THE CULT OF THE *JYOTIRLIṄGAS*
AND THE HISTORY OF ŚAIVITE WORSHIP

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Abstract

The medieval Hindu god Śiva rivaled Viṣṇu in popularity. Yet the origins of Śaivism remain mysterious. How can we explain Śiva's seemingly sudden appearance as a major figure on the Indian religious scene? To address this question, this dissertation focuses on the tenth to thirteenth centuries CE, exploring our earliest literature for the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* ("*liṅgas* of light"). This cult is, arguably, one of the first attempts to establish Śaivism on a pan-Indian scale. It may also reflect an impulse, evident already in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, to map sacred geographies onto the Indian landscape.

Chapter one considers the origins of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. Drawing on evidence of other groupings of *liṅgas*, most notably in the newly-published "early *Skanda Purāṇa*," I propose that the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* are modeled on pilgrimage circuits in Vārāṇasī. In chapters two and three, I examine the cycle of stories extolling the *jyotirliṅga* sites in the *Śiva Purāṇa*, analyzing two parallel versions: the earlier version (*Jñāna-saṃhitā*) refers to diverse rituals, whereas the later version (*Koṭirudra-saṃhitā*) emphasizes *liṅga* worship. To explain ritual diversity in the earlier version, chapter four investigates the history of Śaivite altar worship with attention to the term *pārthiva* and vedic ritual. In chapter five, I ask why authors of the *jyotirliṅga* cult chose to interconnect twelve sites and associate them with "light" (*jyotis*). Their identification as *jyotirliṅgas* resonates with fire/light imagery from vedic traditions of twelve suns and medieval traditions related to the term *jyotis*.

My dissertation sheds new light on the cult through an analysis of its earliest literature. It contributes to our understanding of Śaivite worship, particularly with regard to the establishment of the *liṅga* as the primary object of worship. This development, I argue, is part of a medieval process of consolidation that shaped classical Śaivism.

Acknowledgments

The process that has culminated in this dissertation began several years before I was accepted to McMaster University in 2000. One hot afternoon during the summer of 1996, I was sitting in a Cuban Bar in Saskatchewan drinking beer and eating raw oysters with Jack Anderson, a friend and long time mentor since my days in art school. He said, "Leona thinks that you should do a PhD." Leona Anderson is a professor of Hinduism at the University of Regina with whom I had, at that point, taken a few classes out of interest, mainly for more data to process in the sculpture studio that I had set up a few blocks away in the warehouse district of Regina. Until that afternoon it had never occurred to me that I could or even should pursue an academic career. That afternoon profoundly affected the direction of my life and led me, after many twists and turns, to Phyllis Granoff, the world-renowned and often feared Sanskritist residing in, of all places, Hamilton, Ontario. I wish to acknowledge Jack and Leona Anderson for inspiring me to undertake an academic career.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the concerted and sustained efforts of my advisor Phyllis Granoff, whose influence will no doubt be seen in abundance throughout the pages of this volume. I am especially thankful to her for pushing me on many levels: to explore my ideas with attention to details, to ground my ideas in the textual evidence and historical context, and to admit when I do not know an answer to a given question. Indeed, her influence over my work goes beyond these few points and will live with me, along with her scholarly shadow, as long as I live. I also want to acknowledge the influence of Koichi Shinohara, my second advisor. He has, on many occasions, pushed me to be a more careful and conscientious scholar, and I hope, especially through our engagement over chapters one and five of this dissertation, that I have done justice to his efforts.

Others who deserve mention include James Benn, who came on board my committee rather late but has shown tremendous support to me over a couple of difficult transitional years when the Asian field underwent drastic changes with the departure, to Yale, of my advisors. David Waterhouse has also been supportive of my endeavours over the past six years and has been a wonderful resource and hospitable mentor. Paul Younger has been a touch-stone of advice on all things Indian and graciously agreed to read a draft of my disseration; his help has been greatly appreciated. Thanks also needs to be given to the community of Asianists at McMaster and Yale, many of whom are my colleagues and friends, and have shown their support to me in various ways: Nanette Spina, Kevin Bond, Chris Austin, Joe Larose, Lavanya Vemsani, Marko Geslani, Jacob Dalton, Jonathan Geen, Shayne Clarke, Rubins Turci, Andrew Moore, and last but not least Richard Mann who, being a few years ahead of me in the program, always served as a shining example of what to do (and not to do!). Additionally I would like to thank Sarah Pelton for her

spirited interlocutor. Her love for words, indeed, goes beyond words and has increased, ten-fold, my ability to appreciate and love the ancient writers of history and their continued vibrancy within the present.

इति श्रुतं मया चैव वेदविद्भिः पुरातनैः ।
लोकानां चैव रक्षार्थं त्वया स्थेयं सदाशिव ॥

[*Jñāna-saṃhitā*, 58.77]

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Abbreviations

Bori	-	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
JS	-	*Jñāna-saṃhitā*
KS	-	*Koiṭrudra-saṃhitā*
MCI	-	*Mahābhārata Cultural Index*
SkP	-	*Skanda Purāṇa*
ŚP	-	*Śiva Purāṇa*
ŚP1	-	*Śiva Purāṇa* (printed edition consisting of six *saṃhitās* and containing the *Jñāna-saṃhitā*)
ŚP2	-	*Śiva Purāṇa* (printed edition consisting of seven *saṃhitās* and containing the *Koiṭrudra-saṃhitā*)

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Introduction

There is much about the history of Śiva worship that remains a mystery. In modern times Śiva is worshipped throughout India; in temples in every region of the subcontinent, devotees perform rituals to the *liṅga*,[1] the predominant form representing the god today. Furthermore, Śiva is the subject of a number of popular myths and festivals as well as pilgrimage sites and devotional cults.[2] His significance for modern Hindus rivals that of Viṣṇu. Practitioners and scholars alike agree on the importance of Śiva for our understanding of Indian religious rituals and beliefs, both past and present.

Our most ancient Indian literature, however, contains few indications of the prominence of Śiva worship in Indian religion. Śiva is arguably absent from the earliest vedic material (ca. fifteenth to fifth c. BCE). Moreover, in contrast to Viṣṇu, he is not really given an extensive role in either of the epics (i.e., the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* along with the *Harivaṃśa*; ca. fourth c. BCE to fourth c. CE). In other words, this now important god does not seem to play any major part in the texts that are most privileged in the study of the early history

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[1] Most *liṅgas* today are cylindrical stone objects of various sizes, which are set on circular bases raised above the ground or integrated into the floor of a temple (see Plate I). Devotees go to temples and worship the *liṅga* as an embodiment of Śiva himself. Some of our most ancient artifacts (ca second c. BCE) that have been identified as "Śiva-*liṅgas*" by Indian and western scholars alike resemble phalli; likewise, medieval *purāṇic* and *āgamic* literature starting around the sixth c. CE abound with identifications of Śiva's phallus as a *liṅga*. Yet it is clear from the slow evolution of this form over centuries (see note 23 below) that the Indian tradition has, at times, been uncomfortable with this assignment such that most *liṅgas* today bear no resemblance to the more ancient phallic imagery. There is arguably a longstanding tension within the Indian tradition around sexually explicit imagery associated with Śiva.

[2] The use of the term "cult" is discussed in Richard K. Payne, "Introduction," in *Approaching the land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitabha*, ed. by Kenneth Kenichi Tanaka (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2003), 2-3. Although noting the pejorative use of the term in contemporary parlance and its sociological use to mean a type of religious organization, he defends the traditional meaning of the term, widely used by classicists and historians of western antiquity, in the sense of the Latin *cultus*, to denote "the set of practices identified with a particular deity." This use of the term stresses the importance of ritual practice and avoids "the problematic distinction between popular and elite." The term is also used in this way for instance in Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Fall in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

of Indian religions. Our earliest literary references to Śiva as a central religious figure do not occur until the *āgamas* and *purāṇas*; although difficult to date, this material is usually recognized to be later than the epics and to give expression to medieval forms of Indian practice and piety.[3]

How can we explain Śiva's seemingly sudden rise to prominence? This dissertation will contribute to scholarly discussions of this question by examining Śaivite worship in the tenth to thirteenth centuries. Specifically, I will explore the emergence of the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* (*liṅgas* of light) during this period. This cult is one of the first thoroughgoing examples of an impulse towards the creation of a network of local Śaivite sites and the establishment of Śaivism on a pan-Indian level. By renaming preexisting sites throughout India as *jyotirliṅgas*, this cult combines diverse rituals and myths concerning Śiva under a single rubric. An analysis of the literary materials related to this cult[4] may thus shed light both on the diversity of early Śaivite worship and on medieval attempts to standardize Śaivite worship around a single focus on the *liṅga*.

1. Continuity and discontinuity in the history of Śaivism

Scholars have responded to the gaps in our evidence for the history of Śaivism in different ways. Some retroject later ideas about Śiva onto earlier materials and assume the centrality of Śaivism even in the vedic period. Stella Kramrisch, best known for her work on Indian art history, is perhaps the most prominent scholar to take this approach to Śiva.[5] This impulse is also evident in the

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[3] In noting this puzzling gap in our evidence for "fully formed Śaivism" I am following the recent assessment of the state of our evidence for the history of Śaivism in Phyllis Granoff, "Mahākāla's Journey from Gaṇa to God," in *Revista degli Studie Orientali*, vol. 77, no. 1-4 (2003ₐ), 1-2. See the discussion there for citations of the relevant sources.

[4] Especially the *Śiva Purāṇa*; see below for a detailed discussion of this and other literary sources for the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*.

[5] Stella Kramrisch, *The Presence of Śiva* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); see also the review of her book by K. R. Norman in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1984), 170-171 in which he critiques Kramrisch's identification of Śiva in the *Ṛgveda*. Notably in her other work, Kramrisch's concerns are more art historical; she is widely regarded as one of the first scholars to integrate textual and art historical considerations and have them bear on the history of Indian religions.

scholarship of G. V. Tagare, important for his translations of the expansive *Skanda Purāṇa* and other *purāṇic* works. In his book on Śaivism, for instance, Tagare projects what he calls "names of Śiva" onto passages from well known vedic works such as the *Yajur Veda*.[6] Similarly, Tagare and others take a monolithic approach to Śaivite ritual, even holding that the *liṅga* was already central to the worship of the vedic Rudra.[7]

Others acknowledge the complexity involved in reconstructing early Śaivism, but choose to set aside questions of historical development and focus on the fully formed god of late medieval and modern mythology. The work of Wendy Doniger is perhaps the best known example of this synchronic approach to Śiva. She stresses for instance that "[a]lthough the apparently contradictory strains of Śiva's nature may well have originated at different times and places, they have resulted in a composite deity who is unquestionably whole to his devotees."[8] She thus focuses on the dynamics within Śaivite myths rather than on the history of the traditions behind the myths. David Shulman also approaches Śaivism from a largely synchronic perspective, albeit with a greater sensitivity to regional and historical context (e.g., late medieval South Indian traditions).[9]

This dissertation, by contrast, will follow the general approach of scholars who take seriously the differences between our early and medieval evidence for Śaivism and seek to explain the continuities and discontinuities in historical terms. In the last century this line of research largely focused on the

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[6] G.V. Tagare, *Śaivism: Some Glimpses* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld ltd, 2001), v.

[7] See e.g. Tagare (2001), 20-22; and *The Skanda-Purāṇa*, part XVI (Delhi: Banarsidass, 2002), 1 fn 2. This monolithic impulse is also evident in some aspects of Doris Śrinivasan's work although her arguments and conclusions are consciously and generally more nuanced; Śrinivasan (1983), 543-556; see also Bakker's book review in *Artibus Asiae* (1999).

[8] Wendy Doniger (O'Flaherty), "Asceticism and Sexuality in the Mythology of Śiva, Part I," *History of Religions* Vol. 7, No. 4 (1969), 300-337.

[9] See for example, the explanation of approach in the book by David Shulman and Don Handelman, *Śiva in the Forest of Pines* (Oxford, 2004), 3. Some of Shulman's earlier work was critiqued for examining South Śaivite myths apart from their specific context. See the review of *Tamil Temple Myths* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), by Paul Younger, in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Dec., 1981), 716-717.

figure of Śiva. From the work of Ernst Arbman, Giuseppe Tucci, and Jan Gonda, it is clear that the medieval Śiva is a late amalgam of earlier deities, including but not limited to the vedic Rudra.[10] It is now well established, as Phyllis Granoff notes, that "the Śiva of classical Hinduism is a composite deity, who owes different facets of his identity to the various "others" he absorbed in the course of his development."[11]

Although there is much about this process of amalgamation that remains unknown, recent research has shed new light on the development of Śaivism with the help of new evidence. Hans Bakker, for example, has helped to edit a critical edition of an early version of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, which predates the larger text of the same name by several centuries.[12] The early *Skanda Purāṇa* is dated, on the authority of palm leaf manuscripts from Nepal, between the sixth and eighth centuries CE. It thus serves as an important transitional document attesting the consolidation of Śaivism in the medieval period. Bakker has also explored, in his own readings of this work, a section of the early *Skanda Purāṇa* called the *Vārāṇasī-māhātmya*, a text dedicated to the city of Vārāṇasī in the north of India, most sacred to Śiva; juxtaposing the evidence of the early *Skanda Purāṇa* with archeological data such as seals, he points to the diversity of Śiva worship in medieval Vārāṇasī.[13]

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[10] Ernst Arbman, Rudra: Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus, Uppsala, 1922; Giusesppe Tucci, "Oriental Notes II An Image of a Devī Discovered in Swat and Some Connected Problems," *East and West* 14.3-4, 1963, 146-182; cited in Granoff, (2003ₐ), 1. See also Jan Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens I* (Stuttgart, 1960), 88; and *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism* (London, 1970), 1-17; cited in Doris Śrinivasan, "Vedic Rudra-Śiva," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 103, No. 3 (1983), 544.

[11] Granoff, (2003ₐ), 1.

[12] The well known longer version is the one translated by G. V. Tagare, as mentioned above. G.V. Tagare, *The Skanda-Purāṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992-). As of 2003 there were eighteen volumes of this text translated and a few more volumes are forthcoming. Thus far only six of the total seven *khaṇḍas* (sections) of this large text have so for been translated.

[13] Hans Bakker, "Construction and Reconstruction of Sacred Space in Vārāṇasī," *Numen*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1996), 32-55. *The Skandapurāṇa Volume I, Adhyāyas 1-25*, critically ed. by R. Adriaensen, H. T. Bakker, H. Isaacson, et al (Groningen: Egbert Forsten: 1998).

The evidence of the early *Skanda Purāṇa* has also been important for Phyllis Granoff's attempts to trace "the gradual development of the corpus of Śaivite mythology."[14] She notes "an undeniable gap between the art and *purāṇas* of the medieval period and what came before," and suggests that the early *Skanda Purāṇa* "allows us to bridge some of this gap."[15] In a series of three recent articles,[16] Granoff has drawn on the early *Skanda Purāṇa* to explore early versions of Śaivite myths that would become well known in later *purāṇic* material (e.g., the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice; Śiva's decapitation of Brahmā). She suggests that these myths attest the process whereby stories and sites dedicated to other figures (esp. *gaṇas*) were integrated into an emerging corpus of Śaivite traditions that was taking form in the medieval period, concurrent with the consolidation and spread of the cult of Śiva.[17] In the process, she succeeds in bringing to light some of the unknown history behind the rise of classical Śaivism, raising an important question: how did myths that were minor or even unknown to the epics become central to medieval stories about Śiva?

Granoff's work contributes to our understanding of the history of Śaivism by bringing a wide range of evidence to bear on questions relating to Śiva's medieval rise to prominence. She places stories from the early *Skanda Purāṇa* and other *purāṇas* in an expansive framework of literary and art historical evidence, including vedic and epic sources as well as Śaivite iconography. Rather than reading Śaivite stories from a synchronic and ahistorical perspective, she stresses the gradual process by which the mythology of classical Śaivism took form and shows the importance of the early medieval period for these developments. The image of early Śaivism that emerges is one of "a religion

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[14] Granoff, (2003ₐ), 1.

[15] Granoff (2003ₐ) 2-3.

[16] Granoff (2003ₐ); "Saving the Saviour: Śiva and the Vaiṣṇava Avatāras in the Early Skandapurāṇa," a paper written for the International Sanskrit Conference, Helsinki, 2003 (hereafter, 2003ᵦ); and "Śiva and his Gaṇas Techniques of Narrative Distancing in the Purāṇas," in *Festschrift U Dhar* (2006).

[17] Granoff (2003ₐ), 33-34; (2003ᵦ), 2-3, 18, 21-23; (2006), 5-6, 28-29.

slowly and somewhat ambivalently developing its stories and assimilating local cults."[18]

In my view these recent insights into early Śaivism open the way for a fresh perspective on the period that followed. Arguably, it is only in the medieval period that Śiva fully acquires his distinctive mythology, iconography, and rituals. Yet there is still much that is not understood about the ascension of Śiva.

Material evidence attests the widespread presence of Śaivism in medieval contexts. Architectural sites known to be clearly Śaivite are found at major locales across India, and some of the most prominent temples are dated between the seventh and ninth centuries. Thus, for example, we find Kailāsa temple at Kāñci in southern India, and Kailāsa temple at Ellora and the rock-cut temple at Elephanta in western India. To the north, Vārāṇasī was fast becoming a centre of commerce, politics, and religion during this same period, and Śiva was one of its most important gods.[19] It is clear from the existence of such sites across the Indian landscape that, by the ninth century, Śiva was important to many Indians in a variety of geographical and cultural contexts. What is not clear is what relationship, if any, the major Śaivite sites had with one another.

Was there a single "Śaivism" that comprised a particular set of rituals that were practiced in every context in which Śaivism arose? In light of the diversity of early Śaivism, it cannot be assumed that all of the different sites that manifest in the medieval period across the Indian landscape represent, at least initially, a unified front of religious ritual and practice. We have ample evidence for the rise in the general adoption of Śaivism, but how are we to interpret the relatively sudden appearance of this religion? Following the various approaches to Śaivite history outlined above, it may be possible to assume that the Śaivism

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[18] Granoff, (2003b), 21.

[19] For a discussion of the development of the city of Vārāṇasī into a major centre in the medieval period see Hans Bakker (1996). According to Bakker, contrary to its reputation, Vārāṇasī was not an important centre of religion at the beginning of the first millennium of the common era and has scant reference in the *Mahābhārata*. This position confirms the over-all assessment of Śiva's general lack of prominence until the medieval period.

that begins to emerge in the medieval period is composite, comprised of elements drawn from a great diversity of local stories, sites, figures, and rituals.

This composite character is also reflected in our literary evidence for Śaivism, which flowers in the medieval period. As noted above, our first evidence of Śiva as a central figure appears in the āgamas and *purāṇas*. Śaivite worship is prominent in the ritual prescriptions collected in the *āgamas*, which seem to have reached an important stage of consolidation in the ninth to twelfth centuries.[20] There are a number of *purāṇas* dedicated to Śiva, namely, *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Śiva Purāṇa*, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, and *Liṅga Purāṇa*; these seem to have been compiled roughly between the eighth to thirteenth centuries, although they integrate older traditions. The stories collected in these works reflect the interweaving of strands of narrative and ritual material of diverse origins. In addition, around the eighth century, Vaiṣṇavite *purāṇas* like the *Kūrma Purāṇa* and the *Vāmana Purāṇa* were being appropriated for Śaivism and reshaped by the redactional hands of Śaivite editors.[21]

For our understanding of the emergence of classical Śaivism, the medieval period is clearly critical. In this dissertation I will attempt to shed light on the consolidation of Śaivism in the tenth to thirteenth centuries, by investigating the emergence of the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* and its dissemination on a pan-Indian level. I will focus on our earliest extant evidence for the grouping of twelve pilgrimage sites as *jyotirliṅgas*, namely, the lists of the sites in the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* and the cycle of stories about the *jyotirliṅgas* found in the *Śiva Purāṇa*. By examining the ritual and narrative traditions associated with these twelve sites, I will explore the diversity of medieval Śaivite ritual practice and the evolving place of *liṅga* worship within it.

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[20] See Richard H. Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe: Worshiping Śiva in Medieval India* (Princeton University Press, 1991), 9-15; Mark Dyczkowski, *The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 4-13.

[21] See e.g., Davis, "The Origin of Liṅga Worship," in *Religions of Asia in Practice*, ed. by D. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 150-51; R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Delhi: Banarsidass, 1975), 62-64, 77.

2. The cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* and Śaivite worship

There are many important Śaivite pilgrimage sites dedicated to *liṅgas*,[22] each with its own rich history. By the tenth century, however, twelve sites were distinguished as *jyotirliṅgas* and were made the basis of a pan-Indian cult. To this day, these twelve[23] are renowned as *jyotirliṅgas* and are especially esteemed as powerful manifestations of the god throughout India. To name a *liṅga* as a *jyotirliṅga* is to recognize it as distinct from other *liṅgas*.

Despite the historical importance and continued popularity of *jyotirliṅgas*, only a handful of scholarly studies have examined the phenomenon. There are three main entry-points for investigating the *jyotirliṅgas*: [1] the myth of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* ("image of the rising *liṅga*"), which concerns the appearance of a flaming pillar, [2] the myth of Śiva's arrival in the Pine Forest (*dāruvana*) where he rips off his penis (*liṅga*), which then bursts into flames as he throws it on to ground, and [3] the twelve pilgrimage sites associated with the cult.

Previous scholarship has focused on the first two. The *liṅgodbhavamūrti* traditions have been treated by Kramrisch and Doniger in the context of their

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[22] Sculptural examples of *liṅgas*, the earliest of which often represent disembodied phalli, are found perhaps as early as the second century BCE. Later plastic examples of more stylized, less graphic emblems began to emerge regularly in and around the fourth and fifth century CE during the Gupta period [for examples of early *liṅgas* see Plate II]. The precise historical locus for the association between the *liṅga* and the god Śiva is a matter of some controversy; the earliest examples should not necessarily or automatically be connected to this god. This association likely alchemized over a period of several centuries and indeed into the medieval period. As Phyllis Granoff notes, there are "problems with the iconography and identity of some of the earliest *liṅgas*, the interpretation of which has been based on late sources that clearly show the hands of the theologian-systematizer;" Granoff (2003ₐ), 2. For an examination of early *liṅga* iconography see G. Kreisel, *Die Śiva-Bildwerke der Mathurā-Kunst* (Stuttgart: Fran Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1986); also, Gritli v. Mitterwallner, "Evolution of the Liṅga," in *Discourses on Śiva*, ed. by M. Meister (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); and Bakker (1999). Although I will not deal in detail with the history of ancient *liṅga* worship, see Appendix A for a summary of the iconographic evidence for *liṅgas*. I discuss questions about our medieval literary evidence for *liṅga* worship throughout the dissertation (esp. ch. 2-4).

[23] The number twelve is an ideal number established in the *Śiva Purāṇa*. In actuality there are fourteen sites. For two of the *jyotirliṅgas*, Vaidyanātha and Nāgānātha, there are two different locales defining themselves as the legitimate *jyotirliṅga*. I will discuss these differences in more detail in chapter three.

synchronic treatments of Śaivite mythology.[24] These traditions have also been discussed in the context of Śaivite art and iconography.[25] David Shulman has dealt with the *dāruvana* traditions in a 1986 article on the myth of Śiva as *sthāṇu* (pillar) and, in a more focused fashion, in his 2004 monograph with Don Handelman.[26] The latter is dedicated to the myth, but deals exclusively with South Indian sources in Tamil and Telugu. Towards a more sustained study of the relevant Sanskrit material, Davis has offered a short analysis and translation of the myth from the *Īśvaragītā* of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*.[27]

To my knowledge there has been no study of the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* in its medieval context.[28] This dissertation attempts to fill this gap in scholarship. On the one hand, the twelve pilgrimage sites of the *jyotirliṅgas*, and the medieval traditions associated with them, resonate with the themes of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* and *dāruvana* myths. The sites, which are named after a *liṅga* of light, may be viewed as another expression of the fire/light imagery in the

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[24] Stella Kramrisch, *The Presence of Śiva* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Wendy Doniger (O'Flaherty), *Śiva the Erotic Ascetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[25] For treatment of the myth in art see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2 part 1 (New York : Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1968), 462; J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Delhi: Munshiram, 1973); Y. Gopal Reddy, "The Image of Lingodbhavamurthi at Panugal," *Journal of Indian History*, vol. 50, part 1 (1972), 9-14.

[26] David Shulman, "Terror of Symbols and Symbols of Terror: Notes on the Myth of Śiva as Sthāṇu," *History of Religion*, 28, no.2 (1986): 101-124; and with Don Handelman (2004).

[27] See Davis (2002), 150-61.

[28] There are only a handful of focused studies dedicated to the cult of *jyotirliṅgas* that I have found. All of these are overviews of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* and focus on the contemporary significance of the sites drawing only marginally on medieval evidence as background to the modern sites. This is to suggest that they do not try and situate the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* within the development of medieval Śaivism. One source is a brief treatment by Anne Feldhaus who provides two, probably recent accounts of the origins of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. As their content is highly sexualized, they are likely tantric in origin, but Feldhaus does not provide an account of their history (e.g., a modern pamphlet from Tryambakeśvara is the source of one myth). Four others are in modern Indian languages (i.e., books in Bengali, Marathi, Hindi, and Gujarati). Feldhaus, *Connected Places: Region, Pilgrimage, and Geographical Imagination in India* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 128-130; Bhupatirannana Dasa, *Dvadas jyotirliṅga darsana* (Kallikata: Sarat Publishing House, 1980); Dattatray Digambar Kulkarni, *Dvadas jyotirliṅga varnana* (Pune: Pravasi Prakasana, 1975); Onkara Natha Krantikari, *Dvadasa jyotirliṅga* (Ilahabada: Acarya Prakasana, 2001); Ramesa Thakara, *Dvadasa jyotirliṅga* (Rajakota: Pravina Prakasana, 1992).

two myths. They can also be seen as a systemic concretization of this imagery at specific geographical points across India. Like the myths, the grouping of the twelve sites both reflects and communicates a cosmology in which Śiva's cosmic pillar or light *liṅga* serves as a locus of extraordinary power transmitted through a particular time/space continuum.[29]

On the other hand, a focus on the medieval material associated with the twelve sites allows us to consider a broader range of themes related to the *jyotirliṅga* cult, including both myth and ritual. Although much of this material consists of stories about Śiva and his devotees, these stories typically focus on rituals. They are, as we will see, a rich source for our understanding of medieval Śaivite worship,[30] including but not limited to *liṅga* worship; they may even preserve clues to forms of worship that were common prior to the domination of *liṅga* worship. In as much as the stories and sites are closely connected, this material may also speak to the regional diversity within medieval Śaivism.

In my view, the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* is best understood in the context of other pan-Indian groupings of *liṅgas* that emerged within the same medieval timeframe. As we will see in chapter one, the grouping of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*

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[29] I explore these dynamics in more specific terms in chapter five.

[30] Arguably much more could also be said about the myths of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* and the *dāruvana* from the perspective of ritual. Generally speaking, however, scholarship on Hindu mythology has tended to downplay the significance of the ritual elements. The most striking example of this general tendency is Doniger's translation of stories form the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; her work abstracts the narratives from their ritual context. Although this dissertation will focus on rituals, I do not mean to do the converse, that is, privileging rituals over myth. Studies have shown the inextricability of myth and ritual in vedic and even epic materials. The same might be suggested for the stories about the *jyotirliṅgas* in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (see chapters two and three). Doniger, *Tales of Sex and Violence. Folklore, Sacrifice and Danger in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). For a critique of Doniger's approach see H. W. Bodewitz, *The Jyotiṣṭoma Ritual: Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I, 66-364* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 21-24. For discussions of the relationship between story and ritual see C. Z. Minkowski, "Janamejaya's Sattra and Ritual Structure," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 109, no. 3 (1989), 401-20; J. A. B. van Buitenen, "On the Structure of Sabhā Parvan of the Mahābhārata," in *Studies in Indian literature and philosophy: collected articles of J.A.B. van Buitenen*, ed. by Rocher (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), 305-21; Michael Witzel, "On the origin of the literary device of the 'Frame Story' in Old Indian literature," in *Festschrift U. Schneider*, ed. H. Falk (Freiburg, 1987), 380-414.

is similar to other groupings of *liṅgas* in *purāṇic* literature. Moreover, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries CE, we see Śaivism in a variety of forms mapping itself across vast geographies. The cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* is but one, albeit important, attempt to inscribe a sacred geography of Śaivite sites across the Indian subcontinent. At the same time, forms of Śaivism are taking root even beyond India, spreading to distant countries such as Cambodia.[31] An analysis of the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* may, therefore, help us to understand the broader phenomenon of the growth of large-scale devotional cults in the mid-to late medieval period.

Seen in this context, the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* is part of an emerging pattern of pan-Indian awareness of a fully formed Śaivism, as expressed by *brāhmaṇical purāṇic* texts. In chapters two and three, we will consider evidence for this process when we survey the stories about the twelve *jyotirliṅga* sites preserved in the *Śiva Purāṇa*. We will see how the authors of this full-fledged Śaivism drew on diverse mythic and ritual sources, including vedic material addressing the god Rudra as well as tantric sources dealing explicitly with Śiva. From these materials, they constructed narrative tracts reminiscent of epic verse styling, and they mapped out a new geography of Indian landscapes sacred to Śiva. Many elements in this sacred landscape are indebted to earlier traditions, as we will see in chapters four and five. In its ritual, myth, and geography, however, the emergent Śaivism of the medieval period reflects a new emphasis on Śiva as an all-encompassing god, rather than one god among many.

3. Sources

As noted above, this dissertation will consider our earliest extant literary evidence for the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*. This will entail a primary focus on Sanskrit literary sources, particularly on the material about the twelve

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[31] For a recent study on Śaivism in Cambodia, see Alexis Sanderson, "The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers, Part I," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Etrême-Orient*, vol. 90-91 (2003-2004), 349-462.

jyotirliṅgas sites in the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* and in different versions of the *Śiva Purāṇa* (hereafter ŚP; versions described below). Comparison with other *purāṇic* traditions will help to contextualize this material; in particular I will draw on the early *Skanda Purāṇa* and the *Skanda Purāṇa* (SkP). Consideration of relevant vedic and epic texts will also help to illuminate the *jyotirliṅga* cult and its rituals.

For the most part, material evidence will be used sparingly. A full understanding of the relevant art, iconography, architecture and archaeology would necessitate a separate study, due to the quantity, diversity and complexity of these under-studied materials. Moreover, much of the physical evidence associated with the pilgrimage sites appears to be relatively late. The architectural data, for example, dates primarily from between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries CE.[32]

In light of my primary interest in the origins of cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*, I will focus instead on the textual evidence for the cult, which can be dated several centuries earlier than the architecture.[33] Specifically, I will focus on a subsection of the ŚP called the *Jñāna Saṃhitā* (hereafter JS). Chapters 45-58 of the JS are dedicated to the *jyotirliṅgas* and contain individual stories about each of the twelve sites as well as comments about their connection. Because this subsection may be one of the earliest records of the group of *jyotirliṅgas* as a whole, an

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[32] The architectural evidence is very diverse and spans at least three kinds of Indian architecture (northern, western, and southern). I will treat specific examples of architecture secondarily in the context of a given story tradition at a given pilgrimage site. Some of the earliest structures connected with the Rāmeśvara temple in Tamil Nadu, for example, have been dated to the eleventh century CE. The earliest complete temple is at Auṇḍa-Nāganātha in Mahārāṣṭra and is dated to around the thirteenth century (with the exception of its roof which is from a later period). The most recent examples of architecture are found at the Ghuśmeśvara and Tryambakeśvara temples also in Mahārāṣṭra, both date to the eighteenth century. See G.B. Deglurkar, *Temple Architecture and Sculpture of Maharashtra* (Nagpur: Nagpur University, 1974), 42. Fergusson, *History of Indian & Eastern Architecture*, vol. 1 (Delhi: LPP, 1997), 382. The *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Ellora District volume* (Bombay: Directorate of Govt. Print., 1959): 973-74; and same, *Bhir District volume* (Bombay: Directorate of Govt. Print., 1959), 635. See also *Bombay State Gazetteer: Poona District* (Bombay, Government Central Press, 1950), 612.

[33] It is worth noting that a second redaction of the *jyotirliṅga* material, part of the KS of the *Śiva Purāṇa*, dates from around the thirteenth century like much of the earlier architecture. See further below for a discussion of the KS.

understanding of its transmission throughout India will be critical for investigating the cult's formation and diffusion.

Above, I also noted the composite character of our *purāṇic* evidence for Śaivism. This composite character complexifies our study of medieval Śaivism, but it also provides an opportunity to explore its development; our literary evidence for the *jyotirliṅga* cult survives in two main versions, both part of the ŚP tradition: the JS and the *Koṭirudra Saṃhitā* (hereafter KS), which seem to have been shaped by different redactors at different times.

Although scholars often speak of the "*Śiva Purāṇa*" as a single work, the textual tradition surrounding this work is both complex and fluid. Today, the JS can be found embedded in one of the two printed editions of the *Śiva Purāṇa*. This edition, first published in the nineteenth century, is comprised of six *saṃhitās*.[34] We will refer to this edition as *Śiva Purāṇa* 1 (hereafter ŚP1).[35] The second printed edition of the ŚP differs in scope and context. Although it does not contain the JS, this edition does contain another *saṃhitā* that is relevant for our study, namely, the KS. The KS, chapters 14-33, also contains material about the *jyotirliṅgas*, and this material is largely parallel to JS 45-58. This section of the KS may, in fact, represent a later recension of the JS version of the

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[34] *Śiva Purāṇa* (Bombay: Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, 1895-96). Printed editions of this version of the *purāṇa* are not readily available. In the course of my research, I have only come across two printed editions of the ŚP containing the JS. One of these I believe to be the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition cited above although it could also be the Bombay edition (Bombay: Gaṇapatikṛṣṇajī's Press, 1884). The edition of the JS I here use was discovered in the storage room of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Library (cat. no. 61352) in Pune under many layers of dust and independent of the entire ŚP, though clearly identifying itself as part of that text. I have employed this text, not only because it was the only copy made available to me, but also because of its extensive Sanskrit commentary, which at times proves useful for illuminating the text itself. Unfortunately the identity of the commentator remains anonymous. The other edition I located was in Bengali script: *Śiva Purāṇa*, ed. by Srirāmjī Śarnācarya (Uttara Pradeśa, Saṃskṛti Saṃsthāna, 1966). It appeared to be parallel to the Calcutta edition mentioned by Rocher (i.e., Calcutta: Vaṅgavāsī Press, 1908), also in Bengali script. Both editions I located, appeared to have identical content.

[35] The first printed editions of this division were published in the nineteenth century. Included in this grouping are the *Jñāna-*, the *Vidyeśvara-*, the *Kailāsa-*, the *Sanatkumāra-*, the *Vāyavīya-*, and the *Dharma-saṃhitā*; Rocher, *The Purāṇas* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 222.

jyotirliṅga stories. The edition in which the KS is now found is comprised of seven *saṃhitās* total; it is on this edition that the published English translation by Motilal Banarsidass is based.[36] We will refer to this edition as *Śiva Purāṇa 2* (hereafter ŚP2).

There is evidence that the JS originated as an independent text and was only later collected with other *saṃhitās* into ŚP1. The *Vidyeśvara-* and *Vāyavīya-saṃhitās*, found in both ŚP1 and ŚP2, contain lists of the twelve *saṃhitās* that constitute the *"Śiva Purāṇa."* Whether this list is an idealized concept of the *"Śiva Purāṇa"* or whether it describes a lost version,[37] it is significant that JS is not listed among the twelve *saṃhitās*.

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[36] This division of this edition runs: *Vidyeśvara-, Rudra-, Śatarudra-, Koṭirudra-, Uma-, Kailāsa-, Vāyavīya*-Saṃhitā. This was first published by Veṅkkaṭeśvara Press in 1906; from Rocher (1986), 222.

[37] The *Vidyeśvara-saṃhitā* (2.49-51) lists the following Saṃhitās as part of the twelve:

1. Vidyeśvara; 2. Rudra; 3. Vaināyaka; 4. Aumika 5. Mātṛī; 6. Rudraikādaśa; 7. Kailāsa; 8. Śatarudraka; 9. Sahasrakoṭirudra; 10. Koṭirudra; 11. Vāyavīya; 12. Dharmasaṃjñā.

Hazra argues that this reference to the list of twelve *saṃhitās* was likely a late fabrication and discusses how the current editions of the ŚP should not be considered a *Mahāpurāṇa*; Hazra, "The Problems Relating to the Śiva-Purāṇa," *Purāṇa*, vol 27, no. 1 (1985), 280-281. The *purāṇas* are often divided into two groups: eighteen *mahā* or great *purāṇas* and eighteen *upa* or lesser *purāṇas*. Depending on the *purāṇic* text different *purāṇas* will appear in one or the other list, although many *purāṇas* do not appear on these lists at all. The ŚP is found in lists of both *mahā* and *upa purāṇas* (see Hazra (1975), 13-15; Rocher (1986), 222-3). The *Mahābhārata* makes reference to a *purāṇa* proclaimed by Vāyu (3.191.16 Calcutta ed.; 3.189.14 critical ed.):

> sarvalokasya viditā yugasaṃkhyā ca pāṇḍava/
> etat te sarvam ākhyātam atītānāgataṃ mayā/
> vāyuproktam anusmṛtya purāṇam ṛṣisaṃstutam//

> O Pāṇḍavas, I have related to all of you the numbers of *yugas* that are known in the whole world past and future, after recalling the *purāṇa* that was proclaimed by Vāyu and lauded by the Sages.

With this passage in mind Hazra suggests that this is "perhaps the oldest of the extant Purāṇas" ((1975), 13) and that it rightly belongs on the list of *mahāpurāṇas* rather than the present editions of the ŚP.

At the time that the list of twelve *saṃhitās* was created, the JS may have been an *upapurāṇa* (i.e. minor *purāṇa*). Manuscript evidence suggests that the JS circulated alone for centuries. Interestingly, what we now know as the JS was transmitted independently under the title *"Śiva Purāṇa."*[38] For instance, there are eleven manuscripts in the collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Bori) that bear the title *"Śiva Purāṇa"*; ten of these correspond to the JS.[39] Appendix D lists these ten manuscripts, together with the thirteen other examples that I found in manuscript collections throughout India. In some cases, in fact, the only version of the *"Śiva Purāṇa"* found in a collection is the version consisting of only the JS.[40] These manuscripts date from the mid seventeenth to late nineteenth centuries and show that what we now call the JS circulated widely at that time as the *"Śiva Purāṇa."*[41]

Scholars often speak of ŚP1 and especially ŚP2 as though they were fixed texts, without considering the manuscript traditions that have informed them.

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[38] The oldest extant manuscripts that I can verify is from the seventeenth century (1648 CE – Bori MS 44 of A 1879-80) and it closely parallels the printed edition with only minor word variants.

[39] Bori MS no. 187 of A-1887-89, which is listed in the Bori catalogue as the *"Śiva Purāṇa"* is also noted to be from the *Brahmottara-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. It consists of 128 folios and has no date.

[40] Of the institutes I have visited or of which I have examined manuscript catalogues, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute had the largest single collection of texts called the *"Śiva Purāṇa"* (it holds 11 different manuscripts.) and contained this version primarily; one exception was a small incomplete extract from the *Skanda Purāṇa* that was improperly labeled as the *"Śiva Purāṇa"* and that had no stories related to my study.

[41] MSS Bori no. 165 and A.S.C. no. 3529 (G8393) are the first two examples of texts I found that incorporated this smaller *"Śiva Purāṇa"* into a larger compiled text. For example, Bori 165 has four *khaṇḍas* and places our text first (*prathama*) among them. This MS, though a compiled text, is not parallel to the printed *"mahāpurāṇa"* ŚP1, which also contains the JS. Indeed, Bori 165 does not call itself a *mahāpurāṇa* at all. The first *khaṇḍa* does, however, define itself as the "jñānaprakarṇa" ("book on knowledge") in its closing colophon. The A.S.C. MS (see Appendix D) is also part of a larger text calling itself the *"Śiva Purāṇa"* and not a *mahāpurāṇa*. As with the colophon of Bori MS 165, *khaṇḍa* 1, this text identifies itself as the "jñānaprakaṇa," and so is clearly one part of a larger compilation, though it is difficult to know whether this compilation is made up of four or six sections or even some other number, without identifying the source compilation in its entirety. In any case both of these manuscripts are clearly late, from the nineteenth century.

There is some manuscript evidence that attests large ŚP-related compilations of smaller textual units. For the most part, however, these do not correspond to either ŚP1 or ŚP2. In light of this manuscript evidence, it is probable that the two printed editions of the ŚP reflect only two collections among many versions that circulated in manuscript form.

Evidence for the transmission of the JS together with other *saṃhitās* in larger "*Śiva Purāṇa*" collections is relatively rare and late. Arguably, the formation of the larger collections reflected in our modern printed editions (i.e. ŚP1 and ŚP2) was a late development in general. Most manuscripts, as Hazra has also shown, reflect a more fluid situation.[42] In this dissertation, I will therefore discuss these traditions, not in terms of a single "*Śiva Purāṇa*," but in terms of a "*Śiva Purāṇa* tradition" that embraces a broader range of textual materials and their transmission both as smaller units and in larger collections of such units.[43]

It is likely, in my view, that the JS originated independently (as the "*Śiva Purāṇa*") and was only later added to what we now know as the ŚP1 (and there called the JS). From the distribution of extant manuscripts, it seems that the JS circulated very widely throughout India. Its influence, moreover, is clear from the use of the JS by the KS (see below) as well as from its influence on other

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[42] Hazra (1985), 280-281.

[43] The first printed reference to a text called the "*Śiva Purāṇa*," according to the *Epic and Purāṇic Bibliography*, is found in a description of Sanskrit manuscripts held at the British Museum and dated 1807: *Ancient Indian literature, illustrative of the researches of the Asiatick Society, Vol. I: Summary of the Sheeve Pouran* (London: Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, 1807), 1-17. Reference no. 6859 (*Epic and Puranic Bibliography (up to 1985) annoted and with indexes*, ed. by Stietencron, et al. (Wiesbaden : O. Harrassowitz, 1992), 1155). The text represented in this work corresponds roughly to the number of chapters (74) in the JS (76 chapters) and is likely this work; a number of the manuscripts I examined corresponding to the JS are also comprised of 74 chapters. Also, according to the *Epic and Purāṇic Bibliography*, it is not until 1884 that we find a reference to manuscripts of a *mahāpurāṇa* called the "Śiva Purāṇa." The dating between the smaller and larger texts reflects my observations of manuscripts. Of the few JS manuscripts I examined that belonged to larger texts, all were dated during the nineteenth century. Such evidence supports my speculation that the so-called *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa*, is in fact a very late compilation.

saṃhitās now in ŚP2, as established by Hazra.[44] This proves significant for my study because a sizeable portion of the JS concerns the *jyotirliṅgas*. With the wide circulation of the JS also came wide knowledge of this grouping of *liṅgas*, which range from the mid-west to the north, east and the south of India. In the period that we will be discussing, most readers would have probably encountered the JS as an *upapurāṇa*. Further it was in this form of the "Śiva Purāṇa," and not in the form presented in the printed versions, referred to as a *mahāpurāṇa* in the colophon of each chapter, that the *jyotirliṅgas* may have been best known at the time when the cult was first developing.[45]

Several, and perhaps all, of the twelve pilgrimage sites mentioned in the JS appear to have histories independent of the cult's initial conception. As we will see, the sites were not always considered *jyotirliṅgas*; the term was superimposed on top of them long after they were first recognized and recorded as pilgrimage sites, as can be seen in epic and other literary materials (e.g., the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, and some of the poetic works of Kālidāsa).

With such diverse histories it is difficult to pinpoint when the sites became associated with this form of Śiva – I suspect that the association occurred not long before the writing of the JS. In the process of adopting the

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[44] In addition to the JS's influence over the KS, Hazra also points to its influence over the *Rudra-*, *Śatarudra-*, and *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitās*; Hazra (1985), 261-62, 275-76.

[45] For a further discussion of the printed editions as a *mahāpurāṇa* see Hazra (1985), 246-56. With regards to general contents of the JS, Hazra states: "Although, like other Purāṇic work, this *Jñāna-Saṃhita* also makes a wise compromise between the principles of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta in explaining the nature of the deity and the process of evolution of the universe, it adds special importance to the Advaita philosophy of the Vedānta;" and in this vein there is a distinction made between the palpable and impalpable forms of Śiva (Hazra (1985), 257). The best way to worship Śiva is through a *liṅga* according to the text at 4.9 and elsewhere:

> idaṃ liṅgaṃ sadā pūjyaṃ dhyānaṃ caitādṛśaṃ mama//
> idānīṃ dṛśyate yadvat tathā kāryaṃ tvayā sadā/
> pūjito liṅgarūpe 'smin prasanno vividhaṃ phalam//

> (Hara said:) that *liṅga* of mine is always to be worshipped and my meditation is to be done as shown by you. When I am worshipped in the form of the *liṅga*, I am pleased (and give) all kinds of fruits.

See also verses 4.65, 25.24. With such an understanding of Śiva worship the occurrence of the section dedicated to *jyotirliṅgas* makes sense in this text.

term *"jyotirliṅga,"* one might argue, the communities associated with the cult created this new network of Śaivite sacred sites, which spanned major portions of the Indian subcontinent.[46]

4. The date of the JS and its relationship to KS

As with most *purāṇic* literature, the JS and KS resist exact dating. R. C. Hazra, perhaps the scholar best known for dating *purāṇic* texts,[47] places the JS after 950 CE. His strongest argument for this date rests in the verse parallels with the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, which he dates around 800 CE.[48] He further determines a *terminus a quo* of 950 CE because of the JS's reference to the *Vāyavīya Saṃhitā* (a section of both ŚP1 and ŚP2).[49] It is this date that I will adopt as a general frame of reference for my reconstruction of the formation of the *jyotirliṅga* cult. The date is commonly accepted.[50] Moreover, during the course of this inquiry,

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[46] The community associated with the cult, at least as it is presented in the JS, was probably a Brahmin community given the dominance of vedic material overall in the text.

[47] Rocher's book of 1986, *The Purāṇas*, a comprehensive study of printed editions of the *purāṇas*, draws many of his date assignments directly from Hazra.

[48] For Hazra's argument, see *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), 92-96; (1985), 261-62. For a discussion of some of these parallels, see chapter two below.

[49] Hazra (1985), 202. Hazra's own dating of this text is assigned 800-1000 CE, so it is not entirely clear how references to this *saṃhitā* in the JS confirm the 950 date; see 273. The author also supports the date with the "occurrence of Tantric elements" and mention of the Tulasi plant in chapter 28.18, but does not elaborate on these.

[50] In a brief discussion in "Gleanings from the Śivapurāṇa," part I, *Purāṇa*, Vol 28, no. 1 (1986), 11, R. N. Dandekar posits a tenth century dating for "*Śiva Purāṇa*" as a whole. He sets the *terminus a quo* at 850 CE based on quotations of two *Śiva-sūtras*, *Caitanyam-ātmā* and *Jñānaṃ-banhaḥ*, in chapter 16.42-49 in the *Kailāsa Saṃhitā*. He sets the terminus ad quem for "*Śiva Purāṇa*" at 1030, because al-Bīrūnī mentions a text of that name; Ainslie Embree (ed.), *Alberuni's India* (New York: Norton Library, 1971), 131. Al-Bīrūnī's reference to the ŚP appears to be drawn from a list of *purāṇas* in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III, 6.20-24). In light of the textual instability of the "*Śiva Purāṇa*," as demonstrated by Hazra and confirmed by my analysis of the manuscript evidence, it is uncertain whether we can use these verses to date all of the *Śiva Purāṇa*. Moreover, as we have seen, however, many texts (including JS) circulated under that name. Dandekar's brief analysis of the question of dating nevertheless speaks to the importance of the ninth and tenth centuries for the literary articulation and development of traditions related to Śiva.

we will encounter additional evidence that supports Hazra's location of the JS in the tenth century.

We may also be able to date the KS a few centuries later than the relevant sections of the JS. Many themes common to both *saṃhitās* are more developed and integrated in the KS than they are in the JS. In chapters one, two, and three, I will suggest that the worship of the *liṅga* represents one such case of thematic development. In the JS *liṅga* worship is not obviously nor clearly the central focus of the individual stories. By contrast, *liṅga* veneration becomes overt and emphasized in the KS.

Throughout the dissertation, I will indicate the various points of development between the JS and KS, in the hopes of helping to illumine the issue of their relative dating and their relationship. I will suggest, moreover, that the JS and the KS preserve different stages in the development of the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*; the JS preserves an early moment in the development of the cult, while the KS shows the cult in a state of further consolidation.

As noted above, the sections concerning *jyotirliṅgas* in the KS parallel the JS with only minor differences. In chapters two and three, I will compare the two versions in some detail in the course of examining the stories about the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* preserved by both. Here, by means of introduction, it may be helpful to make a few general and preliminary observations in order to lay the groundwork for our broader inquiry.

The JS appears to be a less organized text than the KS. The KS's grouping of the stories sets them in individual chapters, whereas the JS sometimes combines more than one story in a single chapter. Voice identification is also less clear in the JS, making it on occasion difficult to identify the speaker of a given phrase.

Although he was the head of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (hereafter Bori) for many years, his essay makes no reference to the extensive collection of manuscripts called the "*Śiva Purāṇa*" that are held by that institute. None of these manuscripts, for example, are related to the printed edition that he writes about (ŚP2), but instead, are identical to the JS (see below for a full discussion of the manuscripts at the Bori).

While such discrepancies do not affect the content or meaning of the stories themselves, they do suggest that the redactor of the KS has attempted to organize and edit the stories to make them more readable; this reaffirms the later date assigned to KS as distinct from the JS. Furthermore, as noted above, Hazra has observed that the JS is the source for other sections in ŚP2.[51] If so, then this makes it all the more plausible that the JS is also the source for the KS. Whether the redactors of the KS used the JS or whether they drew upon another related source, the differences in KS's version speak to the development of the cult of *jyotirliṅgas* in the centuries after the JS.[52]

5. Chapter Summary

In chapter one I will outline our earliest evidence for the *jyotirliṅgas*. This includes various versions and parts of the ŚP (i.e., JS in ŚP1 and KS in ŚP2) as well as a *stotra* dedicated to the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* (i.e., the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*),[53] and two inscriptions from the eleventh century, one from the Deccan, the other from Ujjain. From these I hope to establish some rough dates that will be useful in discussing the early history and development of the cult. In addition, I will ask how this evidence speaks to the origins of the grouping of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, by discussing evidence for other groupings of *liṅgas*, most notably in a selection from the early *Skanda Purāṇa*.

In the second and third chapters, I will examine each of the individual stories extolling the *jyotirliṅga* pilgrimage sites in the ŚP tradition. To illumine these stories I will use vedic, epic, and *purāṇic*, as well as iconographical,

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[51] Hazra (1985), 256-57, fn. 40. Cited in Rocher (1986), 227. In particular we will examine parallels between JS 62-6 and *Vayaviya Saṃhitā* 19 which both relate the story of Arjuna's encounter with Śiva as the mountain man (*kirāta*) and speak to the particular kind of worship associated with the *jyotirliṅgas* (i.e., *pārthiva* worship).

[52] The consistent addition of the term *liṅga* throughout the KS, where it is absent in the JS is notable. The addition of this term is clear from an electronic search of the two. In the JS, there are roughly 36 uses of the term *liṅga*, In KS, by contrast, there are about 65 uses of the term. This is a discrepancy of some interest and importance and will be discussed in chapters two, three and four.

[53] Variously titled: *Dvadāśajyotirliṅgastotra*, *Jyotirliṅgastotra*, or the *Dvadāśa-liṅgastotra*, depending on the printed edition or manuscripts.

parallels. I will focus on the rituals, ritual objects, and theophanies in these stories. I will also examine the differences between parallel versions of the stories in the ŚP tradition (i.e., the JS and KS), particularly with regard to their descriptions of Śiva worship. It will be observed that the KS makes a number of additions of the term *liṅga* to the JS; a number of these additions seem to be motivated by an attempt to clarify the JS's many references to worship involving "*pārthiva*" (a term usually translated as "earthen").

The fourth chapter tries to shed light on the prehistory of the *jyotirliṅga* cult and its relationship to vedic and epic traditions, as well as on its medieval context. We will explore the history of Śaivite altar worship. Special attention will be given to the term *pārthiva*, which occurs frequently in the rituals described in the JS. I argue that the term may be related to vedic rituals involving the fabrication of an earthen pan made from a lump of clay and identified with fire (both *agni* and *jyotis*). Furthermore, the use of the term *pārthiva* in the *purāṇic* stories about *jyotirliṅgas* may reflect an older strand of worship of anthropomorphic clay images of Śiva.

The fifth chapter will consider some of the possible reasons why the redactors of the JS chose to interconnect twelve pilgrimage sites and to associate them with light (i.e., *jyotis*). Specifically, we will discuss how the identification of these sites as *jyotirliṅgas* may resonate with other types of fire/light imagery, both in vedic traditions about the twelve suns and in *purāṇic* traditions describing Śiva and other gods with reference to the term *jyotis*. We will begin by considering the description of a *jyotirliṅga* in one version of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth (*Skanda Purāṇa* I, iii, ii).[54] In this example, Śiva's

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[54] The *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth is found throughout *purāṇic* literature and may or may not be linked to a particular pilgrimage site in any given version. To my knowledge, there are no *purāṇic* versions of the story that link it directly to any of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*; the version in *Skanda Purāṇa* I, iii, ii, is part of the *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* which has been connected to Tiruvanamalai, a mountain sacred to Śiva in the South of India (near Chennai). Temple iconography at some of the twelve *jyotirliṅga* sites is a different matter, however. We see for example that the Śriśaila, Rāmeśvara and Auṅḍa-Nāganātha temples have common medieval depictions of this theme incorporated into their architecture [for examples of this iconography, see Plate III].

jyotirliṅga form is likened to twelve suns. Inasmuch as Śiva is typically associated with the numbers five and eleven,[55] this connection may point to the possible background of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* in the vedic theme of twelve suns. Consideration of the use of the term *jyotis* in *purāṇic* texts will help further to explicate the broader background and meaning of the concept of the *jyotirliṅga* in medieval Śaivism.

The primary aim of this dissertation is to illumine the medieval cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* through a detailed analysis of its earliest literary sources. In the process, however, I hope to shed some new light on the history of Śaivite worship. I will suggest that the tenth to thirteenth centuries were a key period for the consolidation of Śaivism on a pan-Indian level. It is, I will argue, during this period that the *liṅga* becomes widely established as the central object of worship for most groups of Śaivites. Prior to this period, "Śaivism" seems to have encompassed a wide variety of different kinds of worship, including rituals involving aniconic altars and anthropomorphic images as well as rituals centering on the *liṅga* form.[56] The *jyotirliṅga* material in the ŚP and related traditions is, in my view, important for the history of Śaivite worship inasmuch as this material seems to preserve hints of the early ritual diversity of Śaivism alongside evidence for medieval attempts to establish *liṅga* worship as the main form of devotion to Śiva.

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[55] Feldhaus, (2003), 245 note 5.

[56] We see for example, at the Chidambaram temple in south India, that the bronze anthropomorphic image of dancing Śiva (Naṭarāja), which dates before the eighth century, was superseded by a *liṅga* around the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. See Younger, *The Home of Dancing Śiva: The Traditions of the Hindu Temple in Citamparam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 87-89, 106-108.

Chapter One
Purāṇic Lists of *Liṅgas* and *Jyotirliṅgas*

This chapter will consider our earliest literary and inscriptional evidence for the grouping of twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. This will include an examination of the arrangement of the *purāṇic* lists of the *jyotirliṅgas* in the ŚP tradition (esp. JS and KS) and in other important works like the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*. I will survey these materials, as preserved both in printed editions and in manuscripts. This survey will lay the groundwork for our inquiries in the following chapters. Analysis of these lists may also illuminate the process by which groupings of sacred sites emerged and local stories about these sites began to be collected into sources like the JS and KS, providing textual support for the promotion of the pan-Indian Śaivite cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*.

Much of the focus of the examination will be on lists and scriptural references to the *jyotirliṅgas*. I will also, however, consider other lists of *liṅgas* found in works such as the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, SkP, and *Vāmana Purāṇa*. Comparison with *purāṇic* lists of *liṅgas* may help us to locate the origins of the cult of *jyotirliṅga* within the broader context of devotional *Śaivite* cults that emerged and developed in the seventh to thirteenth centuries CE.

At first glance, such lists may seem impenetrable to many modern readers. Yet, as we will see, these lists can tell us a great deal about the conceptualization, consolidation, and development of the *jyotirliṅga* cult in its medieval context. Moreover, the practice of list-making seems to have been an important element in medieval Indian religion, as it was in many other premodern cultures; the making of lists serves as a mechanism to synthesize traditions and to facilitate their oral transmission.[1] One clear example of such use of lists is the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*. This medieval hymn praising the greatness of

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[1] See e.g., J. Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 36-52; Laurie L. Patton, "Speech Acts and Kings' Edicts: Vedic Words and Rulership in Taxonomical Perspective," *History of Religions*, vol. 4 (1995), 329-50; Walter J. Ong, *Orality & Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 98-100.

all of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* is still sung far and wide by priests and school children alike. Arguably, the creation and recitation of lists of *liṅgas* played an important part in the promotion and spread of the *jyotirliṅga* cult.

1. Lists of *jyotirliṅgas* in the *Śiva Purāṇa* tradition

In the ŚP tradition, the continuity between the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* is expressed in two ways. Primarily it is expressed through the introductory chapters to the collections of stories related to these sites (e.g., JS and KS), and secondarily through the colophons of the individual stories in the collections.

From a literary perspective, the introductory chapters function as framing devices. They list and describe the twelve sites and assert the connectivity and continuity between all of them as *jyotirliṅgas*. In a less consistent manner, this connectivity is also expressed in the individual stories in the colophon of each chapter. For example, the colophon of chapter 14 of the KS reads as follows:

> iti śrīśivapurāṇe caturthyāṃ koṭirudrasaṃhitāyāṃ somanātha-jyotirliṅgotpattivarṇanaṃ nāma caturdadaśo 'dhyāyaḥ//

> This is the fourteenth chapter in the *Koiṭrudra-saṃhitā*, which is the fourth book of the blessed *Śiva Purāṇa* containing a description of the origin of the Somanātha *jyotirliṅga*.

The colophonic notices seem to have been systematized over time.[2] In the earliest version of the *jyotirliṅga* stories, JS, these notices are sporadic and inconsistent. For instance, only four chapters of JS (46, 47, 50, and 58) contain a reference to the term *jyotirliṅga* in the colophon. In the KS, by contrast, every one of the twelve *liṅgas* is referred to as a "*jyotirliṅga*" in a colophon at least once. In the cases when a *jyotirliṅga* is granted more than one chapter, the term *māhātmya* (greatness) appears instead (see KS 22, 24-26, 30 and 32).

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[2] This shift is a further indication of the earlier text's generally looser structure, especially with regard to defining this cult and its various terms (e.g. *liṅga* and *pārthiva*, as discussed at length in chapters two, three, and four).

More stable are the lists in the introductory chapters. The introductory chapters of the JS (in ŚP2), the KS (in ŚP1), and *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* (also in ŚP1) each contain lists of the names of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. These lists can be charted as follows:

Fig. 1

JS 38	ŚS 42, list A	ŚS 42, list B	KS 1, list A	KS 1, list B
1. Somanātha	Somanātha	Someśavara	Somanātha	Someśvara
2. Mallikārjuna	Mallikārjuna	Mallikārjuna	Mallikārjuna	Mallikārjuna
3. Mahākāla	Mahākāla	Mahākāla	Mahākāla	Mahākāla
4. Parameśvara	Amareśvara	Parameśvara	Parameśvara	Oṃkāra
5. Kedāra	Kedāra	Kedāreśa	Kedāra	Kedāreśvara
6. Bhīmaśaṅkāra	Bhīmaśaṅkāra	Bhīmaśaṅkāra	Bhīmaśaṅkara	Bhīmaśaṅkara
7. Viśveśvara	Viśveśa	Viśveśvara	Viśveśvara	?
8. Tryambaka	Tryambaka	Tryambaka	Tryambaka	?
9. Vaidyanātha	Vaidyanātha	Vaidyanātha	Vaidyanatha	?
10. Nāgeśa	Nāgeśa	Nāgeśvara	Nāgeśa	Nāgeśvara
11. Rāmeśa	Rāmeśa	Rāmeśvara	Rāmeśvara	Rāmeśvara
12. Ghuśmeśa	Ghuśmeśa	Ghuśmeśvara	Ghuśmeśa	Ghuśmeśa

It will be noticed that *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* 42 and KS 1 both contain two sets of lists, which may reflect something of the redactional history of the chapters. In the above chart, KS 1 list B and *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* 42 list B are taken from descriptions of the *jyotirliṅgas* and their associated *upaliṅgas* (secondary *liṅgas*), as outlined in Appendix E.

Aside from the variation of names of the fourth *jyotirliṅga* (Oṃkāreśvara), there is little difference between the lists. The order of the *liṅgas* is identical. The one exception to this is KS 1, list B, which entirely omits the seventh, eighth, and ninth *jyotirliṅgas* (Viśveśvara, Tryambakeśvara, and Vaidyanātha). This omission could suggest that the compilers did not know what the associated *upaliṅgas* of these *jyotirliṅgas* were, or it may represent an alternate list of nine *jyotirliṅgas*, suggesting that twelve was not the only number used. These lists demonstrate a general stability and consistency within the texts in the way the *jyotirliṅga* sites are ordered and named. In the collection of stories about each of these sites in JS 45-58 and KS 14-33, the exact same order is followed.

Despite the general stability that is reflected in the lists, the individual stories in JS 45-58 and KS 14-33 do not exhibit any signs of awareness of the larger grouping of pilgrimage sites. As will become clear in chapters two and three below, the stories are each self-standing, united only by common themes, common structures, and the overarching redactional principle of the list of twelve *jyotirliṅgas*.

Moreover, from the evidence presented in the ŚP, the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* do not appear to be a *yātrā*, that is, a pilgrimage route around which groups or individuals would travel. The order of the *liṅgas* in the ŚP tradition, for example, is incongruent with the geographical arrangement of the sites on the Indian landscape. If one were to visit the *jyotirliṅgas* in the order of the ŚP list, one would have to crisscross the landscape many times over. The total distance of such a journey would be between 12,000 and 16,300 km.[3] Such a journey, though perhaps not impossible in the medieval world, could not have been very common. This is not to say that some of the *jyotirliṅga* sites do not form part of other pilgrimage routes, as we will see below with the example of Avimukta/Viśveśvara.[4] Some may have also been connected in other ways, such as trade routes, which in turn may have served as channels for the distribution of texts and story traditions. However, we have no evidence that the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* together formed a single *yātrā*.

Furthermore, the sites and stories seem to have independent histories separate from their grouping under the rubric of *jyotirliṅgas*. Our examination of the individual stories in chapters two and three will reveal some of these independent histories. In the meantime, it will suffice to cite one distant and intriguing example. A seventh century CE inscription from Cambodia evinces a *Śaivite* temple housing a *liṅga* named "Kedāreśvara," the fifth *jyotirliṅga* named

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[3] The distance depends on which twelve of the fourteen extant sites one chooses to follow; there are two sites dedicated to Vaidyanātha and two to Nāganātha.

[4] It is noteworthy that JS 50, dedicated to the Viśveśvara *jyotirliṅga*, contains a section describing a local Vārāṇasī *yātrā* of twelve *liṅgas*. This list of local *liṅgas* probably derives from the early SkP. On this list and its possible influence on the *jyotirliṅga* cult, see below.

in the list of the ŚP tradition.[5] Though not named a *jyotirliṅga* in this inscription, the evidence of the inscription is suggestive, raising the possibility of the transmission of the Kedāreśvara story to distant lands from an early date, prior to its appearance as a *jyotirliṅga* in the ŚP tradition.[6] Similarly, stories about individual sites seem to have spread widely within India, even prior to their integration into a thematic grouping of twelve sites.

2. Printed editions of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*

To contextualize the list of *jyotirliṅgas* in the ŚP tradition (i.e., as attested in *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* 42 and KS 1 in ŚP1 and in JS 38 in ŚP2), I have also compiled a list derived from both printed editions and manuscripts of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* ("Hymn to the *Jyotirliṅgas*"), a text widely circulated in various forms throughout India. Probably even more than the ŚP itself, the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* is how knowledge of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* as a group was transmitted, both textually and orally.[7]

There are two versions of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*. One *stotra* is the longer work, which contains thirteen verses (one for each *liṅga* plus a colophon) and

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[5] See Sanderson (2003-4), 411 fn 242. The inscription in question was identified by George Cœdès as inscription number 762 as part of his *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 8 vols. (Paris: EFEO 1937-66). Cœdès dates this inscription to 673 CE.

[6] It is interesting to note, in contrast to the above mentioned inscription, another Khmer inscription (number 232) from around the twelfth century CE which specifically identifies a *liṅga* with Śiva's "*jyotis*": "*jyotis tad uccaiś śaśiśekharasya liṅgībhavad bhāti vibhūtikṛd vaḥ*" – "May that intense light of Śiva taking the form of the *Liṅga* shine forth to bring you glory" (translation by Sanderson). See Sanderson (2003/4), 418 fn. 258.

[7] I found it common for priests to recite some version of this *stotra* when trying to recall the placement of a *jyotirliṅga* in relation to the other sites. Bāpūjī Śukla, one of the priests residing at the Tryambakeśvara temple, employed the *stotra* to place that temple, as did Tarun R. K. Joshi, a Śaivite Brahmin presiding at a temple in Nasik whom I met during my visit to Brahmāgiri. The priests with whom I talked at the Auṇḍa-Nāgaṇātha temple also recited the hymn to locate their Nāgaṇātha site. Dr. Madhavi Kolhatkar, a Sanskrit scholar at the Deccan College in Pune, told me that as a child at school she was taught to memorize the hymn and that this was a common practice. The widespread and common recitation of this *stotra* is also suggested by the nineteenth century scholar R. S. V. N. Mandlik who states that the names of the *jyotirliṅgas* "are pronounced by all Śaiva (*Smārata*) and Bhágavata Hindus every morning either in Sanskrit or Prákrit prayers"; ("Notes on the Shrine of Mahábaleśvara," JBBRAS, no. 38, vol. 10 (1875), 4).

which refers to the *jyotirliṅgas* as *avatāras*. The second is a shorter work of four verses (naming four *liṅgas* per verse plus a closing verse). This smaller text lists only the name of each *liṅga* and their location. Tradition holds the author of the works to be Śaṅkarācārya, although there is no strong evidence of this attribution.[8] The small *stotra* may be rendered as follows:

> saurāṣṭre somanāthaṃ ca śrīśaile mallikārjunam/
> ujjayinyāṃ mahākālam oṃkāraparameśvara//
> kedāraṃ himavatpṛṣṭhe ḍākinyāṃ bhīmaśaṃkaram/
> vārāṇasyām ca viśveśaṃ tryambakaṃ gautamītaṭe//
> vaidyanātham citābhūmau nāgeśam dārūkāvane/
> setubandhe ca rāmeśam ghuśmeśam tu śivālaye//
> dvādaśa etāni nāmāni prātar utthāya yaḥ paṭhet/
> sarvapāpair vinirmuktaḥ sarvasiddhiphalaṃ labhet//[9]

> Somanātha (*jyotirliṅga*) presides in Saurāṣṭra, and Mallikārjuna presides in Śrīśaila. Mahākāla is in Ujjain, and Parameśvara is in Oṃkāra. Kedāra presides on the side of Himavat, Bhīmaśaṅkara is in the Ḍākinī forest. Viśveśa is in Vārāṇasī and Tryambaka is on the bank of the Gautamī river. Vaidyanātha resides in the cremation grounds and Nāgeśa in the Dārūka forest. Rāmeśa is in Setubhaṃdha and Ghuśmeśa is in Śivālaya. Who recites these twelve names, having risen at dawn, is released from all sins and obtains the fruit of every accomplishment.

There is no one standard text that consistently places the pilgrimage sites in the same order. Nonetheless, some form of one or the other *Jyotirliṅgastotra* may be found in almost every publication circulating around the individual

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[8] For example, one descriptive catalogue has logged a reference to the "*Dvādaśa Jyotirliṅgastotra*," one of the names assigned to the same *stotra*, and cites the author as "Śaṅkarācārya." See MSS no. 2318, accession no. 2176/241 in *Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Allahabad* (Section *Stotra*), Vol. 1, part II (Allahabad: Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, 1967). The *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛtikoś* also names Śaṅkarācārya as the author of that text when discussing the prefix "parlī" for the *jyotirliṅga* Vaidyanātha. See M. Jośī (editor), *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛtikoś*, vol. 3 (Pune: Bhāratīya Saṃskṛtikoś Maṇḍal, 1962-79), 685. A pamphlet purchased from one of the Mahārāṣṭra *jyotirliṅga* sites also names Śaṅkara as the author; *Bhagwan Shankar 12 jyotirliṅga Katha* (Delhi: Mittala Publications, n.d.), 3.

[9] *Oṃkāreśvara Darśana* (Baḍvāha: Sajahaṃsa Prakāśan, n.d.).

temples and is even engraved on at least two of them.[10] Additionally I have found three versions of the text on two manuscripts. It is of some value, therefore, to examine and compare these lists to the ones derived from the ŚP.

I have collected several examples of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* from a variety of printed sources. Most of these are from temple pamphlets sold at the *jyotirliṅga* temples themselves. I have generalized two lists to represent the texts as it is found in pamphlets from the two earliest printed editions of this *stotra* that I have found. One edition is a small document held at Bori (Catalogue no. VI, 12907).[11] A second is copied from the private collection of Amiteshwar Jha, the director of the *Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies* (IIRNS) at Anjaneri near Nasik.[12] With minor variations of names and minor omissions,[13] most temple pamphlets align themselves with one of these two lists of names of the *jyotirliṅgas*.

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[10] I also found examples of this *stotra* in modern engravings at Bhīmāśaṅkara, Śrīśaila. Both the long and short version are at Bhīmāśaṅkara, while only the short version of the text is found at the Mallikārjuna temple complex.

[11] *Jyotirliṅgamānasa-pūjastotraṃ* (Bombay: Nirmayasagar Press, 1941). The full title of the document is such because it has been joined with another well know Śiva hymn (i.e., the *Mānasapūjastotraṃ*).

[12] This *stotra* came under the title: *Dvādaśajyotirliṅga-stotra*. No publication information was available to me when I received the document, but I included it because it includes the name Ghuśmeśa. The same order of the *liṅgas* is found in the pamphlet edited by R. M. Jośī, *Bārā Jyotirliṅga* (Pune: Śāradā Sāhitya, 1985), 5; this text, however, employs the name Ghṛṣṇeśa (see below, note 12 for the significance of this name). The *stotra* published by R. S. V. N. Mandlik generally follows this order, though his version inverts Bhīmāśaṅkara and Oṃkāreśvara; the version also employs Ghṛṣṇeśa. Mandlik provides no bibliographic or manuscript information for his *stotra*, but introduces the clearly Sanskrit text by stating, "The following are prayers repeated in Kánadá"; Mandlik (1875), 4 fn 10. This may be a reference to the Kannaḍa language, indicating his manuscript source, or a reference to the region of Karṇāṭaka where the language is mainly spoken. In any case this reference supports other evidence that the *stotra* was widely circulated in India.

[13] For example the list from the *stotra* found in a pamphlet entitled the *Narmadā Mahātmya* (Mathurā: Paṅkaja Prakāśan, n.d.), 40, sold to me at the Oṃkāreśvara temple, omits Oṃkāra from its list of *jyotirliṅgas*! To be sure the document was published in Mathurā, a great distance from Oṃkāreśvara. This list has only eleven *jyotirliṅgas* named and perhaps attests an omission on the part of the printer; however, along with the omissions from the KS 1 list B, one could formulate a speculative argument that there were other compiled lists of *jyotirliṅgas* that did not conform to the twelve. Eleven is certainly a number clearly associated with Śiva through his vedic predecessor Rudra.

