DICSEP

2023

August 14—19, 2023
Dubrovnik, Croatia

PROGRAMME

DICSEP

2023

TENTH DUBROVNIK INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE SANSKRIT EPICS AND PURĀṆAS (DICSEP 10)

August 14—19, 2023

IUC, DUBROVNIK, CROATIA

Programme

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Croatian Accademy of Sciences and Arts

Indian Council for Cultural Relations
भारतीय सांस्कृतिक सम्बंध परिषद्

सत्यमेव जयते
Embassy of India

भारतविद्या Indology
Department of Indology and Far Eastern Studies
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb University

MONDAY, AUGUST 14

9—10 am   Registration of participants (IUC lobby)

10—11 am   Opening addresses

> Executive Secretary or a representative of the Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik
> H. E. the Ambassador or a representative of the Indian Embassy in Croatia
> Representative of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts
> Representative of the International Organizing Board of the DICSEP

11—11.30 am   Coffee break

11.30 am—1.00 pm   First session: MAHĀBHĀRATA

> GREG BAILEY, The *Mahābhārata* as a Reflection of Brāhmanism as an Institution and the Problem of the Recalcitrant Brāhmaṇa

> SIMON BRODBECK, Dhṛtarāṣṭra Reconsidered in Light of the Divine Plan

> IVAN ANDRIJANIĆ, *Māyā* in the Sanskrit Epics

5—6.30 pm   Second Session: MAHĀBHĀRATA

> VITUS ANGERMEIER, Crisis in the *Mahābhārata*: Concepts on its Causes, Strategies Against it

O L I V E R **H** E L L W I G , Vedic Ritual Terminology in the *Mahābhārata*

S V E N **S** E L L M E R , Vedic "equations" and the *Mahābhārata* Mindmap

7—8 pm   Third session: **M** A H Ā B H Ā R A T A

D A N I E L L E **F** E L L E R , Touring Heaven – Of *sabhās* and *vimānas*, with Special Reference to *Mahābhārata* 2,1–11 and 13,109–110.

I W O N A **M** I L E W S K A , The Images of Forests in the *Vānaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*

T U E S D A Y , A U G U S T 1 5

9 – 9.30 am   A keynote address on the special occasion of Independence Day of India and the final event of Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav (75th Anniversary of Indian Independence) by the President of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), **D** R . **V** I N A Y **P** R A B H A K A R **S** A H A S R A B U D D H E

9.30 – 11 am   Fourth session: **M** A H Ā B H Ā R A T A

P R Z E M Y S Ł A W **S** Z C Z U R E K , A few Remarks on Textual Layers in the *Strīparvan* (MBh 11)

C H I K A M I T S U **T** A N I G U C H I , Who is Karṇa's Father?: The Dharmic Dialogue (*Mahābhārata* 5,138–139) and *Dharmaśāstric* Discussions

P a o l a M a r i a R o s s i , *Nṛtyann iva* 'As if he is Dancing': Warrior Dance and Arjuna's Warrior Initiations

11 – 11.30 am   Coffee break

11.30 am – 1.00 pm Fifth session: H i n d u i s m

A r t i D h a n d , Journeys into the Hindu Self

L e o n i d K u l i k o v , Gandharvas in the Epics and in the Veda: Cognates and Relatives in Sanskrit and Beyond

H i d e k i T e s h i m a , People and Things Surrounding the Ritual Site of the Aśvamedha Described in the Epic Literature

5 – 6.30 pm   Sixth session: M a h ā b h ā r a t a

D o m i n i k H a a s , Mantra and Muttering in the *Mahābhārata*: Re-evaluating the Evidence of the *Jāpakopakhyāna* (MBh 12,189–193)

V a l t e r s N e g r i b s , Ascetic literature in the *Mahābhārata*

T i z i a n a P o n t i l l o , Are the *agnihotraṃ svaśarīrasaṃsthaṃ* of MBh 13,185.5 and the ascetic Śarabhaṅga's entering the fire in RĀM 3,4.32 to be traced back to the self-immolation of the Vedic *sattrins*?

6.30 – 8 pm   Books presentation

IVAN **A**NDRIJANIĆ, **S**VEN **S**ELLMER &
PRZEMYSŁAW **S**ZCZUREK, *Medhótá śrávaḥ
I: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Mislav Ježić on
the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday.* Zagreb:
Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts / Delhi:
Dev Publishers, 2023.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16

9 – 10.30 am   Special panel: **T**HE REUSE AND
RECONTEXTUALIZATION OF **P**URĀṆIC
MATERIAL

SANNE **M**ERSCH, From Kings to Kṛṣṇa, from
Sūta to Sages: The Many Frame Stories of the
Bhaviṣyapurāṇa

OLLI-**P**EKKA **L**ITTUNEN, Flexible Usage
of Purāṇic Material – the Adaptation and
Incorporation of *Matsyapurāṇa* Passages in
the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyasaṃgraha* and three
Dharmanibandhas

KEXIN **Z**HENG, Hemādri's Citations for the
mahādānas from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* – Investigating
the Discrepancies Between a Purāṇa and a
Dharmanibandha

10.30 – 11 am   Coffee break

11 am – 1 pm	Seventh session: **Rāmāyaṇa**
	Renate Söhnen-Thieme, Sītā and Suicide
	Robert Goldman, Vibhīṣaṇa's War: Fratricide, Family, and Dysfunction as a Central Theme of the Sanskrit Epics
	Sally Goldman, Hanumān's *Rāmāyaṇas*
	Krešimir Krnic, Does *Uttarakāṇḍa* Matter?
5 – 6.30 pm	Eighth session: **Rāmāyaṇa**
	Sudha Berry, Saṃpāti and Jaṭāyu: Bird Siblings and Narrative Heralds in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki
	Meenu Krishna, *Sundarāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*
	Chandra Bhushan Jha, The Legacy of *Rāmāyaṇa* in Modern Sanskrit Literature
6.30 – 8 pm	Book presentation and DICSEP's 10th jubilee
	Mislav Ježić, Ivan Andrijanić, Sven Sellmer & Przemysław Szczurek, *Mythic Landscapes and Argumentative Trails in Sanskrit Epic Literature, Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, DICSEP publications, vol. 6*. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts / Delhi: Dev Publishers, 2021.

Vedic Roots, Epic Trunks, Purāṇic Foliage, Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, DICSEP publications, vol. 7. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts / Delhi: Dev Publishers, 2023.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 17

Excursion

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18

9 – 10.30 am   Ninth session: PURĀṆAS

GEORGI KRASTEV, How can Sleep be more Awake than the One Sleeping: Reading Possible Echoes of an Archaic Magical Past in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (81,34–77)

CHARLES LI, Editing and not Editing the *Śiber upakhyāna* from the *Vahnipurāṇa*

XIAOQIANG MENG, Did Buddhist Master Paramārtha Access a Special Version of the **Viṣṇupurāṇa* in the 6th Century? – A Comparative Study of the Devāsurasaṃgrāma Myth in the Biography of Dharma Master Vasubandhu and the Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa

10.30 – 11 am   Coffee break

11.00 – 12.30 am Tenth session: **P** u r ā ṇ a s

> **M** a r i o n **R** a s t e l l i , *Dvayamantra*, Taking Refuge, Branding, *ūrdhvapuṇḍras*. On a "Śrīvaiṣṇava" Section in the *Padmapurāṇa Uttarakhaṇḍa*

> **M** c **C** o m a s **T** a y l o r , Divine Descent in Other Words: Avatāras, Aeons and Ages in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*

> **M** i s l a v **J** e ž i ć , The Three Steps of Viṣṇu

5 – 6.30 pm Eleventh session: **P** u r ā ṇ a s

> **C** h r i s t o p h e **V** i e l l e , The Piercing of the Krauñca Mountain: by Skanda and/or Paraśurāma?

> **F** r a n c i s **B** r a s s a r d , Jamadagni: A Transition Between Two Ways of Being Religious

> **P** e t e r **S** z a l e r , The Function of Weapons in the Kṛṣṇa-Cycle

6.30 – 8 pm Book presentation

> **M** c **C** o m a s **T** a y l o r & **R** a j **B** a l k a r a n , *Visions and Revisions in Sanskrit Narrative*, ANU Press, 2023.

9 – 10.30 am   Twelfth session

WILL SWEETMAN, Renderings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in Early Modern India and Europe

SIMON WINANT, Conquering the 'Directions': Conceptualising Frontiers in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* and the *Bālabhārata*

NATALIA LIDOVA, *Līlā* and *krīḍā*: How the Universe Became a Play

10.30 – 11 am   Coffee break

11 – 12.30 am   Special panel: BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA BIBLIOGRAPHY

SHRIKANT BAHULKAR, Bibliography of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Volume I.

