**Rāmāyaṇa in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas**

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**Rāmāyaṇa allusions in Mahābhārata treated/listed in SET**

(3.50-77 *Nalopākhyāna* – verbal borrowing) I

1.1.168c *rāmaṃ dāśarathiṃ* (as one of 24 kings told of by Nārada)

110.19b *sakhā daśarathasya* (Lomapāda)

117.10cd *yathā rāmānujenājau rāvaṇir lakṣmaṇena vai*

118.48 + 975\* quotation from Vālmīki II

2.8.16cd *rāmo dāśarathiś caiva lakṣmaṇo* ..... (part of list of kings)

228\* 6-9 Rāma using Indra’s chariot II

26.7-10 Mārkaṇḍeya tells Yudhiṣṭhira that his exile is similar to Rāma’s II

2,583\*1-2 ‘although a golden deer is impossible, yet Rāma was enticed by it’; after 2,67.4, poorly attested, so late [Yudhiṣṭhira returns for 2nd dicing despite knowing it will bring disaster; the insert excuses Yudhiṣṭhira by referring to Rāma’s high status, while not entirely respecting it.]

App.13.13-20 Mainda and Dvivida drinking the *amṛta* (at *VR* 5.58.12-15 and 7.1472\*, also found at *HV* 31.44, 105.20 and 109.40)

3.12.47 fight compared to Vālin and Sugrīva II, III

315\* *rāmarāvaṇayoś caiva vālisugrīvayos tathā* (B D)

257-276 *Rāmopākhyāna* I, III

299.18 Viṣṇu living in Daśaratha’s house II

326.78-81 Nārāyaṇa will become manifest as Rāma II

348.15 *... daśagrīvaḥ pratāpavān ¡ ... hato rāmeṇa saṃyuge*

38.9-10 Rāghava in Daṇḍaka suppressed rākṣasas III

4.20.9-10 Sītā followed Rāma to the forest

460\*5-6 Rāma with Vaidehī as model of married happiness

474\*7 *rāmo rātricarān iva*

5.107.12 Rāvaṇa practised tapas and chose invulnerability as reward

50.5b[l.v.] *yathā yajño dāśaratheś ca rājñaḥ*

567\*2 *rāmarāvaṇayoḥ*

57.40-1 maxim of Bhārgava (Rām. 2.61.10) II

583\* Rāma deceived by the golden deer

60.54-67 borrowed (?) from Rām.3.13.17cd-32 (genealogy of birds and animals)

63.20b *tathā dāśaratheḥ samau*

683\*2 *laṅkeśavanāriketu* (S insert)

7.71.28cd fight compared to Rāma and Rāvaṇa III

75.26c *tathā vīro dāśarathiś ca rāmo* (among 13 kings who gave cows)

8.4.52b *yathā rāmeṇa rāvaṇaḥ*

81.17d *(yuddhaṃ ...) rāmarāvaṇayor nṛpa*

82.28cd *yathā dāśarathī rāmaḥ kharaṃ hatvā ....*

82\* pr. / 83\* 2 pr. *rāmākhyānaṃ / rāmopākhyānam* [= *Rāmopākhyāna*]

83.13d *lakṣmaṇaṃ rāvaṇir yathā*

83.62 Śṛṅgaverapura as the place where Rāma crossed II, III

9.30.10 Rāvaṇa killed by Rāma II

908\* Hanumān brings herbs

App.1.1 Rāma as model of kingship II

App.13.13-20 Sahadeva visits Kiṣkindhā and fights Mainda and Dvivida (insert by   
T1 G2-6 M mentions Sugrīva and one by G1 adds Vālin and Rāma)

App.14 encounter of the two Rāmas (cf. Sukthankar, Epic Studies VI) II

App.14B.28-29 Rāma as a great giver III  
*rāmo dāśarathiś caive hutvā yajneṣu vai vasu  
sa gato hy akṣayān lokān yasya loke mahad yaśaḥ*

App.15.82-267 Ghaṭotkaca’s exploits in Laṅkā (placed beyond Pāṇḍyas)

App.21.492-582 Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu II

App.23.3 *vālisugrīvayor*

App.39.48-59 Kārtavīrya Arjuna’s fight with Rāvaṇa (no mention of Rāma)

App.41.6-52 Pāṇḍava exile compared to Rāma’s II

App.44.23-6 Hastināpura without Pāṇḍavas like Ayodhyā without Rāma II

App.8.437-82 *Ṣoḍaśarājakīya* II

12.29.46-55 *Ṣoḍaśarājakīya* II

200.4 ref. to Vālmīki II

13.74.11-15 instruction by Rāma of Lakṣmaṇa in the forest III

131.61d *daśagrīvasamo bale*

132.16d *daśa dāśaratheḥ samāḥ*

135.56 *rāmo virāma* .... (cf. Hopkins, “Allusions ...” p.86 l.9)

1375\* Arjuna to Yudhiṣṭhira: Rāma’s infamy in killing Vālin III

14.3.9 Rāma as performer of *aśvamedha* (*rāmo dāśarathir yathā* d)II

147 Bhīṣma meets Hanumān, who tells of Rāma II, III

149.62 Rāma killing S:ambuµka II

151.43-44 genealogical list including Daśaratha and rāmo rākṣasahā vīraḥ

153.27cd *harīndrayor yathā rājan vālisugrīvayor purā*

154.49 fight compared to Vālin and Sugrīva II

166.12d *rāmo dāśarathir yathā*

195.26d *kumbhakarnaṃ ivāparam* (Dhundhu)

**NO** Rāmāyaṇa material in the text of *parvans* 6, 10-11 or 15-18

10 passages in Mbh. 7

9 passages in Mbh. 3 (or 10, including *Nalopākhyāna*)

6 passages in Mbh. 12

3 (or 4; 5 with a mention of Vālmīki) in Mbh. 13

2 each in Mbh. 1 (a third common and a mention of Vālmīki in a fourth), 8 and 9

1 each in Mbh. 2, 4, 5 and 14

a further 21 in \* or App.I passages

**Rāmāyaṇa personal epithets in Mahābhārata**

bhrātarau rāmalakṣmaṇau

kausalyānandavardhana

rājā daśarathas tadā

vaidehī janakātmajā

lakṣmaṇaḥ paravīrahā

rāvaṇo rākṣaseśvaraḥ

rāmeṇākliṣṭakarmaṇā

rāvaṇasya durātmanaḥ

rāmaḥ saumitriṇā saha

vasiṣṭho vāmadevaś ca

x x dharmabhṛtāṃ varaḥ / śreṣṭhaḥ used in MBh with Bhīṣma 5 times and once respectively, but not commonly with other names: not with Karṇa (but śastra° v. once ± 2 in \*passages, śastra° śr. once in text), Kṛṣṇa, Droṇa (but śastra°), Pārtha (śastra° in \* passages) and Bhīma< Bhīṣma himself is also śastra° v. 3 times in text.   
 **n.b.** yudhiṣṭhiro dharmabhṛtāṃ variṣṭhaḥ

kālaṃ kālavidāṃ vara at 16.8.4d is the **only** instance of this particular phrase

x x satyaparākramaḥ of Pārtha twice in \* passages, of Bhīma at 9.18.48b and twice in •, of Bhīṣma at 5.86.23d only; in Harivaṃśa of Viṣṇu 3 times

x x x satyavikramaḥ of Sātyaki 28 times in text and 1 in \*

x x x x pratāpavān commonly in Mahābhārata of Jāmadagnya, Droṇaputra, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Bhagadatta, Bharadvāja, Bhāradvāja, Bhīmasena, Vāsudeva, Śiśupāla, Sahadeva, Sūtaputra

citraṃ laghu ca suṣṭhu ca 7.120.71b = 163.5d, cf. laghu citraṃ ca suṣṭhu ca Rām. 6.76.23b

***Rāmopākhyāna* compared to *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa***

(**cf.** JLB 1978 = 2000: 288-325, “SET I: Epic and Epitome”)

**Contents of *RU* (*MBh* 3,257—76)**

257, 276 Frame

258—259 Rāma’s family (summary); Rāvaṇa’s ancestry, birth, boons, expels Vaiśravaṇa, cursed **for taking *puṣpaka*,** steals jewels from Gods and Daityas.

260 Gods complain to Brahmā, assured that **Viṣṇu** has already become incarnate. Brahmā orders gods to engender heroic sons on bears and monkeys. Brahmā orders Dundubhī to further mission of gods by becoming Mantharā.

261 **No birth story.**

Childhood (**no Viśvāmitra episode**), marriages of all 4 Dāśarathis, **no details**.

Preparation for consecration of Rāma, Mantharā alerts Kaikeyī, who cajoles Daśaratha, claims 1 boon, hasty vow, exile accepted by Rāma, death of Daśaratha, Bharata objects, journeys to Citrakūta, rules from Nandigrāma with sandals.

Śarabhaṅga, Śūrpaṇakhā, Khara, Dūṣaṇa, appeal to Rāvaṇa.

261.55-56, 262, 263   
Mārīca (has become ascetic because of Rāma, **no details**) prefers death at hands of superior. Deer. Recognised by Rāma during chase. Sītā abuses Lakṣmaṇa.

Rāvaṇa as mendicant.

Jaṭāyus. Sītā drops ornaments to 5 apes. Dying Jatāyus sends R+L south.

Kabandha reverts to Viśvāvasu, gives name of Rāvaṇa, advises alliance with Sugrīva.

264.1-40 Alliance. Tārā warns Vālin. Sugrīva admits alliance to Vālin.

264.41-end Sītā in *aśokavana*. Consoled by Trijaṭā, told that **Avindhya** has sent encouraging message, reporting **Nalakūbara’**s curse of **impotence** for attacking **Rambhā** (58-59, cf. 265.28 and 275.32). Trijaṭā’s dreams, including that Vibhīṣaṇa will ascend Mt Śveta (66-67).

