unmetrical)

“From *tattva* to *tattva*, he completely transgressed as far as beyond the 36th [*tattva*]¹²⁵; [and thus] having attained a body similar to Śiva, he remains partaking of merit.”

पिशाचं व्रजमानं तु दृष्ट्वा ज्ञानस्य चेतसा।

विस्मयहर्षसंपन्नः शङ्कुकर्णो ऽवदद्धरम् ॥ ३६ ॥¹²⁶

36a व्रजमानं] V_2 , प्रजमानं V_1 ; **36b** ज्ञानस्य] V_1 , ज्ञातस्य V_2 ; **36c** विस्मयहर्षसंपन्नः] em., विस्मयं हर्षसंपन्नं V_1V_2 ; **36d** शङ्कुकर्णो] V_{1pc} , संकुकर्णो° V_{1ac} शङ्कुकर्णे V_2 , • ऽवदद्धरम्] em., वदद्धरं V_{1pc} , व(न्ह)रं V_{1ac} , वदन् हरं V_2

“Having seen the *piśāca* traveling upwards with [his] knowledgeable mind, astonished and delighted, Śaṅkukarṇa addressed Hara.”

शङ्कुकर्ण उवाच ॥¹²⁷

“Śaṅkukarṇa said:”

ओं नमस्त्रिनेत्राय शशाङ्कमौलिने दिग्वाससे शूलधराय शम्भवे।

37a ओं] V_2 , उं V_1 , • शशाङ्क°] $V_{1pc}V_2$, संसंक° V_{1ac} , • शूलधराय] $V_{1pc}V_2$, सूलधाराय V_{1ac}

“Om. Obeisance to the three-eyed one, to the one who has the moon as his diadem, the one who has the directions as his clothes (i.e., naked), the one who bears a spear, the benevolent one.”

फणीन्द्रकण्ठज्वलरत्नरागिणे।

37b फणीन्द्रकण्ठज्वलरत्नरागिणे] V_{1ac} , फणीन्द्रकंठो ज्वलरत्नरागिणे $V_{1pc}V_2$

“To the one with the king of snakes [around] his throat, who is of the color of a flaming jewel.”

¹²⁵ The 36 *tattvas* of Siddhānta.

¹²⁶ Here, the emendation *vismayaharṣasampannaḥ* has been made to make these two adjectives qualify *śaṅkukarṇo*, which is in masculine nominative singular. Another option would have been to retain the original reading *vismayaṃ harṣasampannaṃ* and translate it adverbially.

¹²⁷ The apograph (V_2) has no *daṇḍas* for this following section of praise, so the manuscript (V_1) is mainly followed.

नागोपवीताय सुरेश्वराय सुरासुरैरर्चितदिव्यलिङ्गमृगेन्द्रचर्मधृतविग्रहाय।¹²⁸

37c +सुरेश्वराय+] V₁, V₂ omit. , • °दिव्यलिङ्गं मृगेन्द्रचर्मधृत°] V_{1pc}, °दिव्यलिङ्गमृगेन्द्रचर्मधृत° V_{1ac}, °दिव्यं लिङ्गमृगेन्द्रचर्मधृत° V₂

“To the one who has a snake as his sacred thread, the lord of the gods, the one who wears a lion skin as an ornament on his body [and] whose divine *liṅga* is worshipped by deities and demons.”

नमो ऽस्तु कर्कोटककुण्डलाय।

37d कर्कोटककुण्डलाय] V_{1pc}V₂, कर्कोटककुण्डलाय V_{1ac}

“Obeisance to the one who has ear-rings made of bael fruit.”

जटाकलापाग्रशताय धनंजयाव्यासितमेखलाय देवेन्द्राय कल्याणहिताय नित्यम्।

37e जटाकलापाग्रशताय] em. , जटाकलापा-य- ग्रस(किस्ति)ताय V₁, जटाकलापाग्रशताय V₂, • धनंजया°] V_{1pc}V₂ (anusvāra retraced), धनंजया° V_{1ac}, • °व्यासित°] V_{1pc}, °(व्य)सित° V_{1ac}, °व्यसित° V₂, • देवेन्द्राय कल्याण°] V₂, देवेन्द्रकल्याण° V₁, • °हिताय] V₂, °(हि)ताय V_{1pc} (हि retraced), V_{1ac} unclear

“To the one who has a bundle of a hundred dreadlocks at the top [of his head], the one who has a girdle inhabited by (i.e., made of) Dhanamjaya, the chief of gods, the one who is beautiful and favourable, always.”

नमो ऽकाध्मातनिवारणाय।¹²⁹

37f ऽ°] em. , अ° V₁V₂

“Obeisance to the one who does not cause unhappiness to swell, keeping it back (?).”

गणेश्वरैरर्चितसंस्तुताय सिद्धान्तविद्यागमवाचकाय।

“To the one who is worshipped and praised by the leaders of the *gaṇas*, the one who speaks the *Siddhāntas*, the *Vidyās* and the *Āgamas*.”

¹²⁸ The reading *sureśvarāya* is found only in V_{1pc} as a marginal addition that, due to the different handwriting, seems to be written by someone else than the person who created this particular copy of the manuscript. Thus, it is likely that during the time the marginal addition was made, another source for this *adhyāya* existed. Adding the dative *sureśvarāya* with no textual basis seems unlikely, since this epithet does not bring anything new to the verse itself.

¹²⁹ It seems that the *sandhi* is incorrect here, which is why I have chosen to add an *avagraha* in place of the *a*-vowel. In any case, this line is quite unclear, and I have not been able to reach a completely satisfactory explanation for it. Since the *avagraha* replaces an *a*, it is not silently corrected, and is thus visible in the apparatus.

कन्दर्पदर्पोपशमात्मकाय गौरीविवाहाभिमताय तुभ्यम्।

“To you, the one whose nature was calm [even when faced with] the arrogance of the god of love, the one who [still] wished to marry Gaurī (i.e., Pārvatī).”¹³⁰

स्कन्दस्य जन्मावधिशक्तिदात्रे योगाधिकारे गुणाधिकारे।¹³¹

37i जन्मावधि°] conj., जन्माववि° V₁V₂, • गुणाधिकारे] V₂, गुरुणाधिकारे V₁

“To the one who gives [the spear] Śakti to Skanda at the conclusion of his birth, to the one (i.e., Śiva) who is the authority of yoga; to the one who is the authority [over] good qualities (?).”