PRASAD JOSHI, Some Aspects of the Linguistic Study of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

KENNETH VALPEY, Recent English Publications on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa

12.30 am   DICSEP participants convention: proposals and arrangements for the assessment procedure and publication of proceedings and for the next DICSEP conference

5 – 6 pm   Guided tour through Dubrovnik for the interested participants

8 pm   Get-together and dinner

ABSTRACTS

IVAN ANDRIJANIĆ

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MĀYĀ IN THE SANSKRIT EPICS

In the earlier Indological research, the concept of *māyā* as it appears in older Indian literature was too often taken, as Jan Gonda pointed out in 1959, in its later sense of illusion, magic. The meaning of the term, at least in the Vedic context, is significantly more complex. In the earliest strata of the *Ṛksaṃhitā*, *māyá* may refer to a divine skill of measurement used by the gods to measure justice among humans and order in nature. Most commonly, *māyá* is employed by the Ādityas, the gods who uphold the *ṛtá* 'truth' and 'righteousness'. From certain passages in the *Ṛksaṃhitā* (5,63.3; 7), we even learn that *māyá* belongs to Asura, (cf. av. Ahura Mazdā), the ancient (Indoiranian?) supreme deity, who, using as measuring instruments (*vímāna*) the Sun and the Moon, measures the time of day, months, seasons, and ultimately, years (cf. 10,85.18). According to Gonda, *māyá* in Vedic context is an insight, wisdom or extraordinary power of some mighty being to do or to create something as 'measuring' can be understood as the intellectual aspect of 'creation'. In addition to gods, the power of *māyá* can also belong to their enemies, such as the Dasyus, Dāsas, as well as Vṛtra and Namuci, who is already referred to as an asura (in the sense of demon) in the youngest portions of the *Ṛksaṃhitā* (Book 10). In this presentation, the terms *māyā* and *māy(āv)in* in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* will be subjected to a closer examination. An analysis and classification of the various meanings of the concept of *māyā*, as well as its different wielders, will be presented. Broadly speaking, epic *māyā* appears in two fundamental patterns. On one hand, it manifests itself as the warrior ability of some demonic beings to create illusions. On the other hand, it represents the divine creative power of Viṣṇu, which is basically the Vedic meaning. Within these two basic conceptual frameworks, there are numerous

shades and subtypes that are manifested in various contents of illusory phenomena that arise through the application of *māyā*. Within this context, a distinction can be made between both the miraculous creation of real objects, and the creation of illusory phenomena on the one hand, and *māyā* as skilful deceptive tricks where supernatural power is not present, usually used by humans, on the other. In the cases of the meanings 'creation of illusions' and 'human trickery' the Vedic heritage was probably transformed through the influence of Atharvavedic brahmans, which was assumed by Bronkhorst. Finally, an attempt will be made to outline the development and usage of the concept of *māyā*, as well as to ascertain the factors that contributed to the emergence of the metaphysical notion of cosmic *māyā* which conceals the true nature of reality, and reinterprets the creation of the world as 'creation of the illusory world (of dualities)'.

VITUS ANGERMEIER

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CRISIS IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*: CONCEPTS ON
ITS CAUSES, STRATEGIES AGAINST IT

In modern understanding, a crisis can be an event or a period of (or leading to) an unstable or dangerous situation. It can affect an individual, a group or the whole society. However, a crisis is not only a threat, it also implies the need for (and the chance for) change and improvement. Historically, the term was borrowed from Greek (κρίσις) via Latin in early modern times to initially describe the critical phase of a disease, in which the patient could either take the path towards recovery or towards death. Given this complex history and meaning of the term, it comes as no surprise that, while the *Mahābhārata* deals with an entire range of situations that would be considered crises by modern standards, the early Sanskrit vocabulary

lacks a single equivalent of the term and its Greek and Latin predecessors. Nevertheless, the descriptions of personal and collective distress and conflict situations in the epic and in relevant related literature allow for a comprehensive examination of how crises were understood and dealt with. Besides the well-researched topic of *āpad* and *āpaddharma*, several other terms like *īti*, *upanipāta* or *upadrava* deserve an accurate investigation and will provide new insights into the intellectual history of the ever relevant topics of crisis and conflict management. To this end, I will present several exemplary narratives from the *Mahābhārata* and show how – depending on the context and the agenda of the authors – different concepts are developed, on the one hand to explain the causation of the crisis and, on the other, to provide strategies to overcome it.

SHRIKANT BAHULKAR

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE *BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA* VOL. I

The Project of a Bibliography of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (BhāgP) has been undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. The first volume of the Bibliography includes material in Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi, and English languages and offers information on:

 1) Texts, Translations, Commentaries;
 2) Research work: books, Ph.D. Theses and articles (summaries,

abstracts and full articles); and

3) Reviews of books and articles.

The number of entries of the above-mentioned three sections is 2219 to date and covers around 300–350 pages. The entries from the first section, namely, "Texts, Translations and Commentaries", have been classified into various sub-sections, based on their topics, namely: As discussed in the project meetings, some new topics are added to the list, The final list with all the topics is as follows:

1. Bare Texts, Text with Commentaries, Text with Commentaries and Translations, Text with Translations, Translations,
2. Literature Inspired by BhāgP,
3. Summarised Versions,
4. Selected Contents,
5. Myths, Stories and Songs,
6. Characters,
7. Philosophical Concepts,
8. Indexical Works,
9. Metrical Translations,
10. Poetic Study,
11. Linguistic Study,
12. Cultural Study,
13. Analytical Study,
14. BhāgP in Fine and Performing Arts,
15. Geographical Data,
16. General Studies and
17. Miscellaneous

The paper explains the methodology adopted and presents a specimen of the Bibliography.

GREG BAILEY

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THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA* AS A REFLECTION OF
BRĀHMANISM AS AN INSTITUTION AND THE
PROBLEM OF THE RECALCITRANT BRĀHMAṆA

This paper arises from a long-term project exploring the hypothesis that the *Mahābhārata* was in part composed as a response to the material and institutional success of early Buddhism. In the course of this it has become apparent that the brahmins were attempting to redefine the roles of their *varṇa* in the light of the transformation from a rural to an urban-rural society from about 500BCE onwards, progressing dramatically after 200BCE. In the course of this change the brahmin was required to become more than a ritualist and Vedic scholar as it was doubtful there was sufficient economic surplus to sustain a large class of ritualist-scholars. Accordingly, the brahmins had partially to redefine their roles–in part to that of the *gṛhastha*– and there are many examples in the *Mahābhārata* of brahmins who appear not to be acting in the manner of the ideal of the ritualist/ ascetic brahmin. The present paper examines how the brahmins sought to include such figures within the image of the brahmin and whether they succeeded in developing "Brāhmanism" beyond designating a mere social class with its accompanying teachings to representing an institution demonstrating how normative culture and society should function for all the *varṇas* and those outside of the *varṇa* system. I also consider how this question relates to the larger narrative of the *Mahābhārata* with its emphasis on war and political intrigue. What does this tell us about the role of the brahmin conceptualized in the normative society depicted in the epic and the repudiation of these norms?

SUDHA BERRY

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SAMPĀTI AND JAṬĀYU: BIRD SIBLINGS AND NARRATIVE HERALDS IN THE *RĀMĀYAṆA* OF VĀLMĪKI

Saṃpāti and Jaṭāyu are two large bird siblings, either vultures or eagles, that are minor characters in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Although their appearances are relatively brief, their role in the presentation of the narrative and the development of its principal theme of liberation is crucial. This paper will employ literary analysis to explore the symbolic significance of these characters and how their storyline advances the narrative theme of liberation. This will be done initially with reference to their solar genealogy and classification as birds, alluding to their connection to the Vedic creation myth of the churning of the ocean and the opposition of birds and snakes presented therein. This will be further developed by exploring their association with the character of Garuḍa, the eagle who becomes the vehicle of the god Viṣṇu, whose *avatāra* Rāma is the protagonist of the text. Next, the paper will explore the narrative events showing how the interconnected fates of these characters further the leitmotif of liberation extolled by the text. Saṃpāti's relatively minor contribution earns him rejuvenation and a place in the fight for Sitā's liberation and Jaṭāyu's brave defiance of Rāvaṇa is rewarded with personal liberation by Rāma. The events featuring these characters demonstrate how even minor characters are incorporated into the Vaiṣṇava theme of liberation. The stories of these minor characters both presage the main narrative events and echo the theme of liberation which is a Vaiṣṇava leitmotif. As such, Saṃpāti and Jaṭāyu are heralds of both the narrative events and the narrative themes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

FRANCIS BRASSARD

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JAMADAGNI: A TRANSITION BETWEEN TWO WAYS OF BEING RELIGIOUS

Jamadagni is one of the seven sages (*saptarṣi*s) of Ancient India. Although the *saptarṣi*s are not viewed as *saṃnyāsī* in the usual sense of the term, they are said to have realized the spiritual truths of the *Veda* in their mystic intuition. As such, the *saptarṣi*s are the builders of the Indian civilization. They may thus be viewed as intermediaries between the natural world or microcosm and the supernatural world or macrocosm. Intermediaries will also reveal themselves when the harmony between those two worlds is threatened. From the point of view of the history of religions, we find many types of such intermediaries ranging from sacred objects, rituals, formulas, texts like the Koran or the Torah, and such individuals as the shaman, the priest, the prophet, the mystic, or the *avatāra* of Hinduism. When analyzing the various legends from the Vedic and non-Vedic sources related to Jamadagni, it seems that this guardian of the Indian nation embodies a transition between two of those types, thus indicating a realization regarding what ought to be the best approach to restore harmony or bring about a positive change in the world.