The comparison of these two lists, together with the ŚP list (here represented by JS 38) can be charted as follows:

JS 38	Bori VI, 12907	IIRNS-*stotra*
1. Somanātha	1. Somānatha	1. Somanātha
2. Mallikārjuna	2. Mallikārjuna	2. Mallikārjuna
3. Mahākāla	3. Mahākāla	3. Mahākāla
4. Parameśvara	4. Oṃkāra	4. Amaleśvara
5. Kedāra	5. Vaidyanātha	5. Parlya Vaidynātha
6. Bhīmaśankāra	6. Nāganātha	6. Bhīmaśankara
7. Viśveśvara	7. Kedāra	7. Rāmeśa
8. Tryambaka	8. Tryambaka	8. Nāgeśa
9. Vaidyanātha	9. Rāmeśvara	9. Viśveśa
10.Nāgeśa	10.Bhīmaśankara	10. Tryambaka
11.Rāmeśa	11.Viśvanātha	11. Kedāra
12.Ghuśmeśa	12.Ghṛṣneśvara	12. Ghuśmeśa

In the printed editions of the *stotra*, we see that after Oṃkāra (sometimes called Amaleśvara or Parameśvara) the order of the *liṅgas* begins to diverge from the ŚP list. We also may note that in the IIRNS-*stotra* list the prefix "Paralya" is added to Vaidyanātha's name. This prefix is generally added to distinguish the *liṅga* at Parli in Mahārāṣtra from the *liṅga* of the same name at Devghar in Jharkhand (formerly part of Bihar state).[14] I would argue that lists with this prefix probably derived from manuscripts in Western India.

Another significant variant between these two lists and the ŚP list is the twelfth *jyotirliṅga*. In the ŚP, with one notable exception (see below, n. 14), this name is only found as Ghuśmeśvara. In the *stotras*, however, this name is often given as Ghṛṣneśvara (see also the chart of *stotra* MSS below). This name supplants the usual "u" of Ghuśmeśvara with a vocalic "ṛ."[15]

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[14] For example, on the modern inscription of this *stotra* at the Mallikarjuna temple in Śrīśaila, reference is made to "Vaidyanātha in Bhīhar" (the part that is now Jharkhand) rather than to the one in Mahārāṣtra.

[15] Ghuśmeśvara is the name found in the ŚP; however, in Mahārāṣtra the site is popularly referred to as Ghṛṣneśvara. This name is found recorded in at least one MS of the ŚP from Tamil Nadu, the Telugu MS no. 2360, which employs both names. Ghṛṣneśvara refers to a completely different myth than is found in the ŚP. It derives from √ghṛṣ which means to rub or grind; and according to the local story, refers to Pārvatī's action of grinding red earth from

In addition to the Sanskrit *stotras* themselves, temple pamphlets often list the *jyotirliṅga* sites in a vernacular language. I have looked at Hindi, Marathi and English examples, and these lists can vary greatly from the above chart. In some extreme cases the sites are given two or three times in a different order.[16]

One notable deviation from the lists of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* and the ŚP tradition is found in a pamphlet called *Kāśī Darśan Mahātmya* where the list of twelve "*jyotirliṅgas*" actually conforms to some kind of *yātrā* (i.e., pilgrimage circuit) in and around the city of Vārāṇasī. This list of names and their respective sites in Vārāṇasī are as follows:[17]

Fig. 3

Name of Liṅga	Location
1. Kedāranātha	Kedāra ghāṭa
2. Oṃkāreśvara	in north district opposite Macchodarī
3. Vaidyanātha	Kamacchā
4. Ghuśmeśvara	Revaṅī pond
5. Nāgeśvara	Bhauṅsalā ghāṭa
6. Mahākāleśvara	Vṛddhakāla

the region and forming it into a *liṅga*. The source of this second myth, the origin of Śivālāya, the body of water associated with the temple, is supposed to be found in the SkP according to the temple's publication. I have been unable to find any reference to this myth in that text myself; nonetheless its popularity as well as its existence in MSS suggests that the name Ghuśmeśvara found in the printed ŚP is not entirely certain. Anne Feldhaus, who has explored the mythology of some of the same pilgrimage sites in Mahārāṣṭra, has indicated that the SkP is often cited as the source for local *māhātmyas*, but these are not found in printed editions of the text. See Anne Feldhaus, *Water & Womanhood: Religious Meanings of Rivers in Mahasarshtra* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 7. Wendy Doniger has made a similar comment with regard to this text; see *Purāṇa Perennis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 59-61.

[16] One pamphlet, for example, presents four lists of the *jyotirliṅgas*, two which follow the IIRNS-*stotra* model and two more which follow a list beginning with Kedāreśvara. *Dwadash Jyotirlingavatar* (Trimbakeshwar: Swadeshi Stores, n.d.). I have found a few lists beginning with Kedāreśvara in temple pamphlets. See also, Ashutosh Shukla, *Bhagwan Shankar 12 jyotirliṅga Katha* (Delhi: Tourist Publication, n.d.), 39-46. Though I have not discerned any *purāṇic* tradition associated with this ordering, these examples are numerous enough to suggest that at least the possibility of another ordering of the *liṅgas* from another source. We will see below, for example, that manuscript traditions of the *stotra* do not always begin with Someśvara.

[17] Rājendra Kumāra, *Kāśī Darśan Mahātmya* (Vārāṇasī: Jagannāth Gurāgai, 1997), 13.

7. Vāgeśvara	near "Kāśī-karavaṭa"
8. Tryambakeśvara	Hauz kaṭorā
9. Śaileśvara	Māchiyā ghāṭa
10. Gokarṇeśvara	Kodaī chaukī
11. Rāmeśvara	Mānmandir ghāṭa
12. Viśveśvara	Prasiddha tīrtha

I have not been able to corroborate the list from the *Kāśī Darśan Mahātmya* with any specific medieval tradition. However, a similar list of *liṅgas* of an ancient *yātrā* in Vārāṇasī is connected to the early SkP (sixth to eighth c.); below, I will examine this list and its transmission through various texts.

Many of these temples mentioned in the *Kāśī Darśan Mahātmya* are at least as old as the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* (twelfth to thirteenth c.) of the SkP,[18] where they appear in other lists of various local *yātrās*. For example, *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* (SkP IV), 73.32-36, 73.45-50, and 73.59-62 are all lists of fourteen *liṅgas* in and around Vārāṇasī, and they include some of the names in the above list. Śaileśvara, Oṃkāreśvara, Kedāranātha, and Viśveśvara are particularly important. Elsewhere in the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, these sites have whole chapters dedicated to them (chapters 66, 73-74, 77, and 99 respectively).

Most of the names of the "*jyotirliṅgas*" in the *Kāśī Darśan* list are known to us. The exceptions are Vāgeśvara, Śaileśvara, and Gokarṇeśvara. Of these, Śaileśvara is clearly being aligned to the Mallikārjuna *jyotirliṅga*, which leaves the other two to consider. If this list is modern, that is, part of an attempt to align temples of Vārāṇasī with the larger geography of the pan-Indian *jyotirliṅgas*, then why would they not include Bhīmaśaṅkara or Somanātha? Indeed *liṅgas* named "Bhīmeśvara" and "Someśa" are found in *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* 69.119-20 and 97.197 respectively, which could have conceivably been amended to the *yātrā*. I have found no record of a *liṅga* called Vāgeśvara in the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, but a *liṅga* called "Gokarṇeśa" is found in 97.233. Whatever the reason for the omission of the parallel names, it points to some fluidity on the ground in the standard list of *jyotirliṅgas* established by the ŚP and the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*.

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[18] For this date, see Rocher (1986), 233; Eck (1982), 347; Hazra (1975), 165.

3. Manuscripts of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*

Above, we examined the printed editions of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* and noted that the order of the pilgrimage sites is not consistent with the order in the ŚP tradition. Let us now turn to look at some manuscript evidence for the *stotra*, which also diverges somewhat from the ŚP list.

Specifically, I consulted two manuscripts from the collection of the Deccan College in Pune (MSS nos. 2850 and 3111). MS 2850 appears to be a fragment of two folios taken from a text calling itself the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. MS 3111 appears to be an independent document consisting of one folio and dedicated to this *stotra* alone; this document lists the *jyotirliṅgas* twice differently.

The lists from these MSS reads as follows:

Fig. 4

Deccan-no.2850	Deccan-no.3111-A[19]	Deccan-no.3111-B
Mahākāla	Mahākāla	Somanātha
Somānatha	Somanātha	Malakārjuna
Kedāra	Kedāra	Mahākāla
Viśvanātha	Viśvanātha	Oṃkāra
Oṃkāra	Oṃkāra	Vaijyanātha
Tryambaka	Tryambaka	Nāgeśa
Ghṛṣneśvara	Ghṛṣneśvarā	Rāmeśa
Nāganātha	Nāganātha	Tryambaka
Vaijanātha	Parlya-Vaijyanātha	Viśveśaṃ
Bhīma	Bhīma	Bhīmaśaṅkara
Mallika	Mallika	Kedāra
Rāmeśvara	Rāmeśvara	Ghṛṣneśvara

Comparing these lists to the others we have examined, we see that only one of the three (Deccan-no.3111-B) corresponds in any way to either of the printed

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[19] The Deccan MS no. 3111, in addition to the main list of *tīrthas* (A), also has a second list (B) following the main body of the text. Strangely this list diverges from the main body and instead follows the order presented in the manuscript and printed editions of the ŚP. Aside from the order of the *tīrthas*, the second list drops the prefix of Parli from Vaidyanātha. As was noted earlier, this prefix is specific to the state of Mahārāṣtra. The name of Ghṛṣneśvara that supplants the usual "u" with a vocalic "ṛ" is retained, however. It is not clear what the intention of the scribe was in the case of this manuscript. Clearly this person was aware of the alternative list and that the *stotra* deviated significantly from the ŚP.

stotras cited above (that is, beginning with Somanātha and ending with Ghṛṣṇeśvara). Like those lists, however, it cannot be derived from the ŚP tradition, as that order of the *jyotirliṅgas* is different.

Deccan MS no. 3111 contains two lists of *tīrthas*. The first (A) is the long *stotra*, the second (B) is the short *stotra*. The B list of no. 3111 begins with Somanātha rather than Mahākāla, as with the printed Sanskrit editions I encountered. Aside from the order of the *tīrthas*, the B list drops the prefix of "Paralya" from Vaidyanātha. As was noted earlier, this prefix is generally specific to lists derived from Mahārāṣṭra rather than specific to lists derived from Jharkhand/Bihar or lists that identify with that site (see n. 13). This suggests that list B may have been compiled from a tradition outside of Mahārāṣṭra. This manuscript, having two quite different lists of *jyotirliṅgas* and being distinct from the ŚP tradition, arguably shows evidence of an awareness of different regional traditions of the *stotra*. The manuscript also speaks to the diverse range of *stotras* that I found among printed editions, all of which were probably, at some point, derived from a similar type of manuscript.

The other list that I examined from a manuscript at the Deccan College (no. 2850) is found amidst a group of verses comprised of morning prayers from a segment identifying itself with the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* is well known for being an open and inclusive *purāṇa*. It contains significant portions of Śaivite materials in addition to material dealing with Viṣṇu *avatāras*.[20] It has been dated to the same general time frame as the JS (around the tenth century).[21]

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[20] Anand S. Gupta (ed.), *The Vāmana Purāṇa* (Vārāṇasī: All-India Kashirja Trust, 1967), iii. A. Gupta, *The Vāmana Purāṇa with English Translation* (Vārāṇasī: All-India Kashirja Trust, 1968), xxiv.

[21] Rocher (1986), 242; Hazra (1975), 77-92. Hazra's dates range from between the ninth to eleventh centuries for various parts of the text. His suggestion is that the Śaivite additions are in the later, eleventh century range, especially the sections pertaining to *liṅga* worship. This treatment of a Vaiṣṇavite text by Śaivites is also seen with regard to the *Kūrma Purāṇa* which contains an account of the origins of *liṅga* worship in a section called the *Īśvaragītā*; see R. Davis (2002), 150-61.

The *stotra* in question is not part of the critical edition of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, and it might prove difficult to demonstrate that it was ever part of the earliest versions of this text. Hazra suggests that Śaivites, at some point during the redactional history of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, made some additions of Śaivite material; it is likely that this manuscript is evidence of this process.[22]

MS 2850 does not make reference to any particular chapter of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. This makes the *stotra* difficult to analyze in the context of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*.[23] Nonetheless, even if we consider the *stotra* as an addition to a variant version, we may still understand it to have been conceived in the spirit of openness that characterizes the *Vāmana Purāṇa* tradition. It is also an example of the Śaivite incorporation of the *avatāra* theme.

The MS (no. 2850) opens with the following verse:

avaṃtikāyāṃ   vihitāvatāraṃ   muktipradānaya   ca   sajjanānāṃ
akālamṛtyoḥ   parirakṣaṇārtham   vaṃde   mahākālam   ahaṃ
sureśaṃ//1//

He became an *avatāra* in Avanti. He bestows release on good people. For the purpose of protection against untimely death, I praise Mahākāla the Lord of gods.

Tucked away as it is amongst praises of the Viṣṇu *avatāras*, the *stotra* suggests the *jyotirliṅgas* are considered *avatāras* of Śiva. It is quite likely, therefore, that this *stotra* arose later than the collection of *jyotirliṅga* stories presented in the JS, where there is no clear concept of the Śiva *avatāra* formulated.[24] It suffices to note that the variation in early lists of *jyotirliṅgas*, as seen in the printed editions of the *stotra*, is confirmed by the manuscript evidence.

[22] Hazra (1975), 77.
[23] The section containing this *stotra* simply states the location as: "*śrī vāmana purāṇe prātaḥsmaraṇaṃ samāsaṃ*"; "This is a collection of morning meditations from the Blessed Vāmana Purāṇa."
[24] The focused study of *avatāras* in the ŚP tradition falls outside the scope of this dissertation. For a discussion of *avatāras* and the Śaivite tradition see Granoff (2003ᵦ).

4. Inscriptional evidence for the *Jyotirliṅgas*

In addition to the early literary evidence for lists of *jyotirliṅgas*, there are also two Sanskrit inscriptions that speak to the dissemination of the *jyotirliṅgas* and to their rise in importance in the centuries between the composition of the JS (i.e., tenth century) and the composition of the KS (i.e., thirteenth century). The first is a copper plate inscription dated to 1048 CE. The second is a stone inscription from the eleventh or twelfth centuries CE.

The copper plate inscription is in Nāgarī script and is from Mahārāṣṭra state in Ṭhāṇā (just north of Mumbai). It is currently held at the Department of Archaeology and Archives, Government of Mahārāṣṭra in Mumbai.[25] It is attributed to the ruling Śilāhāra king named Nāgārjuna and makes references to various grants made by his predecessors for the promotion of Śiva worship. Among these grants is a donation of twelve *kīrttanas* (see below) dedicated to Śiva by someone named Jhañjha. The seventh verse (lines 12-14) of the inscription reads as follows:

> tasmājjātastanūjo rajanikara ivānaṃditāśeṣaloka[ḥ] ślāghyaḥ śrījhañjharājo divasakara iva dhvastaniḥśeṣadoṣaḥ/
> śaṃbhoryo dvādaśāpi vyaracayadacirāt kīrttanāni svanāmnā sopānānīva manye praṇatatanubhṛtāṃ svarggamārgodvatānām //7//

> From him sprang his praiseworthy son, the illustrious Jhañjha, who delighted all people even as the moon does, and who destroyed all blemishes even as the sun dispels all darkness; who erected twelve temples of Śiva, named after himself, which served, as it were, as steps to pious people, ready to repair to the path of heaven.[26]

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[25] V. Mirashi (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. VI: Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1977), 75-78.

[26] This translation, found on page 69 of the *Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras*, is actually taken from a translation of another copper inscription containing the same verse. This plate, today held at the Berlin Museum, is dated Śake 956 (1034 CE) approximately 5 years earlier than the plate sited above. However, because the original location of this plate is unknown, I chose the former.

The Archaeological Survey of India translation employs the word "temple" to represent *kīrttanāni*. This is not the only meaning assigned to the word, however, and it may refer to some other kind of construction.[27]

The Archaeological Survey description of this inscription explains the term as follows:

> Jhañjha of North Koṅkaṇ is said to have built twelve temples of that god, evidently at the sites of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, and named them after himself.[28]

In my view, a simple equation of the twelve *kīrttanas* with *jyotirliṅgas* seems to press the meaning of the inscription. This inscription does, however, provide important evidence that sites dedicated to Śiva were grouped into a set of twelve by at least the eleventh century, at a time not so distant from Hazra's tenth century dating of the JS. It seems plausible to suggest that sometime between the tenth and eleventh centuries CE there was a group of twelve sites of Śiva, possibly in Mahārāṣṭra, that could have been connected to, or derivative of, the *jyotirliṅgas*.

The second inscription, which was installed in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjain, is thought to be from around the eleventh or twelfth century, possibly during the rein of Naravarman (1094-1133 CE),[29] although this latter

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[27] This verse is cited when defining this term in both Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* and in P. Acharia's *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*. "Temple" is one ascribed meaning, although Apte also considers "building." Acharia's work also cites a number of other inscriptions from diverse sources that use this word to denote "temple." See P. Acharia, *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture* (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1998), 117-118. *Epigraphia Indica Volume XXVII (1949-50)* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1985), 184-185.

In *Epigraphia Indica, Volume XXVIII (1949-50)* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1985), 184, there is a discussion of this word in the context of a stone image inscription from the seventh century CE in the Jajpur area of Orissa. Two alternative definitions to "temple" are given: one means a tank, the other a public utility. "*Kīrtti*," which is employed in the inscription in question literally means "fame"; and thus, the object of fame, dedicated to a queen Vatsadevī, is thought to be some sort of "famous work of a tank" not necessarily a reference to a temple of hers. It may well be then that, for the sites mentioned in the Ṭhāṇā inscriptions, no reference to a temple is intended.

[28] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. VI, xlvii-viii

[29] K.N. Sastri, "Three Paramara Inscriptions from Mālwā," in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 31 (1955-56), 26.

assignment has been questioned by one scholar.[30] The more general dating to the eleventh or twelfth centuries CE is based on the type of Nāgari script used; a large section of the tablet is missing, and what remains bears no date.[31]

The existing fragment is part of a larger poetic work dedicated to Mahākāla. It discusses, among other things, the qualities of the *jyotis* of Śiva and calls the *liṅga* a "*jyotirliṅga*." This would suggest that the *liṅga* called Mahākāla of Ujjain was identified with the cult of *jyotirliṅgas* in an inscription perhaps as early as the eleventh century.

The JS, as we noted in the various lists above, names Mahākāla as a *jyotirliṅga*. This inscription fits well with Hazra's suggestion of a tenth century date for the JS. If Hazra is correct, then the evidence of this inscription may attest the dissemination of the JS's particular assignment of names and pilgrimage sites of *jyotirliṅgas*.

5. Lists of twelve *liṅgas* in the early SkP, Liṅga, and other Purāṇas

So far, we have surveyed our evidence for the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, focusing on lists of the twelve sites. In what follows, I will consider related evidence from the early SkP and *Liṅga Purāṇa*. Although these sources do not contain lists of *jyotirliṅgas*, they make reference to a set of twelve liṅgas, which may speak to the background of the grouping of *jyotirliṅgas* in the ŚP tradition.

The early SkP was compiled several centuries before the period that produced the JS and the above mentioned inscriptions. Though the earliest palm leaf manuscripts have been dated to the ninth century CE, the text has been dated between the sixth and eighth centuries CE by a team of scholars working on the critical edition.[32] As noted above, the twelve sites named in the early SkP are not the *jyotirliṅga* pilgrimage sites, but rather a set of *liṅgas* established in Vārāṇasī as part of a local pilgrimage route. The reference in question comes from a

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[30] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol VII, 83-86.

[31] The inscription does not begin until verse 78 of a longer kāvya work; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol VII, 83-86.

[32] Adriaensen (1998), 5.

section known as the *Vārāṇasī-māhātmya*; and in particular from chapter 29 of that *purāṇa*.

Chapter 29 consists of a small frame narrative telling us of Śiva's conversation with his consort Pārvatī as the two encounter a lush garden. In this conversation, Śiva relates the garden's origins and history to his wife. In particular, the history includes a large section (29.9-63)[33] outlining the establishment of twelve *liṅgas*. These twelve are summarized in a list in 29.64-66. The *liṅgas* named there are as follows:

> śaileśaṃ saṃgameśaṃ ca svarlīnaṃ madhyameśvaram//64//
> hiraṇyagarbham īśānaṃ gaprekṣaṃ sa vṛṣadhvajam/
> upaśāntaśivaṃ caiva jyeṣṭhasthānanivāsinam//65//
> śukreśvaraṃ ca vikhyātaṃ vyāghreśaṃ jambukeśvaram/
> dṛṣṭvā na jāyate martyaḥ saṃsāre duḥkhasāgare//66//

> After seeing Śaileśa, Saṃgameśa, Svarlīna and the Madhyameśvara, Hiraṇyagarbhamīśāna, Goprekṣa, Vṛṣadhvaja, Upaśāntaśiva and the one who dwells in Jyeṣṭhasthāna, Jambukeśvara, Vyāghreśa, and the celebrated Śukreśvara, a man is not born in the ocean of pain that is Samsara.

Glancing over this list[34] one sees that none of the *liṅgas* match the standard list of *jyotirliṅgas* found in the ŚP tradition.[35] Only two of the *liṅgas*

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[33] See Hans Bakker (1996), 36, 48-49 fn 18; as well as "Early Mythology Relating to Vārāṇasī" in *Banāras (Vārāṇasī): Cosmic Order, Sacred City, Hindu Traditions*, ed. Rana Singh (Vārāṇasī: Tara Book Agency, 1993), 25.

[34] Bakker's list is summarized as a group in the text at 29.60-61, which is undoubtedly cited from the critical edition and as yet unavailable. See Bakker (1996), 48-49 n. 18. In the printed MSS of Kṛṣṇaprasāda Bhaṭṭarāī, however, the verses are 29.64-66. This edition of the text appeared in 1988 prior to the critical edition. See *Skandapurāṇasya Ambikākāṇḍaḥ*, ed. Kṛṣṇaprasāda Bhaṭṭarāī (Kathmandu, 1988), Mahendraratnagrantha-mālā 2.

[35] There are other configurations of *liṅgas* in Vārāṇasī that do include names associated with the *jyotirliṅgas* as well as names from the early SkP 29. Chapter 33 of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, for example mentions Someśa (33.9), Oṃkāra (30.1-13), Kedāra (33.15), and Viśveśvara (29.2, 30.12, 33.21) as well as Svarlīna (33.3), Madhyameśvara (all of chapter 32) Hiraṇyagarbha (33.16), Goprekṣya (33.16) Vṛṣadhvaja (33.16), Vyāghreśvara (33.14), Śukreśvara (33.18), Jambukeśvara (33.4), Kṛtvāseśvara (30.13-26). These names are found amidst a larger grouping of perhaps forty *liṅgas* in Vārāṇasī and as such, do not directly compare to our above list.

appear in the JS. These occur in the lists of *upaliṅgas* and other important *liṅgas* of JS 38.[36] The first is Vyāghreśvara (Tiger Lord) referred to as the *upaliṅga* of Ghuśmeśvara and the second is Saṅgameśvara (Lord of the Confluence) cited as an important *liṅga* at the juncture between the Vārāṇasī and the Gaṅges rivers.[37] Initially, the connection of this early list of twelve *liṅgas* to the later grouping of twelve appears limited. It does, however, give a precedent for grouping *liṅgas* into twelve, which may date to as early as the sixth century CE; as such, this evidence is important to consider.

The early SkP also refers to another liṅga: Avimukteśvara, the primary *liṅga* of Vārāṇasī (an alternate and earlier name of Viśveśvara), that figures prominently among the *jyotirliṅgas*. Early Skp 29.40-41 states:

> dṛṣṭvā tu niyataṃ martyo dehabhede gaṇo 'bhavet/
> mayā tv iha samāgatya svayam eva yataḥ sthitam//40//
> na ca muktaṃ mayā yasmād avimuktam idaṃ tataḥ/
> kṣetraṃ vārāṇasī puṇyā muktidaṃ sambhaviṣyati//41//

> Having seen this, a mortal becomes a Gaṇa at death. Since I came here of my own accord and this place has never been left by me, it is

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Nonetheless, there presence in this chapter demonstrates that the *liṅgas* were not confined to the one *yātrā* of twelve *liṅgas* defined in the early SkP. Furthermore, we see that Kṛtvāseśvara is named. This *liṅga* is not named in the early SkP, but is named in the JS and is fairly important in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* because one half of chapter I, 30 is dedicated to it. Its importance in the *Vārāṇasī-māhātmya* of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* may speak to its addition to the JS 50 *yātrā*. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* is dated to the sixth century CE, but was transformed in the eighth century by Paśupati Śaivites. The dating of this text is, thus, comparable to those of the early SkP, clearly before the JS. Davis (2002), 150-51, Rocher (1986), 186, Hazra (1975), 70.

[36] See Appendix E for a list of the *upaliṅgas* in the ŚP.

[37] According to Hans Bakker's map in "Early Mythology" (p. 26), the Saṅgameśvara *liṅga* is situated at the juncture of the Vārāṇasī river with the Gaṅgā. For reference to both Saṅgameśvara and Vyāghreśvara in the JS see chapter 38 verses 38 and 41 respectively; and for reference to them in the KS see chapter 1 verse 42 and chapter 2 verse 3 respectively. It should also be noted here that the KS names only nine *upaliṅgas*, whereas the JS contains the full twelve references. The missing *liṅgas* are: Śaraṇyeśvara associated with Viśveśvara, Siddheśvara associated with Tryambakeśvara, and Vaijanātha associated with Vaidyanātha. Why these three are missing from the later text is a mystery, given that all twelve *jyotirliṅgas* are clearly named in an earlier part of the text (KS 1.21-24) and apart from that, the texts follow one another quite closely.

called "Avimukta." The auspicious site Vārāṇasī will produce the gift of release.

In 29.63 Avimukta is again praised as the *liṅga* that grants release:

> avimukteśvaraṃ liṅgaṃ mama dṛṣṭvā 'ha mānavaḥ/63//
> sadyaḥ pāpavinirmuktaḥ paśupāśair vimucyate/

> Having seen my *liṅga* Avimukteśvara, a man is immediately released from all sin and is released from the state of being a paśu and the snares.

The first selection (early SkP 29.40-41) occurs in the sequence of stories relating the origin of each of the twelve *liṅgas*. From this passage alone it is not clear that Avimukteśvara is anything other than one *liṅga* in a series of thirteen *liṅgas* from the city of Vārāṇasī.

From the second passage, however, it is clear that Avimukta takes pride of place in relation to the other twelve *liṅgas* that are listed in the three verses that immediately follow this selection (64-66; see above). It is probable that the formation of the group of twelve, as Hans Bakker has argued,[38] occurs in verses 64-66. Bakker has traced this separate list of twelve *liṅgas* in other later texts such as the *Kṛtyakalpataru* by Lakṣmīdhara, an encyclopedic text from the eleventh century containing selections from various *purāṇas*.[39] As we shall see below, this list is also repeated in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* as well as in one of the three chapters of the JS dedicated to Viśveśvara.

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[38] Hans Bakker (1996), 48-49, fn 18.

[39] Hans Bakker (1996), 48-49, fn 18. Two of Bakker's references come from the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍam* portion of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* (TVK). The first of these is attributed to the SkP and in fact is a direct quote (some minor discrepancies occur) of verses 29.8-66 of the eSkP. Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara, *Kṛtyakalpataru. Aṣṭamo bhāgaḥ: Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍam*, ed. K.V. Rangaswami (Baroda: Aiyangar, 1942), 130-135. It is not entirely clear then that these twelve are a "separate" list apart from Avimukta from this reference alone. Bakker's second reference in the TVK (p.121) is attributed to the *Liṅga Purāṇa* and here we find the list discussed apart from Avimukta. Another reason for separating Avimukta out from the others, according to Bakker ("Early Mythology", 25) is the name Avimukta itself means that Śiva will never leave the *liṅga* and is thus a permanent fixture.

Chapter 29 of the early SkP is the earliest reference that I have found to twelve sites directly connected to Śiva. Aside from the *jyotirliṅgas* themselves, the number twelve is also connected to this god in the motif of twelve suns (often rendered as twelve *ādityas*). The motif, as Śaivite, is found scattered throughout *purāṇic* material, most of which is dated after this selection from the early SkP. In chapter five, we will explore Śiva's connection to the twelve suns in more detail. For now, it suffices to note that there are other precedents for associating Siva with twelve, but these appear to be later than the early SkP, and they speak to the association with light rather than the association with *liṅgas*.

It is possible that the mention of twelve *liṅgas* in the early SkP reflects one of the first attempts to organize Śaivite mythology around the number twelve. This, indeed, may even be the model on which the cult of twelve *jyotirliṅgas* was later constructed. Above, we have also recognized another local *yātrā* of pilgrimage sites around Vārāṇasī that are called "*jyotirliṅgas*," and its inclusion of alternate names to those of the ŚP may also speak to an earlier or competing tradition of *jyotirliṅgas*. Furthermore, there is a third local *yātrā* dedicated to twelve suns (*ādityas*) that is mentioned in the later SkP (IV, ii, 51).[40] Considering that the JS is thought to have been composed in Vārāṇasī, these arguments seems all the more plausible.[41]

We have seen that Avimukteśvara becomes elevated in status in relation to the other twelve *liṅgas* and is separated from the rest in early SkP 29. In the ŚP tradition, this same *liṅga* attains the status of a *jyotirliṅga* bearing the name of Viśveśvara (JS 49-50; KS 22-23). Moreover, as noted above, JS 50 directly borrows several passages from chapter 29 of the early SkP. The borrowed section occurs at 50.46-64 in the JS and corresponds to verses of the early SkP occurring at 8-64 (see Fig. 6 below). Though JS preserves a condensed version

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[40] In chapter five we will discuss the relationship between twelve suns and the *jyotirliṅgas* and we will discuss this *yātrā* in some detail.
[41] Hazra (1985), 260.

of the early SkP text, the lists of *liṅgas* generally correspond. Here is a chart comparing the two lists:

Fig. 5

early SkP 29	JS 50
1. Śailesaṃ	Goprekṣeśvara
2. Saṃgameśaṃ	Kapilāhrada
3. Svalīnaṃ	Hiraṇyagarbha
4. Madhyameśvaram	Svalīneśvara
5. Hiraṇyagarbhamīśānaṃ	Vyāgreśvara
6. Goprekṣaṃ	Śaileśvara
7. Vṛṣadhvajam	Samgameśvara
8. Upaśāntaśivaṃ	Madhyameśa
9. Śukreśvara	Jambukeśam
10.Jyeṣṭhasthāna	Śakreśvara
11.Vyāghreśaṃ (5)	Kṛtvāseśvara
12.Jambukeśvaraṃ (9)	Vṛddhakāleśvara

The second and twelfth *liṅgas* named in the JS 50 list (Kṛtivāseśvara and Vṛddhakāleśvara) are not found in the early SkP. Aside from this appearance, the names previously appear in the introductory chapter JS 38 in verse 40 in a list of "foremost" ("*mukhya*") *liṅgas* mentioned in JS 38.39-55.

Other variations between the two lists in fig. 5 need comment. The site called Vṛṣadhvaja in column one is equivalent to Kapilāhrada in column two, as both these names occur in the early SkP with reference to the same site (29.18-19). Śakreśvara is related to Śukreśvara. The line from JS 50.62 reads:

śakreśvaraṃ ca liṅgaṃ ca śukreṇa sthāpitaṃ purā//

and the Śakreśvara *liṅga* that was formerly established by Śukra.

Since *liṅgas* are regularly named after the individuals who establish them, the name of this *liṅga* was clearly Śukreśvara and not Śakreśvara.

Chapter 29 of the early SkP is perhaps most faithfully preserved in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, chapter 92. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* too may precede JS, as some

scholars have dated it prior to the tenth century CE.[42] Verses 67-110 of that text more closely parallel early SkP 29.16-69 than do the corresponding verses of the JS. Further, the section naming the *liṅgas* in *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 92.106-109 is exactly as it is above in early SkP 29.64-66. If one accepts the earlier dating of the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, the line of transmission from this early SkP to the JS had at least one intermediary step.

When the list occurs in the JS it demonstrates, at the very least, that the list of twelve *liṅgas* associated with Avimukteśvara/Viśveśvara underwent some changes in the centuries between the compositions of the two texts (i.e., between the early SkP in the sixth to eighth centuries and the JS in the tenth). The occurrence of the list also suggests that the list of twelve *liṅgas* in the early SkP and *Liṅga Purāṇa* may have influenced the grouping of twelve *jyotirliṅgas*.

Below is a chart (Fig. 6) comparing verses from the early SkP 29 to those of the *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 92, and JS 50. The chart reads as follows:

Fig. 6

eSkP 29	LP 1.92	JS 50
	67a-d	46a-d
16cd	68ab	47ab
17ab	68cd	47cd
18a-d		
	69ab	48ab
	69cd	
		48cd
19a-d	70a-d	
20ab		
23cd		
	71ab	49ab
21ab	71cd	49cd
		50ab
24cd	72ab	
25a-d		
26ab-	72cd-	50cd-
31cd	78ab	56ab
32a-d		
33ab	78cd	56cd
33cd	79ab	
34ab	79cd	57ab
35ab	80cd	58ab

eSkP 29	LP 1.92	JS 50
35cd-38ab	81ab-83cd	
38cd		
39ab	84ab	
39cd		
40ab	84cd	
40cd-43ab		
43cd	85ab	58cd
44ab	85cd	59ab
44cd	86ab	59cd
45ab	86cd	
45cd	87ab	60ab
46ab	87cd	60cd
46cd	88ab	61ab
47ab	88cd	61cd
47cd-56ab	89ab-97cd	62ab-64ab
56cd-68ab	98ab-109cd	64cd
68cd-69cd	110ab	

[42] Rocher cites dates as early as the fifth century CE and as late as the eighth – tenth century CE; see (1986), 187-88. Bakker notes some corruptions in Lakṣmīdhara's citations of the *Liṅga Purāṇa* in the TVK, in particular: Śukreśvara is corrupted to Śuddheśvara and Vyāghreśa to Vyādeśa. It is probable that Lakṣmīdhara's eleventh century CE work came after the *Liṅga Purāṇa* containing the parallel passage.

The verses listed in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* column are almost exactly as they are found in the early SkP. JS 50, however, deviates significantly at verse 46. This verse stands in place of verses 29.9-15 in the early SkP, which give a detailed account of cows falling from the cow-world along with the *liṅgas* and provides some background to the name Goprekṣa (lit. "looking at the cow"). In JS 50.46, by contrast, it is Brahmā who installs the *liṅga*. Another deviation from the SkP and *Liṅga Purāṇa* is found at JS 50.62-63. Where as the early SkP and *Liṅga Purāṇa* (vv. 47-56 and 89-97 respectively) give at least one verse to account for the mythological origins of each of the five *liṅgas* to which the verses refer, the JS, by contrast, gives only a passing account of these origins. This brief two verse account amounts to little more than giving the names of the six *liṅgas* (Madhyameśa, Jambukeśam, Śakreśvara, Kṛtivāseśvara, and Vṛddhakāleśvara).[43]

Be that as it may, JS 50 is a significant chapter because it bridges a transformative period in what can be considered the history of the *Vārāṇasī-māhātmya* tradition of texts including early SkP 29, *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 92, JS 50, and KS 23. Taken together, these texts reflect the changing status of the central *liṅga* of that city. They may provide evidence of a religion in flux between an earlier cult of twelve *liṅgas*, centred around the Avimukta *liṅga*, and a newer, pan-Indian cult of twelve *jyotirliṅgas* that has renamed the main *liṅga* as Viśveśvara. Clearly derived from the early SkP, JS 50 employs both names for the central *liṅga*, as does its parallel in KS 23.

The reference to the *yātrā* of twelve *liṅgas* from the *Vārāṇasī-māhātmya* is not found in KS 23, however, despite the fact that it shares many of the same verses with JS 50. The reason for the omission of the *yātrā* in KS is unclear. The missing section is possibly a scribal error at some point in the transmission of the text. As has been observed above, however, the general trend of the KS

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[43] A notable exception among these names is Śakreśvara who, according to JS 50.62, was established by Śukra ("*śukrena*"). As we will see in chapter five, this name is associated with one of the twelve *ādityas* that are established as a *yātrā* in Vārāṇasī. "Śakreśvara" is probably a corruption of "Śukreśvara" as it is usual for *liṅgas* to be named after the figure who installed it.

redaction, as compared to the JS, is to add references to *liṅgas* where they had previously not been. The absence of this section, therefore, serves as a curious anomaly in a consistent broader pattern. If the omission was a deliberate redactional decision, we might consider that there may have been a desire to change the overall focus of the text away from the local pilgrimage route and towards a focus on the central *liṅga* Avimukta as part of a pan-Indian cult.[44] By the time that KS was compiled (ca. thirteenth century), the *jyotirliṅga* cult was more consolidated, and the KS redactors may have wished to downplay competing traditions.

It is clear from a number of collections of seals in and around Vārāṇasī that Avimukta was a very important *liṅga*. For example, sealings bearing the name and legend of Avimukteśvara were unearthed in Rajghat and have been dated in some cases as early as the sixth century CE and in others as late as the tenth century CE.[45] The dates corresponding to the seals fit well with the dating of the early SkP to the sixth to eighth centuries CE and the dating of the JS to the tenth century CE. The textual and material evidence that we have surveyed suggests that this was a period of crystallization for the cult of *jyotirliṅgas* and for Śaivism generally. It was likely during this same period that the association of Śiva with the number twelve also developed.

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[44] Had the Vārāṇasī *yātrā* of twelve *liṅgas* been included in KS 23, it would probably have fit in between verses 32 and 33 as these verses roughly parallel verses JS 50.45 and 64cd–65ab. It is between JS 50.45 and 65 that the *yātrā* occurs, for example. KS 23.33, it may be argued, bears some connection to the *yātrā*. The verse reads:

atra liṅgāny anekāni bhaktais saṃsthāpitāni hi/
sarvakāmapradānīha mokṣadāni ca pārvati//33//

O Pārvati, my devotees have established many *liṅgas* here.
These *liṅgas* bestow all desires in this world and give release.

There is no particular reason for the text to mention "*liṅgāny anekāni*" (many *liṅgas*) at this point as the text has only made reference to Avimuka/Viśveśvara prior to this. In JS 50.64 the "*liṅgāni puṇyāni*" (auspicious *liṅgas*) clearly refers to the twelve *liṅgas* of the *yātrā*.

[45] See Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals* (Lucknow: Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, 1972), 139-140. This collection is housed at the Allahabad Museum.

One might also speculate that KS's redactors omitted the section devoted to twelve local *liṅgas* as a way of undermining the status of the Avimukta/Viśveśvara *liṅga* in relation to the other *jyotirliṅgas*. Indeed the number of chapters dedicated to Viśveśvara decreases from three in the JS to two in the KS. This runs counter to KS's usual tendency to expand on JS; other *jyotirliṅgas* (for example, Mahākāla) receive an additional chapter in the later text (KS 17).

Clearly Avimukta was a very important Śiva *liṅga*, as indicated by the great number of seals dedicated to it. This is in addition to it being the centre of focus in *purāṇic* materials spanning several centuries (i.e., eSkP, *Liṅga Purāṇa*, JS). It is not inconceivable, therefore, that this *liṅga* and its connection to a local twelve-liṅga *yātrā* could have served as a model for the larger, pan-Indian cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*.[46] Especially if we can locate the compilation of JS in Vārāṇasī, we might imagine a process whereby the local *yātrā* attested in eSkP and *Liṅga Purāṇa* was transposed onto a larger sacred geography in JS; while the tenth century JS retained an interest in the local *yātrā* as well as Avimukta and thus integrated the SkP/*Liṅga Purāṇa* material into JS 50, the thirteenth century KS redactors omitted all reference to the earlier *yātrā*, downplaying the importance of Avimukta and stressing the equal importance of all of the *liṅgas* in the *jyotirliṅga* twelve.

6. Other lists of *liṅgas* in *purāṇic* literature

Other references to lists of *liṅgas* on a pan-Indian scale are found throughout medieval *purāṇic* literature and suggest that the *jyotirliṅgas* were one Śaivite

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[46] Vārāṇasī is sometimes part of other pan-Indian groupings of pilgrimage sites dedicated to Śiva. For example, the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa* 19.14-18) exalts the benefits of worshiping at just three of the *jyotirliṅga* sites: Kedāra, Vārāṇasī, and Śrīśaila [note: they are not referred to as *jyotirliṅgas* in this chapter]. Hazra dates this portion of the text to between 800 and 950 CE, some time prior to the writing of the JS; see (1975), 120-25. Such an example could suggest that there were early attempts to formulate important Śiva sites on the pan-Indian level before the formation of the *jyotirliṅga* cult. The three sites span a vast geographical territory: north, middle and south India. However, the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* cover an even greater territory and were probably deemed more suitable for a large cult.

group among many. The SkP IV (*Kāśī-khaṇḍa*), i, 6, for example, describes Śiva and Pārvatī looking over a vast geography of sacred places from the top of Śrīśaila and includes, in addition to Śrīśaila itself (home of the Mallikārjuna *jyotirliṅga*), Avimukta, Tryambaka, Oṃkāra, and Kedāra along with many other sites. These five are part of the *jyotirliṅga* twelve, though are here not named as such.

The SkP I (*Kedāra-khaṇḍa*), i, 7.28-35 includes Oṃkāreśvara, Mahākāla, Viśveśvara, Tryambakeśvara, Someśvara, and Kedāra in a list of about twenty-seven pan-Indian *liṅgas*. The *Kedāra-khaṇḍa*, *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, *Avanti-khaṇḍa*, and *Nāgara-khaṇḍa* of the SkP also contain long lists of localized *liṅgas*, some of which we have already examined in this chapter and some of which we will look at more closely below.

Chapter 2 of the KS of the ŚP1 lists more than fifty *liṅgas* throughout India, mostly in the north. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 24 lists different incarnations (*avatāras*)[47] of Śiva arising in different times and in different regions of India.[48] The *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 92 *Vārāṇasī-māhātmya* (mistakenly titled "Glory of Śrīśaila" in the English translation)[49] opens with a description of various Śaivite pilgrimage sites in north India. The dates of these texts range from around the eighth (*Liṅga Purāṇa*) to the thirteenth centuries CE (KS), giving us a sense of the period in which pan-Indian Śaivite sacred geographies were being formed in *purāṇic* literature.

The *Agni Purāṇa* (85.4-13) refers to three of our *jyotirliṅga* sites, Śrīśaila, Mahākāla, and Kedāra, in a list of 56 *rudras*.[50] Though the passage does not refer to these as *jyotirliṅgas*, verse 13 proclaims "thirty-two" mantras celebrating these *rudras* that include "*oṃ tejaḥ*," "*oṃ jyotiḥ*," and "*oṃ agne*." This text has been given a wide range of dates between the ninth century to the fourteenth-

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[47] Literally "*avatāreṣu*," (*Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 24.139)
[48] The verb ut-√pat as in "*utpatsyāmi*" "I will arise" is employed (*Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 24.10).
[49] Board of Scholars, vol. 1 (1997), 487.
[50] The *rudras* are connected with 56 *bhuvanas* or worlds and are referred to also in 86.4-8 of the *Agni Purāṇa*.

sixteenth centuries for some later sections.[51] Most scholars attribute it to the ninth century CE[52] and it is likely that this chapter, therefore, is written close to the date of the JS. The inclusion of the Śrīśaila, Mahākāla and Kedāra in this text show them to be part of other groupings of Śaivite sites and, furthermore, demonstrate a connection with light and fire imagery outside of the *jyotirliṅga* cult itself. In chapter five, we will look at the theme of light (*jyotis*) imagery more directly.

7. Conclusion

In the chapter, we have considered various groupings of the *jyotirliṅgas* when the number twelve became connected to Śaivism. Comparing the various lists of *jyotirliṅgas* recognized by the ŚP tradition, one observes a relatively stable list. Comparing these lists to the actual pilgrimage sites, which number fourteen,[53] it is arguable that the grouping of twelve was at one time more conceptual than manifest. The lists' dissemination and spread throughout India probably took some time, and they were ratified through a process of crystallization of the cult of *jyotirliṅgas*. The different names attested on the lists of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* (Paralya Vaidyanātha, Oṃkāreśvara and Ghṛṣṇeśvara in particular) are best understood in terms of a conceptualized grouping of *jyotirliṅgas* in contact with regional and local traditions; this grouping seems to have been adopted and adapted to suit the particular needs of different cities and regions.

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[51] See Rocher (1986), 136-37.

[52] Hazra (1975), 38; S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960), 99; cited incorrectly in Rocher (1986), 136 as "History of Indian Poetics." Kane, Vol. I (1994), 160-67.

[53] There is an official video-cd-rom that is available at a number of the locations and presents fourteen sites in all. This is not to say that it considers there to be fourteen *jyotirliṅgas*, but that in two cases: Vaidyanātha and Nāgeśvara, the video recognizes alternate sites. I have also heard countless personal accounts of how a particular region is said to possess one or more of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, which may or may not have any verification in a particular text that I have examined. There is a clear paradigm of twelve *jyotirliṅgas* that permeates the Hindu consciousness and has for around a thousand years, but the on-the-ground reality seems to provide a much larger and diverse grouping.

Evidence from *purāṇic* literature suggests that the period between the seventh and the fourteenth centuries saw a great growth of interest in listing and grouping Śaivite sites. It is unclear whether these groupings were primarily conceptual or practical; even groupings of sites too far-flung to serve as pilgrimage circuits, for instance, may have functioned to network local Śaivite cults and/or to promote a new pan-Indian understanding of Śaivism. In any case, the grouping of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* is part of this broader trend.

Why the number twelve became fixed to Śaivism is uncertain, but we know that this occurred as early as the sixth to eighth centuries CE, the time to which scholars assign the early SkP. By the time that JS was redacted (ca. tenth c.), this local tradition from Vārāṇasī had been absorbed into the ŚP tradition, and we begin to see evidence of twelve becoming a number of choice with regard to the pilgrimage sites of the *jyotirliṅgas* at a pan-Indian level.

The notion of twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, it may be argued, becomes a fixed pattern. If so, it is a pattern that bears traces, still visible in the inscriptional and manuscript evidence, of the interaction between text and pilgrimage site. In the next two chapters, we will explore this interaction in more detail, considering the individual stories associated with each site in the JS and the KS and exploring their parallels with epic, vedic, and *purāṇic* materials about Śiva worship.

Chapter Two
Jyotirliṅga Stories from the *Śiva Purāṇa*: Part One

In this chapter and the next, I will survey and analyze the stories about the twelve *jyotirliṅga* sites in the different versions of the ŚP. I will focus primarily on the stories about these sites found in the JS of ŚP1. I will also consult the later versions of these stories contained in the KS of ŚP2, paying special attention to the departures from JS. The comparison between these two sets of stories, as they appear in the two different printed editions (i.e., ŚP1 and ŚP2), will be supplemented with consideration of related manuscripts from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries (esp. those that directly parallel the JS; see list in Appendix D).

I will also draw on sources from outside the ŚP tradition in order to contextualize the stories and their descriptions of Śiva worship. As noted above (see ch. 1), it is only in the ŚP tradition and the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* that these twelve pilgrimage sites are described as *jyotirliṅgas*. Because of the extensive history of the individual sites themselves, however, records of their importance, *māhātmyas*, are located in other *purāṇic* works as well. Perhaps most significant among these other records is the SkP, which devotes entire sections to four of the sites: Kedāra, Avanti, Vārāṇasī, and Setubandha. When relevant and warranted, such records will be included in my analysis of the ŚP stories. In some cases, it will also be helpful to consider vedic and epic parallels to the stories as well as iconographical and inscriptional evidence related to the sites.

Most of the *jyotirliṅga* stories in ŚP share the same basic plot structure. They begin with some kind of problem presented to a protagonist. The protagonist seeks the aid of Śiva to resolve the dilemma, entreating the god through worship. In the JS, this worship usually features a *pārthiva* (i.e., an

earthen object or structure).[1] In the KS, explicit reference is made to worship involving *liṅgas*.

Finally, Śiva appears to the devotee, sometimes in his light form (*jyotirūpa*),[2] and he offers aid to his devotee. Once the plot tension is resolved, Śiva is typically entreated to remain in the world, and he does so in the form of a *jyotirliṅga*. In some cases, the name of the *jyotirliṅga* corresponds to the name of a character in the story.[3] The stories, therefore, mainly serve to explain the origins of each of the twelve pilgrimage sites. Though there are a number of variations on this basic formula, this general plot analysis may serve as a model from which to consider the common narrative elements among the stories on the whole.

Due to my interest in the origins, development, and spread of the *jyotirliṅga* cult, my treatment of the stories will focus on their descriptions of ritual objects, rituals for worshiping Śiva, and Śiva theophanies. Specifically, I will consider the place of *liṅgas* in descriptions of Śiva worship and the place of the term *jyotis* in descriptions of Śiva's theophany. In my view, analysis of these elements in the JS and comparisons with the later versions in the KS may help to illuminate the *jyotirliṅga* cult's formative period, namely the centuries between the composition of JS (ca. tenth c.) and the composition of KS (ca. thirteenth c.).

I will survey the stories in the traditional redactional order in which they appear in the ŚP tradition (see Fig. 1 in ch. 1), beginning with Someśvara in this chapter and ending with Ghuśmeśvara in the following chapter. This order of

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[1] Ten of the JS's twelve *jyotirliṅga* stories involve *pārthiva* worship. The two stories that do not include this term are Mallikārjuna and Viśveśvara. In the case of Mallikārjuna there is no devotee described worshiping an image. In the case of Viśveśvara there is no central narrative defined, but instead there are a series of short accounts of the greatness of the city itself. The precise meaning(s) of *pārthiva*, as the term appears in these stories, will be discussed below.

[2] Śiva appears as light in six of the twelve stories: Mallikārjuna, Kedāreśvara, Vaidyanātha, Nāgeśvara, Rāmeśvara, and Ghuśmeśvara.

[3] The name corresponds to the devotee in the case of Someśvara ("lord of Soma"), Rāmeśvara ("lord of Rāma"), and Ghuśmeśvara ("lord of Ghuśmā"). In the case of Bhīmaśaṅkara, the name corresponds to a demon (i.e. Bhīma).

presentation is important as it will help us to identify some of the redactional choices that shaped the JS and KS. For example, the stories dedicated to Oṃkāreśvara, Kedāranātha, and Bhīmaśaṅkara are listed one after the other and all show evidence of a particular usage of the term *pārthiva*, in the locative singular (*pārthive*). I will argue that this usage points to a clay altar rather than to a clay anthropomorphic image or a clay *liṅga*. This usage is particularly striking when all of the three stories are grouped together in the traditional radactional order. Surveying the stories in their traditional order may also help to flesh out the differences between the JS and KS versions.

One of the differences to which we will pay special attention is the possible depiction of *pārthiva* worship as distinct from *liṅga* worship. Although one might expect *liṅgas* to be prominently featured in all of ŚP's *jyotirliṅga* stories, we will see that this term occurs only rarely in the JS. Descriptions of *pārthiva* worship, however, are a significant aspect of most of the JS stories. It is only in the later KS version of the stories that we find explicit references to *liṅgas* added throughout.[4]

In past scholarship, this pattern went largely unnoticed. This is partly because no previous study has, to my knowledge, undertaken a systematic comparison of JS and KS. Moreover, the ŚP's references to *pārthiva* worship

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[4] The emphasis of later readings of the *jyotirliṅga* material is also reinforced by the unidentified commentator of one edition of the JS (Bori Library cat. no. 61352). At various points in the text, the commentator wants us to read the term *pārthiva* as a clay *liṅga* when the term is not written in the text. We see this, for example, in the comments to the Mahākāla *jyotirliṅga* in 46.29:

parthivasya mṛnmayaliṅgasya pūjāṃ kṛtveti saṃbandhaḥ//

He worshiped the *pārthiva* "which is an earthen *liṅga*." This is the syntax.

The commentator defines *pārthiva* as a qualifier of the *liṅga* when the passage itself only refers to the worship of a clay form, which may well refer to an altar or other clay form dedicated to Śiva. A similar addition is seen in the commentary to the establishment of the Vaidyanātha *jyotirliṅga* in JS 55.25:

pārthivaṃ pārthivaliṅgaṃ parikalpya pratiṣṭhāpya//

"*Pārthivaṃ*" should be considered as a *liṅga* of clay that was established.

have been largely read through the lens of *liṅga* worship. For instance, the English translation of ŚP2 often conflates the *pārthiva* with the *liṅga*.[5]

In this chapter and the next, I will try to explore other options with regard to the meanings of *pārthiva*, and I will highlight cases in which the term is clearly distinguished from *liṅga*. Examining the understudied references to the term in the JS, I will consider the possibility that these references may preserve traces of early aniconic modes of Śiva worship, as practiced prior to the dominance of *liṅga* worship in Śaivism. I will also consider the shift in language between JS and KS versions, as it may illuminate the evolving place of *liṅga* worship in the ŚP tradition and the formation of the *jyotirliṅga* cult. This will lay the groundwork for my exploration in chapter four of the cult's possible prehistory in aniconic worship of Śiva.

1. Someśvara [JS 45.2-54 and KS 14]

Someśvara or Somanātha, located in the modern town Somnath, is one of the best known of the *jyotirliṅgas* and appears first on most lists.[6] Because of its geographical location on the Western coast in Gujarat, it has also had frequent contact with other cultures; in the early medieval period, it was visited by Muslim scholars and merchants as well as conquerors. As a result, there are accounts of the temple in medieval Persian and Arabic sources as early as the eleventh century. Most describe the site in the context of Mahmud of Ghazna's

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[5] For example, in part III of the translation of ŚP2 by A Board of Scholars containing the *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* and KS we can find a number of such examples. See the translation of *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* 42.19-21, 1255, which refers to Oṃkāra; here the translators render "*liṅgam*" with "phallic image" and render "*pārthivas*" as "earthen phallic image." They similarly render "*pārthiva*" as "earthen phallic image" at KS 14.37 (a verse occurring in the story dedicated to Someśvara, p. 1310), KS 25.53-55 dedicated to Tryambakeśvara, p. 1356), and KS 29.45 (in the story dedicated to Nāgeśvara, p. 1376), as well as KS 33.30-31 (in the story dedicated to Ghuśmeśvara). See *The Śiva Purāṇa*, transl. by A Board of Scholars, part III, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002).

[6] The only exceptions I have encountered are the Deccan College MSS 2850 and 3111 of the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*, which place Mahākāla first, and the *stotra* printed in Vārāṇasī for the Viśvanātha temple, which places Viśveśvara first.

attack on its temple in 1025 CE; in the process, however, they also preserve details about the appearance and worship of the central *liṅga* and retell a version of the story of the moon's sickness (see below).[7] Although we will not examine these accounts in detail, they are significant to note in that they confirm Someśvara's prominence as a pilgrimage site associated with *liṅga* worship and the moon in the eleventh century, in the period between the compilation of the JS and the compilation of the KS.

Being first on lists of *jyotirliṅgas* in the ŚP tradition, the tale of the origin of Someśvara, accordingly, initiates the *jyotirliṅga* story-cycles in both the JS and KS. Both JS 45.2-54 and KS 14 relate the story of the moon, also called Soma or Candra. In structure and plot, the story displays many of the characteristic elements that consistently arise in the rest of the *jyotirliṅga* stories.

The story begins with Dakṣa giving his twenty-seven daughters to the moon in marriage. Among them is Rohiṇī. The moon favours Rohiṇī and gives her all his time. Feeling neglected, his other wives go to their father, entreating him to force their husband to give them equal attention. After futile attempts to

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[7] Most famous is the account of al-Bīrūnī, a well known eleventh century Muslim scholar. In *Kitab al-Hind*, he suggests that Somanātha's fame developed because the town was a harbour on the Indian Ocean for Chinese and East African ("Zanj") ships. Al-Bīrūnī also gives descriptions of *liṅga* worship and stories about the moon associated with this *liṅga* as well as an account of Mahmud's attack on the Somanātha temple. See Edward Sachau (ed.), *Alberuni's India*, (Delhi, Munshiram, 2005), part II, 103-106. On al-Bīrūnī's version of the story of the moon, see further below.

In *Kamilu-t Tawarikh*, Ibn Asir (b. 1160 CE) describes the site as well: "This temple of Somnat was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak wood covered with lead. The idol itself was in a chamber; its height was five cubits and its girth three cubits. This was what appeared to the eye, but two cubits were (hidden) in the basement. It had no appearance of having been sculptured" (*The History of India as Told by its own Historians. The Posthumous Papers of the Late Sir H. M. Elliot*, ed. John Dowson (1st ed. 1867. 2nd ed., Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1956), vol. 14., 52).

For a recent summary of medieval Muslim accounts of Mahmud's attack on Somanātha see Romila Thapar, *Somantha: The Many Voices of a History*, (London: Verso, 2005), 45-47. Thapar notes, for example, how accounts by the eleventh century authors Farrukhi and Gardizi "provide a curious explanation for why Mahmud attacked Somanatha, which involves iconoclasm but not initially of a Hindu image, although iconoclasm in relation to Hindu images came to be included. According to Farrukhi, the name Somanatha or Somnat (as it was often rendered in Persian) was a garbled version of *su-manat*--referring to the goddess Manat." Manat is one of the three goddesses mentioned in Qur'an Sura 53.19-20; i.e., *liṅga* worship is here interpreted by Muslims in terms of pre-Islamic Arab image worship.

change the habits of his son-in-law, Dakṣa curses Candra, and Candra begins to waste away. Through *pārthiva* worship, Candra invites Śiva into the world. Candra praises him until, having pleased the god, his sickness is healed. Śiva remains as Someśvara to glorify the event.

In addition to accounting for the existence of this pilgrimage site, this story is an etiology for the waxing and waning of the moon as well as an etiology of the moon's movement through the 27/28 lunar stations.[8] The etiology of the waxing and waning of the moon has a separate history before its integration into the ŚP tradition in the context of the *jyotirliṅga* Someśvara. References to this tradition are found in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[9] and Kālidāsa.[10] These earlier versions, however, are not directly connected to Śiva or to the worship of Śiva.[11]

Interestingly, the eleventh century Muslim author al-Bīrūnī recounts an oral version of the myth connected to the Somanātha *liṅga*. In this version it is Prajāpati who both curses the moon for his transgression against his daughters and who cures him by "cover[ing his] shame for half of each month";[12] this accounts for the waxing and waning of the moon. Prajāpati, after curing the

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[8] The number of the moon's wives (i.e. 27) is probably related to the number of lunar stations (nakṣatras) in Indian astronomy, which is variably identified as 27 or 28. Rohiṇī is the name of one these stations. For early lists of the lunar stations and their names (including Rohiṇī), see *Atharva Veda* XIX, 7.1-5 (list of 28) and *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* IV, iv, 10.1-3 (list of 27). The connection between the lunar stations and the moon's wives is made explicit by al-Bīrūnī; he recounts the story of the moon's sickness in the context of an account of Indian astronomy that includes a lengthy discussion on the lunar stations (*Alberuni's India*, vol. ii, 81-89), and he introduces the story of the moon's sickness by noting that "The lunar stations they declare to be the daughters of Prajapati, to whom the moon is married" (vol. ii, 102).

[9] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for example, see I, 1.28; II, 16.41; II, 118.12; III, 46.6; and IV, 35.14. In the *Mahābhārata* see I, 70.7-9; III, 113.22; 297.47; XII, 293.3. Śiva does have some connection to the moon in the *Mahābhārata*, but not with the waxing and waning or Rohiṇī accounts; M. A. Mehendale, MCI, Vol. One, (Pune: Bori, 1997), 277-78.

[10] *Raghuvaṃśa* 3.33

[11] The *Mahābhārata* I (*Adi Parvan*) 70.7-9, for example states that Dakṣa had fifty "*putrikā*" daughters (daughters who were meant to give up their sons to men who were sonless). Among these 10 were given to Dharma, 13 were given to Kaśyapa, and 27 were given to the Moon (Indu). This early reference clearly shows that the theme of Dakṣa's gift to the moon was part of a separate story tradition before it was adopted as a Śaivite story.

[12] *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, 102.

moon, then suggests that he can rid himself of the sin he incurred "by erecting the shape of the *liṅga* of Mahādeva as an object of your worship"; the *liṅga* erected by the moon is explicitly identified as the stone *liṅga* at Somanātha.[13] The account presented by al-Bīrūnī seems to combine an earlier myth focused on a relationship between the moon and Prajāpati with an episode about the moon's establishment of the Somanātha *liṅga*. I have not found other *purāṇic* versions of the story that are related to Śiva.[14]

The description of the *pārthiva* worship of Candra appears in JS 45.33. Candra worships Śiva at the behest of the gods in order to cure his sickness:

> āvāhya tīrthavaryāṇi sarasvatyām ataḥparam/
> pārthivena tadā pūjāmṛtyumjayavidhānataḥ//33//

> Having evoked the excellent waters of all the *tīrthas* into Sarasvatī, thereafter, he worshipped according to the rules set forth for *Mṛtyumjaya* by means of an earthen form.

Here, the term *pārthiva* denotes an earthen form that is deployed as part of *Mṛtyumjaya* rites. We can presume from the name of these rites (*Mṛtyumjaya*, lit. "conquering death") that they are intended to assuage Dakṣa's curse that threatens to destroy the moon's body.[15] In JS 45.35, Candra continues to worship Śiva through the *Mṛtyumjaya* mantra:

> candreṇa ca tapastaptaṃ ṣaṇmāsaṃ ca niramtaram/
> mṛtyuñjayena mantreṇa pūjito vṛṣabhadhvajaḥ//35//

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[13] *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, 102-3. This story is followed by a story about the origins of *liṅga* worship, a description of how *liṅgas* are made, and a comment about the great fame of the Somanātha *liṅga* and its prominence as a pilgrimage site (103-4).

[14] The SkP I, ii, 48 gives an account of two *liṅgas* associated with Someśvara, Siddhanātha and Hāṭakeśvara which arise out of the ground in front of two traveling Brahmins.

[15] Another section of the ŚP sees this rite performed during a sacrifice (√hu) and says that it neutralizes sickness (*rogopaśānta*). See *Vāyavīya Saṃhitā* 7.2.32.44-46. For an extensive citation list for this mantra in the ŚP see Ludo Rocher, "Mantras in the Śivapurāṇa" in *Understanding Mantras*, ed. by Harvy P. Alper, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 188-89.

Candra performed austerities continually for six months and worshipped the Bull bannered one by means of the *Mṛtyuñjaya* mantra.

In these descriptions of Śiva worship, no explicit reference is made to a *liṅga*. Moreover, JS 45 gives no further details about the moon's *Mṛtyuñjaya* rites or about the precise role or nature of the *pārthiva* as ritual object.

Mṛtyuṃjaya rites and the *Mṛtyuṃjaya* mantra, however, are described in detail in a number of passages from the *Agni Purāṇa*, including 77.8, 96.62, 97.43, 133.34, and 211.24-27. Their general deployment is for the removal of sickness or defects. For example in *Agni Purāṇa* 96.61-62 the mantra removes the defects to a *liṅga* caused by the sculptor ("*śilpidoṣanivṛttaye*"). In the *Agni Purāṇa* 77.8-10 it is recited when making oblations of food to Śiva directly into a fire pit (*culli*), rather than to a *liṅga*.

This *homa* rite is reiterated in *Liṅga Purāṇa* 2.53.1-5, which lists materials offered into the fire, including black sesame. Black sesame is also featured in another *Mṛtyuṃjaya* rite described in *Agni Purāṇa* 211.24-27. In this rite, after declaring the mantra ("*mṛtyujjayaṃ samuddiśya*"), a small human figure is fashioned out of black sesame ("*pumān kṛṣṇatilaiḥ kāryo*") and worshipped as the embodiment of time ("*kālapūruṣa*"), in order to increase life and remove disease.

It is not clear that we can assume such rites when considering the references to the *Mṛtyuñjaya* rite in the tale about the moon in JS 45.2-54. Nevertheless, these parallels do give us a sense of the range of possibilities. From the evidence of *Agni Purāṇa* 77.8-10, for instance, it is clear that *Mṛtyuṃjaya* rites need not include a *liṅga*, even when directed at Śiva.[16] Likewise, we need not assume that the compilers of JS imagine a *liṅga* as involved in the rites that Candra undertakes to rid disease and overcome death.

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[16] The ŚP text (KS 14.55; JS 45.48) notes that this pilgrimage site will cure a person of consumption (*kṣaya*) and, thus, such references to curing sickness with respect to the mṛtyuṃjaya rites are arguably relevant here.

In the Someśvara story in JS 45, the only references to *liṅgas* occur in the first and final verses. The first verse frames the entire collection of twelve *jyotirliṅga* stories and is not specific to the Someśvara story. The verse states: "*ṛṣaya ūcuḥ, jyotiṣāṃ caiva liṅgānāṃ māhātmyaṃ kathayā 'dhunā*" ("The sages said, now tell us the tale of the *liṅgas* of light"; 45:1). The final verse of the Someśvara story (v. 53) is not part of the narrative but similarly marks the story's conclusion.[17]

The description of Śiva worship in KS 14 largely parallels JS 45.2-53. The KS, however, augments the earlier text with a verse about *liṅga* worship (KS 14.57). Specifically, the verse concerns the benefits derived from having seen ("*dṛṣṭvā*") the *liṅga*. KS 14.57 reads:

> somaliṅgaṃ naro dṛṣṭvā sarvapāpāt pramucyate/
> lavdhvā phalaṃ manobhīṣṭaṃ mṛtas svargaṃ samīhate//

> A man that beholds Soma's *liṅga* is released from all his sins and, having obtained the fruits that he desired, he goes to heaven after death.

It is striking, in my view, that this verse serves both to integrate *liṅga* worship into the Someśvara story and to promote this mode of worship by proclaiming its benefits.[18] Below, we will encounter many such additions to the KS and we will explore the possibility that these additions seek to bridge a possible distinction between *pārthiva* worship, as practiced at the time of the JS, and *liṅga* worship, as promoted by the KS. The contrast between them raises the possibility that the JS version of the Someśvara story may preserve traces of the diversity of early Śiva worship; in this story the *pārthiva* form is linked to the *Mṛtyuñjaya* mantra and rites, which are connected to aniconic modes of Śiva worship such as the offering of oblations into the fire pit (*culli*) in *Agni Purāṇa* 77.8-10 and *Liṅga Purāṇa* 2.53.1-5.

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[17] The rest of the chapter presents the story of Malliārjuna (JS 45.55-65); see below.

[18] Al-Biruni also makes a reference to the Somanātha *liṅga* as curing illness: "They believed that the *liṅga* of Somanath would cure persons of every inveterate illness and heal every desperate and incurable disease" (vol. ii, 104).

2. *Mallikārjuna* [JS 45.55-65; KS 15]

Mallikārjuna is the second *jyotirliṅga* story in the ŚP. The story appears at the tail end of chapter 45 in the JS (vv. 55-65). This version is only eleven verses long. The version in KS is a single chapter (KS 15), which is twenty-three verses long. Both versions depart from the narrative structure common to the *jyotirliṅga* stories in that Śiva is not evoked or called into the *liṅga* by a devotee. Rather Śiva and Pārvatī assume the light form of their own accord. This story, therefore, includes a theophany but does not describe any kind of worship.[19]

In both versions of this story Śiva and Pārvatī search for their son Kumāra, who has become separated from them. In JS 45 we are given no reason for the separation. In KS 15 we are told that Kumāra leaves Kailāsa because he is upset about the marriage of his brother Gaṇeśa.[20] Both versions, however, relate the same point: to be near the place where Kumāra stayed, the divine couple "sat together" ("*samāsīnau*") having assumed a form of light (*jyotirūpa*). JS 45.61-62 reads:

> tau ca tatra samāsīnau jyotīrūpaṃ samāśritau//
> tad dinaṃ ca samārabhyamallikārjunasaṃjñitam//61//
> liṅgaṃ caiva śivasyaiva siddhaṃ ca bhuvanatraye//
> āsīt tatra mahān devo jyotīrūpaḥ sanātanaḥ//62//

> Those two sat together there and assumed a form of light. From that day forward there was a *liṅga* of Śiva named Mallikārjuna, famous in the three worlds. There the Great God was the form of light.

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[19] Because it is the devotee who typically employs the *pārthiva* as the means of worship, this term is absent from the Mallikārjuna story.

[20] The issue regarding Gaṇeśa's marriage is found in KS 15.3-4. The contest between Kumāra and Gaṇeśa and Gaṇeśa's subsequent marriage is a well known myth found in various *purāṇas*, such as in ŚP2 *Rudrasaṃhitā* IV, 19. The absence of this reference in JS 45 suggests that it may have been a late addition. It is the separation of the son from his parents, rather than its context, which is the important element of the story.

This passage seems to suggest that the two gods merge into a single form of light, "*jyotirūpaṃ*," being in the accusative singular in verse 61. Only one *liṅga* is named, for example, and no specific form of the goddess is stated. This suggests to me that, in this example, the form of light may be considered a composite of both deities. The KS even refers to the couple as "the two Śivas" in 15.17:

putrasnehāturau tau vai śivau parvaṇi parvaṇi/
darśanārthaṃ kumārasya svaputrasya hi gacchataḥ//17//

Sick with love for their son the two Śiva's go to see Kumāra every half month.

The KS also relates how the two gods separately visit their son every half moon cycle (15.18); Śiva visits him on the new moon and Pārvatī visits him every full moon. Though they divide in order to reach him, it is arguable that their union within the *liṅga* and, indeed within the *jyotirūpa*, is still suggested by the text.

This is the only story in the ŚP that refers to a composite *liṅga* or to a composite light form. It seems to draw on two streams of tradition, one concerning Śiva's androgynous form (*ardhanārīśvara*) and the other concerning his combination with other gods in his light form. The male/female composite form attributed to Śiva has a long history. For instance, there is one stone *liṅga* from Mathura (Victoria and Albert Museum, London no. IM-5-1931), assigned to the Kuṣan period (ca. first to third c. CE), with a sculpted half-male, half-female figure on it.[21] Although the *ardhanārīśvara* iconography typical of the mediaeval period is not usually connected to the *liṅga*, it is quite common on Śaivite temples throughout India. The Auṇḍānāganātha temple of central Maharashtra, built in the thirteenth century CE and associated with the Nāgeśvara *jyotirliṅga*, has such an image carved on the east side exterior (see Plate IV).

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[21] See N.P. Joshi, in Meister (1984), 57, pl. 28.

It is possible that the Mallikārjuna story is somehow related to such iconography and even to the early example of the *liṅga* from Mathura. The androgynous form and its relationship to the *jyotirliṅgas* of the ŚP, however, is limited to this brief but intriguing account about Mallikārjuna. In other stories in the JS, as we shall see, the *liṅga* and the *jyotirūpa* are either unconnected or not as directly connected.[22]

More significant for our understanding of the JS stories is the stream of tradition about Śiva's combination with other gods in light (*jyotis*). In a version of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* from the *Gautamī-māhātmya* of the *Brahmā-Purāṇa* (ch. 135.1-27), for instance, Viṣṇu merges into the light of Śiva after Śiva appears to Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Thus, *Brahmā Purāṇa* 135.6 states:

tato viṣṇuḥ śīghram etya jyotiḥpārśva upāviśat/

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[22] The story of Nageśvara is another instance of a goddess associated with a *jyotirliṅga*. The goddess in that case, however, does not merge into a single *liṅga* with Śiva. This story from the ŚP will be examined presently.