265 Rāvaṇa (**unvanquished in battle by Gods, ...** )woos Sītā with kindness (**I have daughters of the Gods, ...**).

266 Lakṣmaṇa delivers message to Sugrīva, told he has already sent out search parties. 4th returns late, Madhuvana.

Hanumān recounts search (Prabhāvatī’s cave [*Svayaṃprabhā*], Saṃpāti), leap, finds Sītā, identified by Avindhya, presents her jewel (**no ring**) and message about crow. Incinerates Laṅkā (**no battles, no audience with Rāvaṇa**).

267.1-end Ocean recommends Nala should build causeway. Vibhīṣaṇa defects, consecrated. Causeway crossed. Śuka and Sāraṇa.

267 end—268.23 Aṅgada’s embassy, including references to Rāvaṇa’s depredations against ascetics, royal sages and their wives (268.13-14 – revealing a later ethos)

268.24—271 Battles. Deaths of Prahasta, Dhūmrākṣa, Kumbhakarṇa (woken), severed limbs reduplicate, killed by Lakṣmaṇa.

272—273.8 Indrajit (“you have vanquished Vāsava” – absent from 259-60), invisible, enmeshes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, restored by spell of Vibhīṣaṇa.  
 **name Meghanāda absent**

273.9-14 **Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and *vānara* chiefs wash eyes with water sent by Kubera, enabling them to see invisible creatures. PARALLELS WANTING**

273.15-end Lakṣmaṇa kills Indrajit. Rāvaṇa grief-stricken, restrained from killing Sītā by Avindhya.

274.1-11 Rāvaṇa enters battle, resurrects *rākṣasas* with spell, creates counterfeits, Lakṣmaṇa recommends killing own counterfeits.

274.12-end Mātali appears. Rāma suspects illusion, reassured by Vibhīṣaṇa, kills Rāvaṇa.

275.1-49 Rāma praised by gods, gives Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa. Sītā (dirty) presented by Avindhya, Rāma repudiates. Gods and Daśaratha appear, Sītā pronounces Act of Truth, vindicated by Gods. [i.e. Sītā’s vindication is completely remodelled.] Brahmā explains **Nalakūbara’s curse of 100x bursting body**, instructs Rāṃa to accept Sītā and Daśaratha instructs to rule Ayodhyā. Various boons/rewards, including Sītā giving boon of long life to Hanumān (275.44, cf. her giving of necklace at *VR* 6.116.70-73 but **n.b.**3687\* [M3 only] has Sīta give long-life boon in contrast to Rāma doing so in App.76). Mātali returns. **no Fire suicide/ordeal; cf. Nala**

275.50-end Return on *puṣpaka*, meet Bharata and Śatrughna at Nandigrāma, consecrated at Ayodhyā, dismisses Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa, and sends back *puṣpaka*. 10 unimpeded *aśvamedhas* on R. Gomatī

276 Yudhiṣṭhira, you are better off than Rāma was.

**Evidence from episodes shared/not shared:**

*Relationship to Bālakāṇḍa:*

*RU* has **no birth story** (and only ancestor mentioned is Aja, 3.258.6a)but Rāma is an ***avatāra***of Viṣṇu (3.260.5), with *vānaras* as *avatāras* of other gods; similar to the most developed stage of *VRm Bālakāṇḍa*. That a *gandharvī* Dundubhī (not known in *VR* tradition) is commissioned to become incarnate as **Mantharā** in order deliberately to cause the exile represents a particularly late development in the trend to exculpate Kaikeyī developed in a different form by dramatists Bhavabhūti and Murāri; in the *Ānanda R* Mantharā is similarly the incarnation of Dundubhī. The idea that the gods have directed the whole narrative is also relatively late.

**Viśvāmitra** episode absent, also **Sītā** as daughter of Earth, **no *svayaṃvara***, **no Jāmadagnya,** i.e. effectively nothing taken directly from Bālakāṇḍa. However, the very brief treatment of Rāma’s and Sītā’s backgrounds in the *RU* at 3.258.6-10abprecedes the account of the *rākṣasas* at 3.258.10cd-259.40 (in fact little except battle with Vaiśravaṇa, cf. Duryodhana v. Yudhiṣṭhira); rest of Bālakāṇḍa equally briefly treated at 3.261.3-5.

*Relationship to end of Yuddhakāṇḍa:*

*RU* does not mention Sītā’s fire-suicide; the gods vindicate her chastity in person: 3,275   
(cf. *Nalopākhyāna*): what are the implications?  **see below**

*Relationship to Agastya’s post-victory narrative:*

*RU* mentions **Nalakūbara** as son of Vaiśravaṇa: 3,258.15-16

Nārada mentions him in Vaiśravaṇa’s hall: 2,10.18 (not conclusive)

dispersed allusions to curse: 3,264.53-71; 3,275.29-34

Vedavatī NOT mentioned (more Viṣṇu-oriented)

Ancestry of ***rākṣasas*** and early exploits similar but much briefer: 3,258-59.   
**Further details dispersed**.

265 Rāvaṇa (**unvanquished in battle by Gods, ...** )woos Sītā with kindness (**I have daughters of the Gods, ...**). **cf. *VR* 7**

*Relationship to rest of Uttarakāṇḍa:*

**none**

**Evidence from language:**

*RU* as a whole borrows/adapts extensively and closely from NE recension of *VR*: see JLB 1978, rev. repr. 2000: 288-325.

What dating can be ascribed to emergence NE recension?

**n.b.** specific instance of 264.66-67 with the repetition of *śveta-* apparently drawn from both *VR* recensions (**see** JLB 2000: 292 §2)

**n.b.** presence of MBh stock pāda

**Evidence from context:**

cf. *Nala* and *Dasaratha Jātaka*, where the teller narrates ONLY those parts of the story that will contribute to his objective:

in *DJ* it is to persuade the hearer not to grieve at death of father (but Rāma grieves excessively at loss of Sītā; cf. MB 2002).

for *Nala* see MB 2012a.

All Yudhiṣṭhira wants/needs to know is that he will regain his kingdom, just as he has regained his recently-abducted wife, and live happily ever after. It would not be a good idea for him to be reminded that Rāma had problems accepting the chastity of the wife he had regained, and an even worse idea for Draupadī to hear it, or to hear the suggestion that she will be required to vindicate herself by walking into fire.

MB 2012a: 747: “The form and wording of Damayantī’s vindication is almost identical to Sītā’s in the Rāmopākhyāna, but markedly different from the Valmīki account (NU 3.75.7–11 : RU 3.275.23–24, cf. Rm 6.104.17–24; NU 3.75.7cd, 8cd and 9cd and RU 3.275.23cd and 24cd contain an identical refrain). But which poet (if either?) was the innovator, and which the copier? And why should either poet choose to follow a different source from his usual one? Is it possible that the two Mahābhārata accounts (in which the heroine’s chastity is vindicated by the Elements, particularly the Wind, when she calls upon them) in fact represent the earlier version of Sītā’s vindication, and that the present Yuddhakāṇḍa text (in which she is vindicated and purified by Fire) has replaced it, and that both the MBh passages were independently drawing on the older Rāmāyaṇa text?”

**Stage 2 of *VR* compared with *RU***

present: 2.1-12, 16, 27-8 (2.58) 2.66-7 3.1,4 3.25 3.28, 30 (3.33) 3.40 3.44-45 3.50 3.71 (4.17) 4.29-30 4.49 5.1 5.12-13 5.36 6.4 6.31 6.46 6.53+55 6.60 6.87,90 6.102-7 6.113-6

absent: 2.13-15, 17-26,29-30 2.46-7 2.57(-58) 2.61 2.65, 68-9 2.74 2.85 2.88-9 2.94-5 2.98,100-2 2.110-111 3.2-3 3.8-11 3.15 (3.29) 3.53 3.58 3.60 4.13 4.17-18 4.21 4.23-4 4.27-8 4.39-42 4.59-61 4.65-6 5.2-8 5.14-17 5.26-7 5.33-5,37 5.43 5.45-7 5.54-8 6.5 6.23-4 6.30 6.47-8 6.57-9,61-3 6.70-73 6.79,81-2 (6.91) 6.111-2

**Contents of *RU* compared to *VR* (tabular)**

257, 27 Frame

258—259

*RU* 258. 2abc *VR* 3,64.9abc  
 2d 4,6.3d; 1,1.42d  
 3c 6,101.9d  
 4b 3,32.2b  
 5d 2,66.26d etc  
 7ab 1,17.10ab  
 9d 3,48.25d  
 11b 7,2.4d  
 12ab 5,21.6cd; 7,2.4bc  
 12c 7,3.7c  
 15a 7,10.13a

259. 4d 4,50.17b  
 6c 1,71.7c  
 13ab 1,17.14ab; 1,72.21b  
 20abc 7,10.10bcd; 1,45.6a etc.  
 23 7,10.21  
 29b 7,10.29b  
 30 7,167\*  
 31 7,10.30 with N v.l.  
 34ab 7,15.29cd; 3,30.14cd  
 36ab 7,10.6ab

260

260.2b 5,16.3d  
 2cd 1,14.7ab  
 7a 1,16.2c  
 7d 1,16.13d (N v.l.)  
 8b 3.31.7b etc.  
 10a 1,39.4a etc.  
 12b 3,24.27d  
 13b 1.504\*1 post; 6,57.13b  
 13d 1,16.3b

261.1-7

261.2b = 264.8d, 266.61b  
 1,69.30f etc  
 1243\* 1,7.2  
 6b 1.532\*5

261.8-38  
 261. 9bc 2,3.11cd  
 9d = 264.49d 6,106.2d  
 10d 2,1.32b  
 11a 2,20\*6 pr.  
 13b 1,72.17b  
 15c 1,11.3c,11c  
 17cd 2.133\*1  
 18 2,8.3ab and 135\*  
 (261.)19b 2,9.39b  
 22cd 2,10.10ab  
 1245\*1 5,33.11b; 2,195\*1  
 25ab 2,260\*2  
 25d 2,8.22b v.l.; 5,31.17d  
 28d 2,92.8b etc.  
 29b 2,4.3b etc.  
 31a 2,73.2a  
 31c 2,1715\*5 pr.  
 33ab 2,1744\*3  
 35ab 2,77.6ab  
 35d 2,64.22d  
 36d 2,77.6c  
 38cd 2,107.12cd

261.39-54  
 261. 39d 3,4.16  
 40b 2,10.28b  
 40c 3,60.2c; 3,15.2d  
 41d 1,1.36b  
 42b 3,29.1b  
 42cd 3,25.22abc; 5,35.16ab  
 43a 3,30.2a

**261.44-56 Śūrpaṇakhā’s appeal to   
 Rāvaṇa and his response  
 PARALLELS WANTING**

262.1-29  
 262. 2c 3,12.9  
 2d 2,28.5d  
 3b 3,645\*4  
 12c 3,38.17a and 749\*1 pr.  
 14 3,40.1; 761\*  
 16cd 3,40.12cd  
 22cd 3,42.18ab  
 27d 3,43.34b (N v.l.)