SIMON BRODBECK

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DHṚTARĀṢṬRA RECONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF THE DIVINE PLAN

Humanitarian ethical commentary on the *Mahābhārata* has seen the Kurukṣetra war in a grave light, and has usually blamed it on (i.e.

hoped that we might learn from the human mistakes of) Duryodhana, and his blind father Dhṛtarāṣṭra who enables him. In contrast, some recent *Mahābhārata* research (following Hiltebeitel) has highlighted the divine plan, according to which the war was a necessary deed performed by gods descended into human form, for the benefit of the earth (*Mahābhārata* 1,58; *Harivaṃśa* 40–45). This paper reconsiders Dhṛtarāṣṭra's role in light of the divine aspect of the war. Topics touched on include: Dhṛtarāṣṭra's frequent mentions of *daiva* ('that of the gods', often misleadingly translated 'fate') as the cause of the war; his having 'the eyesight of insight' (*prajñācakṣus)*; his hidden superhuman identity; his being a heroic suffering protagonist of the divine plan in this light; and the interpretive effect of imagining 'early' or 'late' parts of the reconstituted *Mahābhārata*.

ARTI DHAND

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JOURNEYS INTO THE HINDU SELF

The Hindu tradition claims a special relation to the geography of the Indian subcontinent. This connection is most expansively drawn in its great epics, The Rāmāyaṇa and The Mahābhārata. Both texts have their heroes traverse long distances encompassing the length and breadth of the subcontinent. Some of these travels are acts of military self-assertion. Others are acts of piety. This paper is preliminary to a larger project investigating the topos of journey in the Sanskrit epics, with a view to illuminating the relation between Hinduism and topography. This relation has been in the foreground in Indian politics for the last decades, in ongoing controversies around sacred sites in India. That it is of profound material consequence is evident in the waves of deadly violence over the purported "birthplace of Rāma". The working hypothesis in the project is that the coupling of Hindu

identity with subcontinental geography is a project of the Hindu epics, which craft the Hindu self in explicit connection to landscape. Given the outsized emotional force these works continue to exert in Hindu religion, and the devastating nature of acts undertaken in their name, the subject warrants analysis.

DANIELLE FELLER

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TOURING HEAVEN – OF *SABHĀS* AND *VIMĀNAS*, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO *MAHĀBHĀRATA* 2,1–11 AND 13,109–110

This presentation aims to investigate the parallel developments undergone by the terms and concepts of *vimāna* and *sabhā*. As demonstrated in some previous publications, the term *vimāna* undergoes a semantic shift in the Sanskrit epics from its first (Vedic) sense of "measuring", and comes to designate a palace, a flying palace and finally heaven – or at least a type of mobile mini-heaven, a meaning shared by Buddhist and Jain literature (the latter signification being especially prominent in *Mahābhārata* 13,109–110). Here I would like to argue that the term *sabhā* undergoes a similar semantic shift. *Sabhā* first designates an assembly – either the audience assembled, or, more often, the place of assembly, especially a great hypostyle hall. This is the most common meaning of the term in both Sanskrit epics. In the *Mahābhārata*, the *sabhā* which is most often described and referred to in the entire text – and not only in the eponymous *Sabhāparvan*, the second book of the great epic – is of course the Kauravas' great *sabhā*, which was built for the express purpose of hosting the ill-fated dice-game, which leads to the Pāṇḍavas' exile and eventually to the great war. But the *Sabhāparvan* first describes another *sabhā*, the Pāṇḍavas' *sabhā*, built for them by Maya, the Asuras' architect (see MBh 2,1–4). This splendid hall provokes Duryodhana's envy and jealous rage. Made

of precious and divine materials such as crystal, gold, and gems, and provided with gardens and ponds, it looks like a piece of heaven come down to earth. This is corroborated by the subsequent, and very similar, descriptions of the *sabhās* of the divine world-guardians (MBh 2,6–11), where the term becomes practically interchangeable with *loka* and seems to designate not so much the gods' mere "assembly-halls", but their paradisiacal palaces and even "worlds". In the case of both *vimāna* and *sabhā*, we see that a term designating first a "measurable" architectural artefact comes to designate heaven.

ROBERT GOLDMAN

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VIBHĪṢAṆA'S WAR: FRATRICIDE, FAMILY, AND DYSFUNCTION AS A CENTRAL THEME OF THE SANSKRIT EPICS

It is a common observation that most, if not all, "epic" literature of antiquity (not to mention a substantial proportion of world literature, drama, and—in modernity—cinema—from ancient times to modernity center largely around the themes of love and war, or to use less elevated terminology, sex and violence. Many epic poems center around conflicts over kingdoms with their wealth and quests to win, woo, avenge, or recover the works' heroines. Indeed, there is a saying in Urdu that the principal things that men fight over are *zamīn*, *zāli*, and *zenānā*, that is to say land, gold, and women. Both of India's great, ancient Sanskrit epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, certainly fit this description. Their authors, moreover, seem to delight in descriptions of what Anthony Burgess termed ultra-violence, hyperbolically depicting massive and sanguinary battlefield slaughter and evincing a fondness for what I have argued elsewhere as a predilection for genocide. All of this is very well known and frequently commented upon. But the central narratives of both epics involve conflict between two large and

antithetical antagonists who may be closely related or utterly alien to one another. In the present paper, however, I would like to focus on a more intimate kind of mortal conflict. I am referring to a dark, consequential, and persistent theme in the Sanskrit epics that, as far as I am aware, has not been examined closely and comparatively. This theme, especially striking in a textual tradition that heavily valorizes familial harmony and strict rules of hierarchy among male family and clan members, is fratricide, particularly that which is instigated, attempted, or performed upon an older brother at the hands or at the direction of his junior in order to secure a contested throne. Starting with the well-known *rākṣasa* turncoat and great Rāmabhakta, Vibhīṣana, this paper will examine the ways in which the epic poets represent, explore and sometimes try to negotiate the recurrent struggle between brothers for power and supremacy.

SALLY GOLDMAN

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HANUMĀN'S *RĀMĀYAṆA*S

Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is entranced with its own narrative, providing at least four full retellings of the narrative within itself. Thus, the epic initially provides a "non-poetic," historical account told by the sage Nārada to Vālmīki at *sarga* 1 of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and then a terse indexlike listing of the events at *sarga* 3.[1] Unique to the *Rāmāyaṇa* are a third and fourth such retellings of the epic narrative. At *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 111 the story is narrated by Rāma who tells it to Sītā in reverse chronological order. Then, almost immediately following this at *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 114 Hanumān repeats Rāma's adventures in

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1 All references are to the Critical Edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* unless otherwise noted.

exile to Bharata. While these retellings of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s story are, for the most part, the best known and most detailed, Vālmīki's epic obsessively retells its own story, in full or part, throughout the epic from the viewpoints of numerous and varied figures.[2] In fact, such recursiveness of narrative has been argued to be central feature of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*.[3] Among the various other characters who narrate this beloved tale, Hanumān is arguably the most well-known. Philip Lutgendorf in his 2007 work *Hanuman's Tale*[4] has noted this and convincingly argued that this aspect of Hanumān is seen as central to his character and is reflected in the later tradition's ascribing the original composition of the Rāma story to him rather than the Ādika-vi Vālmīki. This paper will examine Hanumān's recursive narratives within the *Rāmāyaṇa* and one in the *Mahābhārata* in aid of under-standing the narrative structure and necessity of these retellings as well how Hanumān's role as a master storyteller can shed light on the intertextual relationship between the two epics.

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2 See, for example, 5,49.2–35; 5,55.7–17, etc.
3 Robert P. Goldman and Sally J. Sutherland Goldman The *Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki* (Princeton University Press = PR) VI: 17–19.
4 Philip Lutgendorf *Hanumān's Tale* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007: 226.

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MANTRA AND MUTTERING IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*:
RE-EVALUATING THE EVIDENCE OF THE
JĀPAKOPAKHYĀNA (MBH 12,189–193)

The by far most important term associated with mantra repetition is the noun *japa* (derived from the verb *jap*), literally "muttering" or "soft recitation." One of the most significant texts in the history of

japa is the *Jāpakopākhyāna* (MBh 12,189–193), "The Story of the Softly Reciting One (the *jāpaka*)." In his 2012 study of this text, John Brockington viewed the development of *japa* as being from "the murmuring of Vedic mantras as an accompaniment to sacrificial rituals" to "the meditative repetition of a divine name in bhakti traditions," speculating that *japa* in this text might belong to a "transition phase consisting of a pre-bhakti-type worship of Brahmā." In my presentation, I challenge the assumptions underlying this interpretation. I argue that the practice of the *jāpaka* requires more nuanced analysis, and that only individual elements of this practice have antecedents in Vedic ritual. Furthermore, I show that the emergence of repetitive mantra recitation has nothing to do with bhakti. Rather, it is part of a complex process in which elements of the Vedic ritual tradition were simplified and compressed in order to make this tradition more accessible to religious practitioners with comparatively little knowledge of the Vedic corpus.