कालस्य भीषणाग्निभिदे मुनीन्द्रे श्वेते ददौ मोक्षपदं सुशुद्धं नमोस्तु ते त्रिपुरघातनाय महासुरतारकमर्दनाय नमोस्तु ते क्षीरसमुद्रदात्रे शिशोर्मुनीन्द्रस्योपमन्यवे तुभ्यम्।

37j भीषणाग्निभिदे मुनीन्द्रे श्वेते] em., भीषणाग्निभिदे मुनीन्द्रे श्वेते V_{1pc}, भीषणाग्निभिदे मुदानीन्द्रे श्वेते V_{1ac}, भीषणाग्निभिहेनुदानीन्द्रे श्वेते V₂, • मोक्षपदं] V_{1pc}V₂, मोक्षं पदं V_{1ac}, • सुशुद्धं] V₁, सुशु V₂, • महासुरतारकमर्दनाय] em., महासुरतारकमर्दनाय V₁, महासुरतारकमर्दनाय V₂, • नमोस्तु ते] V_{1pc}V₂, नमोस्तु V_{1ac}, • शिशोर्मुनीन्द्रस्योपमन्यवे तुभ्यम्] em., शिशोर्मुनीन्द्रस्योपमन्यवे तुभ्यं V_{2pc}, शिसोर्मुनिन्द्र(स्यु)पमन्यवे तु V₁, शिशोर्मुनिन्द्रस्युपमन्यवे तुभ्यं V_{2ac}

“To the destroyer of the frightening fire of time, the one who gave the very pure state of liberation to Śveta, the best of sages;¹³² obeisance to you, the immolator of the three cities, to the destroyer of the great asura Tāraka; obeisance to you, the giver of the ocean of milk to Upamanyu, the pupil of the best of sages;¹³³ [obeisance] to you.”

¹³⁰ This line refers to the narrative of Kāma trying to get Śiva enamored by Pārvatī by deceitful means, ending in Kāma being burnt by the third eye of Śiva.

¹³¹ *Yogādhikāre* and *guṇādhikāre* are locative singular used as dative. However, this interpretation is somewhat unclear. Another possibility would be to retain the V₁ reading *guruṇādhikāre* and use the instrumental *guruṇā* to indicate that Śiva served as the guru of Skanda during his birth, resulting in “...when he (i.e., Śiva) is the authority of yoga; when he is the authority through [being] a guru.”

¹³² *Munīndre* and *śvete* are both in locative singular but are translated here as dative. This line refers to Śiva killing Yama to save Śveta from death, and he is thus called “the destroyer of time”.

¹³³ I have emended the reading to *śiśormunīndrasyopamanyave* due to incorrect *sandhi*. With this emendation, we are left with the two genitives *śisor* and *munīndrasya*, followed by the dative *upamanyave*. Another possibility would have been to emend *munīndrasya* to the dative *munīndrāya*. I chose the former option because it is closer to the V₁ reading and using the dative *munīndrāya* would have left the genitive *śisor* as more difficult to fit into the translation. However, we are still left with the problem of who this “best of sages” is. It would seem logical to think that Śveta is meant here because the same epithet is used for him earlier in this line, but to my knowledge, Upamanyu’s teacher was Āyoda-Dhaumya, not Śveta.

नमोस्तु ते सर्वजगद्धिधात्रे सर्वत्रसर्वात्मकसर्वकर्त्रे नमो भवायेति भवोद्भवाय।

37k भवायेति] V_{1pc}V₂, भवाति V_{1ac}, • भवोद्भवाय] V₂, भवोद्भ+वा+य: V₁

“Obeisance to you, the creator of all worlds, the doer of all who is all-containing and everywhere, obeisance to Bhava, thus, to Bhavodbhava.”¹³⁴

नमोस्तु ते सर्वगताय नित्यम्।

“Obeisance to you, the omnipresent one, always.”

अनादिमध्यान्तमचिन्तकाय।

37m अनादि°] V₁, अजनादि° V₂

“To the thinker who has no beginning, middle, or end.”

स्तोत्रं हि चेतत्प्रयत्नतः शिवाग्रतः पठेत्सदा श्रद्धया।

37n स्तोत्रं] V_{1pc} (त्रं retraced), स्तोतुं V₂, V_{1ac} unclear, • चैतत्°] em., चैत V_{1pc} (retraced), V_{1ac} unclear, चैता: V₂, • प्रयत्नतः] V₂, प्रयतः V₁

“One should always faithfully recite this hymn of praise in front of Śiva diligently...”

युक्तमौनी परोपकारी शिवभावितात्मा गच्छेत्पदं शाङ्करम्।

37p गच्छेत्पदं] V₁, ग(श्चेत्पदं) V₂

“...[and be] one who is silent and controlled, assisting others; whose self is in the state of becoming Śiva. He will [then] go to the state of Śaṅkara...”

शुद्धबुद्धिः ॥ ३७ ॥

37q शुद्धबुद्धिः] V₂, शुद्धिवुद्धिः V₁

“...[as one who has a] purified mind.”

¹³⁴ The epithet *Bhavodbhavāya* is an allusion to the *Sadyojāta mantra*, the first of the five *brahmamantras* of the *Pāśupatas*.

एवं स्तुतं स्तवन्तस्य दिवार्चिः संबभूव तु।

तस्मिन्नेव लये यातस्तत्क्षणान्मुनिसत्तमः ॥ ३८ ॥

38a स्तवन्तस्य] V₁, स्तवंस्तस्य V₂; **38b** दिवार्चिः] V₂, दिवार्चि V₁, • संबभूव तु] V₂, संबभू(व) तु: V_{1pc}, संपभू(व) तु: V_{1ac}; **38cd** यातस्तत्क्षणान्मुनिसत्तमः] V_{1pc}, यातत्क्षणान्मुनिसत्तमः V_{1ac} (unmetrical, eye-skip), जातस्तत्क्षणान्मुनिसत्तमः V₂

“As he was thus praising the one who is praised (i.e., Śiva), a flame appeared in the sky; [and] this most excellent sage immediately reached absorption in it.

क्षेत्रे ऽस्मिन्वाराणस्यां समुच्यते। [...]¹³⁵

इष्टं शिवस्याग्रे मे देवे कपर्दिके पुरः ॥ ३९ ॥

39a ऽस्मिन्वाराणस्यां] V_{1pc}, स्मिन्वाराणसी V_{1ac}, स्मित्वाराणसी V₂; **39b** समुच्यते V₁, स उच्यते V₂; **39c** इष्टं] V₂, इष्ट V₁; **39d** कपर्दिके] V₁, कपर्दिनः V₂

“In this field in Vārāṇasī, he delights [...]; it was wished from me in front of Śiva earlier at the divine Kapardika.”