262.30-40  
 262. 30ab 3,847\*  
 30c 3,44.9a  
 30d 4,26.14d  
 32b 3,47.8c  
 33b 3,46.2c; 3,45.22c  
 33cd 3,45.25ab; 3,46.10ab  
 34c 3,45.27d (N v.l.)  
 38 3,45.40cd [l.v.]

262.41, 263.1-21  
 262. 41c 3,50.12ab

263. 1c 3,48.3d  
 4bc 3,984\*1-2  
 (261.)4f 6,55.70d  
 8ab 3,52.1cd  
 1260\*4 pr. 3,52.11c  
 11ab 3,55.14cd  
 13c 3,56.9  
 15cd 3,63.9a+c

263.22-end

263. 22b 3,58.7b  
 24b = 275.1d,50b,58b  
 3,7.11b etc.  
 25c 4,36.14a  
 27c 3,1266\*3  
 29cd 3,1266\*8  
 1263\* post. 1,1.23d etc.  
 39a 3,67.19a  
 39c 3,71.25a  
 40ab 4,1.43a+d (NE vv.ll.)  
 41ab 3,68.12cd  
 41d 4,14.15b  
 42b+d 3,1298\*

264.1-40  
 264. 1b 4,25.14d  
 2d 4,29.5d  
 13b 4,22.2b  
 18b 4,20.1d  
 21b 4,39.9b  
 23ab 4,25.32cd  
 23c 6,28.1c  
 27d 4,331\*2  
 30d 3,24.27d  
 31a 4,12.18c  
 32d 6,35.9d  
 34ab 4,12.37ab  
 37ab 4,47.19ab

264.41-end  
 264. 41c 5,12.11c etc.  
 42b 5,415\*3  
 49a 5,22.7c  
 52a 5,31.1a etc.  
 53b 5,25.4c  
 54d = 275.22d,29d 7,11.12d; 7,47.9d  
 55ab 5,35.12ab  
 61ab 5,25.6ab  
 63b 3,47.27b  
 64cd 5,25.19a  
 65a 5,25.25a  
 65d 5,25.19b  
 66 5,614\*1-2; 5,617\*1

265  
 265. 4b 1,13.13d  
 4d 5,520\*1 post.  
 5acd 5,520\*; 5,472\*  
 8ab 5,22.16ab  
 11ab 3,53.14ab  
 11c 3,1056\*4  
 17cd 3,54.1cd; 5,19.3ab  
 21a 5,19.6a  
 25cd 5,23.9cd

266.1-29  
 266. 1c 4,27.1c  
 1d 4,29.6a  
 2ab 4,29.2ab  
 10c 4,29.48d  
 13d 4,36.37b  
 15b 4,35.3d  
 16ab 4,34.3ab  
 26b 5,59.11b  
 28bcd 5,60.3acd

266.30-end  
 266. 30d 1,64.21b  
 35d 5,24.4d etc.  
 38b 4,58.7b  
 44c 5,35.47b  
 48a 4,55.2a  
 49cd 4,57.7ab  
 52ab 4,1166\*  
 55d 7,94.18d  
 57e 5,28.33c; 5,63.8ab  
 58ab 5,63.10ab  
 61c 6,17.12a; 6,19.28c  
 67c 5,38.4c and 1361\*2 pr.  
 67d 2,84.21b

267  
 267. 1d 4,7.15b  
 2ab 4,38.18cd etc.  
 4cd 4,38.18ab; 6,32.21ab  
 6a 4,38.20b  
 8cd 4,724\*3  
 9a 4,38.32c  
 9b 4,13.4d  
 10b 2,95.34d  
 11c 6,57.35c  
 12a 6,4.25c  
 15d 7,83.7b  
 16b 6,3.6b etc.  
 17a 1,21.8a; 2,20.30a  
 18b 3,24.27d  
 20b 6,15.31d  
 (267.)21d 4,39.38b  
 22c 6,4.75a  
 22d 6,4.71d  
 35ab 6,280\*1  
 37c 6,238\* pr.  
 40 6,258\*8-9  
 41 6,15.8  
 42c 6,15.9c  
 44cd 6,15.20ab (N vv.ll.)  
 45a 6,306\*6 pr.  
 46d 6,10.12d and 11.5b  
 49b 6,13.9b  
 52b 6,16.9b,22b  
 53ab 6,330\*5  
 54c 7,11.20c

268.1-23  
 268. 2d 7,5.26a  
 10a 6,31.67a  
 10b 6,31.66a  
 11 5,19.10ab; 5,19.10cd

15a 6,31.68a  
 16cd 6,31.56ab  
 17ab 6,31.71ab  
 17d 6,17.5b etc.  
 18bc 6,31.73cd  
 21c 6,31.50c

268.24—271  
 268. 27cd 4,38.13ab  
 32b 5,18.4b etc.  
 34a 5,8.26a  
 36c 6,32.29d  
 37b 6,34.1b,2d  
 269. 5b 6,83.37c  
 9d 2,993\*1 post.  
 10a 6,32.32a  
 10d 6,32.27d etc.  
 11b 6,32.28b  
 14d v.l. 6,88.53b  
 270. 2b 6,42.34b v.l.  
 4c 6,75.22c  
 5a 7,27.42a; 6,44.30a  
 9ab 6,33.16ab  
 9d = 271.26d 6,33.5b  
 13d 6,42.29d  
 14d cf.11d = 271.24b  
 6,42.29b etc.  
 15ab 6,42.36a; 6,42.17b  
 17b 6,42.36b  
 20cd 6,48.11cd  
 21f 6,48.12d; 53.28d  
 22cd 6,50.12cd  
 24ab 6,1099\*3 post.  
 271. 2b 4,59.1d  
 4b 6,55.74d  
 5b 6,48.34b  
 10b 6,54.26b  
 10d = 1293\*1 post. 6,72.31b etc.  
 11d 6,59.66d etc.  
 12d 6,75.17b; 52.25b  
 21ab 4,12.17a; 3,24.28ab  
 21d 3,70.6d  
 25cd 3,25.14d

272—273.8  
 272. 1ab 6,56.2ab  
 2d 6,9.6b  
 9d 6,67.37b  
 10d 3,27.12d  
 23d = 274.6b 6,4.11d etc.  
 24d 6,46.18b  
 26b 6,68.4b etc.  
 273. 2ab 6,35.16a  
 4abc 6,36.3abc  
 5ab 6,39.31d v.l.; 6,36.2cd

273.9-14 **PARALLELS WANTING**

273.15-end  
 273. 18ab 6,75.28cd  
 18d 6,75.31a  
 20b 6,75.1b  
 20d 6,75.3d v.l., 76.5b v.l., etc.  
 21d 1,50.16d  
 26 6,80.29  
 27a 6,37.12c  
 27a 6,37.12c  
 27b 5,12.41b  
 27c 6,80.34c  
 31b 5,49.32b; 6,80.26d

274.1-11   
 274. 1a 6,83.40a  
 2b 6,41.24a  
 4d 6,31.77d  
 5d 6,93.26b etc.

274.12-end  
 274. 12b = 275.49d 6,59.15d v.l.  
 12d 6,100.5b  
 16b 6,97.17d etc.  
 1298\*, 1299\* 6,3064\*3-6  
 20b 6,63.32d  
 21d 6,92.29b  
 (274.)26d 6,100.1b etc.  
 29d 6,31.62b etc.