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VEDIC RITUAL TERMINOLOGY IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

The relationship between the *Mahābhārata* (MBh) and the Vedic literature is a much discussed topic in Indological research. While it is, for instance, generally acknowledged that the MBh draws from the reservoir of Vedic mythology (see e.g. Feller 2004) and that the macro-structure of the MBh follows Vedic patterns (Minkowski 1989), Vedic influence on individual passages is deemed to be largely confined to the didactic portions of the epic; see Hopkins (1901: 368–369) or Brockington (1998: 4ff.). This presentation takes a lexico-statistic approach to re-assess the influence that Vedic texts exerted on the MBh. Using the list of ritual terms compiled by Renou (1953), the presentation studies which books of the

MBh contain conspicuously high rates of the terminology of the Vedic ritual, and to which Vedic sources the use of these terms can possibly be attributed. The data set comprises more than 10,000 lexical occurrences in the MBh and more than 100,000 possible Vedic source passages; manually evaluating this amount of data is obviously infeasible. The presentation therefore introduces a probabilistic Bayesian model in which the occurrence of ritualistic terms is conditioned on the topic of the containing passages as well as on genre, school affiliation and (estimated) dates of Vedic sources. It discusses what the quantitative results reveal about the history and structure of the MBh, and which implications emerge for the connection between the (late) Vedic and the epic world.

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THE THREE STEPS OF VIṢṆU

Viṣṇu has many attributes, many forms and a number of ʿdescentsʾ or ʿincarnationsʾ in Sanskrit epic and Purāṇic literature. However, as Gaya Charan Tripathi in his fundamental work *Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Vāmana-Legende in der indischen Literatur* (1968) says, ʿUnter diesen zehn Hauptinkarnationen darf die Zwerginkarnation (Vāmana-avatāra) Viṣṇus ein besonders Interesse beanspruchen, und zwar deswegen, weil die mit ihr verknüpfte Legende die einzige ist, deren Anfänge bis in die vedische Zeit zurückreichenʾ. The common motif in the *Ṛksaṃhitā* and the epic and Purāṇic story of the dwarf incarnation is Viṣṇu's striding (*vikramaṇa*) and the three steps (*trīṇi vikramaṇāni/padāni*) by which he measures the spaces. That is why this story may offer us a good example of how Vedic formulations concerning the celestials, used metaphorically or enigmatically in *Ṛgvedic* texts, can be transformed into epic and Purāṇic stories and given new forms and functions in the hands of epic and Purāṇic singers and composers. The paper will start from the interpretation of the three steps in my paper *Puruṣanārāyaṇa and Uttaranārāyaṇa. Their impact on the development of Viṣṇuism and Hinduism* (2016) and try to trace the transformations and changes of meaning of this motif in the subsequent literary tradition. That tradition was carefully surveyed by Tripathi and some other authors. while in this paper only some representative examples can be taken into consideration.

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THE LEGACY OF *RĀMĀYAṆA* IN MODERN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is one of the most revered and ancient texts in Indian literature. It has always captivated the minds of readers. It continues to be a source of inspiration even in modern times for numerous poets and writers in Sanskrit language. There are at least over a dozen Sanskrit texts written in contemporary times which have either simply tried to retell the Tale of Lord Rāma or reinterpret a few controversial topics. There are a few texts which have been composed with a sense of adequate sympathy for seemingly neglected characters of *Rāmāyaṇa* like Urmilā. Several works have kept Sītā's plight in their focus. Some texts have even added or dropped some events to suit the needs of their interpretation. There is one Mahākāvya which is based on the Thai version of the Tale of Lord Rāma. It incorporates many Thai cultural elements into the story. Each of these retellings reflects the values and beliefs of the society and time in which it is told and offers a unique perspective on the enduring power of this ancient epic. In my paper, I shall try to deal with the treatment of the Tale of Lord Rāma in modern Sanskrit texts.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE *BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA*

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* occupies an important place in the ancient Indian literature of the Epics and Purāṇas. For the centuries together, it has been recited in all the parts of India and represents a living

tradition. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is acclaimed not only for its strong cultural content but also for its very scholarly language. The language exhibits some verbal and nominal forms which mark similarities with the archaic language of the Vedas. At the same time, long compounding of the words, employment of various metres, etc. stand for the high poetic composition of the classical period. Some word forms occur as sole representations of the concerned grammatical feature. The study of these grammatical and stylistic features of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* deserves a separate treatment. The present paper is an attempt to bring forth the linguistic peculiarities of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. It is hoped that the study would be helpful to ascertain the place of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the general course of the language history of Sanskrit.

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GANDHARVAS IN THE EPICS AND IN THE VEDA: COGNATES AND RELATIVES IN SANSKRIT AND BEYOND

Gandharva is one of the enigmatic creatures in the Ancient Indian mythological pantheon. There is a considerable difference between the Vedic Gandharva(s) and post-Vedic Gandharvas. In the earliest Vedic period, particularly in the *Ṛgveda*, this is still one single (demi-) god, with some intricate connections with the asuras, but occupying his/their own special position within the pantheon. In late Vedic and, especially, post-Vedic tradition we observe some drastic developments in this character. Altogether, Gandharvas as depicted in the Epics and Purāṇas may appear much less harmful and dangerous creatures as compared to their Vedic pendants. Yet, even in spite of several crucial changes, there are several archaic features of the post-Vedic (epic) Gandharvas, that may even be archaic relics

of the common Indo-Iranian mythology. In particular, according to post-Vedic (epic) texts, there are at least two main subclasses of Gandharvas, Naras and Kinnaras (Kimpuruṣas). On the one hand, this fact may betray a particular genetic relationship between Gandharvas and naras (humans), thus suggesting the origin of humankind from this class of demi-gods. On the other hand, this may point to a peculiar position of the naras within the Ancient Indian mythological pantheon, pointing to their semi-divine original status. This, eventually, provides valuable evidence for reconstruction of Indo-Iranian ideas about anthropogenesis. Furthermore, the androgynous character of a particular variety of Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, may be a trace of a very archaic feature of the common ancestor of the humankind, presumably going back to the Proto-Indo-European myths about the origin of the world (cf. the Norse myth about the origin of the world from the primeval hermaphroditic being Ymir). The present paper focuses on gleaning such scattered features from the Epics and Purāṇas, paying special attention to the characteristics of Gandharvas (usually considered as lacking Indo-European etymology, yet, perhaps secondarily connected with the Greek κένταυρος, as going back to the same non-Indo-European Wanderwort) and their possible origins from non-Indo-European sources.

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HOW CAN SLEEP BE MORE AWAKE THAN THE ONE SLEEPING: READING POSSIBLE ECHOES OF AN ARCHAIC MAGICAL PAST IN THE *MĀRKAṆḌEYAPURĀṆA* (81,34–77)

In the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (ca. 6th–9th century CE), we find a description of the famous episode where Viṣṇu is sleeping the *yoganidrā*, all the while Brahmā resides in the lotus sprouting from his navel.

Suddenly, two asuras emerge from Viṣṇu's earwax and aim to murder Brahmā. To prevent that, he makes an appeal for help. But that appeal is not to the sleeping deity, but to his sleep personified – the goddess Yoganidrā herself. At first glance, the famous episode of Viṣṇu's sleep is quite common and thus likely to be overlooked as unremarkable. However, such elements as the goddess dwelling in his eyes, her omniscience and power to even grant liberation included in this particular telling within the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* possibly betray something of an echo (here in a mythological narrative solution) of something far more archaic and possibly of non-Brahmanical origin. In this paper, I present textual and narrative evidence in favour of reading such archaic imprints in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 81,34–77 and discuss their significance for the study of Indian ritual and meditation traditions more broadly.

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SUNDARAKĀṆḌA OF VĀLMĪKI *RĀMĀYAṆA*

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, each of its seven chapters has a specific name that defines the part of the story. However, *Sundarakāṇḍa* stands out as the only chapter where Hanumān is the central character and is perhaps the most widely acclaimed section. In my presentation, special focus will be given to this *Sundarakāṇḍa* and its name as well. While doing so, I will also discuss the similarities between the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and how the combination of two different Yugas (eras) makes a lot of sense for humanity. The literary development of *Sundarakāṇḍa* will also be discussed.

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DOES *UTTARAKĀṆḌA* MATTER?

The last book of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is generally accepted as an addition to the great epic, and not as a part of its original form. Therefore its content is sometimes even excluded from the editions or from the translation of the text. Nevertheless, the content of this *kāṇḍa* throws the additional light on the epic, its characters and events. The paper will try to examine to what extent is *Uttarakāṇḍa* necessary part of the epic, i.e. for which portions of the epic it gives us additional explanations and makes the whole story more consistent. The history of some of the heroes or anti-heroes of the story, for example Hanumān and Rāvaṇa, can definitely provide us with broader understanding of *Rāmāyaṇa* story. To what extent, if at all, such episodes are crucial for the epic or could they be simply disregarded without any special harm to its content, meaningfulness and literary value in general? These are the questions the paper will aim to clarify.

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EDITING AND NOT EDITING THE *ŚIBER UPĀKHYĀNA* FROM THE *VAHNIPURĀṆA*

Epic and purāṇic texts present enormous difficulties to critical editors, who have theorized and put into practice many different strategies for dealing with the incredible textual fluidity of the material. On the one hand, producing a single, critical text seems impossibly reductive; on the other, to present a text in its many recensions and

all its variations seems practically unfeasible. In this paper I will present yet another strategy, that has been employed in the critical edition of the story of King Śibi in the *Vahnipurāṇa*, a richly intertextual work that counts, among its many sources, quotations from Matṛceṭa's *Śatapañcāśatka*, a collection of Buddhist hymns that were translated into Tibetan and Chinese. The edition takes as its starting point the diplomatic transcription of all its sources, which were then collated and analyzed using computer software. By encoding our critical principles as algorithms, we can make our editions more rigorous and reproducible, as well as allow for deeper critiques of our methodology and editorial choices.