सरमिदं तीर्थं पिशाचादिकं मोक्षं प्रापयतीति सिद्धिदमिदं तु।

मोचने मोचनं देवैर्यस्य सदा जलं समुचितं पीतं शिवार्पितम् ॥ ४० ॥¹³⁶

40ab पिशाचादिकं मोक्षं] V_{1pc}, पिशाचादिकं मोक्ष° V_{1ac}, पिशाचादिकांमीक्षं V₂, • तु] V₂, दुर° V₁; **40c** मोचने] V₂, °मोचने V₁

“This pond, [this] *tīrtha* Piśācādika causes one to reach liberation, this which gives success. He who delights in drinking the water offered to Śiva [reaches] liberation in liberation with the gods (?).”

इति ब्रह्मपुराणे पिशाचमोचनतीर्थवर्णनो नामाध्यायः ॥ ३० ॥

Col. ३०] V_{1pc}, छ V_{1ac}, V₂ omit.

“Thus, in the *Brahmapurāṇa*, [this is] the chapter called the description of the Piśācamocana *tīrtha*.”

¹³⁵ It seems that a *pāda* is missing here. There are only 12 syllables in this line, and the content has a gap as well.

¹³⁶ As in *adhyāya* 29 of the same compendium, the final metre changes, and this verse has 12 syllables per *pāda*. The metre is unrecognizable.

Appendix II: Edition and Translation of *Adhyāya 31*¹³⁷

ब्रह्मोवाच ॥

“Brahma said:”

कथयस्व महादेव तीर्थानां तु विशेषतः ।

रहस्यानि च पुण्यानि स्थानानि कृपया मम ॥ १ ॥

1cd च पुण्यानि] conj. , यानि पुण्यानि V₁ (unmetrical) , यानि पुण्या V₂ , **1d** मम] V₂ , ममः V₁

“O Mahādeva, tell [me] specifically about *tīrthas*; [those] secret and auspicious places, out of favour to me.”

ईश्वर उवाच ॥

“The Lord said:”

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि रहस्यं परमं मम ।

दृमिचण्डेश्वरं नाम स्थानं चैव कपर्दिनम् ॥ २ ॥

2c नाम] V₂ , स्थानं V₁ ; **2d** स्थानं चैव] V_{1pc} , (चैव) V_{1ac} (unmetrical) , स्थानं स्थानं V₂

“Hence, I will proclaim my most excellent secret; the place called *Dṛmicāṇḍeśvara* and *Kapardin...*”

ओंकारं परमं स्थानं पञ्चायतनसंज्ञितम् ।

एतत्क्षेत्रं न मुञ्चामि सत्यं सत्यं मयोदितम् ।

अविमुक्ते परे क्षेत्रे रम्यमाणस्तु सर्वदा ॥ ३ ॥

3a ओंकारं] V₂ , उंकारं V₁ ; **3f** रम्यमाणस्तु] V₁ , रम्यामाणस्तु V₂ , • सर्वदा] V₁ , सदा V₂ (unmetrical)

“...the most excellent place *Oṃkāra*, [also] called *Pañcāyatana*; this field I do not abandon, [this is] truly the truth, spoken by me. I am delighting, always, at the supreme field of *Avimukta*.”

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि रहस्यं परमं मम ।

विना सांख्येन योगेन नृणां मुक्तिकरं सदा ॥ ४ ॥¹³⁸

“Hence, I will proclaim my most excellent secret; without *Sāṃkhya*, through *Yoga*, [it is] always the liberator of men.”

¹³⁷ V₁: 103^r-104^v; V₂: 127^r-129^r.

¹³⁸ V₁ uses *nṛnām* and V₂ uses *nṛnām*; they are the same masculine genitive plural from *√nr*.

वालखिल्या मया पूर्व यदा दीक्षा कृता पुरा।

नैष्ठिकी परमा बुद्धिस्तदा तेषां प्रकाशिता ॥ ५ ॥

5b यदा] conj. , सदा V₁V₂ , • दीक्षा] V₁ , दीक्ष्या V₂ ; **5c** नैष्ठिकी] V₂ , नैष्ठिकी V₁ ; **5d** प्रकाशिता] em. , प्रकाशितां V₁ , प्रकाशिताः V₂

“When the Vālakhilyā initiation was done by me in the past, the perfect, supreme intelligence has been revealed to them then.”¹³⁹

तीर्थानां परमं तीर्थं व्रतानां परमं व्रतम्।

जप्यानां परमं जप्यं ध्यानानां ध्यानमुत्तमम् ॥ ६ ॥

6c जप्यानां] V₁ , जाप्यानां V₂ , • जप्यं] V₁ , जाप्यं V₂

“The *tīrtha* better than [other] *tīrthas*, the vow better than [other] vows; the muttered prayer better than [other] muttered prayers, the best meditation of meditations.”

योगानां परमं योगं रहस्यं परमं महत्।

तत्ते ब्रह्म प्रवक्ष्यामि नमस्कृत्वा परं शिवम् ॥ ७ ॥¹⁴⁰

7c तत्ते] V_{1pc} , V_{1ac} omit. , अहं V₂ , • ब्रह्म] conj. , ब्रह्मं V_{1pc} , (स्मि) V_{1ac} (unmetrical) , तत्त्वं V₂ , • प्रवक्ष्यामि] V₂ , प्रक्ष्यामि V₁ (unmetrical) ; **7d** परं शिवम्] V₁ , महेश्वरं V₂

“The yoga better than [other] yogas, the great highest secret; that, to you I will tell, O Brahma, having bowed to the great Śiva.”¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ *Vālakhilya* is understood here as feminine, as a name of an initiation. If understood as *Vālakhilyāḥ* (*visarga* dropped due to *sandhi*), it could also refer to a class of sages, and the genitive plural *teṣāṃ* in *pāda d* would match with this. However, *teṣāṃ* can be understood here to refer to the “men” from verse **4d**, which is the option I have chosen. Yet another option would be as a neuter noun treated as masculine referring to “a collection of 11 [accord. to some only 6 or 8] hymns of the Rg-veda” (Monier-Williams 1899, 946). Regarding the gender mismatch, this last option would not be too surprising seeing the irregular nature of the *Māhātmyas* in this manuscript in general, but content-wise, it is not such a good match. As for *dīkṣā kṛtā*, *dīkṣītā* would have been the more logical choice, but it is unmetrical.