275.1-49  
 275. 1d = 50b, 58b, +263.24b 6,32.20b  
 2b 6,3064\*1 post.  
 3a 6,102.1c v.l.  
 9a 6,1541\* pr.  
 14d 2,109.18d etc.  
 17d 7,82.4d  
 19a 6,114.5d  
 19cd 6,110.23ab  
 25d 6,16.6d etc.  
 31a 7,1.21c  
 32b 6,29.4d  
 32cd 7,551\*2  
 33 7,26.44

35b 6,107.7b  
 37d 3,19.12b (acc.) etc.  
 40a 1,62.21a  
 48a 4,31.19c; 7,61.21a  
 48b 6,48.7b  
 48cd 6,88.53cd  
 49b 2,92.10d; 3,3.14d

275.50-end  
 52b vv.ll. for 6,110.23ab  
 59a 6,113.1a  
 60d 6,115.12d  
 61a 6,113.27a  
 62c 5,33.41c  
 65c 6,116.55a  
 69c 6,116.82c

276 **PARALLELS WANTING**

**RU parallels to 7.1-34 by sub-unit (cf. F. New Beginnings)**

**RU sub-unit comment**

**7**,1.21c **2** *avadhyaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ* – potentially significant (JLB)

2.4bcd 1

3.7c 1

5.26a **2** accidental similarity only (real parallel with MBh.12.87.6c)

10.6ab 1

10.10bcd 1

10.13a 1

10.21 1

10.29b 1

10.30 with N v.l. 1 also 7.167\* ≈ 3.259.30

11.20c **2** *preṣayām āsa dautyena* – messenger here Prahasta, in 3.267.54c Aṅgada: irrelevant

15.29cd 1 meaning not wording parallel

26.44 1

**textual parallels to *Bālakāṇḍa*: context**

*RU VR* 1

Initial summary258.2d 1,1.42d Nārada’s summary

Birth of 4 brothers (**No birth sacrifice)** 258.7ab 1,17.10ab Births after *aśvamedha*

259.6c 1,71.7c  
 13ab 1,17.14ab; 1,72.21b  
 20abc 1,45.6a etc.

260.2cd 1,14.7ab  
 7a 1,16.2c  
 7d 1,16.13d (N v.l.)  
 10a 1,39.4a etc.  
 13b 1.504\*1 post  
 13d 1,16.3b

261.1-7 Childhood (**no Viśvāmitra**), marriages of all 4 Dāśarathis, **no details**.  
 261.2b = *RU* 3,264.8d, 266.61b  
 1,69.30f etc.  
 1243\* 1,7.2  
 6b 1,532\*5

261.8-38

Preparation for consecration of Rāma, Mantharā alerts Kaikeyī, who cajoles Daśaratha, claims 1 boon, hasty vow, exile accepted by Rāma, death of Daśaratha, Bharata objects, journeys to Citrakūta, rules from Nandigrāma with sandals.  
 261.13b 1,72.17b  
 15c 1,11.3c,11c

261.39-54  
Janasthāna 261.41d 1,1.36b Initial summary

263.25-40  
Kabandha 263.[after 32ab]  
 1263\* post.  
 1,1.23d etc.

265 Rāvaṇawoos Sītā with kindness 265.4b 1,13.13d *aśvamedha*

266.30-68

Hanumān reports presents Sītā’s jewel (**no ring**) and message about crow; **no battles, no audience with Rāvaṇa**. 266.30d 1,64.21b   
 end of Śatānanda’s narrative of Viśvāmitra’s history

267 R + L set off with *vānara* army 267.17a 1,21.8a R + L set off with Viśvāmitra

273.15-33  
Lakṣmaṇa kills Indrajit. 273.21d 1,50.16d Śatānanda’s narrative

275.1-49   
Brahmā’s post-victory speech 275.40a 1,62.21a  
 Brahmā’s speech to Viśvāmitra (Śat.’s narrative)

***RU* compared to *Uttarakāṇḍa*: context**

*RU VR* 7

Rāvaṇa’s ancestry 258.11b 7,2.4d Rāvaṇa’s ancestry

Rāvaṇa’s ancestry 12ab 7,2.4bc Rāvaṇa’s ancestry

Vaiśravaṇa’s birth 12c 7,3.7c Vaiśravaṇa’s birth

boon to Vaiśravaṇa 15a 7,10.13a boon to Rāvaṇa

boon to Rāvaṇa 259.20abc

7,10.10bcd; **1,45.6a etc**. boon to Rāvaṇa

boon to Rāvaṇa 23 7,10.21 boon to Rāvaṇa

boon to Vibhīṣaṇa 29b 7,10.29b boon to Vibhīṣaṇa

boon to Vibhīṣaṇa 30 7,167\*

boon to Vibhīṣaṇa 31 7,10.30 with N v.l.

boon to Rāvaṇa 34ab 7,15.29cd; **3,30.14cd**

‘law-minded Vibhīṣaṇa’ 36ab 7,10.6ab ‘law-minded Vibhīṣaṇa’

Indrajit “you have vanquished Vāsava” 272.3cd – verbal parallels WANTING

***RU* compared to *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 102-7, 111-16: context**

*RU VR* 6 *fin*

Appearance of Rāma (hair) 261.9d = *RU* 264.49d  
 6,106.2d Appearance of Sītā (hair)

Post-victory 275.3a 6,102.1c v.l. Post-victory

Daśaratha 35b 6,107.7b Post-victory: Daśaratha

Return on *puṣpaka* via Kiṣkindhā 275.56c 6,114.44c Hanumān’s report to Bharata: return via Kiṣkindhā

Return to Ayodhyā 59a 6,113.1a Return to Ayodhyā

Nandigrāma 60d 6,115.12d Nandigrāma

Appearance of Bharata 61a 6,113.27a Appearance of Bharata

Consecration 65c 6,116.55a Consecration

10 *aśvamedhas* 69c 6,116.82c 100 *aśvamedhas*

***Yuddhakāṇḍa* 102-7, 111-16:**

*RU* has 1 parallel to appearance of Sītā, taken at random from 2 descriptions of Rāma elsewhere

**All other *RU* parallels**  are to the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* passages

**Characters and episodes**

Agni

heads delegation of gods petitioning Brahmā against Rāvaṇa: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,260.1-3

affirms Sītā’s chastity to Rāma [*anthropomorphised, no fire-suicide*]: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,275.27

Avindhya

sends encouraging message to Sītā via Trijaṭā (Rāma is allied with Sugrīva, Nalakūbara’s curse protects her, auspicious dream): *MBh* (*RU*): 3,264.53-71

Brahmā

father of Pulastya: *VRm* (3): 7,2.4 *MBh* (*RU*): 3,258.11

confers boons:

invincibility on Mālyavān, Sumālin and Mālin: *VRm* (3): 7,5.8-15

on Kubera to be *lokapāla*, lord of wealth: *VRm* (3): 7,3.8-9

gives *puṣpaka* to Kubera: *VRm* (3): 7,3.8-9

on Rāvaṇa to be invulnerable to all but men: *VRm* (3): 1,14.12-13; 1,15.4-6;  
 *VRm* (3): 7,10.14-19 *MBh* (*RU*): 3,259.25-27

long sleep on Kumbhakarṇa: *VRm* (3): 7,10.31-41; 13.1 *MBh* (*RU*): 3,259.28

curses infant Kumbhakarṇa to sleep perpetually for 6 months, waking only for 1 day: *VRm* (1): 6,49.21-26

urged by frightened gods not to grant boon, instructs Sarasvatī to distort his request: *VRm* (3): 7,10.31-41

righteousness and immortality on Vibhīṣaṇa: *VRm* (3): 7,10.23-30 *MBh* (*RU*): 3,259.29-31

instructs Indra to perform *vaiṣṇava* sacrifice to be readmitted to heaven:  
 *VRm* (3): 7,30.39,41 *MBh* (*RU*): 3,260

petitioned by gods to devise way to destroy Rāvaṇa: *VRm* (3): 1,14.4-11

gods have assembled for Daśaratha’s second sacrifice: *VRm* (3): 1,14.4-11

replies that Viṣṇu has already descended to earth to overcome Rāvaṇa: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,260.5

instructs gods to father heroic *vānaras*: *VRm* (3): 1,16

directs gods (including himself) to become incarnate as *vānaras*: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,260.6

directs Dundubhī (*gandharvī*) to incarnate as Mantharā: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,260.9-10,14-15

[incites Kaikeyī’s jealousy: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,261.16-18]

with other gods, reproaches Rāma at Sītā’s fire-suicide: *VRm* (2/3): 6,105.1-8

affirms Sītā’s chastity to Rāma by recounting Nalakūbara’s curse: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,275.29-34

at Rāma’s request, revives *vānara* casualties: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,275.40-42

**Daśaratha**

instructs Rāma to return to rule Ayodhyā: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,275.35-37

**Hanumān**

brings mountain-peak: *VRm* (1): 6,89.18-21

[*episode absent*]: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,273

boon from Sītā to live as long as Rāma’s fame lasts conferred after battle: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,275.43-44

role much reduced: *MBh* (*RU*); *MBh in general*

**Indra**

defeated, fettered by Meghanāda: (invisible) *VRm* (3): 7,29.21-29 *MBh* (*RU*): 3,272.3-7

Kubera / Vaiśravaṇa

son of Viśravas and Devavarṇinī (daughter of Bharadvāja): *VRm* (3): 7,3.3-7 son of Pulastya and a cow: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,258.12

desertion angers father: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,258.13

boons from Brahmā:

immortality, wealth, son Nalakūbara, *lokapāla*, sovereignty over *rākṣasas* in Laṅkā: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,258.15-16

austerities earn friendship of Śiva: *VRm* (3): 7,13.21-31,35

presents 3 *rākṣasīs* to Pulastya; they bear him splendid *rākṣasas* (Rāvaṇa and family): *MBh* (*RU*): 3,259.1-13

**Rāma**

convinced by affirmations of gods [*no fire*]: *MBh* (*RU*): 3,275.17-34

**Narrative correspondences between the *RU* and the *VR***

3.258.1-16 1.1/3,17 + 7.2

259.1-31 7.9-10

32-40 7.11

260.1-15 1.14-16

261.1-15 2.1-6

16-31 2.7-35 + 58

32-36 2.66-67,73,76

37-38 2.92, 97, 107

39-45 3.4 (+1) 16-19, 24-30, 32(-33)

262.1-14 3.34-35 + 38

15-18 3.40-41

19-29 3.42-43

30-38 3.44-45

39-41 3.47

263.1-6 3.48-50

7-9 3.52

10-14 3.55-57

15-21 3.63-64

22-24 3.59

25-35 3.65-66

36-43 3.67-69

264.1-8 3.71

9-15 4.2, 5-8

16-34 4.12 + 15-16

35-39 4.17, 19, 25

40 4.26

41-52 3.52 + 54

52-73 5.25

265.1-16 5.18

17-30 5.19-20

266.1-12 4.29-30

13-20 4.33-36, 46

22-29 5.61-62

30-55 5.63

56-57 4.63 + 5.1

58-68 5.13, 29-36,

38-39, 52

267.1-14 4.38

15-19 6.4

20-31 6.13-14

32-45 6.15

46-49 6.11-12

50-54 6.15-16, 31

268.1-6 6.27-28

7-22 6.31

23-40 6.32-34

269.1-14 6.32-33

270.1-17 6.41-42, 45-46

18-19 6.48-53

271.1-27 6.55

272.1-7 6.56

8-13 6.35

14-19 6.34

20-26 6.35

273.1-7 6.35-36, 39-40

8-14 absent (?)