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LĪLĀ AND *KRĪḌĀ*: HOW THE UNIVERSE BECAME A PLAY

The paper focuses on the analysis of two Sanskrit terms *līlā* and *krīḍā* used for the definition of game. These two terms are often considered as synonyms and seen as interchangeable, in other words, identical in their meaning and equally applicable in a lay and religious-philosophical discussion. At the same time, it must be stressed that the noun *līlā* is rather late and does not occur in any Vedic text, while *krīḍā* already features in the Ṛgveda and later becomes quite common in the Vedic literary tradition. In this paper, I will try to argue that each of these terms had its own history of development and performed distinct role in the process of conceptualization of the 'divine game'. Studying these aspects would help to demonstrate the existence of a more complex and nuanced understanding of the playful universe than it is generally assumed based on the scattered evidence at our disposal.

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FLEXIBLE USAGE OF PURĀṆIC MATERIAL – THE
ADAPTATION AND INCORPORATION OF *MATSYAPURĀṆA*
PASSAGES IN THE *VĀRĀṆASĪMĀHĀTMYASAṂGRAHA*
AND THREE DHARMANIBANDHAS

Purāṇas constitute a canonical tradition and are often treated as a fixed set of texts, such as in the lists of 18 Mahāpurāṇas and 18 Upapurāṇas. However, it is an established fact that Purāṇas have changed over time. Their mythical discourse has circulated in many forms from the first millennium of the common era until the present day. In the Purāṇic tradition, material has often been reused and adapted, leading to many instances of intertextuality. Māhātmyas, which praise the greatness of specific topics including pilgrimage sites, constitute a major part of the Purāṇic discourse. Location-focused Māhātmyas are a good starting point for looking into Purāṇas as a living tradition, because such Māhātmyas have been adapted over time according to changes in the physical environments they describe. The purpose of this research is to use Māhātmya passages to show how Purāṇic material has been adapted and incorporated to make it fit multiple different contexts.

The results discussed in this paper stem from a philological, text-critical investigation, involving editing, translation, comparison, and analysis. The research starts from a selection of passages in the *Matsyapurāṇa*. The material concerns the famous religious destination Vārāṇasī in North India. After the *Matsyapurāṇa*, the passages appear in a manuscript transmitting a compendium of Māhātmyas about Vārāṇasī (a *Vārāṇasīmāhātmyasaṃgraha*), although here the chapters containing the passages are not attributed to the *Matsyapurāṇa*. In this compendium, some Purāṇic passages have been combined or

deliberately altered to make the texts more suitable for new contexts. Finally, some of the *Matsyapurāṇa* material on Vārāṇasī is also quoted in three Dharmanibandhas ("digests" of Dharmic lore). Here the compilers incorporate what they considered to be the most quintessential ideas about Vārāṇasī as a religious destination.

By investigating how the *Matsyapurāṇa* passages are used for different purposes, we can see how Purāṇic material is far from static. It can be adapted and incorporated into new contexts, showing us how the Purāṇas truly are "living texts" within a living tradition.

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DID BUDDHIST MASTER PARAMĀRTHA ACCESS A SPECIAL VERSION OF THE *VIṢṆUPURĀṆA* IN THE 6TH CENTURY? – A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DEVĀSURASAMGRĀMA MYTH IN THE BIOGRAPHY OF DHARMA MASTER VASUBANDHU AND THE PURĀṆAPAÑCALAKṢAṆA

The myth of the Deva-Asura war for supremacy is a popular topos in Indian art and literature, in which ancient Indian Buddhists were also sufficiently learned. In Buddhist cosmological texts, the Deva-Asura war theme is used in order to legitimate the Buddhist view of the cosmic hierarchy, and thereby to make space for the Buddhist soteriology. Apart from this mainstream Buddhist appropriation of the Deva-Asura war myth, another unique version of the myth can be found in *The Biography of the Indian Buddhist Master Vasubandhu* 婆藪槃豆法師傳 (T 2049) composed by the Buddhist master Paramārtha 真諦 (499–569) and/or his disciples in the 6th century. Being a detailed biography of the all-important Vasubandhu, this text has been studied extensively by scholars ever since the early 20th century. Nevertheless, little at-

tention has been paid to the Deva-Asura war story located right at the beginning where the text itself reveals the source: 毘搜紐天王世傳 (*Viṣṇupurāṇa). However, the myth as transmitted in Vasubandhu's biography has no parallels with *Viṣṇupurāṇa* as we have today, nor likely with other epic and purāṇic texts. Funuyama (2021) has partly solved the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*-puzzle by providing a different interpretation of 世傳 as an adverbial phrase instead of a proper noun, thus cancelling the clear citation in the text itself of a source which was titled as a kind of *Purāṇa*. Accepting his argument, this paper tries to go further and to trace the textual sources that Paramārtha probably appropriated and adapted. Comparing Paramārtha's text with related epic and purāṇic texts such as *vaṃśānucarita* 5B in the *Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa*, the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Mahābhārata*, this paper argues that the Deva-Asura war myth compiled by Paramārtha was a mixed version, of which the individual details can be found/implied in various sources relating Viṣṇu's manifestation (*avatāra*) myths. In order to show this, I will focus on four details: 1) the use of a female agent as war strategy; 2) competing over masculinity; 3) the granting/withdrawing of the immortal/resuscitation boon from a *Ṛṣi;* 4) the killing of an Asura by slicing him in middle. With this analysis, I will address the heterogeneity of the Hindu sources that Paramārtha collected, reshaped and innovated in this unusual version of the Deva-Asura war myth preserved in Chinese today.

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FROM KINGS TO KṚṢṆA, FROM SŪTA TO SAGES: THE MANY FRAME STORIES OF THE *BHAVIṢYAPURĀṆA*

One of the key features of Purāṇas is their organizational structure along dialogical and narrative frames. The interlocutors, time, place

and setting of the narration may be shared and often go back to the *Mahābhārata* as their source. A clear and recognizable dialogical and narrative frame not only gives a Purāṇa structure, but it also gives opportunities to claims of authority and canonicity. The *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* is a special case in terms of its dialogical and narrative frame. The Purāṇa, as it has been published by the Veṅkateśvara press, consists of four *parvans* ('books'), and each has a different dialogical frame and narrative framework, if any. The *Brāhmaparvan*, the first book, starts with an introduction to its main interlocutors, namely king Śatānīka and the sage Sumantu. The introduction sets the narrative in a royal environment. Many manuscripts, however, skip this introduction and give an abridged prologue, adding a reference to Śaunaka's *sattra* sacrifice, known from many other sources. The *Madhyamaparvan*, the second book, does not have a dialogical, nor a narrative frame. The *sūta* immediately starts the narration and remains the only speaker throughout. The main dialogical frame of the *Pratisargaparvan*, the third book, is between Śaunaka, posing questions, and the *sūta*, Romaharṣaṇa, answering them. The *Uttaraparvan*, the last book, starts with a royal narrative frame, like the *Brāhmaparvan*, and leads to a dialogue between Yudhiṣṭhira, asking questions, and Kṛṣṇa, answering them. In this paper, I will examine these dialogical and narrative frames of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*. First, I will compare them with dialogical and narrative frames in other sources, primarily the *Mahābhārata* and other Purāṇas. Which sources share the frames of the individual *parvans*, how has this narrative element been reused in its new contexts of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, and what is the function of this reuse? Second, I will study the different dialogical and narrative frames in the four *parvans* of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* in relationship to each other. Why do we encounter different dialogical and narrative frames, and is there, at the same time, a common theme or are there other similarities in the structure of the *parvans*? I will conclude this paper by addressing questions related to the transmission of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*: based on the present dialogical and narrative frames, to what extent does the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* published by the Veṅkateśvara press represent one uniform Purāṇa?

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THE IMAGES OF FORESTS IN THE *VĀNAPARVAN*
OF THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

The paper concerns the images of different kinds of forests as described in the third book of the *Mahābhārata*. It deals with the problems of defining what areas are meant in Sanskrit for what is called "forest" in English. It also contains the discussion concerning difficulties connected with the translation of Indian names of plants found in the descriptions of epic forests. It raises the question what is the European recipience of the images of epic forests, the recipience which is built on the usage of mixture of terms known and unknown to the European public.

Some of the questions are formulated as far as the following problems are concerned:

1. how to define the piece of land translated to English as "forest" ?
2. is the word "forest" the equivalent for the variety of Sanskrit terms used to describe these areas ?
3. what is the most typical description of the epic forest ?
4. what are the features of some particular types of epic forests and is the meaningful name of some of them given on purpose ?
5. is there a chance of adequate recipience of the images of epic forests by the European public?