It is also worth noting that the Parali-Vaidyanātha *jyotirliṅga* is connected, through local mythology, to the goddess Ambā and is located in the neighbouring town of Ambejogai, Mahārāṣṭra. The story is told that Ambā arrived in the region from Koṅkaṇa with the intention of marrying Lord Vaidyanātha, but missed the correct time of the wedding and was rejected. Rather than returning to her home, she remained in Ambejogai. This story was also told to me during my visit to the region, but named Yogeśvarī another important goddess of the town as the central figure. Both goddesses are associated with temple sites that, through inscriptions, may be dated back to 1144 (Hattikhana caves associated with Ambā) and 1240 (Yogeśvarī). See *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Bhir District vol., (Bombay: Directorate of Govt. Print., Stationery and Publications, Maharashtra State, 1959), 635.

The Bhīmaśaṅkara *jyotirliṅga*, which is situated a couple of hours from Pune, has particular physical characteristics relevant here. The top of the *liṅga*, which is itself approximately a foot high, has a groove down its centre. According to the priests of the temple one half of the *liṅga* represents Śiva and the other half Pārvatī. I have not encountered a text which confirms this particular feature of the Bhīmaśaṅkara *liṅga*. It may be a response to the unique shape of this image. Unlike other *liṅgas* that are clearly manufactured and pristine, this one is very rough and the groove may have been part of the original stone.

These three examples show us that there are other sites that consider the relationship of the goddess to a *jyotirliṅga* and the case of Bhīmaśaṅkara shows us that other *jyotirliṅga* traditions like the Mallikārjuna story conceive of the *liṅga* as a composite of Śiva and Pārvatī. However, as our general concern is with the *jyotirūpa*, *pārthiva* worship and the *liṅga*, I will not pursue this theme further here. The identification of Śiva and Pārvatī as two halves of a single deity is a popular theme of the *purāṇas* and has been examined at some length by Don Handelman and David Shulman; see *God Inside-Out*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Then Viṣṇu, having quickly gone near, entered into the side of the light.

After this, Viṣṇu and Śiva form into a single entity and then address Brahmā as a single being called Harihara, as in *Brahmā Purāṇa* 135.16, which states "*hariharāv ūcatuḥ.*" "Hari" and "Hara" are alternative names for Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. It is notable that in this version, a *liṅga* or a column of fire does not appear, as is typical of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth, but only the *jyotis*. *Brahmā Purāṇa* 135.3 states that:

tayor madhye mahādevo jyotirmūrtir abhūt kila/

Mahadeva appeared there as an image of light between the two (Brahmā and Viṣṇu).

Here we see that Śiva appears as an "image of light" ("*jyotirmūrtir*"). The term does not seem to refer to a *liṅga*, but rather to some kind of manifested incorporeal form consisting of light. Like our account of Mallikārjuna, this version of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth features two gods merging into a single light manifestation. It may attest the general narrative tradition behind the Mallikārjuna story now found in JS 45.61, a tradition around the motif of Śiva combining with other gods into light.[23] Just as *mūrti* is here connected with *jyotis* but not with the *liṅga*, so it is possible that the reference to "*jyotirūpaṃ*" in the Mallikārjuna story was not originally connected to the *liṅga*. Indeed, as we shall see in other *jyotirliṅga* stories that employ references to Śiva's light form, this form is generally not connected to the *liṅga* in the earliest tradition (i.e. as represented by JS).

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[23] The date of the *Gautamī-māhātmya* is given as the tenth century by both Hazra and Kane; Hazra (1985), 155-56. Kane (1991), vol. 4, 707-711. This text, therefore, may be considered contemporary with the JS.

3. *Mahākāla* [JS 46 and KS 16-17]

JS 46 and KS 16-17 are dedicated to the Mahākāla *jyotirliṅga* of Ujjain (also called Avanti). KS 16 is largely parallel to JS 46, departing from the earlier text in few, if significant, ways. KS 17, by contrast, is not paralleled at all in the JS; therefore, it will not be considered extensively here. As noted in chapter one, KS 17 contains a story which is unrelated to Mahākāla and which is paralleled in SkP (III, iii, 5.12-82).

JS 46 and KS 16 both feature a theophany in which Śiva appears in his Mahākāla form, rising out of a hole in the ground to destroy Dūṣaṇa and his demon hordes.[24] My analysis will focus on the KS and JS versions of this theophany, which may provide important evidence for mediaeval attitudes towards different kinds of Śiva worship (e.g. aniconic vs. *liṅga*-centred). I will compare these two versions of the ŚP to three related stories found in the *SkP* (specifically, in the *Avanti-khaṇḍa* (SkP IV, i; ii, 8) and the *Kedāra-khaṇḍa* (SkP I, i, 5.111-197)).[25] In the *Avanti-khaṇḍa* ii, for example, there are a variety of descriptions of *liṅgas* near and around Ujjain rising or appearing out of the ground, and these may also be relevant for our understanding of the Mahākāla theophany in the ŚP tradition.

In JS 46 Śiva worship is first described in relationship to vedic worship. A demon named Dūṣaṇa seeks to rid all the holy places and forests of vedic dharma.[26] He sends followers to bind and beat the Brahmin priests if they do

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[24] The modern temple dedicated to Mahākāla houses the deity (perhaps the largest of all the *jyotirliṅgas*) in an underground *pūjā* room replicating, to some extent, the location of Mahākāla in the ŚP. The oldest portion of the temple, the exterior *maṇḍapa* at ground level is perhaps as old the KS in the thirteenth century and was under restoration during my visit. The underground chamber is relatively new. I am not sure whether or not a version of the chamber existed during the construction of the older portion.

[25] The *Kedāra-khaṇḍa* is the first part of the *Māheśvara-khaṇḍa*, the opening section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The *Avanti-khaṇḍa* is the fourth section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* and is comprised of three subsections.

[26] Dūṣaṇa is named in the *Mahābhārata* (III, 261.43) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (III, 22-25) as one of the demons killed by Rāma in the forest near Nāsika. Chapter 25 of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is dedicated to the battle between Rāma and Dūṣaṇa. It is possible, given that Ujjain is not a great distance from Nasik (about 4-500 km) that the JS 46 draws from a broader tradition of stories about this demon.

not leave Ujjain immediately. One of these priests lives in Avanti with his sons, worships Śiva every day, and is dedicated to the perpetuation of the vedas and the vedic rites. His piety is described as follows:

> vedā 'dhyayanakartā ca vedakarmaratah sadā/
> agnyādhānasamāyuktah śivapūjāratah sadā//5//

> He studied the vedas, always delighted in performing vedic rites,
> was devoted to kindling the fire, and always took joy in
> worshipping Śiva.

As is typical in the JS, the description of worship that follows this verse includes the term *pārthiva*. The term occurs three times in JS 46.6, 29, and 32. In the first use (i.e., 46.6), it functions as an adjective (in the feminine: *pārthivī*) modifying *mūrti*; the ritual object described is a clay image of Śiva ("*pārthivīṃ pratyahaṃ mūrtiṃ pūjayāmāsa*"; JS 46.6). In vv. 29 and 32 *pārthiva* is deployed alone, as a substantive adjective. No reference to a *liṅga* is made in direct relationship to any of these descriptions of worship, however.[27]

The *pārthiva* plays an important role in the JS's version of the story. Although impending destruction looms, the Brahmins are said to continue their practice unfazed. When directly threatened by the demons, the ground beneath the clay form caves in. This produces a hole in the ground, from which Śiva

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[27] It is interesting to note observations made by the eleventh century Persian historian Gardizi in his *Zayn al-AkhbAr*. He explicitly mentions the cult of Mahākāla centred in Ujjain (§22). His summary of Indian religions also includes other Śaivite cults. He makes some distinctions between those that worship the "*liṅg*" ("Kālī" cult; §13) and those that worship anthropomorphic idols ("Mahādev," "Mahākālī" cults; §§12, 22). The cult of the "Mahākālī" is said to worship an idol which has "four hands," for example. While some of Gardizi's description appear to be based more in literary sources than in observations of ritual objects (e.g., the god is said to wear an elephant carcass "from which blood is dripping"; §22), his clear description of "*liṅg*" worship in the cult of "Kālī" stands in notable contrast to the other accounts; the "Kālī" cult members are described as worshipping the phallus of "Siv" who is said to have first appeared to them first in anthropomorphic form (§13). For our purposes, Gardizi's comments are also notable in that they show that the "Mahākālī" cult was distinct enough in the eleventh century so as to warrant its own section in an outsider's account of Indian religion. For translation and commentary see V. Minorsky, "Gardizi on India," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, vol. 12, no. 3/4, (1948), 625-40, esp. 631-32, 635.

emerges in his Mahākāla form. The demons are quickly dispatched and turned to ashes.

The parallel in KS 16 tells the same story with only slight variations. The only point of significant divergence occurs at the end of the story, in the one verse that features *liṅgas* (i.e., KS 16.49).[28] The version of this verse in JS 46.39 reads:

> dvijās te muktim āpannāś caturdikṣu śivād anu/
> krośamātraṃ tadā jātā liṅgarūpiṇa eva ca//39//

> Those Brahmins obtained release and, in the four directions from (the proximity of) Śiva, (extending) a *krośa*'s distance, they (all) turned into *liṅgas*.

The version in KS 16 verse 49 reads:

> dvijāste muktim āpannās caturddikṣu śivāspadam/
> krośamātraṃ tadā jātaṃ liṅgarūpiṇa eva ca//49//

> Those Brahmins obtained release, and for a *krośa*'s distance in the four directions, that place became sacred to Śiva who was in the form of a *liṅga*.

These are the only verses in the story in which *liṅgas* are expressly mentioned. In the JS version there is only an indirect connection between the *liṅgas* and the *pārthiva* worship performed earlier by the Brahmins. When the Brahmins obtain release, they leave their bodies behind in the form of *liṅgas*. In this way, the *liṅgas* might be regarded as signs (i.e., the literal meaning of *liṅga*) or even as relics of the Brahmins' piety.[29] Whether or not the risen Mahākāla is here a *liṅga* is unclear. Hence, it is also unclear whether we are meant to

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[28] KS 16 also has the term *jyotirliṅga* in verses 2 and 51, but these occur in the frame of the story proper and are clearly additions to the text to clarify the status of the pilgrimage site.

[29] Phyllis Granoff is currently writing a paper on the relationship between *liṅgas* and *stūpas*. In particular she notes the connection between these liturgical forms and relics. Interpreting *liṅgas* as relics in this JS passage may well underscore the connection.

imagine the Brahmins transforming into *liṅgas* in imitation of a central *liṅga*. Certainly, the JS does not explicitly state anything of the sort, asserting merely that Śiva appeared and that the Brahmins became *liṅgas*.[30]

By contrast, the KS version of this verse (16.49) gives a clear indication that Mahākāla appears in the form of a *liṅga* ("*liṅgarūpiṇaḥ*" in the genitive singular as opposed to the nominative plural, as in the earlier text). This change serves to emphasize that it is a *liṅga* that emerged and is worshipped at the spot where the *pārthiva* fell into the hole. In this way, the KS version makes a connection between the *pārthiva* object and the *liṅga* form, adding an association lacking in the earlier, JS version. This change fits with the broader pattern in KS. As noted above, KS consistently integrates references to *liṅgas* and makes efforts to clarify the role of the *liṅga*, which is often left vague or unstated in JS stories.

As a result of the differences in the KS version of this key verse, *liṅga* worship is explicitly presented as superseding other forms of Śiva worship. When the *pārthiva* object and all the apparatus of the vedic rite fall underground, there is a transformation. This is to say that the KS depicts the Brahmins' vedic sacrifice and *pārthiva* worship as inadequate; this version of the story communicates how the *liṅga* as Mahākāla is superior. Emblems of other rituals all fall into a hole and are replaced by a primordial *liṅga* that rises from below.[31]

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[30] It may be apt to mention D. R. Bhandarkar's essay on a Mathura pillar inscription of Chandragupta II (ca. fourth c.) in which he argues that the inscription bears evidence of a tradition of erecting *liṅgas* with portraits of deceased gurus. The inscription makes reference to two images erected in honour of "Kapileśvara" and "Upamtieśvara." Though the inscription itself does not call these images *liṅgas*, Bhandarkar surmises that the word "īśvara, shows that it was the Liṅgas that were installed," and that "Kāpila" and "Upamita" are the names of the deceased teachers. The images/*liṅgas* are housed in something called a "*gurvv-āyatana*" ("dwelling place of the teachers"). If Bhandarkar is right, then this inscription may point to a stream of tradition underlying the transformation of the Brahmins into *liṅgas* from JS 46.39. Bhandarkar, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI (Jan, 1931), 1-8.

[31] There are a number of *liṅga* theophanies located in *Avanti-khaṇḍa* part ii also called *Caturaśītiliṅgamāhātmya* – a set of eighty-four pilgrimage sites around the city of Ujjain – where the *liṅga* rises out of the earth. See chapter 4.30, 46.60-61, 54.15-19 of that text. It should be noted that most of the stories from the *Caturaśītiliṅgamāhātmya* do not contain *liṅga* theophanies as such. Most

We see the *liṅga* superseding vedic worship in other stories associated with Ujjain and Mahākālavana. In one story from the SkP (AK ii, chapter 8), dedicated to Kapāleśvara, a *liṅga* is found under a pile of skulls which had been thrown from a vedic altar. Here, Śiva appears as a skull-bearing, ash-covered Kapālika to a group of Brahmins who, under the guidance of Brahmā, perform a sacrifice at Mahākālavana. When they see him in this deplorable attire, the Brahmins beat the god and throw dirt at him, not realizing his identity. In response, Śiva defiles the sacred space of the altar ("*vediṃ*") by throwing a skull on it. The Brahmin priests throw the skull outside the vicinity of the altar, but another skull appears in its place. They keep throwing the skulls off of the altar, and skulls keep appearing until there is a massive pile of skulls formed outside the ritual space. At this point, they finally realize that they have encountered Śiva and they begin to eulogize the god by means of mantras of the *Śatarudriya* hymn:

homaṃ cakruśca te vahnau mantraiśca śatarudriyaiḥ

They performed *homa* (rites) in the fire by means of the *Śatarudriya* mantras.

Here, the priests engage in Śiva altar worship without a *liṅga*. Below, in chapter four, we will consider similar traditions in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* about the absorption of Śiva into the vedic altar. For now, it suffices to note that the sequence is there reversed. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (IX, i ,1-2), the god is first absorbed into the altar by means of the Śatarudriya hymn and then his undesirable, impure aspects (*śuca* and *pāpman*) are removed with offerings into

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of the eighty-four stories recount the location of preexisting *liṅgas* and are concerned that a devotee visit a particular place, not whether Śiva appears in the *liṅga* form. These three examples, then, may be considered representative of *liṅga* theophanies in that text. Also, because this text is concerned with Avanti, like JS 46 and KS 16, we may consider this as the model of a theophany from the site – at least with regard to later texts. The JS, as has been argued, is not clear about the *liṅga* as Śiva's form. Three other instances of *liṅgas* piercing the ground occur elsewhere in the SkP at I, i, 145.10, 164.20 and I, ii, 40.96.

the fire. In the SkP, the impurities have intruded into the sacred space in the form of skulls. Rather than being absorbed into the altar, the skulls that repeatedly crop up on the altar are removed and form a pile outside of the ritual arena.

In SkP *Avanti-khaṇḍa* ii, 8, the pile of skulls is equivalent to the *liṅga*, and it also serves as a marker to indicate the presence of a *liṅga* hidden beneath. At the end of the story, we learn that the place where the skulls are piled is, in fact, concealing "a *liṅga* without beginning."

> yatra rāśiḥ kapālānāṃ bhavadbhirvihito bhuvi//30//
> anādiliṅgam tatrāsīcchannaṃ kālaviparyaye/
>
> Where the pile of skulls was made on the ground, there was a *liṅga*
> without a beginning, which was covered up due to the
> deterioration of the times (i.e., Kali-yuga).

The story assumes that *liṅga* worship is not part of Brahminical knowledge. Without the means to worship a *liṅga*, the priests perform the only ancient rite associated with Śiva with which they are familiar, a vedic rite that does not involve *liṅgas*. *Liṅga* worship, however, is here depicted as preceding as well as superseding vedic worship.

This story dramatically confronts the distinction between two kinds of Śaivite worship, one associated with an altar and one associated with a *liṅga*. In fact, it never quite resolves the distinction; the *liṅga* remains outside the sacred ground of the altar, is independent of it, and has no need for validation through it. The skulls that appear on the structure are something like a taunt by the *liṅga*-centred cult, as though suggesting that the vedic altar might make an appropriate base for the icon of Śiva but is ultimately unnecessary. The *liṅga* alone is the means to rectify Brahmin murder (i.e., the crime that attached Brahmā's skull to Śiva's hand in the first place).

These parallels may help us to understand the Mahākāla stories in JS and KS as well. Taken together, they all seem based on a common notion of an

ancient vedic tradition of Śiva worship without *liṅgas*, and they attest different attempts to explain the transition to *liṅga* worship. JS 46 and KS 16 both parallel the thematic division between the vedic and *liṅga* worship found in SkP *Avanti-khaṇḍa* ii, 8. They also point to the *liṅga*'s supersession of the vedic altar. In JS, the Brahmins themselves become *liṅgas*. In KS, as in SkP, the image of the *liṅga* beneath the earth functions to suggest that the *liṅga* preexists and displaces the altar. Not only do we see a mode of worship replaced, but also the structure itself.

A tension between aniconic and *liṅga*-centred forms of Śiva worship is also suggested in another tradition in SkP. The dominant story of *Avanti-khaṇḍa* i tells of Śiva's arrival to Mahākālavana with skull in hand.[32] This account concerns the same pilgrimage site at Ujjain about which JS 46 and KS 16 were written. In chapters five and six of *Avanti-khaṇḍa* i, Śiva arrives to the forest at Mahākālavana and throws the skull he carries onto the ground. Brahmā orders the gods to construct, not a *liṅga*, but a *vedi*, and to worship Śiva possessed of eight bodies. Brahmā requests the following:

vedīprakalypatām atra yaṣṭavyo 'ṣṭatanuś śivaḥ/

Build the *vedi* here. Śiva, who is possessed of eight bodies, is to be worshipped (*Avanti-khaṇḍa* i, 6.14).

Later in the same chapter (6.116) the area sacred to Śiva is described with the altar again:

suvarṇavajraparyaṅkavedikā ca mahīkṛtā/

The earth was made into a gold and jeweled altar and couch.[33]

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[32] Granoff, in her Mahākāla paper (2003), demonstrates the development of the Mahākāla cult, probably from pre-Śaivite beginnings and his integration into the Śaivite fold. The *Avanti-khaṇḍa* part i, in particular, helps illumine our understanding of this development.

[33] It is worth noting that *sthaṇḍila* is often paired with the word *śayyā* meaning *bed* or *couch*. The Calcutta: Manasukhāya Mora, 1962 edition (vol. 5, part i), renders this as:

It is only much later in the khaṇḍa, in chapter twenty-three, that we learn that a *liṅga* is associated with this same spot. *Avanti-khaṇḍa* i, 23.4 links the skull to a *liṅga* appearing from the ground.[34] The passage reads:

> tatraiva devadeveśaḥ kapālaṃ nyastavānkṣitau/
> kapāle tatkṣaṇān nyaste tatrābhūlliṅgam uttamam//4//

> It was there the Lord of gods placed the skull on the ground; and
> the moment that it was set down, an excellent *liṅga* appeared there.

Once the *liṅga* appears it is worshipped with ghee (23.5). The worshipper is then instructed to follow a pilgrimage route (*yātrā*) consisting of twenty sites around Ujjain.

As with the other story from the *Avanti-khaṇḍa* (i.e., ii, 8), this story points to the mediaeval assumption of a disjuncture between vedic and *liṅga* worship and to mythic attempts to explain it. I have suggested that the Mahākāla story in the ŚP tradition should be read in this same context. Seen from this perspective, JS's image of the fallen *pārthiva* apparatus, surrounded by the Brahmins transformed into *liṅgas* (46.39), may express the supersession and absorption of vedic ritual by *liṅga* worship. The image in KS 16, of the *pārthiva* apparatus falling into the hole and being replaced by the *liṅga* that comes up from beneath

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suvarṇavajraracitā vedikā ca mahīkṛtā

The earth was made into an altar inlaid with diamonds and gold.

[34] The opening verse in chapter one, containing a number of epithets to Śiva, mentions among these that Lord Mahākāla possesses the "manifest *liṅga*" ("*vyaktaliṅgaṃ*"), but does not associate it with the site. Interestingly, however, the opening description of Mahākālavana refers to "a variety of *vedis* made of pure crystal" ("*citraṃ svacchasphaṭikavedikam*") in verse 1.13, along with imagery of the forest's lush opulence that compares to descriptions of the garden at Kāśī in the eSkP chapter 29. Śiva barges into this idyllic setting, skull in hand, but unlike the Dāruvana myth that promotes *liṅga* worship, the opening section of *Avanti-khaṇḍa* i (chapters 1-7) appears to promote altar worship. It is only later that the place of the skull is connected to the *liṅga* appearing from the ground. This may suggest, like the Mahākāla story of the ŚP tradition, that *liṅga* worship is intended to supplant vedic altar worship.

(KS 16.49), may similarly express claims about the superiority of *liṅga* worship as well as its continuity with *pārthiva* worship.

A final example associated with Mahākāla is found in another section of SkP, namely the *Kedāra-khaṇḍa* (I, i, 5.111-197), which provides further evidence for the contrast between aniconic and *liṅga*-centred worship of Śiva. Chapter five, verses 111-97, contains a myth about Śiva worship in Avanti. In this myth Śiva is venerated by means of a *liṅga* and by means of a hole in the ground. Nandin and Mahākāla the mountain hunter (*kirāta*) are both Śaivite devotees. By the end of the story, both figures become Gaṇas to Śiva and reside as door guardians at Kailāsa.[35] Appalled at Mahākāla's method of worshipping the *liṅga*, Nandin removes it ("*śivasyotpāṭanaṃ*" – see v. 150) from its original spot and installs it in his home.[36] When Mahākāla returns to the spot, he finds that the *liṅga* is now missing. Unable to worship the *liṅga*, he performs the following rites:

> iti kṣitvā tato 'ntrāṇi māṃsam utkṛtya sarvataḥ/
> tasmingarte kareṇaiva kirātaḥ sahasākṣipat//158//
> svastham ca hṛdayaṃ kṛtvā sasnau tatsarasi dhruvam/
> tathaiva jalamānīyabilvapatraṃ tvarānvitaḥ//159//
> pūjayitvā yathānyāyaṃ daṇḍavatpatito bhuvi//160//
> dhyānasthitas tatastatra kirātaḥ śivasaṃnidhau/
> prādurbhūtastadā rudraḥ pramathaiḥ parivāritaḥ//161//

> Remaining there, the hunter cut out the flesh around his intestines. With a hand he threw (the entrails) forcefully into the hole (which had held the *liṅga*). Having set his mind at ease, he bathed in that lake. Afterwards he quickly carried water and a *bilva* leaf there (to the hole). He worshipped (Śiva) in the proper way

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[35] For a complete version see the translation by G.V. Tagare, *The Skanda-Purāṇa*, part 1, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992), 35-41. This story relates to material presented in Granoff's article "Mahākāla" that describes a process of absorption where different figures become Gaṇas of Śiva, are identified with him, and eventually become another name for the god; see "Mahākāla," 23. In *Kedāra-khaṇḍa* chapter five Mahākāla is clearly distinct from Śiva at the beginning of the story.

[36] The text calls the *kirāta* an "obstacle" ("*vighnaṃ*" – verse 149) the only way around which is the removal of the *liṅga*.

and fell down straight out on the ground. There the hunter stayed in meditation in the proximity of Śiva until Rudra appeared surrounded by demons (*pramathas*).

This passage bears remarkable similarities to Rāvaṇa's worship of Śiva in the Vaidyanātha story in JS 55 (cf. KS 29). We will examine this story in more detail below. For now, it suffices to note a few parallels. There too, self-mutilation serves as a means of worshipping Śiva. The JS version of the Vaidyanātha story (JS 55) contains no reference to any *liṅga*. Rāvaṇa there worships Śiva in a manner similar to the way in which Mahākāla here worships, having lost the *liṅga* to Nandin. In JS 55, the demon Rāvaṇa digs a hole, performs *pārthiva* worship, and cuts his heads off one by one until Śiva appears.[37] In the *Kedāra-khaṇḍa* passage, what is important is the lack of a *liṅga*, as explained by Nandin's act of theft.

Nandin's theft is due to pious distaste at the hunter Mahākāla. But, at the end of the story, it is the hunter's hole worship and not Nandin's *liṅga*-worship that is valued by Śiva. The god appears to the *kirāta* ("hunter"), granting him the boon of Gaṇahood. He does not, however, initially appear to Nandin. It is not until Nandin asks Mahākāla to mention him to Śiva ("*māṃ nivedayaśaṅkare*," SkP I, i, 5.173) that the hunter brings Nandin forward by the hand and introduces him to the god as a fellow devotee. This is the first time that the god even takes notice of Nandin. As a result, the *liṅga* and its worship here appear incidental and relatively unimportant for communicating with Śiva.

This story helps to highlight the uncertainty about the *liṅga* form that is also present, in less pointed ways, in the Mahākāla stories of the ŚP tradition. There too, it is clearly possible to worship Śiva without the *liṅga*; *liṅga* worship

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[37] We also need to remember that Mahākāla, as presented in the ŚP tradition, rises out of a hole in the ground.

may be superior, but the Brahmins in these tales (JS 46 and KS 16-17) still succeed in adjuring Śiva by means of other forms of worship.[38]

The stories also exhibit a self-conscious concern to explain the relationship between different kinds of worship of Śiva. When we consider JS 46 and KS 16-17, together with the three related stories from the SkP tradition (i.e. *Avanti-khaṇḍa* i, 1-23; ii, 8; *Kedāra-khaṇḍa* i, 5), we may be able to map a variety of approaches, whereby myths were used to navigate the integration of the *liṅga* form into worship of Śiva. In the JS version of the Mahākāla story there is no direct connection between the *pārthiva* worship and the *liṅgas*. However, the *liṅgas* are connected to Brahmins, in contrast to other examples (e.g. *Avanti-khaṇḍa* ii, 8) where the Brahmins are directly opposed to *liṅga* worship. The KS version of the Mahākāla story (KS 16) emphasizes the *liṅga*. There, Śiva himself appears in *liṅga* form. Yet this version still maintains *pārthiva* worship, perhaps as an emblem of its connection to a vedic tradition of Rudra worship (on which see chapter four). In the KS, however, we see a more fully formed Śiva theology.[39]

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[38] The designation of Mahākāla as the *kirāta* or mountain dwelling hunter recalls the *Vana Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* where Arjuna encounters him as a form of Śiva. Both stories present us with aniconic forms of Śiva worship. The *kirāta* form of Śiva is also prominent in the JS's presentation of *pārthiva* worship. Wendy Doniger treats this myth in a section about undeserving devotees of the *Kedāra-khaṇḍa* in her book *Purāṇa Perennis*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 66-67. Her main point in this chapter is to present different stories about accidental *liṅga* worship. However, in her summation of the story, she omits the more interesting aspects of the *kirāta*'s devotion and the fact that the *liṅga* had been removed before Śiva appears on the scene.

[39] The other story dedicated to Mahākāla in the KS is in chapter 17 and relates the story of Candrasena and the cow-herder boy. For a full account of the myth see the translation of the *Śiva Purāṇa*, vol. 3 published by Motilal Banarsidass, 1319-24. In the story the boy has a vision of a beautiful Śiva temple that contains both a *vedi* and a *liṅga*, emphasizing the two conceptions of Śiva worship converging on the cult. While the KS does not mention the support of the *liṅga*, the SkP version clearly distinguishes between "*mahārhanīlāmalavajravedikaṃ*" - "a *vedi* imbedded with precious, clear blue diamonds" - and "*varapīṭhamadhye liṅgam*" - "a *liṅga* in the middle of an excellent pedestal" (3.3.5.42). In this text there is no tension or confusion between the two forms of worship; they exist side by side.

4. *Oṃkāreśvara* [JS 46, KS 18]

The story of Oṃkāreśvara in JS 46 and KS 18 tells of a mountain named Vindhya who considered himself all-knowing. One day he is visited upon by the sage Nārada who hails from Gokarṇa. He hears of another mountain, Meru, who is even greater than he. Angered and humbled by this information, Vindhya resolves to conquer his rival through ascetic practices. He undertakes a strict regiment to honour Śiva and gain his favour. Much of the story revolves around these practices and around the worship of Śiva.

Śiva worship occurs twice in the story. The first time Vindhya worships Śiva as a clay image (*"pārthivīṃ śivamūrtikāṃ"* JS 46.49),[40] which is placed inside of a *yantra*[41] shaped like the Oṃkāra mantra. The second time the gods and sages worship Śiva as two *liṅgas*. One *liṅga* is made inside of the *yantra*, and a second *liṅga* is made inside the *pārthiva*. The use of the term *pārthiva* in this context is intriguing. Although its meaning is not wholly certain, it may here refer to some kind of altar structure similar to a *sthaṇḍila*, for reasons that I will outline further below in chapter four. If so, this story may shed further light on the variety of ways, aniconic as well as iconic, in which Śiva was worshipped.

The first description of Vindhya's worship and austerities is presented as follows in JS 46:

> iti niścitya tatraiva oṃkārayantrake svayam/
> kṛtvā caiva punas tatra pārthivīṃ śivamūrtikāṃ//49//
> ārādhya ca tadā śambhuṃ ṣaṇmāsaṃ ca niraṃtaram/
> na cacāla tadā sthānācchivadhyānaparāyaṇaḥ//50//
> tasmaica darśayāmāsa durlabhaṃ yogināmapi/
> rūpaṃ yathoktaṃ vedeṣu bhaktānām īpsitaṃ cayat//51//

> He made a *clay image* of Śiva himself there inside the *yantra* (with the form of) Oṃkāra.[42] Then he worshiped Śiva continuously for six

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[40] The reference occurs as *"śivamūrtiṃ ca pārthivīm"* in KS 18.12.

[41] KS 18.12 omits the word *"yaṃtra,"* replacing it with *"yatra."* More will be said about this below.

[42] The JS commentator writes: *"oṃkārayaṃtraka iti/ oṃkārarūpayaṃtra ityarthaḥ"*; *"Oṃkārayaṃtrake* means that the *yantra* is in the form of the Oṃkāra." A *yantra* is often a sacred

months, and, engaged in the meditation of Śiva, he did not move from
that spot. As a result (of his effort), Śiva showed his form to him, which
is difficult to obtain even for yogins, which is mentioned in the vedas
and which is desired by devotees.

Here, as noted above, JS describes the devotee as making an image. The term
"*pārthivīṃ*" in this passage is used to qualify the kind of image ("*mūrtikāṃ*"), i.e., a
clay image. This adjectival use of the term is different than the substantive use of
pārthiva in the second description of worship.

After Śiva reveals himself to Vindhya he is said to grant the mountain's wish
to grow taller so as to rival Meru. It is at this point in the story that we have the
second example of Śiva worship. This time it is the gods and sages, rather than
Vindhya, who worship Śiva. The narrative is unclear as to why there is a transition,
after Vindhya receives his wish, to the second description of Śiva worship. It may be
that the redactors of the JS knew two different accounts of the Oṃkāreśvara
worship-narrative and employed both in their text by interweaving them. In any case,
the transition between the two descriptions of Śiva worship is awkward.

The second description of Śiva worship in JS 46 refers to the creation of
two *liṅgas*, one in a *yantra* and the other in a *pārthiva*. The relevant passage reads
as follows:

> evaṃ ca samaye devārṣayaś ca tathā 'malāḥ//54//
> sampūjyaśaṃkaraṃ tatra sthātavyam iti cā 'bruvan/
> tathaiva kṛtavān devo lokānāṃ sukhahetave//55//
> oṃkāre caiva yaṃtre vai liṅgam ekaṃ tathā punaḥ/
> pārthive ca tathā rūpe liṅgam ekaṃ tathā punaḥ//56//
> evaṃ dvayaṃ samuttpannaṃ liṅgam ekaṃ dvidhākṛtam/
> praṇave cauṃkāraśca nāmāsīt sa sadāśivaḥ//57//
> pārthive caiva yaj jātaṃ tad āsīd amareśvaraḥ//
> sampūjya ca tadā devāḥ saṃtuṣya vṛṣabhadhvajam//58//

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diagram of coloured powder drawn out on the ground, and this is possibly the case here. This is to say
that the *oṃ-mantra* would be drawn out in Devanāgarī characters on the ground.

Then at that time, the pure sages and gods, after worshipping Śiva there, said: "You must stay!" So the god did this for the purpose of the happiness of the world. (He remained in) one *liṅga*, which was in the *yantra* (shaped like) Oṃkāra, (and in) one *liṅga* in the *pārthiva*. And so the two came about, and the one *liṅga* became two-fold. (The Śiva that appeared) in the *praṇava* became known as Oṃkāra and was named Sadāśiva, and with respect to the one that was created in the *pārthiva*, that was (named) Amareśvara. The gods worshipped (both forms) and satisfied the bull bannered one.

This description of worship contains some of the same elements as the description of Vindhya's worship: each features ritual objects of clay (*pārthivī mūrti* and *pārthiva*) and describes the placing of ritual objects within a *yantra*. The differences, however, are important to note. In the first account of Vindhya's worship, as noted above, the term *liṅga* does not occur, however, "*pārthivīṃ*" appears as an adjective to "*śivamūrtikāṃ*." In the description of the worship of the gods and sages here, the term *pārthiva* is substantive, and stands on its own. From the context, it seems to refer to an object onto which a *liṅga* could be placed, such as an altar structure or base.

In the version of this story in KS 18, the term *yantra* is omitted from both descriptions of Śiva worship (see 18.11-14 and 20-24). Where JS describes the *yantra* on which Vindhya is said to create the *liṅga* (JS 46.49), the parallel version in KS replaces the word *yantra* with *yatra*, a correlative pronoun indicating the place *where* the rite is performed (KS 18.12).[43] In KS 18.22, the term *yantra* is simply omitted.

In many cases, the differences between JS and KS seem to reflect deliberate redactional choices. In these cases, however, it is unclear whether the changes are meaningful in this way. The omission in KS 18.12, for instance,

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[43] KS 18.12 reads:

jagāma tatra suprītyā hyoṃkāro yatra vai svayam/
cakāra ca punastatra śivamūrtiṃ ca pārthivīm//12//

He went joyfully to Oṃkāra, where he then made an earthen image of Śiva.

could have originated as a scribal error. In many manuscripts, the nasal of *yantra* is rendered as an *anusvāra* (a dot above the "*ya*" character); the *anusvāra* could easily be overlooked, resulting in the changed text over time.

In JS 46, the use of the term *yantra* is significant, helping to define the ritual scene in both instances of worship. It is possible to imagine, for example, rites in which the worshiper places a ritual object (e.g., a clay image of Śiva or a *linga*) onto the ground on which a diagram of the Oṃ mantra has been drawn. In the second description of worship in JS 46 (i.e., beginning at v. 56) the *yantra*, in addition to housing one *linga*, is also contrasted to the *pārthiva*, which is said to house the other *linga*. From the context, it may be argued that the text presents both *yantra* and *pārthiva* as structures or surfaces onto which *lingas* are placed.

That the second *linga* is described as formed "in the *pārthiva*" (locative "*pārthive*") suggests that *linga* and *pārthiva* are two different things. The commentator, for example, makes the following observation on this verse:

> tatra bhagavānsvīyamrūpaṃ dvidhā 'karodityāha / oṃkāra iti /
> oṃkārākhyayamtra ekaṃ liṅgamakarot pārthive cāparam ityarthaḥ /

> This (v. 56) says that the lord divided himself in two. In the Oṃkāra *yantra* he made one *linga* and in the *pārthiva* he made a second *linga*.

The distinction between the *linga* and *pārthiva*, which the commentator sees in JS 46.56, may also be present in the parallel in KS 18.22-23. The KS version, as noted above, lacks the contrast between *yantra* and *pārthiva*, by virtue of omitting the reference to the *yantra*. This makes the distinction somewhat less clear. Instead, reference is made to *praṇava*, representing the mantra *oṃ*, which is not clearly a drawn surface like *yantra* is. KS 18 states:

> oṃkāraṃ caiva yalliṅgam ekaṃ tacca dvidhāgatam/
> praṇave caiva oṃkāranāmāsitsa sadāśivaḥ//22//
> pārthive caiva yaj jatāṃ tadāsit parameśvaraḥ/
> bhaktābhīṣṭapradau cobhau bhuktimuktipradau dvijāḥ//23//

That one *liṅga* Oṃkāra was divided in two. (The Śiva that appeared) in the *praṇava* became known as Oṃkāra and was named Sadāśiva, and the one that was created in the *pārthiva*, that was (named) Parameśvara. Both (forms) offer protection to their devotees and bestow enjoyment and release, O Brahmins.[44]

The translators of ŚP2 render "*pārthive*" with a genitive sense, translating "What is born *of the earthen idol* became Parameśvara."[45] Here they harmonize the two descriptions of worship in this story, reading the word "*pārthive*" in terms of "*pārthivīṃ*" of KS 18.22, a feminine word functioning as an adjective of "*śivamūrtiṃ*." The translation thus effaces the possible parallel in the Sanskrit between "*praṇave*" and "*pārthive*," both which appear in the locative.

In the JS version, the function of the *pārthiva* appears more clearly, by virtue of the contrast with the *yantra*. In the ŚP tradition, the term *yantra* is generally found in relation to tantric practices rather than to vedic ones. Thus, for example, chapter 10 of the *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* discusses the benefits of reciting the Oṃkāra mantra, and in verse 26 in particular, specifies that this should be done along with the proclamation of the tantra on *yantras* (*yaṃtra-taṃtroktipūrvakam*).

Another passage from the *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* (18.34-35) presents a *yantra* of a *liṅga* (*yantraliṅga*) and also, like the *yantra* in JS 46, connects it to the *praṇava mantra* (Oṃkāra). This *yantra* is drawn out either on the ground or on an altar (*sthaṇḍila*):

tal liṃgapūjayā jñānaṃ svayameva pravardhate/
suvarṇarajatādau vā pṛthivyāṃ sthiṃḍile 'pi vā//34//
svahastāllikhitaṃ liṅgaṃ śuddhapraṇavamaṃtrakam/
yaṃtraliṅgaṃ samālikhya pratiṣṭhāvāhanaṃ caret//35

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[44] A Hindi pamphlet bought at the modern city of Oṃkāra follows the KS version and further names the two as Amaleśvara and Mamaleśvara. We see from chapter one fig. 1 & 2 that the name of the *jyotirliṅga* at Oṃkāra is particularly unstable, which may reflect some uncertainty about the designation of the *liṅgas* in the Sanskrit text. See *Oṃkāreśvar Mahātmya*, (Mathurā: Pankaj Prakāśan, n.d.).

[45] *The Śiva Purāṇa*, part III, 1327.

> By means of worshipping that *liṅga* one expands his knowledge. On such materials as gold or silver, *on the ground (pṛthivī)* or *an altar (sthaṇḍila)*,[46] one delineates a hand-drawn *liṅga*, possessed of the pure *praṇava mantra*. After drawing the *liṅga-yantra*, one performs the rites of consecration and invitation.

Here we see that a *liṅga*, albeit in a drawn form, is put onto either the ground (*pṛthivī*) or an altar (*sthaṇḍila*); both words here are in the locative. It is interesting to speculate that the "*pārthive*" may function in a similar way in the ritual described in JS 46, that is, the term "*pārthive*" may refer to the surface on which the liṅga is placed, either on the ground or on the raised ground. The JS 46 passage is not clear enough to support a conclusive theory, and the question of the exact meaning of "*pārthive*" is complexified by the possibility of textual problems in the KS parallel. In light of the variety of modes of Śiva worship attested throughout the ŚP tradition as well as other *purāṇic* sources (esp. SkP), however, we should be wary of assuming that *pārthiva* must mean *liṅga*. Not only does the context of the passage suggest otherwise, but the similar ritual attributed to Vindhya, earlier in JS 46, features no *liṅga*.[47] Although my reading of the term "*pārthiva*" is by no means conclusive, I wish to point to the possibility that the term is not here equal to the *liṅga*.[48]

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[46] Though written as "*sthiṇḍila*," I take this to be equivalent to "*sthaṇḍila*," and so take it to refer to an altar structure.

[47] The sixth story, Bhīmaśaṅkara, also does not feature a *liṅga*. See below.

[48] There is a passage in the *Agni Purāṇa* (chapter 121, verses 15-16) that contains "*pārthive*" and may be of some help. The passage comes from a section dedicated to making an amulet for overcoming one's enemies. The text, translated by N. Gangadharan, states:

> bhaumādityaśanervāre snātavyaṃ rogamuktitaḥ/
> pārthive cāṣṭahrīṃkāraṃ madhye nāma ca dikṣu ca//15//
> hrīṃ puṭaṃ pārthive dikṣu hrīṃ vidikṣu likhedvasūn/
> gorocanākuṅkumena bhūrje vastre gale dhṛtam//16//

> One should bathe first after becoming free from illness on Tuesday or Sunday or Saturday. One should write the syllable "*hrīṃ*" eight times in the directions and the name (of the enemy) in the middle and the (names of the eight) *vasus* as well as the (syllable) *hrīṃ* in the (eight) angular points on a Tuesday and wear it in his cloth on the neck with the *gorocanā* (pigment got from the cow) and saffron.

5. Kedāranātha (JS 47; KS 19)

Kedāranātha is identified with a pilgrimage site in the modern state of Uttaranchal and is the subject of the next story. It is the second *jyotirliṅga* story in which we find the term "form of light" (the Sanskrit is *jyotīrūpin* in JS 47 and – *rūpa* in KS 19). In both the JS (47) and KS (19), the core story concerns two *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, Nara and Nārāyana, who worship the *pārthiva* of Śiva before confronting Śiva's light form.

When Nara and Nārāyana worship Śiva, they initially summon ("*samprārthito*" in JS 47.17) the god into the *pārthiva* to gain his favour. He descends into it and then asks them what they would like him to perform for them. It is not made clear how or in what form he descends into the *pārthiva*, but in JS 47.22 they ask him to remain in his own form ("*svena rūpeṇa*"). According to JS 47.23, as well as the parallel in KS 19.7, this form is his *jyotirūpin*.

> yadi prasanno deveśa yadi deyo varastvayā//
> sthīyatāṃ svena rūpeṇa pūjārthaṃ śaṃkara svayam//22//
> ity uktas tu tadā tābhyāṃ kedāre himasaṃjñake//
> svayaṃ ca śaṃkaras tasthau jyotīrūpī maheśvaraḥ//23//

> If you are pleased O lord of gods, and if you are to award us a favour, then remain here with your true form, O Śaṃkara, of your own accord for the purpose of worship. Thus addressed by those two, Śaṅkara the Great Lord himself stayed there in the form of light at Kedāra. (JS 47)

Here we see the translator of this passage has left "*pārthive*" untranslated due to the fact that it does not fit grammatically in the sentence. In verse 16 "*bhūrje*" (birch bark, also left untranslated) is the object onto which the various mantras and names should be written (*likhet*) with *gorocanākuṅkuma* (some kind of pigment or dye). We might suggest that "*pārthive*" modifies "*bhūrje*" to indicate that the amulet is "on the ground." It is evident, however, that the meaning of the word *pārthiva* is not always clear. The translation appears in *Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology* Vol. 28, (ed. by J. L. Shastri), *The Agni Purāṇa* part 2, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985), 358.

It is likely that when Śiva first comes (*āyāti*) to address Nara and Nārāyaṇa in JS 47.18, he does so as the *jyotirūpa* mentioned in JS 47.23.

There is a discrepancy between the JS and KS versions, however, with regard to the characterization of the object of worship into which Śiva descends. The JS states:

> tābhyāṃ samprārthito devaḥ pārthive pūjanāya vai//17//
> āyāti ca ṛṣiśreṣṭhā bhaktyadhīnatayā śivaḥ/
> kasmiṅścit samayet atra prasannaḥ parameśvaraḥ//18//

> The god was requested into the *clay form* by those two so they could worship (him there) and Śiva who is subservient to his devotees comes, O excellent sages, wherever requested.

The KS 19 states:

> tābhyāṃ samprārthitaś śambhuḥ pārthive pūjanāya vai/
> āyāti nityaṃ tallinge bhaktādhīnatayā śivaḥ//2//

> Śambhu was requested by these two for worship in his *clay form*; Śiva constantly comes in that *liṅga*, because he responds to his devotees will.

Both versions state that Śiva "comes" ("*āyāti*") to that place, but KS 19 adds "*nityaṃ tallinge*" – "continually to that *liṅga*." The mention of the *liṅga* is perhaps significant in contrast to "*pārthive*" – "in the clay form," which is the only term employed in the JS.

In a general sense, the term *pārthiva* may be translated as "clay form", but it does not necessarily mean "*liṅga*." We saw in the previous section on Oṃkāreśvara that the locative of *pārthiva*, (i.e. "*pārthive*") may possibly refer to an altar onto which an object of worship is placed. This sense of the word might also be considered here as well. It is striking, in any case, that the KS redactors seem to sense a need to clarify that the *pārthiva* in the story is indeed a *liṅga*. One wonders whether at some time, or in some contexts, the term could refer to

either a structure or a ritual object, which was used in the worship of Śiva but which was not a *liṅga*.

The versions each contain another story in addition to the tale of Nara and Nārāyaṇa. These, however, differ. The JS version (JS 47) begins with a story about the division of the world into the seven regions and seven oceans by Svāyambhuva Manu (verses 1-13). The text goes on to state that every region is pervaded by an *avatāra* and that in Bharata (India), Nara and Nārāyaṇa, reside:

> sarveṣv api ca khaṇḍeṣu hy avatārāḥ prakīrtitāḥ/
> viṣṇunā lokarakṣārtham khaṇḍe khaṇḍe munīśvarāḥ//14//
> tatrāpi bhārate khaṇḍe badaryāśrama samjñake/
> nṛnārāyaṇarūpeṇa tiṣṭhati parameśvaraḥ//15//

> And in every region, O great sages, are proclaimed the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu in order to protect the world region by region. The Highest Lord (Viṣṇu) stays there in the region known as Bhārata in Badarī's *āśrama* in the form of Nara and Nārāyaṇa.[49]

The inclusion of a tradition about Viṣṇu in a tale about a site sacred to Śiva is intriguing, especially in light of its appeal to Viṣṇu's *avatāras* to promote the pan-Indian claims of Vaiṣṇavism.[50] This raises the possibility, which I will explore further in chapter five, of a relationship between developments in Vaiṣṇavism and developments in Śaivism during the early stages of the formation of the cult of *jyotirliṅga*.

In contrast to JS, the KS version (19) omits this introductory tale, and it ends with a story that is not part of the earlier JS version. In this story, Śiva

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[49] The Śanti Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 321) contains a similar account of Nara and Nārāyaṇa performing penance in an *āśrama* in the Himālayas during the era of "Svāyambhuva." While this version does not include Svāyambhuva Manu's creation of the division of the universe into seven continents, the mythical motif of that division is well know to epic and *purāṇic* material (for example the *Mahābhārata* XII, 180.25; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* II, 2.4-6). It is also interesting to note that the "Mahādeva" mentioned in the Śanti Parvan (321.23) is a name for Nārāyaṇa (a form of Viṣṇu) and not Śiva, who is typically ascribed this name in *purāṇic* material. This name, however, may account for the mythical motif of Nara and Nārāyaṇa in the mountain *āśrama* being included in the JS story.

[50] As discussed in chapter one, the ŚP2 references to *jyotirliṅgas* (in *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* 42 and KS 1) openly discuss Śiva as an *avatāra*, as does the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*.

turns into a bull and is pursued by the five Pandava brothers during their sojourn through the Himālayas (verses 13-17), presumably on their final journey recounted at the end of the *Mahābhārata*. The purpose of the story in unclear in the context of KS. Other versions of the tale, however, suggest that it functioned as an etiology for the name of Kedāra.[51]

6. *Bhīmaśaṅkara* (JS 48, KS 20-21)

The Bhīmaśaṅkara story occurs in JS 48 and KS 20-21. This story is important for our broader concerns because it makes frequent use of the term *pārthiva* and may help us to understand the meaning of this important but understudied term in its Śaivite ritual context.

The story focuses on the exploits of the demon Bhīma. Bhīma is the nephew of Rāvaṇa, the central demon of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As with this and other demons in Vaiṣṇavite stories, one of Bhīma's main objectives is the destruction of dharma. JS 48 initially describes Bhīma's desire to kill Rāma, who is here called Hari as well.[52] In order to accomplish his desire, the demon undergoes penances so extreme that they threaten the stability of the universe. In order to appease his growing wrath, Brahmā, at the behest of the gods, offers him a boon of unparalleled strength. Gaining this strength, however, does not calm the

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[51] The SkP VI, 122.32 states: "Since you said when you were in the form of a buffalo, "*ke dārami*," you shall become well-known by the name Kedāra." This verse refers back to verses 10 and 11 of the same chapter when Śiva, having turned into a buffalo says: "Whom should I tear off" ("*ke dārayāmi*"). See *Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology: The Skanda Purāṇa*, volume 65, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002), 496. The translator of this passage, G. V. Tagare, refers to it as a popular etymology of Kedāranātha. Often names of *liṅgas* will be derived from a devotee of Śiva such as is found in the stories of the *jyotirliṅgas* Ghuśmeśvara and Someśvara. The etymology of Kedāranātha is unusual.

[52] Both the JS and KS versions have a discrepancy of note. The sage Sutīkṣṇa is first named as the killer of Bhīma's grandparents and Rāma as the killer of his other relatives. However in subsequent verses Hari is named the killer of all of Bhīma's relations (see JS 48.16 and KS 20.19-20). I have no explanation for this discrepancy other than to suggest that it points to the general instability of this story and tells us something of the narrative's construction of disparate parts. There is no direct relationship between the name of Sutīkṣṇa and Hari. Sutīkṣṇa is usually named as a brother or disciple of Agastya.

demon at all. Increased strength only deepens his thirst for power and revenge. It is at the pinnacle of this desire for revenge that an important shift occurs: in JS 48.32, Bhīma's object of vengeance transfers from Viṣṇu to Śiva.

In the printed version of JS, the alternative name "Hari" appears to be assigned to both gods. In all the manuscripts that I examined, however, "Hari" is only used to refer to Viṣṇu. In JS 48.31 in the printed edition, for instance, "Hari" is found in the compound "*hariprīya*" ("favorite of Hari"), characterizing the king of Kāmarūpa who has been imprisoned and chained by Bhīma. Until this point in the story the demon has been solely focused on the destruction of Viṣṇu, who has killed various members of his family. On first sight, then, the reference to "Hari" in JS in 48.31 seems to refer to Viṣṇu, as it does earlier in the chapter.[53]

In the printed edition, however, the following verse (JS 48.32) states that the king constructs a "*pārthivīṃ mūrtim uttamām*" ("excellent clay image") and begins to worship Śiva.[54] This seems to suggest that the name "Hari" in 48.31 refers to Śiva, rather than Viṣṇu. The manuscripts that I consulted (see

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[53] In verses 16-17 of JS 48 Hari stands in for Rāma who was named several times between verses 4-10 as the killer of Bhīma's family members.

> krudhaḥ saṃcitayāmāsa kiṃ karomi hariṃ prati/
> pitā me ca hataś caiva mātāmahas tathā punaḥ//16//
> virādhaśca hato hy atra duḥkhaṅ bahutaraṃ kṛtam//
> tatputro ahaṃ bhaveyaṃ ceddhariṃ ca pīḍayāmy aham//17//

> (Bhīma) enraged, thought, "What can I do against Hari,
> who has killed my father as well as my grandparents?!"
> Viradhas was also killed by him here, and caused him a lot of pain.
> If I am really his son, I will kill Hari.

[54] JS 48.32 reads:

> ekāṃte tu tadā kṛtvā pārthivīṃ mūrtim uttamām/
> bhajanaṃ ca śivasyaiva prārabdhaṃ priyakāmyayā//32//

> Alone, he formed an excellent clay image and began to adore Śiva out of a desire to show kindness.

Appendix D) support this interpretation, inasmuch as they all read "Hara" here rather than "Hari" (e.g. "*harapriyaḥ*").[55]

We can explain this discrepancy in two ways. One possibility is that the name "Hari" was employed indiscriminately at the time for Śiva and Viṣṇu. Another possibility is that the compilers of this Śaivite text have borrowed parts from a Vaiṣṇavite story and fashioned them in order to fit a Śaivite context, using the similarity between the names "Hari" (Viṣṇu) and "Hara" (Śiva) as a joint to connect the stories.

We see examples of the Śaivite appropriation of Vaiṣṇavite traditions in other JS stories. For example, the demon Dūṣaṇa, who is probably drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (III, 25), opposes Mahākāla in JS 46, and the Nara-Nārāyaṇa theme is integrated into the Kedāreśvara story in JS 47. Likewise, Rāvaṇa's sacrifice in the Vaidyanātha story (JS 55) is taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as is the Setubandha episode in the Rāmeśvara story (JS 57). Whatever the precise motivation for this combination of traditions, JS may here reflect a nascent view of the *jyotirliṅgas* as *avatāras* of Śiva, as later concretized in KS 1, the *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* 42 in ŚP, and the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* (see chapter one).[56]

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[55] KS 20.40, like the manuscripts mentioned above, refers to "*harapriyaḥ*." The KS also adds a battle scene between the gods and Bhīma (v.33-36) prior to this reference and prior to his attack on the king. One of the gods defeated by the demon is Viṣṇu. This addition seems to aid in explaining the change in focus from Viṣṇu to Śiva: the demon's initial thirst for revenge is quenched. This scene is absent from the JS and the manuscripts, however.

[56] The general context for the arrival of an *avatāra* as per Kane's definition is maintained as we see, for example, that while the king and his attendants are imprisoned and absorbed in worshipping Śiva, Bhīma is absorbed in destroying dharma. Thus:

> bhajayāmāsatus tatra nā 'nyathāmanaso gatiḥ/
> rākṣaso vasudhāṃ kṛtsnāṃ vaśe ca ṛṣisattamāḥ//39//
> vedadharmaṃ śāstradharmaṃ smṛtidharmaṃ purātanam/
> lopayitvā ca tat sarvaṃ bubhuje svayam ātmanā//40//

> As the two worshipped there, the movement of the mind (fixed on) nothing else, the demon (put) the whole earth in his control, O great sages. After destroying the Veda-dharma, Śastra-dharma, the Smṛti-dharma and the Purāṇas, he enjoyed all that for himself.

The Bhīmaśaṅkara story also draws on the trope of god as demon killer, a trope most popularly associated with the Viṣṇu *avatāras*.[57] In a manner reminiscent of the *avatāra* Nṛsiṃha (Man-lion) emerging from a pillar to destroy the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, Śiva appears bodily out of the clay image and battles with Bhīma in JS 48. This Śaivite story departs from Vaiṣṇavite parallels to this tale, however, in describing the final destruction of the demon. The demon is slain through the vocalization of the word *huṃ*. The sound produced acts as a weapon, and the enemy is reduced to ashes. The demon is killed through this indirect method, rather than directly through Śiva's hands. Furthermore, it is not Śiva himself who is responsible. Rather, his Gaṇas truly engage the world by taking it to the brink of catastrophe in their battle with Bhīma's minions. Elements of the demon-killer trope are adopted, but they are adapted to the tendency, noted above, for Śiva to act less directly and through his Gaṇas.

Furthermore, the interaction of Śiva, such that it is, does not absolutely resolve the imbalance of the universe. Bhīma's impurity as a demon resides in the spot where the ashes of him and his followers remain. The ground is torched with fire and tainted with the continual presence of malicious herbs and the various types of demons (*bhūtas*, *pretas*, etc.) that arise from the ashes. It is only when Śiva permanently installs himself as Bhīmaśaṅkara, as requested by the gods, that the ground is finally purified. The conclusion to the story reads:

sthātavyaṃ svāminā hy atra lokānāṃ sudhahetave/
ayaṃ vai kutsito deśa oṣadhyo lokaduḥkhadāḥ//92//
bhavantaṃ ca tadā dṛṣṭvā kalyāṇaṃ saṃbhaviṣyati/
bhīmaśaṅkaranāmā tvaṃ bhavitā sarvasādhakaḥ/
ity evaṃ prāthitaḥ śambhus tatraiva sthitavāṃs tadā//93//

The commentator of this text writes: "*vaśa iti/ kṛtvetiśeṣaḥ*"; suggesting that we need to supply the verb *kṛtvā* for *vaśa* and, hence, the earth is "put" under his control.

[57] The classic and perhaps most obvious example of this trope is Rāma's destruction of the demon Rāvaṇa.

> The Lord must stay here. (You are) the cause of happiness of the worlds. This is a despised place, the herbs bestow pain on people. After seeing You one will become purified. With the name Bhīmaśaṅkara you will perfect everything. Thus requested, the Great One stayed.

This passage represents the final two verses of JS 48. The question, however, arises: in what form does Śiva remain there? Prior to this point in the story, there have been many references to ritual objects in JS 48 and no references at all to *liṅgas*. In JS 48.32 and 48.43, there are references to a "clay image" ("*pārthivīṃ mūrtiṃ*"), where *pārthivī* functions adjectivally and modifies *mūrti* (a feminine word). There are eight other examples that refer to some kind of clay object, using the term *pārthiva* (vv. 34, 38, 51, 54, 57, 73, 74 and 75). In these eight examples, *pārthiva* is substantive, and it is not entirely clear that it qualifies something else. JS 48.57, for example, employs "*pārthive*" (locative singular). It may be tempting to assume that the word stands in for the "*pārthivīṃ mūrtiṃ*" in JS 48.32 and 43; however, these other eight uses of *pārthiva* are all masculine and not feminine. In the Oṃkāreśvara story, we have seen a case in which the different forms of "*pārthiva*" (adjectival and substantive) seem to denote different ritual objects used in Vindya's worship of Śiva. It is possible that a similar distinction is assumed here and that a clay image is being used in conjunction with a clay altar. Furthermore, we have seen a similar use of the locative *pārthive* in the Kedāranātha story.

In any case, one cannot assume that when Śiva hides himself in the *pārthiva* in JS 48.57, that he does so as the *jyotirliṅga*. Of course, the present literary setting of this story, in a collection of stories about *jyotirliṅgas*, implicitly communicates the assumption that Śiva stayed at the site of the battle in the form of a *liṅga*. It is striking, however, that no reference to any *liṅga* is made within JS 48.

If earlier forms of this story circulated independently, it is possible that they explained the origins of this sacred site apart from any explicit concern for *liṅga* worship. For instance, we may find here an independent story surrounding

an anthropomorphic Śiva, only later assimilated into a *liṅga* cult by means of its grouping with other *liṅgas* and its labeling as a *jyotirliṅga* in JS 38.18 and related list traditions (see discussion in chapter one).[58]

Read by itself, apart from being framed as a tale of one of twelve *jyotirliṅga*, JS 48 is more readily interpreted as a story about an anthropomorphic Śiva. For instance, Śiva appears in anthropomorphic form when he springs from the *pārthiva* to protect his devotee, battling Bhīma with his trident in JS 48.74-79:[59]

> ity uktvā tu vihasyaiva rākṣasaḥ samahābalaḥ/
> karavālaṃ pārthive yāvat spṛśati na munīśvarāḥ//74//
> tāvacca pārthivāt tasmād āvirāsa svayaṃ haraḥ/
> paśyabhīmeśvarohaṃ sarakṣārtham prakaṭāmy aham//75//
> mama pūrvaṃ vrataṃ hyetad rakṣaṇīyo nṛpo mayā/
> etasmāt paśyameśīghraṃ balaṃ bhaktasukhāvaham//76//
> tadīyaṃ capinākena karālaṃ śatadhākṛtam/
> punaścaiva triśūlaṃ cakṣiptaṃ tena durātmanā//77//
> tatcchūlaṃ śatadhānītaṃ duṣṭasya paramātmanā/
> punaśca śaktikākṣiptāsā caiva lakṣadhākṛtā//78//
> yadastraṃ ca tatas tena kṣiptaṃ tasmai mahātmane/
> tenāpica triśūlena tilaśaś ca kṛtaṃ kṣaṇāt//79//

> Speaking thus with a laugh that demon of great strength was about to touch the *pārthiva* (with his sword), O lords among Sages, with Hara himself appeared from that *pārthiva*: "Behold I am Bhīmeśvara, I have appeared for protection because of my ancient

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[58] ŚP 2, the *Śatarudra-Saṃhitā* chapter 42.27-29 parallels JS 38.18. It briefly relates this tale and calls Śiva's form a *jyotirliṅga*. The first part of an independent *Śiva Upapurāṇa* (not the JS) originating in Orrisa depicts all the *jyotirliṅgas* as anthropomorphic deities (chapter 4). It is a late text from the sixteenth century, but tells us that some regions of India emphasize the human form of Śiva as well as the *liṅga* form. See *Śiva Purāṇa (Uttarakhaṇḍa)*, ed. by U N. Dhal, (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 2000), 173-90.

[59] There is some evidence of *yakṣa* figures emerging from altar structure on Buddhist relief carvings; see section on *yakṣas* in Appendix A, Chart 2. The one image of Śiva emerging from a *liṅga* I have seen connected to the *jyotirliṅgas* is also found in Andhra Pradesh at Śrīśaila carved on the external gate surrounding the Mallikārjuna temple. This carving is dated to around the fourteenth to fifteenth century, long after the JS story was compiled. See George Mitchel, *Architecture and Art of Southern India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 171, fig. 124.

promise that I will protect the king! So behold quickly my strength which is a joy to my devotees!"[60] With his trident he broke that sword into 100 pieces. In return the demon threw his trident. The villain's staff was turned into 100 pieces. In response, he fixed his aim and another weapon was thrown that was cut into a *lakh* of pieces. Whatever weapon he threw at the great souled one, it would be shattered to pieces in an instant by Śiva's trident.

The theophany of Śiva here is not the light form (*jyotīrūpa*) featured in stories such as Mallikārjuna and Kedārnātha. It is not clear, either in this passage or in JS 48 as a whole, what makes this Śaivite form a *jyotirliṅga*.

Although the issue is left unaddressed in JS 48, the later KS version includes added material that answers this concern. In KS 21.53, the parallel passage to JS 48.92-93 (cited above), the term *liṅga* is inserted:

bhīmaśaṅkaranāmā tvaṃ bhavitā sarvasādhakaḥ/
etalliṅgaṃ sadā pūjyaṃ sarvāpadvinivārakam//53//

With the name Bhīmaśaṅkara you will perfect everything. That *liṅga* will always be worshipped and dispel mishap.

In addition to this insertion, the colophons of both KS 20 and 21 include the term *jyotirliṅga*, thereby characterizing the form of Śiva that remains at the pilgrimage site.[61]

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[60] This last sentence is actually a taunt from Śiva to Bhīma. Previously in verse 73, as he struck the *pārthiva* with his sword, Bhīma had mockingly proclaimed this same phrase to the king as though believing the *pārthiva* to be powerless:

karālaṃ karavālaṃ ca pārthive prākṣipat tadā/
paśya tvaṃ svāmino adyaiva balaṃ bhaktasukhāvaham//73//

He drew out his sword and struck the pārthiva thus: "Behold the strength of your lord, a delight to his followers now!"

[61] It should be noted that while the present pilgrimage site is located only a few hours bus ride from Pune in the town of Bhīmaśaṅkara, the textual evidence, in part, points us far afield to the state of Assam in the north east of India. The region of Kāmarūpa is found near the capital city of Gauhati. The translators of the KS say: "It is identical with the Gauhati region of Assam. It is a sacred Mahāpiṭha associated with Śakti." This is a reference to the Kāmākhya temple, famous in the region. See *The Śiva Purāṇa* part III, (2002), 1330. The verse for which this note is made (KS 20.2) reads:

So far, our comparative analysis of JS and KS versions of stories has pointed to a number of cases in which the later tradition (i.e. KS) includes changes that serve to clarify elements of the earlier version (i.e. JS), particularly with regard to the role of *liṅgas* in the worship of Śiva. This is another case in which the KS redactors seem to have felt the need to clarify what they perceived as missing from the earlier story, namely, a definitive statement that Śiva remains in the form of a *liṅga*. The differences between the parallel material in the JS (ca. tenth c.) and the KS (ca. thirteenth c.) may suggest a trajectory of development, whereby *liṅgas* became more important and the *jyotirliṅga* cult was further consolidated.

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kāmarūpābhidhe deśe śaṃkaro lokakāmyayā/
avatīrṇaḥ svayaṃ sākṣāt kalyāṇasukhabhājanam//2//

Śaṅkara appeared in the country called Kāmarūpa in his own bodily form, which was beautiful and full of joy, with the desire to benefit the world.

That Śiva's manifestation ('*avatīrṇaḥ*') occurs in this region is a strong indication that the site itself may have at one time been located there. B. K. Barua in *Temples and Legends of Assam* suggests that there is a group of myths about Rakṣasas living on mountains in the Kāmarūpa district and sites our myth about Bhīma from the ŚP in this context. He refers also to the Vayu and Brahmāṇḍa *purāṇas* as the other sources but gives no specific citations. See B. K. Barua, *Temples and Legends of Assam*, (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965), 10. While the mythology connected to Kāmākhya is also connected to Śaivism through the Sāti and Dakṣa's sacrifice myths, there is little else to suggest it has any direct connection to our Śaivite myth. The two Śaivite *liṅga* temples in the region were built in the eighteenth century. It would appear, at present, that there is no definitive architectural evidence to substantiate an alternative to the Mahārāṣṭran site. Further investigation of Śaivite sites in Assam could answer this question more definitively.

It should also be noted that JS 48.4 names mount Sahya as the home of Bhīma. This mountain is identified as part of the Northern Ghats of Mahārāṣṭra. Unless there is a mountain in Assam with this name, the text presents us with an interesting geographical association of two distinct regions of India. The current site's primary claim to the narrative is the connection of the demon's name with the Bhīmā river which runs through Mahārāṣṭra. The site is considered the river's source. For a discussion of the pilgrimage site as a source of the Bhīmā river see Feldhaus (1995), 22-23. There is a manuscript from Bori specific to this river and that mentions the pilgrimage site. The text claims to be from the *Padma Purāṇa*. See Bori MS 172 of 1880-87. One of its main stories is about Śiva's defeat of the demon Tripurāsura, but specifically connects the battle between the two with the creation of the river Bhīmā. See also *Bombay State Gazetteer: Poona District*, (Bombay, Government Central Press, 1950), 612.

Interestingly, this development seems to continue into the modern tradition. The version of the story in the popular pamphlet literature sold at the Bhīmaśankara temple includes an interesting addition to the medieval traditions in JS and KS. This addition further elaborates on the *jyotirliṅga* theme that we find absent from JS 48. Here, Bhīma is about to strike the king himself, rather than the *pārthiva* to which the king prays. Instead of the god appearing from the object of worship as per the ŚP, flames emit from it:

> But before his weapon struck down, a tongue of fire emitted from
> Lord Śiva's *liṅga* with a terrible noise, and Bhīma was enveloped
> by it. Priyadharma (the king) heard a helpless, heart splitting
> scream and his meditation was broken.[62]

This modern account employs a *liṅga* directly as an instrument of destruction, rather than the Gaṇas or the sound *huṃ* as in JS and KS. The *liṅga* emits, like a giant flame thrower, a fiery belch that completely consumes and destroys Bhīma. Perhaps the writer of this story, like myself, was somewhat perplexed by the lack of references to a *jyotirliṅga* in the *purāṇic* versions of this tale and so created more satisfactory adjustments. With such a story, could anyone doubt that this is a *jyotirliṅga* now?

Notably, this modern appeal to flame-throwing *liṅgas* has medieval precedents. There are, to my knowledge, no parallels in the "official" stories of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, but similar accounts of *liṅgas* emitting flames are scattered throughout the second part of the *Avanti-khaṇḍa*, the *Caturaśīti-Liṅga-Māhātmya* (Greatness of the 84 *liṅgas*). Examples include chapters 4.32-33, 12.22-23, and 45.53-54. Compared to the *jyotirliṅga* stories in JS and KS, one of the notable differences of these stories (and indeed of all the 84 stories related

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[62] Excerpt from "*bhīmārī śivaśankarācī kathā*", in *Srī Bhīmāśankara Māhātmya, Marāṭhī āvṛttī*, (Pune: Maṅdār Printrs, 1995), 12-13. In this simplified account of the Sanskrit version we see a number of other changes as well. For example, all references to Viṣṇu are dropped. Kumbhakarṇā is no longer associated with Rāvaṇa and the *Rāmāyaṇa* but, according to the story, has been killed by the king himself. The revenge sought by Kumbhakarṇā's son Bhīma is thus direct; there is no shift between Śiva and Hari.

in this *mahātmya*) is that the majority of the *lingas* are not installed by human beings or other creatures. Rather, the stories follow a pattern whereby a protagonist encounters some kind of trouble and is directed to an existing *linga* already established in a particular location around Ujjain.[63] The *jyotirlinga* stories, by contrast, are united by their concern to discuss the origins of the sites in relation to specific devotees.[64]

Conclusion

So far, we have seen several patterns in the stories. The first six describe a variety of ways to worship Śiva: *mṛtyuṃjaya* rites, vedic rites, and rites with *yantras* and *mūrtis*, as well as *pārthiva* rites. Despite the fact that the stories are collected together under the rubric of *jyotirlingas*, *lingas* are not prominent in the stories themselves. In the JS versions of these six stories, *linga* worship is only mentioned in two of them. Reference to the *jyotis* or *jyotirūpa* of Śiva only occurs in two of the stories. This suggests that many of the stories may not have originated as stories about *jyotirlingas*. Rather, they may have originated independently, possibly as local traditions associated with the individual sites. The parallels to these stories in epic and *purāṇic* materials seem to support this supposition.

We also saw a significant shift in the language of the *jyotirlinga* stories between JS and KS. The JS simply groups a selection of Śaivite stories together and somewhat superficially assigns to them the name of *jyotirlingas*. The KS, however, actively promotes *linga* worship and inserts *lingas* into earlier stories. Below, I will suggest that this shift in language may point to a process of stabilization between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, whereby the *linga* and

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[63] One example (SkP V, ii, 60.38) mentions in passing that Brahmā installed the *linga* in Mahākālavana, but does not focus on the installation itself. It is an event that took place before the time of the given story. This reminds me of the examples from chapter 29 of the early SkP that we looked at in chapter one of the dissertation which saw Brahmā install several of the *linga* at Vārāṇasī.

[64] There are a few examples in this group of 84 *lingas* that describe the *linga* emerging suddenly from the ground to help diffuse a particular dilemma. These are the exception and parallel the emergence of the Mahākāla *jyotirlinga* in the JS and KS.

liṅga worship came, finally and decisively, to displace earlier forms of aniconic Śiva worship. In my view, the use of the term *pārthiva* in JS may hold the key to reconstructing some of these earlier forms of worship.

In the next chapter, I will follow the same lines of inquiry with reference to the remaining six stories. Rather than assuming that *pārthiva* must always mean *liṅga*, I will continue to explore other possibilities. Likewise, my analysis of these stories will continue to highlight evidence for the diversity in the worship of Śiva and in the conceptions of the god and his relationship to vedic ritual and Vaiṣṇavism. In my view, to see all types of Śaivite worship as homologous and to conflate what may well be divergent strands of Śiva worship without considering several lines of inquiry would put a premature end to what could potentially lead to some enriching understanding of the development of the *jyotirliṅga* cult.

Chapter Three
Jyotirliṅga Stories from the *Śiva Purāṇa*: Part Two

This chapter continues the discussion begun in chapter two and features the stories of Viśveśvara, Tryambakeśvara, Vaidyanātha, Nāganātha, Rāmeśvara, and Ghuśmeśvara – the final six *jyotirliṅgas* according to the ŚP tradition (JS 49-57; KS 22-31). For the most part, these stories follow the same patterns as the first six stories. Only two of these six stories (Viśveśvara and Ghuśmeśvara) include references to *liṅga* worship in the JS, and even in these two examples, the worship is not directed to the central *jyotirliṅga* identified with the respective sites. As in the previous chapter, we will see many examples of *pārthiva* worship in the JS, and we will encounter cases in which *liṅgas* become more prominent in the KS.