15-24 6.60,67-68,75

25-33 6.80

274.1-11 6.83 + 87

12-17 6.90  
 +2087\*/2088\*

18-26 6.92-94

27-31 6.97

275.1-5 6.100

6-13 6.102-103

14-35 6.104-107

36-49 6.108

50-61 6.109-110

62-64 6.114-115

65-69 6.116

The date at which the *Rāmopākhyāna* was composed (and presumably but not necessarily incorporated into the *Mahābhārata*), formerly suggested to be roughly the first century B.C. (JLB 1978 = 2000: 299-301), is now thought to be perhaps the first century A.D.

BUT author (highly gifted) knew *VRm* stage 3 text in considerable detail (see JLB 1978 = 2000) but chose not to use episodes that would conflict with his purpose of encouraging the miserable Yudhiṣṭhira without frightening Draupadī about her ultimate fate. Context is crucial.

Rāvaṇa seizes Sītā by the thighs and hair in *VR* but hair only in RU (n.b. Vedavatī's hair touched by Rāvaṇa in Uttara).

The *RU* is drawn on by the *Padma* and *Skanda Purāṇas,* and indirectly probably by Saṅghadāsa in *Vasudevahiṇḍi* and by the Malay and Lao versions.

The *RU* 3.264.19-26 has only one round of battle between Vālin and Sugrīva (as also in *Narasiṃha Purāṇa*).

**Mahābhārata / Rāmāyaṇa parallels** (in addition to SET I–III)

MBh.3.65 (*Nalopākhyāna*): Rām.5.13ff. (Hanumān’s soliloquy)

7 13.19

8 25 n.b. 7b and 8d follow N v.l. of 25d

9ab 26cd

9cd 14.6ab

10-11 13.27, 28cd-29ab n.b. 10a follows N v.l. of 27a

12 424\* + 13.35ab n.b. verse 16 parallels 13.35

13 17.13cd + 15ab

14 14

15 16

16 13.35 Rām.5.13.35ab also = Mbh.3.65.12cd

17 14.24

18-20 26-28

21 427\*

22 23

23 5

24-25 28.6-7

MBh.2 App.I.41 : Rām.2.30 cf. Raghavan *GR* p.6 (ii)

6-7 cf. 4

8 5a

9 5b

10 5cd

11-12 6

16-21 8-10

26-29 13-14

30-31 791\*

32-38 15-18ab

43 18cd

39-42 797\*

44-6 19-20ab

47 799\*

48 20d

49-50 800\* 1+3

51-52 21

56 post. 2.57.21b

i.e. 2.30.4-21 (including **S** \*passages) is copied in MBh.2 App.41.6-51

MBh. 2 App.41 (= Gorakh. edn 79, Kumbh. 101) has a passage modelled on the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the context of the departure of the Pāṇḍavas for exile: cf. Raghavan 1973: 6 —“About 25 verses are taken over here bodily from Vālmīki (Ayodhyā 33, Southern).”

**Other passages and general comments**

*Hanumadbhīmasamāgama* (3.146-150)

*MBh* 3,146.58—150.15: Bhīma meets Hanumān:

3,146.68: ‘round-tipped, protruding tusks’

3,146.73-74; 3,147.7; 3,147.16: Hanumān ‘sick’, ‘too old’

3,147.28: Rāma is ‘Viṣṇu in human guise’

3,147.37-38: ‘When Rāma had departed, I asked the hero, “Enemy-killing champion, may I live as long as the tale of Rāma survives in the worlds!” “So be it,” he said. Ten thousands of years and ten hundreds of years did Rāma reign over his realm, then went to heaven.’

Vibhīṣaṇa and Hanumān both feature in *MBh,*  but Hanumān is found exclusively in the *Hanumadbhīmasamāgama* (3.146-150) and the *Rāmopākhyāna* (3.258-275) [cf. JLB 2004], whereas Vibhīṣaṇa is also mentioned once at 2.28.50e outside the *Rāmopākhyāna.*

“In the very next chapter (80 Gorakh; 71 Critical) [of *Sabhāparvan*], there is a second description of the condition of the Pāṇḍavas when they left, as told by Vidura to the inquisitive Dhṛtarāṣṭra. In the middle of the description is an amplification which is relegated to App. (No. 44) in the Critical. There occurs a verse here which says that Hastināpura in that situation resembled Ayodhyā when Rāma, deprived of his kingdom, went to the forests, along with Lakṣmaṇa.” (Raghavan 1973: 7)

“(iv) The next mini-*Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Mahābhārata* is in Vana, Tīrthayātrā, in Lomaśa’s account of various Tīrthas. It occurs as part of the description of a sacred spot called Bhṛgu-tīrtha (Gorakh 99, Kumbh 98). The Critical edition, which drops this sub-section, gives its text in Appendix 14, ... ... .  
 The scene of Dāśarathi Rāma meeting Bhārgava Rāma is laid in Ayodhyā, not on the way from Mithilā to Ayodhyā as in Vālmīki. Having heard of Viṣṇu’s manifestation as Rāma in Dāśaratha’s house, Paraśurāma goes to Ayodhyā out of curiosity. Daśaratha deputes his son Rāma to meet him at the outskirts of the City. Seeing Rāma come armed with bow and arrows, Paraśurāma asks him to draw the string and shoot his own arrow upon which Rāma pulls him up for his pride. And then occurs a thing which we hardly expect: Dāśarathi Rāma tells Bhārgava Rāma that the latter does not, in his pride, know who he was and shows Paraśurāma his own *Viśvarūpa,* as Kṛṣṇa does before Arjuna in the *Gītā.* Five verses describe how Paraśurāma saw the whole creation within youg Dāśarathi Rāma, cast off his pride, saluted him and, with his leave, left for Mt. Mahendra. Later, Bhārgava Rāma comes to the Bhṛgu-tīrtha and performs Tapas to regain his lost effulgence.  
 (v) A little later, in the same Vana parvan, another thumb-nail sketch of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is given. This is in the episode of Bhīma bringing the Saugandhika flower for Draupadī (Ch. 148 Gorakh; 149-50 Kumbh). Bhīma meets Hanumān in this expedition of his. This episode has been retained in the Critical edition (Ch. 147) but without a separate chapter-division as found in the Vulgate. | The Critical text gives a shorter version, the omissions being mostly the verses on Hanumān’s search for and discovery of Sītā and the building of the causeway and the battle. This brief account too shows its familiarity with Vālmīki’s text, although echoes or actual reproductions here of Vālmīkis words or lines are very few.”  
 (Raghavan 1973: 10-11).

MB in “F. New Beginnings” ch. 4 — “The appearance of three other *Rāmāyaṇa* characters in minimal allusions in the *MBh* demonstrates a concern to ensure the literal efficacy of boons of immortality. Rāma has instructed Vibhīṣaṇa also not to accompany him to heaven, but to remain to rule Laṅkā as long as his people endure (no doubt as a precaution against the resurgence of a hostile *rākṣasa* dynasty); Brahmā, perhaps with this aim already in mind, adds immortality to the boons sought by Vibhīṣaṇa(*VR* 7,98.21-23; 7,10.30). Accordingly, the virtuous *rākṣasa* is mentioned in the *MBh* as still ruling; he makes a treaty with Sahadeva Pāṇḍava (*MBh* 2,28.50-53+312\*). The *vānaras* Mainda and Dvivida, twin sons of the Aśvins, who are relatively minor characters in the *VR* but have gained immortality by being allowed by Brahmā to drink *amṛta* (5,58.12-15), are alluded to at *MBh* 5,128.41 (Dvivida is unable to conquer Kṛṣṇa at the gate of Saubha), and the pair are conquered by Sahadeva Pāṇḍava in Kiṣkindhā at *MBh* 2,App.13.13-20.[[1]](#footnote-1) These allusions all occur in identifiably late insertions into the *MBh*. The relationship between the *MBh* and the *VR* at each point in their development is a complex matter,[[2]](#footnote-2) unresolved and probably unresolvable, but it is interesting to note the meticulous care with which narrators in one tradition or the other (or both) have treated these fluid texts. The *VR’s* mighty Hanumān is an easy target for reworking in the *MBh* and the direction of borrowing is obvious in his case, but the introduction of the other three into the *MBh* because of their boons of immortality — or the conferring of those boons in the *VR* simply because their recipients are mentioned in the *MBh* (however arcane and inconsequential the parts they play) — is a striking example of narrational technique.”

Remodelling of encounter between Rāma Dāśarathi and Rāma Jāmadagnya (*MBh* 3 App.14.20-70, probably reworked from the comparable encounter at *Rm* 1,73–77; see JLB 1998: 478 and 1985b = 2000: 331).