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ASCETIC LITERATURE IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

In his Ascetic Literature in Ancient India Moriz Winternitz argues that the *Mahābhārata*, and especially its *Mokṣadharma* section, contains many specimens of what could be termed 'Parivrājaka or Śramaṇa or ascetic literature' (1923:1). This paper will build upon Winternitz's work and argue that many of the *Mahābhārata*'s "ancient legends" (*itihāsa purātana*) and songs attributed to legendary kings or sages are indeed likely to have been ancient legends by the time they were included in the Mahābhārata, presumably after the reign of Aśoka. This paper will provide a new introduction to ascetic literature in the *Mahābhārata* and note that many of the *Mahābhārata*'s ascetic passages participate in a network of ascetic teachings since they share certain verses with one another as well as with early Buddhist and Jaina literatures. The paper will also discuss hermeneutical and methodological issues pertaining to the study of such ascetic passages. It will argue that they should not be studied as individual texts that were composed by a single author but rather as thematic collections of ascetic verses that can profitably be studied in conjunction with similar materials within the *Mahābhārata* itself as well as in early Buddhist and Jaina literatures. Finally, some examples of possible Middle-Indic influence on ascetic verses from the *Mahābhārata* will be discussed.

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ARE THE *AGNIHOTRAṂ SVAŚARĪRASAṂSTHAṂ* OF MBʜ
12,185.5 AND THE ASCETIC ŚARABHAṄGA'S ENTERING
THE FIRE IN Rᴀᴍ 3,4.32 TO BE TRACED BACK TO THE
SELF-IMMOLATION OF THE VEDIC SATTRINS?

Over the last century several scholars studied the topic of the self-im-
molation: in particular Filliozat (1963: 31; 1967: 67), Olivelle (1978:
19–20) and Halkias (2015: 178) proposed a clear distinction be-
tween ordinary disapproved suicide and voluntary death of the *yo-
gin*s who are able to perceive life as impermanent (*adhruva ~ anitya*).
The latter option has been compared with Yudhiṣṭhira's choice in
the *Mahāprasthānikaparvan* (MBh 17) and with the possibility of the
twice-born who has completed the study of the Vedas to leave his body
through fasting, in order to reach the Brahmaloka (MBh 13,26.58–59).
However, the epic descriptions of renouncers who enter fire to reach
the Brahmaloka are even more intriguing. In particular, the limbs of
the hermit Śarabhaṅga, invited by Indra to enter the fire (RĀM 3,4.32–
35), are consumed according to a sequence very similar to that of the
ātmadakṣiṇa- sattra- in TS 7,4.9. In MBh 12,185.4–6 the final aim
of the *parivrājaka* who performs the *agnihotraṃ svaśarīrasaṃsthaṃ*
is once again the attainment of the Brahmaloka, where he will be
"like a tranquil ray of light not fed by any burning fuel" (*anindhanaṃ
jyotir iva praśāntaṃ*). The most famous Vedic passage that mentions
the self-incineration leading to the Brahmaloka is probably VDhS
29,4 (*agnipraveśād brahmalokaḥ*), which has been used to prove that
Calanus' voluntary death in Book 15 of Strabo's *Geographia* might be
traced back to a Brahmanical tradition (see e.g. Hillebrandt 1917: 5;
Karttunen 1997: 65). Several other comparable Vedic passages (de-
voted to the Sarvasvāra Agniṣṭoma, also known as *Śunaṣkarṇastoma),
collected by* Bronkhorst (2016: 34–42; 417–422 = Appendix II), are

worth being reconsidered according to their plausible chronological order and compared with the aforementioned epic cases of self-incineration. The final purpose of the present research is to understand whether this practice is a pre-Brahmanical Sattric legacy and, above all, what role epic documentation played in this tradition.

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DVAYAMANTRA, TAKING REFUGE, BRANDING,
ŪRDHVAPUṆḌRAS. ON A "ŚRĪVAIṢṆAVA" SECTION
IN THE *PADMAPURĀṆA UTTARAKHAṆḌA*

The *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāna* is a conglomeration of highly diverse texts, of which some have also been transmitted as independent works. Compared to other Purāṇas, these texts were composed rather late, many probably in the first half of the second millennium CE. This may be one reason why the *Padmapurāna Uttarakhaṇḍa* has not attracted wide interest from modern scholars of Purāṇas. Another reason was probably due to its having been deemed to contain nothing "of historical interest" and to be "a dull reading", to use the words of Asoke Chatterjee (*Padma-Purāṇa – A Study*, 1967, p. 81). This view is in sharp contrast to the high esteem that the *Padmapurāṇa* was held in Vaiṣṇava traditions of the second millennium. Authors of the Bengali Gauḍīyas, the Mādhva tradition, and the Rāmānuja school frequently quote the *Padmapurāṇa*, including its *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, as an authority. This shows that the work indeed has a religious-historical significance. A figure of particular importance in this context is Vātsya Varadaguru, a theologian of the Rāmānuja school. In his *Prapannaparijāta*, he refers explicitly to particular passages of the *Padmapurāṇa Uttarakhaṇḍa* as found in chapters 251–252 of the work's edition in the *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*. He presents the various concepts and practices discussed in these chapters, such as "taking refuge", the *dvayamantra*, branding (*tāpa*), and the application of the so-called ūrdhvapuṇḍra marks, concepts and practices that were later considered characteristic of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. Since Vātsya Varadaguru is traditionally dated 1165–1275, this implies that these chapters of the *Padmapurāṇa Uttarakhaṇḍa* were composed prior to the 13th century. They thus might be important especially for the history

of the Śrīvaiṣṇava religious practice of branding Viṣṇu's insignia, usually a discus and a conch, on the upper arms. In fact, they might be among the earliest extant Sanskrit texts dealing with this topic. The paper gives an overview of the contents of the "Śrīvaiṣṇava" chapters 251–282 of the *Padmapurāṇa Uttarakhaṇḍa*, focusing on the religious practices described therein. Also this section of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* is quite heterogeneous, containing passages with divergent positions on the teachings described, and thus it provides us with a multifaceted picture of the development of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. In addition, the paper explores the significance of these religious practices being disseminated and transmitted in a Purāṇa, rather than in a work of a particular Vaiṣṇava community.

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NṚTYANN IVA 'AS IF HE IS DANCING': WARRIOR DANCE AND ARJUNA'S WARRIOR INITIATIONS

This paper aims to explore the figure of Arjuna as dancer in light of the more recent studies about the *vrātya* culture. In actual fact, Witzel himself (2005: 21) has defined the Pāṇḍavas "virtual Vrātyas", especially in relation to the famous episode of their disguise, in hiding, during the final year of exile, spent at the court of Matsya King Virāṭa, as narrated in the fourth book of the *Mahābhārata*. During that period Arjuna takes on the role of master of music and dance, appearing as "*bṛhatpumān* wearing women's ornaments (MBh 4,10.1/4,11.1), endowed with "something of a man and something of a woman"(4,36.30), significantly named Bṛhannalā / Bṛhannaḍā, traditionally interpreted as 'she who is Great Nara" (Biardeau 1978: 173; Hiltebeitel 1980: 157) or more ambiguously "she who is great man" (Pelissero 2002: 135). As is well known, the interpretation of

this episode, in particular of the figure of Arjuna, musician, dancer and eunuch, has been largely debated by the scholars: van Buitenen (1978) hypotheses a carnivalesque role reversal, on the occasion the yearly Holi festival; similarly, Shulman (2014: 257ff.) focuses on this interpretation, highlighting its connection with the royal function. In this sense Biardeau's work (1978) is still fundamental: as embodiment of the perfect dharmic kingship, Arjuna must undertake an initiatic path symbolized by such a peculiar condition: the status of *brahmacarya* or chastity is the main component of initiation practices. Hilteibeitel (1980) emphasises the close relationship between Arjuna and Śiva: they both share a double nature like androgyny, a *raudra* character, and *bṛhannaḍa* is the "large reed" – also sexually connoted – by means of which they both exercise their powers, the destructive and regenerative ones. And dancing is one of the most relevant expressions of these characteristics. Androgyny and transsexuality, *bhakti*, eroticism and asceticism are the topics in relation to which this figure of Arjuna has been dealt with (Doniger O'Flaherty 1980, 298; Goldman 1993; Pelissero 2002; Custodi 2007). Also the perspective of the Indo-European studies has been frequently considered, almost exclusively with regards to the Dumézilian functions (Allen 1999). However, from a textual survey it is evident that the relationship between dancing and war is not only correlated to the figure of Arjuna, but it is repeatedly highlighted by means of simple comparative expressions such as *nṛtyann iva* (e.g. MBh 6,69.24; 6,75.27; 6,96.28; 8,21.15; etc.), or even more complex comparison. Moreover, in MBh 8,17.7 the compound *vīranṛtya* 'dance of heroes' is referred, and a few passages (e.g. MBh 8,36.34; 9,58.7) a sort of warrior dance is pictured. Therefore, it is assumable that dancing is a warrior practice: also the Rigvedic Indra 'dances', together with his comrades, the Maruts (e.g. ṚV 5,33.6; 10,94.4). Furthermore, the comparison with other Indo-European cultures may suggest that warrior dances were included in initiation practices aiming at training young male members of the community to war, such as the cases of the Greek Kouretes and Roman Salii (Kershaw 1997: 169): this is

the context of the so-called brotherhood / *Männerbund*, of which also the *vrātya* culture is an expression. Rudra, the *vrātya* preceptor of the warrior-novices, is designated as *gāthápati* 'lord of songs' (ṚV 1,43.4), and in ṚV 1,114.4b he is evoked as *vaṅkú kaví* 'twisting poet', deceptive and seductive, equivalent to the Greek λοξίας. In actual fact, taking into account the initiatic character of the epic episode concerning Arjuna, it is reasonable that the figure of this hero may represent a token of ancient *vrātya* institutions.