However, the second half of the *jyotirliṅga* story cycle in JS and KS does exhibit one notable difference from the first half. This group of stories contains more references to Śiva's light form (*jyotirūpa*). The Vaidyanātha, Nāganātha, Rāmeśvara, and Ghuśmeśvara stories all include references to Śiva in his light form. In chapter two, we briefly examined this theme in relation to the Mallikārjuna and Kedāranātha stories. In this chapter, we will therefore explore the theme in more depth.

7. *Viśveśvara* [JS 49-51; KS 22-23]

We have already discussed the story of Viśveśvara in some detail in chapter one in the context of early lists of *liṅgas*. Here, I will briefly note some significant aspects related to the types of worship mentioned in the three chapters dedicated to this *jyotirliṅga* in the JS (i.e., chapters 49, 50, and 51) as paralleled in KS 22-23. As we will see, this story is unique in the collection of *jyotirliṅga* stories because it does not contain any description of worshipping a central *liṅga* nor any reference to the establishment of a sacred site through ritual. Moreover, there are no tales describing the incorporation of *pārthiva* rites.

The material that is common to both texts (JS 49-50 and KS 22-23) focuses instead on the creation of the universe and the role that Vārāṇasī plays in creation. This cosmogony serves to explain, among other things,[65] the presence of God in Vārāṇasī.

In contrast to the stories about the other sites, there is little or no indication of this *jyotirliṅga*'s origins and ritual context. Chapter 49 of the JS makes indirect mention of a *liṅga*'s permanency (49.46) and power to destroy sin (49.54). In JS 49 and 50, there are two brief references to the establishment of the central *liṅga* (i.e., 49.42 and 50.50 as paralleled in KS 22.21 and 23.26 respectively). JS 49.42 attributes the establishment of the *liṅga* to Śiva himself, whereas JS 50.50 attributes it to Brahmā. Aside from these brief references, however, the chapters focus on Vārāṇasī itself.

JS 50 contributes a significant discourse about the twelve-*liṅga yātrā* in Vārāṇasī. As we have seen in chapter one, this material has its own interesting history. JS 50 is clearly derived from the early SkP, and it employs the name Avimukta for the central *liṅga*. For example, as in the earlier text, Avimukta is so named because Śiva does not abandon the place. Compare JS 50.27-28:

> ataḥ priyam idaṃ kṣetraṃ yasmāc ceha gatiḥ śubhā/
> avimuktaṃ na mayā yasmān mokṣye 'ham na kadācana//
> mahat kṣetram idaṃ tasmād avimuktam iti smṛtam/

> Now this place is precious because result here is auspicious. It is never abandoned by me and so I will never leave. This great place therefore, is known as Avimukta.

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[65] I have chosen not to address the portions of JS 49 that make reference to stories about Śiva's *brahmahatyā* (Brahmin murder) and the decapitation of Brahmā. This account has no particular bearing on the rites of worship related to the *liṅga* or *pārthiva* rites. It is interesting to note, nonetheless, that JS 49 presents a unique account of Śiva's *brahmahatyā* where, rather than fixing itself to Śiva's hand, the decapitated skull of Brahmā follows closely behind Śiva in his travel to Avimukta. Thus, for example, JS 49.71 states:

> jagāma pṛṣṭhato lagnaṃ kapālaṃ brahmaṇas tadā/

> The skull of Brahmā followed closely behind on his heels.

to early SkP 29.41-42:

> na ca muktaṃ mayā yasmād avimuktam idaṃ tataḥ/
> kṣetraṃ vārāṇasī puṇyā muktidaṃ saṃbhaviṣyati//
> avimukteśvaraṃ māṃ vai yo 'tra drakṣyati mānavaḥ/
> gāṇapatyāgatis tasya yatra tatra mṛtasya ha//

> and because I never leave it, it is Avimukta. The auspicious site of Vārāṇasī will produce the gift of release. Indeed, the man who will see me here as Avimukteśvara, becomes a Gaṇa lord wherever he dies.

As noted in chapter one, JS 50 may preserve evidence of a transitional period of flux between an earlier, local Vārāṇasī cult of twelve *liṅgas*, centred around the Avimukta *liṅga*, and a newer, pan-Indian cult of twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. In the latter, I proposed that the Avimukta *liṅga* has been renamed Viśveśvara.

A similar local concern is evident in JS 51. Unparalleled in the KS, this chapter is an extended description of the benefits and results that one obtains from visiting the pilgrimage site at Kāśī (another name for Vārāṇasī). No reference to a *liṅga* is made.

To an even greater degree than the JS version of the Bhīmaśaṅkara story (JS 48; see chapter two), the material about Avimukta/Viśveśvara in JS 49-51 and KS 22-23 provides an example of a group of stories that is still strongly associated with a specific locale. This site has been integrated into the pan-Indian cult of *jyotirliṅgas*, and in the JS and KS, its stories are framed by the rubric of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. The Viśveśvara stories, however, have not been assimilated to the narrative patterns that are common in the JS and KS, and the material about this site still bears many marks of its origins in local pilgrimage traditions.

8. Tryaṃbakeśvara [JS 52-54; KS 24-27]

The account explaining the origins of the Tryaṃbakeśvara *jyotirliṅga* is treated in three chapters in the JS (52, 53, and 54) and four in the KS (24, 25, 26, and 27). Much of this material has its own history outside the cult of *jyotirliṅgas*. Specifically, the story draws themes from the accounts of Gautama's curse of Indra and the descent of the Ganges in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* (as shown in Appendix F). The versions of the Tryaṃbakeśvara story in the KS and JS incorporate elements of these epic accounts but introduce an entirely different plot structure.[66]

In JS 52-54; KS 24-27, Gautama seeks to end a drought afflicting the members of his community and elicits the aid of Varuṇa, the lord of water. Envious of his success, Gautama's fellow ascetics seek to exile him from the community. They trick him into murdering a sacred cow, who in reality is the god Gaṇeśa. Thinking himself guilty of this grave sin, Gautama allows himself to be exiled and performs the austerities and rites (*vratas*) that his colleagues impose upon him. Later Śiva appears to him and tells him all about the injustice that the sages have caused him. Gautama is grateful rather than angered by the sages' deception, because it has led to his vision of Śiva, and Gautama asks that the Ganges river be brought to that spot. After arriving in the form of a woman, the Ganges remained there and became famous as the Gautamī river.

Among the rites that Gautama performs in his worship is a type of *pārthiva* worship, similar to the one performed by Ghuśmā in the Ghuśmeśvara

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[66] Notably, these epic accounts remain entrenched in the iconography and mythology of the modern pilgrimage site of Tryaṃbakeśvara, evincing the continuity of these traditions. For example, there is an image of Gautama on top of Brahmā *giri* (hill) along with two smaller images: one of Gautama's wife Ahalyā and the other as Indra disguised as Gautama. At least this is how the images were interpreted from me by Tarun Joshi a Brahmin from Nasik on pilgrimage to the site. Indra's deception of the Gautama family is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* I, 48-49. In this account Indra, having fallen in love with Ahalyā, disguises himself as the sage and entered their domicile. Angered by the deception, Gautama curses Indra. Indra's deception is not part of the JS (52-54) or KS (24-27) Tryaṃbakeśvara story and may have been part of a pre-*jyotirliṅga* tradition recognizing the site. Indeed the mountain Brahmagiri is a kilometer or more from the Tryaṃbakeśvara temple, which could have arisen sometime after the mountain site had been established.

story (JS 58; see below). One hundred thousand small clay balls are formed and then worshipped. For example JS 53 states:

> pārthivānāṃ tathā koṭiṃ kṛtvā devaṃ viśeṣataḥ/
> gaṃgāyāṃ ca tataḥ snātvā pūtaścaiva bhaviṣyasi//56//

> Then having formed one hundred thousand clay balls properly for the god and then having bathed in the Ganges, you will be purified.

In the Ghuśmeśvara story in JS 58, the clay balls are thrown into a lake. Here, in JS 53.55-60 and KS 25.53-58, the balls are worshipped with water drawn from the Ganges river and contained in one hundred pot-fulls of water.

Like the Ghuśmeśvara story, this ritual description speaks to the rich variety of rites incorporated into the worship of *jyotirliṅgas*. As we have seen, the stories collected in JS and KS demonstrate no single or unified way to worship Śiva. Accordingly, it may be best to see the *jyotirliṅga* cult as merging different Śiva rites and ritual traditions, including practices drawn from vedic and probably also tantric traditions. The evidence of the other stories in JS suggest that rites involving a single *pārthiva* form may predominate, but even in the early period, these seem to have co-existed with rites involving *liṅgas*, clay balls, images of Śiva, and other types of ritual objects.

Furthermore, as we will also observe in the Ghuśmeśvara story, there is no clear connection between this *pārthiva* rite incorporating one hundred thousand clay balls and the single *liṅga* in which Śiva remains later in the story. Indeed, the only instance of the term *liṅga* is in JS 54 when the narrator once names Tryambakeśvara as a *jyotirliṅga* (JS 54.20). There are no references to any *liṅgas* in the context of descriptions of worship.

As might be expected, the KS version expands on JS 54.20. The parallel in KS 26.50-56 speaks to the benefits that worshippers receive if they visit and

see the *jyotirliṅga*; however, as in the JS, there is no direct indication that the *jyotirliṅga* proper relates to the clay balls formed and worshipped by Gautama.[67]

The modern temple at Tryambakeśvara is built upon a much older temple from about the thirteenth century and is situated about a kilometer or so apart from Brahmāgiri,[68] the source (according to popular tradition) of the Gautamī river. It is likely that we are meant to imagine Gautama's *pārthiva* worship as taking place on the mountain; according to JS and KS, he is to circumambulate the mountain during his *vrata* rather than the temple site. The geographical separation of temple and mountain could also indicate that the temple site only later came to be designated as a *jyotirliṅga*.[69] The story of the *pārthiva* rite of Gautama may have functioned as an independent story prior to the site's association with the cult of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*.

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[67] It is also interesting to note the unusual shape of the *liṅga* at the modern temple. The shape points to a division between the *jyotirliṅga* as residence of Śiva and the Brahmāgiri as ritual playing field. This *liṅga* actually consists of three "thumb-sized" *liṅgas* representing the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara. These tiny *liṅgas* are located inside of the hole of the *pīṭha* (base) from which more standard *liṅgas* generally protrude. Unfortunately I have not unearthed any textual references to this unusual configuration. The priest's explanation was two-fold. One is that they represent the three *guṇas*; the second is that they represent the three-fold semen of Śiva who contains within himself all three gods. The *pīṭha* thus, in this analogy, is the *yoni* or vagina of the goddess Pārvatī, Śiva's wife, and the entire liturgical unit resonates as the creative fulcrum of the world.

[68] Just behind the walls of the Tryambakeśvara temple compound right on the bank of the Gautamī river is a small, currently active temple, dedicated to the goddess Gāyatrī. This temple is reputed to be the oldest surviving temple in the town and is dated, according to the priests who run the Tryambakeśvara temple, to the thirteenth century. The existing *jyotirliṅga* temple from the eighteenth century was constructed on top of a similar structure. The surrounding region is also well known from a group of eleventh to thirteenth century Jain and Hindu ruins in nearby Angenari, which evince the religious prosperity of the pilgrimage site during the mediaeval period. It is probable that at this time, between the writing of the JS and KS, the site's status as a *jyotirliṅga* was solidified, and a monument to celebrate it was built.

[69] *Gautamī-māhātmya*, which may date to the tenth century recognizes the pilgrimage sites of both Tryambakeśvara and Brahmagiri. It does not, however, call the *liṅga* a *jyotirliṅga*, nor does it contain any reference to Gautama's *pārthiva* worship. On the dating of the *Gautamī-māhātmya* see Hazra (1985), 155-56. The Sanskrit editions follow the manuscript tradition in presenting this text as inserted in the middle of the *Brahmā Purāṇa* (chapters 74-175; or chapters 70-170 depending on which edition). The English translators, however, have removed the text and appended to the end of the *Brahmā Purāṇa*; Shastri, part iv, (1985). Kane (1991) has discussed this work in vol. 4, 707-711.

9. Vaidyanātha [JS 55; KS 28]

Vaidyanātha is the topic of the next story. The story appears in JS 55 and in KS 28 and, in both versions, contains a reference to Śiva's *jyotirūpa*. There are two modern sites that claim to be this *jyotirliṅga*; one site is located in Parli, Mahārāṣṭra, and the other in Deogarh, Jarkhand. Accordingly, in JS and KS versions of the Vaidyanātha story, we find some hints of past uncertainty about the site's precise location.

As in the previous story (i.e., Tryambakeśvara), both JS and KS draw on a theme also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*; in this case, it is the demon Rāvaṇa's sacrifice of his own heads.[70] In the epic accounts, Rāvaṇa offers nine of his ten heads in a sacrificial fire to win the favour of Brahmā. The god restores the heads to Rāvaṇa's body and offers him any boon except immortality.[71] Depictions of this sacrificial scene are widespread in Indian art and literature. For example, it appears as part of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃsa* (fifth century CE),[72] and there is a relief carving of the scene on cave 16 at Ellora (eighth century CE; see Plate V).[73]

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[70] It appears in the seventh book of the *Rāmāyana* (VII, 10.10-15) and is featured as an episode of the *Mahābhārata*'s retelling of the *Rāmāyana* (III, 259.15-26). Both epic versions are probably late additions to the texts.

[71] In the epic versions the austerities of Rāvaṇa's brothers Vibhīṣaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa, are also described. JS attributes the austerities of the brothers, such as standing in five fires in the summer and staying in water during the winter, to Rāvaṇa himself. It is Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃsa* that first focuses on Rāvaṇa's relationship with the god Brahmā apart from the demon's brothers (see the note below).

[72] Canto 10.41-44. Reference to this myth in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃsa* is found in Charles Dillard Collins, *The Iconography & Ritual of Śiva at Elephanta*, (New York: Suny, 1988), 45. Collins actually cites 12.89 of the *Raghuvaṃsa*, which is a reference to Rāvaṇa's nine headed sacrifice as well as to the demon's shaking of Mt. Kailāsa. Nonetheless, Collins's reference points us to one fifth century source that directly connects the two motifs together as found in the Vaidyanātha story.

The shaking of Śiva's mountain is known in Hindu iconography at the Kailāsa temple in Ellora as well as at the *jyotirliṅga* temple in Auṇḍanāganātha. Both of these themes (i.e., the sacrifice of heads and the shaking of the mountain) are represented in the present story of Vaidyanātha. In the JS the shaking of Kailāsa occurs in chapter 56 and not in 55, but is told in the context of Vaidyanātha; in the KS it is contained in chapter 28 along with the sacrifice motif.

[73] This is the main "cave" at Ellora (Verula) named Kailāsanātha, built in the eighth century and is dedicated to Śiva. Included in its numerous relief carvings are two standard depictions of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth that (as noted in the introduction) I also observed at Śriśaila, Auṇḍanāganātha,

There are clearly several centuries of development between the story's origins and its medieval expression in the JS. The major difference between the epic and the *purāṇic* versions of the story is that, in the *purāṇic* version, it is Śiva rather than Brahmā who appears before Rāvaṇa and grants him a favour as reward for his austerities.[74]

In JS 55, the narrative is told twice. The first account (55.1-9) is told by the *purāṇic* narrator, the Sūta. The second account (55.18-38) claims to be told by the demon himself to the sage Nārada, who visits Rāvaṇa at the behest of the gods. Śiva's interaction with Rāvaṇa is thus described twice. The first is found in JS 55.5-6:

ārabdhaṃ ca tadā tena chinnāni nava vai yadā /
ekasmin avaśiṣṭe tu prasannaḥ śaṅkaras tadā //5//
śiva uvāca /
manasaś cepsitaṃ brūhi dadāmi tava rākṣasa /
rākṣasa uvāca /
yadi prasanno deveśa dehi me balam uttamam //6//

He had began to cut nine of his heads until one remained. Only then was Śaṅkara pleased. Śiva said: "Tell me your mind's desire and I will give it to you, O Demon." The Demon replied: "If you are pleased O Lord of gods, then give me ultimate strength."

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and Rāmeśvara. This cave also depicts another story related to the Vaidyanātha *jyotirliṅga* as well as to epic material: Rāvaṇa raising Kailāsa mountain. Some secondary literature asserts the possibility that Kailāsanātha was originally dedicated to a *jyotirliṅga*. This claim is made, for example, in the temple literature of the Ghuśmeśvara site, which is located about 2 kilometres from Kailāsanātha. The *Maharashtra State Gazetteers* also states this possibility; see *Ellora District*, (Bombay: Directorate of Govt. Print., 1959): 973-74. The stories of Ghuśmeśvara in the ŚP tradition, however, are not at all related to those of Vaidyanātha, and aside from the statements of these two secondary sources, I have found no further evidence to support this connection. Rather, because the Vaidyanātha stories are actually expressed in the relief carvings at Ellora, I suspect that at one time that monument was dedicated to this form of Śiva. While an intriguing connection, more evidence would be needed to substantiate this assertion.

[74] Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃsa* also presents Brahmā as the one to whom Rāvaṇa offers his heads in penance. Brahmā is referred to as "*sraṣṭuḥ*" or "the creator." In this version the poet has Viṣṇu narrating the account, and he parallels Rāvaṇa's sacrifice to Brahmā with the demon's forthcoming death on the battlefield. See R. D. Karmarkar (editor), *Raghuvaṃsa (cantos vi-x) of Kālidāsa*, (Poona: A. V. Patwardhan, 1936), 77-78.

In the first account of Śiva's appearance to Rāvaṇa in JS 55, there is no mention of his "form of light," nor is there any mention of his physical form in any way. He is simply pleased and then speaks to Rāvaṇa.

The second account of the interaction between the two, attributed to the demon himself, is found at JS 55.30-33:

> punaś caiva śarīraṃ hi tyakṣyāmy agnau vicārya ca //
> śirāṃsi ca viśuddhāni kṛtvā tu caṃdanādibhiḥ //30//
> chitvaikaikaṃ śiraḥ sarvāṇy arpitāni mayā nava//
> yāvac ca daśamaṃ chettuṃ prārabdham ṛṣisattama //31//
> tāvac caiva svayaṃ devo jyotirūpo haraḥ svayam //
> āvirāsīt tadā tatra māmeti vyāharan śivaḥ //32//
> prasannaśca varaṃ brūhi dadāmi te samīpsitam //
> ity ukte ca ṛṣiśreṣṭa mayā dṛṣṭo maheśvaraḥ //33//

> I will throw my body into the fire again. I purified my heads using sandalwood at first. One by one, nine of my heads were cut and offered into the fire, and when I began to cut off my tenth head, O Great Seer, then God Hara himself appeared in his form of light. Śiva spoke to me: "I am pleased. Ask any favour that you want and I will give it to you." Addressed in this way, O excellent sage, I saw the Great Lord.

In the second telling of Rāvaṇa's encounter with Śiva, the god appears in his "form of light" and speaks to the demon. After being addressed by the god, the demon then sees him in JS 55.33: "*mayā dṛṣṭo maheśvaraḥ*" (literally: "the Great Lord was seen by me"). It is possible that the voice of Śiva emanates from the light, which is then is seen by Rāvaṇa.

The term *liṅga* is absent from both accounts of Rāvaṇa's worship of and encounter with Śiva in JS 55. In the course of Rāvaṇa's retelling of his sacrifice, the term *pārthiva* is employed. In JS 55.25-26, the demon recounts how he entreated Śiva by establishing the *pārthiva* in his fire pit and by making offerings to it:

> tadā mayā ca kruddhena bhūmau gartaṃ vidhāya ca //
> tatrā 'gniṃ ca samādhāya pārthivaṃ parikalpya ca //25//
> gaṃdhaiś caṃdanaiś caiva dhupaiś ca vividhais tathā /
> naivedyaiḥ pūjitaḥ śaṃbhur ārātrikavidhānataḥ //26//

> Filled with anger, and digging a hole in the ground, I installed a fire and set a clay form there. I worshipped Śambhu with food offerings and various incenses, sandalwood, smells and performed ārti.

The term *pārthiva* (translated above as "clay form") here denotes a single earthen ritual object which is set into the flame in a hole in the ground and which is apparently the object of worship through offerings; the passage gives no hint of the precise size, shape, and nature of this object.

JS 55.25-26 is repeated verbatim in verses 42-43 in KS 28; the KS version therefore includes the term *pārthiva*.[75] Elsewhere, however, this version employs the term *liṅga* and even the term *jyotirliṅga*. In fact, the later text focuses the story partly around the *liṅga*, even though the earlier version makes no reference to this object at all.

The *liṅga* is central, for instance, to the twist that KS adds to the story of Rāvaṇa's sacrifice (see KS 28.12-20). After the first telling of the demon's sacrifice and Śiva's appearance in his light form, the KS recounts that the demon asks the god to be allowed to transport his *liṅga* to Laṅkā with him. Śiva agrees but stresses that it must not touch the ground before arriving there, since it will become permanently fixed wherever it falls. On his journey home the demon has the urge to urinate and leaves the *liṅga* in the hands of a cowherd boy. The *liṅga* becomes too heavy, and the boy sets it down, whereby it becomes fixed. Realizing his mistake, Rāvaṇa must leave without the *liṅga*.

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[75] The translators of the KS 28 render *pārthiva* as "earthen idols" (v. 42), as also with other occurrences of this word. The term sometimes occurs in association with liṅga, but not in all cases. It is difficult to determine whether the *liṅga* is intended by this passage. See A Board of Scholars (1969), vol. 3, 1370.

Interestingly, this twist is missing from the second retelling in KS 28. The KS follows the JS in including the second description of the sacrifice, as told from Rāvaṇa's perspective; there, however, no reference is made to his transport of the *liṅga*. Rāvaṇa, after beholding Śiva as the *jyotirūpa*, simply asks him to remain at the spot, as per JS 55. This omission further suggests that the travelling *liṅga* tale is a secondary addition, inserted by the KS redactors for reasons that we will explore momentarily.

First, however, it is important to note a significant difference in the KS's version of the second retelling: in KS 28 the light form is explicitly called a *jyotirliṅga*. After Śiva's theophany, he restores the demon's heads and offers him divine favours, which include the request to remain in the world. At this point Rāvaṇa states:

> darśanāt pūjanāj jyotirliṅgarūpo maheśvaraḥ/
> bhuktimuktiprado loke sarveṣāṃ hitakārakaḥ//58//
> jyotirliṅgam ahaṃ tadvai pūjayitvā viśeṣataḥ/
> praṇipatyāgataścātra vijetuṃ bhuvanatrayam//59//

> From the vision and worship of the Great Lord in the form
> of the *jyotirliṅga* one receives release and joy. He causes
> benefits for everyone in the world. I worshipped that
> *jyotirliṅga* excellently. I prostrated myself and came here to
> conquer the three worlds.

This passage does not appear in JS 55. In KS 28, it serves to clarify the meaning of the "form of light" mentioned in Rāvaṇa's account of the theophany in JS 55.32 and KS 28.50. Specifically, the "*jyotirliṅgarūpo*" of KS 28.58 echoes the "*jyotīrūpo*" of KS 28.50 and suggests a direct connection between the light form in which Śiva appears to Rāvaṇa and the form of the *jyotirliṅga* in which he remains at Vaidyanātha.

The addition of this passage speaks to KS's overarching concern to make clear how the *jyotirliṅga* stories relate to *liṅgas*, an issue often left unexplained in the JS. Like the KS's gloss of "*pārthive*" as *liṅga* in Kedāranātha story (KS 19;

see chapter two), this change may hint at a shift in the understanding of Śiva worship, marked by an interest in promoting *liṅga*-centred worship as well as by a tendency to re-interpret earlier concepts and practices in terms of *liṅgas*. In the JS, the association between the light form and the *liṅga* is not well established. The redactors responsible for KS, however, here make the connection explicit.

The JS, by contrast, reflects an earlier stage in the development of this story, closer to the time that the Rāvaṇa tale was initially transferred from a Vaiṣṇavite to a Śaivite context. From the differences between JS and KS, we might further speculate that the *liṅga* was only slowly introduced into the mythology of the Vaidyanātha pilgrimage site, which had originally been dedicated to some other form of Śiva associated with light. Whatever the precise prehistory of this story, our evidence seems to point to an early distinction between the *liṅga* and the *jyotirūpa*; they are not always identical.

In the case of the KS's addition of the traveling *liṅga* tale (i.e., KS 28.12-20), there may be another motivation as well. One of the questions raised by both versions of the story concerns the geographical location of the site itself. The version in JS 55 seems to have all the action take place in the Himālayas. As noted above, however, there are two pilgrimage sites dedicated to this *jyotirliṅga*, and neither is located in that region: one is in Mahāraṣṭra, another is in Jharkhand. It may be argued that the KS added the story of Rāvaṇa's trip towards Laṅkā in order to justify the present location of the *jyotirliṅga*, explaining how it came to be placed somewhere in between the north and south.

The possibility that the original Vaidyanātha site was in the north is raised both by the JS and by another version of the tale of Rāvaṇa' sacrifice, which is found in the SkP. In the SkP version (I, i, 8), there is no mention of the cowherd boy or the demon's trip with the *liṅga*. There, the tale is connected to a *liṅga* (not a *jyotirliṅga*) on the mountain Gokarṇa. In SkP I, i, 8.47 Rāvaṇa offers his head to the *liṅga* on Gokarṇa:

saṃvatsarasahasrācca svaśiro hi mahābhujaḥ/
kṛttvā kareṇa liṅgasya pūjānārthaṃ samarpayat//

After a thousand years that great armed one cut off one of
his own heads with his hand and offered it, for the purpose
of worship, to the *liṅga*.

As noted above, there is also a reference to Gokarṇa in the story of Oṃkāreśvara
in JS 46.43 and in KS 18.4. This is probably the same pilgrimage site mentioned
in SkP I, i, 8.[76] As in the JS version of the Vaidyanātha story, Rāvaṇa's sacrifice
here occurs in the mountains in northern India.

Around the time of the compilation of the KS, it may be that some
confusion existed between the present Vaidyanātha sites and a northern location
sacred to Śiva and also associated with Vaidyanātha traditions. This, in turn,
may have prompted the KS's addition of the traveling *liṅga* tale to explain the
site's location outside the mountains.[77] This proves especially probable, in my
view, since the earliest version of the Vaidyanātha story, in JS 55, did not refer
to a *liṅga* at all. The traveling *liṅga* tale, along with the other elements unique to
KS 28, may have been added in order to link one of the present Vaidyanātha
sites with the cult of the *liṅga*. The fact that, even today, there are two
pilgrimage sites claiming to be the legitimate Vaidyanātha *jyotirliṅga* suggests
that the location of the site had, at some time, been put in question.[78]

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[76] This Gokarṇa of the north is not to be confused with the famous site in south India of the same name.

[77] The idea of an unfixed *liṅga* accompanying Rāvaṇa on a journey is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (7.31.38-40). In this epic account a *liṅga* rises out of the Narmada river and follows the demon wherever he goes. He establishes it on the banks of the river and worships it. This river is located in Madhya Pradesh which is geographically between the Himalayas and Laṅkā, like the pilgrimage sites dedicated to Vaidyanātha. This citation indicates that Rāvaṇa has been mentioned in connection with *liṅgas* and their pilgrimage sites from a fairly early date.

[78] Anne Feldhaus refers to a Paralī-Vaidyanātha in north-east India in her new book *Connected Places* (see map on pp. 130 and 245 fn 3). I think she is mistaken. This *liṅga* is actually that of Vaidyanātha near Deoghar in Jharkhand and should not have the prefix "Paralī-." My study of the *jyotirliṅga-stotra* shows that the prefix is often dropped in regions outside of Mahārāṣṭra. The literature from the Paralī site in Mahārāṣṭra makes reference to the other site in the former Bihar but no third site is mentioned. See also Roy Choudhury's *Temples and Legends of Bihar*, (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya

Interestingly, the Vaidyanātha site near Deoghar in Jharkhand has its own version of the traveling *liṅga* tale:

> The gods fear that Rāvaṇa's strength will increase if he is allowed to establish a *jyotirliṅga* in Laṅkā and so send Varuṇa (god of water) into the demon's belly to cause his urge to urinate. Meanwhile Viṣṇu comes to meet the demon in the guise of a Brahmin and it is he that holds and then drops the *jyotirliṅga* near Deoghar.[79]

This version demonstrates the importance of the traveling *liṅga* tale to the authentication of the modern site. The tale is here employed for verification, suggesting some link with KS's version. It is impossible, however, to be certain which of the two current sites is directly related to KS 28.[80]

We are left, then, with the question of the *jyotirūpa*. It is intriguing that the redactors of KS make such effort to ensure that no one could mistake Śiva's light-form for anything but a *liṅga*. Their careful efforts might suggest that there was some doubt around the issue too. It is possible, for example, that the JS preserves traditions about Śiva's light form that were not originally connected to a *liṅga* at all.

10. *Nāgeśvara* (JS 56 and KS 29-30)

The stories of the *jyotirliṅga* Nāgeśvara are contained in JS 56 and KS 29-30. The two versions follow the same basic sequence of events with a few significant

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Bhavan, 1988), 158-166, which focuses on this site but makes no mention of Paralī; there, Choudhury only makes reference to a *jyotirliṅga* site at Harlajuri about 4 miles from Deoghar in the former Bihar.

[79] See Choudhury (1988), 159-60. No reference to a specific text is made that I am able to cite.

[80] Anne Feldhaus recounts a version of the traveling *liṅga* story told in the context of another Śaivite site in Mahārāṣtra, namely Mahābaleśvara; see Feldhaus (1995), 37-38 n.29. In this version Rāvaṇa is bringing an *ātmaliṅga* south for his mother from Kailāsa when two demons come out of the top of it and begin performing *tapas*. Feldhaus suggests that this story helps create a connection between mountains and *liṅgas*; we might consider that this is also the case with the later version of the Vaidyanātha story. At the same time, the Mahābaleśvara story is a means of explaining the existence of more than one pilgrimage site.

differences regarding terminology. In JS 56, there is only one reference to the term *liṅga*, and this occurs in the second to last verse of the chapter, which pertains not to Nāgeśvara but to the following story, Rāmeśvara, in the next chapter (JS 57).[81] KS 29-30, by contrast, mentions the term *liṅga* five times: KS 29.1, KS 30.32 and v. 43, and in the colophons of chapters 29 and 30. The reference to the Rāmeśvara *liṅga* that corresponds to JS 56.94 has been removed and placed in the opening verse of the following chapter (KS 31), which is dedicated to that *jyotirliṅga*.

The contrast between the JS and KS versions is clear from the opening verses of KS 29, which parallel JS 56.14.[82] The JS version reads:

> ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi nāgeśaṃ paramātman//14//
> jyotīrūpaṃ yathā jātaṃ tathā ca vinivedyate/

> Now I will tell you about the Great-souled Nāgeśa, and how that light-form arose.

The KS version adds a reference to a *liṅga*:

> athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi nāgeśākhyaṃ parātmanaḥ/
> jyotīrūpaṃ yathā jātaṃ paramaṃ liṅgam uttamam//1//

> Hereafter I shall explain how the light form of the great-souled one named Nāgeśa arose, that most excellent *liṅga*.[83]

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[81] The reference (JS 56.94) reads as follows:

> ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi liṅgaṃ rāmeśvarasya ca//94//

> Now I will tell you about the *liṅga* Rāmeśvara.

[82] The first thirteen verses of JS 56 are a continuation of chapter 55 and are not directly related to the story of Nāgeśvara.

[83] There are two other instances where the KS adds "liṅga," aside from the colophons of KS 29 and 30. The first occurs in KS 30.32-33, the parallel to JS 57.84. The JS version reads "*Nāgeśo nāma śaṃkaraḥ*" ("Śiva was named Nāgeśa"); in the KS, the verse is "*jyotirliṅgasvarūpo hi nāmnā nāgeśvaraśśivaḥ*" ("*In the form of a jyotirliṅga* Śiva was known by Nāgeśvara"). The second instance is

As with the Vaidyanātha story discussed above, the KS version identifies Śiva's light form with the *linga*, adding an explicit connection that is missing in the JS parallel.

In both the JS and the KS, the basic story concerns a group of demons (*rākṣasas*), who lived in a forest on the west coast of India[84] and who continually harassed humanity by destroying their sacrifices. They were headed by a female named Dārukā who was a devotee of Pārvatī. Aided by the gods, the people went against the demons and drove them to another part of the forest next to the ocean. There, the demons would capture boats and imprison their crews in the demon city. One prisoner, who was of the Vaiśya caste, was a great devotee of Śiva and instructed the other prisoners on the rites and worship of the god, which they performed for a period of six months. Seeing their worship, the demons attempted to stop them. In their midst Śiva appears in a form of light along with a palace with four doors. He gives the Pāśupata weapon to the Vaiśya devotee, who then destroys all the demons there. Dārukā calls Pārvatī to help protect her people and the goddess herself appears and does battle with Śiva. Finally the two gods resolve their dispute, and with laughter both remain in the world. Śiva is named Nāgeśvara.[85]

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found in KS 30.43, the parallel to JS 57.33. Where JS reads "jyotiṣāṃ patiḥ" ("Lord of heavenly bodies"), KS has *"jyotiṣāṃ patiḥ liṅgarūpas"* ("Lord of heavenly bodies *with a liṅga form*").

[84] The location of the current pilgrimage site is related to this geographical reference. There are two temple compounds that claim to be the authentic site. The first of these is in Dvarka in the state of Gujarat. This temple is literally found on the coast of the Arabian sea and perhaps best suits the description given in the texts (JS 56.17, KS 29.4). The second temple is in the town of Auṇḍa in Mahārāṣṭra. This location is about two hundred kilometres from the Arabian sea. This site dates at least to the thirteenth century based on its style of architecture. The name of Auṇḍanāganātha is also part of a fourteenth century inscription, so though it may not be the original site, may have existed when the KS story was written. See G.B. Deglurkar, *Temple Architecture and Sculpture of Maharashtra*, (Nagpur: Nagpur University, 1974), 42.

[85] In KS 30.32 Pārvatī is named Śivā Nāgeśvarī though she remains unnamed in JS 56. As in the story of Mallikārjuna Pārvatī and Śiva remain, although it is unclear whether the goddess transforms into a jyotirūpaṃ. There was no separate shrine to the goddess at the Auṇḍanāganātha temple compound. There is also the story of Vīrasena attached to both versions of the ŚP. In the attachment Vīrasena also obtains the Pāśupata weapon from Śiva in order to kill the demons on the coastal city. This story seems to be an alternative ending and does not contribute anything to our

The worship and appearance of Śiva is described in two sections of the story. When the Vaiśya prisoner, Supriya, leads the others in Śiva worship, JS 56.54 (KS 29.45) outlines his actions as follows:

> kārāgṛhagataḥ so 'pi bahūn aśikṣayat tadā/
> śivamaṃtraṃ ca pūjāṃ ca pārthivīm ṛṣisattamāḥ/

> O great-souled seers, he went to the prison house and then taught the Śiva mantra and *pārthiva* worship to many there.

The account of worship continues in JS 56.57c-59b:

> tad adhīśena tatraiva pratyakṣaṃ śivapūjanam//57//
> kṛtaṃ ca pārthivasyaiva vidhānena munīśvarāḥ/
> anye ca ye na jānanti vidhānasmaraṇaṃ param//58//
> namaḥ śivāya maṃtreṇa dhyāyaṃtaḥ śaṃkaraṃ sthitāḥ/

> O Lords of sages, the worship of Śiva was performed immediately by the leader along with the rites of the *pārthiva* while others, who did not know the rules for that worship, stayed and meditated on Śaṅkara with the mantra: "Namaḥ Śivāya" ("I bow to Śiva").[86]

In these two passages, *pārthiva* functions as a technical term related to worship. In the first, the term is used in the context of the specific set of ritual practices that Supriya teaches his companions and is paired with the mantra. In the second, the two are contrasted; "rites of the *pārthiva*" are reserved for ritual experts, while others entreat the god with the mantra. Both passages assume

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study of the light theophany. It is interesting, nonetheless, to note that Śiva instructs Vīrasena to worship Nāgeśvara in a hole the god has made. The *jyotirliṅga* at Auṇḍa is located in a small underground chamber and is accessible only through a two foot wide passage in the floor of the temple, suggesting a possible correlation between this alternate ending and that pilgrimage site.

[86] In the parallel verse from KS 29 the translators have rendered *pārthiva* as "earthen phallic image," which modifies pūjā, but this may be an interpolation on their part. See *Śiva Purāṇa*, part 3, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969), 1376.

knowledge, on the part of the reader, of what *pārthiva* worship might entail, without going into further detail. They also imply that this type of worship has its own specific rules, which are also left unspecified.

As typical in the JS, the *pārthiva* is here discussed without any mention of a *liṅga* of any sort. We have seen other cases in the JS where the term *pārthiva* appears to denote some kind of vessel for containing a god. For instance, some texts we have examined, such as the chapter dedicated to Kedāranātha (JS 47; see chapter two), make specific reference to Śiva entering the *pārthiva*. JS 47.17 states:

> tābhyāṃ samprārthito devaḥ pārthive pūjanāya vai//
>
> The god was requested to enter into the *pārthiva* by those
> two so they could worship (him there).

Here, the text describes Śiva arriving at the scene of worship and rites: "*yathoktarūpī śambhuśca āgatya*", ("Śiva arrived in the form mentioned"; JS 56.62). It does not, however, specifically mention him entering the *pārthiva* form. In JS 56, moreover, the term *pārthiva* does not appear in the locative, as in JS 47.17; the locative would be used of an object into which the god enters. Instead, in verse 61 of JS 56 Śiva responds to the worship in another way: he is said to have "accepted all" ("*sarvam ādade*") of the rites and the forms of worship, including those "of the *pārthiva*" ("*pārthivasya*"). And so verse 61ab may be rendered:

> yathoktarūpīśambhuśca āgatya sarvamādade/
>
> Śiva, having come as the form mentioned, accepted everything.

It is unclear what the god's acceptance of the *pārthiva* means in this passage. It is also unclear whether or not this usage of the term should be read in terms of passages like JS 47.17.

In JS 56.54-62, *pārthiva* worship is evidently one group or type among a number of rites. These rites are clearly meant to invoke the presence of Śiva in the ritual space. Here, however, the form he assumes is described only by the ambiguous "*yathoktarūpī*" ("like the form mentioned").[87] The only earlier reference to a form of Śiva in JS 56 occurs in verse 14, where the form is a *jyotirūpa*.

During that phase of the story, however, the god is entirely inactive. He secretly receives the worship and rites unbeknownst to the devotees,[88] and he only appears when they are physically threatened by the *rākṣasas*. In this way, the narrative seems to express an understanding of the *jyotirūpa* of Śiva as some kind of potential force, which is dependent on the worship of devotees but which can be unleashed when needed.

It is at the behest of Supriya that Śiva reveals himself. Śiva's appearance in JS 56 (almost identical to the version in KS 30.10-13) is described in the following way. Supriya has just called upon his god to protect him against the demons:

> iti samprārthitaḥ śambhur vivarān nirgatas tadā/
> bhavanena sumdareṇa caturdvārayutena ca//68//
> madhye ca jyotīrūpaṃ ca śivarūpamahādbhutam/
> parivārasamāyuktaṃ dṛṣṭvā cā 'pūjayat tadā//69//
> pūjitaś ca tadā śambhuḥ prasanno hy abhavat svayam/
> pāśupataṃ tad āstraṃ ca datvā ca rākṣasottamān//70//

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[87] The commentator of the JS edition explains that "*yathokta*" refers to the visible form that Śiva, who is without form, takes for the benefit of his devotees:

> nanunirguṇaḥśivaḥ kathamādada ityata āha/
> yathokteti/
> bhaktānugrahārthaṃ svīkṛtasaguṇarūpa ityarthaḥ/

[88] JS 56.61 reads:

> sopi svayaṃ na jānāti gṛhyate ca śivena vai//61//

> He himself did not know that everything had been taken by Śiva.

jaghāna sopakaraṇān sarvāṃś ca rākṣasāṃs tathā/
sarvāṃs tāṃśca tadā hatvā varaṃ prādād varasya ca//71//

Thus requested, Śiva appeared through an opening with a beautiful palace having four doors. Having seen, in the midst of it, the very wonderful and bright form of Śiva joined with his followers, he worshipped him. Śiva was pleased with that worship and gave his own weapon named Pāśupata. The one possessed of that weapon slaughtered the chief of the demons and all his followers. He killed them all and then (Śiva) gave a boon to the best one (his devotee).

Unlike many of the other examples we have examined, Śiva materializes in the midst of a beautiful palace along with his followers. Here the *jyotīrūpa*, which is described as the "wonderful form of Śiva" (*"śivarūpamahādbhutam"*), is the god's potential unleashed. It is through this form that Supriya is given the Pāśupata weapon of Śiva, the weapon that causes the destruction of the demons.[89] The text is not clear as to whether and how the weapon was transferred into the hands of the devotee. For instance, did an anthropomorphic god hand it to him? Or did the weapon appear in the light, to be grasped by the devotee?

The evidence of JS 56.68-71 reaffirms Phyllis Granoff's assertion, based on her readings of early *purāṇas*, that "Śiva never fights" and that "early versions of these famous myths do not depict Śiva as the main actor in the drama."[90] Śiva tends to work vicariously through his *gaṇas* or devotees. Granoff examines a number of myths from the early SkP chapter 5 in which Śiva "is predominantly a ball of light. He is not an anthropomorphic deity."[91] In early SkP 5.46, for instance, Śiva is *"dīptamaṇḍalaḥ"* ("circle of light").

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[89] The Pāśupata is usually described in the *purāṇas* as a kind of missile fired from a bow with incredible destructive force. See ŚP2 I, 6.15; *Liṅga Purāṇa* II, 26.18. It occurs often in the *Mahābhārata* as the weapon that Śiva gives to Arjuna. We will examine a number of these passages in chapter four, for example, in VII, 56-57 and III, 39-41. See *Mahābhārata – Cultural Index*, vol. one, 114-115.

[90] See Granoff (2006), 12.

[91] Granoff (2006), 25.

Granoff's insights may also help us to understand the theophany in our story (JS 56.68-71). Rather than telling of an anthropomorphic deity appearing to aid his devotee, JS 56 features Śiva in his form of light. On the one hand, the absence of an anthromorphic appearance of Śiva might be expected, given that JS 56 is contextualized as a story about a *jyotirliṅga*; indeed, *liṅgas* are a well known representation of the disembodied god. On the other hand, Granoff's examples may point us to a wider pattern in early depictions of Śiva, a pattern that is not directly connected to the *liṅga*.[92] The JS may assume a broader tradition whereby Śiva appears primarily as a ball of light, which in this particular story would be his *jyotirūpa*. The reference to his light form, in other words, should not instantly point us to the *liṅga*. The direct association of *liṅga* and light form, as we have seen, is absent in the JS and is probably a later development, as suggested by its addition in the KS.

Accordingly, when we consider these and other mediaeval stories about Śiva, we should not automatically assume that *jyotirūpa* and other similar terms (e.g., *dīptamaṇḍala*) refer to a *liṅga*. Many of the *jyotirliṅga* stories in the JS seem to depict Śiva as appearing to his devotees as a disembodied light; in some cases, it seems further assumed that this light has the ability to remain in some kind of earthen vessel or altar (*pārthiva*).

The redactors of KS make notable efforts to assimilate both the *pārthiva* and the *jyotirūpa* to *liṅgas*; they seem to have felt it necessary to make sure that the reader knows these forms of Śiva are actually *liṅgas* by revising the text with new additions of this term. Although it is impossible to reconstruct the reasons for these differences with complete certainty, it seems plausible to propose that the KS redactors sought to downplay certain traditions preserved in the JS version. The earlier stories in JS clearly reflect a different context. One possibility is that these stories preserve traces of an independent Śaivite light-

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[92] In chapter two, in the section on Mallikārjuna, we made reference to a possible tradition of stories behind the merging of Pārvatī and Śiva. In particular, I cited the *Gautamī-māhātmya* (*Brahmā-Purāṇa* 135.1-27). This version of the *liṅgodbhavamurti* describes Viṣṇu entering into Śiva's light (*jyotis*). There is no mention of a *liṅga* at all in this story either.

cult, perhaps centering on altars, which was only later absorbed to the cult of the *linga* – possibly by means of the concept of the *jyotirlingas* in particular.

11. *Rāmeśvara* [JS 57; KS 31]

In the story of Vaidyanātha, discussed above, we encountered one example of the retelling of tales from the epic *Rāmāyana* in the ŚP tradition. Similarly, the story of Rāmeśvara in JS 57 and KS 31 expands upon Rāma's arrival at the ocean crossing between India and Lankā along with his band of monkeys.[93] Whereas the story of Vaidyanātha reworked a tale from the original epic and applied it to Śiva, the Rāmeśvara story adds a new episode to the tale of Rāma as told in the epic.

The JS and KS here recount Rāma's worship of Śiva. During a moment of rest before undertaking his journey to Lankā, Rāma turns down an offering of water because he has not viewed Śiva. The text reads as follows:

> taj jalam ca svayam nītvā pātum ārabdhavān yadā//
> tadā ca smaranam jātam na krtam darśanam mayā//9//
> śivasya vānaraśreṣṭhāḥ katham ca grhyate jalam//
> ity uktvā ca jalam muktam rāmena paramātmanā//10//
> paścāc ca pārthivīm pūjām cakāra raghunamdanaḥ//
> āvāhanādikādīmś ca hy upacārān prakalpya ca//11//
> pranipātai stavair divyaiḥ samtoṣya śamkaram punaḥ//
> prārthayāmāsa deveśam śamkaram parayā mudā//12//

> He had taken the water himself and began to drink it when he remembered: "I have not performed a *darśana* of Śiva. O excellent monkeys, how can I take this water?" Having spoken, the Great Rāma set aside the water. Afterwards, Rāma joyfully performed *pārthiva* worship. He focused on the practices that start with invitation, and pleases Śiva with divine praise and with prostrations while he petitioned the Lord of gods with much joy.

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[93] KS 31 consists of 45 verses, almost twice the length of JS 57 containing 23 verses. Unlike the earlier text, the later one tries to convey the epic narrative in its entirety while maintaining the highlight of Śiva worship.

As in most chapters examined above, worship is here characterized using the term *pārthiva*, and it is not explicitly described as directed towards a *liṅga*. As in the previous story, *pārthiva* seems to function as a technical term for a set of ritual practices. Here, further details are provided. *pārthiva* worship is characterized as a "*darśana* of Śiva," and the nature of this worship is explained in JS 57.11-12 as a process that involves invitation (*āvāhana*), followed by praise (*stava*) and by prostration (*praṇipāta*). This series of actions may be intended to invoke the god into or onto some object, perhaps a clay altar or vessel, and designate its worship. From the context, the term *pārthiva* seems to denote a particular kind of worship that involves an earthen object of veneration.

This passage presents us with yet another example in which a simple equation with the *liṅga* does not suffice to explain a reference to *pārthiva* in the JS. Together with the examples considered above, it sheds doubt on whether the term *pārthiva* must always refer, in such contexts, to a *liṅga* or to worship with a *liṅga*.[94] In chapter four, we will consider such questions in detail, exploring the possibility that early aniconic forms of Śiva worship preceded the dominance of the *liṅga* in Śaivism.[95] For now, it suffices to note that the JS uses a description of *pārthiva* worship to characterize the epic hero Rāma as a devotee of Śiva.

It is at this point in the story that Śiva appears in his *jyotirūpa*:

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[94] The KS 31.22 adds "*vidhivat ṣoḍaśa*" which is a reference to the 16 part method of worship, not indicated in the JS. In this context it is interesting to note contemporaneous tantric sources which describe the worship of "*pārthiva liṅgas*." The *Mātṛkābedhā Tantra*, for example, is dated around twelfth century and states that one should worship using "12 earthen *liṅgas* and 16 ritual accessories" ("*dvādaśaṃ pārthivaṃ liṅgaṃ upacāraiśca ṣoḍaśaiḥ*"; 8.15). This passage suggests a dialogue between the compilers of *Mātṛkābedhā Tantra* and the ŚP tradition. The tantric text may even derive the theme of twelve *pārthiva liṅgas* from the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. Indeed, earlier in the same chapter (8.4), the *Mātṛkābedhā Tantra* suggests that Śiva's *liṅga* consists of light ("*jyotirmayaṃ*") and that the Viśveśvara *liṅga* of Kāśī is only one sixteenth of it. See Michael Magee (transl.) *Shri Matrika Bheda Tantra*, (Delhi: Indological Book House, 1989), i-iv, 28-29; see also Bhadrasila Sharma (ed.), *Mātṛkābheda Tantra*, (Prayag: Kalyanamandir, 1960), 36-37.

[95] For our present purposes, it is notable that *pārthiva* worship is elsewhere linked both to the *liṅga* and to Śiva's eight-formed aspect. The latter has a strong connection to the vedic altar, and the clay-form aspect, particular among these eight, is considered the best.

punaḥ pūjāṃ tadā kṛtvā gallanādaṃ yadā 'karot//
tadā ca śaṃkaro devo jyotīrupo maheśvaraḥ//17//
sāṃgaḥ saparivāraś ca yathoktaṃ rūpam uttamam//
dhṛtvā ca prakaṭībhūya śivam astu tadā 'bravīt//18//
tad rūpaṃ ca tadā dṛṣṭvā sarvapūjāṃ punaḥ svayam//
kṛtavān rāghavo devaḥ śivadharmaparāyaṇaḥ//19//

Continuing the worship, he made throat sounds and then the Auspicious and Great God appeared as a form of light. Along with his subordinates he appeared bearing the excellent shape as mentioned[96] along with his followers, said: "Blessings!" Having seen that form, Rāma worshipped it again devoted to the worship of Śiva.

After Śiva appears in this way and is worshipped further, Rāma requests the ability to defeat the powerful demon Rāvaṇa; as in the Vaidyanātha story (JS 55; see above), the demon is also depicted as Śiva's devotee. Additionally, Rāma asks Śiva to stay. Granting both desires Śiva remains in his *liṅga* form:

ity uktas tu śivas tatra liṅgarūpo 'bhavat tadā/
rāmeśvaraś ca nāmnā vai prasiddho jagatītale/
iti te ca samākhyātaṃ śṛṇvatāṃ pāpahārakam//23//

Thus addressed, Śiva took on his *liṅga* form. It was celebrated across the world as Rāmeśvara. Hearing about it destroys sin.

Since the *liṅga* only appears at this point in the text, I do not think from this reference alone that it can be linked back to the *pārthiva* in JS 57.11 with certainty. It appears to be distinct from that object. For instance, the use of the verb "*abhavat*" in 57.23b implies that Śiva became something that he was not before.

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[96] Here we see the phrase "*yathoktaṃ rūpaṃ*" ("as the form mentioned"). This is similar to the usage of "*yathoktarūpī*" in JS 56.62, which I argued referred back to the light form in JS 56.14. Here, however, the association to "*jyotirūpaṃ*" is even clearer, as the verse with "*yathoktaṃ rūpaṃ*" immediately succeeds a reference to the Śiva's appearance in his light form.

Possibly because the JS already mentions a *liṅga* in its account of this Śiva theophany, there are no significant differences in the parallel in the KS. However, KS 31 relates a more complete account of the *Rāmāyaṇa* than found in JS 57. The KS version focuses on the arrival at the coast. As in other *jyotirliṅga* stories we have examined, this version adds more references to *liṅga*, presumably to avoid confusion about what Rāmeśvara is. The term occurs in the parallel to JS 57.23 (quoted above) in KS 31.40. The first and last verses of this chapter of KS (vv. 1, 45) also include this word.

Liṅgas are also prominent in another tale about Rāma's Śiva worship attested in the SkP, *Liṅga Purāṇa*, and a variety of other sources (see below for citations). Like the Rāmeśvara story in JS and KS, this tale is a Śiva-related episode which finds no counterpart in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki but which is fit into the general framework of its plot. This tale is set after the battle; Rāma establishes a *liṅga after* his triumph over Rāvaṇa, and he does so in order to rid himself of the sin of *brahmahatyā* (killing a Brahmin), which he incurred by defeating Rāvaṇa.

The ultimate source of the tale may be the southern vernacular versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The tale occurs in the adaptation of Vālmīki's original epic by the Tamil poet Kaṃba, although there is some uncertainty about his authorship of the *liṅga* worship episode. Another possibility is that it originated with the Telugu poet Raṅganātha.[97] Kaṃba is dated to at least the eleventh century and possibly earlier, whereas Raṅganātha wrote in the thirteenth century.[98] It is probable, therefore, that the tale about Rāma's *brahmahatyā* and *liṅga* worship originated after the tenth century formation of the JS.

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[97] According to C. R. Sarma, Tamil scholars believe that the *liṅga* episode is not part of the original Kaṃba text, but consider it to be a late addition. There is no question about its inclusion in Raṅganātha's thirteenth century poem, however. See, C. R. Sarma, *The Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu and Tamil, a Comparative Study*, (Madras: Lashminarayana Granthamala, 1973), 120, 136.

[98] W. L. Smith, *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions in Eastern India*, (Stockholm: Department of Indology, University of Stockholm, 1988), 17.

The most extensive *purāṇic* version of this tale is found in the SkP, *Brahmakhaṇḍa* in a section called the *Setumāhātmya* and especially in chapters 44-46 of that part of the text. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* is another *purāṇic* text that alludes to this tale, albeit only briefly (II, 11.38).[99] Modern popular literature produced from the temple also mentions the tale in the SkP version, and indeed it seems to be more widespread than the stories about Rāma's Śiva worship in the ŚP tradition.

Unlike the Rāmeśvara story in the JS and KS, the tale in the SkP actually focuses on the *liṅga* and its installation. In the SkP version Rāma seeks the advice of the sage Agastya who tells him that if he creates and worships a Śiva *liṅga* his sin of *brahmahatyā* will be removed. Rāma sends Hanuman to Kailāsa to get a *liṅga*, but in the meantime Sītā playfully constructs a *liṅga* of sand. As time is running out for the worship of the *liṅga* to be completed, Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa decide not to wait until Hanuman's return and to worship this sand *liṅga* instead. When the monkey finally does return, *liṅga* in hand, he is distraught at the course of the events. He tries unsuccessfully to remove the sand *liṅga* with his tail.[100] The *liṅga* of Hanuman is duly installed and worshipped, and Rāma decrees that it is to be worshipped prior to the worship of Sītā's *liṅga*. The focus on *liṅga* worship in the SkP version is also found in the southern vernacular (Tamil and Telugu) versions of the tale and in the modern accounts.[101] As we have seen, however, this theme is notably less prominent in the Rāmeśvara story in the ŚP tradition.

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[99] The *Kūrma Purāṇa* (II, 30.23) also states that the Rāmeśvara site will destroy the sin of *brahmahatyā* and is perhaps making reference to this second version of the Rāmeśvara *tīrtha*; see Kane, *History of Dharamaśastra*, vol.4, 795.

[100] There appears to be something of a tradition of different monkeys attempting to remove sand *liṅgas* with their tails in Tamil Nadu. Vālin, another monkey from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, tries unsuccessfully to remove a sand *liṅga* (called "Vāyuliṅga") at Kāñcipuram with his tail; see Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths*, 50-52. Both of these *liṅgas* today have rings around the bases that are said to have been caused by the two monkeys' tails.

[101] Interestingly, the modern pilgrimage site has accommodated the sectarian version with the addition of two *liṅgas* apart from the main *jyotirliṅga*. Unlike the earlier sectarian version in the SkP, which concerns a single *liṅga* brought by Hanuman, the tradition surrounding the modern site relates how the monkey brought two *liṅgas* back with him from Kailāsa. The first of these is Viśvanātha *liṅga*,

The ultimate sources for both sets of stories, *Yuddha-khaṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, contains no references to *liṅga* worship or to Śiva per se. Rather, in the well-known chapters 21-22 (Bombay ed.) of the epic, Rāma attempts to subdue the ocean with his arrows and succeeds in winning the favour of Varuṇa the god of oceans, who appears and grants safe passage by supporting a bridge atop the water over which Rāma and his army cross. The present site claims to be situated at the spot where this bridge (popularly called "Setubandha") was built; even apart from its identification as a *jyotirliṅga*, the Rāmeśvara site is linked to the glorification of this mythic event.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, after the battle against Rāvaṇa, there is no mention of Rāma's return to that spot, and certainly there is no mention of Rāma worshipping a *liṅga* to rid himself of *brahmahatyā*. As noted above, these events and the description of Rāma's *pūjā* are patently part of a later interpretation of the story.[102]

Despite the lack of reference in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to any kind of Śiva worship before or after the events surrounding the epic battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, there is one curious chapter placed in the midst of the combat narrative that needs our consideration. This chapter has been excluded from the critical

which is supposed to be worshipped before the main *jyotirliṅga*. The second *liṅga* is placed near a statue of Hanuman at the eastern entrance of the temple.

[102] It is important to note that the SkP specifies that the *liṅga* was installed on the peak of Gandhamādana mountain and not at its present location. Today there is a temple on the summit of a small hill that is identified with this place and is located about three kilometres from the main temple. The SkP makes numerous references to this "mountain" as the site of the main Rāmeśvara *liṅga*. Evidently, there are some discrepancies between the various textual sources and the modern site. I believe that the current site originally coincided with the story in the ŚP tradition but has been superseded by the later adaptations in order to accommodate the popularity of the sectarian stories. I think this may point to the amalgamation of two separate sites, both of which may have vied for the main *jyotirliṅga* status. Whether or not the current site was originally dedicated to a *liṅga* is not discernible from the physical evidence alone. Fergusson, in his study of the Rāmeśvara site, refers to another small temple named Gandhamādaneśvara that is situated next to the western *gopuram*. He dates it to about the eleventh century and says that it is the oldest part of the current structure; see *History of Indian & Eastern Architecture*, vol. 1 (Delhi: LPP, 1997), 382. However, this temple is neither on a hill nor is recognized as the official Gandhamādana; this makes it difficult to speculate about its original function and whether or not it was built to indicate the original spot where the sand *liṅga* was constructed.

edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[103] but it is found in the Bombay edition as chapter 105;
it occurs just before the final encounter of the two adversaries.[104] In this
chapter, the sage Agastya approaches Rāma and instructs him on how to recite
the "*ādityahṛdaya*" – a prayer to the sun – in order to gain an advantage in the
battle. Within the pronouncement of the sun's praise are found numerous
references to his qualities of light, such as "*jyotirgaṇānāṃ pataye*" ("lord of the
multitude of lights"; v. 16) and "*jyotiṣāṃ patye*" ("lord of the lights" ; v. 20). The
sun is also praised as the one who contains all the gods (*sarvadevātmaka*; v. 7)
and is described as an all encompassing god (vv. 8-15).[105] The sun is equated
with, and considered lord over, numerous gods including Brahmā, Śiva, and
Viṣṇu. In verse 15 he is identified with twelve bodies "*dvādaśātman*," and in
verse 19 he is considered an embodiment of Rudra:

> brahmeśānācyuteśāya sūrāyādityavarcase/
> bhāsvate sarvabhakṣāya raudrāya[106] vapuṣe namaḥ//19//

> I bow to the god Sūra, the ruler of Brahmā, Iśāna and Acyuta, who
> possesses the splendour of the sun, who is possessed of brilliance,
> the resplendent one, to the devourer of all who has a terrifying
> form (*raudra*).

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[103] This chapter would appear between chapters 93 and 94 of the critical edition.

[104] I have used a reprinted version of this edition: *Śrīmad Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, part III, (Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 1973), 1806-09; the original Bombay ed. was printed in 1880.

[105] In chapter five, we will consider the application of similar imagery to Prajāpati, Kṛṣṇa, and Śiva in epic materials and explore possible connections with the prehistory and origins of the *jyotirliṅga* cult.

[106] Notably, "*raudrāya*" here functions as an adjective describing the sun (Sūra) and may not specifically be a reference to the god Rudra. It is clear, however, that the tradition itself has nurtured an association between the sun and Śiva (i.e., the later form of the vedic god Rudra). Though this verse is not a definitive proof of an early association, it does point us to that possibility. It may well be that the later tradition interpreted the adjective "*raudrāya*" as "related to Rudra," another possible interpretation. Given the clear connection between the sun and Śiva in other contexts, I am favouring this interpretation while recognizing its uncertainty.

One text specifically links Rāmeśvara with the sun. The *Brahmā Purāṇa* part one has a number of chapters devoted to the sun (*Sūryamahātmya*, chapters 28-32). Chapter 28 gives a description of the temple Konarak (possibly the temple in Orrisa) and specifically names the temple Rāmeśvara and the relationship between Śiva and the sun in verses 56-65.

In my view, this chapter may prove relevant to our examination of *jyotirliṅgas* in general and to our analysis of the Rāmeśvara story in particular. In the SkP tale discussed above, Agastya is the advisor of Rāma who instructs him on how to rid himself of the sin of *brahmahatyā* through *liṅga* worship. In the stories in the ŚP tradition, Rāma performs rites that summon the *jyotirūpa* of Śiva, who will give him powers to defeat Rāvaṇa. This chapter of the *Rāmāyaṇa* includes both of these themes: [1] Agastya gives Rāma advice (though different in specifics), and [2] in order to gain military advantage Rāma praises a god associated with light and with Śiva (i.e., Rudra in the epic example).

Both themes may well have their ultimate source in this chapter of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. If so, we may have a case in which epic traditions about the praise of the sun as the lord of the lights have been carried into a tradition of stories associated with Śiva and his light form. In my exploration of the prehistory and origins of the *jyotirliṅga* cult in chapter five, I will explore possible connections between traditions about Śiva, the sun, and the number twelve. In such connections, we might find traces of a process whereby different strands of Śaivism, some associated with light and some associated with the *liṅga*, were interwoven into the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*.

In that regard, it is tempting to speculate about a possible connection between the reference to the worship of the sun in his "*dvādaśātman*" (12 bodies)[107] in this chapter of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the ŚP tradition's promotion of the worship of Śiva as twelve *jyotirliṅgas*; one wonders, for instance, whether the former could have served as one of the models or points of inspiration for this new cult.[108] This and other possible connections will be explored in detail in

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[107] This compound is also found as a name of the sun in the *Mahābhārata* (III, 3.27). In this passage the sage Śaunaka tells Yudhiṣṭhira how to address the sun with 108 names. Dvādaśātman is one of these. The sun appears to him and, as a boon, provides enough food for the Pāṇḍava's during their forest exile.

[108] The Bombay ed. that includes the *āditya-hṛdaya* episode is produced from a number of South Indian manuscripts (S recension) and is in fact the basis of the critical edition. The S recension was considered superior to manuscripts derived from other regions of India (N recension). Chapter 105, however, is excluded from the critical text probably because it is not corroborated by these Northern manuscripts. See L. A. Van Daalen, *Vālmīki's Sanskrit*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 13-17, 20-

chapter five. For our present purposes, it suffices to note that a surprising number of the *jyotirliṅga* stories in ŚP traditions (e.g., Someśvara, Mahākāla, Bhīmaśaṅkara, Tryambakeśvara, Vaidyanātha, Rāmeśvara) have some direct or indirect association with the *Rāmāyaṇa*; indeed, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is more prominent than is the *Mahābhārata* as a source of background to the various stories. At the very least, these parallels may bespeak a persistent concern in the ŚP tradition to integrate Śiva into the traditions of epic literature and to justify Śiva worship with appeal to the *Rāmāyaṇa* in particular.

12. *Ghuśmeśvara* (JS 58; KS 32-33)

The story of Ghuśmeśvara is the final myth in the sequence of twelve (JS 58, KS 32-33) and, to my knowledge, is unique to the ŚP tradition. The name Ghuśmeśvara is, on many occasions, absent from lists of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*.[109] The more popular and widespread name for this *jyotirliṅga* is Ghṛṣmeśvara, which is linked to a completely different myth (see chapter one note 15). Another name, which S. K. Dikshit has linked to this site, is that of "Guheśvara."[110] This name derives from a copper plate inscription dated to 742 CE. The inscription is a donation plate attributed to Prince Dantidurga of the

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22. If this is the case, then we can assume that the chapter is most likely of South Indian derivation. Hopkins is of the opinion that the chapter is a later edition, but he gives no specific date; see *Epic Mythology*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986), 88. This chapter is found in the earliest complete Telugu recension attributed to Raṅganatha which dates to about the thirteenth century; it is not part of the Tamil recension. See Śarma, 33, 135. I do not think, however, that the Bombay ed.'s inclusion of 105 could have occurred this late. For example, Raṅganatha's work includes the liṅga-worship episode and probably borrowed this, as well as the *ādityahṛdaya*-episode from earlier, perhaps competing traditions. Though I am unable to confirm that the *ādityahṛdaya*-episode was written prior to the compilation of JS in the tenth century, I will work from this assumption. I base this on the fact that neither the JS or the Bombay ed. focuses on *liṅga* worship in the present context (Rāma's final encounter with the demon lord) and so both occur prior to Raṅganatha's work. Further the JS emphasizes Śiva adulation in the epic passage whereas the Bombay ed. identifies the sun with Rudra. I have theorized that chapter 105 has bearing upon the choice of Rāmeśvara as one of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* and that is because it eulogizes the sun in relation to Rudra.

[109] The list given in Viśveśvara and Rāmeśvara temple literature does not include this name. Many lists cite the alternative name of Ghṛṣneśvara. For more details, see discussion in chapter one.

[110] S. K. Dikshit, "Ellora Plates of Dantidurga: Śaka 663," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, part 1, no. 4, (Jan. 1939) 29.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. It is from "Elāpura" (Ellora) and states that the prince bathed at the Guheśvara *tīrtha*.[111] The current location of the Ghuśmeśvara site is about two kilometres from Ellora, making the identification plausible. Though not an entirely certain identification, the inscription points to the possible existence of this site prior to the tenth century date assigned to the JS and thus helps to further support this general dating for the compilation of the JS.

The Ghuśmeśvara story that is presented in JS 58 and KS 32-33 follows the general pattern that we outlined at the beginning of chapter two. As we will see, however, it also inverts this pattern in interesting ways.[112] This story is also unusual in that it represents the only case in which JS directly connects the term *pārthiva* with the term *liṅga* (58.39). The KS version, furthermore, is contrary to the usual pattern, as the parallel to this verse in KS 32.46 contains no reference to *liṅgas* at all.

The story, as it occurs in JS 58, recounts how a righteous Brahmin named Sudharmā and his wife Sudehā are unable to have a child. Sudehā is reviled by her neighbours. Sudharmā takes a second wife, the younger sister of Sudehā named Ghuśmā. Ghuśmā is very devoted to Śiva. Every day she creates 101 clay forms in honour of the god and deposits them in the nearby lake Śivalāya. She repeats this rite until she has accumulated 100,000 (*lakṣa*) *liṅgas*. She then conceives a son, but her sister Sudehā, who becomes very jealous, murders the boy shortly after his marriage. She cuts him into small pieces and deposits them into the lake, as Ghuśmā had the *liṅgas*. Instead of grieving her dead son, the younger sister performs her rites with the 101 *liṅgas* as usual. Her son appears completely restored on the opposite side of the lake. Śiva also appears before her in his light form and threatens to kill Sudehā with his trident. At the request

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[111] Dikshit (1939), 30, lines 15-16: "*guheśvaratīrthasnātena*."

[112] In this general pattern a devotee of Śiva encounters a dilemma of some kind, and entreats Śiva to come to the world, whereby Śiva appears to the devotee in his light form, grants a wish to him/her, and remains in the world in a specific location.

of Ghuśmā, the god resists killing Sudehā and remains at the spot as a *liṅga*. He takes the name of his devotee and is called Ghuśmeśvara.

The passage that describes the worship and defines the *pārthiva* with *liṅga* occurs in JS 58.37-39. Ghuśmā has newly arrived to the home of her sister and wants to commence a daily service to Śiva. The description of this service reads as follows:

> kaniṣṭā caiva yā patnīsvāmyanujñām avāpya ca/
> pārthivān sā cakārāśu nityam ekottaraṃśatam//37//
> vidhānapūrvakaṃ tacca hy upacārasamanvitam/
> kṛtvā sā prākṣipat tatra taḍāge nikaṭe sthite//38//
> visarjya punar evā 'śupūjāṃ kṛtvā vidhānataḥ/
> evaṃ jāte tadā kale liṅgaṃ lakṣam abhūt tadā//39//

> And the youngest wife, having been permitted to do so by her husband made 101 clay forms and then, according to the proper rites, she worshipped them and then threw them and the objects with which she had worshipped them into a nearby pond. Having thrown them into the pond, she quickly (made another 101 clay forms) worshipped them properly (and threw them into the pond). In this way in time she made 100,000 *liṅgas*.

Here the "*pārthivān*" (in the plural accusative) of verse 37 is clearly linked to the "*liṅgaṃ lakṣaṃ*" ("1000 *liṅgas*") of verse 39. In this context a *pārthiva liṅga* is likely a small ball of clay formed in the hand.[113]

In the ŚP tradition, the type of worship described in this story is paralleled only in the Tryambakeśvara story. There, as we have seen, Gautama forms one hundred thousand small clay balls and worships them with water from the Ganges (JS 53.55-60; KS 25.53-58). In that story, the balls are described

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[113] In chapter one note 15 I refer to *ghṛṣṇa*: to rub or grind, the verb from which the alternative name for the *jyotirliṅga* derives its name. It defines Pārvatī's action of grinding red earth from the region and forming it into a *liṅga*, an event that is outlined in the local *māhātmya*. It is also possible that this action is related to Ghuśmā's *pārthiva* worship in 58.37-39 – a reiteration of the same theme in a different myth.

with the term *pārthiva*, but they are not called *liṅgas* in either the JS or KS versions.

I observed a rite resembling the one attributed to Ghuśmā (as well as to Gautama) while visiting the town of Oṃkāreśvara, which is home to another *jyotirliṅga* (see chapter two). A group of seven priests at the Amareśvara temple[114] formed hundreds of small clay balls and placed them in rows across seven wooden pallets, in which were carved many small grooves to support each form. These balls were venerated as *liṅgas* by the priests and then deposited daily in the nearby river.[115] It is possible that the JS's description of Ghuśmā's *pārthiva* worship denotes a similar practice.

In JS 58.37-39, these clay balls are described with the term *liṅga* as well as the term *pārthiva*. This is a striking departure from the pattern that we have seen in the JS versions of all of the other stories. The other stories in JS rarely employ the term *liṅga* at all, and when the term does appear, it is not obviously linked with *pārthiva*. In JS 58, however, the term *liṅga* occurs a total of nine times. Does this story, then, shed doubt on the pattern of difference that we

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[114] The temple of Amareśvara (popularly called Mamareśvara) is considered the second and older *jyotirliṅga* of the town of Oṃkāreśvara. As noted in the investigation of that story in chapter two, the existence of two *liṅgas* is supported already by the ŚP tradition. See also figure 1 in chapter one which gives Amareśvara as one of the names of Oṃkāreśvara.

[115] A single grain of rice is placed on the top of each clay ball before it is set on the pallet. Then a garland of flowers is placed over each of the seven supports and mantras are recited over them. The clay balls are then thrown from the pallets into the Narmadā river and the process repeated. This rite is preformed three times a day and a total of 125,000 clay *liṅgas* are processed in this way. A pamphlet from the town of Oṃkāreśvara describing the rite from this temple, though written in Hindi, employs vocabulary that parallels the Sanskrit of the Ghuśmeśvara passage:

यहाँ बालू तथा भस्म के सवा लाख पार्थिव
लिंगां का प्रितिदन पूजन होता है ।

In this place 125,000 *pārthiva liṅgas* comprised of sand and ash are worshiped everyday.