Vālmīki mentioned at Mbh. 1.50.14a, and 13.18.7a

*MBh* 3.83.102-4: Vālmīki **first**in a list of *ṛṣis  
MBh* 7,118.48ab + 975\*: Vālmīki by name

*MBh* 12,57.40-41: an unnamed Bhārgava, presumably Vālmīki

At MBh.12.149.61-62 reference to revival of brāhman boy revived by Rāma’s killing of Śambūka

At *Nārāyaṇīya* (Mbh.12.326.79), the sages Ekata and Dvita were changed into monkeys because of the murder of Trita and, since this comes in the verse following the declaration of Nārāyaṇa’s incarnation as Rāma, by implication this is the origin of either Hanumān and Sugrīva or Vālin and Sugrīva.

Rāma being criticised for being deluded by impossible golden deer seems to have become a general aphorism:

MBh. 2.583\*1-2: ‘although a golden deer is impossible, yet Rāma was enticed by it’.

[*after 2,67.4; not well-attested, so pretty late*; *Yudhiṣṭhira returns for second dicing despite knowing it will bring disaster. This insert excuses Yudhiṣṭhira by reference to Rāma’s high status, while not entirely respecting it.*]

pursues Mārīca despite the manifest impossibility of a golden deer: *Mahānāṭaka*: Bahadur 1840: IV,179

criticised for being deluded: *MBh* (*allusion*): 2,583\*1-2

*Śukasaptati*: Haksar 2000: 36 tale 6

*Hitopadeśa*, Haksar 1998: I, 28 (p.22)

Sternbach p.69 cites Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche* ed. 2 no.766

cf. *Vikramacarita* ed. trans. Edgerton 1926: S recension, VII 3

cf. *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* ed. Uhle: 1.31

Among the kings called on to present gifts for the celebration of Yudhiṣṭhira’s *rājasūya* is Paulastya Vibhīṣaṇa (MBh.2.28.50).

Duḥṣanta’s rejection of Sakuntalā at 1.69.36 + 40-41 has similarities to Rāma’s rejection of Sītā for fear of gossip in the Uttarakāṇḍa

*kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni kālaḥ saṃharati prajāḥ*

*kālaḥ supteṣu jāgarti kālo hi duratikramaḥ*

MBh.1.1.188ab + 61\* = MBh.11.9\* (°harate); *ab* also at Mahābhāṣya vol.2 p.167;   
*a* also at MBh.12.231.25a, 13 App.15.2275 pr., 17.1.3a, and Mait.Up.6.15;   
*b* also at MBh.3.57\*1post.(°harate);   
*d* = MBh.1.App.95.30 post., etc., Rām. 3.64.21d (q.v.) etc.

**motifs shared by MBh and VR**

**Indrajit’s head** must not touch ground:  
*MBh* 7.121: Jayadratha’s severed head must not touch ground

*MBh* 4,63.45-64.9: blood from Yudhiṣṭhira’s nose must not reach ground  
 [Arjuna’s vengeance, not magic]

**Lakṣmaṇa bitten by insect***MBh* 8,29.4-7; 12,3: Karṇa bitten by insect withstands pain rather than wake Rāma Jāmadagnya

**Rāma killed by sons, resurrected**  
*MBh* 14,78-82 (Smith 2009: 720-21): Arjuna temporarily killed by his long-lost son Babhruvāhana in *aśvamedha* context

**further parallels:**  
*VR* 5.32.3ab = *MBh.* 6.19.20ab  
 N vv.ll. at 4.4238cd ≈ *MBh.* 6.7.11ef  
2 App.18.15-16 ≈ *MBh.* 1.69.22, etc.  
6.155\* ≈ *MBh.* 5.36.56

For a tabular listing of *VR* parallels to the *MBh* arranged by *MBh parvan* see “Mahābhārata parallels (tabular list of locations)” within Further Notes (verbal + general) in the Ancillary material folder; for shared passages generally with *MBh* **see** JLB 1998: 383-85.

**Harivaṃśa**

**parallels (approx.) between Harivaṃśa and MBh.2 App.21**

(cf. Hv. intro. pp.xlviii-l and Raghavan pp.31-33; also SET II)

**Harivaṃśa cf. MBh.2 App.21** (lines)

31.19-31 138-169 (boar incarnation)

[Hv. App.I.42 (part) ≈ Mbh.2 App.I.21.145-157]

33-42 174-195

[Hv. App.I.42 (part) ≈ Mbh.2 App.I.21.174-189]

44-45 225-228

46-57b 200-223

42.14-33 92-135

55.1-2 789-792

etc.

97.1-38 1536-1612 (also Mbh.3.13.26-31)

**parallels with Rāmāyaṇa**

Hv. 44.22a cf. Rām. 7.53.3d

23ab ≈ 17ab (**n.b.** v.l. at b)

33ab cf. 60.14

50b = 56.16d

**Hv App. 29F** (read by majority of mss.)includes the episode of several plays being performed (ll. 236-95), beginning with one on the birth of Rāma and his brothers (ll. 242-55) and ending with one on Rāvaṇa’s rape of Rambhā and Nalakūbara cursing him (ll. 286-92). For some comment on this passage, its ultimate source in *VR* 7.26 and its subsequent use in Act 3 (*Rambhābhisāra*) of Ravivarman’s *Pradyumnābhyudaya,* **see** Ravivarman 2019: *The Pradyumnābhyudaya of Ravivarman: a new Sanskrit text of the Trivandrum edition and English translation,* by Christopher R. Austin (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz): 14 and 147.

Jāmbavān figures in *HV* 28 (**see** MB 2005: 322).

**title (and author)** *Jaimini Bhārata*

**date (and provenance)** 12th century ? (or not much later)

**edition(s)** *atha jaiminikṛtāśvamedhaḥ* (Mumbaī: Gaṇapata Kṛṣṇājī, *saka* 1785   
[= 1863]). **(IND) Sansk. 2.36**

*śrījaiminīyāśvamedhaparva, hindī ṭīkāsahita* (Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 1995). **download**

*Mārutimairāvaṇacaritam*, ed. by A. Viraraghavan, Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series 539 (Thanjavur, Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, 2011**) not seen**

**translations** *Jaiminiya Ashvamedha Parva,* transcreated śloka-by-śloka from Sanskrit by Shekhar Kumar Sen, ed. by Pradip Bhattacharya (Kolkata: Writers Workshop, 2008). **own copy**

*Jaimini Bhārata* 2017: *The Jaiminīya Mahābhārata: Mairāvaṇacaritam & Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritam*, crit. ed. with English trans. by Pradip Bhattacharya and Shekhar Kumar Sen, 2 vols(New Delhi: National Mission for Manuscripts and New Bharatiya Book Corporation, 2017). **own copy**

**studies** Bhattacharya, Pradip 2018b: “The lost Mahabharata of Jaimini”, *Indian Literature* 62.6: 146-57. **download**

Chaitanya, Satya 2011: “Uttara Ramayana: how Jaimini tells it”, http://www.boloji.com/index.cfm?md=Contents&sd=Articles&ArticleID=10648 (and 10696) [accessed 21 March 2017] **download**

Derrett, J. D. M. 1970: “Greece and India again: the Jaimini-Aśvamedha, the Alexander Romance and the Gospels”, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 22: 19-44. [not relevant] **download**

Kapp, Dieter B. 1988: “Zwei Anspielungen auf die Mahīrāvaṇa-Sage: Śivapurāṇa 3.20.34 und Padumāvatī 394-395”, *WZKS* 32: 91-102. **photocopy**

Koskikallio, Petteri 1993: “Jaiminibharata and *Asvamedha*”, in Proceedings of the 8th WSC*, WZKS* 36, *Supplementband*: 111-19. [not relevant] **typescript of paper**

Koskikallio, Petteri, and Christophe Vielle 2001: “Epic and Puranic Texts attributed to Jaimini”. *IT* 27: 67-93. [for *Jaiminirāmāyaṇa/Sītāvijaya/Sahasramukharāvaṇacarita*] **scan**

Smith, William L. 1999b: “The Jaiminibhārata and its eastern vernacular versions”, *Studia Orientalia* 85: 389-406. [useful for background, not for analysis] **offprint/download**

Vielle, Christophe 2009b: “Du *Tóraigheacht an Ghiolla Dheacair* au *Jaiminīyāśvamedha”,* in *Deuogdonion : Mélanges offerts en l'honneur du Professeur Claude Sterckx*, ed. G. Hily et alii (Rennes: TIR - CRBC): 675-95. [not relevant to Rāma] **printout**

**notes** synopsis in MBh CE *Āśvamedhikaparvan* pp. XXIV-XLIV is no help for *Rāmāyaṇa* passage (see “*Jaiminibhārata Rāmāyaṇa* account” in “Further Notes (verbal/general”); **n.b.** Raghavan 1973: 65-68 on Jai. Aśvamedha (**scan**) and Raghavan 2009: 36-38 (**photocopy**)

A much later work broadly in the *Mahābhārata* tradition,the *Jaimini Bhārata* (belonging most probably to the 12th century; at 58.95-97 it quotes the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* so it cannot be much earlier) also contains or has ascribed to it several episodes of the Rāma narrative. The main extant portion of the JaiBh is the *Jaiminīya Aśvamedha*. The earliest and most important regional version of the JaiBh was written in Kannada by Lakṣmīśa in the 14th century.

The *Jaiminīya Aśvamedha* begins with a mention of Rāma performing the *aśvamedha* three times (1.14), refers indirectly to the Ahalyā story (a stone becoming sanctified by the touch of Rāma’s foot, 2.28). It has a subsection, *Kuśalavopākhyāna* (25-36) on the encounter between Śatrughna’s party and Rāma’s sons. It mentions the recitation of Rāma’s name, *rāmanāman* (27.60). Other echoes of Vālmīki *Rām.* (**cf.** Raghavan 1973: 65-68). Extant only in manuscripts until recently are a *Sītāvijaya* (also known as *Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritra*) claiming to belong to the *Āśramavāsaparvan* of the *Jaimini Bhārata* (Koskikallio and Vielle 2001: 75-78) and a *Mairāvaṇacaritra* or *Hanumadvijaya* (Koskikallio and Vielle 2001: 78-81), while a *Setumāhātmya* is still only in manuscript (Koskikallio and Vielle 2001: 81).