¹⁴⁰ *Yoga* is treated as neuter here, whereas it is generally masculine. *Rahasya*, and *japya* and *dhyāna* from the previous verse, are normally neuter, which could be the reason for *yoga* appearing as neuter. Also, this is Īśvara talking to Brahma. We can understand this verse as Śiva speaking (as Īśvara), bowing to himself in his personal form. See more discussion above in the chapter 4 section “A General Interpretation – *Adhyāya* 31”.

¹⁴¹ Could this verse somehow refer to the Tāraka mantra? Verse **11** uses *tārakaṃ* as referring to Avimukta. See Bisschop 2021b, p. 15-16.

ओं नमः शिवशङ्कराय अनुग्रहकराय कार्यकारणभाविने।

निवर्तकाय आत्मदर्शनव्यापकाय निर्ममाय निरनुग्रहाय।

अनुग्रहस्थाय शङ्कराय अष्टरूपाय तेभ्यो वै नमो नमः ॥ ८ ॥¹⁴²

8a ओं] V₂, उं V₁; **8c** निवर्तकाय] V₁, निर्वर्तकाय V₂; **8cd** आत्मदर्शनव्यापकाय] V₁, दर्शनव्यापकाय V₂; **8ef** अष्टरूपाय] V₂, अष्टरूपाय V₁; **8f** वै] V_{1pc}, न V_{1ac}, V₂ omit.

“Om. Obeisance to Śiva Śaṅkara, the one who grants favors, the one who exists as cause and effect; [obeisance] to the remover, the one pervading the seeing of the self, the disinterested one, the one who does not [himself] need favors; to the one granting favors, Śaṅkara, the one with [these]¹⁴³ eight forms, obeisance to those [eight], indeed.”

ओंकारं च नमस्यामि पञ्चायतनमुत्तमम्।

त्र्यंबकं च तथा देवं नमस्यामि नमो नमः ॥ ९ ॥

9a ओंकारं] V₂, उंकारं V₁, • च] conj., V₁V₂ omit. (unmetrical); **9b** पञ्चायतनमुत्तमम्] V₁V_{2pc}, पंचायनमुत्तमं V_{2ac} (unmetrical); **9c** च] V_{1pc}V₂, V_{1ac} omit. (unmetrical)

“And I pay homage to Omkāra, the excellent Pañcāyatana; and likewise, I pay homage to the deity Tryambaka, obeisance [to them].”

स्वर्लीनं च परं देवं नमस्यामि गतिप्रदम्।

नमस्याम्यविमुक्तं च तारकं सर्वदेहिनाम् ॥ १० ॥

10b नमस्यामि गतिप्रदं] V₁, नस्यामि प्रदं V₂ (unmetrical); **10cd** omit.] em., त्र्यंबकं च तथा देवं नमस्यामि नमो नमः V₁, त्र्यंबकं च तथा देवं नस्यामि नमो नमः V₂ (unmetrical); **10c** नमस्याम्यविमुक्तं] em., नमस्यामि अविमुक्तं V₁V₂ (unmetrical); **10d** सर्वदेहिनाम् retraced in V₁

“And I pay homage to the great deity Svarlīna, the one who bestows the path; and I pay homage to Avimukta, the liberator of all embodied beings.”

¹⁴² The *daṇḍa* after *niranugrahāya* has been added by me; the meter of this verse is somewhat unclear. It is most likely that it is unmetrical and not set to any meter in the first place. The following verses, however, are praise for Śiva but are clearer in terms of meter: they are all *ślokas*.

¹⁴³ This verse provides eight epithets, if Śaṅkara on the 3rd line is understood as a repetition. It is likely that these eight names can be understood as using an *aṣṭaka* as a template. This “*aṣṭaka*” is a Vārāṇasī-specific one instead of being transposed from another context. See more discussion above in chapter 4.

कृत्तिवाससमीशानं नमस्यामि नमो नमः।

कपर्दीशं नमस्यामि जातिस्मृतिप्रदं नृणाम् ॥ ११ ॥

11a कृत्तिवाससमीशानं] V_{1pc}V₂, कृत्तिवासमीसानं V_{1ac} (unmetrical); **11c** omit.] em. , उं V₁ (unmetrical) , ओं V₂ (unmetrical) , • नमस्यामि] V₁, नस्यामि V₂; **11d** जाति°] conj. , याति V₁V₂, • स्मृतिप्रदं नृणाम्] V_{1pc}V₂, स्मृतिप्रनृणं V_{1ac} (unmetrical); **11ef** omit.] em. , कृत्तिवासं+स+मीसन नमस्यामि नमो नमः V₁, कृत्तिवाससमीशानं नमस्यामि नमो नमः V₂

“I pay homage to lord Kṛttivāsa, obeisance [to him]; I pay homage to Kapardīśa, the one who bestows the memories of past lives to men.”

दृमिचण्डं नमस्यामि सर्वपापक्षयंकरम्।

महेश्वरं तथा देवं नमस्यामि नमो नमः ॥ १२ ॥

12d नमः] V₂, नम V₁

“I pay homage to Dṛmicāṇḍa, the one who causes all sins to be destroyed; likewise, I pay homage to the deity Maheśvara, obeisance [to them].”

ज्येष्ठेश्वरं नमस्यामि स्थानमाद्यं परं शुभम्।

मध्यमेशं नमस्यामि परं सौख्यप्रदायकम् ॥ १३ ॥

13a ज्येष्ठेश्वरं] V₂, (ज्येष्ठेसं) V₁

“I pay homage to Jyeṣṭheśvara, the unparalleled, best, auspicious abode; I pay homage to Madhyameśa, the best bestower of happiness.”

हस्तिपालेश्वरं नाम नमस्यामि नमो नमः।

उत्तमं सर्वसिद्धीनां नमस्यामि परं पदम्।

हस्तिपालेश्वरं देवं नमस्यामि नमो नमः ॥ १४ ॥

14ab नाम नमस्यामि] V₂, ना+न+मस्यामि V₁ (unmetrical); **14b** नमो नमः] V₁, न नमो नमः V₂ (unmetrical); **14d** परं पदं] V₁, परं परं पदं V₂ (unmetrical)

“I pay homage to the one called Hastipāleśvara; obeisance [to him]; I pay homage to the highest, best abode of all *siddhis*; I pay homage to the deity Hastipāleśvara, obeisance [to him].”