It is possible that the *liṅgas* in the Ghuśmeśvara story are, likewise, comprised of sand and ash. "Mamaleśvaramahādev", in *Oṃkāreśvar Darśan*, (Baḍvāha: Sajahaṃsa, n.d.).

have observed between the versions of the *jyotirliṅga* stories in the earlier JS and the later KS?

Notably, there are other elements to this story that are unusual in comparison to the rest of the *jyotirliṅga* stories in both JS and KS versions. As noted above, this story appears to be unique to the ŚP tradition. Aside from JS, KS, and the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*, I have found no parallel or divergent references to Ghuśmeśvara.[116] To my knowledge, this is the only *jyotirliṅga* story that cannot be traced to any other literary sources.[117] Together with the uncertainty surrounding the name, this raises the possibility that this story is a later addition to the ŚP tradition. In my view, then, the connection between the *liṅga* and *pārthiva* in JS 58 should not lead us to dismiss the patterns shared by all of the other stories in the JS.

Furthermore, in one of the ŚP manuscripts that I consulted, the above quoted passage is written differently (MS Bori 345 of Viśrama (i) fol. 156A line 2 v. 39). This manuscript replaces "*lakṣaṃ liṅgaṃ*" with "*piṃgalatvam.*" I am uncertain of the specific meaning of the term in this context, and this manuscript may simply be an anomaly.[118] However, it is interesting that this

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[116] The *jyotirliṅga-stotra* circulated as an independent text and generally names Ghuśmeśvara or Ghṛṣṇeśvara as the last. The stotra is closely aligned with the ŚP tradition. It may have even been derived from the ŚP1 38, although it does appear in a MS version of the *Vamana Purāṇa*, as is discussed in chapter one.

[117] The temple literature from Ghuśmeśvara by B. B. Vitekar, points to the SkP *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* as a source for the story surrounding the alternative name of Ghṛṣṇeśvara. I have not been able to locate this reference and believe that this is another case where a local māhātmya is identified with the SkP to give it more importance. B. B. Vitekar, *The Ghrushneshwar Temple, Ellora*, (Ellora: Umesh Jahagirdar, 1991). See also Feldhaus (1995), 7; and Rocher (1986), 228-229. The more recently published Hindi pamphlet in particular cites more references to Sanskrit *purāṇic* sources than the English one does. For example, in addition to the SkP citation, it makes reference to the *Padma Purāṇa, Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* 6. I have been unable to locate this passage, or even the khaṇḍa, both of which may belong to a less well known manuscripts such as those from which the Deshpande translation is based. As presented in the pamphlet, this passage refers to Ghṛṣṇeśvara and Śivālaya, but not to the story found in the ŚP or to that name. Indeed, when the pamphlet presents the ŚP story it employs the name Ghṛṣṇeśvara and names the protagonist "Ghṛṣṇā," an apparent conflation of the two stories and a way of maintaining consistency between them. B. B. Viṭekar, *Śrī Ghṛṣṇeśvara Jyotirliṅga, Elorā*, (Veruḷ: Viśvasta Maṃḍal, 2002).

[118] "*Piṅgala*" can refer to something that is of reddish colour and so possibly denotes the earth that forms the clay balls themselves.

variant reading removes the crucial link between *liṅga* and *pārthiva*. Although much further investigation would be needed to establish the textual history of the passage, this variant reading should caution us against depending too heavily on this one passage for our understanding of *pārthiva* as it relates to *liṅga*.

As noted above, the KS version is also unusual in its *lack* of reference to *liṅgas*. In the KS, the Ghuśmeśvara story is divided into two chapters, namely KS 32 and 33. The passage that deals with *pārthiva* worship occurs in KS 32 and reads as follows:

> kaniṣṭā caiva yā patnī svasranujñām avāpya ca/
> pārthivān sā cakārāśu nityam ekottaraṃśatam//44//
> vidhānapūrvakaṃ ghuśmā so 'pacārasamanvitam/
> kṛtvā tān prākṣipat tatra taḍāge nikaṭasthite//45//
> evaṃ nityaṃ sā cakāra śivapūjāṃ svakāmadām/
> visṛjya punar āvāhya tat saparyyā vidhānataḥ//46//
> kurvantyā nityam evaṃ hi tasyāśśaṃkarapūjanam/
> lakṣasaṃkhyābhavatpūrṇā sarvakāmaphalapradā//47//

> The younger wife having the permission of her sister, made 101 clay forms daily. According to the sacred rules Ghuśmā performed worship to them and then threw them and all the apparatus with them into the nearby pond. In this way she performed the wish yielding worship of Śiva every day. Having thrown them she again invoked (Śiva) and worshipped (those 101 clay forms) properly (and threw them in the pond). She performed Śiva worship every day until she had completed a hundred thousand of them. This would produce the fruit of all her desires.[119]

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[119] The language of this passage is of some interest. It employs "*visṛjya*" and "*āvāhya*," two terms commonly used in *āgamic* texts for sending the god away (*visṛjya*) and then inviting him back (*āvāhya*) in a more permanent and durable receptacle. We will see, for example in chapter four, "*āvāhya*" in JS 68.22-23 - a section of the text that draws heavily from *āgamic* sources - used for inviting the god into the *pārthiva* liṅga. In this passage from the KS we might understand the lake itself to be a receptacle and the place where Śiva resides permanently. In this way the clay balls function as impermanent and intermediary residences of the god, not unlike the balls of rice (*piṇḍa*) deployed in *śrāddha* rites – reconstituting the body of the deceased as it travels into the next life.

There are several differences between this passage and the version in JS. Perhaps most surprising is the absence of the term *liṅga*. As we have seen, the term appears frequently elsewhere in KS. Its absence from this passage serves to shed further doubt on the use of JS 58.37-39 to support, in the absence of other evidence, an early identification of *pārthiva* with *liṅga*. In light of the Bori manuscript cited above, the evidence from KS may point to some fluidity in the textual history of this key passage. This proves significant, in my view, since this passage is the only one of the *jyotirliṅga* stories in JS that overtly connects the words *pārthiva* and *liṅga*. The reading in JS 58, then, may be better explained in terms of a later attempt to assimilate different kinds of Śiva worship.

Now I want to turn our attention to Śiva's theophany in the form of light in the Ghuśmeśvara story. The theophany occurs in JS 58.69-75, after Ghuśmā's son has been dismembered and his pieces have been deposited in the lake, just as her clay balls had been thrown. The passage reads:

> na cakāra tadā duḥkhaṃ śive dhairyam upāgatā/
> pārthivāṃś ca gṛhītvā vai jagāma sarasas taṭe//69//
> kṣiptvā ca pārthivāṃs tatra parāvarteta sā tadā/
> tadā putras taḍāgastho dṛśyate sma taṭe tayā//70//
> mātare hi miliṣyāmi mṛtaś ca jīvito hy aham/
> taṃ dṛṣṭvā harṣitā naiva duḥkhitā na purā yathā//71//
> tadā śivaś ca saṃtuṣṭo jyotīrūpo maheśvaraḥ/
> prasanno 'smi varaṃ bruhi duṣṭayā mārito hy ayam//72//
> etāṃ ca mārayiṣyāmi triśūlena varānane/
> ghuśmā cainaṃ varaṃ vavre rakṣaṇīyā svasā mama//73//
> apakāraḥ kṛtas tubhyam upakāraḥ kathaṃ tvayā/
> kriyate hananīyā ca pāpiṣṭhā duṣṭakāriṇī//74//
> tava darśana mātreṇa pātakaṃ naiva tiṣṭhati/
> idānīṃ caiva tāṃ dṛṣṭvā tat pāpaṃ bhasmasād vrajet//75//

> She did not grieve and took courage in Śiva. She took the clay images and went to the edge of the lake. Having thrown the clay forms there, as she turned back, she saw her son standing by her on the shore. "O Mother I will meet you. I died and now I live!" Seeing him, however, she was neither pleased nor was she unhappy. Then Śiva, the Great Lord in his light form was pleased.

The Great Lord said: "I am pleased. Ask any favour of me. The
death was on account of that villain. I will kill her with my trident
O beautiful faced one." Ghuśmā asked a favour: "Protect my
sister!" (Śiva spoke): "She tried to harm you. Why do you want to
help her? This evil one of wicked deeds should be killed."
(Ghuśmā replied): "Merely by seeing you sin vanishes. Now if you
see her, her sin is turned into ashes."[120]

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[120] The parallel passage from KS 33 reads:

pārthivāṃśca gṛhītvā sā pūrvavat svasthamānasā/
śambhor nāmāny uccaraṃtī jagāma sarasas taṭe//30//
kṣiptvā ca pārthivāṃs tatra parāvarttata sā yadā/
tadā putras taḍāgastho dṛśyate sma taṭe tayā//31//
putra uvāca/ mātare hi miliṣyāmi mṛto 'haṃ jīvito 'dhunā/
tava puṇya prabhāvāddhi kṛpayā śaṃkarasya vai//32//
sūta uvāca/ jīvitaṃ taṃ sutaṃ dṛṣṭvā ghuśmā sā tatprasūr dvijāḥ/
prahṛṣṭvā nābhavat tatra duḥkhitā na yathā purā//33//
etasmin samaye tatra svāvirāsīc chivo drutam/
jyotirūpo maheśaśca saṃtuṣṭaḥ pratyuvāca ha//34//
śiva uvāca prasanno 'smi varaṃ brūhi duṣṭyā mārito hy ayam/
enāṃ ca mārayiṣyāmi triśūlena varānane//35//
sūta uvāca/ ghuśmā tadā varaṃ vavre supraṇamya śivaṃ natā/
rakṣaṇīyā tvayā nātha sudeheyaṃ svasā mama//36//
śiva uvāca/ apakāraḥ kṛtas tasyām upakāraḥ kartha tvayā/
kriyate hananīyā ca sudehā duṣṭakāriṇī//37//
ghuśmovāca/ tava darśanamātreṇa pātakaṃ naiva tiṣṭhati/
idānīṃ tvāṃ ca vai dṛṣṭvā tat pāpaṃ bhasmatāṃ vrajet//38//

Grabbing the clay forms, her mind as calm as it had been before, while reciting the
names of Śiva she went towards the edge of the lake. When she turned around, after
throwing the clay forms (into the lake), she saw her son standing on the bank of the
lake. Her son said: "I will go to my mother. I died and now I live on account of the
power of your virtue and the compassion of Śiva. The Sūta said: O twice born ones,
after seeing her son alive Ghuśmā his mother was not happy as she had not been
upset previously. At that time Śiva, the Great Lord himself appeared immediately as
the form of light. He said delightedly: Śiva said: O Lovely faced one, I am pleased
ask for a favour. Your boy was killed by that evil one. I will annihilate her with my
trident. The Sūta said: Ghuśmā bent down before Śiva and asked for a favour: "O
Lord, you must protect my sister Sudehā." Śiva said: "She has done wrong. Why do
you help her? Sudehā has done many bad things and must be killed!" Ghuśmā said:
"Just by seeing you, no sin remains. Now that she has seen you, her sin will be turned
into ashes.

This appearance of Śiva's light form seems to be the result of both Ghuśmā's continued devotion to Śiva and the tragedy of her son's murder.

In most of the cases of the Śiva-theophany in the *jyotirliṅga* stories, some terrible circumstance surrounds the god's appearance. The appearance is not the result of regular devotion by itself. Instead, Śiva appears as a protective agent. We saw this, for instance, in the Nāgeśvara story (JS 56.68-71); Śiva's Pāśupata weapon is there handed to the Vaiśya Supriya, apparently out of the light form. In KS 58, Śiva's "protection" is inverted into the proposed vengeance on Sudehā, but it follows the same pattern. Here too he offers a weapon, giving his trident as a means to destroy the "evil one" ("*duṣṭā*") and to restore order.[121] The offer is refused by Ghuśmā, however, and the vision of Śiva is considered sufficient.[122] By her own account, seeing Śiva as the *jyotirūpa* transforms sin and the sinful. This contrasts with other *jyotirliṅga* stories, such as Bhīmaśaṅkara or Mahākāla, in which Śiva destroys the antagonist.

The Ghuśmeśvara story also seems to draw on a tradition of Indian tales of infanticide, where children are first killed (in murder or sacrifice) and then restored to life. David Shulman, in his book *The Hungry God*, investigates one cycle of such stories in South Indian Śaivite sources.[123] This cycle of medieval stories appears in Tamil and Telugu poetic works and focuses on child sacrifice: a son is offered as food to a Śaivite visitor (often an embodiment of Śiva himself). Of particular note is the emotional content embedded in the South Indian tales. These stories go to great lengths to highlight the psychological

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[121] As in the Nāgeśvara story (see above), it is not specified whether or not an anthropomorphic form of the god appears from the light with weapon in hand.

[122] The refusal to accept Śiva's help is mirrored by Gautama in the Tryambakeśvara story. This story is already linked to the Ghuśmeśvara story through its particular *pārthiva* rite (with small clay balls). Gautama dismisses Śiva's reprisal of the sages who tricked him into killing the cow and states that because of their deception he has had a vision of Śiva.

[123] David Schulman, *The Hungry God, Hindu Tales of Filicide and Devotion*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993). See especially chapters 2 and 3, pages 18-86. Anne Feldhaus has examined the Hariścandra cycle as it appears in various *māhātmyas* in Marāthi. This cycle is concerned with child sacrifice and demonstrates that the theme arises in other stories from the Deccan. Feldhaus (1995), 119-20.

state of the parents. By contrast, the Ghuśmā story emphasizes the emotional detachment of Ghuśmā and Sudharmā. When the two learn of the brutal murder of their son, for instance, the text (JS) states:

manaś caivotsukaṃ naiva jātaṃ tasyā munīśvarāḥ/
bharttā 'pi ca tathā ivā 'sīd yāvad vratavidhir bhavet//65//

Her mind did not become restless, O Lords among sages. Her husband was also calm while he performed his rites.

Indeed Śiva himself tries to provoke emotion out of Ghuśmā after appearing in his light form. He questions why she does not seek revenge and offers his trident in support of this desire. This emotional detachment is uncharacteristic of the Southern tales. It is also uncharacteristic of many of the *jyotirliṅga* stories, which tend to invest their protagonists with emotion.[124]

In this story it is the elder sister, the wicked one (*duṣṭā*), who feels stressed by a society that gives her no personal value: she is a barren woman, is scorned by neighbours, and feels jealousy towards Ghuśmā for her pregnancy. At every part of the story Sudehā's emotions are considered inappropriate, however, and her jealousy leads to murder.

Although the murder is only unintentionally performed as a religious rite, it parallels the sacrifices in the Southern stories. The dismembered parts of the boy's body also become like the clay balls that Ghuśmā daily throws into the pond. In effect, in this story, there are two rites performed: one is emotionally charged with murder and dismemberment, the other emotionally detached.[125] This recalls the trope of the undeserving devotees of Śiva in the SkP, as recently

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[124] The protagonists of the Someśvara, Vaidyanātha, Oṃkāra, and Bhīmaśaṅkara stories (i.e., Soma, Rāvaṇa, Vindya, and Supriya respectively) arguably do not display Ghuśmā's emotional detachment in their worship of Śiva.

[125] It may be significant to point to David Schulman's article on the *sthāṇu* myths of Śiva. He points to the emotionally charged nature of the pillar of flame when considered as the detached phallus of the god. See Schulman (1986), 101-124; and Schulman (2004), 33-38.

examined by Wendy Doniger.[126] The *Kedāra Khaṇḍa* of the SkP (I, i), for instance, contains many accounts of inauspicious individuals accidentally honouring Śiva and receiving benefits. It may be argued that something similar occurs here. That is, despite Sudehā's worst intentions, the emotionally charged rite produces the same results for Sudehā as it does for Ghuśmā: a vision of the *jyotirūpa* and the dissolution of all sins. The appearance of the *jyotirūpa* neutralizes and transforms the emotional content of the story that leads to the murderous sacrifice, the "sin."

The story ends, as do many of the *jyotirliṅga* stories, with the request that Śiva remain in the world.[127] Śiva also takes the devotee's name at this time:

> so vāca vacanaṃ śrutvā yadi deyo varas tvayā/
> lokānāṃ caiva rakṣārthaṃ tvayā stheyaṃ sadāśiva//79//
> tadovāca śivas tatra tava nāmnā sumadhyame/
> ghuśmeśaṃ suprasiddhaṃ vai nāma me jāyatāṃ
> śubham//80//[128]

> Hearing his words she (Ghuśmā) said: "If you are to give me something then stay, O Sadāśiva, and protect the world." Śiva said: "Known by your name as the Lord of Ghuśmā, let my name become auspicious.

In response to Ghuśmā's request, Śiva provides her family with various benefits. Then his *liṅga* appears:

> ity uktvā ca śivas tatra liṅgarūpo 'bhavat tadā//84//

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[126] Wendy Donider, "The Scrapbook of Undeserved Salvation: The Kedāra Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa," in *Purāṇa Purennis* (ed. by Doniger), (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 59-81.
[127] With the exception of three stories (Mallikārjuna, Viśveśvara, and Vaidyanātha), all the rest follow this pattern, entreating Śiva to remain in the world.
[128] Here the parallel verse KS 33.45 adds the word *liṅga*:

ghuśmeśākhyaṃ suprasiddhaṃ liṅgaṃ me jāyatāṃ śubham/

Having spoken, the *liṅga* form of Śiva appeared there.

It is clear from the verb *"abhavat"* that this *"liṅga* form" (*"liṅgarūpo"*) is distinct from the *jyotirūpa* that appeared back in verse 72.[129] This *liṅga* is also unrelated to the clay balls that Ghuśmā previously made and so is not connected to the *pārthiva* term. While the worship of Śiva with the clay balls does manifest the god in a moment of crisis they ultimately are linked to the pond named "Śivālaya" or "the abode of Śiva."[130] The JS states:

idaṃ saras tu liṅgānāmālayaṃ samajāyata/
tasmāc chivālayaṃ nāma prasiddhaṃ
bhuvanatraye//81//

That pond became an abode of *liṅgas* and, therefore, is known in
the three worlds by the name Śivālaya.

Above, we saw in KS 32.46 that *"āvāhya"* was employed to invite Śiva into the clay balls; we can interpret this to mean that the lake itself is the permanent abode of Śiva once they are thrown there.[131] The clay balls are identified with Śiva and the pond, which is openly called the "abode of *liṅgas*." There is thus a connection between *pārthiva* and *liṅga*. Yet there is also a distinction between the *liṅga*, in which Śiva remains at the end of the story, and the pond, into which the *pārthiva* forms are thrown. Furthermore, as noted above, there is at least one variant to this text that partly calls into question the connection between the *pārthiva* balls and *liṅgas*.[132] Given the distinction between the pond and the residual *liṅga* at the end of the story, it does not seem warranted to

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[129] This same usage was discussed with regard to Rāmeśvara in verse 23 of that chapter: the *liṅga* is distinguished from the *pārthiva*.

[130] Śivālaya is important because it is the one consistent element between the divergent story traditions associated with this temple and with the two names: Ghuśmeśvara and Ghṛṣṇeśvara. It is also the focus of the alternate *purāṇic* references made in the Hindi publication from the temple, which I have been unable to track down to common published sources. See note 53 above. For the connection between Śivālaya and the Godāvarī river see Feldhaus (1995), 39 fn. 44 and 45.

[131] See footnote 55

[132] Bori MS 345 of Viśrama (i), folio 156A line 2 verse 39.

discard the distinction between the *pārthiva* and *liṅga* found elsewhere in the JS stories.

Conclusion

Having now considered all of the individual *jyotirliṅga* stories, it remains briefly to comment about their final arrangement and about their relationship to the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*. As we have seen, the stories share a basic narrative structure and often draw on the same themes. For the most part, however, they seem to be united mainly by the compilers' attempts to assert the common identity of these twelve sites as "*jyotirliṅgas*." In JS and KS, we see efforts to qualify the stories as "*jyotirliṅgas*," but this status is generally not evident from the individual stories themselves.

The JS and KS seem to be products of a process of collecting, combining, and unifying diverse material about Śaivite pilgrimage sites, stories, and rituals. In the compilation and redaction of this material in the JS and KS, we may see something of how the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* may have asserted itself on a pan-Indian scale, by gathering a network of mostly pre-existing sacred sites from all around India under the rubric of Śiva's twelve *jyotirliṅgas*.

The *jyotirliṅga* stories impel us to understand the early medieval cult of Śiva as a site of convergence. From the JS and the KS, it is clear that the ŚP tradition absorbed elements from a number of different rituals and stories; these include myths and practices from vedic, epic, *purāṇic*, and tantric sources as well as local traditions tied to specific sites. The compilers, in turn, transformed these traditions through redeployment and adaptation to *liṅga* worship, under the umbrella of the *jyotirliṅga* cult.

This is perhaps most evident in the depictions of worship in the stories. In this chapter, we have encountered further evidence for the rich diversity of Śaivite worship in the period of the JS and the KS (i.e., tenth to thirteenth centuries). The ritual practices in the ŚP *jyotirliṅga* stories include *pārthiva* rites

with a single clay object, *pārthiva* worship with thousands of small clay balls, vedic rites, *liṅga* worship, worship in a pit, and worship with just a mantra. When we consider these rituals together with the variety of ways to worship Śiva presented in the first six stories it is clear that the JS is far from unified in its depiction of Śiva worship. The god is invoked into multiple forms, both anthropomorphic and aniconic, and the rites for his worship involve *liṅgas*, altars, holes dug into the ground, and various earthen (*pārthiva*) objects. Although the JS is a text about a pan-Indian cult dedicated to *liṅgas*, many of its composite traditions reflect different ways of worshipping Śiva. As such, the JS may preserve important clues about different streams of early Śaivism that, it seems, flourished prior to the rise of the *liṅga* as the dominant form for Śiva worship.

The diversity of types of Śiva worship presented in the JS is particularly emphasized because the same stories are retold in the KS with additions and emendations that highlight *liṅga* worship alone. One striking example is the addition of the traveling *liṅga* tale to the Vaidyanātha story of KS 28.12-20. Moreover, in the account of Nāgeśvara, additions of *liṅgas* are found in KS 29.1, 30.33 and 30.43, as well as in the colophon of KS 29 and 30; in the story of Tryambakeśvara references to *liṅgas* are added in KS 26.50, 54-56 and KS 27.50 and the colophon. These examples are consistent with the pattern that we have seen across the *jyotirliṅga* stories as a whole: the KS consistently adds references to *liṅgas* and, in particular, reworks the JS's references to *pārthiva* worship and Śiva's light-form to assert their connection to *liṅgas*.

The only two exceptions that we encountered occur in the Viśveśvara and Ghuśmeśvara stories. In the Viśveśvara story the JS includes the local *yātrā* of twelve *liṅgas* as part of its *Vārāṇasī-māhātmya*, which the KS removes. Above, I proposed this omission was motivated by the redactors' focus on the pan-Indian cult and their interest in promoting the *jyotirliṅga* Viśveśvara beyond its localized context. In the last story, Ghuśmeśvara, the JS version includes a reference to *liṅgas* associated with *pārthiva* balls, whereas the KS describes these

objects without making any connection to *liṅgas*. This story, however, is also unusual in other ways. Not only is the name of the twelfth *jyotirliṅga* unstable in the broader tradition, but the Ghuśmeśvara story seems to be unparalleled outside of the ŚP tradition. This story may have been a later addition to the group.

For the most part, comparison of JS and KS versions points to a trajectory of development from earlier diversity to later efforts to homogenize Śiva worship. As such, the evidence of the JS and the KS raises a number of questions about the varieties of Śiva worship, besides *liṅga* worship, which may have existed prior to the tenth century. We have seen some traces of aniconic forms of Śiva worship as well as rituals drawn from vedic worship and centred around the altar. Perhaps most striking are the references to *pārthiva* worship in the JS, as assimilated to *liṅga* worship in the KS. Our analysis in this and the previous chapter has pointed to the significance of *pārthiva* worship in the JS, but further investigation is needed to determine its nature, meaning, and origins. It is, therefore, to an examination of early forms of Śiva worship that I will turn in chapter four.

It is also notable that about half of the twelve *jyotirliṅga* stories engage epic themes, stories, and myths. The Someśvara and Kedāranātha stories both draw from the *Mahābhārata* while traditions from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are reworked in the Someśvara,[133] Mahākāla, Bhīmaśaṅkara, Vaidyanātha, and Rāmeśvara stories. None of these traditions were, in their epic forms, originally related to Śiva. Rather, the ŚP tradition reflects the medieval appropriation and reinterpretation of epic traditions in Śaivite terms. A number of the stories seem to insert Śiva into the epic traditions. For instance, Śiva replaces the figure of Brahmā as the god appearing before Rāvaṇa in Vaidyanātha; likewise, he replaces Prajāpati in Someśvara and Varuṇa in Rāmeśvara. We even find hints that epic traditions (e.g., ch. 105 in the Bombay ed. of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) may have provided a positive model for the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* as a pan-Indian cult with a sacred geography

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[133] The theme of the Moon and Rohiṇī is taken up by both epics; see Appendix F.

that transcends local and regional concerns.[134] From the stories examined above, it is clear that the relationship between Śaivite and Vaiṣṇava traditions is particularly complex. In light of the striking engagement with these and other epic materials, it may even be suggested that one of the cult's purposes was to reconcile Śaivite worship with Vaiṣṇavism.

In the combination of these streams of tradition in the ŚP, we may get a glimpse of how the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* developed by means a dynamic interaction between local and pan-Indian traditions. Through literature like the JS and KS, the cult seems to have succeeded in bringing together a body of local traditions, as connected with specific sites and their practices, with reference to larger themes, as connected to the pan-Indian tradition already established by the epics. These larger themes are expressed openly and inadvertently in the *jyotirliṅga* stories themselves. Some of these themes, such as the themes of twelve ādityas (suns), will be taken up and explored in chapter five.

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[134] Indeed, we saw in chapter one, in the section on the *Jyotirliṅgastotra* and the section on the chapters of introduction (JS 38, *Śatarudra-Saṃhitā* 42, KS 1) that the *jyotirliṅgas* are openly called *avatāras*.

Chapter Four
Evidence for Aniconic Forms of Early Śiva Worship

This chapter will explore early material related to the worship of Śiva,[135] with the aim of addressing the diversity of rituals and ritual objects in the *jyotirliṅga* stories that we examined in chapters two and three. By investigating examples of aniconic modes of worshipping Śiva and Rudra in vedic, epic, and other early Sanskrit sources, I will attempt to explain and to contextualize the descriptions of Śiva worship in the ŚP tradition, in general, and the JS, in particular.

In chapters two and three, we observed that most of the *jyotirliṅga* stories contain the term *pārthiva*, which is often used to characterize the central object of worship in the stories.[136] The precise meaning of the term is not entirely clear from the descriptions of Śiva worship in the JS version of the stories. In the KS version, created three or four centuries later, we found consistent attempts to identify *pārthiva* worship with *liṅga* worship. As noted above, however, the explicit and forced equation of *pārthiva* and *liṅga* seems to reflect a careful effort on the part of the KS redactors. By contrast, the JS contains cases in which the term *pārthiva* denotes other types of ritual objects, which are distinct from the *liṅga*.

In the course of my analyses of the individual *jyotirliṅga* stories, I suggested that the JS may preserve traces of early Śiva worship that was not centred on the *liṅga*. In this chapter, I will build on these insights by surveying early evidence for types of Śiva and Rudra worship that do not involve a *liṅga*. In the process, I will bring additional evidence to bear on the question of the precise nature of *pārthiva* worship. I will argue that some of the references to *pārthiva* worship in

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[135] Medieval depictions of Śiva absorb many of the attributes and mythology of the vedic Rudra. My consideration of "early material related to the worship of Śiva" in this chapter therefore includes the worship of Rudra. It must be remembered, however, that Rudra as presented in vedic texts is distinct from the later medieval god.

[136] As we have seen, there are only two out of the more than twelve *jyotirliṅga* stories in the ŚP that do not make any reference to this term: Viśveśvara and Mallikārjuna. All the other stories contain this term – usually in association with the main object of worship.

the JS refer to types of worship (which I term "aniconic") that were centred on altar structures.

Three ritual elements are common in early references to the worship of Rudra and Śiva: a structure called a *sthaṇḍila*, the vedic fire altar (i.e. *vedi*), and the *Śatarudriya* hymn. This chapter will examine the textual evidence for Śaivaite altar-worship by means of a focus on these three elements.

The first section will consider references to the *sthaṇḍila* in Śiva worship, while the second will explore material related to the *vedi* and the *Śatarudriya* hymn. In the previous chapters, discussion of rituals and ritual objects has focused primarily on passages from epic and *purāṇic* sources which make reference to rituals and which describe them in a narrative context. Here, we will also look at a different kind of text, namely, the vedic ritual manual, including *brāhmaṇas*, *śrautasūtras*, and *gṛhyasūtras*. The date of these texts span the period from around the ninth century BCE to the second century CE; this evidence is thus a good deal earlier than the *purāṇic* material examined in chapters two and three. As in the other chapters, we will therefore draw on epic material (*Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*), portions of which date between the fourth century BCE to fourth century CE and thus overlap historically with the vedic ritual manuals. The third section of this chapter will focus on the question of the nature of *pārthiva* worship as described in the JS. In this section, we will discuss further *purāṇic* references to rites involving the *pārthiva* as well as references in *āgamic* materials.

The primary purpose of this chapter is to shed light on early forms of Śiva worship, as they inform our understanding of the prehistory and formation of the JS and the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*. Above, I suggested the JS reflects the starting-point of a process whereby the *jyotirliṅga* cult and its literature emerged from the combination of a variety of traditions, including regional traditions associated with the individual sites, pan-Indian traditions related to epic literature, and different strands of early Śaivism. I also speculated that the KS represents a later stage, marked by the increased homogenization of these

diverse strands of Śiva worship. In this chapter, I hope to develop this argument further and to fill in our picture of the specific kinds of worship that may have been displaced by the medieval rise of *liṅga* worship.

Although references to *pārthiva* worship are largely limited to *purāṇic* and *āgamic*/tantric material, I hope that my analysis in this chapter can also help us to solve the puzzle of *pārthiva* worship in the JS. No certain answer is possible at this stage of research. We can, however, chart some plausible options. Specifically, my analysis will point to a possible relationship between *pārthiva* worship and the aniconic modes of Rudra and Śiva worship described in earlier sources. As we shall see, connections with the *sthaṇḍila* and the *vedi* may be particularly telling.

1. The *sthaṇḍila* and early Śiva worship

Before surveying references to the *sthaṇḍila*, it is necessary to explain its relevance for our inquiry; after all, the term is widespread and is often translated with terms such as "surface" or "ground" (see below), which do not seem at first sight to bear any specific ritual meaning. Yet the term's relevance for our inquiry is suggested by references such as *Vana Parvan* 39.65 and *Droṇa Parvan* 56.1-4 in the *Mahābhārata*. There are a number of passages in the *Mahābhārata* that describe Śiva worship but make no explicit reference to *liṅgas*. In these two, the ritual descriptions involve a *sthaṇḍila*.

The first, *Vana Parvan* 39.65, is found only in Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's edition and commentary of the *Mahābhārata* (ca. seventeenth c.; sometimes referred to as "the vulgate edition"); it does not occur in the critical edition.[137] It is a part of the section where Arjuna encounters Kirāta, the mountain dwelling hunter, on his way to the top of Mt. Himālaya.[138] During his

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[137] By vulgate edition I mean the text complied by Nīlakaṇṭha in the seventeenth century, as opposed to the critical edition. I am using the Pune edition of the vulgate edited by P. K. Kinjawadekar in 1931 by Chitrashala Press.

[138] Reference in R. K. Siddhantashastree, *Śaivism Through the Ages*, (Delhi: Munshiram: 1975), 66. See also Jaques Scheuer, *Śiva dans le Mahābhārata*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France,

veneration of Śiva, Arjuna constructs an earthen *sthaṇḍila*: "*mṛnmayaṃ sthaṇḍilaṃ kṛtvā.*" Below, I will suggest that this may be a kind of altar structure, or a drawing on the ground, within which an object of worship would be placed. In this case the Lord himself stands on the *sthaṇḍila*. As in JS, we here find an example of Śiva worship without a *liṅga*. Further to the relevance of the *sthaṇḍila* for our understanding of early Śiva worship, it is significant that this passage is later taken up by the ŚP tradition. In JS 68 and *Vāyavīya-Saṃhitā* 18 (see below), it is re-interpreted as an example of *pārthiva* worship.

As with the *pārthiva*, there is some confusion surrounding the nature of this structure. Some modern interpreters of the vulgate *Vana Parvan* passage read the "*sthaṇḍila*" as the object of worship. In his English translation of the vulgate, for instance, P. C. Roy renders "*mṛnmayaṃ sthaṇḍilaṃ*" as "a clay image of that deity."[139] Another interpretation is given in the commentary of a Bengali-Sanskrit edition of the passage, which defines "*sthaṇḍila*" as an image (*pratimā*) of Śiva: "*sthaṇḍilo pariśivapratimām.*"[140] Although P. K. Siddhantashastree

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1982), 255-56; as well as J. N. Banerjea, "The Phallic Emblem in Ancient and Medieval India," in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. 3, (1935): 38; also *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi: Munshiram,1973), 152-54 and 462.

[139] P. C. Roy, *Mahābhārata*, vol. 3, (Calcutta: Oriental Publishing Co., n.d.), 89 (of *Vana Parvan* section).

[140] *Mahābhārata, Vanaparvava*, vol. 6 (ed. by Janmaśatavārṣika), (Kalikātā: Viśvavānī Prakāśanī, 1976), 380, notes for 35.65. Malamoud defines *pratimā* as a copy or reflection of a god when discussing the role of images in Indian religion. See Charles Malamoud, "briques et mots", in *Cuire le monde*, (Paris: Editions la Decouverte, 1989), 255. Acharya, defines *pratimā* as "an image, an idol, a bust, a statue"; Acharya (1998), 318. In Jain medieval donative inscriptions *pratimā* is generally assigned to anthropomorphic images of gods as opposed to other words for anthropomorphic images: *bimba* (for Jinas) and *mūrti* (for portraits); see J. C. Laughlin, *Ārādhakamūrti/ Adhiṣṭhāyakāmūrti: Popular Piety, Politics and The Medieval Jain Temple Portrait* (dissertation), (Hamilton: McMaster University, 1999), 35-36.

Kane makes reference to a number of passages on modes of worshipping Viṣṇu – all of which make a distinction between a *sthaṇḍila* and a *pratimā*. He relates, "Hari is to be worshipped in water, in fire, in the heart, in the sun, on the altar, in Brāhmaṇas and in images," vol. 2 part 2, page 715; citation in Malamoud (1989), 255. Here we see that Kane, like Hopkins, takes *sthaṇḍila* to mean altar. The textual references on which the quotation is based include the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* 11.27.9 and the *Vṛddha-Hārīta* 6.128-29. Such an obvious distinction between the terms could suggest a problem with the interpreter of the Bengali *Mahābhārata*'s assignment of *pratimā* to the *sthaṇḍila* here. This same passage is found in the VS (14.23-24) of ŚP2, but with reference to the general veneration of all gods.

recognizes that the term generally stands for a dais, he nevertheless concludes that it is here a *liṅga*. His reasoning runs as follows:

> ...because, worship of the Lord on an earthen Śivaliṅga is well known, and it is prescribed by different authorities; where-as, worship of the Lord on an earthen dais is neither known anywhere, nor is it prescribed by the reliable authorities. It may therefore be reasonable to hold that Arjuna worshipped the Lord on an earthen Śivaliṅga.[141]

Notably, Siddhantashastree gives no identification of these "authorities," nor the dates to which they might be assigned; his interpretation is therefore tenuous. In suggesting that the *sthaṇḍila* is a *liṅga*, he seems to reflect the modes of Śiva worship that are now dominant; the textual evidence of the epic itself does not appear to support this reading.

More apt, in my view, are the views of E. W. Hopkins and Jacques Scheuer, both of whom also comment on this passage. Hopkins calls the *sthaṇḍila* an altar, but he offers no particular explanation for this. Scheuer defines the term as follows:

> <<*Sthaṇḍila*>> désigne, semble-t-il, une surface de terrain, le sol nu, le sol aplani et préparé pour une cérémonie, pour un sacrifice.[142]

Scheuer does not believe, like Hopkins, that it is a raised surface like an altar; he argues that this is a modern usage of the term. Rather, he believes that a *sthaṇḍila* is leveled ground upon which ceremonies are performed. I might add, however, that the adjective *mṛṇmaya* that characterizes the *sthaṇḍila* in the *Vana Parvan* would be somewhat redundant if a *sthaṇḍila* was referring to "le sol nu" and not to a raised structure of some kind. That is, it is qualified as an *earthen sthaṇḍila* as opposed to some other kind. In either case it is clear that the

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[141] Siddhantashastree, 66.
[142] Scheuer (1982), 256.

sthaṇḍila had some significance in the epic text for the worship of Śiva that did not centre on the *liṅga*.

The suggestions of Hopkins and Scheuer point us to the potential importance of other references to the *sthaṇḍila* for our understanding of early Śaiva ritual. Given that Śiva worship in the Kirāta episode of *Vana Parvan* 39.65 features a *sthaṇḍila* and that the JS includes a version of the Kirāta episode that features a *pārthiva*, further examination of the term "*sthaṇḍila*" is warranted.

The term's relevance for our study is made further clear by the second reference, *Droṇa Parvan* chapter 56.1-4. This reference to the *sthaṇḍila* structure occurs when Kṛṣṇa comes to visit Arjuna in his home, and they both worship Śiva. The passage reads:

> tato 'rjunasya bhavanaṃ praviśyāpratimaṃ vibhuḥ
> spṛṣṭvāmbhaḥ puṇḍarīkākṣaḥ sthaṇḍile śubhalakṣaṇe
> saṃtastāra śubhāṃ śayyāṃ darbhair vaidūrya saṃnibhaiḥ//1//
> tato mālyena vidhival lājair gandhaiḥ sumaṅgalaiḥ
> alaṃcakāra tāṃ śayyāṃ parivāryāyudhottamaiḥ//2//
> tataḥ spṛṣṭodakaṃ pārthaṃ vinītāḥ paricārakāḥ/
> darśayāṃ naityakaṃ cakrur naiśaṃ traiyambakaṃ balim//3//[143]
> tataḥ prītamanāḥ pārtho gandhair mālyaiś ca mādhavam/
> alaṃkṛtyopahāraṃ taṃ naiśam[144] asmai nyavedayat//4//

> That Great One (Kṛṣṇa), possessed of eyes like lotuses, having entered the magnificent house of Arjuna, touched water and spread out an auspicious bed of *darbha* grass, (the blades of which) were like (the colour of) cat's eyes, on the auspiciously marked *sthaṇḍila*. Then he surrounded the bed with excellent weapons, and adorned it, according to the proper rites, with garlands of flowers, rice, perfumes and other auspicious things. Then the humble attendants to Arjuna who (had himself) touched the water, showed Arjuna the

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[143] The parallel for this verse in the vulgate reads:

tataḥ spṛṣṭodake pārthe vinītāḥ paricārakāḥ//3//
darśayanto 'ntike cakrurnaiśaṃ traiyambakaṃ balim/

[144] The notes for the critical edition state that "*naiśam*" is replaced with "*śaivam*" in the Ms-5 MS.

> regular night offering sacred to the Tryambaka (Śiva). Then
> Arjuna, possessed of delight, after decorating Kṛṣṇa with scents
> and garlands of flowers, offered the evening oblation to that one
> (Śiva).

The importance of this second passage will be discussed more fully in the
analysis of the *Śatarudriya* hymn below, but note here that it establishes the
setting for Arjuna's subsequent dream-vision of Śiva when he receives the
Pāśupata weapon. This dream-vision integrates another ritual element that is
important for our inquiry, namely the singing of the *Śatarudriya* hymn.

1a. The *sthaṇḍila* in early Sanskrit sources

The earliest references to this structure (seventh to second c. BCE) do not
incorporate Śiva worship but include the propitiation of vedic gods such as
Rudra as well as Agni, Indra and Prajāpati.[145] These texts, *upaniṣads, gṛhyasūtras*
and others, have more in common with the earlier vedic rites that we see in the
brāhmaṇas, than with the later bhakti rites that we find in the *purāṇas*. They
serve as something of a transition between the ritual material in the *Śatapatha
Brāhmaṇa* and the ritual material in the epics. Their treatment of *sthaṇḍila*
structures, therefore, will help to understand the influence of this early material
on *purāṇic* materials. These intermediary texts also give some sense of the form
and arrangement of the *sthaṇḍila* in relationship to other objects, such as the
sacrificial fire. I will survey the relevant references in chronological order.

There is one occurrence of *sthaṇḍila* in the *upaniṣads*: the *Chāndogya
Upaniṣad* V, 2.8. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is considered one of the earliest
upaniṣads (along with the *Bṛhadopaniṣad*) dating from around the seventh to sixth

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[145] There is some reference to Rudra as the one who receives the chaff or residual rice
offering in the *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* (1.4.31); Śrinivasan (1983), 544; but Rudra is not directly connected
to the structure as I argue he is in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, i, 1-2. I address this in the section on
the *Śatarudriya*.

centuries BCE.[146] The passage from V, 2.8 is the earliest reference to the term *sthaṇḍila* that I have found:

> nirṇijya kaṃsaṃ camasaṃ vā paścād agneḥ saṃviśati
> carmaṇi vā sthaṇḍile vā vācaṃyamo 'pramādaḥ/
> sa yadi striyaṃ paśyet, samṛddhaṃ karma iti vidyāt/

> He then cleans the goblet or cup and lies down behind the fire on either a skin or the bare ground, remaining silent and unresistant. If he sees a woman, he should know that his rite has been successful.[147]

Modern translators such as P. Olivelle and Emil Senart probably render "*sthaṇḍile*" as "on the bare ground"/"sur la terre" because that is how Śaṅkara glosses it in his commentary of the passage: "*kevalāyāṃ bhūmau.*"[148] This interpretation, however, is only one possibility. As noted above, the term can also function as a technical term for a ritual space. The passage differentiates between the *sthaṇḍila* and the fire altar, but does not give us any details other than its position. The description, however, does leave open the possibility of understanding *sthaṇḍila*, for instance, as denoting another altar structure.

There are a number of occurrences of *sthaṇḍila* in the *gṛhasūtras*, a body of literature that is dedicated to domestic rites; some portions may dated to the third to second centuries BCE. I have located two relevant references. *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtram* I, 3.1 reads:

> atha khalu yatra kva ca hoṣyantsyād iṣumātrāvaraṃ sarvataḥ
> sthaṇḍilam upalipyollikhya ṣaḍlekhā udagāyatāṃ paścātprāgāyate
> nānā 'ntayostisro madhye tadabhyukṣyāgniṃ pratiṣṭhāpyānvadhāya

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[146] Patrick Olivelle, *Upaniṣads*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), xxxvi.

[147] Olivelle (1998), 139. Emil Senart translates "*paścād agneḥ*" as "à l'ouest du feu" instead of "behind the fire"; but similar to Olivelle's "on the bare ground," translates "*sthaṇḍile*" as "sur la terre." *Chāndogya-upanisad*, traduit et annotée par Emile Senart, (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1930).

[148] Śaṅkarācārya, *Īśādidaśopaniṣadaḥ: Ten Principal Upanishads; with Śaṅkarabhāṣya.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidasa, 1964), 219.

> parisamuhya paristīrya purastād dakṣiṇataḥ paścād uttarata ity
> udaksaṃsthaṃ tūṣṇīṃ paryukṣaṇam/

> Now whenever he intends to perform a sacrifice, let him besmear
> (with cow-dung) a surface of the dimension at least of an arrow on
> each side; he should draw six lines thereon, one turned to the
> north, to the west (of the spot on which the fire is to be placed);
> two (lines) turned to the east, at the two different ends (of the line
> mentioned first); three (lines) in the middle (of those two); let him
> sprinkle that (place with water), establish the (sacred) fire
> (thereon), put (two or three pieces of fuel) on it, wipe (the ground)
> round (the fire), strew (grass) round (it), to the east, to the south,
> to the west, to the north, ending (each time) in the north. Then
> (follows) silently the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire).[149]

Hermann Oldenberg here translates "*sthaṇḍilam*" as "a surface," as does N. N. Sharma in his English translation.[150] This "surface" is given a very specific description, however, such that *sthaṇḍila* may be better interpreted as a technical term for an altar or ritually-prepared ground. The "surface," after all, is here an area prepared for fire sacrifice through a very specific set of practices (i.e., smearing cow-dung, drawing, sprinkling water).

A parallel to this passage is found in the *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* I, 5.13, also translated by Oldenberg. Again he renders *sthaṇḍila* as "surface." The relevant passage reads:

[149] The Sanskrit text is found in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtram*, (edited by) Narendra Nath Sharma, (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1976), 6. The translation is from: *The Gṛhya-Sutras: Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies*, part 1, (transl. by) Hermann Oldenberg, and (ed. by) Max Muller, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 161. The measurement of "*iṣu-mātrā*" "the width of an arrow" corresponds to a description of the making of a clay pan in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.5.2.10 or "*iṣumātrīṃ*" is the width of a clay pan made for five sacrificial victims. I do not know if this is a common measurement type or not. The clay pan is an important implement, which carries the fire and is created prior to the building of the altar; see Paul-Emile Dumont, "The Special Kinds of Agnicayana," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 95, No. 6. (Dec. 21, 1951), 629.

[150] N. N. Sharma, (1976), 146. Sharma's translation of the passage more or less follows Oldenberg's above.

atha   yadaharupavasatho   bhavati   tadahaḥ   pūrvāhṇa   eva
prātarāhūtiṃ hutvai tad agneḥ sthaṇḍilaṃ gomayena samantaṃ
paryupalimpati//13//

Now on the day which is the fast-day, on that day, in the forenoon,
having offered his morning oblation, he besmears that surface on
which the fire is placed, on all sides with cow-dung.[151]

Here too, the "surface" is, more specifically, a ritual space that is delineated in a specific manner (i.e., smearing with cow-dung) and used for sacrifice. The meaning of *sthaṇḍila* seems to fall closer to Hopkins and Scheuer's suggestions than to Oldenberg's translation. It seems to denote an altar structure or an area of the ground delineated and prepared for ritual use.

In other parts of *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* we find, in association with this *sthaṇḍila*, descriptions of various ritual actions that are also mentioned in epic passages relating to this structure. For example, the initiate touches water ("*apa upaspṛśya*") before sitting down to perform rites at the fire supported by the *sthaṇḍila*. This is the action that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna take before worshiping Śiva in the *Droṇa* 56.1-4.[152] There are also extensive rites employing *darbha* and *kuśa* grass, both of which are laid on the *sthaṇḍila* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (see references below). These *gṛhyasūtra* passages are not directly associated with Śiva worship and are more closely aligned with a vedic pantheon. However, the description is of a more simplified structure than the descriptions of the *vedi* that we find in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (as produced from the *agnicayana*, for example) and is perhaps closer to the *sthaṇḍila* that Arjuna builds in *Vana* 39.65 and *Droṇa* 56.1-4.

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[151] The Sanskrit text is found in: *Gobhilagṛhyasūtra*, (ed. by) Mūkūnda Jhā Bakṣi, (Benares: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1936), 71. The translation is from Oldenberg, part 2, (1886), 27.

[152] The ritual action "*upaspṛśya*" can also refer to rinsing the mouth. It is not entirely clear which of these two is being performed, but the rite is prominent in a number of passages dedicated to Rudra and Śiva worship that we will examine in this chapter. I am taking it to mean "touching water."

1b. The *sthaṇḍila* in epic material

We have already discussed two passages from the *Mahābhārata*, namely *Vana Parvan* 39.65 and *Droṇa Parvan* 56.1-4. Those references spoke to the place of the *sthaṇḍila* in early Śaiva worship. In addition, there are up to a dozen other references to the term in the *Mahābhārata*. Its most common usage is within descriptions of ascetic practices. When Viśvāmitra attempts to attain Brahminhood through ascetic discipline in the *Śalya Parvan*, for example, he is said to be "*sthaṇḍilaśāyī*" or "lying in the *sthaṇḍila*".[153] This is often translated simply as "lying on the ground." It is striking, however, that the majority of instances of the term *sthaṇḍila* occur in the context of ascetic observances. I have only found one example where there is no ritual meaning for the word.[154] Uses related to ascetic ritual practices include Book IX (*Śalya Parvan*), 4.18, 36.46; and Book XIII (*Anuśāsana Parvan*), 7.8, 57.15, 129.51, 130.8, 130.45-46. All of these verses refer to persons engaged in the ascetic observance of lying on a *sthaṇḍila*. In light of the passages examined above, this suggests that "the ground" has probably been ritually prepared and may well have been a raised platform.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ca. second century BCE to second century CE) there are no references to *sthaṇḍila* in the context of Śaivite worship. There are a few instances of the term in the critical edition: Book II, 82.12, 93.27, 103.13; Book

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[153] A similar expression is found illustrating Rāvaṇa's ascetic activities in JS 55.23 from the story dedicated to the *jyotirliṅga* Vaidyanātha. Here Rāvaṇa "*sthaṇḍile śayaḥ*" or "lay on the *sthaṇḍila*" for which the commentator of the text states:

sthaṇḍile catvare śete iti sthaṇḍile śayaḥ//

"*sthaṇḍile śayaḥ*" means that he lay on a *sthaṇḍila*, that is, a *catvara* (ground prepared for a sacrifice).

This passage from the Vaidyanātha story is discussed in detail in the section dedicated to this *jyotirliṅga* in chapter three, but note here that it occurs prior to Rāvaṇa's construction and worship of the *pārthiva* ritual object.

[154] This example is from the *Karṇa Parvan*, 48.3 of the critical edition. *Sthaṇḍila* is here the word for ground in the context of a battle scene.

III, 5.4; and Book V, 18.25. The most interesting among these is found in Book II, 93. This chapter describes Bharata and Śatrughna's encounter with the *āśrama* of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. It gives a detailed account of what they see there. Rāma's hut (*parṇaśālā*) is compared to an altar (*vedi*): "*vedim ivādhvare*" – "like an altar in a sacrifice" in verses 17-18. Like the *sthaṇḍila* described in the *Droṇa Parvan* (56.1-4; see above), this hut is surrounded by various weapons (93.19-22). In the hut (verse 24 – *uṭaje*) Rāma sits on a *sthaṇḍila* covered with *darbha* grass along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa (verse 27):

> upaviṣṭaṃ mahābāhuṃ brahmāṇam iva śāśvatam
> sthaṇḍile darbhasaṃstīrṇe sītayā lakṣmaṇena ca

> (Bharata saw) that mighty armed one (Rāma), like the eternal Brahman seated on a *sthaṇḍila* covered with *darbha* grass along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa.

So we see that Rāma is seated on a *sthaṇḍila* in the hut (*uṭaja*) that resembles a *vedi* and is surrounded by weapons. While this is not an example of Śaivite worship, it parallels the *Droṇa Parvan* example discussed above (56.1-4) and tells us something about how the structure was conceived.[155] Here, rather than Śiva, it is Rāma along with his wife and brother that are seen (*dadarśa*) by Bharata. Bharata's act of looking at these three figures set up on the *sthaṇḍila* might suggest a type of visual worship of God that is common in *purāṇic* material. Indeed Bharata has just earlier (93.16) stated that when he sees them he will prostrate himself at the feet of the three again and again. In this sense, the three might be considered to be similar to objects of worship placed on the *sthaṇḍila*. We see with this example, like the examples I presented in the *Mahābhārata*, a

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[155] There are examples of Buddhist relief carvings featuring huts that date between the second century BCE and the first century CE and arguably fit within the epic time period. These reliefs depict ascetic huts in a variety of narrative contexts – one of these is likely an illustration of the *Rāmāyaṇa* [Gandhara, BM 1880-53]. In most cases the ascetic sits on some kind of grass mat that one might assume to be the *darbha* or *kuśa* grass placed on the *sthaṇḍila* in many of the textual examples I examine. We might consider that these huts illustrate some kind of standard accommodation of the ascetic in his forest environment. See the appropriate section of Appendix C.

development from earlier material. Figures on the *sthaṇḍila* are the focus of worship, just as the fire had been the centre of ritual in the *gṛhyasūtras*. Furthermore, this text seems to suggest a kinship between the *vedi* and the *sthaṇḍila*. With this relationship in mind, we now move to an analysis of Rudra and Śiva worship employing the *vedi* structure and the *Śatarudriya* hymn.

2. The *Śatarudriya* hymn, the *vedi*, and the worship of Rudra and Śiva

A consideration of the *Śatarudriya* hymn, dedicated to Rudra, may help further to illumine the complex relationship between Rudra and vedic sacrifice, contributing to our exploration of early evidence for altar-centred worship of Śiva. The full hymn occurs in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (Black) IV, v, 1-11 (ca. tenth c. BCE).[156] Already in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (ca. ninth c. BCE), the hymn is directly connected to the construction of a *vedi*.[157] Books VI-VIII give details of the altar's construction, while book IX relates a number of rites associated with the structure. The first of these (IX, i, 1) introduces the Śatarudriya offering and connects Rudra with the altar (*agni*):

> oṃ/ athātaḥ śatarudriyaṃ juhoti/ atraiṣa sarvo 'gniḥ saṃskṛtaḥ sa
> eṣo 'tra rudro devatā

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[156] There are different versions of the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* in "Black" and "White" traditions of the *Yajur Veda*. Likewise there are two different versions of the *Śatarudriya* hymn. Though similar in tone and content, the hymns are not identical. To my knowledge, no comparison of the two vedic hymns has been done.

[157] The structure named in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, i is particular to the teacher named Śāṇḍilya (for example, bricks are placed "in the śāṇḍila fire altar" – "*śāṇḍile 'gnau*"; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, i, 1.43). Books 6-9 of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* are attributed to this teacher, and it is these books that are our main source in the text for information about the construction of the bird-form fire altar discussed in Staal's book *Agni*. In his introduction to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Eggeling discusses the two main teachers that inform the text: Yājñavalkya and Śāṇḍilya. Yājñavalkya is referred to as an authority in Books I-V, while Śāṇḍilya is the authority in books VI-IX. Śāṇḍilya is the main authority named in book X, but the book is also aligned with authorities in Yājñavalkya's lineage suggesting some connection between the two schools represented by both teachers at a later time (book X being later than the others). Nonetheless, it is clear that Śāṇḍila is the authority deferred to for the construction of the *vedi* in books VI-X – the section of the text that primarily concerns our analysis of the *pārthiva*. See J. Eggeling, vol. 1, xxxi-xxxv.

He then performs the *Śatarudriya* offering! This whole Agni has now been completed: he now is the deity Rudra.[158]

The opening *brāhmaṇa* (IX i, 1.6-7) also relates a story of Prajāpati's dissolution (and so the dissolution of the fire altar itself). Because of this dissolution the terrible form of Rudra appears from Prajāpati's tears.[159] In order to appease this terrible form (hundred headed, thousand eyed[160]), and so restore the altar,[161] the gods offer him food by means of the *Śatarudriya*.

The text then goes on (IX, i, 8-42) to relay the various rites that comprise the offerings to appease Rudra, many of which correspond directly to the *Śatarudriya* hymn.[162] Verses 43-44 discuss how this entire hymn, consisting of 425 verses (360 plus 30 plus 35), relates to the altar (*śāṇḍila-agni*). The bricks that construct it are linked to the *Śatarudriya* through the oblations (*abhihutā*),[163] presumably those that have been offered in verses 8-42. The *Śatarudriya* is also identified with the "Great Litany" (*mahaduktha*), a seven-part-formula version of the bird-type altar structure:[164] "*hāsyaitachatarudriyaṃ mahaduktham āpnoti*" ("and in this way this *Śatarudriya* of his attains to (conformity with) the Great Litany").[165]

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[158] Eggeling part 4, 156.

[159] Gonda, "The Śatarudriya," in *Sanskrit and Indian Studies*, (London: D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1980), 76.

[160] This image corresponds to the *bhūta* encountered by Aśvatthāman in the opening of chapter seven of the *Sauptika Parvan* and discussed in chapter two of this dissertation.

[161] The theme of Prajāpati's dissolution and reconstruction is repeated elsewhere in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, such as in X, i, 3.1-10.

[162] Eggeling, part iv, 150.

[163] The Sanskrit portion of this verse (fr. Eggeling, part iv, 167) reads:

vai śāṇḍile 'gnau madhyato yajuṣmatya iṣṭakā upadhīyante 'gnayo haite pṛthagyadetā iṣṭakā evamu hāyaite 'gnayaḥ pṛthakśatarudriyeṇābhihutā bhavanti/

And, indeed, in the Śāṇḍila fire-altar as many bricks with formulas attached to them are placed in the middle, for these bricks are indeed the same as these different Agnis (invoked in the *Śatarudriya*); and thus these Agnis of his come to have oblations offered to them separately by means of the *Śatarudriya*.

[164] See Eggeling, part iv, 112 note 1 for a description of the Great Litany.

[165] Eggeling, part iv, 168-69.

The first *brāhmaṇa* of book IX serves the purpose of integrating a Rudra text, the *Śatarudriya*, into the vedic altar structure and thereby integrating the god himself into vedic ritual and cosmology. This integration, it can be argued, in part runs contrary to common assumptions about Rudra's "outsider" status. The notion of Rudra-as-outsider represents a well-known and common interpretation of the god's place in vedic literature. For example, in the *Śatarudriya* itself, a vedic hymn, Rudra is associated with figures generally considered outside of society. He is praised with the phrase "Salutation to the lord of armed thieves and of cruel murderous robbers" ("*namo namaḥ sṛkāvibhyo jighāṃsadbhyo muṣṇatāṃ pataye*") in *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (Black) IV, v, 3.[166]

We also see something similar in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, vii, 4, and in the *Aittireya Brāhmaṇa* III, 33-34 (or 217-21), which tell the story of Rudra's hunt of the incestuous Prajāpati.[167] In it Rudra seems to be treated as an outsider in that his share of the sacrifice is considered both dangerous and tainted.[168] His share inflicts violence on a number of the gods assembled for the sacrifice and who attempt to eat it. Bhaga is blinded and Pūṣana has his teeth knocked out. Through the combined efforts of Bṛhaspati and Savitṛ, the gods are able to pacify the renegade piece of flesh. In the ritual parallel to the myth, in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, vii, 4.9, the priest "touches water" ("*āpa upaspṛśye*") to

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[166] For Sanskrit text and translation see C. Śivaramamurti (trans.), *Śatarudriya: Vibhūti of Śiva's Iconography* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1976), 17-18. Keith translates the passage (verse f) as "Homage to the bolt-armed destructive ones, to the lord of pilferers homage!" Keith, part 2, (1967), 356. Rudra's ultimate status in the Śatarudriya, however, is ambiguous as he is attributed with both positive and negative aspects throughout. It may be that this hymn represents an early stage in the vedic assimilation and contemplation of Rudra and that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* passages (IX, i, 1-2) are a further development of this trend.

[167] These passages are about Rudra's well known hunt of the sacrifice (Prajāpati), and I do not want to address this theme here. See Kramrisch, (1981), 98-110; Granoff, (2006).

[168] In this myth (Aittireya Brāhmaṇa III, 33-34; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, vii, 4) Rudra hunts Prajāpati the god of creation, who has transformed into a deer after having incestuous relations with his daughter. Prajāpati, who is also identified with the sacrificial altar and the sacrifice itself (see chapter five), runs away when he transforms into a deer. Rudra, at the behest of the other gods, shoots him with an arrow to bring him down. The gods restore Prajāpati and the arrow which pierced the deer's skin is ripped out of his hide. The piece of flesh that is attached to it becomes identified with Rudra's power and becomes his share of the sacrifice.

purify himself after cutting out Rudra's share. Upon performing other rites over the tainted piece, he places it in the fire, because Agni cannot be injured (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, vii, 4.16). Clearly the portion dedicated to Rudra is treated with caution, as a potential threat to the sacrifice.

Scholarship has long interpreted such passages as an indication that Rudra stands outside of the vedic sacrificial tradition and has pre-Aryan origins within India.[169] In response to such traditional views, Doris Śrinivasan has argued that Rudra's outsider status needs to be reconsidered. She shows that there are traits attributed to Rudra that he shares with other vedic gods such as Mitra and Varuṇa.[170] She then goes on to suggest that the "ancients" within the sacrificial tradition itself viewed the "remainder" of the vedic sacrificial offering, like that which was given to Rudra, to be "imbued with great potency and importance."[171] The main thrust of her proposition is to secure Rudra's status solely within the vedic sacrificial tradition and propose that the god was not an "outsider" at all.

Śrinivasan's general proposition is intriguing, and it should be added that the traditional view does not consider that the act of pacification itself may be a way of integrating Rudra into a vedic rite. However, in my view, Śrinivasan's argument does not entirely explain away all of the evidence suggesting that Rudra was originally an "outsider." For example, she has overlooked at least one reference where Rudra is wholly denied any share of the sacrifice, namely *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3.34.[172]

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[169] For a summary of traditional studies on Rudra see J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens 1 (Stuttgart, 1960), 88 fn 17; cited in Śrinivasan, (1983), 544.

[170] Both are referred to as *"rudrā"* (dual vocative form in vedic material) in *Ṛg Veda* 5.70.22 and verse 31, for example. Gonda (1983), 546.

[171] Gonda (1983), 553-54. See also Śrinivasan (1997), 52-57. Śrinivasan draws her theory about the potency of the sacrificial share from Jan Gonda, *"Atharvaveda* 11.17," *Mélanges d'Indianism à la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris, 1968), 313, and C. Malamoud, "Observations sur la notion de <<reste>> dans le brāhmaṇisme," (reprinted in) *Cuire le monde* (1989), 13-33.

[172] To be sure, the author does cite this passage in her book published after the article in question (1997), 53, but then maintains more or less the same argument in what follows, a contradiction in my mind.

I would like to argue that the integration of Rudra in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, vii, 4.16, and later in IX, i, 1, may have been performed *precisely because* he is considered an outsider to vedic religion. In my view, these texts serve as early examples of the process of Rudra's acceptance. This is to suggest that Rudra probably was a pre-Aryan deity who slowly became integrated into the vedic sacrificial system. In particular *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, i, 1-2, presents an image of Rudra as absorbed into the altar. In my view, this is tantamount to his acceptance into this system. In IX, i, 2 we see that, after Rudra is absorbed into the altar, the priest removes the negative aspects that had previously given him an outsider status. Thus, in IX, i, 2.10:

> etad vā enaṃ devāḥ/ śatarudriyeṇa cādbhiśca śamayitvāyāsyaitena
> śucaṃ pāpmānam apāghnaṃ tathaivainamayameta śatarudriyeṇa
> cādbhiśca śamayitvāthāsyaitena śucaṃ pāpmānam apahanti//10//

> For at that time, the gods, having appeased him by the Śatarudriya
> and the water, thereby drove out his pain, his evil; and in like
> manner does this (Sacrificer) now, after appeasing him by the
> Śatarudriya and the water, cast away his pain, his evil.[173]

The undesirable part of Rudra, his pain and evil (*śuca* and *pāpman*), arguably convey the god's outsider status that is seen in other sections of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[174] For example, in I, vii, 4.9, 16, the priest purifies himself before handling Rudra's share, which he must not eat. In IX, i, 2.11, the verse immediately following the above passage, the undesirable part is put outside of the *vedi*, the equivalent of the world (IX, i, 2.11):

> bāhyenāgniṃ harati/ ime vai lokā eśo 'gnirebhyas tat lokebhyo
> bahirdhā śucaṃ dadhai bahirvedīyaṃ

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[173] Eggeling, part iv, 171.

[174] The *Śatarudriya* hymn itself presents Rudra as a terrible and frightening god and arguably represents his outsider status. This may be precisely why the hymn was employed – to transform and neutralize the god's power. The later dating of the Śāṇḍilya portion of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, containing this rite of transformation may indicate a trend within the mainstream Brahmanical tradition to integrate Rudra.

> Outside the fire-altar he throws it; for this fire-altar indeed is the same as these (three) worlds: he thus puts pain outside these worlds; - outside the sacrificial ground (*vedi*).[175]

Here Rudra's undesirable parts have been removed – put outside the sacrificial ground (*bahirvedīyaṃ*). Yet the god himself remains within that area. Along with the integration of the Śatarudriya, this imagery expresses an impulse to make Rudra more acceptable to the vedic ritual environment.[176]

I believe that this dynamic in Rudra worship continues in Śiva worship; in my view, Śiva-the-outsider and Śiva-the-acceptable-god are themes that permeate into Sanskrit literature for some time. The integration of Rudra into the altar, for instance, recalls the depiction of Śiva and the vedic priests in the SkP IV (*Avanti-khaṇḍa*), ii, 8. There, as we discussed in chapter two, vedic priests attempt to throw the skulls that appear on their altar outside of the sacrificial arena where they worship Śiva.

In addition, the theme of Dakṣa's sacrifice represents the continuation of Śiva's outsider status. Likewise, the early SkP 11 states that Brahmins "*apaḥ sprakṣyanti*" (v. 31) or "*apaḥ spṛśanti*" (v. 34) before or after handling Śiva's share of the sacrifice. This is the same rite mentioned in the two contexts presented in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (books I and IX respectively) and is also the same rite performed in the *Mahābhārata* VII (*Droṇa Parvan*), 57, and 173 (see below). It is clearly an act of purification (the early SkP states – "*śuddhyartham*" – "for the purpose of purification" in verse 34). Nonetheless, what is crucial is whether or not Śiva becomes absorbed into the sacred space of the sacrifice or remains outside of it in perpetual tension. The early SkP plainly keeps Śiva on the outside. I suggest that other texts take a different position – one of absorption and acceptance.

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[175] Eggeling, part iv, 171.

[176] The account of the renegade piece of flesh attacking the gods and then being pacified by them (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, vii, 4), may be considered a parallel, and perhaps earlier account trying to integrate the outsider Rudra into the vedic system.

2a. Śatarudriya in the Mahābhārata

There are two instances in the *Mahābhārata* involving Śiva worship that incorporate the *Śatarudriya* hymn: *Droṇa Parvan* chapter 57 and chapter 173.[177] The first of these, chapter 57, is another account of Arjuna's acquisition of Śiva's Pāśupata weapon (the other being the Kirāta episode in the *Vana Parvan*). The second, chapter 173, is presented in the context of *liṅga* worship.

Chapter 57 finds Arjuna sleeping. In a dream, through the encouragement of Kṛṣṇa, he learns how to obtain Śiva's Pāśupata weapon so that he might honour his vow to defeat Jayadratha the next day in battle.[178] The setting is the same as it was in chapter 56 where Arjuna built a *sthaṇḍila* and surrounds it with weapons. Though it is not entirely clear where he sleeps, it is quite likely that he sleeps on that structure in chapter 57. As noted above, sleeping on a *sthaṇḍila* is a common rite among those engaged in ascetic practices in the *Mahābhārata*.

In Arjuna's dream, he has a vision of Śiva because of Kṛṣṇa's encouragement. In 57.19 it states:

tataḥ kṛṣṇavacaḥ śrutvā saṃspṛśyāmbho dhanaṃjayaḥ/
bhūmāv āsīna ekāgro jagāma manasā bhavam//19//

Then hearing the words of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna touched water, sat on the ground and, with his attention fixed, meditated on Śiva.

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[177] There is a third, in the *Anuśāsana Parvan*, but I will not address this example here. See Gonda, (1980), 80-81.

[178] Droṇa Parvan 57.1-2 reads:

kuntīputras tu taṃ mantraṃ smarann eva dhanaṃjayaḥ/
pratijñām ātmano rakṣan mumohācintyavikramaḥ//1//
taṃ tu śokena saṃtaptaṃ svapne kapivaradhvajam/
āsasāda mahātejā dhyāyantaṃ garuḍadhvajaḥ//2//

Dhanaṃjaya (Arjuna), Kunti's son, remembering the mantra, keeping his promise, of unassailable strength, fell into a stupor. (Kṛṣṇa) possessed of great energy who had Garuḍa as his banner, came into the dream of (Arjuna) the Ape bannered one, who was immersed in thought and burning with grief.

This is the ritual context in which Arjuna's meditation and subsequent vision of Śiva takes place. The act of touching water (*saṃspṛśyāmbha*) is also found in Arjuna's earlier construction of the *sthaṇḍila* (*Droṇa* 56.1-4). It is performed by Arjuna again before obtaining the Pāśupata weapon in 57.70. As noted above, the sacrificer also touches water before handling Rudra's portion in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, vii, 4.9. This appears to be some kind of rite performed before engaging in Rudra and Śiva worship in a variety of contexts.

At this point in Arjuna's meditation (occurring in 57.19-81), Arjuna sees himself flying with Kṛṣṇa to Mt. Himavat where Śiva dwells. The text describes the beauty of the site and how the king along with Kṛṣṇa encounters and praises Śiva. Important for our purposes is the obtainment of the weapon in verses 68-73:

> tatas tu tat saro gatvā sūryamaṇḍalasaṃnibham/
> nāgam antarjale ghoraṃ dadṛśāte 'rjunācyutau//68//
> dvitīyaṃ cāparaṃ nāgaṃ sahasraśirasaṃ varam/
> vamantaṃ vipulāṃ jvālāṃ dadṛśāte 'gnivarcasam//69//
> tataḥ kṛṣṇaś ca pārthaś ca saṃspṛśyāpaḥ kṛtāñjalī/
> tau nāgāv upatasthāte namasyantau vṛṣadhvajam//70//
> gṛṇantau vedaviduṣau tad brahma śatarudriyam/
> aprameyaṃ praṇamantau gatvā sarvātmanā bhavam//71//
> tatas tau rudramāhātmyāddhitvā rūpaṃ mahoragau/
> dhanur bāṇaśca śatrughnaṃ tad dvaṃdvaṃ samapadyata//72//
> tato jagṛhatuḥ prītau dhanur bāṇaṃ ca suprabham/
> ājahratur mahātmānau dadatuś ca mahātmane//73//

> Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa went to that lake which resembles the orb of the sun, and there saw a terrible snake under the water. The two saw a second great snake possessed of a thousand heads and brilliant fire; it belched out broad flames. Then Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna touched water, put their hands together, went towards the two snakes and praised the Bull emblemed one. Those two were possessed of the knowledge of the vedas and recited the sacred *Śatarudriya*. Those two praised the unfathomable Śiva having given themselves over to him entierly. Then those two great serpents abandoned their forms because of the greatness of the Rudra (hymn) and the two

turned into a foe-destroying bow and arrow. Then those two great souls (Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa), happily grabbed up the glorious bow and arrow, took them away and gave them to the Great Soul (Śiva).

Significantly, the temporal and spatial framework of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa's actions parallel those established in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The snakes are like Rudra's portion of the sacrifice – they are dangerous and arguably represent that characteristic drawn from Rudra-the-outsider.[179] Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa must touch water prior to handling them, much as the priest must do in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I, vii, 4.9 before handling the portion and before feeding it to the fire. The transformation of the snakes by the Śatarudriya hymn is something of an inversion of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa IX, i, 1-2. There we saw the hymn, and by extension Rudra himself, absorbed into the vedic altar structure; the hymn was transformed, pacified through the removal of pain and evil (śuca and pāpman), those aspects of Rudra which were unacceptable. Here it is the Śatarudriya itself that is the pacifying force.[180]

Droṇa 173 is another passage in the Mahābhārata referring to the Śatarudriya. This section is considered a late addition by some scholars, due to its inclusion of liṅga worship.[181] The Śatarudriya hymn here occurs (verse 101), but there is no specific structure or rite described in relation to it. I concur that a late date should be assigned to this chapter because the focus of Śiva veneration is placed on the liṅga rather than on altar structures and finds more parallels in purāṇic material than epic literature. If so, the passage may attest the

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[179] Gonda notes that these snakes are referred to in the Śatarudriya hymn itself in 16.13; Gonda, (1980), 80.