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VEDIC "EQUATIONS" AND THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA* MINDMAP

The relation of the *Mahābhārata* to Vedic literature has been investigated in numerous ways, for instance by looking for direct quotations, for stories and myths adapted from the Vedas, or for the presence of Vedic ritual structures in the plot of the epic. In this paper, I propose a new approach, which has become possible only recently, due to the development of new, digital philological tools. Partly using the Vedic Treebank (VTB, see Hellwig & Sellmer 2021) and a syntactic parser developed by Oliver Hellwig, Sebastian Nehrdich, and myself (see Hellwig & al. 2023), partly relying on manual analysis, I have built a database of more than 4000 so-called "equations" or "identifications" occurring in the Vedic literature. These "equations" mainly consist of short nominal sentences of the type *yajño vai viṣṇuḥ*, and are especially characteristic for the Brāhmaṇas. Indeed, it is well-known that they constitute a major feature of Middle Vedic prose (and have accordingly received some scholarly attention). One can treat them, therefore, as a glimpse into the conceptual framework of the Vedic brahmins. While the *form* of these "equations" is all but absent in the *Mahābhārata*, it can be shown that some of the *conceptual links* behind them do occur also in the epic. It is the aim of this paper to trace these conceptual continuities and to discuss what they are able to teach us about the "mindmap" underlying the *Mahābhārata*.

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SĪTĀ AND SUICIDE

Threatening with suicide is not an uncommon means used in ancient India to get one's will done. Behind it is the idea that the person who refuses to do what is desired is responsible for the death which would be the consequence. Normally the threat is made by a character who does not feel strong enough to convince the other to fulfil the demand, either by force or by arguments. This device is used in both of the Indian epics, but remarkably often in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In my paper all the instances where a suicide threat is used are presented in their context (twice in the MBh plus *Nalopākhyāna*, about eight times in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, most often by Sītā) and are followed by a discussion of Sītā's attempts actually to commit suicide in later stages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition.

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RENDERINGS OF THE *BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA* IN
EARLY MODERN INDIA AND EUROPE

As Peter Bisschop has recently argued, despite frequent references
to the Vedas, the most significant sources for early modern European
representations of Hinduism are in fact the Purāṇas. It is
often said that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*—by many accounts the most
significant of the Purāṇas—first appeared in a European language
only in 1840, in the form of Eugène Burnouf's *Le Bhâgavata Purâṇa,
ou Histoire poétique de Krĭchna*. However, there are in fact at least six
earlier renderings—all partial but some substantial—of the *Bhāga-
vata Purāṇa* into European languages (Portuguese, French, English
and German). Three of these were produced by Indian intellectu-
als—two entirely. Three involved prior translation from Sanskrit
into Indian vernaculars (Konkani or Marathi, Tamil, and Bengali
or Hindi). Most had an impact in Europe, some through publica-
tion or further translation into another European language, others
through manuscript circulation among leading intellectual figures
including John Locke and Henry More. This paper will survey these
translations, the circumstances of their production, their impact
on the European understanding of Hinduism prior to 1830, and the
reasons for their neglect.

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THE FUNCTION OF WEAPONS IN THE KṚṢṆA-CYCLE

When Robert P. Goldman argued that the legendary Kṛṣṇa may have been rooted in two major and unrelated figures, he directed attention to an often-overlooked point of difference between Kṛṣṇa's work as a cowherd of Mathurā and as a prince of Dvārakā.[1] According to it, the Kṛṣṇa of Mathurā was involved in fighting with bare hands (*niyuddha*) on contrary to the Kṛṣṇa of Dvārakā, who was celebrated as a discus wielding warrior. In this paper, instead of challenging or elaborating further Goldman's and others' hypotheses about the two supposed archetypes of the Kṛṣṇa-figure, I am keen on investigating how the available sources interpreted Kṛṣṇa's engagement in these two types of combats. When the *Bhagavadgītā* (2,31–32) introduces the war as the most convenient way for the warriors to attain heaven, it at once attributes somewhat divine power to the weapons as the physical vehicles transferring the fallen heroes to the celestial world. In connection with the unarmed combats, on the other hand, the *Harivaṃśa* (76,40) affirms that the lack of the weapons in a combat causes unfruitful death and leads the fallen one to hell. These approaches unfold two opposing roles of Kṛṣṇa's earthly career, which are punishing and saving. In this way, my aim is to exhibit how the occurrence of the weapons transforms the divine hero from punisher into saviour in the various sources (*Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Brahma-*, *Viṣṇu-* and *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*).

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A FEW REMARKS ON TEXTUAL LAYERS IN THE *STRĪPARVAN* (MBH 11)

This paper is a further attempt (among the author's DICSEP papers) to address the issue of text stratification in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh) with reference to the philological method of text analysis developed by Mislav Ježić in his research on the *Bhagavadgītā* (Ježić 1979; 1986; 2009). Ježić's method, based on noticing and classifying repetitions (of both thoughts/meaning and words/phrases) in the text, allowed him to precisely define the textual layers that make up the famous poem, thus answering the question of how the *Bhagavadgītā* was created. Much seems to indicate that this method can also be applied while examining various other parts of the multi-layered composition which is the *Mahābhārata*. This paper focuses on the *Strīparvan*, and particularly on Gandharī's description of the Kurukṣetra after the great battle and her cataogue of the fallen heroes (MBh 11,16–25). Even though this part of the text is so closely related to the main epic thread, in fact constituting the epic narration sensu stricto (when looking from the perspective of a diachronic approach), one can notice parts that may indicate a different origin than the surrounding text. Those parts of presumably later origin in MBh 11 seem to belong to textual layers – also of relatively later origin – that may be found in earlier books of the epic, and function as their continuation or conclusion. The attempt to identify textual layers and interpolations within the text under examination is in no way related to a postulate of removing any part from the text established in the MBh Critical Edition. It aims, however, to draw attention – once more in the research into MBh – to some details indicating the complex character of the great epic as far as its composition is concerned, i.e. to its multi-layered compositional process.

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WHO IS KARṆA'S FATHER?: THE DHARMIC DIALOGUE
(*MAHĀBHĀRATA* 5,138–139) AND *DHARMAŚĀSTRIC* DISCUSSIONS

Kuntī gave birth to Karṇa, a hero in the *Mahābhārata*, when she was unmarried. So the latter is said to be a half-brother to the three of five Pāṇḍavas: Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, and Arjuna. Then, who is Karṇa's Father? For whom shall Karṇa perform ancestral rites? Whose property is to be inherited by him? This presentation will focus on the sonship of Karṇa. In *Mahābhārata* 5,138–139 (critical edition), Kṛṣṇa tries to discourage Karṇa from participating in the Great War. The former asserts the following two points:

- Karṇa is the legal son of the late king Pāṇḍu, called *kānīna* (or *sahoḍha*).
- He has the right of succession over the Pāṇḍava brothers because he was born first among all the half-brothers. Karṇa, in turn, approves this Kṛṣṇa's view though he never gives up the will to the war. Previous studies have accepted this view that Karṇa is a *kānīna* son of Pāṇḍu without much criticism. However, the *Dharmic* opinion on which both Kṛṣṇa and Karṇa agree here is incompatible with *Dharmaśāstric* views. For example, in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, an abandoned child is termed an *apaviddhaka*. And an *apaviddhaka* son becomes one of the heirs of the foster father. Therefore, Karṇa is likely to be the legal son of Adhiratha, called *apaviddhaka*, and to have no right to the late Pāṇḍu. As is well known, Karṇa was abandoned by the young Kuntī and then fostered by Adhiratha and his wife, Rādhā. There is another puzzling problem. Even if Karṇa were a *kānīna* son of Pāṇḍu, it is doubtful that he would be superior to the Pāṇḍava brothers as heir. This problem has a bearing on the traditional discussions

on *dvādaśaputra* "twelve types of sons." This presentation will address these two points. First, I will present the *Dharmic* opinion in the dialogue. Second, this opinion will be compared with some *Dharmaśāstric* debates, and the contrast between the two will then be discussed. The presentation will then touch on what implications can be drawn from the discrepancy here.

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DIVINE DESCENT IN OTHER WORDS: AVATĀRAS,
AEONS AND AGES IN THE *VIṢṆU PURĀṆA*

In his recent book, *Divine Descent and the Four World-ages in the Mahābhārata* (Cardiff University: 2022), Simon Brodbeck asks why the Kṛṣṇa avatāra inaugurates the worst cosmic epoch, the Kaliyuga. The deity manifests in the world, on the one hand, to establish dharma (*dharma-saṃsthāpanārthāya*), but on the other hand, his appearance heralds the Kaliyuga when dharma is at its lowest ebb. Brodbeck critiques earlier approaches to the problem and presents six 'partial answers or aspects of the answer' of his own (Brodbeck, 2022, pp. 173–175). What happens if we ask this same question in the context of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa? How does it handle the apparent contradiction between the manifestation of Kṛṣṇa, the *puruṣottama* or 'perfect being', and the onset of the age of Kali? What is the relationship between avatāras, and the transition between one time period and the next. To use Brodbeck's term, what is the Viṣṇu Purāṇa's 'theology of time'? I begin by outlining the problem, and describing the two main units of cosmic time measurement, the *kalpa* 'aeon', and the *yuga* 'age'. I then describe the role of Varāha, the Boar avatāra in raising the earth at the start of the aeon. This is followed by an overview of the other avatāras in the VP, with particular focus

on the role of Kṛṣṇa at the end of the Dvāpara age and Viṣṇu's tenth avatāra, Kalki, at the end of the Kaliyuga. The Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa differ in their fundamental mission: the first exists to spread dharma, the second to propagate devotion. This fact, coupled with a close reading of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, cast a surprising light on the opening question.