एतच्छिवाष्टकं नाम ज्ञानदं सर्वदेहिनाम्।

रहस्यं परमं धन्यं महापातकनाशनम् ॥ १५ ॥

“This giver of knowledge for all embodied beings, named Śivāṣṭaka, is the most prosperous secret, the annihilator of the greatest of sins.”

न चैतत्पिशुने दद्यान्नास्तिके शास्त्रदूषके।

तर्कशास्त्ररतस्यापि न श्राव्यं तु कदा च न ॥ १६ ॥

16ab चैतत्पिशुने दद्यान्नास्तिके] V_2 , चैतत्पिसुने(द)द्यान्नास्तिके V_{1pc} , चैतत्पिसुनेघ(द्र)घानास्तिके V_{1ac} ; **16d** तु कदा च न] V_{2pc} , तु कदा च (दा)न V_1 (unmetrical), तु कदा न च V_{2ac}

“One should not give this to [any] wicked, non-believing, Śāstra-transgressing [person]; and [it is] not to be taught anywhere to one delighting in the Tarkaśāstra.”¹⁴⁴

अन्तकाले च जप्तव्यं यदीच्छेन्मोक्षसंपदम्।

नियतात्मा शुचिर्भूत्वा त्रिसंध्यं चापि यः स्मरेत्।

मुच्यते मोहपाशैस्तु पाठकः शिवतां व्रजेत् ॥ १७ ॥

17a च] $V_{1pc}V_2$, V_{1ac} omit. (unmetrical); **17b** संपदम्] V_1 , संपदां V_2 ; **17d** त्रिसंध्यं] V_2 , त्रिःसंध्यं V_1

“[It is] to be muttered as a prayer in the end-time, if he should desire the attainment of liberation; having become a pure, controlled self, [one] should surely remember it during the three divisions of the day (i.e., the dawn, the noon, and the sunset); the reciter [then] becomes liberated from¹⁴⁵ the snares of worldly illusion and proceeds to the state of Śiva.”

ब्राह्मणाः प्रागवस्थाश्च एभिः स्थानैस्तु संस्थिताः।

एतान्दृष्ट्वा सकृद्विप्रः संसाराद्धि तरिष्यति ॥ १८ ॥

18a प्रागवस्थाश्च] em., प्रागवस्था च V_1 , प्रागवस्था(श्च) V_2 ; **18c** सकृद्विप्रः] $V_{1pc}V_2$, सकृद्विप्र V_{1ac} ; **18d** संसाराद्धि तरिष्यति] em., संसाराद्धिं तरिष्यति V_1 , संसाराद्धिं तरिष्यसि V_2

“And the brahmins, situated at the front in these places; after seeing them once, a wise man will surely cross over from transmigration.”¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Tarkaśāstra is “the science of reasoning” (Monier-Williams 1899, 440). In this context, it is quite clear that something with a negative connotation is meant. Thus, I understand the term to refer to those who are constantly asking critical questions instead of merely having faith. See more discussion above in the chapter 4 section “A General Interpretation – *Adhyāya* 31”.

¹⁴⁵ The instrumental plural *mohapāśais* is translated as ablative.

¹⁴⁶ The instrumental plural *ebhiḥ sthānais* is used here as a locative plural. It is possible that *viprah* should be understood as “brahmin” here instead of just “wise man”. See more discussion above in the chapter 4 section “A General Interpretation – *Adhyāya* 31”.

†देवो ऽपि च देवैर्न तत्काम्यं वचनमुच्चकैः।† [...] ¹⁴⁷

अविमुक्ताष्टकं जप्त्वा दृष्ट्वा देवं पिनाकिनम्।

प्राप्स्यामस्तत्परं धाम गत्वा नागमनं पुनः॥ १९ ॥

19a देवो] V_{1pc}V₂, देवा V_{1ac}; • च] V₁, चा V₂, • देवैर्न] em., देवत्रै V_{1pc}, V_{1ac} unclear, देवतौ V₂; **19b** वचनमुच्चकैः] V₂, वचनमुद्यकैः V₁; **19c** अविमुक्ताष्टकं] V₂, अविमुक्त्वाष्टकं V₁; **19e** धाम] V₂, धाम यं V₁ (unmetrical)

“†Surely Deva [is worshipped with] that desirable, excessively lofty utterance, and not through other deities.† [...] Having muttered the *Avimuktāṣṭaka*, [and] having seen the deity Pinākin, we will obtain that best abode, [and] having gone, not return again.”¹⁴⁸

वाराणस्यां तीर्थसेवात्प्रपुण्यलिङ्गैः पूजनात्।

भक्तिभावात्सदाहं यत्तर्किंचित्प्राप्यते पुण्यम्।

पुण्यं कृद्भिस्तद्देवेन्द्रैर्दुर्लभं हि सत्यमेतत्॥ २० ॥

20a वाराणस्यां] V₁, वारास्यां V₂ (unmetrical); **20ab** तीर्थसेवात्प्रपुण्यलिङ्गैः पूजनात्] em., तीर्थसेव(त्प्र)पूण्यालिङ्गैः पूज V_{1pc} (unmetrical), तीर्थसेवना(त्प्र)पूण्यालिङ्गैःपूजना(त्) V_{1ac} (unmetrical), तीर्थसेवन् अपुण्यां लिङ्गपूजनात् V₂; **20cd** भक्तिभावात्सदाहं यत्तर्किंचित्प्राप्यते पुण्यम्] em., भक्तिभावाहता सदाहं य(तत्)र्किंचित्प्राप्यते V_{1pc} (unmetrical), भक्तिभावात् यर्किंचित्प्राप्यते V_{1ac} (unmetrical, भ retraced), भक्तिभावाहता किंचित्प्राप्यते V₂ (unmetrical); **20ef** पुण्यं कृद्भिस्तद्देवेन्द्रैर्दुर्लभं] V₂, पुण्यं कृद्भिस्तद्देवेन्द्रैर्दुर्लभं V_{1pc}, पुण्यं कृद्भिस्तद्देवेन्द्रैर्दुर्लभं V_{1ac}; **20f** हि] conj., V₁V₂ omit. (unmetrical), • सत्यमेतत्] V₁, सत्यमेत् V₂¹⁴⁹

“Because of serving the *tīrtha* in Vārāṇasī, because of worship with the auspicious *liṅgas*¹⁵⁰; because of the state of devotion, I [am] that (?), always; [I am] whatever merit that is obtained (?); the merit which is difficult to obtain [even] by the virtuous *Devendras*. That, indeed, is the truth.”