[180] This is not to say that the weapons are passive; clearly they are meant to wield the wrathful power of the snakes, but they need to be handled and so are transformed into useful implements to serve in the fulfillment of Arjuna's vow. This function of the Śatarudriya here suggests it may have, in part, adopted something of the transformative power of the vedic altar (vedi). This assertion can be strengthened somewhat by remembering that the events comprising Arjuna's capturing of the Pāśupata weapon are part of a meditative dream – Arjuna himself was probably sleeping upon the sthaṇḍila he constructed in 56.1-4 inside his home.

[181] Hopkins (1915), 222. Banerjea also confirms the late addition of liṅgas in the epic, (1936), 37.

integration of different kinds of Śiva worship during the different stages in the redaction of the *Mahābhārata*, in a manner akin to what we have seen in the ŚP tradition.

2b. *Vedi* in early Śiva worship

In our exploration of the *sthaṇḍila* and the *Śatarudriya* hymn in Rudra and Śiva worship, we have seen numerous references to the *vedi*, a common term for a sacrificial fire altar found in vedic literature. Before we turn to consider materials related to the *pārthiva*, I want to examine material related to this altar structure in a bit more detail.

Relevant for our inquiry is a passage from the *Mahābhārata* X (*Sauptika Parvan*), 7.13-14, which focuses on the *vedi*. In this passage Aśvatthāman, one of the primary antagonists of the story, offers himself in a sacrifice to Śiva in the hopes of gaining power over his enemies, the Paṇḍavas. At this point in the account of his sacrifice, a golden altar (*"kāñcanī vediḥ"*) appears before him. It is a "blazing fire" (*"rājaṃś citrabhānur"*) and not a *liṅga* that appears on the altar structure: a significant point in the present study. The passage reads:

> iti tasya vyavasitaṃ jñātvā tyāgātmakaṃ manaḥ/
> purastāt *kāñcanī vediḥ* prādurāsīn mahātmanaḥ//13//
> tasyāṃ *vedyāṃ* tadā *rājaṃś citrabhānur* ajāyata/
> dyāṃ diśo vidiśaḥ khaṃ ca jvālābhir abhipūrayan//14//

> And because his will to offer up himself
> Was clear, *a golden sacrificial altar*
> Sprang up before great-souled Aśvatthāman –
> An altar upon which a *blazing fire* was lit
> That spread across the sky and every point in space.[182]

The golden form of Prajāpati is considered, in the vedic tradition, as a completed version of the *vedi* structure with a surface of gold chips serving as

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[182] Translation by Johnson, (1998), 29; italics mine.

the final layer of the structure (e.g., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X, i, 4.9).[183] It is arguable that the "golden sacrificial altar" mentioned above in *Mahābhārata* X, 7.13 represents such a completed structure. Furthermore, we have already seen how the god Rudra was integrated into the *vedi* in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, i, 1-2.[184] If the above passage indeed represents the completed completed vedic altar (with its final gold layer), then it may be argued that the *Mahābhārata* passage points to a continuation of the Rudra altar worship here taken over by Śiva. This is to say that the passage is evidence of a development and a continuity between the vedic worship of Rudra and that of the epic Śiva.

3. *Pārthiva* and aniconic Śiva worship

Having surveyed textual evidence related to aniconic forms of Śiva worship, we return to consider the question of *pārthiva* worship. The term itself is an adjective derived from the noun *pṛthivī* ("earth"). Typically then, when the adjective *pārthiva* qualifies a noun, it means "made of clay" or "earthen." We have seen many examples of its usage in the JS. Although one might be tempted to assume that *pārthiva* refers to the substance (clay or earth) of the central object of worship (in this case, a *jyotirliṅga*), our analysis of the JS showed that the correlation between *pārthiva* and *liṅga* is not always clear. In the Oṃkāra story (JS 46.54-58), for instance, a *liṅga* was placed *onto* a *pārthiva*, suggesting a clear distinction between the two ritual objects.[185] Furthermore, in a number of cases (Mahākāla, Oṃkāreśvara, and Bhīmaśaṅkara), there is a distinction

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[183] The text describes the piling up of six layers of bricks and six layers of earth (*purīṣa*) as the complete structure, the number twelve representing the twelve months of the year. On top of these layers the priest scatters gold chips (*hiraṇyaśakala*) and in this way, creates the final form of his body: "*antyamātmano rūpaṃ.*" This is called the "Golden Prajāpati." Eggeling cites the *Aitareyāraṇyaka* 2.1.3 as parallel to this description. See Eggeling vol. 43, part IV, (1995), 295, fn.1. This passage could well describe the altar that appears before Aśvatthāman.

[184] In chapter five, we will also examine some myths from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* related to the construction of the *vedi* (VI, i, 2.5-9; 1.5; VIII, ii, 5-6 and 9). In these passages Prajāpati is identified with the altar, which is considered a microcosm of the entire universe.

[185] I.e., with the term *pārthiva* in the masc. or neut. loc. sing. As noted in chapter two, this observation about the distinction between *pārthiva* and *liṅga* in the Oṃkāra passage (JS 46.54-58) was confirmed by the commentator of the JS.

between an "*image* of clay" ("*pārthivīṃ mūrtiṃ*"; i.e. fem. acc. sing. of *pārthiva* used adjectivally) and "a clay object" ("*pārthiva*"; masc. or neut. acc. sing., substantive usage). This distinction may indicate that the technical usage of the term may have been applied to more than one kind of clay or earthen ritual object, including an image for worship (possibly anthropomorphic) and some kind of earthen altar or ritually prepared ground akin to the *sthaṇḍila* and *vedi* structures used in earlier Śaivite ritual.

In the cases where *pārthiva* stands alone as a substantive in the masculine or neuter singular (e.g. Somanātha, Kedāranātha, Vaidyanātha, Nāganātha, and Rāmeśvara), its antecedent is not entirely clear. The many additions of the term "*liṅga*" to the KS, which we noted in chapters two and three, suggest that "*liṅga*" (neut.) is consistently interpreted to be the referent object by the later KS redactors.[186]

In the JS, as we have seen, there is a direct connection of the two terms only in the Ghuśmeśvara story, and this connection was shown to be unstable. In the following, I attempt to shed some light on the question: what does the term *pārthiva* mean in the *jyotirliṅga* stories of the JS? This will be accomplished through an analysis of the early sources mentioned above and a consideration of their relationship to *pārthiva* worship in the *jyotirliṅga* stories.

3a. The meaning of *pṛthivī* in ritual manuals

For our understanding of the *pārthiva*, it may be significant that the *vedi* is connected to the related term *pṛthivī* ("earth") in a number of places in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. For instance I, ii, 5.7 states that: "*sarvāṃ pṛthivīṃ samavindanta . . . tasmād vedir nāma*" ("they obtained the entire earth . . . therefore it is named *vedi*") as well as "*tasmād āhur yāvatī vedis tāvatī pṛthivīty*"

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[186] The clearest case of this occurs in the Kedāra stories. In KS 19.2, the parallel to JS 47.17, the term "*liṅge*" is directly inserted into the verse to augment "*pārthive*." This is a clear indication of the redactional developments of the KS.

("For this reason they say, 'As great as the altar is, so great is the earth'").[187] In III, vii, 2.1 it states: *"yāvatī vai vedistāvatī pṛthivī"* ("as large as the altar is, so large is the earth").[188] In these and other examples,[189] we see that there is a strong association between *vedi* and *pṛthivī* established in this ritual manual.

The connection is made even stronger through the individual bricks of the *vedi*, which are made of clay and connected to the four directions of the earth. The *vedi* in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI, i, 2.29, is constructed of clay bricks (*mṛnmayīṣṭakāḥ*) and is identified with the earth (*pṛthivī*) in a number of instances. The bricks themselves are compared individually with the four directions of the earth in VI, i, 2.29 because they all have four corners (*catuḥsrakti*). Eggeling translates the passage as follows:

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[187] The full translation of verse 7 by Julius Eggeling [in *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, part I, books I and II, from *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 12 (ed. F. M. Müller), (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2001), 60] reads:

> Having thus enclosed him on all (three) sides, and having placed Agni (the fire) on the east side, they went on worshipping and toiling with it (or him, i.e., Vishnu, the sacrifice). By it they obtained (sam-vid) this entire earth; and because they obtained by it, this entire (earth), therefore it (the sacrificial ground) is called *vedi* (the altar). For this reason they say, 'As great as the altar is, so great is the earth;' for by it (the altar) they obtained this entire (earth). And, verily, he who so understands this, wrests likewise this entire (earth) from his rivals, excludes his rivals from sharing in it.

The Sanskrit text reads:

> tam chandobhirbhitaḥ parigṛhya/ agnim purastātsamādhāya tenārcantaḥ śrāmyantaścerustenemāṃ sarvāṃ pṛthivīṃ samavindanta tadyadenenemāṃ sarvāṃ samavindanta tasmādvedirnāma tasmādāharyāvatī vedistāvatī pṛthivītyetayā hīmāṃ sarvāṃ samavindantaivam ha vā imāṃ sarvāṃ sapatnānāṃ saṃvṛṅkte nirbhajñatyasyai saptnānya evametadveda//7//

From *The Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (ed. by A. Weber), (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1964), 19.

[188] J. Eggeling (transl.), *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, part II, books III and IV, from *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 26 (ed. F. M. Müller), (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2001), 175.

[189] Stella Kramrisch also makes reference to the equation between *pṛthivī* and *vedi* in the following: *Ṛg Veda* I.164.35, X.110.4; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* I.5.28; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I.2.2; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX 4.2.3, XII.8.2.36. See her book: *The Hindu Temple*, vol. 1, 17.

Now this earth is four-cornered, for the quarters are her corners:
hence the bricks are four-cornered; for all the bricks are after the
manner of this earth.[190]

It is important to note that the material of the bricks is described with the
terms "*mṛd*" ("clay") and "*mṛnmaya*" ("consisting of clay") rather than with
terms related to "*pārthiva*". Here, the related word *pṛthivī* appears to be most
often utilized to express the larger sense of "the world." When we see *pārthiva*
in the vedic material it appears to maintain the meaning "earthly" or "of the
world" rather than "earthen" or "clay," as we see in Whitney's translation of
"*pārthivā divyāḥ paśavaḥ*" ("the earthly, the heavenly cattle") from the *Atharva
Veda* XI, 5.21.[191] The specific connection between the clay brick and the world
(*pṛthivī*), however, is made clear through *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI, i, 2.29, just as
altar and world are paralleled in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, ii, 5.7 and III, vii, 2.1.

Furthermore, *pṛthivī* is the word assigned to the large clay mass that is
collected for the altar bricks and for a ritual implement called the "fire-pan" or
"fire-pot" (*ukhā*), which is employed in the initial stages of the building of the
fire altar (*agnicayana*). The process of the *agnicayana* takes approximately one
year; prior to the completion of the altar, the sacrificer carries and maintains the
fire in this fire-pan.[192] This implement both holds the fire, which is later
transferred to the main fire on the altar, and is used to fire the bricks that
construct the altar.

The rituals describing the formation of the *ukhā* are found in ritual
manuals related to and including the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*. The *Śatapatha*

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[190] Eggeling, vol. 41, part III, (1996), 155. The Sanskrit reads:

seyaṃ catuḥ sraktir diśo hyasyai sraktayas tasmāc catuḥ sraktaya iṣṭakā bhavantīmāṃ
hyanu sarvā iṣṭakāḥ/

[191] *Atharva-veda Samhita* (translated with a critical and exegetical commentary by William
Dwight Whitney, 1827-1894 and, Lanman, Charles Rockwell, 1850-1941) Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass,
1962). Other parallel examples are found in *Atharva Veda* 11.6.8 and *Ṛg Veda* 6.22.9.

[192] Paul-Emile Dumont, (1951), 629; Yasuke Ikari, "Ritual Preparation of the Mahāvīra and
Ukhā Pots," in Staal, (1983), vol. 2, 168.

Brāhmaṇa is the oldest of these, after the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* itself, followed by the *śrauta-sūtras*, texts which range in date from the eighth century BCE to the early second century BCE.[193] While elements of the ritual are found in the later texts, some of the language remains consistent and has resonance with the *jyotirliṅgas* and the *pārthiva* object as described in the stories of the JS.

For example, the following verses from the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (IV, i, 5 verses e and g), describe the mixing of "earth" ("*pṛthivīṃ*") "with light" ("*jyotiṣā*") by various deities (Mitra, *rudras*, etc.). These verses are found repeated in the multiple ritual manuals:[194]

> mitraḥ saṃsṛjya pṛthivīṃ bhūmiṃ ca jyotiṣā saha/
> sujātaṃ jātavedasamagniṃ vaiśvānaraṃ vibhum//

> Mitra uniting together earth and ground with light; Agni, well born, all knowing, common to all men, all pervading.[195]

And

> rudrāḥ sambhṛtya pṛthivīṃ bṛhajjyotiḥ samīdhire/
> teṣāṃ bhānurajasna icchukro devepu rocate//

> The *rudras* brought together the earth and kindled a great light.
> Their undying ray shines bright among the gods.

Another common verse found in the manuals states that the "light of the fire" ("*agnejyotir*") is raised "from the earth" ("*pṛthivyāḥ*"):

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[193] For a list of *śrauta-stūtra* texts see B P. Bhattacharya, *Studies in the Śrautasūtras of Aśvalayana and Apastamba*, (Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1978), 4-5; Ikari (1983), 168.

[194] Cited in Staal, (1983) vol. 1, 296. Staal draws his passages from the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* of the Black *Yajurveda*. The passages also occur in this introductory ritual in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* of the White *Yajurveda* 11.53-54. Parallel passages in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* are VI, v, 1.5, 7 as well as in the *Mānava Śrautasūtra* VI, i, 2.3.

[195] Sanskrit passages in *Mūla-Yajurveda-saṃhitā*, ed. Daivarāta, Brahmarshi, (Vārāṇasī: Kāśī Hindu Viśvavidyālaya, 1973). English translation from A. B. Keith, *The veda of the Black Yajus School Entitled Taittiriya Sanhita*, vol. 1, (Delhi, Motilal Barnasidass, 1967), 296.

yuñjānaḥ prathamaṃ manastattvāya savitā dhiyaḥ /
agner jyotirnicāyya pṛthivyā adhyā 'bharat/[196]

Harnessing, first of all the mind, Savitar having stretched the thought, With reverent look upon the light of Agni bore them up from the earth.[197]

In such invocations, we see a strong connection between earth (*pṛthivī*) and light (*jyotis*) in a ritual context. Here we see that the gods themselves (Mitra, *rudras*, Savitṛ, and Agni) are involved in imbuing the earth with light. The two are combined by the gods so that the earth employed for the construction of the bricks of the fire-altar and the pan that bakes them will be imbued with divine/cosmic energy, which here takes the form of light.[198] It is during this invocation process that the lump of clay dug from the earth is identified with Agni and called "*agniṃ purīṣyaṃ*."[199] Thus, we see that the invocations

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[196] This verse is found in both versions of the *Yajurveda*, *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (in the Black *Yajurveda*, IV, 1.1a, and from the White, 11.1 and 11.11. The Śatapatha *Brāhmaṇa* also quotes directly from the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (of the Black Yajurveda) in verse VI, 3.1 verses 13 and 41, which contain explanatory phrases for the older text: "*agnerjyotirnicāyyety agnerjyotirdṛṣṭvety etatpṛthivyā adhyābharaditi pṛthivyai hyenadadhyābharaty*" ("-'beholding Agni's light,'-that is, seeing Agni's light,-'lifted it up from the earth,'-for he indeed lifts it up from the earth"); Eggeling vol. 41 part 3 (1996). The Sanskrit passage is found in Devi Chand (trans.), *The Yajurveda: Sanskrit text with English translation*, (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2004), 110. It should be noted that Chand's translation is highly interpolative.

[197] Translation by R. Griffith, *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā of the White Yajur Veda*, (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987), 95.

[198] In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* I, 87, it is stated that the *cātvāla* (i.e., the hole in the ground where the *vedi* is constructed) is the place on earth where the sun originates. Fearing the sun's power, the gods cause it to go heavenward. While I do not have access to the Sanskrit for this passage to make a detailed analysis, it is clear from H. W. Bodewitz's analysis of this and the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* passages that the relationship between the earth, cosmic bodies (sun or light), and the altar is established in vedic material; see H. W. Bodewitz, *The Jyotiṣṭoma Ritual*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 10-11, 50.. It is also worth remembering, in light of *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* I, 87, the examples in the JS where holes are in evidence, namely, Mahākāla and especially Vaidyanātha discussed in chapters two and three.

[199] "*Purīṣya*" is a term that specifically denotes fire in the form of earth, but often the term "*agni*" alone is used. See for example, *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (White), chapter 11 verses 9, 16, 28, 32, 40, as well as *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* Book VI, iii, 1.32; and iv, 1.2.

metonymically link the earth and light mixed by the gods to the materials that comprise the altar.

The connection between *pṛthivī* and *jyotis* is very suggestive in the present context, as most of the *jyotirliṅga* stories in the ŚP tradition contain narratives about rites featuring earthen structures and objects, described with the related adjective *pārthiva*, and six of the stories also include descriptions of Śiva appearing as light, using the term *jyotīrūpa*. In fact, in five of the six *jyotirliṅga* stories that mention the light form (JS 47, 55-58 dedicated to Kedāranātha, Vaidyanātha, Nāgeśvara, Rāmeśvara, and Ghuśmeśvara respectively),[200] there is a direct association with *pārthiva* worship: Śiva appears in his light form as a direct result of *pārthiva* worship.[201]

We should be wary of making too direct a link between the *pṛthivī/jyotis* connection in the ritual manuals and the *pārthiva/jyotirūpa* connection in the ŚP tradition. There is, after all, a large historical gap of hundreds of years between the ritual manuals where such examples are maintained and the *jyotirliṅga* stories in the JS.[202] That said, the vedic texts which convey the ritual passages and the rites of the fire-pan extend perhaps to the second century BCE, and undoubtedly they were used for centuries beyond their initial composition. In other words, we may be able to take these manuals as evidence for ritual practice in the vedic tradition long after their composition. It is thus possible that the vedic examples show some of the ritual background, in a general sense, to the narratives about Śaivaite rites in the JS.[203]

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[200] The references to the light form connected to the *pārthiva* rites occur in JS 47.23 (Kedāranātha), 55.32 (Vaidyanātha), 56.69 (Nāgeśvara), 57.17 (Rāmeśvara), and 58.72 (Ghuśmeśvara). The sixth story, JS 45.55-65 dedicated to Mallikārjuna, while containing a reference to the light form of Śiva and Pārvatī (JS 45.61-62), makes no reference to Śiva worship of any kind, *pārthiva* or otherwise.

[201] For instance, in JS 55 dedicated to Vaidyanātha, when Rāvaṇa performs the *pārthiva* worship and is about to cut off his final head as a sacrificial oblation, Śiva appears to him in his light form (JS 55.32).

[202] The *śrautasūtras* for example, which continue the rituals established in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, date up until around the second c. BCE.

[203] The relationship between ritual and narrative is important to note. C. Z. Minkowski and J. A. B. van Buitenen have argued, for example, that vedic sacrifice underlies the narrative structure of

This possibility is strengthened, in my view, by the fact that some of the *jyotirliṅga* stories, as we have seen in chapters two and three, express consciousness and concern with vedic ritual practice. Most notable is the case of the Mahākāla story (JS 46) outlined in chapter two. In JS 46.5, for example, the protagonist, a devotee of Śiva, is a Brahmin described as one who "always delighted in performing vedic rites," and who "was devoted to kindling the fire" (i.e., of the vedic altar).

Taken together with the material about early Śaivite worship surveyed above, the vedic material may help us in our investigation of the nature of the *pārthiva* worship described in the JS. Until further research is done, we can only speculate. Yet, in my view, elements of *pārthiva* worship may make most sense when seen against the general background of the ritual practices of the vedic tradition. After all, allusions to the worship of Rudra suggest his integration into vedic altar-centred worship, and our earliest references to the worship of Śiva seem to pertain to practices that centre on altar structures (*sthaṇḍila, vedi*) rather than the *liṅga*.

In favour of proposing a connection between the vedic and *purāṇic* material, we can also point to the stories of Mahākāla, Oṃkāra, Kedāra, and Bhīmaśaṅkara in the JS. In these stories we saw some evidence for the use of the term *pārthiva* to mean an altar or ground upon which other objects (*liṅga, mūrti*) could be placed. Accordingly, it may be that the term *pārthiva*, as it occurs in

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the *Mahābhārata*. Furthermore, it is evident in such ritual texts as the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, as discussed by Witzel and Minkowski, that many early Sanskrit narratives developed in direct relationship to rituals. See C. Z. Minkowski, "Janamejaya's Sattra and Ritual Structure," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 109, no. 3, (1989) 401-20; J. A. B. van Buitenen, "On the Structure of Sabhā Parvan of the Mahābhārata," in *Studies in Indian literature and philosophy: collected articles of J.A.B. van Buitenen*, ed. by Rocher, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), 305-21; Michael Witzel, "On the origin of the literary device of the 'Frame Story' in Old Indian literature," in *Festschrift U. Schneider*, ed. H. Falk (Freiburg, 1987), 380-414.

This is not to suggest that the JS stands in the same type of direct structural relationship to ritual that is evident in the *brāhmaṇas* and possibly the *Mahābhārata*. Yet the JS may well bear traces, as do other *purāṇic* texts, of such a relationship, particularly in its depictions of vedic ritual. The importance of ritual for understanding the JS stories, in general, is clear from the prominence of ritual descriptions in the tales.

the *jyotirliṅga* stories, may have been a technical term for rites that were at one time related to the construction of the *vedi* (fire-altar made of clay bricks) and/or to worship involving the *sthaṇḍila* (fire-altar made of cow-dung smeared on the raised earth). If so, we might also speculate, in light of the *pṛthivī/jyotis* connection in the ritual manuals, about some connection between the *pārthiva* and Śiva's light form in the context of altar-centred worship, even before the association of both with the *liṅga*.

Such evidence, while not entirely conclusive, certainly is suggestive of a link between the vedic material and the *jyotirliṅga* stories. Further study on the relationship between vedic and *purāṇic* rituals is needed to bridge the historical gap between the late vedic material (second c. BCE) and the JS (tenth c. CE). Our preliminary findings here, however, may point to a general framework for comparison, as enriched by the above mentioned materials about the *sthaṇḍila* and *Śatarudriya*.

3b. *Purāṇic* sources and the *aṣṭamūrti* aspect of Śiva

Epic materials may also help to shed light on the patterns of continuity and change in Śaiva worship in the period between the compilation of vedic ritual manuals such as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the compilation of *purāṇic* texts such as the JS. Most relevant in this regard is our evidence for the *purāṇic* reception and re-interpretation of epic traditions about Śaivite ritual. As noted above, the episode from the *Mahābhārata* in *Vana Parvan* 39.65 relating Arjuna's encounter with the hunter or Kirāta, is retold in the JS of ŚP1 and in the *Śatarudra-Saṃhitā* of ŚP2. In the epic version, as discussed above, Arjuna builds an earthen altar ("*mṛnmayaṃ sthaṇḍilaṃ kṛtvā*") to venerate Śiva. In the *purāṇic* versions of this story, however, Arjuna instead builds a *pārthiva*: "*pārthivaṃ kṛtvā*" (*Śatarudra-Saṃhitā* 38.32; JS 64.52).

During his *pārthiva* worship, fire is said to come out of his head: "*śirasas tejo nissṛtan*" (*Śatarudra-Saṃhitā* 38.34; JS 64.54). It is important to note that, as in *Vana Parvan* 39.65, there is no direct mention of the *liṅga* in the *purāṇic*

description of Arjuna's *pūjā*. As was observed in the *jyotirliṅga* material of the JS, the lack of references to *liṅgas* is a standard pattern.

This particular case may be especially telling. Above, I have argued that *jyotirliṅga* stories, by and large, focus on *pārthiva* worship; they may not have initially focused on the *liṅga*, even though they came to be characterized in this way over time, eventually to emerge in their present form.[204] In the absence of any reference to the *liṅga*, *Śatarudra-saṃhitā* 38 and JS 64 seem to understand the *sthaṇḍila* in the epic in terms of the *pārthiva*. Accordingly, these texts seem to be informed by an understanding of the *pārthiva* as an altar or raised surface of ground. In light of this evidence taken together with the other JS references (esp. Oṃkāra story in JS 46.54-58), *pārthiva* worship may be best understood as a type of altar-centred worship, which may have included an earthen altar and/or earthen ritual objects.

Following the story of Arjuna's encounter with Śiva, the JS adds a chapter (68) specifically describing the hero's *pārthiva* worship. The first verse states:

> ṛṣaya ūcuḥ/ sūta sūta mahābhāga sādhūktaṃ hi tvayā 'nagha/
> vidhānaṃ pārthivasya eva yathā uktam ṛṣiṇā tadā/
> arjunāya sukhārthaṃ ca tat tvaṃ brūhi viśeṣataḥ//1//

> The Seers said: Sūta, Illustrious Sūta, O Sinless one, you have spoken well. You must tell us in detail about the prescriptions for the *pārthiva* which were proclaimed by the Ṛṣi to Arjuna for his happiness.

This verse serves to introduce the chapter and in so doing raises the question about the nature of Arjuna's worship. The chapter goes on to extrapolate from an existing tradition, redefining the epic material, and presenting its particular interpretation of that material. In this way, *pārthiva* worship partly maintains a connection to the epic material and is linked with other forms of worship.

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[204] The *Kirātārjunīya*, a sixth century CE *kāvya* work from which the *purāṇic* story also draws its inspiration, makes no reference to *liṅga* worship either; see note 75.

Some of these forms of worship may be drawn from *āgamic* sources. This body of texts, as noted in the introduction, is historically parallel to *purāṇic* material and often focuses on Śiva. JS chapter 68, in this regard, includes rites and mantras that parallel to some extent the initiation rites and mantras presented in various *āgamic* works, a significant portion of which developed around the ninth century CE, just prior to the formation of the JS in the tenth century.[205] In one rite the initiate's hands are transformed by imposing (*nyāsa*) mantras on it.[206] Two sets of mantras are employed that closely parallel the five-*brahmamantras* and the six-*aṅgamantras* set out in the *Kāmikāgama* (4.43-45; 4.362-63) and other texts. While clearly relating to the *āgamic* initiation rite in structure, the ritual in the chapter differs significantly by using names of Śiva drawn from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VI, i, 3.7). These different names include Śiva, Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, and Mahādeva and Īśana.[207]

The body of *āgamas* presented by Davis[208] centre around *liṅga* worship. It is possible to read JS 68 as focused on *liṅga* worship as well, even though the word is employed only once. A list of steps to be performed by the priest is laid out in verses 22 and 23 and states that a *liṅga* is "molded" ("*saṃghaṭṭana*") from

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[205] See Davis (1991), 14-15.

[206] See Davis's study on the preparation rites of the initiate in various *āgamas* in his section on "Metamorphosis of the Hands" in Davis 1991, 47-51. See also Gonda (1976), 72-73.

[207] According to JS 68 and various *āgamas*, the number five correspond to the fingers while the number six corresponds to what are called limbs (*aṅgas*); these are Astra, Kavaca, Śikhā, Śiras, Hṛd and Netra (Weapon, Armour, Top-knot, Head, Heart, and Eye respectively). JS 68 assigns different names of Śiva to each corresponding finger. So instead of Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāma, and Sadyojāta, mentioned in the *Kāmikāgama*, JS 68 has Śiva, Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, and Mahādeva. It also adds Īśana for the front and back of the hand not mentioned in the other text. The six names of JS 68 are drawn from a list of names attributed to Agni (the altar) given in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI, i, 3.7-18.

[208] Davis (1991) 14-15. Here Davis discusses the emergence of four separate Śaiva sects as observed by ninth century CE commentators such as Śaṅkara: Śaiva Siddhānta, Pāśupata, Kālāmukha, and Kāpālika. According to these commentators the four groups are thought to have emerged from "a single and undifferentiated religious community." I would augment this assertion, however, and suggest that Śaivism was also absorbing and transforming different strands and then repackaging them in these newer medieval forms. The cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* was one such form. As I have argued elsewhere, Śaivism was not a homologous tradition from an early date. I believe that there was a trend of absorption as much as there may have been one of fragmentation as Davis observes.

clay. JS 68.22 first introduces and names these various steps: collecting the clay, assembling, installing and invitation (*mṛdāharaṇa, saṃghaṭṭa, pratiṣṭhā* and *āvhānam*, respectively). Verse 23 then goes on to give mantras that are to be recited as each of these activities is performed:

harāya nama iti mṛdāharaṇam/
maheśvarāya nama iti *liṅga* saṃghaṭṭanam/
śūlapāṇaye nama iti pratiṣṭhāpanam/
pinākapāṇaye nama ity āvāhanam/

"Praise to Hara," is said for the collection of the clay. "Praise to the Great Lord," is spoken during the molding of the *liṅga*. "Praise to the One with the Lance in his Hand," is recited for the consecration (of the deity). "Praise to the One with the Bow in his hand," for the invitation (of Him).

In this passage, the *pārthiva* is understood as a *liṅga*. However, we have seen in our exploration of the individual *jyotirliṅga* stories that the use of the term *pārthiva* in relation to *liṅga* is anything but clear in the JS. I am not convinced that the reference in JS 68.22 sheds doubt on the pattern that we established in chapters two and three with regard to the *pārthiva*; in fact, we may here see a case of transition towards the pattern in the KS, where earlier understandings of the *pārthiva* are being reinterpreted in terms of the *liṅga*. This example is the first and only appearance of *"liṅga"* in the portions of the JS that are associated with the Kirāta theme (chapters 62-68). Moreover, chapter 68 actually stands outside of the main story itself.[209]

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[209] A number of elements of the Kirāta story that are presented in the ŚP are derived from Bhāravi's sixth century CE *kāvya* work the *Kirātārjunīya* and not from the epic tale. For example, in the poem and in the ŚP, Arjuna grasps Śiva by the feet and throws him (the JS and KS version are very close in their telling of the story). Then Śiva reveals himself to the hero. Bhāravi's work is also noticeably different from the vulgate because it leaves out Arjuna's *pūjā* to Śiva on the *sthaṇḍila*; indeed it omits reference to Śiva veneration through a liturgical object or structure of any kind by the hero. The closest parallel that can be drawn is in chapter 18 verse 19 (verse 20 in some editions) when a canopy of flower garlands is constructed (*"vitānīkṛtāḥ srajaḥ"*) by the wind (*marut*) at the conclusion of the battle sequence when the god reveals himself. The ŚP places the *pārthiva* worship prior to the battle sequence and so departs from both the epic and the *kāvya* in this respect. This placement

Let us consider a parallel chapter from another book of the ŚP, this time from the *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā*,[210] chapter 19, which also deals with *pārthiva* worship. Like the JS, this text is thought to have been written around the tenth century CE; however, Hazra considers chapters 19–25 to be a late addition.[211] That it is late, perhaps the thirteenth or fourteenth century, would support my assertion that the earlier medieval tradition represented by the JS was in the process of amalgamating *liṅga* worship with other kinds of Śiva worship. It is probable that the JS preserves evidence of more than one form of Śiva worship, reflecting the diversity in worship at the time of its compilation. The JS itself appears to contribute to the combination of these traditions, but we need not assume that there was a single homogeneous tradition prior to the JS.

Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā 19 is full of references to *liṅgas* that JS 68 lacks. This is a pattern familiar from our comparison of the JS and KS in chapters two and three above: here too a thirteenth/fourteenth century source adds *liṅgas* where they are missing in a tenth century parallel. For example, *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* 19 identifies the *pārthiva liṅga* as being superior to all else:

> sūta sūta ciraṃjīvadhanyas tvaṃ śivabhaktimān/
> samyaguktas tvayā liṅgamahimā satphalapradaḥ//1//
> yatra pārthivamāheśaliṅgasya mahimādhunā/
> sarvotkṛṣṭaśca kathito vyāsato brūhi taṃ punaḥ//2//

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suggests some kind of rite of invocation, common to the *jyotirliṅga* stories, although the text is not explicit here. Some late southern recastings of the poem in Kannada between the fifteenth and seventeenth century CE include the veneration of a *liṅga*. I do not have access to these texts and so cannot say if *liṅga* worship occurs before or after Śiva's theophany. The word *liṅga* does not appear as part of the story in the ŚP. See Indira V. Peterson, *Design and Rhetoric in a Sanskrit Court Epic: The Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 77-79; also Hazra (1985) 260-61. M. Biardeau critiques the *Mahābhārata* critical edition compilers for omitting the devotional passage of the vulgate (3.39.65) in her book *Etudes de mythologie hindoue*, (Paris : Ecole française d'Extrême Orient, 1981), 178, n. 1.

[210] This *saṃhitā* is found in both ŚP1 and ŚP2.

[211] Hazra says that the VS was "written later than 950 A.D." He states that chapters 19-25 are found in only the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition and are probably a late addition. See Hazra (1985), 265.

> Sutā, Sūta, be rich and long-lived. You are a devotee of Śiva. You have spoken about the greatness of the *liṅga*, which bestows benefits. Now tells us in detail about the greatness of the earthen (*pārthiva*) *liṅga* of the Great Lord and how it is superior to all (others), as was explained by Vyāsa.

or also:

> ukteṣveteṣu liṅgeṣu pārthivaṃ liṅgam uttamam/
> tasya pūjanato viprā bahavaḥ siddhimāgatāḥ//4//

> Among all of the (kinds of) *liṅgas* that are proclaimed, the earthen *liṅga* is the best. O Brahmins, many who worshiped it attain perfection.

This kind of language is absent from JS 68; there is no sense in the earlier version of a tradition of earthen *liṅga* worship conscious of itself in relationship to other kinds of *liṅga* worship. Instead, in the JS version, we have a text that is in transition, whereby Śiva veneration is not clearly defined through a well-established tradition of *liṅga* worship. Together with the *jyotirliṅga* stories in the KS, by contrast, *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* 19 may attest an active promotion of *liṅga* worship over other forms of venerating Śiva.

Traces of other kinds of worship are still found in *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* 19. Parallels to the *āgamas* were explored above. Furthermore, one passage (verses 7-8) states that the *pārthiva* image (*mūrti*) is now the best among Śiva's eight forms:

> kṛte ratnamayaṃ limgaṃ tretāyāṃ hemasambhavam/
> dvāpareparādam śreṣṭhaṃ pārthivaṃ tu kalau yuge//7//
> aṣṭamūrtiṣu sarvāsau mūrtir vai pārthivī varā/
> ananyapūjitā viprās tapas tasmān mahatphalam//8//

> A *liṅga* consisting of gems is best in the Kṛta, gold is best in Tretā, silver is best in the Dvāpara and clay is best in the Kali age. Out of all of the eight forms the earthen one is the best, and are

worshiped exclusively, O Brahmins, in that way, austerity yields great fruit.

A similar reference to the *aṣṭamūrti* ("eight-formed aspect") is also found in JS 68. Verses 13 and 14 of that chapter propose a different set of instructions for the collection of clay than is listed in verses 22-23 that we referred to above; and while JS 68. 22-23 alluded to *liṅga* worship, the mantra related in 68.14 is connected to the eight-formed aspect (*aṣṭamūrti*) of Śiva:

> paścāc ca pārthivasyaiva vidhānaṃ vidhavac caret/
> śuddhadeśasamudbhūtāṃ mṛdamāhārayet tataḥ//13//
> oṃ śrīṃ aṣṭamūrtaye namaḥ/
> ity anenaimantreṇa mṛdamādāyayatnataḥ/
> saṃśodhya mṛttikāṃ tatra sthāpayed vidhivat pumān//14//

> Thereafter the prescriptions of the *pārthiva* are done according to the regulations. Clay must be collected which is produced in an auspicious region, and then (one recites): "Oṃ Śrī, praise to the one possessed of eight forms." And by means of this mantra, one diligently gathers the clay. Having purified the clay, a man places it there according to the rules.

Given these passages and the mantra ("*oṃ śrīṃ aṣṭamūrtaye namaḥ*") it is possible to suggest that *pārthiva* worship points us towards other forms of Śiva, in this case the *aṣṭamūrti* aspect of Śiva.[212]

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[212] Eight-faced anthropomorphic images attributed to Śiva have been unearthed in various parts of India (Mahārāṣṭra, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal). According to N.P. Joshi, these images date between the fourth and sixth centuries CE; see, N. P. Joshi, "Early Forms of Śiva," in *Discourses on Śiva: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Nature of Religious Imagery*, ed. by M. Meister, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 53-54. One of these is an eight-faced male figure from Māṇḍal, Maharashtra that Joshi dates between the fourth and fifth centuries; see plates 38 and 39 in Meister (1984). The two-armed figure has a four-faced head with additional faces on each arm and leg. Joshi's identification of the image as Śiva seems to be based on the figure's head dressings, which correspond to those found on various *mukha-liṅgas* such as turban, yogin, and brahmin types. Joshi makes no reference to an inscription clearly identifying this work as Śiva, however. A similar eight-faced figure attributed to Śiva is depicted on the dust cover of N. Chitgopekar's *Encountering Śivaism* (Delhi: Munshiram, 1998); notes about the image are on the back dust cover flap. It is said to be from Madhya Pradesh and is dated, according to this work, to the sixth century CE. Such examples as

The *aṣṭamūrti* form of Śiva is a well established in the *purāṇas* and epics and has its source in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VI, i, 3.7-18).[213] Both JS 68 and *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* 19 make reference to it. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI, i, 3.7-18 is part of the sixth book (*khaṇḍa*) dedicated to building the fire altar in the ritual of the *agnicāyana*. Each section (*brāhmaṇa*) in the book contains descriptions of how the fire altar is constructed and its direct association with the god Prajāpati.

I have already addressed the construction of the fire altar in some detail but will add other pertinent passages here. Passage VI, i, 3.7-18 describes an evolutionary process of eight base material elements: water, foam, clay, sand, pebble, stone, metal ore, and gold, from which the universe unfolds. Each of these elements is considered part of the foundation of the earth, which itself is equated with the altar. The fire altar, equated here with fire (Agni) is the centre of the vedic sacrificial rite. Agni is given eight names: Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahādeva, and Īśāna. A quick comparison to the names of the JS 68's *brahmamantras* and *aṅgamantras*, discussed above,[214] shows that they are in fact drawn from the vedic material. Further, JS 68 supplies mantras representing the eight forms, the exceptions being that Śiva is equated with Rudra and Bhīma represents Aśani. These names are to be chanted in worship of the *aṣṭamūrti*.[215]

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, each *mūrti* is assigned a specific element. These are partly restated in JS 68.32: Śarva is associated with earth (*kṣiti*), Bhava with water (*jala*), Rudra with fire (*tejas*), Ugra with the wind (*vāyu*), Bhīma with the air (*akāśa*), Paśupati with the sacrificer (*yajamāna*), Mahādeva with the moon (*soma*), and Īśāna with the sun (*sūrya*). In this we see five of the base elements

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these, while limited, suggest the realization of the *aṣṭamūrti* aspect of Śiva in a liturgical object that is not a *liṅga*.

[213] Kreisel (1986), 17.

[214] See also note 73.

[215] This passage reads:

aṣṭamūrtiśca pūjyeta sāṃgapūjāphalāyaca//31//

and the Eight-formed-one should be worshiped for the fruits of complete worship.

named along with the sun, moon, and the sacrificer. There is a sense that the eight forms represent the whole earth, the heavens as well as the sacrificer. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Paśupati is represented by herbs (auṣadhī) and Sarva by water (āpas), but the connection of these eight forms with the sacrifice and the altar structure is evident. This is because the eight forms are produced from Prajāpati who, as we have already seen, is the equivalent of the sacrifice and the altar structure.

Furthermore, immediately following the passage in question (VI, i, 3.7-18$_a$), Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa VI, i, 3.18$_b$ states: "These then are the eight forms of Agni" ("tānyetāny aṣṭāvagnirūpāṇi"); and 3.19 states: "And because there are eight forms of Agni – the Gāyatri consisting of eight syllables – therefore they say, 'Agni is Gāyatri.'" ("yadvevāṣṭāvagnirūpāṇi/ aṣṭākṣarā gāyatrī tasmādāhurgāyatro 'gniriti"). So from these additional passages, it is clear that the text makes a connection between the sacrifice, the eight forms, and the fire altar.

The eight forms are later taken up in the ŚP tradition (Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā) and thus, suggest the importance of absorbing vedic traditions connected to the fire altar directly into Śaivism. Interestingly, the presentation of the eight forms in Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā 19.8 employs "pārthivī" (qualifying mūrti) where the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa reads "kṣiti" ("earth"). Presumably it draws from other lists of the aṣṭamūrti with this word.[216] Above, I tried to flesh out the connection between the earthly elements and the word pṛthivī ("earth"), which is important in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. It may be that the Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā has derived this word for earth from such a vedic connection.

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[216] VS 20.47 gives a different list of eight forms of Śiva and links it to the preliminary rites: gathering the clay, kneading the clay, consecration and invitation. Yet it does not link these with particular elements. The Liṅga Purāṇa I, 41.29-35 associates the names with the elements. In this text Śarva is identified with kṣiti as the earth element. The Liṅga Purāṇa II, 13.19 relates pārthiva to Śarva in its presentation of the eight-formed aspect. This chapter makes no mention of liṅga worship, however, only mentioning the veneration of the Great Lord as the Eight-formed-one (v. 31: "aṣṭamūrtermaheśasya kṛtamārādhanaṃ"). See also the Kūrma Purāṇa, I, 10.26-30, 36. In these texts the word for earth is mahī; see N. P. Joshi, in Meister (1984), 53-54.

Indeed, *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* 19 is rife with references to the *vedi* and its construction. Verse 19 for example states:

> yaḥ kṛtvā pārthivaṃ liṅgaṃ pūjayecchubhavedikam/
> ihaiva dhanavāñc chrīmān aṃte rudro 'bhijāyate//19//

> Who constructs the earthen *liṅga* with a fine altar (*vedi*), he (becoming) prosperous and wealthy, is born as a Rudra at death.

It is possible that the *purāṇic* texts related to the *aṣṭamūrti* aspect that we have examined here (JS 68, *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* 19) praise the earthen form above all the other forms because it has resonance with one of the earliest types of Śiva worship, that is, in an earthen altar.

3c. *Pārthiva*, *liṅga*, and the *Śatarudriya* in the ŚP, *Vidyeśvara-saṃhitā* 20

Lastly, we will examine chapter 20 of the *Vidyeśvara-saṃhitā*, which is dedicated to *pārthiva liṅga* worship in a manner characterized as "vedic." Like chapter 19 of this *saṃhitā* (examined above), this chapter is a later addition to the tenth century core of the text and probably dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It draws heavily from the mantras laid out in the Śatarudriya and specifically names that hymn in verse 54. The chapter opens:

> atha vaidikabhaktānāṃ pārthivārcān nigadyate/
> vaidikenaiva mārgeṇa bhuktimuktipradāyinī//1//

> Now the mode of *pārthiva*-adoration which is derived from the vedic mode of worship is proclaimed through the method derived from the Vedas, it produces release and worldly joy.

The first ten verses include this introduction of the topic along with simple preparatory rites about where to worship the *liṅga*, what kinds of clay to gather (which are different for each caste), and how to prepare the clay according to vedic dictates. Verses 9-10, for example read:

> saṃśodhyaca jalenāpi piṃḍīkṛtya śanaiḥ śanaiḥ/

vidhīyeta śubhaṃ liṅgaṃ pārthivaṃ vedamārgataḥ//9//
tataḥ saṃpūjayed bhaktyā bhuktimuktiphalāptaye/
tatprakāram ahaṃ vacmi śṛnudhvaṃ saṃvidhānataḥ//10//

Having purified (the clay) with water and also having formed it
into a ball very gently, one should construct that beautiful earthen
(*pārthiva*) *liṅga* according to the manner of the veda. Then one
should worship devoutly for the obtainment of the fruit of release
and worldly enjoyment. I (will) tell you about that method. Listen
according to the regulations.

The text then launches into a series of rites to be performed alongside of the
recitation of mantras, the majority of which have been drawn from the
Śatarudriya hymn. Out of 53 mantras that are prescribed, 31 are taken from the
Śatarudriya.[217]

This chapter might be read as the incorporation of early vedic sources into
a medieval rite of *liṅga* worship. Given the uncertainty and complexities
associated with the term *pārthiva* discussed in chapters two and three, however,
it is possible that the connection of the *Śatarudriya* to *pārthiva* worship emerged
prior to, and possibly independent of, *liṅga* worship. Later rituals, such as is
found in *Vidyeśvara-Saṃhitā* 20, transform the altar/hymn combination into a
liṅga/hymn combination. The more notable introduction here, therefore, may
be the *liṅga*. The *pārthiva*'s connection to the *Śatarudriya* hymn as well as Śiva's
eight-formed aspect may derive from a tradition of aniconic Śiva worship, which
was related to the traditions about the *sthaṇḍila, vedi,* and hymn discussed above
and which was developed prior to the introduction of the *liṅga* into that
framework. In the ŚP tradition, we may see the product of a merger between
two stands of Śaivaite ritual: aniconic/vedic and *liṅga/āgamic*.

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[217] Gonda, (1980), 81.

Conclusion

Before we turn to review our findings in this chapter, I want to add a note regarding J. N. Banerjea's interpretation of the *Vana Parvan* 39.65 and *Sauptika Parvan* 7.13-14, passages from the epic material discussed in some detail above.[218] The author makes reference to these passages in two of his works, with two quite different readings. In an article from 1935 called "The Phallic Emblem in Ancient and Medieval India," he proposes a reading of the passages that is similar to the one I offered above. He does not believe that either of the passages refers to *liṅga* worship; he argues that they represent parts of the epic that are earlier than the references to *liṅga* worship.

His 1935 article is devoted to establishing that Śaiva worship was not always centred around *liṅga* worship and that other kinds of Śaiva worship existed from an early date. He also points to archaeological evidence to support this position. For example, he refers to images of Śiva in theriomorphic or anthropomorphic form on coins issued during Kuṣān rule as well as coins issued out of Ujjain in the third and second centuries BCE.[219]

In his well-known book on Hindu iconography, however, Banerjea revises this position and attempts to present a more historically homogenized view of Śaiva worship. When presenting *Vana* 39.65 and *Sauptika* (*Mahābhārata* X, 7.13-14), he calls the altar structures "*columnar* altars" in order to link both the *sthaṇḍila* and the *vedi* to the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth. He says of the Sauptika passage, for example:

> This concept of the sudden appearance of a flaming golden altar *or pillar* before Aśvatthāmā leads one to the consideration of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti of Śiva [emphasis mine].

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[218] J. N. Banerjea, (1935), 38; and (1973), 152-54 and 462. The original copyright of the second revised edition is 1956.

[219] There is some recent controversy over the identity of the figure on these coins and whether it is Śiva; some scholarship points to an identity outside the Indian context. See Katsumi Tanabe, "Oesho: Another Kushan Wind God," *in Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies* vol. 2 (1992): 51.

Banerjea slips in the words *"columnar"* and *"pillar"* in order to mould these examples into a coherent, *liṅga*-centred view of Śaivism. There is, however, no indication in the texts themselves that such meanings are intended. Having examined the definition of the *sthaṇḍila* as well as the *vedi* above, I find little to support the author's additions.

In my view, however, these unwarranted assertions point to the importance of these Sanskrit passages. That is, the passages are problematic *precisely because* they offer an alternate perspective on the early history of Śaiva worship. This is well established by Banerjea's earlier work, which still stands as an eloquent articulation of this position, even though he rejected this view twenty years later without explanation.

In the present chapter, I sought to explore a number of such passages, which may speak to lost strands of Śaivism and which may shed doubt on the dominance of *liṅga* worship throughout its history. The nature of the evidence makes any firm conclusions impossible. Nevertheless, from our analysis of references to the *sthaṇḍila*, *Śatarudriya* hymn, and the *vedi*, we may be able to map some basic patterns and chart some possibilities. We might speculate, for instance, that longstanding traditions about Rudra and Śiva as vedic "outsiders" may have been matched with attempts, at various points in time, to integrate these figures into vedic altar-centred worship. In turn, there may have been aniconic forms of early Śaiva worship that featured altar structures such as the *sthaṇḍila* and the *vedi*; in some cases, the term *pārthiva* may similarly denote an earthen altar structure or ritual space. This early aniconic stream of Śaiva worship, centering on earthen altars, may account for the prominence of *pārthiva* worship in the JS. Moreover, the integration of this stream into the *jyotirliṅga* cult, in particular, may be explicable with reference to vedic ritual traditions that connect the earth (*pṛthivī*) with light (*jyotis*), fire, the fire-pan, and the fire altar. If so, then the JS and KS are also part of a process whereby the language and imagery of this stream of Śaiva worship began to be co-opted

by those promoting *liṅga*-centred worship of Śiva. The JS may preserve traces of a transitional stage in the formulation of Śiva worship in the medieval period.

Although such reconstructions must remain hypothetical, they do highlight the need to allow for the diversity of early Śiva worship, rather than reading all references to Śaivite ritual through the lens of *liṅga* worship. In this chapter, I have tried to demonstrate the possibility of a stream of early Śaivite worship connected to earthen altars that has some direct bearing on the cult of *jyotirliṅgas*. In the next chapter, I will turn to consider the prehistory of the JS and the *jyotirliṅga* cult from another perspective, considering the possible influence of traditions about the twelve suns on the grouping of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*.

Chapter Five
Jyotis, the Twelve Suns, and the Emergence of Śiva as an All-Encompassing god

In the previous chapters, we have examine much material related to the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, particularly in the ŚP tradition. In light of the focus on worship in the cycle of *jyotirliṅga* stories in the JS and KS, chapter four sought to place its ritual descriptions in the broader context of early and medieval Śaivite worship. Similarly, in the present chapter, we will explore some of the prehistory and context of the *jyotirliṅga* form, considering the significance of the use of this fire/light imagery for our understanding of medieval Śaivism.

In the ŚP tradition, the rubric of the *jyotirliṅga* is used to unite the twelve sites and their stories. The cycle of *jyotirliṅga* stories in the JS and KS, however, contain surprisingly few details about the *jyotirliṅga* form. During the course of our analysis of these stories in chapters two and three, we discussed the use of light (*jyotis*) imagery in the context of the material about the *jyotīrūpa* ("light form") of Śiva in the ŚP tradition; this material, however, does not tell us that much about this form. In this chapter we will, thus, focus on relevant references from outside of the ŚP tradition, trying to establish the broader context behind the grouping of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. The focus on fire/light imagery will also give us another perspective from which to investigate the integration of vedic and epic traditions into medieval Śaivism.

This chapter will have four parts. The first part will consider a description of the emergence of the *jyotirliṅga* in the SkP I, iii, ii, 10-12. As we will see, this theophany tells us something that the ŚP tradition does not – that is, what a *jyotirliṅga* is! Although this passage occurs in a version of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth, we will here focus, not on this myth, but rather on this particular description of the *jyotirliṅga*, which is especially rich in fire/light

imagery.[220] As noted above in the Introduction, the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth has already been discussed in much detail by scholars such as Shulman and Doniger.[221]

The use of fire/light imagery in this version of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth will serve as a starting point for us to consider the background and broader context of the medieval Śaivite concept of the *jyotirliṅga*. Of particular interest is its connection between the *jyotirliṅga* and *jyotiḥstambha* and its description of the *jyotirliṅga* with reference to the twelve suns.

The second part of this chapter will briefly survey the use of the term *jyotis* in *purāṇic* literature, with an eye to possible connections with the *jyotirliṅga* form in particular. Vedic and epic sources will help to fill out the background of this form. As we will see, *jyotis* imagery was widely applied to a variety of gods. The application to Śiva may thus show some of the process behind Śiva's much-discussed composite nature, whereby he incorporated a number of features associated with other deities.

The third part of this chapter will examine traditions related to the twelve suns, as called, variously, *ādityas*, *sūryas*, or *prabhākaras*. The motif of twelve suns is vedic in origin and is associated with a number of different gods in vedic and epic traditions. In the *purāṇic* material, however, the motif becomes explicitly associated with Śiva. A number of sections from the ŚP and later SkP, for instance, describe the destructive strength of the twelve suns as the major

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[220] Though there is an extensive version of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* story in ŚP I, 6-10, its focus is clearly not on the appearing column, which comprises a mere four verses (7.11-14). Furthermore the column is "*sthambham agnirūpaṃ*" (column in the form of fire; 7.14) as perceived by the gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu and is not a *jyotirliṅga*. Śiva is said to step from a *liṅga* of fire ("*agniliṅgataḥ*"; 7.29); however, the focus of these chapters is clearly not on the theophany of the *liṅga* as it is in SkP I, iii, ii, 10-12.

[221] For Doniger reference see note 12. David Shulman discusses the integration and evolution of the pillar motif in Śiva mythology in epic and *purāṇic* literature. He has not, however, directly linked the *Atharva Veda* X, 7 hymn (see below) with the later *jyotirliṅga/jyotiḥstambha* material in the *purāṇas*. On the other hand, Doris Śrinivasan attempts to draw out the meaning of the Skambha hymns with regard to the common theme of multiple body parts in medieval Hindu iconography; however, she makes no attempt to link the hymn to Śaivite material directly. See Shulman (1986); Doris Śrinivasan, "The Religious Significance of Divine Multiple Body Parts in the Atharva Veda," *Numen*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Dec. 1978), 209-215.

feature of Śiva's power when he destroys the universe. The relevance of this motif for our understanding of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* is also suggested by lists in the SkP and *Liṅga Purāṇa* which group Śaivite pilgrimage sites under the rubric of the twelve suns.

What does Śiva's absorption of this fire/light imagery tell us about the cult of *jyotirliṅgas* and medieval Śaivism? In the final section, I will address the broader framework for the medieval association of light/fire imagery with Śiva. Specifically, I will consider the medieval consolidation of the image of Śiva as an "all-encompassing god."

By this phrase I mean to denote the description of Śiva, not as one god among many, but rather as the god who encompasses the entire universe within himself. As we will see, the application of such terms to Śiva seems to draw on earlier traditions about Prajāpati and Kṛṣṇa. The medieval shift in descriptions of Śiva also resonates with a range of changes that occur in the portraits of gods in vedic, epic, and *purāṇic* literature, whereby the rise of devotional cults arguably leads to a greater focus on individual gods. By considering some materials about "all-encompassing gods" that are relevant to this development in medieval Śaivism, I hope to shed further light on the ongoing dialogue with vedic and Vaiṣṇavite traditions that is evident in the traditions associated with the cult of *jyotirliṅgas*.

1. The *jyotirliṅga* theophany in SkP (I, iii, ii, 10.1-29)

Throughout this dissertation, we have employed the SkP as an important supplement to our knowledge of medieval Śaivism from the ŚP tradition. The evidence of the SkP has proven particularly important, because it offers a different perspective on many of the same *jyotirliṅga* sites that are included in the JS and KS, but it does not consider them to be *jyotirliṅgas*. This difference in classification may suggest that the relevant sections of the SkP (e.g., *Kedāra-khaṇḍa*, *Avanti-khaṇḍa*, *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, and *Setumāhātmya*) have more ancient histories than the ŚP tradition. Alternately, they may be an expression of

another medieval group of Śaivites from a different region or regions of India, who did not feel compelled to identify the notion of the *jyotirliṅga* with the twelve sites identified by the JS and KS. The SkP has also offered other perspectives on Śaivite ritual, for example, without regard to *pārthiva* worship. The SkP, in other words, has many themes and concerns in common with the ŚP, but it often preserves different combinations and interpretations of the same motifs.

Interestingly, more than one section of the SkP recognizes the *jyotirliṅga* form in relationship to other sites.[222] This demonstrates that the notion of the *jyotirliṅga* as a form of Śiva was independent of the cult of twelve. It also provides us with more sources for understanding the meaning of Śiva's *jyotirliṅga* form in medieval Śaivism.

Here, I want to look at one specific example of the SkP's presentation of a *jyotirliṅga*. This example, as noted above, appears as part of the well-known *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth. It is very rich in fire/light imagery and may contain hints as to the prehistory and meaning of Śiva's *jyotirliṅga* form.

The relevant passage appears in the *Māheśvara-khaṇḍa*, *Aruṇācala-māhātmya*, *Uttarārdha* (part 2) chapters 10-15 (hereafter SkP I, iii, ii), a part of the first of the seven sections of the large SkP which dates perhaps to before the thirteenth century CE.[223] The *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* is generally associated with the mountain pilgrimage site of Tiruvannamalai located in the state of

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[222] For example, we have already seen that some of the minor Śaiva sites in and around Ujjain call their *liṅgas* "*jyotirliṅgas*" (SkP IV, ii, 4.32-33, 12.22-23, and 45.53-54) but that the text does not identify Mahākāla, the central deity of that town, by that title.

[223] A general dating of the *Māheśvara-Khaṇḍa* of the SkP is difficult, as its various subsections appear to be from different geographical areas (for example, *Kedāra-Khaṇḍa* (subsection 1) from the north and *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* (subsection 3) from the south). Each subsection probably has a separate redactional history prior to its introduction in the current SkP. Hazra has identified subsection 2, the *Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa*, along with other portions of the current SkP to before the thirteenth century CE because of their connection to an earlier version of the SkP that contained six (rather than the current seven) divisions into major sections. A full discussion of this text is beyond the scope of this dissertation. See Hazra (1975), 157-163; also see G. V. Tagare (trans.), G. P. Bhatt (ed.), *The Skanda Purāṇa*, part III, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993), vii-viii (editorial).

Tamilnadu less than 200 kilometres Southwest of Chennai (formerly Madras).[224] It is, in this way, part of a very localized tradition that has nothing at all to do with the pan-Indian cult of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. The *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth is one of the central narratives of the *māhātmya* and, as such, speaks to the development of the notion of a *jyotirliṅga* outside of the ŚP tradition.

Although the SkP generally does not identify the *jyotirliṅga* sites of the ŚP as *jyotirliṅgas*, it does identify this southern site with that term, demonstrating that the concept was known to the SkP writers and in particular to the composers of the *Aruṇācala-māhātmya*. The appearance of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth in the *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* thus suggests that its composers were either influenced by the pan-Indian cult of twelve *jyotirliṅgas* and so adopted the concept for themselves, or that they were part of an earlier tradition of Śaivites who, along with the composers of the JS, participated in the articulation of the concept of *jyotirliṅgas*. In a third possible scenario, this text may preserve a tradition that predated and influenced the development of the cult of twelve *jyotirliṅgas*. In any case the text provides further evidence about the period of concretization of the *jyotirliṅga* cult that we identified, namely the period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.[225] The text, thus, helps to

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[224] That the *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* refers to a south Indian location is clear from the geographical references in the text. For example, SkP I, iii, ii, 4.10-11 refers to a site sacred to Śiva called Aruṇa in the region of Draviḍa. Sashibhusan Chowdhuri believes that the site is in particular close to the ancient city of Kāñcī (also in Tamilnadu) and likely linked to the contemporary site of Tiruvannamalai. See Sashibhusan Chowdhuri, "On the identification of Soṇācala and Aruṇācala in the Skandapurāṇa," *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV (December, 1928): 751-759.

[225] The earliest structures at Tiruvannamalai are, based on inscriptional evidence, dated to the ninth c. CE. As previously noted, Chowdhuri as well as the editor of the English translation of the *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* have identified the Sanskrit text with this pilgrimage site. Though a definite link between these structures and the *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* is impossible to determine from the text or the inscriptions alone, the dating of the Tiruvannamalai temple certainly opens the possibility that the text could be from around this same period (i.e., between the tenth to fourteenth century). Indeed, as was discussed in chapters two and three, the link between the JS and the current pilgrimage sites of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* is at times uncertain (for example, with regard to Nāgeśvara and Vaidyanātha), and thus the contemporary identification of the *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* with Tiruvannamalai, should not be entirely discounted. See François L'Hernault, *Tiruvannamalai: un lieu saint śivaïte du sud de l'Inde, vol. 2 l'archéologie du site*, (Paris: Publication de l'École Française d'Etrême-Orient, 1991), 60-63.

give us a broader picture of Śaivism and the importance of the concept of *jyotirliṅgas* to Śaivism in the precise period on which we have been focusing.

The version of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth in the *Aruṇācala-māhātmya* is perhaps the most elaborate *purāṇic* description of a *jyotirliṅga* theophany. Its magnificent description of the appearance of a *jyotirliṅga* to Viṣṇu and Brahmā begins as follows:

> Then a pillar of light arose in the midst of the two, while they quarreled, blocking up the space between heaven and earth. While expanding greatly it split the universal egg and seemed to lift up the very dark sky. Through the power of this light *liṅga* everything was colourless. (Then) the regions lit up at once as if they extended into the distance. It was like the oceans were dried by great powerful flames. They were no longer agitated by waves. They returned to their own natural state. Like sparks burst forth from the pillar of fire, the planets along with a host of stars glittered in the sky as they had before. All the mountains were tinted with the red of its fire as though with red chalk. They attained the beauty of the sun (shining) on the earth. Large aquatic animals shone due to their closeness to the reflection of that (splendour) and the oceans shone as if made of broken ruby stones. The trees shone as though hung with fresh blossoms of coral and the rivers shone as though full of blossoming water lilies. The earth (shone) as if (it were) smeared with saffron; the regions like they were (smeared with) red lead. The sky appeared as though it were completely red. The shell of the universal egg was filled to the limit with light just as blood completely fills the skull (attached) to the skin clad one. So, because that pillar of fire grew, the universe and everything in it took on a red appearance.[226] (SkP I, iii, ii, 10.3-13)

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[226] The Sanskrit passage reads:

athodasthāt tayor madhye tathā vivadamānayoḥ/
jyotiḥstambhatvam abhyetya rodorandhranirodhakaḥ//3//
mahatā jambhamānena tasya brahmāṇḍabhedinaḥ/
antarikṣam atiśyāmaṃ samutkṣiptam ivābhavat//4//
viṣvagvivarṇatā tasya jyotirliṅgasya tejasā/
diśo virejire sadyodūravistāritaiva//5//
tīvrais tasya mahājvālaiḥ śoṣitā iva sāgarāḥ/
vimuktavīcisaṃkṣobhāḥ svāmevaprakṛtiṃ yayuḥ//6//
vyadyotanta divi prāgvadagrahās tārāgaṇaiḥ saha/
tejaḥstambhāt samudbhinnāḥ sphuliṅgā iva kecana//7//

This third-person description of the theophany focuses on the *jyotirliṅga*, which is also called a *jyotiḥstambha* (pillar of light). This description, however, is followed by an account of the interpretation of the sight of the *jyotirliṅga* by Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Bewildered by the sight and apparently not recognizing who and what stands before them, they try to describe it in other terms. The account of their efforts at interpretation begins as follows:

> Having seen the marvelous *liṅga* possessed of flames the four-armed and four-faced lords gave up their anger together and thought to themselves: "Has a mass of light of rubies which are embedded on the expanded cobra's hoods of Śeṣa and the other snakes having broken through the earth, come up raising its head? Have the twelve suns, which appear commonly at the end of a *kalpa*, risen up all at once between the earth and sky? Have the (sparks) which converged on one another from the middle of the sky, and which were dispersed from the friction of clouds, fallen quickly to the surface of the earth?"[227] (SkP I, iii, ii, 10.14-17)

The gods' attempts to identify the *jyotirliṅga* continue for several chapters and

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tejasā tasya śoṇena gairikeṇeva rajitāḥ/
bhaumaraviśriyaṃ sarve 'py avahannavanībhṛtaḥ//8//
samudrās tat praticchāyā nirbharāśilaṣṭayādasaḥ/
padmarāgaśilākhaṇḍe ghaṭitā iva rejire//9//
pravālucchaiḥ pratyagrair lambitā iva pādapāḥ/
nadyaśca nirbharotphullakalhārā iva rejire //10//
mahī kuṅkumalipteva diśaḥ sindūritā iva/
sarvāruṇam iva vyoma samantāt pratyadṛśyata//11//
brahmāṇḍakarparam abhūt tan mahaḥpūritāntaram/
śoṇiteneva sampūrṇaṃ kapālam kṛttivāsasaḥ//12//
evaṃ pravarddhamānena tejaḥstambhena tena ca/
aruṇākāratāṃ bheje viśvaṃ sthāvarajaṅgamam//13//

[227] The Sanskrit passage reads:
tejoliṅgaṃ tadāścaryaṃ dṛṣṭvā tyaktamithaḥkrudhau/
acintayetāmekaikaṃ caturmūkhacaturbhujau//14//
kimeṣa vasudhāṃ bhittvā śeṣādīnāṃphaṇābhṛtām/
phaṇāmāṇikyamahasāṃ rāśirunmukhatāṃ gataḥ//15//
kiṃ vā kalpāntasulabhaprādurbhāvāḥ prabhākarāḥ/
dvādaśāpi nabho bhūmyor madhye yugapadutthitāḥ//16//
āho svin meghasaṃgharṣād vitatā vyomamadhyataḥ/
anyonyaṃ militāḥ kṣipā nipatantyavanītale//17//

makes up much of the content of the narrative, which follows the well known story-line of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth. Viṣṇu turns into a boar and seeks out the root of the column (SkP I, iii, ii, 11), all the while observing everything below the surface of the earth, including the seven regions below the earth (*pātālas*).[228] He observes that the column goes deeper than all of these elements. At the same time, Brahmā, in the form of a swan, seeks out the top of the column (SkP I, iii, ii, 12-13).[229]

As in other versions of this myth, Brahmā fails to reach the top. In an attempt to best Viṣṇu, he lies and claims to have seen the top of the column. Viṣṇu, who is not deceived by the lie, praises Śiva (SkP I, iii, ii, 14). In response to Viṣṇu's praise, Śiva bursts from the column of light in anthropomorphic form, seated on a bull (SkP I, iii, ii, 15.1-6). Śiva is pleased with Viṣṇu and upset with Brahmā. For Brahmā's transgression, Śiva asserts that Brahmā will no longer be worshiped (SkP I, iii, ii, 15.12).[230]

The above quoted description of the initial appearance of the column of fire (i.e., SkP I, iii, ii, 10.3-17) falls into two parts: one associated with the *jyotirliṅga* and the other of which features a reference to the twelve suns.[231] At first sight these may seem to be separate elements in distinct descriptions of the

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[228] See SkP I, iii, ii, 11.12-13. References to the seven *pātālas* are found in a wide body of *purāṇic* literature including *Brahmāṇḍa* II, 20.10; *Viṣṇu* II, 5.2-3; *Kūrma* I, 44.15-25; *Brahmā* 21.2-3; *Vāmana* 6.76. See Kane, Vol. 5 part 2 (1977), 1528. We also find a reference to the seven *pātālas* in the JS 49.24 dedicated to the *jyotirliṅga* Viśveśvara. In the *Mahābhārata*, *pātāla* is not divided into seven regions, but it is still associated with the underworld and often in the context of world devastation. In Book V, 97-98, it is a city of the underworld. Other examples in the *Mahābhārata* include, Book I, 16.20, 19.6-17, 204.20; Book III, 45.24, 103.12, 105.24, 239.18; Book V, 106.12.

[229] In this chapter Brahmā observes that the column of fire "broke through the sphere of the (cosmic) egg" ("*bibhed āṇḍakaṭāhaṃ*"; SkP I, iii, ii, 12.9). The cosmic egg (*āṇḍa*) is often associated with Brahmā himself in *purāṇic* literature (as in the term *brahmāṇḍa*; for example in SkP I, iii, ii, 10.4). The association of the creator god and the egg also has links to creation myths in the *Ṛgveda* such as X, 121 and to the *Chandogya Upaniṣad* III, 19.

[230] Other versions of this story have Śiva cut off Brahmā's fifth head as his punishment. It is noteworthy, therefore, that in this version Śiva is the one with five heads, and Brahmā only has four. For a discussion of the removal of Brahmā's fifth head in the context of Mahākāla, see Granoff (2003).

[231] I would like thank Professor Shinohara for pointing to this division in the text and for pushing me to construe a more viable interpretation of the discrepancy between the two parts. Much of the following discussion is the result of his concerns.

jyotirliṅga. When taken together in the context of the story, however, it may be argued that there is an intentional and meaningful association between the two.

The first part of the description (vv. 3-14) represents the perspective of the narrator (Nandīkeśvara) and is presented as an "objective" description of the column as it manifests and rises up into the cosmos. It is noteworthy that the theophany is characterized by the narrator in more than one way. For example, the narrative refers to the form both as a *"jyotiḥstambha"* (SkP I, iii, ii, 10.3) and as a *"jyotirliṅga"* (SkP I, iii, ii, 10.5). A link is thus suggested in the text between the *sthambha* (column) and *liṅga* through the use of the term *jyotis*.[232]

The second part (vv. 15-17) represents the interpretation of the column by Brahmā and Viṣṇu. They are described as bewildered, not understanding what they see. Therefore the gods interpret the bright light before them in terms of what they do know, which in this case includes the twelve suns.

The differences between the two descriptions may point to the intersection of two different world-views. The motif of twelve suns is a vedic motif. From vedic ritual texts like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, they are well known as cosmic elements absorbed by the creator Prajāpati, the vedic forerunner of Brahmā.[233] In these early texts the twelve suns are called *"ādityas"* and have nothing directly to do with Rudra. Rudra's number is typically eleven, as in the eleven *rudras*; like the twelve *ādityas*, the eleven *rudras* are cosmic elements absorbed by Prajāpati.

In light of this background, it is interesting to note the place of the twelve suns in the description of the observations of the gods Viṣṇu and Brahmā in SkP I, iii, ii, 10.15-17. Whereas Prajāpati absorbs the twelve suns in vedic

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[232] The terms *stambha* and *liṅga* are also linked through the word *tejas*, as in *"tejaḥstambhena"* (SkP I, iii, ii, 10.13) and *"tejoliṅgaṃ"* (SkP I, iii, ii, 10.14). *Tejas* has a similar meaning to *jyotis* as "light" or "fire," but because we are concerned with *jyotirliṅgas* I will not examine the usage of this word in detail.

[233] Indeed SkP I, iii, ii, 15.11-14, which outlines Śiva's reprimand and punishment of Brahmā, and the Ketaka leaf that accompanies him, makes reference to the god's incest with his daughter (v. 11). The myth of Brahmā's incest is directly connected with Prajāpati. In chapter four we discussed Prajāpati's incest, which is found in such texts as *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, vii, 4 and *Aittireya Brāhmaṇa* III, 33-34 (or 217-21).

tradition, Śiva's *jyotirliṅga* form is here likened by Viṣṇu and Brahmā to all the twelve suns combined. Whereas Prajāpati also absorbs the eleven *rudras* in vedic tradition, this *purāṇic* myth shows Śiva superseding Brahmā. Śiva, in effect, takes the place of Prajāpati/Brahmā; he is the god who encompasses the twelve suns by means of his *jyotirliṅga* form. The story, moreover, ends with the cessation of Brahmā's worship.

Within the story, the juxtaposition of the two descriptions of the *jyotirliṅga* and the inclusion of the motif of the twelve suns expresses, in narrative terms, Śiva's absorption of vedic traditions and his supersession of Prajāpati/Brahmā in particular. The inclusion of this motif may also point us towards considering the possible significance of the twelve suns for the development of the concept of *jyotirliṅgas*. As noted above, the vedic motif of the twelve suns is widely applied to Śiva in *purāṇic* sources. For our understanding of the *jyotirliṅgas*, the material about the twelve suns is particularly intriguing, due to the association of Śiva with the number twelve, which departs from the association of Rudra with the numbers eight and eleven.

In the theophany examined above, one *jyotirliṅga* is compared to twelve suns; as we will see, however, other *purāṇic* passages also associate Śiva with the twelve suns in ways that recall his association with the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* in the JS, KS, and *Jyotirliṅgastotra*. Although our medieval evidence attests different approaches to the interpretation of the vedic motif of the twelve suns in Śaivism, the absorption of this motif may help to explain how Śiva came to be associated with the number twelve, a development that is crucial for the grouping of twelve *liṅgas* as *jyotirliṅgas*.