Raghavan 1975: 149 – “Regarding the new and additional expoits of Hanumān, which found in South-East Asia a congenial soil for fresh and fantastic multiplication, we have the Sanskrit version known as the *Mai Rāvaṇa Caritra*2 or the stories of *Pātāla Laṅkā* and *Pātāla Rāvaṇa.* The last mentioned has much to do with the Thai and other versions in which the episode of Mai Rāvaṇa of Pātāla and Hanumān vanquishing him are given.  
 2. Mss. of this are available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library; popular Tamil renderings of the ‘Ahi-Mahi-Rāvaṇa’ story are also available.

Ohno 1996: 320: – “An account of kidnapping of Ram by Maiyarab is related also in ... *Rāmakathappāṭṭu* from Trivandrum”

“According to some other Indian sources, after the burning of Laṅkā, a fish consumes the sweat of Hanumān in the ocean and becomes pregnant.” (Sahai 1976: 25 §1, citing *Jaimini Bhārata, Narmakathākośa, Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* I, II, 88, *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* 5.2 and Bulcke 1950: 678). [Kavi Narmadashankar Lalshankar’s *Narma-Katha-Kosa-Dictionary* of the proper names from Ramayan-Mahabharat-Bhagavat was published in 1870 A. D.]

Its account of the Lava+Kuśa episode parallels the *Padma Purāṇa* account ; **see** W.L. Smith 1999b: 393. The battle between Rāma and Kuśa + Lava occurs at 25-36 (so Simon Brodbeck’s review of translation)

**possibly also useful for Mahirāvaṇa:**

Bloomfield, Maurice 1924: “On false ascetics and nuns in Hindu fiction”, *JAOS* 44: 202-42. **printout**

Kapp, Dieter B. 1988: “Zwei Anspielungen auf die Mahiravana-Sage: Sivapurana 3.20.34 und Padumavati 394-395”, *WZKS* 32: 91-102. **photocopy; studied**

Kapp, Dieter B. 1989: “The Ālu Kuṟumba Rāmāyaṇa: the story of Rāma as narrated by a south Indian tribe”, *AFS* 48.1: 123-40. **printout; studied**[includes Ālu Kuṟumba variant of Mahīrāvaṇa episode (Nilgiri Hills, 20th C)]

Lutgendorf 2007: 211-16 [= *Hanumān’s Tale*] cited by Goldmen, *Yuddha* intro. p.5n.6

Nagar, Shantilal 1996: *Mahīrāvaṇacaritam in Indian Paintings* (Delhi: Parimal).

Singaravelu, S. 1985-86: “The episode of Maiyarāb in the Thai Rāmakīen and its possible relationship to Tamil folklore”, *IT* 13: 297-312 and *Asian Folklore Studies* 44 (1985): 269-79 and *JSS* 74 (1986). **own copy**

Smith, William L. 1982: “Mahīrāvaṇa and the Womb Demon”,  *IT* 10: 215-25. **own copy  
[**includes on *Ānanda Rm, Kṛttibās* and other E Indian regional versions]

Smith, William L. 1988: *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions in Eastern India* (Stockholm: Department of Indology). **own copy**

Smith, William L. 1996: “Two Nepalese versions of the Mahīrāvaṇa tale”, in Lienhard 1996: 379-85. **offprint; studied**[also Nepali Sanskrit *Mahīrāvaṇavadha Nāṭaka* (AD 1337)]

Zvelebil, Kamil V. 1987: *Two Tamil Folktales: The Story of King Mataṉakāma, The Story of Peacock Rāvaṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). **own copy; studied**

**Nagar 1996:**

[Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, sleeping, are abducted by Mahīrāvaṇa (various names, sometimes duplicated, a relative (various) or friend of Rāvaṇa). The demon enters the camp disguised as Vibhīṣaṇa, thus tricking Hanumān who is guarding the camp by encircling it with his tail. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are taken underground to Pātāla, to be sacrificed to a goddess (variously named).

Hanumān seeks them out, aided in the *Ānanda Rām* and Tulsī by hearing a couple of birds talk; sometimes Hanumān encounters his unknown son (Tulsī, Thai, Kashmiri, *Vicitra Rām, Girdhara Rām, Śrī Rāma Vijaya,* Marathi, *Ānanda*).

In Thai *Rāmakīrti Mahākāvya* canto 14, Hanumān meets and befriends Maiyarāba’s sister Virkavanā, who had been ordered by her brother to keep a vat full of boiling water into which Maiyarāba was to throw her son Vaiyaving and Rāma. With her help Hanumān locates Maiyarāba’s soul and destroys it [so no occasion for Show-me-how].

In some versions Hanumān frees Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by impersonating the goddess. Mostly Mahīrāvaṇa is killed in a battle with Hanumān or with all three, often by means of separable soul motif.

Kṛttibās uses Show-me-how — but this is logical only if the potential victim frees himself, not here, where they are rescued by Hanumān.

**pp.32-33** In Kṛttibās the goddess advises Hanumān to advise Rāma to use Show-me-how-to-prostrate trick and for Rāma to cut off head with sword.]

**p.35** The Laṅkā Kāṇḍa of the Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa describes that at the time of the killing of Mahīrāvaṇa, all the gods assembled near the battle field. The demon king then started the worship of the goddess with the fruits, flowers and other eatables. Then he called for a sharp edged sword and he asked the Ayodhyā princes to prostrate before the goddess. Rāma then replied, that being a royal prince he does not understand how to prostrate. Then Mahīrāvaṇa in order to demonstrate as to how to prostrate, lay down on the ground. Hanumān watched him from behind the door and suddenly jumped over Mahīrāvaṇa, and killed him on the spot with a sword. The *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa* (Oriya) also has an identical account of the killing of Mahīrāvaṇa by Hanumān, taking a gigantic form. This particular incident

**p.36** moves on the same lines in the *Rāmāvatāra Carita* (Kashmiri).

[No mention of the sacrificer wishing to attain perfection — only hint is in *RCM* *dohā* 155-156 — Hanumān snatches the sword from Ahīrāvaṇa]

**p.68** and cutting off his head threw it into the fire. This way performing the *pūrṇāhuti* of the *yajña*, Hanumān left the place carrying Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on his shoulders.

**Zvelebil 1987:**

**xxxvii** “an overwhelming evidence mainly from other Dravidian languages than Tamil, that some story of a Rāvaṇa’s [*sic*] brother, snatching away Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and being fought by Hanumān, was spread throughout the Dravidian South in its oral narrative tradition.”

**xxxviii-xxxix** cites variants in Malayalam, Kannaḍa, Tamil. “A motif ... absent ... from those Southern versions which followed classical patterns and highest literary standards (like the Tamil version of Kampaṉ or the Malayalam version of Eḻuttaccan) — these facts point to the following conclusion: the motif of abduction of Rāma (or Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa) by ‘another’ Rāvaṇa, and their subsequent liberation by Hanumān is a specific Southern development originating within the South Indian folk traditions most probably to foster the increasingly important cult of Hanumān as a folk-hero during the epoch of the Muslim conquests of the South.”

**xl** [*ŚiP* 3,20.34] “almost certainly an allusion incorporated into this Sanskrit text as derived from a large Southern (Tamil etc.) folk tradition of Hanumān-oriented legends and myths.”

**xlv** Suggests origin of *Mayilirāvaṇaṉkatai* “goes back to the later Vijayanagara times (16th Cent.?); however, the final Tamil version of the text as we have it in our cheap printed editions will not be earlier than the 18th Cent.”

**Rāmāyaṇa in Purāṇas**

previous treatments in *RR* (i.e. JLB 1985) on individual Purāṇas

*Vāyu Purāṇa* RR: 234

*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* RR: 234

*Matsya Purāṇa* RR: 234

*Padma Purāṇa* RR: 235-36

*Nāradīya Purāṇa* RR: 236

*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* RR: 236

*Vāmana Purāṇa* RR: 236

*Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* RR: 236, 240

*Skanda Purāṇa* RR: 236, 238

*Devībhāgavata Purāṇa* RR:236, 241

*Garuḍa* *Purāṇa* RR: 237

*Varāha Purāṇa* RR: 237

*Kūrma Purāṇa* RR: 237

*Śiva Purāṇa* RR: 237-8

*Saura Purāṇa* RR: 238

*Agni Purāṇa* RR: 239

*Brahma Purāṇa* RR: 239-40

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* RR: 240

*Kalki Purāṇa* RR: 240 n.26

*Narasiṃha* *Purāṇa* RR: 240-41

*Mahābhāgavata* *Purāṇa* RR: 241

*Bṛhaddharma* *Purāṇa* RR: 241

*Kālikā* *Purāṇa* RR: 241

also: *Liṅga, Brahmāṇḍa, Ekāmra, Gaṇeśa, Mudgala, Vahni, Bhārgava and Ādi Purāṇas*

**general bibliography**

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2. Did Rāma banish his wife Sītā? 25-29  
3. Did Rāma kill Bālin surreptitiously? 25-29] **(IND) 4.5. 26**

Bhattacharya, Ram Shankar 1991: “Ayodhyā, Sarayū and Kosala in the Purāṇas”, *Purāṇa* 33.2: 23-54.