इति ब्रह्मपुराणे गुह्याष्टकवर्णनो नामाध्यायः॥ ३१ ॥

Col. ब्रह्मपुराणे] V₁, ब्रपुराणे V₂; ॥ ३१ ॥] V_{1pc}, छ V_{1ac}, V₂ omit.

“Thus, in the *Brahmapurāṇa*, [this is] the chapter called the description of the *Guhyāṣṭaka*.”

¹⁴⁷ It is possible that a line is missing here. There could be something that should be said with the *Avimuktāṣṭaka*, but what that is exactly is not mentioned. This line is quite difficult to make sense of, and I was unable to reach a satisfactory explanation; hence I have left it in cruxes. The general idea of this verse seems to be that the best way of worship is muttering the *Avimuktāṣṭaka* and seeing *Pinākin*. This yields the most beneficial results for the devotee.

¹⁴⁸ It seems that *Avimuktāṣṭaka*, *Śivāṣṭaka*, and *Guhyāṣṭaka* simultaneously refer to the eight-verse prayer that is given in this *adhyāya*, and the eight forms related to this prayer. See more discussion above in chapter 4.

¹⁴⁹ The *daṇḍa* after *puṇyam* in the second line has been added by me. Only the last *daṇḍa* is present in the apograph, and the manuscript itself has a *daṇḍa* after *puṇyāliṅgaipūja*. The conjunctural emendation *hi* in *pāda* **20f** has been added because of the meter.

¹⁵⁰ The prefix *pra* is left untranslated to include the instrumental sense of *puṇyaliṅgaiḥ* in the translation. Another option could have been to translate “...worship [directed] towards the auspicious *liṅgas*”, which would treat the instrumental *puṇyaliṅgaiḥ* as a dative. Regarding content, both translations seem equally valid.

Appendix III: Edition and Translation of *Adhyāya 32*¹⁵¹

सनत्कुमार उवाच ॥

सनत्कुमार] V₂ , सन्त्कुमार V₁

“Sanatkumāra said:”

एतच्छ्रुत्वा मया पूर्वं प्रसादात्पद्मजन्मनः ।

तस्माज्जगाम तं स्थानमविमुक्तं सुरेश्वरम् ॥ १ ॥

1b प्रसादात्पद्मजन्मनः] V₂ , प्रसादात्पद्मजन्मनाः V₁

“After this had been heard by me before, because of the kindness of the lotus-born; therefore, I went to that place, Avimukta, the lord of the gods.”

यदि खिन्नास्तु संसारात्पशुबन्धमहाग्रहात् ।

तद्गज्यध्वं महाभागा अविमुक्तं परं पदम् ॥ २ ॥

2a यदि] V_{1pc} , य V_{1ac} (unmetrical) , ययि V₂ ; **2b** पशुबन्ध°] V₁ , पश्रुबंध° V₂ ; **2c** तद्गज्यध्वं] em. , तद्गजध्वं V₁V₂

“If [you (all) are] distressed because of *Samsāra*, from the great grasp of the bondage of a soul; O illustrious ones, go to Avimukta, the highest destination.”

नास्ति तस्य समं तीर्थं सप्तलोकेषु सुव्रताः ।¹⁵²

हस्तप्राप्ता भवेत्सिद्धिरविमुक्ते न संशयः ॥ ३ ॥

3b सुव्रताः] conj. , सुव्रत V₁V₂ ; **3c** हस्तप्राप्ता V₂ , हस्तप्राप्त° V₁

“There is no *tīrtha* equal to it in the seven worlds, O vow-abiding ones; success is obtainable by hand in Avimukta, there is no doubt about that.”

¹⁵¹ V₁: 104^v-105^f; V₂: 129^f-130^f.

¹⁵² Verses **1-4** and **9** of this *adhyāya* are almost entirely identical with verses **1-5** of *adhyāya 19* (see appendix IV). In *adhyāya 19*, verse **3**, we have the plural vocative *svratāḥ* instead of *svrata*. I have emended *svrata* to *svratāḥ* because it fits the context. The plural vocative *mahābhāgā* in verse **2** refers to the same sages as in this verse. See more discussion about the parallels between *adhyāya 32* and *19* in chapters 5 and 6 above.

एतद्बुद्ध्वा तु मुनयो विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनाः ।

जग्मुस्ते यत्र सर्वात्मा देवदेवः पिनाकधृक् ॥ ४ ॥

4a एतद्बुद्ध्वा] V₁ , एतद्बुद्ध्वा V₂ ; **4b** विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनाः] V_{1pc} , विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनः V_{1ac}V₂ ; **4c** जग्मुस्ते] V_{1pc}V₂ , V_{1ac} unclear ; **4d** देवदेवः पिनाकधृक्] V₁ , देवदेवपिनाकपिनाकधृक् V₂ (unmetrical)

“Having understood, these sages, with their eyes wide open with amazement; they went to that place where the all-souled, Pināka-bearing Devadeva [resides].”

तत्राराधयतां तेषां स्नानपूजोपहारतः ।

सर्वे ते मुनयः सिद्धिं स्वैः स्वैः कर्मभिराप्युः ॥ ५ ॥

“There, as they propitiated [the deity] by their bathing, worship, and oblation; all the sages obtained success through (i.e., according to) each of their own *karmas*.”

केचिन्मोक्षं गताः शीघ्रं शरीरेण समन्विताः ।

केचिद्भोग्यभुजः कामान्यथेष्टं भुञ्जते स्वयम् ॥ ६ ॥

6a गताः शीघ्रं] V_{1pc} , गता सीताघ्नं V_{1ac} (unmetrical) , गता शीघ्रं V₂ ; **6c** केचिद्भोग्यभुजः] V_{1pc} , केचिद्भोग्यभुज V_{1ac} , केचिद्भोग्यभुजः V₂

“Some have quickly attained liberation, provided with a body.¹⁵³ Some, enjoying pleasures, themselves enjoy their desires as they wish.”