To explore these possibilities and connections in more detail, the next two sections of this chapter will investigate elements from the two different perspectives in the above theophany of the *jyotirliṅga*. In the next section (no. 2) we will focus on the term *jyotis* and consider the broader context of the link between the *jyotiḥstambha* and the *jyotirliṅga* made in SkP I, iii, ii, 10.3-14. It is hoped that this consideration will also contribute, more broadly, to our

understanding of the employment and meaning of *jyotis* in medieval materials about the cult of *jyotirliṅgas*. Then, in the following section (no. 3) we will consider Śiva's association with the number twelve and, in particular, his connection with the motif of twelve suns. Lastly (no. 4), we will consider background to Śiva's depiction as an "all encompassing god" who takes the place of Prajāpati/Brahmā and Kṛṣṇa as the god who contains the universe in himself.

2. Consideration of *jyotis* in Sanskrit sources

In chapters two and three, we have seen how the term *jyotis* functions within the context of the *jyotirliṅga* narratives of the JS and KS, where half of the stories contain references to the light form (*jyotīrūpa*) of Śiva. In chapter four, we discussed the employment of the term *jyotis* as it relates to fire-pan rites in vedic ritual texts; we saw that fire/light imagery was an integral element of rituals related to the construction of the sacrificial altar. Whereas these previous discussions have been oriented towards particular ritual and narrative elements that have resonance with, or direct impact on, the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*, I would like here to expand our examination of the term *jyotis* with a view to the broader context in which the cult of *jyotirliṅgas* took shape and in which the *jyotirliṅga* theophany in SkP I, iii, ii, 10 may have arisen.

Of course, references to light abound in Indian texts. The fire/light imagery in medieval *purāṇic* literature is plentiful, diverse in meaning, and not specific to the cult of *jyotirliṅgas* or to Śiva. Nevertheless, a brief survey may help us to understand some important elements in the medieval conceptualization of *jyotis* with regard to the *jyotirliṅgas*.

The use of the term *jyotis* in vedic material is complex and cannot be treated wholly here. I will, therefore, limit my consideration of this material to one vedic hymn of particular relevance to the theophany of the *jyotirliṅga* in SkP I, iii, ii, 10. The hymn is from the *Atharva Veda* X, 7, and is dedicated to a god called Skambha. I will then turn to a brief discussion of *jyotis* in epic and especially *purāṇic* material. By sketching some basic patterns in the use of the term, I hope to give us a better

understanding of the place of light imagery in our medieval sources, as it speaks to the use of this imagery in the *jyotirliṅga* theophany above and in the cycle of *jyotirliṅga* stories in the JS and KS.

The hymn to the vedic god Skambha found in the *Atharva Veda Saṃhitā*[234] has resonance with the equation of *jyotirliṅga* and *jyotiḥstambha* in SkP I, iii, ii, 10 in that *skambha* and *stambha* are related Sanskrit words for "pole" or "column."[235] The hymn identifies this column with the creator Prajāpati. In *Atharva Veda* X, 7.40, it is said that "in him [Skambha] are all the three lights that are in Prajāpati."[236] The term used to describe these lights is "*jyotīṃṣi*." This hymn, thus, provides early evidence of a column being connected with the term *jyotis* (occurring in the nominative plural in X, 7.40).

A connection with later *jyotirliṅga* traditions is also suggested by *Atharva Veda* X, 7.28, in which the column is named as the source[237] for the "golden-embryo" (*hiraṇyagarbha*). The motif of the "golden-embryo" is widely known to have clear connections with the *purāṇic* motif of the universal egg (*brahmāṇḍā*), which is cited in the description of the *jyotirliṅga* theophany discussed above (SkP I, iii, ii, 10.1-29).[238] There, when the *jyotirliṅga* first appears, it splits the universal egg (10.4), and "the

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[234] The *Atharva Veda* is the fourth book of the four Vedas, but is characterized differently than the other three (*Ṛg*, *Sāma*, and *Yajur*) because it deals mostly with domestic rites and healing spells and does not directly relate to the public rites of *śrauta* rituals that the other three do. The *śrauta* rituals are connected to the building of the fire altar (*vedi*) that we have discussed in chapter four. See S. W. Jamison and M. Witzel, "Vedic Hinduism" (1992), 7-8; this article is available online at *http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~witzel/vedica.pdf*, and is an expanded version of the essay of the same name published in A. Sharma (ed.), *The Study of Hinduism* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 65-113.

[235] Edgerton says that the roots *stambh* and *skambh* are "so inextricably confused in the consciousness of the language that no clear or general division in meanings can be made between them"; Franklin Edgerton, "Studies in the Veda," *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 35, no. 4 (1914), 441-42.

[236] Translation by W. D. Whitney, *Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitā*, vol. II (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1962), 594. The text (X, 7.40) reads: "*sarvāṇi tasmin jyotīṃṣi yāni trīṇi prajāpatau.*"

[237] Literally Skambha is said to have "poured" (*prāsiñcat*) the gold of the embryo into the world.

[238] See for example Wendy Doniger's introduction to hymn 10.121 of the *Ṛg-veda* "The Unknown God, the Golden Embryo"; *The Rig Veda* (London: Penguin, 1981), 26-28; also (1973), 107-08.

shell of the universal egg was filled to the limit with light" (10.12). This motif also occurs later in the story, in SkP I, iii, ii, 12.9; when Brahmā is a swan, he observes that the column breaks through the top of the universal egg (see note 9 for Sanskrit).

In both the vedic hymn and the *purāṇic* myth, the embryo/egg arguably serves as an emblem of the creator god (either Prajāpati or Brahmā). In the *Atharva Veda* passage and in the *jyotirliṅga* theophany in SkP I, iii, ii, this emblem is revealed to be undermined by the column (*skambha* or *stambha*). In SkP I, iii, ii, 10-12, Śiva, in the form of a column of light, supersedes the emblem of the creator (i.e., the universal egg of Brahmā) by splitting it and filling its shell with light. Likewise, in the *Atharva Veda* passage, the column containing light is the source of, and thus superior to, the creator's emblem (i.e., Prajāpati's golden embryo). It is possible, therefore, that *Atharva Veda* X, 7, may preserve an early kernel of some of the motifs that became important in the *jyotirliṅga/jyotiḥstambha* theophany of SkP I, iii, ii, and in the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth more generally.

Notably, within its vedic context, the *Atharva Veda* hymn is generally connected to both Indra and Prajāpati[239] and not to Śiva. It seems, nevertheless, that elements of the hymn were absorbed into Śaivite mythology. Space does not allow an investigation of this process; this would entail a consideration of the other materials related to these themes, which have a long and rich history of iconographical and literary development. I have here only sketched out what I see as some obvious connections, and I have left out much of the material in between, as our present aims do not permit further development of this particular aspect of *jyotirliṅgas*. What is significant, for our purposes, is that this example speaks to a possible vedic source for some of the central elements found, centuries later, in the *jyotirliṅga* theophany of SkP I, iii, ii. In the image of the column of light in the vedic hymn, we may find hints

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[239] For interpretations of this hymn see Louis Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, fasc. 2 (Paris: Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation indienne, 1956), 79-85; Śrinivasan (1978), 209-215; John Irwin, "'Aśokan' Pillars: A Re-Assessment of the Evidence – IV: Symbolism," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 118, No. 884 (Nov., 1976), 740 fn. 24.

about the ultimate origin of the concept of the *jyotirliṅga* in earlier traditions about columns of light, associated with other gods.[240]

If I am correct in seeing a connection between these materials, further questions are raised. Have the *purāṇic* authors/redactors of this material directly drawn from a more ancient text? Or, do the parallels reflect traditions shaped over centuries of literary development? Although it is challenging to establish historical connections between such temporally distant materials as the vedas and the *purāṇas*, it is important, in my view, to leave open this option. In the medieval period, Śiva clearly absorbed a number of other earlier traditions. This process of absorption, however, is arguably predicated on a continuity with vedic religion that went well beyond traditions about the figure of Rudra.

Leaving aside such questions for the moment, I wish now to turn to an inquiry of *purāṇic* uses of the term *jyotis*. There are two main uses of the term *jyotis* in *purāṇic* literature. One is to denote a heavenly body, either in the singular or in the plural form (often the genitive plural, "*jyotiṣām*"), referring possibly to a star or stars or to a planet or the planets.[241] The second main use of the word is as a kind of epithet of a god. We find *jyotis* in this sense referring to Brahmā,[242] Viṣṇu,[243] Śiva,[244] Agni,[245] and Devī.[246] The two usages of the term are closely related; when *jyotis* is used as an epithet, it serves to signify a god's connection to, and possibly control over, the heavenly bodies (i.e., stars and planets). In this sense the god will often be

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[240] Gonda has even suggested that, in addition to Indra, that Viṣṇu may be thought to represent the cosmic pillar in the *Ṛg-Veda* (VII, 99.2); Gonda (1976), 6.

[241] A survey of references from major *purāṇic* works, though not exhaustive, includes *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* II, 9.4; III, 1.1; VI, 4.17, 21, 32; V, 1.37; *Agni Purāṇa* 382.57; *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 2.31; I, 53.62; I, 54.1; I, 62.36; *Śiva Purāṇa* I, 14.20; VII, i, 33.50; 7, ii, 2.44; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X, 7.36; X, 8.5, 38; *Brahmā-Purāṇa* 89.37; 149.7; *Kūrma Purāṇa* I, 37.16; I, 39.12, 36.

[242] *Agni Purāṇa* 161.26; 174.20; 216.3, 7; 338.1; 373.32; 376.21; 377.1-22; 380.33; *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 17.27.

[243] *Agni Purāṇa* 120.39; 216.10; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X, 3.24; 14.23; 59.30; 63.34; *Brahmā Purāṇa* 24.4; 61.37; 122.41; *Kūrma Purāṇa* I, 15.61; II, 9.10; 46.30; *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 36.6; 95.22; *Vāmana Purāṇa* I, 8.54; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* V, 7.48.

[244] *Liṅga Purāṇa* I, 20.70; I, 88.77; II, 15.13; *Brahmā Purāṇa* 40.43; 122.41; 130.18; *Kūrma Purāṇa* I, 10.56; I, 10.67; II, 6.51.

[245] *Brahmā-Purāṇa* 126.5, 6 (same as *Gautamī-māhātmya* ch. 56)

[246] *Kūrma Purāṇa* I, 11.185, 200, 226; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* V, 2.20.

called the "*para*" ("highest") or "*mahat*" ("great") *jyotis*, or some other superlative signifying a great, mighty, or high quality of light.

This *purāṇic* use follows the employment of the term *jyotis* in epic material, which may be divided into the same two categories. The term frequently refers to heavenly bodies.[247] The epics also employ *jyotis* as an epithet for a god, although this usage is far less frequent. I found no use of *jyotis* as an epithet in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the *Mahābhārata*, however, *jyotis* is an epithet for a number of different gods, including Viṣṇu, Vidhātṛ (Brahmā), Indra, and Śiva.[248] As in the *purāṇic* sources, the use of the term as an epithet is related to its use to denote heavenly bodies; the epithets are used to suggest that the god has dominion over the heavenly bodies.[249] From this very brief overview, it is clear that the term *jyotis* is not uniquely or even predominantly connected to Śiva. Moreover, when *jyotis* is applied to Śiva, it is by no means exclusive to *liṅgas*.[250] This general overview may suggest, then, that the term *jyotis*, as found in the JS and KS stories about *jyotirliṅgas*, may be meant to represent the power of the heavenly bodies.

What is not clear is whether or not the employment of the term *jyotis* refers to a "*liṅga* of light" and/or to a body of light brought down from the heavens. There is one example from a tenth-century hymn to Śiva by the poet Halābudya that describes a "*jyotirliṅga*" floating in the heavens above a pilgrimage site called Śrīparvata.[251] This image seems to support the connection of the heavenly body and the term *jyotis*, in particular, when *jyotis* is describing a *liṅga*.

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[247] In the *Mahābhārata*: II, 17.14; IV, 47.3; V, 47.92; VII, 170.47; 173.46. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*: IV, 36.17; V, 2.54; V, 3.5; V, 13.12.

[248] In the *Mahābhārata* epithets of the following gods are found: Viṣṇu I, 1.194; III, 187.17; III, 187.47; VI, 32.21; XII, 47.35; Vidhātṛ (Brahmā) V, 23.17; Indra I, 21.11; Śiva VII, 172.68.

[249] For example, Vidhātṛ (Brahmā) is said to be "the highest light in the world of the living" ("*etaj jyotir uttamaṃ jīvaloke*") in *Mahābhārata* V, 23.17.

[250] The examples cited from the *purāṇas* and epics in the above notes (26 and 27), are not references to *liṅgas*.

[251] Phyllis Granoff, "Halayudha's Prism: Temples and Worship in Medieval North India" in V. Desai and D. Mason (eds.), *Gods, Guardians and Lovers: Temple Sculptures from North India* (New York: Asia Society, 1993), 68. Verse 40 of Halāyudha's *Hymn to Śiva* is translated: "There is a *liṅga* of light that is visible in the sky above Śrīparvata, of golden radiance, a marvel in all the world."

I have found two other passages that also connect *lingas* and *jyotis* to describe a heavenly body floating in the air. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* (I, 99.7) uses *jyotis* and *liṅga* imagery to tell of the formation of the universe:

> liṅgastu bhagavān dvābhyāṃ jagatsṛṣṭir dvijottamāḥ /
> liṅgamūrtiḥ śivo jyotistamasaścopari sthitaḥ//

> The *liṅga* is the Lord himself. The creation of the universe is by both of them (Umā and Śiva) O excellent Brahmins. Śiva in the image of a *liṅga* is the light situated above the darkness.[252]

The other reference is from the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (II, 10.1), which states:

> alingam ekam avyaktaṃ liṅgaṃ brahmeti niścitam/
> svayañjyotiḥ paraṃ tattvaṃ pare vyomni vyavasthitam//

> It is certain that the brahman is the *liṅga*, is unmanifest, alone, and has no mark. It is self-luminous, the highest reality. It is established in the sky.[253]

Both the *Liṅga* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas* have been dated to the eighth century, about two centuries before Halābudya's hymn and before the composition of the JS. In other words, these examples predate our literary evidence for *jyotirliṅgas*. As such, they suggest that, even prior to the formation of the cult of *jyotirliṅgas*, there may have been an established concept, among medieval Śaivites, of a *liṅga* imbued with the light of the heavens.

We might further speculate that such examples could have contributed, in some way, to the grouping of twelve *liṅgas* as *jyotirliṅgas*. In order to demonstrate the primacy of some sites among all *liṅgas* in India, for instance, certain Śaivites may have associated these sites with an already familiar notion of supreme heavenly light.

3. The twelve suns and the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*

Like the employment of the term *jyotis* in *purāṇic* material, the motif of the

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[252] Adapted from the translation by A Board of Scholars, *The Liṅga-Purāṇa* part II, 554.
[253] Adapted from the translation by G. V. Tagare, The *Kūrma Purāṇa*, part II, 372.

twelve suns is often attributed to gods who have power over heavenly bodies (stars, suns, the moon, etc). The possibility of a more specific connection between this motif and the *jyotirliṅgas* is suggested by the theophany discussed above and, in a general sense, by their common grouping of twelve. Moreover, as we shall see, the motif of the twelve suns is found regularly in texts devoted to vedic altar worship as well as in texts related to Śaivite *liṅga* worship. Although we have no direct textual evidence for the equation of the twelve suns with the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, intriguing evidence for indirect connections is found scattered throughout the *purāṇas*. This raises the possibility that the twelve suns were one of the possible inspirations for the grouping of twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, at a time when medieval Śaivism was in a process of transformation.

The suns are associated with Śiva in the SkP, ŚP, and *Liṅga Purāṇa*.[254] For example, SkP V (*Āvanti Khaṇḍa*), iii (*Revā-Khaṇḍa*), 17, relates the destruction of the universe by twelve suns (here: *ādityas*) produced out of Śiva's mouth. This passage describes Śiva's theophany as witnessed by the god Brahmā. The description opens with what is supposed to be a horrific portrait of the god's face. He is Rudra, the howler, with thousands of curved fangs, between which are lodged extraordinary creatures such as *gandharvas*, *asuras*, and *yakṣas*. He is surrounded in flames, and fire belches out of his mouth (vv. 1-12).

At this point in the story, right after this terrifying description, the motif of the twelve suns is introduced (vv. 13-16):

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[254] Śiva as the embodiment of the universe is also found in later Vaiṣṇavite material like the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*. During a battle between Śiva's *gaṇas* and the *daityas* of Andhaka, the sage Śukra (who advises Andhaka) is brought before Śiva and swallowed whole by the god. Within the body of the god the sage sees the various elements of the universe including the *ādityas*; see *Vāmana-Purāṇa* 43.26-44. This vision is clearly parallel to Arjuna's vision of Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* discussed below as well as that of Mārkaṇḍeya who, in that epic, enters the mouth of baby Kṛṣṇa and beholds the entire universe; see III, 186.1-76 (cited in Laine (1989), 175-190). As mentioned in chapter one, the *Vāmana-Purāṇa* deliberately combines Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite traditions; some passages, indeed, identify Viṣṇu and Śiva as two halves of a single being (41.27-28, 47-48). Borrowing imagery from an earlier and clearly Vaiṣṇavite context does not seem out of place here. The inclusion of this imagery in a Vaiṣṇavite text may also suggest the acceptance, by the followers of Viṣṇu, of Śiva's status as a kind of *avatāra*. I consider the dates of the JS and *Vāmana-Purāṇas* to be roughly contemporary.

> Then twelve suns issued out of Rudra's mouth. Proceeding to the southern region they (started to) destroyed the earth. All the terrestrial creatures who were settled on various grasses and in trees which had previously dried up because of drought, became completely confused across the earth. Suddenly burned by those suns[255] who were born from Rudra, everything became agitated by smoke. Stars and planets were destroyed. The whole surface of the earth was suddenly illuminated and blazed forth. All the elements of the world became agitated by a circle of flame.[256]

The text goes on to describe, in great and terrible detail, how the twelve suns destroy "all the elements of the world" including the seven continents, the mountains Sumeru and Mandara, and all the regions under the earth.

In this passage, the suns take on a much more prominent position than in either vedic or epic material. In these earlier works, the twelve suns are simply one of several elements that constitute the entirety of the universe contained within an all-encompassing god, typically Prajāpati in vedic tradition and Kṛṣṇa in epic tradition. In the epic material, in particular, the suns tend to signify Kṛṣṇa's power over the universe, because they remain static inside his body.[257]

In SkP V, iii, 17, the suns similarly signify Śiva's power over the universe. They do so, however, in a far more dynamic fashion. It is the suns, rather than Śiva, who wield the destructive power, and they are the main instruments of devastation at the end of time. They function very much like the horde of

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[255] Here (verse 15) the term "sūrya" is employed for "sun."

[256] The Sanskrit passage reads:
tatas te dvādaśādityā rudravaktrād vinirgatāḥ/
āśritya dakṣiṇāmāśāṃ nirdahanto vasundharām//13//
bhaumaṃ yaj jīvanaṃ kiñcin nānāvṛkṣatṛṇālayam/
śuṣkaṃ pūrvamanāvṛṣṭyā sakalākulabhūtalam//14//
tadīpyamānaṃ sahasā sūryaistai *rudra*sambhavaiḥ/
dhūmākulam abhūt sarvaṃ praṇaṣṭagrahatārakam//15//
jajvāla sahasā dīptaṃ bhūmaṇḍalam aśeṣtaḥ/
jvālāmālākulaṃ sarvam abhūd etac carācaram/16//

[257] As noted above (note 35) there is similar imagery relating to Śiva's body found in *Vāmana Purāṇa* II, 43.26-43. In this passage the god Śukra enters Śiva's mouth and, while inside the god's body, sees the universe including the *ādityas*, *vasus*, and *rudras*.

ghouls who appear in front of Aśvatthāman in *Mahābhārata* X, 6, who act in the universe at the bidding of Śiva (see below).[258]

We see, then, in this passage (SkP V, iii, 17) influence from vedic and Vaiṣṇavite traditions, as well as continuity with elements of Śaivite theology already established in the *Mahābhārata*. The twelve suns are important for various expressions of all-encompassing gods who contain the universe within themselves and have the ability to enter into the world in a perceptible form. In the case of Śiva specifically, however, the god remains distant and apart from the world, sending his minions there in his stead.

Elsewhere in medieval Śaivite mythology, in the *Dharma Saṃhitā* of ŚP1, twelve suns are deployed in order to re-destroy the universe. When the relevant passage opens, we see that the destruction of the universe has already occurred. The passage begins:

> Once in the past, when all the universe moving and still had been destroyed and had become a single ocean, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra arose from the water. Their arrival was unwitnessed, and even wise men do not know it. The earth, which had been the domain of former beings, had been destroyed with its creatures moving and still, for a piercing wind had arisen and dried up the seven oceans, and when all the waters were dried up everywhere, all creatures moving and still were destroyed, dried up gradually in succession.

> A single sun appeared, rising in the east, and then a second in the south, just like the first, drying up the water on all sides with its rays and burning all that moved and was still. Then in the west a third sun arose, and in the north there arose a fourth, burning all that moved or was still; and later on eight more arose, and then there were twelve.[259]

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[258] See chapter three on the tendency for Śiva to act vicariously through his *Gaṇas* or devotees.

[259] Cited and translated in Wendy Doniger (O'Flaherty), *Hindu Myths: A Sourcebook translated from the Sanskrit* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1980), 138. Doniger does not give any notations about the Sanskrit text itself (neither chapter nor verses). I do not have the text available to me, but it may be noted that David Shulman makes reference to this myth in his article on Sthānu and cites ŚP

This passage from the *Dharma Saṃhitā* of ŚP1 serves as the introduction to a larger, more complex myth that incorporates a version of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth together with a retelling of the *sthāṇu* myth (i.e., Śiva as cosmic pillar; see below). As we have seen above in our discussion of the theophany of the *jyotirliṅga* in SkP I, iii, ii, both themes have a direct relationship to Śiva in his *jyotirliṅga* form.

Given the broader context of Śaivite themes into which the motif of destructive suns from the *Dharma Saṃhitā* fits, it is possible to argue that the suns are here an extension of the destructive power of Śiva himself. This is to say that the suns in this passage are like the suns which emanate from Śiva's mouth in SkP V, iii, 17. The reference to the twelve suns is here terse; we are only told that they emerge after the destruction of the world to destroy it again and the connection to Śiva is not made explicit. Given the likelihood that the *Dharma Saṃhitā* story assumes knowledge of more developed forms of the popular myths that it retells and combines, it seems reasonable to assume that the suns ultimately derive from Śiva or are directly connected to Śiva in some way. Indeed, in the *Dharma Saṃhitā* story, it is to "Rudra"[260] that Brahmā and Viṣṇu concede supremacy after their hierarchical dispute (i.e., the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* theme). In addition, we may surmise that Śiva has control over the twelve suns at the beginning of the story because, as we later learn in the course of its narrative about Śiva as the cosmic pillar (here, *sthāṇu*), the god is shown to have mastery over the creation and destruction of the universe.

A retelling of the *sthāṇu* myth of the *Mahābhārata* X, 17 makes up the main body of the *Dharma Saṃhitā* story.[261] Here, Śiva submerges himself under

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Dharmasaṃhitā 10.1-23; Shulman (1986), 104. While Doniger has not given any exact citation on the text, it is presumably this passage that she translates.

[260] Though a *purāṇic* text, Śiva is here referred to as "Rudra." The two names are often used interchangeably in medieval literature attesting to Śiva's absorption of characteristics of the earlier vedic god.

[261] *Mahābhārata* X (*Sauptika Parvan*) chapter 17 follows the narrative about Aśvatthāman's destruction of the Pāṇḍava camp. In chapter four we examined Aśvatthāman's worship of Śiva on at a golden altar prior to his entry in the Pāṇḍava camp. Also noted in chapter four was Banerjea's attempt

water for a long time. Brahmā and Viṣṇu become impatient, and Brahmā undertakes the role of creator assigned to Śiva. When Śiva finally does emerge, ready to create, he is angry to find the task already complete. In response he belches fire from his mouth and destroys the universe.

The imagery of the twelve suns is not mentioned in this context. Some connection with traditions about their devastating force (e.g., SkP V, iii, 17) is suggested by the fact that Brahmā requests that Śiva instill his energy into the sun ("since you are lord over the sun"[262]) and bring the universe back into existence. Śiva agrees but then he rips off his penis and throws it onto the surface of the earth, saying he has no need for it. The discarded member becomes an object of worship. It is then that the beginning and end of it are sought in vain by Brahmā and Viṣṇu, as is common in the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* myth.

In this story from the *Dharma Saṃhitā*, then, we find the imagery of the twelve suns associated with Śiva's destructive powers in a manner similar to the story in SkP V, iii, 17. The sun is also associated with Śiva's creative power, by means of a statement placed in the mouth of the god Brahmā. Having established this association, we are told that Śiva's *liṅga* is thrown onto the surface of the earth, where this power will now reside and be worshipped. Here, in other words, the twelve suns are only indirectly connected with the discarded *liṅga*, as two expressions of Śiva's cosmic power.

A third myth related to the motif of the twelve suns is found in the

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to conflate the appearance of the golden altar with the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* theme. With such later references as this passage from the *Dharma Saṃhitā*, which indeed conflates this theme with that of the *sthāṇu* myth, it is possible to explain Banerjea's argument as somewhat anachronistic.

[262] Doniger, *Hindu Myths*, 140. There is evidence of Śiva's relationship to the sun in other texts as well. We have already seen for example, in the section on Rāmeśvara in chapter three, that various *purāṇas* devoted to the site adopt a eulogy to the sun found in the final battle sequence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* VI, (*Yuddha-Khaṇḍa*) 105 (of the Bombay edition; see note 40 in chapter three). In these *purāṇic* works sun worship is replaced with *liṅga* worship. For example, a passage from the SkP (V, i, 15.9-12 – some editions V, i, 16.8-11) has Śiva in a role normally reserved for the devotee. In it Śiva worships the sun after which he receives a boon and requests that the sun remain with a part of himself at the place ("*aṃśena sthīyatām atra*") and be called Śaṅkarāditya.

second book of the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, chapter twelve, a text dated before the tenth century.[263] Unlike in the other two myths, however, the twelve suns are not destructive forces. Like the *jyotirliṅgas* in the ŚP tradition and *Jyotirliṅgastrotra*, they are objects of worship with specific names. Verse seven of chapter twelve states:

> tasya dvādaśadhā bhinnaṃ rūpaṃ sūryātmakaṃ prabhoḥ/
> sarvadevātmakaṃ yājyaṃ yajanti munipuṅgavāḥ//7//

> Eminent Seers sacrifice to the form of the Lord comprised of the sun and divided into twelve parts, which is composed of all the gods, and receives sacrifice.

Here, the form of Śiva, which encompasses all gods, is described in terms of one sun (here: *sūryā*) with twelve parts. The twelve named in the text (vv. 8-19) are Amṛta, Candra, Śukla, Karikeśa, Viśvakarman, Viśvavyaca, Samyadvasu, Arvāvasu, Svarāṭ, Suṣumnā, Soma, and Śukra.[264] While only the name of Soma is identical with one of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, Somanātha, as they appear in the ŚP, this passage may attest the concretization of the motif of the twelve suns and its application to twelve specific objects or sites of sacrificial worship. For instance, the name Śukra may be connected to the name Śukreśvara, which appears in the list of twelve *liṅgas* in Vāraṇasī in the *Vārāṇasī-Māhātmya* in early SkP 29, as discussed in detail in chapter one.

In a fourth myth, SkP IV, ii, 51, we find even more compelling evidence for the concretization of the mythic motif of the twelve suns (here: *ādityas*) around specific objects or sites of worship. This passage is particularly important, for our purposes, since the suns are connected with specific pilgrimage sites dedicated to Śiva, including sites explicitly associated with *liṅgas* (see esp. vv. 61-73). Moreover, this chapter of SkP introduces each site by

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[263] See chapter one.

[264] For a translation of this entire section see *The Liṅga Purāṇa*, part 2, (translated by) A Board of Scholars, in AITM vol. 6, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1998), 644-48.

telling the story of its origins, which are often linked to acts of worship by specific devotees; in other words, in form as well as content, this chapter recalls the cycle of the stories about the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* in ŚP tradition.

The chapter appears to be incomplete, as only six sites are discussed. These sites are:

1. Aruṇāditya at Anandakānana (vv. 16-26).
2. Vṛddhāditya at Vārāṇasī (vv. 27-43).[265]
3. Keśavāditya at Vārāṇasī (vv. 44-82).
4. Vimalāditya at Harikeśavana in Vārāṇasī (vv. 83-100).
5. Gaṅgāditya south of Viśeṣa (Viśveśvara?) (vv. 101-4).
6. Yamāditya east of Viśeṣa (v. 105-115).

The conclusion of the chapter (v. 116), however, explicitly connects these sites with *twelve* suns. Verse 116 reads:

iti te dvādaśādityāḥ kathitāḥ pāpanāśanāḥ/
yatsambhavaṃ samākarṇya naro na nirayībhavet//116//

In this way those twelve *ādityas*, which dispel sin, are explained.
The man who hears their origin will not be born in hell.

The chapter ends (v. 118) with the assertion that one can avert disaster by hearing ("*śrutvā*") about these *ādityas* and explaining them to others ("*śrāvayitvā*"; lit. "having caused to hear"). The emphasis on telling and hearing also recalls traditions about the *jyotirliṅgas*, such as the end of the shorter version of the *Jyotirliṅgastrotra*, which asserts that one "who recites these twelve names. . . is released from all sins and obtains the fruit of every accomplishment" (see chapter one). The suggestion that one can gain benefit, not just from seeing and visiting pilgrimage sites, but also from reciting their names and hearing stories about them, may be significant for the emergence of pan-Indian groupings of sites like the cult of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*.

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[265] This name is possibly connected to the name "Vṛddhakāleśvara" from the JS list of twelve *liṅgas* at Vārāṇasī, a deviation from the early SkP list. See chapter one.

It may also be significant that SkP IV, ii, 51, focuses on sites in Vāraṇasī. This geographical focus raises the possibility of some connection with the list of twelve *liṅgas* in early SkP 29 (see chapter one). It is unclear whether or not we can read the group of twelve *ādityas* in SkP IV, ii, 51 as a residual list of twelve *liṅgas* situated in and around Vāraṇasī. From the evidence of early SkP 29 and SkP IV, ii, 51, however, it is clear that the idea and concretization of twelve sites dedicated to Śiva is not unique to the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*. Moreover, these localized lists could be an important clue to the development of the later pan-Indian cult.

The early SkP list, as we have seen, dates from between the sixth and eighth centuries CE and is, therefore, somewhat earlier than the *purāṇic* selections about the twelve suns that we have examined thus far.[266] It remains, however, that one is hard pressed to explain the choice of the number twelve, if we just consider early SkP 29, the traditions about the *jyotirliṅgas* in the JS and KS, and the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*. One would expect to find a grouping of eleven or eight, consistent with traditions about Rudra and Śiva; from this standpoint, the medieval emergence of a connection between Śiva and the number twelve is puzzling. Our evidence for the integration of the vedic motif of the twelve suns into medieval Śaivism suggests one possible source for this association.

4. All-encompassing gods in vedic and epic material

Throughout vedic, epic, and *purāṇic* literature, divine beings are portrayed as gods who encompass the entire universe. The theme of a single god who contains the universe in his/her body is found in a diverse set of both ritual and narrative texts, including the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, and the SkP. In our above consideration of the *jyotirliṅga* theophany in SkP I, iii, ii, 10, and various *purāṇic* passages about the twelve

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[266] In contrast to Rocher's dating of the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, the English translators of the *Liṅga Purāṇa* date the text to the fifth century CE. See AITM, vol. 5, xvii-xviii. Cited in Rocher (1986), 187 n. 243. I demonstrate, however, in my analysis of the twelve *liṅgas* of Vāraṇasī - found in both the early SkP and the *Liṅga Purāṇa* – that the *Liṅga Purāṇa* is later than the other text (see chapter one).

suns, we have already seen some examples of the application of this theme to Śiva in the medieval period. We will now turn to consider some of the prehistory of this theme. Examination of this theme will help further to elucidate the development of medieval ideas about Śiva and his *jyotirliṅga* form. This theme is important to our consideration of the *jyotirliṅgas*, inasmuch as it may help to clarify the connections that the cult seems to have to vedic and epic forms of worship. More specifically, an understanding of Śiva's emergence as an all-encompassing god may aid us in drawing out further connections between vedic altar worship and medieval Śaivism.

Just as our vedic and epic sources do not directly connect Rudra or Śiva to the motif of the twelve suns, so they do not, on the whole, depict him as an all-encompassing god. This absence speaks, to some extent, to Śiva's general lack of prominence in our earliest literary sources. In vedic and epic sources, this theme is more often associated with other gods, most notably Prajāpati and Kṛṣṇa.

As far back as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, a text that can be dated to the ninth century BCE, the vedic deity Prajāpati is described as containing all of the elements in the universe (e.g., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* Book VI, i, 2; Book VIII, ii, 2), including the twelve suns (*ādityas*). We see similar descriptions of Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* (for example, Book V (*Udyoga Parvan*), 129.1-11; Book VI (*Bhiṣma Parvan*), 33.5-8; and possibly Book X (*Sauptika Parvan*) 6.3-9). While the theophany of Prajāpati occurs in the context of vedic ritual and Kṛṣṇa's theophany in the context of a narrative poem, both describe all-encompassing gods.

In what follows, I will survey some of these traditions with an eye to the specific elements that seem to be picked up and applied to Śiva in medieval *purāṇic* literature. In chapter four, we saw some of the beginnings of this process already in the vedic tradition, specifically in the early musings about Rudra/Śiva as an all-encompassing god in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, i-ii, where Rudra is

connected to the *vedi*.[267]   Here, we will examine a possible epic precedent, namely, *Mahābhārata* X, 7, which describes a theophany of Śiva's horde of demonic followers, who spill out of the *vedi* that appears before Aśvatthāman in X, 7.13-14. These followers arguably take on some of the qualities embodied by Kṛṣṇa. This passage may, thus, preserve an early point in the development of the idea of the all-encompassing god that we find more fully expressed in *purāṇic* material about Śiva. Two creation myths from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* identify the Lord of Creation, Prajāpati, with various parts of the universe and their production. He is also identified with the sacrificial fire altar. Thus we see in VI, i, 1.5:

> sa eva puruṣaḥ prajāpatir abhavat/ sa yaḥ sa puruṣaḥ prajāpatir abhavad ayameva sa yo 'yam agniścīyate//5//

> That same Person became Prajāpati (lord of generation). And that Person which became Prajāpati is this very Agni (fire-altar), who is now (to be) built.[268]

Later in the second Brāhmaṇa we see creation unfold through Prajāpati, an extension of the very altar itself, when Prajāpati desires various elements of the universe into existence. Among these elements are thirty-one nature deities. VI, i, 2.5-9 reads thus:

> sa imāṃ lokāntsrṣṭvākāmayata/ tāḥ prajāḥ srjeya yā ma eṣu lokeṣu syuriti//5//
> sa manasā vācaṃ mithunaṃ samabhavat/ so 'ṣṭau drapsāngarbhyabhavatte 'ṣṭau vasavo 'srjyanta tānasyāmupādadhāt//6//
> sa manasaiva/ vācaṃ mithunaṃ samabhavatsa ekādaśa drapsāngarbhyabhavatta ekādaśa rudrā asrjyanta tānantarikṣa upādadhāt//7//
> sa manasaiva / vācam mithunaṃ samabhavatsa dvādaśa

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[267] The relationship between Rudra and the *vedi* was discussed in some detail in chapter four.

[268] The Sanskrit passage is cited from Albrecht Weber (ed.), *The Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (Vāraṇasī: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1964), 499. Translation of passage by Julius Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, part III (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1996), 148.

drapsāngarbhyabhavatte dvādaśāditya asṛjyanta
tāndivyupādadhāt//8//
sa manasaiva / vācam mithunaṃ samabhavatsa garbhyabhavatsa
viśvāndevānasṛjata tāndikṣūpādadhāt//9//

Having created these worlds, he desired, "May I create such creatures as shall be mine in these worlds!" By his Mind (manas) he entered into union with Speech (vāk): he became pregnant with eight drops. They were created as those eight Vasus: he placed them on this (earth). By his Mind he entered into union with Speech: he became pregnant with eleven drops. They were created as those eleven Rudras: he placed them in the air. By his Mind he entered into union with Speech: he became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created as the twelve Ādityas: he placed them in the sky. By his Mind he entered into union with Speech: he became pregnant. He created the All-gods: he placed them in the quarters.[269]

Elsewhere in VIII, ii, 2, another creation myth, we find a description of the building of the fire altar that makes reference back to VI, i, 1-2. Thus VIII, ii, 2.5-6, 9 reads:

And, again, as to why he lays down the All-gods' (bricks). When Prajāpati had become relaxed, all creatures went forth from the midst of him, from that birth-place of theirs. When that (central part) of his body had been restored, they entered him. Now the Prajāpati who became relaxed, *is* this very Agni (fire-altar) that is now being built up; and the creatures who went forth from the midst of him are these same All-gods' bricks; and when he lays these down, he causes those creatures, which went forth from the midst of him, to enter him. [*Break at verse 6; verse 9 continues:*] "In union with the Vasus," he says on the right side: he thereby produced the Vasus: "in union with the Rudras," he says at the back: he thereby produced the Rudras; - "in union with the Ādityas," he says on the left side: he thereby produced the Ādityas; - "in union with the All-gods" he says upwards: he thereby produced the All-gods. These (bricks) have the same beginning

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[269] Sanskrit passage in Weber (1964), 501. Translation from Eggeling (1996), 149-150.

and end, but are different in the middle: as to their having the same beginning and end, it is because having become united with the deities in front and behind, he produced creatures; and as to their being different in the middle it is that each time he produced different creatures from within him.[270]

Here is an example where the creation of a fire altar ("*agniscīyate*") is paralleled by the creation and fabric of the universe (for example: "he causes those creatures, which went forth from the midst of him, to enter him"; "*yā evāsmāttāḥ prajā madhyata udakrāmamstā asmin netatprapādayati*"). Such a myth tells us something of the relationship between ritual and the universe at large, a relationship in which the micro-cosmic has direct bearing upon the macro-cosmic. Those very bricks ("*iṣṭakāstadyadetāḥ*") of the altar include the various elements that comprise the universe such as the *vasus*, the *rudras* and the *ādityas*. All of the elements are parts of the creator Prajāpati, who comprises the totality of the clay altar and, hence, the totality of the universe. He does not simply produce creation, but he is actually composed of its elements: as the universe is created, so too is he himself construed.[271]

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[270] The passage is translated by Eggeling in *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, part IV (Delhi: Motilal Barnasidass, 1995), 31-33. The Sanskrit passage (8.2.2.5-6,9) is found in Weber (1964), 647, and reads:

> yaddeva vaiśvadevīrupadadhāti/ prajāpatervistastātsarvāḥ prajā madhyata udakrāmannetasyā adhi yonestā enametasminn ātmanaḥ pratihite prāpadyanta //5//
>
> sa yaḥ sa prajāpatirvyasramsata/ ayameva sa yo 'yamagniscīyate 'tha yā asmāttāḥ prajā madhyata udakrāmannetāstā vaiśvadevya iṣṭakāstadyadetā upadadhāti yā evāsmāttāḥ prajāmadhyata udakrāmamstā asminnetatprapādayati . . . . //6//
>
> sajūrvasubhiriti dakṣaṇataḥ/ tadvasūnprājanatsajū rudrair iti paścāt tad rudrān prājanayatsajūrādityair ity uttaratas tad ādityān prājanayatsajūrviścair devair ity upariṣṭāt tad viśvān devān prājanayattā vai samānaprabhṛtayaḥ samānodarkā nana madhyatastā yatsamānaprabhṛtayaḥ samānodarkāḥ samānībhirhi devatābhiḥ purastāc copariṣṭācca sapugbhūtvā prājanayadatha yannānā madhyato 'nyā anyā hi prajā madhyataḥ prājanayat //9//

[271] It is important to note that Prajāpati was assigned twelve bodies in the *Aitreya Brāhamaṇa* 5.25; cited in Tarapada Bhattacharya, *The Cult of Brahmā* (Vārāṇasī: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1969), 9; and Julius Eggling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhamaṇa*, part II, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994), 452-453 n. 4.

The direct relationship between the altar and the god containing all of its elements (and hence all the elements of the universe including the twelve *ādityas*) is explicit in the above passage. This direct metonymic relationship with the altar is not explicit in the narratives of the *Mahābhārata* and *purāṇic* materials. In my view, however, these narrative traditions, in their depictions of divine theophanies, maintain to some degree the relationship between the universe and the divine being that was evident in the earlier material dealing with Prajāpati. This may help to explain, in part, how and why epic and *purāṇic* material preserves traces of earlier, especially vedic, forms of worship, as we have seen in our analysis of the *jyotirliṅga* stories in chapters two and three as well as in our examination of various altar structures in chapter four.

In *Mahābhārata* theophanies, the theme of the God as all gods generally appears in the context of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa reveals himself in two sections of the *Mahābhārata*, once in the *Udyoga Parvan* (129.1-11) and again in the *Bhiṣma Parvan* (33.5-8).[272] The passage from the *Udyoga Parvan* describes Kṛṣṇa speaking to Duryodhana:[273]

> After Vidura spoke, Kṛṣṇa, the heroic remover of enemy hordes, addressed Duryodhana the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. O Suyodhana, in error you think that I am alone and, O foolish one, you want to seize and subdue me. However, right here (are) all the Pāṇḍavas as well as the Andhakas, and the Vṛṣṇis. Here (are) all the *ādityas*, the *rudras*, and the *vasus* along with the great seers. Kṛṣṇa, the destroyer of enemy heroes, spoke in this way with a loud laugh and while he was smiling, from that magnanimous one, thirty gods[274] the size of thumbs, having the form of lightning, released flames. Brahmā stood on his forehead and Rudra appeared on his chest.

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[272] This also a section of the *Bhagavadgītā* – chapter 11.

[273] Duryodhana is a member of the Kaurava family and is the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. He is an enemy of the Pāṇḍavas as well as, by the end of the story, an enemy of Kṛṣṇa. In this scene, however, Kṛṣṇa is attempting to defuse the ensuing war before it begins by visiting the Kaurava palace.

[274] According to Laine, the term "*tridaśā*" (in 5.129.4), indicates the thirty-three vedic gods: the (twelve *ādityas*, eight *vasus*, eleven *rudras* and two *aśvins*. James Laine, *Visions of God: Narratives of Theophany in the Mahābhārata* (Vienna: E.J. Brill, 1989), 69 n.39.

The World-protectors were on his (many) arms and fire came out from his mouth. The *ādityas*, the *sādhyas*, the *vasus* and the *aśvins* appeared, as did the maruts and the *viśvedevas* along with Indra and the forms of *rakṣasas*, *gandharvas* and *yakṣas*. Saṃkarṣaṇa and Dhanaṃjaya appeared from (his) two arms, then on his right side (appeared) Arjuna armed with a bow and on the left, Rāma who carries a plow. Bhīma, Yudhiṣṭhira and the two sons of Mādrī (appeared) from behind, Andhaka, and Vṛṣnis who were headed by Pradyuma arose in front of Kṛṣṇa with great weapons held up. A conch shell, discus, club, lance, bow, plough and Kṛṣṇa's sword; these raised weapons were seen entirely enveloped in flames in the numerous arms of Kṛṣṇa. Bright flames, very terrible and enveloped in smoke, appeared on all sides from his ears, nose, eyes and from the pores of his skin, like rays of the sun.[275]

As in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*'s description of Prajāpati, Kṛṣṇa is here imbued with the unfolding universe, including the twelve suns (here: *ādityas*).

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[275] The Sanskrit (*Mahābhārata* V, 129.1-11) passage reads:
vidureṇaivam ukte tu keśavaḥ śatrupūgahā/
duryodhanaṃ dhārtarāṣṭram abhyabhāṣata vīryavān//1//
eko 'ham iti yan mohān manyase māṃ suyodhana/
paribhūya ca durbuddhe grahītuṃ māṃ cikīrṣasi//2//
ihaiva pāṇḍavāḥ sarve tathaivāndhakavṛṣṇayaḥ/
ihādityāś ca rudrāś ca vasavaś ca maharṣibhiḥ//3//
evam uktvā jahāsoccaiḥ keśavaḥ paravīrahā/
tasya saṃsmayataḥ śaurer vidyudrūpā mahātmanaḥ/
aṅguṣṭhamātrās tridaśā mumucuḥ pāvakārciṣaḥ//4//
tasya brahmā lalāṭastho rudro vakṣasi cābhavat/
lokapālā bhujeṣv āsann agnir āsyād ajāyata//5//
ādityāś caiva sādhyāś ca vasavo 'thāśvināv api/
marutaś ca sahendreṇa viśvedevās tathaiva ca/
babhūvuś caiva rūpāṇi yakṣagandharvarakṣasām//6//
prādurāstāṃ tathā dorbhyāṃ saṃkarṣaṇadhanaṃjayau/
dakṣiṇe 'thārjuno dhanvī halī rāmaś ca savyataḥ//7//
bhīmo yudhiṣṭhiraś caiva mādrīputrau ca pṛṣṭhataḥ/
andhakā vṛṣṇayaś caiva pradyumnapramukhās tataḥ//8//
agre babhūvuḥ kṛṣṇasya samudyatamahāyudhāḥ/
śaṅkhacakragadāśaktiśārṅgalāṅgalanandakāḥ//9//
adṛśyantodyatāny eva sarvapraharaṇāni ca/
nānābāhuṣu kṛṣṇasya dīpyamānāni sarvaśaḥ//10//
netrābhyāṃ nastataś caiva śrotrābhyāṃ ca samantataḥ/
prādurāsan mahāraudrāḥ sadhūmāḥ pāvakārciṣaḥ/
romakūpeṣu ca tathā sūryasyeva marīcayaḥ//11//

But whereas the earlier texts linked the theophany with the altar, this passage connects the theophany with a central god placed in a narrative context.[276] The newer, possibly devotional, focus on a central deity is also seen in a second Kṛṣṇa theophony. This occurs in chapter 33 of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* where Arjuna beholds the true form of the god. Chapter 33.5-8 states:

> śrībhagavān uvāca/
> paśya me pārtha rūpāṇi śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ/
> nānāvidhāni divyāni nānāvarṇākṛtīni ca//5//
> paśyādityān vasūn rudrān aśvinau marutas tathā/
> bahūny adṛṣṭapūrvāṇi paśyāścaryāṇi bhārata//6//
> ihaikastham jagat kṛtsnam paśyādya sacarācaram/
> mama dehe guḍākeśa yac cānyad draṣṭum icchasi//7//
> na tu mām śakyase draṣṭum anenaiva svacakṣuṣā/
> divyam dadāmi te cakṣuḥ paśya me yogam aiśvaram//8//

> The Blessed Lord said: See my hundred and thousand forms, O Pārtha, which are of various kinds, divine and possessed of different shapes and colours. O Arjuna, see the *ādityas*, the *vasus*, *rudras*, *aśvins* and the *maruts* – many wondrous spectacles never seen before! See now all the parts of the world, the entire universe, which stand singularly in my body, and whatever else you want to see, O Arjuna.[277] You are not able to see me with your own sight so I give you this divine sight. Behold my powerful yoga!

In this section Kṛṣṇa makes reference to the existence of the twelve *ādityas* within himself (v. 6) along with the *vasus* and the *rudras*. This is the same grouping of 31 divine beings that we saw above in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

   In both examples from the *Mahābhārata*, the text builds an image of Kṛṣṇa as an all encompassing being, one who possesses "all the parts of the world" ("*carācaram*") and "the entire universe" ("*jagat kṛtsnam*"). Such imagery

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[276] As noted above, especially in light of Minkowski's observations, the narrative context is arguably displaced from a ritual setting. Such theophanies as this passage, then, are both a link to early ritual and a means to introduce a devotional focus on Kṛṣṇa.

[277] Here the vocative "*guḍākeśa*" literally means "the thick-haired one" – an epithet of Arjuna.

is arguably influenced by the figure of Prajāpati, as we see him in the aforementioned creation stories of the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (VI, i, 2 and VIII, ii, 2). Prajāpati is also the source of the entire universe. And, just as Prajāpati has two roles in the vedic text, as worldly altar and as cosmos, so too does Kṛṣṇa: he is both a mortal king and an all-encompassing divine figure. Of course, the context of Kṛṣṇa's theophany is wholly narrative and, as such, stands in some contrast to the ritually-based context of the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*. The influence of the former is nevertheless apparent and may speak to redeployment of vedic ritual traditions in epic narratives.[278]

In the vedic context Prajāpati is the creative fulcrum from which the world is generated and around which it revolves. Within the narrative structure of the epics and *purāṇas*, the theophany of a god can also convey the deity's destructive potential. This is an aspect that later becomes important within *purāṇic* theophanies of Śiva, and especially to his theophany as a *jyotirliṅga*. In descriptions of Kṛṣṇa theophanies in the *Mahābhārata*, the god's ultimacy is indicated, differently from the vedic text, through an emphasis on his destructive powers. Kṛṣṇa possesses the creative powers of Prajāpati, because he is the source of the *ādityas*, *rudras* and *vasus*, and various other elements. But, because of this, he has also the ability to bring the universe to an end.

For example, once Arjuna is given the gift of divine vision he is able to see the destructive power of the Lord (*Bhiṣma Parvan* 33.25-31):

> Having seen your gaping mouths with their fangs which resemble the fires of time, I do not know where I am nor can I obtain shelter. Be appeased O Lord of gods and Abode of the universe! Those sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra along with all the companies of kings: Bhīṣma Droṇa, Karṇa and our warrior leaders, hasten and enter the open terrible mouths with gaping fangs – some appear stuck between the teeth with their heads smashed in. As streams of water from many rivers flow towards the ocean, so do those heroes of the earth enter your open blazing mouths. As moths who are greatly

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[278] As has been previously argued, some scholars see vedic sacrifice employed as a structure to the *Mahābhārata* narrative, for example, Minkowski (1989); van Buitenen, (1988).

excited enter a raging fire to destruction, so do the worlds, greatly excited, enter to destruction in your mouths. You lick the worlds thoroughly while devouring them all with your flaming mouths. O Viṣṇu, you have filled the whole universe with your heat and your terrible lustre burns it. Tell me, O Lord, who are you, terrible in form? O Best of gods, be appeased! I want to know the beginning of you. I do not know your origin.

The Blessed Lord said: I am Time, advanced in age, and causing the destruction of the world. (I am the one who has) started to destroy the worlds. Except for you, every warrior will perish, all who are arrayed in opposing armies.[279]

This destructive imagery is here used to stress Kṛṣṇa's position of ultimacy in the universe: identified with Time, he controls the fate of the men prepared for battle and, indeed, the fate of the whole universe. Kṛṣṇa has absorbed the generative powers of the Prajāpati, along with his status as an all-encompassing god. He has, however, been further imbued with the power to control and destroy the cosmos that he contains.

We find no such grand theophanic depictions of Śiva in epic literature. Above, in chapter four, we considered Śiva's relationship to vedic altar

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[279] The Sanskrit passage (*Mahābhārata* 6.33.25-32) reads:
daṃṣṭrākarālāni ca te mukhāni; dṛṣṭvaiva kālānalasaṃnibhāni/
diśo na jāne na labhe ca śarma; prasīda deveśa jagannivāsa//25//
amī ca tvāṃ dhṛtarāṣṭrasya putrāḥ; sarve sahaivāvanipālasaṃghaiḥ/
bhīṣmo droṇaḥ sūtaputras tathāsau; sahāsmadīyair api yodhamukhyaiḥ//26//
vaktrāṇi te tvaramāṇā viśanti; daṃṣṭrākarālāni bhayānakāni/
ke cid vilagnā daśanāntareṣu; saṃdṛśyante cūrṇitair uttamāṅgaiḥ//27//
yathā nadīnāṃ bahavo 'mbuvegāḥ; samudram evābhimukhā dravanti/
tathā tavāmī naralokavīrā; viśanti vaktrāṇy abhivijvalanti//28//
yathā pradīptaṃ jvalanaṃ pataṃgā; viśanti nāśāya samṛddhavegāḥ/
tathaiva nāśāya viśanti lokās; tavāpi vaktrāṇi samṛddhavegāḥ//29//
lelihyase grasamānaḥ samantāl; lokān samagrān vadanair jvaladbhiḥ/
tejobhir āpūrya jagat samagraṃ; bhāsas tavogrāḥ pratapanti viṣṇo//30//
ākhyāhi me ko bhavān ugrarūpo; namo 'stu te devavara prasīda/
vijñātum icchāmi bhavantam ādyaṃ; na hi prajānāmi tava pravṛttim//31//
śrībhagavān uvāca/
kālo 'smi lokakṣayakṛt pravṛddho; lokān samāhartum iha pravṛttaḥ/
ṛte 'pi tvā na bhaviṣyanti sarve; ye 'vasthitāḥ pratyanīkeṣu yodhāḥ//32//

structures (*vedi* and *sthaṇḍila*). This relationship is intriguing and may hint at some early musings towards the status of Śiva in this regard. We may also find some early strands of this tradition in the *Mahābhārata*, particularly X, 7.

As a point of transition between theophanies of Kṛṣṇa and Śiva, however, it is helpful first to look at *Mahābhārata* X (*Sauptika Parvan*), 6, which occurs directly prior to the appearance of the *vedi* before Aśvatthāman[280] in X, 7. During his approach to the gate of the Pāṇḍava camp, Aśvatthāman encounters a mysterious being, a *bhūta*, a figure who could be interpreted either as Śiva or as Kṛṣṇa (X, 6.3-9). The translation of this passage by James Laine reads as follows:

> There he saw a hair-raising sight: a creature with a huge body, splendid as the sun and moon, standing there blocking the gate, dressed in a tiger skin dripping blood, with an upper garment of black antelope hide and a snake for a sacred thread. He had very long, massive arms holding up various weapons; for armlets he had great snakes, and [he had] a mouth filled with streams of fire. His face was terrible with its teeth, his mouth gaping and fearsome, he was studded with a thousand multicoloured eyes. His body as well as his dress were indescribable; upon witnessing him, even mountains would split apart completely. From his mouth, nostrils and ears, and all around from those thousand eyes, great flames appeared. Then from those flames hundreds and thousands of Hṛṣīkeśas (forms of Viṣṇu) appeared, each wearing a conch, discus and club.[281]

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[280] Aśvatthāman is the son of Droṇa, the Brahmin warrior who has previously been killed by the Pāṇḍavas. Aśvatthāman, at this point in story, plots to revenge his father's death by secretly entering the camp of his enemy at night while they sleep and slaughter them.

[281] Laine (1989), 149-150. The passage is also translated by Johnson in *The Sauptika Parvan of the Mahābhārata: The Massacre at Night* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 25. The Sanskrit passage of the critical edition reads:

tatra bhūtaṃ mahākāyaṃ candrārkasadṛśadyutim
so 'paśyad dvāram āvṛtya tiṣṭhantaṃ lomaharṣaṇam//3//
vasānaṃ carma vaiyāghraṃ mahārudhiravisravam/
kṛṣṇājinottarāsaṅgaṃ nāgayajñopavītinam//4//
bāhubhiḥ svāyataiḥ pīnair nānāpraharaṇodyataiḥ/
baddhāṅgadamahāsarpaṃ jvālāmālākulānanam//5//
daṃṣṭrākarālavadanaṃ vyāditāsyaṃ bhayāvaham/

The identity of the *bhūta* in this passage is never made explicit. Laine goes so far as to suggest that this is a theophany of Kṛṣṇa.[282] This position is strengthened, in my view, by the fact that the figure is guarding the Pāṇḍava camp. Furthermore, he is described with "hundreds and thousands of Hṛṣīkeśas" (i.e., forms of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa).

The association between the *bhūta* and Śiva is sometimes made because of the description of the figure with snake and hide imagery (for example, a "tiger skin dripping blood"), which is strongly aligned with Śaivite iconography in medieval art and literature.[283] From the *Mahābhārata* itself, however, the identification with Śiva and the *bhūta* in this passage is uncertain.

If understood as Kṛṣṇa, the theophany serves as a poignant transition between Kṛṣṇa and Śiva imagery. For, after running away from this being, who guards the Pāṇḍava camp, Aśvatthāman (in X, 7) invokes the fiery, golden *vedi*; this is the very structure from which Śiva's followers and Śiva himself then appear.[284] The appearance of the *bhūta* figure thus serves to introduce one of the main events of *Mahābhārata* X, namely, Aśvatthāman's possession by Śiva.

After the above quoted description of the *bhūta*, Aśvatthāman offers himself up as a sacrifice to Śiva, and the golden *vedi* appears (X, 7.6-14). This is followed, as noted above, by the manifestation of the army of Śiva's demonic followers, who appear before the warrior, presumably coming out of the altar

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nayanānāṃ sahasraiś ca vicitrair abhibhūṣitam//6//
naiva tasya vapuḥ śakyaṃ pravaktuṃ veṣa eva vā/
sarvathā tu tad ālakṣya sphuṭeyur api parvatāḥ//7//
tasyāsyān nāsikābhyāṃ ca śravaṇābhyāṃ ca sarvaśaḥ/
tebhyaś cākṣisahasrebhyaḥ prādurāsan mahārciṣaḥ//8//
tathā tejomarīcibhyaḥ śaṅkhacakragadādharāḥ/
prādurāsan hṛṣīkeśāḥ śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ//9//

[282] For a discussion of the ambiguity of this theophany see Jacques Scheuer, *Śiva dans le Mahābhārata* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982), 303. See also Laine (1989), 149-50.

[283] This is attested too, for example, by al Gardizi's description of Mahākāla in the eleventh century, as was discussed in chapter two (n. 26).

[284] This structure was discussed at some length in chapter four.

(X, 7.15). The relevant verse, as translated by Laine, reads:

> dīptāsyanayanāś cātra naikapādaśirobhujāḥ/
> dvipaśailapratīkāśāḥ prādurāsan mahānanāḥ//15//

And there appeared great-faced beings resembling elephants or mountains, having a multitude of heads and arms and legs, their eyes and mouths aflame.[285]

The descriptions of such animal-faced and other followers of Śiva, often called his *gaṇas* (hosts) in later texts, continues until X, 7.49. Along with fantastic and grotesque physical features they also have war-like and destructive traits; they are "drinkers of blood, fat, etc., eaters of flesh and guts"[286] (7.36), and "they were able to annihilate the four orders of beings; these frowning warriors of Hara were free of fear" (7.39).[287]

Nevertheless, they are also described as great devotees of Śiva (verses 42 and 44):

> Devoted in thought, word and deed they constantly worship him, and [he – Śiva – looks to his] devotees in thought, word and deed as a father to his blood-sons. . . . Having worshipped the god of the trident by their learning of scripture, their celibacy, asceticism and restraint, they have attained communion with Bhava.[288]

It is interesting to note that the phrase "*śrutena brahmacaryeṇa*" ("by their learning of

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[285] Laine (1989), 153-155. See also Johnson's translation (1998), 29.

[286] "*pātāro 'sṛgvasādyānāṃ māṃsāntrakṛtabhojanāḥ*"; translated by Laine (1989), 155; see also Johnson (1998), 31.

[287] Laine (1989), 153-55. The Sanskrit reads:

utsaheraṃś ca ye hantuṃ bhūtagrāmaṃ caturvidham ye/
ca vītabhayā nityaṃ harasya bhrukuṭībhaṭāḥ//

[288] Laine (1989), 153-55. The Sanskrit for verses 42 and 44 of *Sauptika Parvan* 7 reads:
manovākkarmabhir bhaktair nityam ārādhitaś ca yaiḥ/
manovākkarmabhir bhaktān pāti putrān ivaurasān//42//
śrutena brahmacaryeṇa tapasā ca damena ca/
ye samārādhya śūlāṅkaṃ bhavasāyujyam āgatāḥ//44//

scripture"; translated by Johnson as "with Vedic recitation") appears to reaffirm the notion that Brahmins worshipped Śiva within the context of vedic rites during the epic period. Indeed, it is precisely this kind of language that we saw in evidence in the *jyotirliṅga* stories (e.g. JS 46 dedicated to Mahākāla) during our discussions in chapters two and three. This is to say that such language could reflect a remnant within epic literature of the types of vedic Rudra worship that we encountered in such texts as *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, i-ii (see chapter four).[289]

For our purposes, the appearance of Śiva as an all-encompassing god in epic literature is especially important because this literature is at an historical intermediary stage between the vedic ritual texts, on the one hand, and the medieval *purāṇic* materials, on the other. Taken together with the material associated with the aniconic worship of Śiva in the *Mahābhārata*, as examined in chapter four, this passage arguably adds to our evidence for early devotional Śaivism with ties to a vedic past.

How, then, does this vedic and epic evidence speak to the passages from *purāṇic* literature examined above? Above, we have seen how the theme of the all-encompassing god was applied to Śiva, often with appeal to this god's relationship to the twelve suns. Echoes of this and other vedic imagery suggest some connection with traditions associated with Prajāpati; some sources, in fact, seem self-consciously to integrate such traditions in order to claim Śiva's supersession of Prajāpati/Brahmā. However, the Śaivite variations on this theme seem to be most influenced by the theophany of Kṛṣṇa depicting the generative/destructive power of the central deity; the theophany of the *jyotirliṅgas* in SkP, I, iii, 10, for instance, shows how fully this theme manifested in medieval *purāṇic* literature.

From our survey of vedic and epic traditions concerning the theme of the all-encompassing god, it is also clear that the ritual and mythological elements of this theme cannot be separated. In the vedic material, the theophany of Prajāpati is contained within depictions of the altar, which is understood as the

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[289] This passage was discussed in chapter four.

microcosm of the universe. In later epic and *purāṇic* material, we find a shift in focus; we find similar depictions of gods who encompass the universe in themselves, but the universe becomes embodied by the theophanies of the gods, which have displaced the direct connection to ritual activities. While cosmological descriptions of Prajāpati as an all-encompassing god are ultimately linked to building the altar, the theophanies of such figures as Kṛṣṇa and Śiva use the theme of the all-encompassing god to stress the ultimacy of a specific god. Nevertheless, such descriptions arguably bear traces of the earlier ritual connections, albeit in terms that are often not explicit.[290]

5. Conclusion

In a general sense the absorption of these vedic and epic traditions about the *stambha*, the twelve suns, and all-encompassing gods speaks to the well-known phenomenon of Śiva's composite character and his integration of features from other gods.[291] Can we say anything more specific about what this material might tell us about the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*?

Above, I suggested that Śiva's absorption of the motif of the twelve suns may stand in the background of the grouping of *twelve* sites as *jyotirliṅgas* in the JS, KS, and *Jyotirliṅgastrotra*. If so, then the integration of this motif may have directly contributed to the promotion of this pan-Indian Śaivite cult. In particular, the association of twelve sites as twelve suns in SkP IV, ii, 51, may strengthen our suggestion, in chapter one, that the pan-Indian grouping of twelve *jyotirliṅgas* may be patterned on local *yātrās* such as the one described in early SkP 29, especially since both traditions are directly linked to Vārāṇasī. In addition, I would like to suggest that the closely-related theme of Śiva as all-encompassing god may have served as one important mechanism for uniting a

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[290] The rise of devotional movements during the epic period brought with it simpler forms of ritual devotion than those connected to the *brāhmaṇas* and the building of elaborate altar structures. As a result, narratives in Sanskrit literature shifted their focus from descriptions of gods, like Prajāpati, connected with the altar to narratives about gods without this connection.

[291] See discussion of Rudra as a god that "encompasses everything," in Śrinivasan (1983), 544.

variety of traditions, including vedic and epic traditions as well as local varieties of Śaivite worship, into the broader framework of this cult.

It appears that in the medieval period the motif of the twelve suns became a convenient way to connect imagery commonly associated with Viṣṇu to Śiva. The ultimate background of these connections may be the ongoing development in Indian religion between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism that has been in evidence since the epic period, as was demonstrated in the excerpts from the *Droṇa* and *Sauptika Parvans*. When the cult of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* does crystallize and come to represent full-fledged *avatāras* of Śiva in the ŚP tradition around the tenth century, it may be, in part, an expression of a stream or streams of Śaivism that have been in dialogue with Vaiṣṇavism for many centuries already. One form of this dialogue may be seen in their common adoption of the vedic motif of the twelve suns; both Viṣṇu and Śiva usurp Prajāpati's position as the most important being in the vedic universe, the one who contains everything else. Whether or not this motif directly influenced the formation of the cult, it may be an important expression of Śaivism's ongoing dialogue with Vaiṣṇavism.[292]

In addition, the *purāṇic* adoption of the vedic motif of the twelve suns in a Śaivite context relates, in my view, to the ongoing relationship between vedic and Śaivite worship that we discussed in chapter four. There I argued that the early Śaivite cult of Rudra also finds an association with the creator god Prajāpati in the ninth book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, where both gods are associated with the fire altar and are considered identical. This connection to altar worship is evinced in later epic material concerning Śiva as well. The medieval period is clearly crucial for the emergence of full-fledged, pan-Indian Śaivism and its consolidation and integration of a variety of ritual, narrative, and mythic traditions. Nevertheless, our early evidence for Śiva's connection with vedic ritual and Vaiṣṇavite mythology may point to an inclination among some

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[292] For a more thorough discussion of the relationship between Śiva and Viṣṇu and the notion of the *avatāra*, see Granoff (2003b), esp. 18-24.

early Śaivites to position Śiva as a participant in the more traditionally authoritative or "mainstream" religious trends (e.g., vedic sacrifice and Vaiṣṇavism), perhaps in an ongoing attempt to undermine the stigma of the "outsider" that is prominent in the Śaivite religious fold from early times. The cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* may represent a full medieval expression of this tendency.

Conclusion

This dissertation has argued that there are important shifts in Śaivite worship in the tenth to thirteenth centuries. I have suggested, more specifically, that the medieval literary materials about the cult of *jyotirliṅgas* reflect a move from multiplicity towards unity in Śaivite worship. The grouping of the twelve sites under the rubric of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* builds on earlier attempts, possibly beginning around the seventh century, to create networks and pilgrimage circuits of different Śaivite sites. Arguably, the cult is also a Śaivite expression of a broader pan-Indian impulse, evident already in the epics, to map sacred geographies that span the entire Indian landscape. In addition the JS and KS in particular seem to reflect an attempt to promote the *liṅga* as the primary object for worshiping Śiva.

The cult and its literature, in my view, also played an important part in these developments. By renaming preexisting sites throughout India as *jyotirliṅgas*, the authors of the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* reimagined the continent as a single landscape sacred to Śiva. The redactors of the JS seem to have brought together local story traditions long associated with the sites themselves, often also drawing on the mythology of the epics. The diverse origins of these traditions is suggested, for instance, by the rich variety of rituals described in the stories. Nonetheless, the JS redactors frame these stories and their rituals as though expressions of a single Śaivism. In light of the widespread dissemination of the JS and the *Jyotirliṅgastotra*,[293] it is arguable that these efforts contributed to the initial articulation of a pan-Indian Śaivism. Continued efforts in this direction are suggested by the KS. The KS redactors, working several centuries later, seem to have reworked the *jyotirliṅga* stories with an emphasis on *liṅga* worship; here, I have suggested, we see a clear attempt to promote *liṅga* worship in place of other forms of

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[293] Manuscript evidence for the JS and *Jyotirliṅgastotra* is widespread (see ch 1 and Appendix D). There are two inscription from around the eleventh to twelfth centuries, one which speaks about a *jyotirliṅga* in Ujjain (home of Mahākāla), another which describes a set of twelve pilgrimage sites sacred to Śiva; both suggest influence by the JS. Other later *purāṇic* texts such as the KS and *Rudra-saṃhitā* were also show evidence of being influenced by the JS.

Śaivite worship. Arguably, the cult, thus, contributes to the emergence of full-fledged Śaivism in this period and to the standardization of Śiva worship around a single focus on the liṅga.

Our analysis of the literary materials related to this cult has also exposed some of the prehistory of this process. The grouping of twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, for instance, may be modeled on local *yātrās*, particularly in Vārāṇasī, a city especially sacred to Śiva. The choice of the number twelve, moreover, might have its ultimate origin in Śiva's absorption of the vedic motif of the twelve suns. In addition, the ritual descriptions in the JS stories, seem to preserve hints of the diversity of earlier Śaivite worship; the stories describe rituals involving *liṅgas* and anthropomorphic images of Śiva, as well as types of altar worship that appear connected with vedic sacrifice. On the one hand this diversity may tell us something about early Śaivism, pointing to its absorption of a variety of ritual traditions, including vedic traditions. On the other hand, it may help to contextualize the medieval efforts, particularly in the KS, to standardize a single kind of Śiva worship, namely *liṅga* worship. The medieval consolidation of ritual and mythic traditions around the concept of the Śiva's *jyotirliṅga* form is, on one level, an extension and intensification of Śiva's long history as a composite figure, with a renewed emphasis on his status as all encompassing god.

Who are these redactors? Who is responsible for creating the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*? Our literary evidence for the *jyotirliṅgas* may tell us much about medieval Śaivism, but it does not reveal many details about the cult and its authors. As is typical of *purāṇic* literature, there is little concern for medieval historical realities; the JS and KS, as we have seen, focus instead on the mythic origins of these twelve sites. Moreover, whereas some *purāṇic* traditions are shaped by debates among different Śaivite groups, the *jyotirliṅga* stories do not seem to express any specific sectarian identity.[294] We may learn something about the JS redactors, however, from the fact that these stories reflect a remarkable openness toward

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[294] Hazra (1985), 259

vedic and Vaiṣṇavite religions. It may also be significant that the JS draws on both *āgamic* and vedic ritual traditions.

Interestingly, these tendencies fit with the concerns that are evident in the rest of the JS. Hazra, for instance, has noted that the JS is unusual in being "highly tolerant of other religious systems."[295] Furthermore, unlike other *saṃhitās* in the ŚP tradition, the JS does not engage in sectarian debates.[296] Hazra also cites its acceptance of vedic authority, together with its appeal to *āgamic* traditions, to suggest that the JS arose among "those followers of Āgamic Śaivism who recognized the Vedas as the highest authorities in all matters."[297] This is part of Hazra's broader attempt to characterize the different *saṃhitās* in the ŚP tradition with reference to what he sees as a tension between "pro-Vedic Pāśupatas" and "Āgamic Śaivas." Although this tension may be evident in other *saṃhitās* in the ŚP tradition, it does not seem to be a concern for the JS redactors, as he himself notes.[298] Hazra may be correct about the importance of the "rise of the Āgamas" for other sectors of medieval Śaivism, but the JS redactors are more concerned with vedic and Vaiṣṇavite religions than with inner Śaivite debates. Nevertheless, in light of the JS's apparent interest in consolidating a diversity of preexisting traditions, it is notable that the JS accepts both vedic and *āgamic* ritual traditions.[299]

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[295] Hazra (1985), 259.

[296] Contrast, for instance, the *Santakumāra-saṃhitā*, *Vāyavīya-saṃhitā*, and the *Kailāsa-saṃhitā*. The JS generally refers to devotees as "*Śaivas*." There are five uses of the term Pāśupata to refer to Śaivite devotees, but these are limited to JS 68 (four times) and 71 (once); Hazra (1985), 259, 265-68, 272.

[297] Hazra (1985), 260.

[298] As a result of his characterization of medieval Śaivism as shaped by the conflict between pro-vedic and pro-*āgamic* groups, Hazra is forced to downplay the significance of the JS, which does not fit this model as he himself notes. Instead he focuses on the *Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā*, which he suggests is the earliest of the *saṃhitās* because it does not display this tension; it is pro-vedic without any significant pro-*āgamic* inclinations. Although he reads other *saṃhitās* as promoting *āgamic* traditions or reacting against them, he does not explain why the JS does not display any tension between the two, but instead combines them amicably. Hazra (1985), 280.