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PEOPLE AND THINGS SURROUNDING THE RITUAL SITE OF THE AŚVAMEDHA DESCRIBED IN THE EPIC LITERATURE

The Aśvamedha, the vedic horse sacrifice, is well known as one of the most magnificent kingship rituals, which greatly rises the reputation of the sacrificer king. The Vedic texts (Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras) prescribe all ceremonies which basically progress inside a determinate ritual site 'devayajana', but they hardly mention of what happens "outside" the ritual site. Exceptionally some texts allude that the area surrounding the devayajana was not a vacant, but many people gathered there: *Vādhūla-Śrauta-Sūtra* 1,1.1.20 (Teshima 2008:103) states that, before the commencement of the ritual, king's subjects move to the large area around the devayajana while measuring the distance from the devayajana as "one yojana" *(eṣā viṭ samantan devayajanaṃ paryavasyati yojanam iti ceti ca devayajanāt)*; *Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* 20,8.17–18 mentions a remarkable custom that, after the sacrificer king finished his purificatory bath, the delinquent people come into the bathing place, without doing religious acts; then they are called the Aśvamedhapūtas, ʿpurified people at the Aśvamedha' *(utkrānte yajamāne pāpakṛto 'bhyavayanty acaritvā vratāni. aśvamedhapūtākhyās te)*. From these, we may infer

that the Aśvamedha was not only a ritual for the king along with his subordinates and the priesthood, but also some special occasion for the common people who did not partake in the ritual directly. In this respect, several portions concerning the celebration of the Aśvamedha in the Epic texts are worthy of attention, because they comprise depictions of the common people and their activities "outside" the devayajana: e.g. in *Rāmāyaṇa* 1,12–13 (Daśaratha's Aśvamedha) and 7,82–83 (Rāma's Aśvamedha); *Mahābhārata* 14,85–91 (Yudhiṣṭhira's Aśvamedha). In the Epic depictions, people are staying in the dormitories built near the devayajana, watching rituals, and receiving abundant food, garments and some other gifts. Interestingly, such a generous reception of common people is seen also in the later Hindu royal ceremonies called Mahādānas, the ceremonies of 'great donation'. This resemblance seems to imply that one of the origins of the Hindu Mahādānas can go upstream to the reception of people seen on the occasion of the Aśvamedha. On the other hand, we should pay attention to the reasonable evaluation of the Epic passages regarding the Aśvamedha, as they are parts of the literary works, and the depiction of generous acts done by the heroes can be overblown to some extent. In this presentation, I will try to verify the reliability of the Epic depictions while comparing it with some descriptions of the Mahādāna-type ceremonies found in the non-literary texts, especially giving attention to the ceremony held by Harṣa (or Śīlāditya, 590–647 CE.) of the Vardhana dynasty, which is clearly reported in the travelogue of Xuanzang (玄奘, 602–664 CE.), Datang daci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan (大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳). Further I will also examine how the elements of donation in the Aśvamedha gain more importance in the post Vedic ages. Through the examinations from several points of view shown above, I will present the significance of the Epic depictions of the Aśvamedha, particularly in the research of the continuous aspects between the Vedic kingship ritual and the Hindu royal ceremonies.

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RECENT ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS ON THE *BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA*

As a brief presentation supplemental to Prof. Bahulkar's presentation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* Bibliographical Project (connected with the Bhāgavata Purāṇa Research Project of the Oxford Centre for Hindu Studies), a small selection of English language monographs and articles on the BhP published since 2000 will be discussed, and recent English language translations of the BhP will be mentioned. One interesting development in some of these works is their attention to parts and themes in the BhP as a whole, which is to say not limited to *Skandha* X, as is often done. I will touch on a few specific studies that I consider particularly noteworthy, such as Rick Jarow's literary study, Gopal Gupta's study of the term *māyā* in the Bhāgavata, and Jonathan Edelmann's exploration of Bhāgavata theology "in dialogue" with modern biology.

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THE PIERCING OF THE KRAUÑCA MOUNTAIN: BY SKANDA AND/OR PARAŚURĀMA?

This paper provides a historical study of the legendary motif of the piercing of the Krauñca mountain, which is ascribed to the god Skanda in the epics (*Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Harivaṃśa*) and in the earliest *purāṇa*s (*Vāyu-*, *Skanda-*), but in *kāvya*s and commentarial literature following Kālidāsa is attributed to the hero Paraśurāma, or to both the brahmin-warrior and the warrior-god, respectively disciple

and son of Śiva. Their rivalry became a specific motif in the plays of Bhavabhūti, Murāri and Rājaśekhara. The power of the Bhārgava for creating gaps within mountains appears nevertheless attested already in the *Mahābhārata* and in the later regional purāṇic traditions.

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CONQUERING THE 'DIRECTIONS': CONCEPTUALISING FRONTIERS IN THE *PĀṆḌAVACARITA* AND THE *BĀLABHĀRATA*

This paper seeks to explore the world conquest (*digvijaya*) of the Pāṇḍavas and other catalogues of kingdoms in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* (1213 CE) and the *Bālabhārata* (1240 CE), two *Mahābhārata* adaptations authored by Jains in 13th century Gujarāt. In his seminal work 'The Language of The Gods in the World of Men', Sheldon Pollock argues that the *Mahābhārata* produces a 'conceptual macrosphere of culture power' (2006: 224–225) again and again throughout its narrative. The depictions of the Pāṇḍavas' *digvijaya*, pilgrimages, and catalogues of kingdoms project a cultural and political map of *Bhāratavarṣa*. Later adaptations of *Mahābhārata*, which are inextricably linked with courtly environments and political projects, recreate those maps and update their frontiers, redrawing the conceptual culture sphere each adaptation wants to project power on. Touching on aforementioned argument made by Pollock, Chojnacki (2018) contends that the *Pāṇḍavacarita* and the *Bālabhārata* were likely in part composed to legimitise the kings Bhima II and Vīsaladeva respectively. In composing these *Mahābhārata* adaptations, Devaprabhasūri and Amaracandra might have sought to ingratiate the Jain communities they represented with the courts of Bhīma II and Vīsaladeva. However, Chojnacki only briefly touches on the *Bālabhārata's* depiction of the Pāṇḍavas' *digvijaya* and foregoes an in-depth exploration of

the *digvijaya* in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, which appears to be rather different. In this paper, I will examine the depictions of *digvijayas* and other geographical maps in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* and the *Bālabhārata* to analyse to which extent both texts depict similar localities, how they differ, and what may account for these differences.

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HEMĀDRI'S CITATIONS FOR THE *MAHĀDĀNA*S FROM THE *LIṄGAPURĀṆA* – INVESTIGATING THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN A PURĀṆA AND A DHARMANIBANDHA

The Purāṇas have played an important role as sources of the Dharmanibandhas. As a sub-genre of Dharmaśāstra, Dharmanibandhas illustrate certain aspects of Brahmanical dharma through citations from various sources and commentaries inserted in between them. The prominence of the Purāṇas in the Dharmanibandhas is vividly shown by the treatment of the sixteen *mahādāna*s ("great gift" ceremonies) in six Dharmanibandhas on *dāna* (gifting) starting from the 12th century. While the *Matsyapurāṇa* is always treated as the authoritative prescriptive text on the topic of *mahādāna*s by the authors of Dharmanibandhas, the *Liṅgapurāṇa* is cited only by the 13th century author Hemādri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa* of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* to introduce a distinctively Śaiva version of some *mahādāna*s. At the same time, there are quite a few discrepancies between the printed edition of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and Hemādri's citations for the *mahādāna*s from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* regarding the identity of the donees involved in the ceremonies. A significant difference is that the printed edition of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* relates some of the donees with a Pāśupata background, which is not seen in its counterpart cited by Hemādri. In this paper, I first give an account of how the *mahādāna*s are treated in

the Dharmanibandhas, thus illustrating the reuse of Purāṇic material in Dharmanibandhas through a case study. Furthermore, I list the discrepancies between the printed edition of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and Hemādri's citations for the *mahādāna*s from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and try to answer the core question of why the identity of the donees in these two texts is so different. Is it because Hemādri deliberately and systematically changed the words relevant to the Pāśupatas into the more general category of Brahmins? Or, is it because the *Liṅgapurāṇa* that Hemādri had access to is different from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* as we have it? By examining the printed edition of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and Hemādri's citations from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* as well as his commentary, I reconstruct the most likely scenario. My discussion thus also illustrates that Hemādri's citations from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* form an important role as a witness of the transmission of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and the history of Śaivism.

Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro

सर्वेणापि हिरण्येन स्वातन्त्र्यं न विक्रीयते