केचिद्योगेश्वरं स्थानं केचिद्भजसमाधिगाः ।

लोकपालाः स्थिताश्चान्ये लोकान्पालयन्ते सदा ॥ ७ ॥

7b केचिद्भजसमाधिगाः] em. , केचिद्भजसमाधिगान् V₁V₂ ; **7c** लोकपालाः स्थिताश्चान्ये] V_{1pc}V₂ , लोकपालाश्चिन्विताश्चान्ये V_{1ac} ; **7d** लोकान्पालयन्ते] em. , लोकान्पालयते V₁V₂ ; • सदा] V_{1pc}V₂ , (हं)दा V_{1ac}

“Some [have reached] the position of a *yogeshvara*, some have quickly reached *samādhi*; and the others became protectors of the world; they always protect the worlds.”

¹⁵³ That is, along with their bodies. This refers to *jīvanmukti*, liberation while being alive, and in this context most likely also to Siddhānta/tantric ideas. See more discussion above in the chapter 5 section “Temporal Context – *Adhyāya* 32”.

तपनं वर्षणं कुर्वन्सर्वा सिद्धीः प्रयच्छति ।

प्रसादाद्देवदेवस्य विश्वेशस्य उमापतेः ॥ ८ ॥

8b सर्वा] V₂, (प)र्व्वी V₁; • प्रयच्छति] em., प्रयच्छति: V₁, प्रयच्छति V₂; **8c** प्रसादाद्देवदेवस्य] V₂, प्रसादाद्देवदेवस्य V₁; **8d** उमापतेः] em., उमापतेः V₁, उमापतेः V₂

“Creating heat [and] rain, he (?)¹⁵⁴ grants all the *siddhis* by the favour of Devadeva, the lord of the universe,¹⁵⁵ the husband of Umā.”

एतत्ते कथितं विप्रा वाराणस्यां प्रकीर्तितम् ।

यच्छ्रुत्वा मुच्यते जन्तुर्घोरात्संसारसागरात् ॥ ९ ॥

“This has been told to you, O wise men, which is praised in Vārāṇasī; having heard which, a living being is liberated from the horrifying ocean of transmigration.”¹⁵⁶

बहुनात्र किमुक्तेन वाग्जालेन पुनः पुनः ।

स्तुतीनामीश्वरोक्तानां तथा वेदपुराणयोः ।

श्रुतं परम्परात्पूर्वं संसारोच्छेदकारणम् ॥ १० ॥

10a किम्] V₁ कि V₂; **10e** श्रुतं परम्परात्पूर्वं] V₁, स्तुतं परात्परात्पूर्वं V₂; **10d** संसारोच्छेद°] V₂, संसारोच्छद° V₁

“What is here with a lot of talk, the mass of speech, again and again,¹⁵⁷ of the *Veda(s)* and the *Purāṇa(s)*; thus, the praises and utterances of the lord [are conducted]. [That which is] previously heard from the tradition splits open the circle of transmigration.”

यदेतज्जीर्णमुद्भारं लिङ्गार्थं कश्चिदिच्छति ।

तस्य मूलप्रतिष्ठायाः फलमालभते बहुः ॥ ११ ॥

11c मूलप्रतिष्ठायाः] em., मूलप्रतिष्ठायाः V_{1pc}, मूलप्रतिष्ठाया V_{1ac}, मूलप्रतिष्ठायां V₂; **11d** फलमालभते] V_{1pc}V₂, फलमा(भ)ते V_{1ac}

“Someone who desires what is withered to be lifted up for the sake of a *liṅga*, obtains much fruit because of the installing of the base of it (i.e., of the *liṅga*).”

¹⁵⁴ This refers to the Upaniṣadic idea of the sun, who is thought to give both heat and rain. Who “he” refers to is unclear. It could mean that “the sun (*tapana*), creating rain, grants all...”, although this interpretation would treat *tapana* irregularly as a neuter noun instead of masculine.

¹⁵⁵ *Viśveśa* here can possibly refer to the *Viśveśvara liṅga* in Vārāṇasī. See more discussion above in chapter 5.

¹⁵⁶ This part might indicate a break in the “story”, as the following verses move into more general praise for Śiva and *liṅgas*, but do not explicitly reference Vārāṇasī (or any other locations for that matter). The break might have something to do with the aforementioned fact that verses 1-4 and 9 match almost exactly with verses 1-5 of *adhyāya* 19, making this part repetition, at least within the context of the entire manuscript compendium.

¹⁵⁷ That is, “what is the use of talking all the time?”

विशेषाद्विव्यलिङ्गानां कः प्रापयति मानवः।

विघ्नैर्नानाविधैस्तद्वत्पुरुषो मोहितः सदा ॥ १२ ॥

12d मोहितः सदा] V₁, लोकमोहितः V₂

“What man goes to acquire [liberation] because of the special [nature] of the divine *liṅgas*, when a man is always deluded with various kinds of obstacles in that way?”¹⁵⁸

यदा स्वयम्भूलिङ्गस्य प्रतिष्ठाफलमश्नुते।

शिवः साक्षाद्भवः सो ऽथ दिव्यलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठिते ॥ १३ ॥

13d प्रतिष्ठिते] V_{1pc}V₂, प्रतिष्ठिते V_{1ac}

“At that time, he obtains the fruit of the installing of the *svayambhūliṅga*; [since] certainly he, Śiva, is present when the divine *liṅga* is installed.”¹⁵⁹

स्वतो वा परतो वापि प्रेरणाद्वा करिष्यते।

यः कश्चित्पुरुषस्तस्माच्छिवत्वमुपगम्यते ॥ १४ ॥¹⁶⁰

14cd कश्चित्पुरुषस्तस्माच्छिवत्वमुपगच्छति] V₂, कश्चि(+द्+)+पुरुषस्तस्माच्छिवत्वमुपगम्यते V₁

“One should do it either by one’s self or by another, or even because of a command; therefore, a special kind of man obtains Śiva-ness.”

जीवन्मुक्तः स विज्ञेयो लिङ्गार्थं यः प्रवर्तते।¹⁶¹

धनधान्ययुतो जीवेद्वर्षाणां शतमुत्तमम् ॥ १५ ॥

15b यः] V₁, यो V₂; • प्रवर्तते] V₁, प्रव(र्त)ते V₂; **15c** धनधान्ययुतो] V_{1pc}V₂, धनधान्ययुतो (यु)तो V_{1ac} (unmetrical); **15cd** जीवेद्वर्षाणां] V_{1pc}V₂, (जी)वेद्वर्षाणां V_{1ac}; **15d** शतमुत्तमम् V_{1ac}V₂, स(भ)मुत्तमम् V_{1pc} (भ retraced)

“He should be known as liberated while still being alive, who acts for the sake of the *liṅga*; he is connected with money and grain (i.e., food) and will live for more than a hundred years.”