[299] Hazra claims that the JS did not recognize the *yantra* as a medium of worship; Hazra (1985), 260. Above, however, we saw that this is not the case. Hazra seems to have overlooked the

More helpful for our inquiry is Hazra's suggestion about the geographical provenance of the JS. He places its redactors in Vārāṇasī on the basis of its knowledge about north Indian culture and geography, its repeated use of the word *mahārāja*, and its reference to a wife's right to share in the property of her deceased husband.[300] By themselves these arguments are not entirely convincing. However, in the course of our inquiry we have also encountered a number of instances in which traditions related to the *jyotirliṅga* cult are connected to Vārāṇasī in particular. For example, our earliest evidence for a grouping of twelve *liṅgas* occurs in the early SkP 29 and describes a local *yātrā* in Vārāṇasī. Sites in Vārāṇasī are also prominent in the list of "twelve" *ādityas* in SkP IV, ii, 51. We may find further supporting evidence for a connection between this city and the pan-Indian *jyotirliṅga* tradition in modern lists that identify twelve *jyotirliṅgas* with sites in Vārāṇasī.[301]

Perhaps most telling, however, is the treatment of Vārāṇasī in the JS itself. As we saw in chapter three, the JS treats the *jyotirliṅga* Viśveśvara in an extensive and unique fashion (JS 49-51). This is the only *jyotirliṅga* for which the JS gives no account of its origin. Moreover, JS 50 includes the *yātrā* of twelve *liṅgas* from the early SkP 29,[302] even though this local tradition may seem to speak against its overarching concern to establish a pan-Indian grouping of twelve *liṅgas*. This local list is followed by a lengthy description of the benefits one obtains from visiting Vārāṇasī (here called Kāśī; JS 51). In the JS, the special status of Vārāṇasī is strongly evident. By contrast, the parallel chapters of the KS (22-23) omit the list of twelve local *liṅgas*, the celebration of Vārāṇasī, and other related materials and, thus, efface this earlier connection.[303] Although

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reference to a *yantra* occurring in JS 46.49 where it features prominently in the ritual for the Okra *pārthiva* worship (see chapter two).

[300] See his citations for JS 4.7, 5.42, 10.45, 31.29, 39.47, and 46.60; Hazra (1985), 260.

[301] As discussed in chapter one, these twelve local *jyotirliṅgas* do not correspond to the pan-Indian *jyotirliṅgas* and may reflect an independent local tradition that is ultimately indebted to lists like early SkP 29.

[302] I.e., in the *Vārāṇasī-māhātmya* in JS 50; see Fig. 6 in chapter one for a verse comparison of JS 50 and early SkP 29.

[303] I.e., the KS omits JS 51 entirely as well as portions of JS 50 dealing with the *yātrā*.

our evidence does not allow us to pinpoint the provenance of the JS with certainty, Vārāṇasī is most plausible as the location where the cult of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* first emerged.[304]

Whatever the precise geographical setting of the creation of the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas*, it remains to address its close connections with vedic and Vaiṣṇavite religions. Scholars have long assumed that Rudra/Śiva was "outsider" to vedic religion. How then do we explain the many connections with vedic myth and ritual in medieval literature associated with the *jyotirliṅga* cult? As we have seen, the resonance with vedic religion goes well beyond the identification of the figure of Rudra with Śiva. In my view, there are important precedents for the integration of vedic sacrificial rituals into Śaivite worship; already in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, we find rites in which Rudra is integrated into the fire altar and his negative parts purged. Some vedic Brāhmaṇs, in other words, saw Rudra's status as outsider as a source of ritual power and sought to "purify" him in order to bring his positive elements into the vedic fold. The motif of Rudra's absorption continues to resonate in epic and *purāṇic* literature, and may have provided one mechanism for the ongoing combination of vedic and Śaivite

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[304] If the JS and/or the cult of the *jyotirliṅgas* were created in Vārāṇasī, then can we contextualize elements of the cult and its literature in the rich history of Śaivism in this city? Space does not permit us to explore this question, but we can briefly speak to its implications. In his 1996 article on Vārāṇasī, Hans Bakker considered the city's rise to prominence in the medieval period. He notes that the early SkP depicts Vārāṇasī as a "city of yogis, especially of the Pāśupata order." Yet, the sacred sites listed in early SkP 29 differ, with the sole exception of Avimukteśvara, from the sites attested in early seals from Vārāṇasī. To explain this difference, he proposes that already by the seventh century there may have been, in Vārāṇasī, "two mutually permeating but nevertheless contrasting religious spheres, one devotional. . . the other geared to the transmundane aims of ascetics"; in his view, "the temples that issued seals to their visitors. . . had a more general, mass character than those sites that were specified in texts that originated among circles of sectarian (i.e. Pāśupatas) Śaivas." In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Bakker suggests that "Apparently in response to the Muslim threat from the west, Vārāṇasī was turned into a stronghold of Hinduism." See Bakker (1996), 35-38. Much more work would be needed to situate the JS within the context of Śaivism in Vārāṇasī. In light of the strong presence of Pāśupata Śaivism in this city it is intriguing that the only hints of sectarianism in the JS is its use of the name Pāśupata to refer to Śaivite devotees in JS 68 and 71. Moreover, its concern for consolidating varieties of Śaivite worship are interesting in light of the combination of sectarian and popular Śaivism in the city and in light of the encounter with Islam.

traditions. The practice of Śaivite altar worship, attested in epic references to the *sthaṇḍila* and some *purāṇic* references to the *pārthiva*, may have arisen in this context. What is striking about the JS, however, is the self-conscious indebtedness to vedic traditions evident in a number of the *jyotirliṅga* stories. Whereas many medieval Śaivites build upon Rudra/Śiva as an outsider,[305] it is arguable that the JS redactors reflect a Brāhmaṇical Śaivism, shaped by a concern to integrate Śiva as vedic insider.

The JS redactors also seem to have a favourable attitude towards Vaiṣṇavism. In the two major epics Śiva is a minor figure and is often, although not always, portrayed as an outsider. The JS, however, uses many stories and characters from both epics to celebrate the worship of Śiva. It also reflects the broader integration of elements of Vaiṣṇavite mythology into medieval Śaivism. The epic depiction of Kṛṣṇa as an all-encompassing god, for instance, is applied to Śiva in *purāṇic* materials and may be important for the conceptualization of Śiva in his *jyotirliṅga* form. The JS redactors, however, do not assert Śaivism supersession of Vaiṣṇavism.[306] Rather, they attempt to articulate a pan-Indian Śaivism that is on par with Vaiṣṇavism and in dialogue with it. Arguably this dialogue is critical for the emergence of classical Śaivism.

In this dissertation, I hope to have shed new light on one piece of the complex puzzle of medieval Śaivism. Our analysis has also pointed to a number of areas in which further research is needed. Most notable is the connection between vedic religion and Śaivite worship. The widespread use of the term *pārthiva* in the JS, for instance, remains a mystery. While a precise definition of *pārthiva* worship has not been achieved, the different stories in the JS highlight its ambiguity. As we have seen, the term encompasses more than one kind of rite or mode of approaching Śiva. A *pārthiva* may represent an altar of earth, an anthropomorphic image, a small clay ball, or a *liṅga*. At first sight, this term might seem to unify the stories and thus help to

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[305] See, for example, discussion of the myth of Dakṣa's sacrifice in the early SkP in chapter four, section two.

[306] We have seen this in the *jyotirliṅga* stories; for examples from elsewhere in the JS, see Hazra (1985), 259.

emphasize the homogeneity of *liṅga* worship; instead it exposes an array of traditions about worshiping Śiva. We have explored those ritual traditions related to altar worship. Additional work is needed to explore the possible connections between *pārthiva* worship in the JS and our evidence for worship involving anthropomorphic images of Śiva, particularly clay images.[307]

More research also needs to be done with regard to the rise of *liṅga* worship. As noted above, many scholars have simply assumed that the *liṅga* was always prominent within Śaivism. Our literary evidence, however, tells a different story, in which *liṅga* worship only became central to Śaivism in the late medieval period. This suggests that we should be cautious when interpreting our iconographical evidence. Bakker has recently suggested that "during the first centuries of the Christian era, the Brāhmaṇical elite, whether priest, king or renouncer, preferred to venerate Maheśvara in iconic form and frowned upon *liṅga* worship."[308] If we are correct in placing the origins of the cult of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* in Brāhmaṇical Śaivism, then it remains to explain how and why Brāhmaṇical Śaivites embraced and promoted the *liṅga* in the medieval period.[309]

More broadly, additional work needs to be done on the ŚP and the SkP traditions. At first sight, both appear to highlight the *liṅga*. Closer analysis, however, shows that each also preserves a fabric of regionally and locally diverse traditions. Further study needs to be done on the arrangement of their respective *saṃhitās*. There needs to be a concerted effort to discern the provenance and sectarian motivation (if any) behind each section. Far too often

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[307] For a further discussion of clay, anthropomorphic images in early Brāhmaṇical worship of Śiva that do not revolve around *liṅgas* see Harry Falk, "von Götterfiguren und menschlichen Göttern," in Nalini Balbir and J. Bautze (ed.), *Festschrift Klaus Bruhn zur Vollendung des 65* (Reinbek: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1994), 313-33. For other discussions of early Śaivite worship of anthropomorphic images of Śiva see Bakker (2001); and see Younger (1995), 87-89, 106-108.

[308] Bakker (2001), 404.

[309] As noted in Appendix A, Banerjea and Mitterwallner have discussed the discomfort of Brahmins with the graphic phallic images associated with Śiva at an early date and how they slowly transformed and abstracted this iconography. Banerjea (1956), 455-56; see also Gritli v Mitterwallner, "Evolution of the Liṅga," in *Discourses on Śiva*, (1984), 18, fn 33.

the ŚP and SkP traditions, because of the relatively late dating of many of their parts, are assumed to be unified and coherent works. This is not to suggest that individual *saṃhitās* do not have their own internal logic; for instance, we have seen that the JS seems to make an attempt at being non-sectarian and to enter into dialogue with vedic and Vaiṣṇavite religions. There is a high likelihood that many of the components of the ŚP and SkP traditions could have circulated as independent texts for centuries before being woven into larger works. It stands to reason, therefore, that it is important to investigate each of the different sections, their specific concerns, and their associations with particular regional traditions. With further research in this direction, we may be able to reach a far more nuanced articulation of their stories and ritual traditions, thus shedding light on the overall development of the Śaivite religion.[310]

Due to my focus on Sanskrit literary traditions, there are also some types of evidence that were dealt with only in a peripheral way. I mentioned above, for instance, eleventh century observers writing in Persian and Arabic. There is clearly a wealth of material in both languages, and it may tell us much about the history of Śaivism in the medieval period. Some Muslim writers of this period, such as al-Bīrūnī and al-Gardizi, were making surprisingly sustained and detailed attempts to understand Indian religions. Śaivism features prominently in their accounts. The Persian historian al-Gardizi, in particular, offers us an overview of many of the various cult groups of medieval Śaivites, including the worshippers of Mahākāla in Ujjain, the third of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* in the ŚP tradition. If more of this material could be brought to bear on the development of medieval Śaivism, a more detailed picture of the religious landscape in this period would undoubtedly emerge.

To place our Sanskrit literary evidence in a broader perspective, it may also be helpful to integrate more inscriptional evidence. Recent work in this area has shown how the application of epigraphical data can shed light on the

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[310] This is to suggest that the *purāṇic* traditions should not be approached as some kind of grab bag for medieval Śaivism, but that each of the smaller texts (*saṃhitās*, *māhātmyas*, *khaṇḍas*) should be treat as units on their own terms.

early and medieval developments of Śaivism, both in and beyond India. Ronald Davidson has examined a large array of Indian inscriptions that have indicated the many interactions between Buddhists and Śaivites in the early medieval period.[311] Alexis Sanderson has undertaken an extensive examination of early Śaivite inscriptions of the Khmer in Cambodia dating as early as the fifth century CE. Such inscriptions bear witness to Śaivism as it was exported outside India at different historical periods, along with Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism.[312] The work of such scholars is extremely important for enriching our picture of early and medieval Śaivism and for showing the interactions of three of India's major religions (Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Śaivism) at various points of geographical intersection.

More specific to the question of the *jyotirliṅgas* there is also a need to investigate the material/iconographical evidence for interaction between Śaivite and Buddhists in Andhra Pradesh in the second and third centuries. Some of the iconography, unique to this region, may well give us insight into the development of Śiva's light form. Among the ruins of such sites as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Āmarāvati columns of fire and *āyaka* (entrance) pillars bearing human figures at their base appear on relief carvings. Such residue of interactions between Buddhists and Śaivites may provide a fruitful source for the later iconographic developments within Śaivism in the medieval period and tell us something of the expansion of regional developments transposed onto pan Indian religion.

This dissertation has served to highlight a critical time in Indian history and what might be generalized as a second wave of growth of medieval Śaivism after an initial spread. This period (tenth to thirteenth centuries) is crucial for our understanding of Śaivism as a whole, because at its outset we see a synthetic process towards consolidating Śaivism at a pan-Indian level. As reflected in the JS and KS,

[311] Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[312] Alexis Sanderson, "The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers, Part I," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Etrême-Orient*, vol. 90-91 (2003-2004), 349-462.

there appears to have been some attempts to homogenize the unruly hybrid that was Śaivism and to unify the different ways there were to worship him. There was, thus, a process of consolidation of the many kinds of religious impulses towards the worship of Śiva; the vedic impulse is perhaps the strongest next to the *liṅga* itself. The cult of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, representing Śaivite religions from all across India, gives us an insight into this period of transformation, where the sacred landscape is both reconsidered and remapped. As more concentrated work with a focus on these shifts in medieval history is undertaken, we may get a much better picture of Śaivism and developments in Indian religion more broadly.

Appendix A
Charts of Śiva Iconography

The following are survey charts of some significant iconography related to *liṅgas* in early Indian art. I have not assumed that the data bears any direct connection to Śaivism at the time the various objects were created. To this end, for the early examples, I generally refer to the early *liṅgas* as phalli, in as much as most of the early examples are clearly illustrative of male anatomy. It should be noted, nonetheless, that this direct association with phallic imagery is abstracted over time such that the identification between *liṅgas* and phallic imagery is convoluted.[1] Much of the scholarship I have read about the art work seems at times to suppose that the Śaivism of medieval India was also more or less in tact between the third c. BCE to the third c. CE.

Commenting on this anachronistic understanding of *liṅgas* Granoff states that there are "problems with the iconography and identity of some of the earliest *liṅgas*, the interpretation of which has been based on late sources that clearly show the hands of the theologian-systematizer."[2] Tanabe also questions this approach with regard to Kuṣāṇa coinage of the Oesho figure.[3] It is thus, according to some scholars, questionable whether or not one should impose knowledge of a coherent Śaivism anachronistically onto the body of phallic images that have been collected and documented, primarily from the north of India, by various institutions.[4] I do not initially assume, then, that any of the images were part of a coherent tradition that we now call Śaivism, rather they

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[1] G. V. Tagare, the translator of many Śaivite *purāṇic* texts, attempts to distinguish between phallic iconography and *liṅga* iconography in the early examples by suggesting that the *liṅgas* had faces and had no resemblance to phalli. The phallic images, on the other hand, have no faces. As we will see in our examination of this iconography, Tagare's thesis is retrojective and is not tenable when the iconography is taken together as a whole. Tagare (2001), 22.

[2] Granoff (2003a), 2.

[3] Katsumi Tanabe, "Oesho: Another Kushan Wind God," *in Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies* vol. 2 (1992): 51.

[4] Also important to this discussion is Bakker (1999) and (2001).

are fragments of various traditions that were later absorbed into a larger religious framework.

The charts draw heavily from the data presented by Doris Śrinivasan in her book *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes*, which itself brings together data from a diverse body of scholars, but especially from Kreisel's thesis publication: *Die Śiva-Bildwerke der Mathurā-Kunst*. Śrinivasan's work is perhaps the most recent attempt to draw upon the vast array of Śaivite images in order to make sense of the early development of that tradition. One of her primary interests is to connect these early pieces to the vedic Rudra and the Brahmanical ritual tradition. While my own work, in part, has tried to trace the vedic connections with the *jyotirliṅga* cult, I do not believe that these connections can be linked to the Śaivite iconography directly until several centuries after the Kuṣāṇa period when the iconography itself has matured and attained a status of codification.

In the following I hope to support my thesis that Śaivism had a strong aniconic tradition centering on altar structures before the *liṅga* was introduced as his standard form of representation. My assumption, therefore, is the opposite of Śrinivasan's who desires to relate the *mukha-liṅga* (*liṅga* with face) to the vedic altar at an early date. The connection between *liṅgas* and altars, I hold, occurs sometime in the early medieval period and, through the obfuscation of the concept of *pārthiva* worship, the two forms of worship were reconciled and merged together.

Early phallic imagery on relief carving:

Before charting out the various examples of early free standing *liṅgas* and *mukha-liṅgas*, I want to look at depictions of phalli in three relief carvings from the Kuṣāṇa period, all from the Mathurā region. This chart is meant to suggest a context with which to consider the other pieces especially in relationship to Buddhist relief sculpture from the same general time frame.

<div align="right">Chart 1.</div>

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Relief - phallus worship. Shows two *yakṣa*-type figures with wings and serpent tails on either side of a realistic phallus. The phallus forms part of a tree on/in some kind of structure or throne.[5]	Mathurā, 1st c. BCE	Government Museum, Mathurā (GMM), no. 52.3625.
Relief fragment- Shows *ekamukha-liṅga*. A tree is behind the face and phallus that sit on a platform of some kind. Two *yakṣa* figures face away from the tree/phallus.[6]	Mathurā, 1st c. CE	GMM B141.
Relief fragment – phallic image on structure worshiped by two figures. A third figure floats in the space above. There is no tree.[7]	Mathurā, 1st c. CE	GMM no. 2661

Yakṣa in early relief carving:

I now want to compare the above relief images GMM nos. 52.3625, 2661 and B141 from Chart 1 to *yakṣas* (semi-divine humanoid creatures)[8] portrayed in different relief carvings on Buddhist *stūpa* railings and gates. There is a distinct possibility that the phallic imagery has a relationship with the railings and not necessarily with any kind of coherent cult of Śiva. First I want to chart out some instances of *yakṣa* "parts" that appear in a variety of contexts in Buddhist relief carving:

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[5] Śrinavasan calls this structure a *vedi* (vedic altar), although there is no basis for this assignment. This structure is akin to the structures found depicted on *stūpa* gate relief sculpture; such as around a *bodi* tree as well as thrones. See chart on related Buddhist imagery below. Both the phallus and the tree are inside this structure and can be read as integrated – the tree and phallus could mutually represent the generative function of each other and be related to the fecund iconography connected to the pot-bellied *yakṣa*-types. I will discuss this theme more below.

[6] Śrinavasan (1997), pl. 17.6 and 17.7.

[7] See Kreisel, 173-74, pl. 2; G. Mitterwallner, "Evolution of the Liṅga," in *Discourses on Śiva*, 21, and pl. 4.

[8] Scholars will sometimes refer to these types of figures as *yakṣas*, especially when trying to make a connection to Śaivite iconography. *Yakṣa* is a term that becomes popular to refer to followers of Śiva in medieval stories. In order to avoid an argument that presupposes such a connection I will employ the term *yakṣa*, although recognizing that in early iconography there is really little or no difference between these figures.

Chart 2.

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Pillar relief – shows face in pillar surrounded by flower emblem. Part of eastern gate.[9]	Bharhut, 2nd c. BCE	Bharhut(?)
Faces of amorous couple on pillar above *yakṣī* with flowers and crane – portion of the *harmikā* (top railing).[10]	Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa, 1-2nd c. BCE	Cleveland Museum of Art.
Tree with two hands coming out, one holding pot, one a kettle – relief from "Story of the Treasurer."	Bharhut, 150-75 BCE	Indian Museum, Calcutta (IMC).
Relief of "Story of the Treasurer" as above and with another figure standing before the tree.	Bodhgayā, 100 c. BCE	At Bodhgayā site (?)
Yakṣa torso in tree – relief, detail of "Parinirvāṇa."[11]	Mathurā, 1st. c. BCE	GMM, H8
Drum slab relief – bottom left corner depicts Buddha being presented to a *yakṣa* who has partially emerged out of an altar structure behind which is a tree.[12]	Amarāvatī, 2nd c. CE	British Museum (BM) 44, Barrett 53.
Dome slab, "Birth Sequence"; contains a figure coming out of flower coming out of an altar.[13]	Nagārjunakoṇḍa 3rd c. CE	National Museum, New Delhi; data unknown

We might consider the relief carving depicting the *ekamukha-liṅga* (single-faced *liṅga*) from Chart 1 (GMM B141) with these examples of *yakṣas* in mind; that is, within the context of partially emerging *yakṣa* forms frequently

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[9] See L. Bachhoffer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, (Delhi: Munshiram, 1972), 23, pl. 16. Such faces are common on *stūpa* railings which, like much of that imagery was intended to represent the benevolent presence of *yakṣa* deities. There are numerous examples of both male and female faces emerging from pillars, this is only a representative example.

[10] See S. Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985), 89-91, pl. 28. Parts of amorous couples on pillar tops are very common. For example, at Bhuteśvara where one of the *liṅga* slabs was found, yakṣī adorned pillars with partial *mithuna* figures on top are well documented; see Vogel La Sculpture de Mathurā, (Paris: G. Van Oest, 1930), pls. 18-19. These yakṣī stand atop of *yakṣa* figures like those depicted in the Bhuteśvara *liṅga* slab.

[11] For representations of the following three examples please refer to Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, vol. II (Delhi: Munshiram, 1971), pl. 25 nos. 1-3.

[12] See R. Knox, *Amaravati*, (London: British Museum, 1992), 121, pl. 61. This slab was part of the Great *Stūpa* at Amarāvatī.

[13] Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narrative* (New Delhi: Munshiram, 1997), 178.

found on Buddhist relief carvings in early-late Kuṣāṇa periods. The *yakṣa* form in general, it may be argued, is meant to signify benevolence and prosperity[14] and so a fertile phallus, in this way, is indicated with the emerging face of a *yakṣa*. It need not indicate any particular Śaivite theology at this time (first c. CE); such theology cannot be linked to the *mukha-liṅga* forms until much later.[15]

In addition to the *ekamukha* in the relief carving GMM B141 panel, we may also consider the tree and the *yakṣa* figures worshipping the *liṅga* and the tree in this and one of the other three relief carvings in Chart 1 (GMM 52.3625). The tree is one of the most common symbols in early Buddhist iconography. As a symbol of the Buddha it is often the object of veneration itself, although it is not always so, being situated at times behind more prominent objects as with these two representations of the phallus. The following chart cites other examples of objects and figures represented in front of trees. Of particular note is the flame pillar (see Appendix B).

Chart 3.

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Pillar depicting 5-headed snake on stool, behind which is a tree.[16]	Pauni, 1st c. BCE	National Museum, Delhi
Relief fragment- empty throne with feet. A tree is in behind (fragmented).[17]	Sannathi, Mysore, 1st c. BCE	Unknown
Railing jamb relief – flame pillar on throne worshiped by group. Behind the column is a tree.[18]	Amarāvatī, 2nd c. CE	GMM

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[14] Coomaraswamy, (1971) vol. 2, 2-3.

[15] The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 3.44-48 from about the eighth century CE is often cited in reference to the *caturmukha liṅgas* – for example, Kramrisch, "The Great Cave Temple of Śiva in Elephanta," in Meister, (1984), 6-7 or Śrinivasan (1997), 276-77. In this passage Śiva is described with 5 heads and ten arms. However, there is no association with the *liṅga* and the faces in that text and it is somewhat spurious to suggest that *mukha-liṅgas* with only four faces occurring perhaps eight centuries before that text are invested with its theology.

[16] Dehejia, 140, fig. 119.

[17] This throne is comparable to the structure that the tree/phallus sits on in the GMM no. 52.3625 relief. D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1971), 190, 273, pl. 118.

[18] Bachhofer, pl. 114; see appendix B for an investigation of flame pillar iconography in Buddhist art.

Railing jamb relief – shows Buddha on throne being worshipped, behind him is a tree.[19]	Amarāvatī, 2nd c. CE	GMM
Railing jamb relief – middle relief shows an empty throne being worshipped and behind which is a tree.[20]	Amarāvatī, 2nd c. CE	BM 1, Barrett 31
Relief – central panel focuses on yakṣī who is being worshiped. Behind her is a tree.[21]	Amarāvatī, 3rd c. CE	BM 23, Barrett 90

The *yakṣa* figures portrayed in GMM B141 and 52.3625 of Chart 1, short potbellied beings, are common throughout Buddhist relief carving, on the railings of Sañcī, Bharhut and other *stūpa* sites. Often they appear trodden under foot of *yakṣī* figures, in the midst of dense vegetation, or as worshippers of various Buddhist symbols. Below I chart out only a few examples of a larger body of evidence:

Chart 5.

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Gate relief – shows potbellied *yakṣas* with vegetation growing from mouths.[22]	Sañcī, 1st c. BCE	Southern gate, stūpa 1, lower panel.
Tree on structure surrounded by winged beings, worshippers and other pot-bellied beings who are singing and dancing; relief of "Enlightenment"[23]	Sañcī, 1st c. BCE	North gate, stūpa 1, central relief.
Railing jamb relief – *yakṣa* with vegetation growing from stomach.[24]	Sañcī, 1st c. CE	Stūpa II.
Triangular relief panels – bearded men with wings,	Gandhāra, Buner area, 1st c. CE	Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (AAMSF), Avery

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[19] Bachhofer, pl. 115.

[20] Knox, 53-54, pl. 8.

[21] Knox, 100-01, pl. 41. The image of a *yakṣī* holding a tree, like this image, are common in Buddhist *stūpa* iconography for several centuries prior to this relief, such as at Sañci, Bharhut and Mathurā – though these tend to be larger in scale than this particular example; see for example Vogel, pls. XII, XVIIb; Bachhofer pls. 20, 50. An image of fertility and prosperity like these can arguably be paralleled to the meaning of the phallic images with trees as well.

[22] Śrinivasan, (1997), pl. 15.15; Dehejia, 124, fig. 99.

[23] Dehejia, (1997) 117, fig. 91.

[24] Coomeraswamy (1971), 74, 78; pls. 14.1, 29.5.

horse hooves, serpent tail.[25]		Brundage Collection B60 S83, 84.
Toraṇa reliefs – shows winged yakṣas with animal legs (horse hooves?) and fish/serpent tails.[26]	Mathurā, 2nd c. CE	GMM
Toraṇa relief – shows winged beings and centaurs making offerings to central stūpa.[27]	Mathurā, Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, 1st c. BCE	State Museum, Lucknow (SML), no. J 535.
Tympan relief fragment – shows yakṣa figures with wings and horse bodies making offerings to various Buddhist symbols including a tree.[28]	Mathurā, n.d.	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFAB), no. 26.241.

The above three charts are intended to place the three phallic image relief panels from Mathurā (Chart 1) into a broader Buddhist context and, in so doing, are intended to question how they are to be read. I do not believe that these panels had an immediate connection to Śaivite worship in particular. Rather, they were meant to represent fecundity and prosperity – benefits that may be associated with the stūpa in general. The existence of phallic images independent of the stūpa are numerous and will now be considered. However, as a preliminary comment, I want to suggest that the representation of the phallic cult on Buddhist stūpa relief carving should have some bearing on our reading of these images.

The influence of Śaivite theology dated centuries later – most of which applies to objects that are markedly removed from the realism of the early phallic imagery – should be applied more cautiously than has at times been done. Banerjea discusses the uncomfortability of the Brahmanical tradition with the realistic phallus and argues that they modified and abstracted its form to incorporate it into the later tradition.[29] I believe that he is correct in this assessment, and wish to stress further that the Brahmanical tradition may have

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[25] Czuma, 178, pl. 91.

[26] Bachhofer, pl. 104; also Vogel, 94, pl VIIa-d.

[27] Bachhofer, pl. 72.

[28] Vogel, 123, pl. LVa.

[29] Banerjea (1956), 455-56; see also Gritli v Mitterwallner, "Evolution of the Liṅga," in *Discourses on Śiva*, (1984), 18, fn 33.

wanted nothing at all to do with the phallic imagery until it was sufficiently abstracted from the phallic realism and could be absorbed into the vedic strand of Śaivism that was also developing. This integration probably occurred during the Gupta period. This is to say that the cult of the phallus probably began in the context of a *yakṣa*-fertility cult, which evolved and merged with Śaivism slowly. In the same way that we cannot consider the vedic Rudra to be Śiva as he is known by the later tradition, we should not consider every image of the phallus to be Śiva either.

Early Phallic Images:

The following charts give some examples of different types of *liṅgas* from different periods. These are not exhaustive and a more extensive representation of the art work can be found in Kriesel's and Śrinivasan's books, the references for which have been cited in footnotes. Though not exhaustive, I hope to show that the early examples of *liṅgas* – from the Kṣatrapa period (about second-first century BCE) to the late Kuṣāṇa period (around the third century CE) – are less systemized than those of the later periods.

Chart 6.

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Realistic phallus with *yakṣa*-type figure standing in front on a dwarf. Figure has no third eye and holds single pointed spear or axe, water pot	Guḍimalla, Andhra Pradesh, 2nd c. BCE	Parāśurameśvara temple, Guḍimalla.

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[30] Śrinavasan (1997), pl. 17.9. The inscribed name of this figure is Paraśurameśvara, though G. Rao, the scholar who first discovered this image, gives no indication of the dates of the inscription. I am not entirely sure why the anthropomorphic image is called "Śiva" from the iconography alone. Rao himself compares the figure to a *yakṣa* found at the *stūpa* at Sañcī and believes that the figure should be considered influenced by the Buddhist iconography: Rao, EHI, vol. 2 part 1, 68. The identification seems to be made primarily on the basis of the phallic image. The figure also bears no *yajñopavīta* (Brāhmaṇical sacred thread), which seems to suggest it should not be considered in a Brāhmaṇical context. For example, Śrinivasan states that the spread of Aryan Braminical culture could have influenced the Guḍimalla region and, presumably her reason for mentioning this local, the Guḍimalla *liṅga* itself; see (1997), 230. Her argument states that Brāhmaṇical culture "is responsible for the adoption and advancement of the worship of the membrum virile in Śaivism." However, there is a big difference between "the adopting and advancement" of a given tradition of phallic worship,

and deer.[30]		
Plain realistic phallic image, with decorative band on middle of head.[31]	Mathurā, Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, 1st c. BCE or Kuṣāṇa	SML no. H1
Free standing realistic phallus with vegetal/floral band at head.[32]	Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa	GMM no. 2885

There are 19 recognized *ekamukha-liṅgas* from the Kuṣāṇa period, here are some representative examples:[33]

Chart 7.

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Ekamukha-liṅga – head has horizontal 3rd eye and mustache. There is a floral/vegetal band encircling form.[34]	Mathurā, Late Kuṣāṇa	SML No. H2
Plain *ekamukha-liṅga* – show turbaned head with no third eye coming from the head of a realistic phallus.[35]	Mathurā, 1st c. BCE or early Kuṣāṇa.	Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA) no. 70.221.1
Ekamukha-liṅga (elongated) with two *yakṣa* figures at base. The face on the shaft has no 3rd eye.[36]	Akharpur, Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa	GMM no. 81.19

and the actual genesis of the cult. Her attempt at linking this image to the Guḍimalla phallus is flawed and, in any case, the connection between Brāhmaṇism and the phallic image is premature.

[31] Kreisel dates this piece as the "Kuṣāṇa" period, but Śrinivasan dates it to the first c. BCE Śrinivasan, pl. 17.1; Kreisel, 176, pl. 6a-c; Banerjea (1935), 39, pl. 1.

[32] See Kreisel, *Śiva-Bildwerke*, 176, pl. 7a-b; Mitterwallner (1984), 20, fig. 9b. We might interpret the vegetal/floral band in the same sense that we read such decoration in Buddhist *stūpa* relief carving in association with the *gaṇa/yakṣa* figures: symbols of prosperity and opulence. Very similar *liṅgas* are: GMM nos. 652 and 80.3 also of the same period. See Kreisel, 176-77, pls. 8-9b and Mitterwallner, (1984), 20.

[33] Śrinivasan says that there are seven of these types, but then states in a footnote that Kreisel "adds twelve more." See Śrinivasan (1997), 306, fn. 4.

[34] The vegetal band around the *liṅga* form could be construed as the head of the phallus, and so would not differ that much from the plain *liṅga* described with similar bands; the mustached face with third eye being added here. Kreisel, 180-81, pl. 14a-b.

[35] Kreisel, 181-82, pl. 15; Śrivnivasan, 222, pl. 17.5. As with the SML no. H1 *liṅga* Śrinivasan pushes Kreisel's date back a century or more – I do not know the basis of the change – perhaps the realism of the phallus has impelled this. Robert Brown has questioned some of her dating in his review of the book. Robert Brown, review of: Many Heads, Arms and Eyes; Origin, Meaning and Form of Multiplicity in Indian Art by Doris Śrinivasan, in Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 121, no. 2 (2001), 279-281.

[36] Kreisel, 182-83, pl. 17a-c; and A.K. Srivastava, *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 43 (1982), 236-38, fig. 2. This article also refers to another *liṅga* with *gaṇas* (fig. 1) and documented by N.P. Joshi, but the photograph is too obscure to make any substantial descriptive comments.

Ekamukha-liṅga - not realistic (cylinder), with *yogīn*-type head having top knot, mustache and vertical 3rd eye.[37]	Mathurā, Late-Kuṣāṇa	Norton Simon Collection (NSC) F 72.16, 6SA

The *Caturmukha-liṅgas*:

There are two important issues surrounding the four-faced artifacts discussed in Śrinivasan's book: one is about Śiva's alleged five-headedness, the other is about the relationship of these artifacts to vedic altar structures. I will address the five-headed issue first. Śrinivasan assumes that the theology of the five-fold Śiva, common in later material, is underlying the formation of these four-headed artifacts. Hans Bakker, in his review of the book, points to this assumption as a problem and suggests that the four-headed *liṅgas* are just that – signifying no fifth "invisible" head.[38] Śrinivasan herself recognizes the fact that the term "*mukha-liṅga*" does not appear in a Śaivite theology until the *āgamas*, the significant body of which appears around the ninth century CE.[39] The fifth head of the "pañcamukha" *liṅga*, in this way, is thought to have been deliberately left off to signify the god's highest form.[40]

There is no reference to a five-headed god in epic material. Textual evidence for four-faced gods, however, may be found in the *Mahābhārata*. The text offers examples of Śiva as four-faced in four places: I, 203.26; XIII, 17.74; 128.4; and XIV, 8.30. Two of these references (I, 203 and XIII, 128) describe the appearance of Śiva's four heads which, in both cases, arise because of his sexual desire for a woman named Tillotamā. Important in these passages is the portrayal of the face in the Southern direction described having curved eye-

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[37] Śrinivasan, 261, pl. 19.1.

[38] Hans Bakker, *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 58, 3/4 (1998), 339; this is in response to Śrinivasan's discussion of Śiva's alleged five-headedness on pages 119-23 of her book.

[39] Richard Davis, (1991), 14-15. Śrinivasan (1997), 150.

[40] Davis, 261-63. This understanding of the invisible head has been considered by other scholars, and does not originate with Śrinivasan. One scholar has taken this idea even further and suggested that the three headed Śiva at Elephanta is a *pañcamukha-liṅga* and consists of a hidden head in the cave wall (because it is "redundant") in addition to the invisible fifth head; see S.N. Chaturvedi, "Note on the Mahadeva Image of Elephanta," in *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh*, vol. 8 (1971), 13-15.

lashes in I, 203.23: "*anyad añcitapakṣmāntaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ niḥsṛtaṃ mukham*"; "Another face protruded at the South having curing eye-lashes." The face is also portrayed as fearful and wild in XIII, 128.6: "*dakṣiṇaṃ bhīmasaṃkāśaṃ raudraṃ saṃharati prajāḥ*"; The Southern (face) is fearful in appearance and wild. It destroys the people."

As we will see, Śrinivasan tries to construct a theory regarding the "traditional" placement of the terrible face (*aghora*) in the South and that the *caturmukha-liṅgas* conform to this. Below I question the uniformity of the iconography attributed to this face in the extent examples and here want to point out that these two examples of the Southern face do not constitute any tradition at all – they are clearly different, only one being suitable to the name "aghora". The other source for this so-called tradition of placing the terrible face in the South is the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* 3.59, but this text is dated perhaps 800 years after the plastic representations of these *liṅgas*.

Brahmā is the only other deity in the *Mahābhārata* described with four heads (III, 194.12; 275.17; XII, 335.18). The first of these passages, in III, 194.11-12, has the god born from Viṣṇu's navel:

> svapatas tasya devasya padmaṃ sūryasamaprabham/
> nābhyāṃ viniḥsṛtaṃ tatra yatrotpannaḥ pitāmahaḥ/
> sākṣāl lokagurur brahmā padme sūryendusaprabhe//11//
> caturvedaś caturmūrtis tathaiva ca caturmukhaḥ/
> svaprabhāvād durādharṣo mahābalaparākramaḥ//12//

> While the god (Viṣṇu) slept, a lotus possessed of the sun's glow grew from his navel. Thereupon the Grandfather, the guru of the world – Brahmā – was born in bodily form in that lotus with the luster of the sun and the moon. (He is) possessed of the four Vedas, the four forms, the four faces, is dangerous because of his power, and is possessed of great strength and energy.

This passage does not give a description of the heads as is done in the Śiva passages, but nonetheless points out that the iconography of four heads is

not exclusive to Śiva even from an early date. I might also add that in the *Anuśāsana Parvan* description of Mahādeva (*Mahābhārata* XIII, 128) the woman Tilottamā is created by Brahmā and so Brahmā is indirectly responsible for the emergence of the four heads. I am tempted to speculate that perhaps Śiva has in fact taken over Brahmā's iconography here. The story of the creator God's incest is well known from vedic literature, and this story arguably follows a similar pattern if we consider it in this way. In any case, even if we hold that both Śiva and Brahmā have four heads, the textual evidence from the *Mahābhārata* does not fully support the iconography shown in the *caturmukha-liṅgas* that I chart out below (please see notes for an account of each iconographic type and their discrepancies). I have listed the four *caturmukha-liṅgas* from Kreisel's work as these are the only photos available to me for comment:[41]

Chart 8.

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Caturmukha-liṅga – has substantial protruding interwoven band defining the head of *liṅga*. Four heads appear on each side around main shaft.[42]	Mathurā, Late Kṣatrapa-Kuṣāṇa	NMD No. 65-172
Caturmukha-liṅga – extremely worn. Thick band separates top from shaft. Four heads around *liṅga* – they dominate the composition of the form.[43]	Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa	GMM no. 72.23
Caturmukha-liṅga – faces are carved on the top part of the *liṅga* which is flat.	Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa	Bharat Kala Bhavan (BKB) 22755

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[41] Śrinivasan discusses five *caturmukha-liṅgas* in (1997) 262-63. She adds two that might come from Kauśāmbī: Allahabad Museum nos. 636 and 22755. She neglects to mention GMM no. 72.23, however. There are therefore a possible six *caturmukha-liṅgas* from this period. I have no photographs available of the Allahabad works, so have not included them.

[42] Śrinavasan (1997), pl. 19.2; Kreisel, 201-02, pl 57a-d. Kreisel dates this piece from between the late Kṣatrapa to the early Kuṣāṇa period, while Śrinivasan dates it to the Kuṣāṇa period. Kreisel names the heads: *yogin* (with long hair tied up top), *aghora*, *uṣṇīṣin* (having a turban) and *brahmacārin*. I am not sure what defines the *brahmacārin* head (shaved perhaps?) though is similar to the head with the same name in RC 176 IMG.

[43] Kreisel, 203-04, pl. 59a-d. The heads are named: *yogin, aghora, uṣṇīṣin, umāvaktra*.

| *Caturmukha-liṅga* – faces are carved on the top part of the *liṅga* which is flat. Two appear to have a 3rd horizontal eye. One face is broken off.[1] | Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa | Bharat Kala Bhavan (BKB) 22755 |
| *Caturmukha-liṅga* – has vegetal/floral band demarking head from bottom. Four heads at mid shaft.[2] | Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa or Late-Kuṣāṇa | Russek Collection (RC) no. 176 IMG |

The second important argument that Śrinivasan constructs employing these artifacts regards the vedic altar, and because this structure is important to my section on the development of the *pārthiva* form and the development of the *jyotirliṅga* cult itself, I am impelled to make some comments. In some ways this argument is essential to her goal of portraying Śiva as a vedic god from beginning to end. She suggests that the *caturmukha-liṅgas* are an artistic expression of the five layered *vedi*. For example she states:

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[1] Kreisel, 202-03, pl. 58a-c, defines the heads as *yogin*, *uṣṇīṣin*, and *brahmacārin*; the fourth head is not shown. There is no head, according to Kreisel, named "*aghora*" in contradiction to Śrinivasan's (1997) assertion on p. 262 that: "in each of the five examples known to date, one head can be identified as that of Aghora." She does not suggest which head on this piece is the "*aghora*" face. Also, R. C. Agrawal in his article "Four-faced Śiva-Liṅgas in National Muesum," (JOIB, vol. 22, 1972-73, 365-68) does not call any of the faces of the NMD 65.172 piece by this name (the so-called *aghora* face, according to Śrinivasan would be fig. 4 in Agrawala's work). Because her systematization of the *caturmukha-liṅgas* is dependent on the identification of the aghora head in each piece, any indication to the contrary should throw her system into doubt. Her systemization of this form sees the *aghora* head as "traditionally" facing south and "either the Yogīn or the Uṣṇīṣin aspect faces East" (p. 262). This hardly constitutes a system of any kind. Given that the *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes none of the other kinds of heads in any of the extent examples of *caturmukha-liṅgas* it does not seem reasonable to apply what it says about this one face anachronistically.

It should be noted that Kreisel's photos of this piece are extreme close-ups of the faces and not the whole of the object making an assessment of its composition difficult. The base of this piece is not discernable from Kreisel's plates though looks possibly fragmented. Given that even among the so-called "*aghora*" faces there is no consistency in iconography and the discrepancy between Kreisel's and Śrinivasan's identification of BKB 22755, I think it is difficult to make the leaps into full-fledged systematization that Śrinivasan does.

[2] Śrinivasan, 261, pl. 19.3; Kreisel, 204-05, pl. 60a-h. Śrinivasan pushes Kriesel's date back about 50 years. Again, the reason for the date is not explained. Kriesel identifies the heads as *yogin*, *aghora*, *ardhanārīśvara* (half male/female) and *brahmacārin*. I am not sure what constitutes the "agora" head here: fangs appear on some agora faces (eg. Kreisel, pl. 62c), although are not clear here. 3.59 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes the *aghora* face with fangs, but also with round eyes and adorned with skulls and snakes. This example has tight curls not found on the "aghora" named face of the NMD 65.172 and its eyes appear closed in meditation not rounded. The eyes appear wide open in the NMD 65.172 and GMM 72.23 examples (see Kreisel, pls. 57b and 59b). The RC no. 176 IMG sculpture is also the only *caturmukha-liṅga* with the half male/female head. Such irregularities as these along with those mentioned in the previous note reflect, in part, the instability of the iconography at this point.

The sequence in which the bricks are laid down is like a ritual rehearsal for the *śaiva* iconic types noticed above by Coomaraswamy. The sequence moreover demonstrates usage of the term *mukha* the same way the epic does, and in a manner highly suggestive of the properties of a Pañcamukha Liṅga image.

Here she sees the building of the altar (*agnicayana*), the "sequence," as a "rehearsal" for the *mukha-liṅgas*. However, for this argument to be made at all (though speculative at best), there would have to be a proven continuity of the *caturmukha-liṅga* iconography. As I have argued in the notes to the chart above, there is simply no basis for such a conclusion; and even if we were to tentatively accept that statement, we would first need to accept that the *caturmukha-liṅga* is really a *pañcamukha-liṅga*, which arguably, is in itself problematic.[46]

Śrinivasan, as is evident from the above passage, places emphasize on the term *mukha*. I believe she has drawn the reference to this word from Staal's *Agni* book. Staal discusses the five mantras to be employed when placing the first layer of an altar, a part of which includes what he has label: "Five Face bricks (*mukham*)."[47] Śrinivasan has proceeded to base much of her connection between the so-called *pañcamukha-liṅgas* and the altar because of this label. Interestingly, the five mantras that Staal provides (from *Taittriya Saṃhitā* IV, iv, 4.1-4), which are recited when laying out the bricks, have the word *pratīka* for face, not *mukha*.[48] Also, the one vedic passage that Śrinivasan does cite (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI, i, 2.30) does not have this word.[49] Instead it refers to the *śīrṣa* (head) of a sacrificial animal that is construed of clay. I am somewhat at

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[46] Indeed the only early example (pre-Kuṣāṇa) of a *pañcamukha-liṅga* from this time frame is suspect. The Bhītā sculpture from the State Museum of Lucknow (SML) no. H.4 piece – called a "*pañcamukha-liṅga*" by Śrinivasan has been shown to be an anthropomorphic ithyphallic figure with an additional four heads at its midsection; see Bakker (1998), 341 and Banerjea (1935), 42. This makes any direct comparison to the altar structure regarding *liṅgas* difficult.

[47] Staal, *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 441.

[48] Śrinivasan has not provided any vedic Sanskrit references to the term *mukha* that refer to the building of the altar.

[49] Śrinivasan (1997), 236.

a loss, without specific references, to understand why the term *mukha* is significant and how the vedic source material "demonstrates usage of the term *mukha*."

It is significant to note that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* considers the *vedi* to be both five layered and seven layered. For example, while *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VIII, vii, 4.9 says that the altar is five-layered, verses 12-18 of this same section describes seven layers! Also *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X, i, 4.6-8 actually describes the laying out of six layers of bricks – but this is completed with a layer of gold chips in verse 9 for a total of seven. At the beginning of book nine of this text there is a direct link between Rudra and the *vedi* through the *Śatarudriya* hymn.[50] It identifies this hymn with the "Great Litany" (*mahaduktha*): a *seven-part* formula version of the standard bird-type altar structure.[51] The text, in this way, is not consistent on the number and specifically relates the seven layered altar to Rudra – so if any number were to be attached to this god here it would be seven and not five. It seems apparent, therefore, that at every point of the analogy between the *caturmukha-liṅgas* and the vedic altar structure, there is little basis for comparison without difficult and dubious leaps being made. Indeed, along with the problems noted relating to the iconography of *Mahābhārata*, I believe we need to distance the vedic and epic strand of Śaivism from these early iconographic forms which arguably have more akin to Buddhist iconography than to vedic or medieval Śaivite religions. There is certainly something of a mystery surrounding the *liṅga* and *mukha-liṅga* sculpture in their earliest stages, but there is insufficient information about them to formulate a solid argument as explanation with regards to Śaivism.

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[50] Śrinivasan herself recognizes this connection but ignores the fact that there are seven layers of the altar in this case. (1997), 194.

[51] Eggeling, part 4, 112 note 1 for a description of the Great Litany.

Appendix B
Flame Pillar Iconography in Andhra Pradesh

The flaming pillar on the railing jamb relief from the Government Museum of Mathurā (no no. given) in Chart 3 of Appendix A is also an intriguing image in relationship to the theme of *jyotirliṅgas*; that is, the image of the flaming pillar is generally associated with the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* story. In this relief carving, however, it has a completely different meaning and context, one that is Buddhist. Other Buddhist examples of the flame pillars may be charted as follows:

Chart 1.

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Flame pillar[52]	Amarāvatī, 3rd c. CE	BM 119, Barrett 86
Flame pillar	Amarāvatī, 3rd c. CE	BM 123, Barrett 108

Related to the theme of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* at Amarāvatī is also figures standing in front of pillars:

Chart 2.

Drum frieze – five pillars at centre of relief each have human figures embedded in the base.	Amarāvatī, 3rd c. CE	BM 120, Barrett 103
Drum frieze – same as previous	Amarāvatī, 3rd c. CE	BM 75, Barrett 102
Drum frieze – same as previous, though figures are less distinct.	Amarāvatī, 3rd c. CE	BM 87, Barrett 97

In Amarāvatī groups of five pillars are a standard device on the central panel of such drum friezes. Some have no object, while others will have inscriptions. Knox suggests that these figures here are "small standing images of the Buddha,"[53] presumably because it is possible to discern a partial halo form behind each figure – though they are not clearly defined. These examples parallel the iconography of the anthropomorphic Śiva stepping from the column of fire that was discussed to some extent in chapter five. It might be suggested that such images (both charts 4a and b) informed the iconography of the *liṅgodbhavamūrti* as much as did the Guḍimalla *liṅga*, also from Andhra Pradesh, might have done. For a description of the Guḍimalla *liṅga* see Appendix A, Chart 6.

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[52] For these examples of flame pillars see Knox, 85-86, 136-39, 151-53, 156, pls. 28, 71, 77, 78, 82.

[53] Knox, 138.

Appendix C
On the iconography of huts

I want to briefly discuss the iconography of huts in Buddhist relief carvings. In chapter four, in the section on the *sthaṇḍila* we found one example, *Rāmāyaṇa* II, 93.27, that situates the *sthaṇḍila* inside of an ascetic hut during Rāma's forest exile. There are a number of reliefs that depict ascetic huts in a variety of narrative contexts. In most cases the ascetic sits on some kind of grass mat that one might assume to be the *darbha* or *kuśa* grass placed on the *sthaṇḍila* in many of the textual examples I examined. I am not familiar with the dates of the Gandharan pieces. There are a number of reliefs of the Buddha in his mountain retreat (Indraśaila) which I might have included but did not as these are usually representations of caves rather than huts per se (with the exception of the second example from Bharhut that clearly depicts a hut).[54]

Chart 1.

Description	Origin/Date	Collection/no.
Stūpa relief – "Dabbhapuppha Jātaka 400)." Depicts Buddha? on mat outside hut met by visitors. Forest scene. There appears to be a structure within the hut also.[55]	Bharhut, 2nd. c. BCE	Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Stūpa relief – "Bhisa Jātaka 448." Shows Buddha as an ascetic sitting on mat outside of hut visited by people and animals.[56]	Bharhut, 2nd c. BCE	Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Rail medallion – "Jātaka of the Worst Evil" – ascetic sits on straw mat outside of straw hut with leaved roof.[57]	Mathurā, pre-Kuṣāṇa?	GMM, no. 562 or 586.

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[54] I have found five other examples of Buddha's mountain abode: BM 1880-47, 1902.10-2.18, 1902.10-2.61, in Zwalf; and in John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), pl. 74, fig 107; also Vogel pl. LIIIb.

[55] Bachhofer, pl. 26; upper panel.

[56] Bachhofer, pl 26; lower panel.

[57] P. K. Agrawala, *Mathurā Railing Pillars*, (Varanasi: Prthivi Prakashan), pl. 6; Vogel, pl. XVIa; Dehejia, 142, fig. 120. Agrawala wants to date these medallion carvings to the third century BCE, although this seems a bit too early. Dehejia dates it at the first century BCE Vogel and Agrawala have cited different numbers for this piece.

Stūpa relief – top portion shows garland held by *yakṣa*-type figures. The lower part shows two huts. The left one has fire outside and two ascetics reclining. Right hut has one ascetic, but panel is fragmented and incomplete.[58]	Mathurā, pre-Kuṣāṇa?	GMM no. 14.
Stūpa relief – "Victory over a serpent." Shows ascetic in hut on right and fire to left above which is a five-headed serpent within a "fire temple"[59]	Sañcī, 1st c. BCE	Stūpa 1, Eastern gateway.
Stūpa drum panel – shows ascetic sitting on threshold of hut holding beard another figure (clothed) approaches with object in hands. Hut made of grass and is layered.[60]	Gandhara, date unknown.	BM 1902.10-2.28
Stair riser – "*Rāmāyaṇa* subject." Woman in hut being approached by ascetic from left. To right of hut is men hunting a deer.[61]	Gandhara, d.u.	BM 1880-53
Stūpa drum panel – shows ascetics. One on left is hunched with crossed legs and the hut opens to him. Hut has a structure within it. Ascetics on right appear in different standing postures with tree.[62]	Gandhara, Swāt, d.u.	BM 1904.12-17.29
Relief – "Buddha and a Brahmin ascetic." Shows detailed hut in which a bearded ascetic sits on mat-like object. On right is Buddha with another figure holding object.[63]	Gandhara, Swāt?, 25-60 CE	Peshwar Museum
Relief – "Gautama with to Brahmin ascetics." Shows hunched figure with crossed legs in hut. To right is another ascetic under tree and the Buddha along with other figure.[64]	Gandhara, 25-60 CE	Lahore Museum

[58] Vogel, pl. LX.

[59] D. Mitra, 4, 9, and 256-57, pl. 10.

[60] Zwalf, 232-33, pl. 298.

[61] Zwalf, 236-37, pl. 304. This plate is thought to possibly depict the famous scene in the *Rāmāyaṇa* when Rāma hunts a deer and Lakṣmaṇa is sent to find him. Sītā, meanwhile is left alone and Rāvaṇa, disguised as an ascetic comes to the hut and kidnaps her. This hut, in this case, would be precisely the hut which I examined in relation to the *sthaṇḍila* structure.

[62] Zwalf, 215-16, pl. 247.

[63] Marshall, 40-41, 47-48.

[64] Marshall, pl. 47, fig. 71.

Appendix D
List of MSS of the ŚP related to the JS

City/institute	MSS.no.	folios	script	date	notes
Pune Bori	165 of 1895-98	135 (481 total)	Devanagari	sam. 1904 CE1848	complete; the "*jñāna*" portion is the first "*khaṇḍa*" of a four *khaṇḍa* MS
Bori	173a,b-1879-80	115	Dev.	śake 1830 CE 1774	incomplete; is actually 2 MSS joined (a, b)
Bori	198 of 1892-95	143	Dev.	n.d.	complete
Bori	164 of 1895-98	117	Dev.	sam. 1886 CE1830	complete
Bori	77 of Viś-rāma (ii)	176	Dev.	n.d.	incomplete; missing fol. 14, 56, 57, 70, 71, 79; very brittle.
Bori	78 Viś-rāma (ii)	108	Dev.	sam. 1819 CE 1763	incomplete; missing fol. 12-37, 93, 105-06.
Bori	345 Viś-rāma(i)	209	Dev.	n.d.	complete
Bori	341 Viś-rāma (i)	206	Dev.	n.d.	incomplete; missing fol. 205
Bori	44 of A 1879-80	?	Dev.	CE 1648	complete
Bori	822 of 1875-76	?	Persian(in Sanskrit)	n.d.	complete
D.C.	7314	8	Dev.	n.d.	incomplete; includes only small section on j-liṅgas from ch. 45 (Oṃkāra)-48 (Viśveśvara)
D.C.	8597	226	Dev.	n.d.	notes say "complete," but 2 diff. MSS fol.104 of 1st jumps to fol.97 of 2nd, around ch. 34
Bombay A.S.B.	143036	?	Dev.	n.d.	complete
Madras A.L.	PM 2469	?	Dev.	samv. 1871 CE 1814	complete
A.L.	PM 2470	245	Dev.	śake 1735 CE 1814	complete
Goml	D. 2359	511	Telugu	"old"	complete; 19line/p.
Goml	D. 2360	567	Telugu	n.d.	complete; 18 line/p.; "injured"
Goml	D. 2361	938	Telugu	"old"	complete; 10line/p.; "injured"
Vārāṇasī BHU	327750	?	Dev.	n.d.	incomplete
BHU	3367 A	132	Dev.	sam. 1884 CE 1828	complete
BKB	516	208	Dev.	n.d.	incomplete
Calcutta, A.S.C.	No. 3529, G8393	210	Dev.	n.d.	complete
A.S.C.	No. 3533, G297		Dev.	sam.1818 CE 1762	complete; incorrectly catalogued as "*Rudraikādaśa*"

Appendix D₂
Mss. of ŚP not related to the JS

City/institute	MSS.no.	folios	script	date	notes
Pune, Bori	no.187, A-1887-89	128	Dev.	n.d.	called "ŚP" but from the *Brahmottara-khaṇḍa* of the SkP
Calcutta, A.S.C.	No. 3530, G8651	665	Dev.	samv. 1936 CE 1880	complete; corresponds to ŚP2
A.S.C.	No. 3534, G8400	102	Dev.	n.d.	complete; contains KS
A.S.C.	No. 3543, G4539	94	Bengali	n.d.	part 1, complete; named *Samatkumāra-saṃhitā* of ŚP1
A.S.C.	No. 3543, G4539	97	Bengali	n.d.	part 2, complete; named *Uttara-khaṇḍa* of *Samatkumāra-saṃhitā*

Appendix E
Upaliṅgas in the ŚP tradition

The following is a ist of *upaliṅgas* in the ŚP and their associate *jyotirliṅgas* as per the JS.[65]

	upaliṅgas	*jyotirliṅgas*
1.	Antakeśa	Someśvara
2.	Rudreśvara	Mallikārjuna
3.	Dugdheśa	Mahākāla
4.	Kardameśa	Oṃkāra
5.	Bhūteśa	Kedāreśvara
6.	Bhīmeśvara	Bhīmāśaṅkara
7.	Siddheśvara	Tryambakeśvara
8.	Śaraṇyeśvara	Viśveśvara
9.	Vaijanātha	Vaidyanātha
10.	Bhūteśvara	Nāgeśvara
11.	Gupteśvara	Rāmeśvara
12.	Vyāghreśvara	Ghuśmeśa

In the KS, *jyotirliṅgas* nos. 7-9 and their *upaliṅgas* are missing from the list found in chapter 1.[66]

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[65] The MSS generally follow this naming of *upaliṅgas* with one consistent derivation being that *Antakeśa* is rendered *Andhakeśa*. One ms., Bori No. 78 Viśrāma (ii) (saṃvat 1819), omits Karameśa, Buteśa and Bhimeśvara along with their associate *jyotirliṅgas*. In their place the text cites the following: Vīreśvara (with Ratneśvara), Candreśvara (with Kapileśvara) and Brahmeśvara (with Dhūveśa). This substitution is unusual, as earlier in the same MSS the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* are provided as per the printed edition. Hence, not only does this manuscript point to three different *upaliṅgas*, it also cites three divergent *jyotirliṅgas*: Ratneśvara, Kapileśvara and Dhūveśa.

[66] One Bori ms. (no. 198 of 1892-95) also cites only eight of the *upaliṅgas*. It omits Bhūteśa, Bhīmeśvara, Siddheśvara and Śaraṇyeśvara.

Appendix F

Citations and stories from the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* referred to in the *jyotirliṅga* stories along with the *saṃhita* and chapter from the ŚP containing them.

Liṅga name	*Rāmāyana*	JS	KS
Someśvara	Rohinī and the moon: 1.1.24; 2.16.41; 2.118.12; 3.46.6; 4.35.14	45: contains a full account of Rohinī and the moon	14: contains a full account of Rohinī and the moon
Bhīmāśaṅkara	Kumbhakarṇa is killed by Rāma 6.67.150-167	48.4 Bhīmā's father, Kumbhakarṇa, is killed by Rāma	20, 21: Bhīmā's father, Kumbhakarṇa, is killed by Rāma
Viśveśvara	reference to elephants of the 8 quarters supporting the earth: 1.40, 41	49.22: reference to 8 elephants when Kāśī is formed	n/a
Tryambakeśvara	Gautama, his curse and his wife Ahalya approached by Indra[67] 1.48-49 Descent of Gaṅga: 1.42-43	Gautama and drought: 52; Descent of Gaṅges: 53, 54	Gautama and drought: 24, 25; Descent of Gaṅges: 26, 27
Vaidyanātha	Rāvana raises Mt. Kailasa 7.16 Rāvana offers nine of his heads as a sacrifice to Brahma: 7.10.10-15	Rāvana raises Mt. Kailasa 56.1-13 Rāvana offers nine of his heads as a sacrifice to Śiva: 55.3-4.	Rāvana raises Mt. Kailasa 28.63-76 Rāvana offers nine of his heads as a sacrifice to Śiva: 28.7.
Rāmeśvara	The epic itself	57:This chapter is a synopsis of the entire *Rāmāyana*	31:This chapter is a synopsis of the entire *Rāmāyana*

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[67] The story of Indra's deception of Gautama's wife is still very popular at *Brahmāgiri* near Tryambaka. A statue of Indra as Gautama is displayed next to Ahalya at one of the three sources of the Gaudavari on top of the mountain. However, this theme of Gautama's story is eliminated from both versions of the ŚP.

Appendix F₂

| Liṅga name	Mahābhārata	JS	KS
Someśvara	Rohiṇī and Soma: 3.113.22[1]	45: contains a full account of Rohiṇī and the moon	14: contains a full account of Rohiṇī and the moon
Mahākāla	reference to site associated with Śiva: 3.80.68	45	16, 17
Kedāreśvara	reference to the āśrama of Nara and Nārāyaṇa near Kailāsa[2]	46: Nara and Nārāyaṇa stay at an āśrama in the Himālayas	18: Nara and Nārāyaṇa stay at an āśrama in the Himālayas
Bhīmāśaṅkara	numerous references to the Bhīmā river including 3.80.100-1; 6.10.21, 13	38[3]	20-1
Tryambakeśvara	Numerous references are made to the Godāvarī river; the source is Brahmagiri: 3.86.2; 3.118.2-3; 3.261.40.[4] Reference to Gautama: 3.82.93	53, 54: the Ganges becomes the Godāvarī at Brahmagiri during Gautama's dispute with the sages.	26, 27: the Ganges becomes the Godāvarī at Brahmagiri during Gautama's dispute with the sages.
Vaidyanātha	In the text's retelling of the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāvaṇa cuts off his heads as an offering to Brahma: 3.259.20	Rāvaṇa offers nine of his heads as a sacrifice to Śiva: 55.3-4.	Rāvaṇa offers nine of his heads as a sacrifice to Śiva: 28.7.

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[1] MCI: 278

[2] MCI: 317

[3] Reference to this tīrtha is made in chapters 38 and 1 respectively from the two versions (JS, KS). Reference is not made to this river in the main stories which concern the king of Kāmarūpa, a district in Assam (chapters 48 of JS and 20-21 of KS respectively). In local mythology, however, Śiva's encounter with the demon Bhīmā leads to the formation of this river, the source of which is said to be at the Mahārāṣtra site.

[4] MCI: 348.

Plate I – *Liṅgas* [photos by B. Fleming]

A. Nāganātha *Jyotirliṅga* in Auṇḍa, Mahārāṣṭra. This stone *liṅga* is located in a small underground chamber under the main temple and is set in a base counter-sunk into the floor.
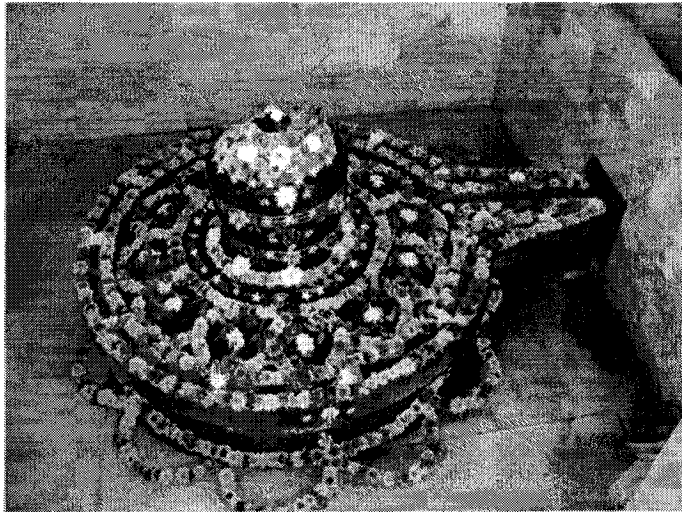

B. A secondary, contemporary stone *liṅga* in a side temple at Auṇḍa that has been covered in flowers after a special ceremony commemorating relatives. This image, according to the temple priests, is connected to the destructive forces of the universe and, when the far left tip of the base touches the wall, it is said that the universe will come to an end. Apparently the tip moves closer to the wall, a few centemetres every year.

Plate II – *Mukha-liṅgas* [photos by B. Fleming]
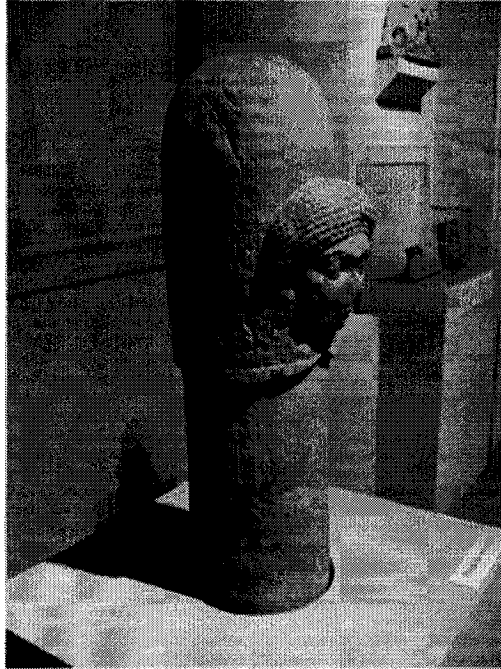
A.

Ekamukha Śiva *liṅga*
1st century CE.
Sandstone
Northern   India   (Mathura,   Uttar
Pradesh)
Philadelphia Museum of Art

This image represents early *liṅgas* that graphically represent the phallus. It also presents a single human face (*ekamukha*) with a turban. Similar faces with turbans are found on Buddhist iconography of the same or earlier period, such as at Sañci. It is unclear whether or not this image was identified with Śiva when it was made in the first century.
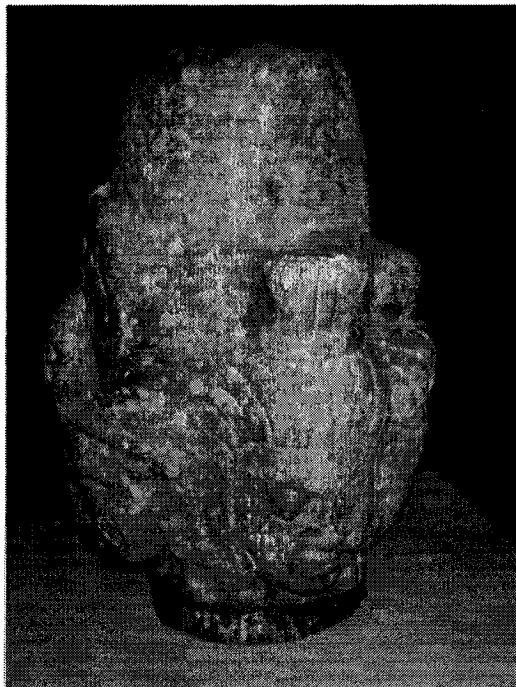

B.

"Pañcamukha" Śiva *liṅga*
4th century CE.
Sandstone.
Northern India (Mathura, Uttar
Pradesh)
Philadelphia Museum of Art

This later *liṅga* from the fourth century demonstrates the development of the iconography away from graphic phallic imagery. Though the museum has labeled this a "five-faced" *liṅga* (*pañcamukha*), there is little evidence to support this. It was probably intended to be a straightforward, four-faced *liṅga*.

Plate III - *Liṅgodbhavamūrti* [photos by B. Fleming]

A. *Liṅgodbhavamūrti*, Stone Relief Carving on back of main shrine at the Rāmeśvara temple complex.
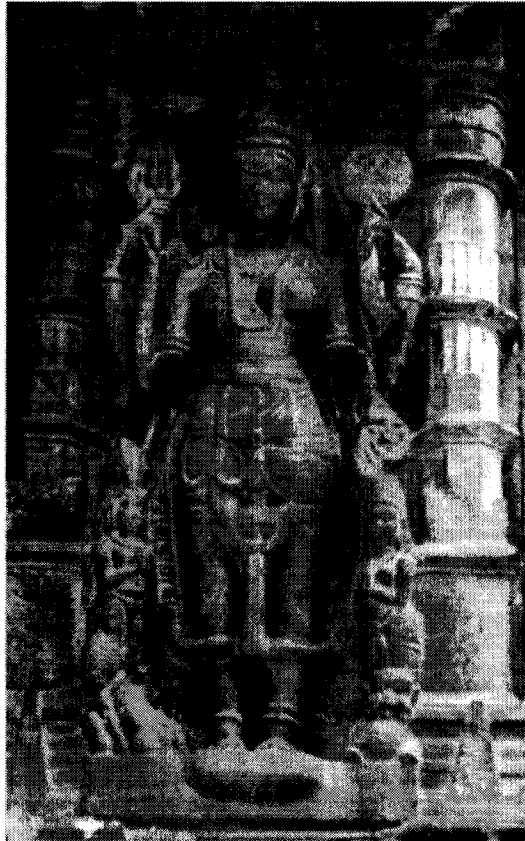Ca. 13th century
Rāmeśvara, Tamil Nadu

Typical of this iconographic form, the gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu are featured in both anthropomorphic and theomorphic forms. Brahmā stands on the left and his swan form on the top left of the column; Viṣṇu stands on the right and his Boar form on the bottom right.
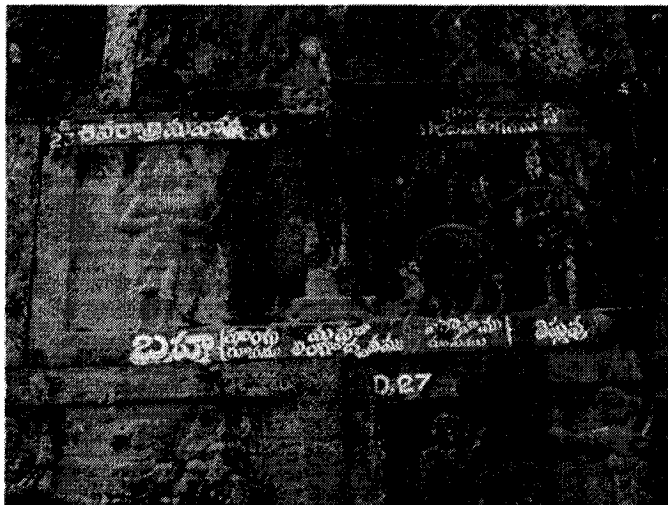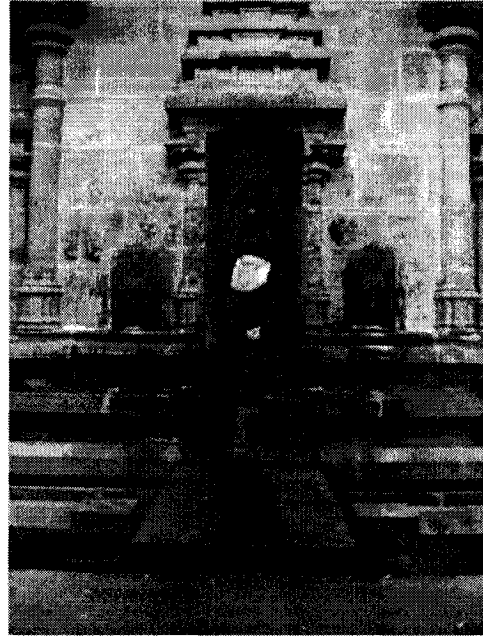
B. *Liṅgodbhavamūrti*, Relief Carving on stone wall surrounding main temple complex at the Mallikārjuna temple complex.
Ca. 15th century.
Mallikārjuna Temple, Śrīśailam, Andhar Pradesh.

The iconography is identical to the Rāmeśvara image, although not in the round.

Plate IV - [photo by B. Fleming]

Śiva's androgynous form (*ardhanārīśvara*)
Relief Stone Carving on the side of the Nāganātha temple
Auṇḍānāganātha, Mahārāṣṭra
Ca. 13th century.

Plate V - [photo by B. Fleming]

Rāvaṇa Sacrificing his ten heads to a Śiva *liṅga*,
Stone Relief Carving
Cave 16
Ca. 8th – 9th century
Ellora, Mahārāṣṭra

This image relates to the Vaidyanātha story of the ŚP tradition, although the idea of Rāvaṇa sacrificing his ten heads (nine of which are here depicted around the *liṅga*) occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 10.10-15) in the context of Brahmā and not Śiva-*liṅga* worship.

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