¹⁵⁸ That is, if a man is deluded with doing other things and does not end up installing a *liṅga*, he will not gain the benefits either. Additionally, *svayambhūliṅga* means “a *liṅga* that has come to being on its own”. Thus, installing a *svayambhūliṅga* seems strange because it is not “installed” *per se*. Perhaps “installing” (*pratiṣṭhā*) could also be understood here as “consecration” and “installed” (*pratiṣṭhita*) as “consecrated”.

¹⁵⁹ That is, it does not really matter why a *liṅga* is installed; Śiva will regardless be present in it.

¹⁶⁰ The idea expressed in this verse (and verse **13**) is paralleled in *adhyāya* 30, verse **20**:

*svato vā parato buddhyā dānenāpy uddhared yadi /
liṅgaṃ yasminkṣetramadhye tatsaṃskāre pi mucyate //*

“If one should raise a *liṅga*, by oneself, by another, with intention or through giving, in the middle of whichever field, one is liberated at its consecration.”

¹⁶¹ *Jīvanmuktaḥ* refers to verse **6**, which mentions liberation while still living.

इति ब्रह्मपुराणे वाराणसीमाहात्म्ये ॥ ३२ ॥

Col. °माहात्म्ये V₂, माहात्म्य V₁; ॥ ३२ ॥] V_{1pc}, छ V_{1ac}, V₂ omit.

“Thus, in the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* in the *Brahmapurāṇa*.”¹⁶²

¹⁶² It is striking that from verse **10** onwards, the statements are about *liṅgas* in general, and not the locations. It is even possible that the last part (from verse **10** onwards) comes from a different, possibly tantric source. The “Śiva-ness” mentioned in verse **14** points towards Siddhānta, the goal of which is generally to become like Śiva but remain autonomous while liberated instead of becoming one with Śiva (Davis 1991, 24). To attain this Śiva-ness, one needs to act: “initiation rites are also devoted to the emergence of the soul’s inherent Śiva-ness... *śivatva* does not automatically manifest itself when the fetters are removed” (ibid., 93). In this *adhyāya*, it seems that by knowing and using the praise from the earlier tradition and installing *liṅgas*, this Śiva-ness can be achieved.

Appendix IV: Edition and Translation of *Adhyāya 19*¹⁶³

सनत्कुमार उवाच।

“Sanatkumāra said:”

एतच्छ्रुतं मया पूर्वं प्रसादाद्भनजन्मनः।

तस्माज्जगाम तत्रस्थं अविमुक्ते च ईश्वरम् ॥ १ ॥

1a पूर्वं] V₁, प्रा V₂; **1b** प्रसादाद्भनजन्मनः] V_{1pc}, प्रसादाद्द(क्ष)जन्मनः V_{1ac}, पूर्वप्रसादाद्भनजन्मनः V₂ (unmetrical)

“After this has been heard by me before, because of the kindness of the forest-born; therefore, I went there to that place, the lord in Avimukta.”

यदि खिन्नास्तु संसारे पशुबन्धग्रहकुले।

तद्भ्रज्यध्वं महाभागा अविमुक्तं परं पदम् ॥ २ ॥

2a खिन्नास्तु] em., खिन्ना(तं) V_{1pc}, खिन्नात V_{1ac}, खिन्ना तु V₂, **2b** °ग्रहकुले] em., °ग्रहकुले V₁, °ग्रहाकुले V₂; **2c** तद्भ्रज्यध्वं] em., तद्भ्रजध्वं V₂, त(द्प्र)जध्वं V₁; • महाभागा] V₁, महाभाग V₂

“If [you (all) are] distressed [by being] within the herd (?) [that is in] the grasp of the bindings of bound souls in the circle of transmigration; O illustrious ones, go to Avimukta, the highest destination.”

नास्ति तस्य समं तीर्थं सप्तलोकेषु सुव्रताः।

हस्तप्राप्ता भवेन्मुक्तिरविमुक्ते न संशयः ॥ ३ ॥

“There is no *tīrtha* equal to it in the seven worlds, O vow-abiding ones; liberation is obtainable by hand in Avimukta, there is no doubt about that.”

एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु मुनयो विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनाः।

जग्मुस्ते यत्र सर्वात्मा देवदेवः पिनाकधृक् ॥ ४ ॥

4b विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनाः] em., विष्मयो(त्फु)ल्ललोचनाः V_{1pc}, विष्मयो(त्फु)ल्ललोचनः V_{1ac}, विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनः V₂; **4c** जग्मुस्ते] conj., ज(ग्यम्ते) V_{1pc}, V_{1ac} unclear, तमर्थं V₂; • omit.] V_{1pc}V₂, सर्व्व V_{1ac} (unmetrical); **4d** पिनाकधृक्] V₁, पिनाधृक् V₂ (unmetrical)

“Having heard this, the sages, with their eyes wide open with amazement; they went to that place where the all-souled, Pināka-bearing Devadeva [resides].”

¹⁶³ V₁: 79^v-80^r; V₂: 95^r-95^v. This entire *adhyāya* is almost identical to verses found in *adhyāya 32*. Differences are in **bold** font. Verses **1-4** match with verses **1-4** of *adhyāya 32*, and verse **5** matches with verse **9** of *adhyāya 32*.

सूत उवाच।

“The *sūta* said:”

एतद्ब्रुवः कथितं विप्रा वाराणस्याः प्रकीर्तनम्।

यच्छ्रुत्वा मुच्यते जन्तुर्घोरात्संसारसागरात् ॥ ५ ॥

5b प्रकीर्तनम्] V₁, प्रकीर्त्तिनं V₂; **5c** मुच्यते V_{1pc}V₂, मुच्यन्ते V_{1ac}; **5cd** जन्तुर्घोरात्] em., (ज)न्तुः घोरात् V_{1pc}, यन्तुः घोरात् V_{1ac}, जन्तुघोरात् V₂

“This has been told to you, O wise men, the praising of Vārāṇasī; having heard which, a living being is liberated from the horrifying ocean of transmigration.”

इति ब्रह्मपुराणे कृत्तिवासमाहात्म्ये वाराणसीवर्णनम् ॥ १९ ॥

Col. कृत्ति°] V₂, कृत्ति° V₁, • १९] V_{1pc}, छ V_{1ac}, V₂ omit.

“Thus, the description of Vārāṇasī in the *Kṛittivāsamāhātmya* in the *Brahmapurāṇa*.”

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