Brockington, John 2012: “The Rāmāyaṇa in the Purāṇas”, *Devadattīyam: Johannes Bronkhorst Felicitation Volume,* ed. by François Voegeli and others (Worlds of South and Inner Asia 5; Bern: Peter Lang): 703-30. **own copy**

Brockington, Mary 2015: “Purāṇic retellings of the Rāma story”, paper delivered at the 16th World Sanskrit Conference, Bangkok. **text in “Lectures and papers (unpublished)”**

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Matchett, Freda 2003: “The Purāṇas”, in *Blackwell Companion to Hinduism,* ed. Gavin Flood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing): 129-43. **own copy**

Piano, Stefano 1993-94: “A few notes on the *Rāma-kathā* in the *Mahāpurāṇa*-s”, *IT* 19-20: 245‑51. **own copy**

Raghavan, Venkatarama 1973: *The greater Ramayana*, The Professor L. Venkataratnam Lectures for 1971 in the University of Madras (Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust).  
[pp. 33-73 on Purāṇas] **(IND) 4.4. 12a  
 pp. vii-viii (contents), 30-73, 87-91 scanned/photocopied**

Tagare, G.V. 1992-93: “The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa and its impact on Purāṇic versions”, *JAS Bombay* n.s. 67-68: 243-58. **pp.248-9 photocopied**

**general notes:**

**for discussion see** also MB, “Purāṇic retellings of the Rāma story” (paper presented at the 16th World Sanskrit Conference, Bangkok, 2015) in “Lectures and papers (unpublished)”

**for dating and locations see** JLB 2012 and MB forthcoming (cf. above)

**Rāma and worship of images**

devī

worshipped by Rāma:

in *bilva* tree on seashore: Purāṇas, *MBhāgP* 43.90-94; 44.1-16; 47.30

as clay image: Purāṇas, *MBhāgP* 47.50-51

**Śiva *liṅga***

Rāma creates Rāmeśvaram *liṅga*, worships Śiva: Purāṇas, *PdP* (*Sṛṣṭikh.*) 1,38.133-51; (*Pātālakh.*) 5,104.34; 5,116.289

installs Rāmeśvaram *liṅga* to remove *brahmahatyā* sin incurred by killing Rāvaṇa [*close verbal coincidences with RU*]: Purāṇas, *SkP* 3,1.1-2; 3,1.43-47

establishes 3 *liṅgas* at Rāmeśvaram: Purāṇas, *SkP* 6,99-104

establishes *liṅga* at Gautamī: Purāṇas, *BrP,GM* 123.191-94

Vāmana

Indrajit defeats Indra, takes Vāmana image to Laṅkā: Purāṇas, *PdP* (*Sṛṣṭikh.*) 1,38.124-25

Rāma installs image of Vāmana at Kānyakubja [*Kanauj*] on banks of Gaṅgā: Purāṇas, *PdP* (*Sṛṣṭikh.*) 1,38.1; 1,38.151,187-90

consults Bharata and Lakṣmaṇa about performing *rājasūya*, dissuaded by Bharata’s warning of evil consequences of several mythical examples, decides instead to install image of Vāmana: Purāṇas, *PdP* (*Sṛṣṭikh.*) 1,37.152-71

instructed by Vāyu, takes Vāmana image (taken from Indra to Laṅkā by Indrajit), installs it at Kānyakubja: Purāṇas, *PdP* (*Sṛṣṭikh.*) 1,38.122-90

**Varāha**

offered all treasures by Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāma chooses Varāha image as reward: Purāṇas, *VarP* 161.44-46

installs Varāha image in Ayodhyā, worships it for 11,000 years: Purāṇas, *VarP* 161.47-48

agrees to Śatrughna’s request for Varāha image as reward for kill ing Lavaṇa, installs it at Mathurā: Purāṇas, *VarP* 161.54-60

**Vāsudeva**

Rāma worships image brought from Laṅkā; consigns it to Lord of Ocean on return to Viṣṇu’s heaven: Purāṇas, *BrP* 176.50-51

**Purāṇas**: *emended datings*

[*old citation order*] [*revised; all dates tentative*]

*MtP MtP* 4

*VāP VāP* mid-4

*JaiSa ViP* ? mid-4

*PdP VmP* ? 5-7

*ViP LiP*  ? 6

*VmP* *VDhP* ? mid-7

*VDhP* *KūP* 7-9

*BrP* *PdP* (*Sṛṣṭikh.*) ? 8

*BrP,GM* *PdP* (*Uttarakh.*) ? 8

*NāP NāP* 8-10

*BVP ŚiP* 8-14

*SkP* *JaiSa* ? 9

*VarP* *BhāgP* 9-10

*GaP* *GaP* 9-11

*KūP* *BrP* mid-10

*LiP*  *MBhāgP* 10-11

*ŚiP* *BVP* 10-16

*SauP* *SauP* 11-12

*BhāgP DBhāgP* 11-12

*MBhāgP KāP* post-11

*DBhāgP* *PdP* (*Pātālakh.*) 12

*AgP BrP,GM* ? 12

*NarSP SkP* ? 12

*KkP* *AgP* ? 12

*BṛDhP* *GnP* c.1100-1400

*KāP* *NarSP* 13

*GnP BṛDhP* 13-17

*MudP MudP* 14

*EkP VarP* pre-15

*ĀdiP EkP* 15

*BhvP ĀdiP* 16

*BhvP* 16

*KkP* 1500-1700

**title (and author)** *Matsya Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 4th century (Mahārāṣṭra?)

**edition(s) \*** *Matsya mahāpurāṇa* (an exhaustive introduction, Sanskrit text, English translation, scholarly notes and index of verses), trans. into English by a Board of Scholars, ed. by K.L. Joshi (Delhi : Parimal Publications, 2007).  
 **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Mats. 6**

**translation(s)** cf. above

**studies** Mankad, D.R. 1966: “The Matsya Purāṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa”, *Purāṇa* 8: 159-67. **pp.160-1 photocopied**

Raghavan, Venkatarama 1959: “Gleanings from the Matsya Purāṇa”, *Purāṇa* 1: 80-88, repr. in Janaki 1991: 22-31. **own copy; checked**

Raghavan, Venkatarama 1961a: “Further gleanings from the Matsya Purāṇa”, *Purāṇa* 3:   
321-30, repr. in Janaki 1991: 32-40. **own copy; checked**

**notes** no narrative, but mentions at 12.49-51 (Ikṣvāku genealogy) and 53.71-72 (Vālmīki as author of *Rāmāyaṇa*)  
 (**both passages photocopied** **from edn above**) **full text downloaded from GRETIL**

also: parallels to search party accounts and other signs of acquaintance with Rāmāyaṇa (cf. also Raghavan 1973: 36)

Bhṛgu’s curse on Viṣṇu to incarnate as Rāma found at *VR* 7. App.7, *MatsyaP* 47.94-113and *PadmaP* (ASS) 2.121

**title** *Vāyu Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** mid 4th century; soon after 335 (Hacker)

**edition(s) \*** *Vāyu Purāṇa* 1995: *The Vāyumahāpurāṇam,* ed. by Vraj Mohan Chaturved (Delhi: Nag, 1983; 2nd edn 1995). [repr. of VePr edn] **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Vayu 6**

**translation(s)** *Vāyu Purāṇa* 1987-88: *The Vāyu Purāṇa,* trans. and annotated by G.V. Tagare, AITM 37-38 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987-1988). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.1. 1 (37-38)**

**\*** *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2008: *Vāyu Mahāpurāṇa: an exhaustive introduction, Sanskrit text, English translation, scholarly notes and index of verses,* ed. by Sudarshana Sharma, 2 vols (Delhi: Parimal Publications). **(IND)**

**studies see** vol. 1 of *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2008 [above]

**notes** Rāvaṇa’s genealogy is given at 2.9.34 ff., where Viśravas’ three wives are named as Mālyavān’s daughters Puṣpotkaṭā and Vākā (for Rākā) and Mālin’s daughter Kaikasī (at Rām. CE 7.5.26 all three are daughters of Sumālin). Kubera is the son of an earlier wife of Viśravas. Māyāvin, Dundubhi and Mahiṣa are brothers, sons of Maya and Rambhā, at 2.7.28 [68.28] (cf. *Brahma Purāṇa* 3.6.29; **see** Sahai 1976: 15 n.3), and Mandodarī is Maya’s daughter at 2.7.29.

Sīradhvaja (‘with plough on banner’) given as Janaka’s personal name at *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 4.5.12 and 4.5.27-30, in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Sūryavaṃśa genealogy), and (acc. to Weber, *Über das Rāmāyaṇa,* p.8 init.) in Bhavabhūti’s *MVC* and *URC.*

the traditional words about *Rāmarājya* are found at 2.26.172 ff. Sītā’s appearing to Janaka as he was ploughing the sacrificial ground is mentioned in the following chapter (2.27.15 ff.).

2.27.15-18ab: *hrasvaromātmajo vidvān sīradhvaja iti śrutiḥ |*

*udbhinnā kṛṣatā yena sītā rajñā yaśasvinī |*

*rāmasya mahiṣī sādhvī suvratātipativratā || 15 ||*

*śāṃśapāyana uvāca |*

*kathaṃ sītā samutpannā kṛṣyamāṇā yaśasvinī |*

*kimarthaṃ cākṛṣad rājā kṣetraṃ yasmin babhūva ha || 16 ||*

*sūta uvāca |*

*agnikṣetre kṛṣyamāṇe aśvamedhe mahātmanaḥ |*

*vidhinā suprayuktena tasmāt tu samutthitā || 17 ||*

*sīradhvajāt tu jātas tu bhānumān nāma maithilaḥ |*

(continuing with *vaivasvatamanuvaṃśakīrtana*)

**2.9.33-50, 2.26.166-214 and 2.36.53-92 photocopied**

Anandashrama edn (ASS 49) published 1860 (2nd edn 1905); ed. by Rajendralal Mitra, two vols, *Bibliotheca Indica* 85 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1880–88); Venkateshvara Press edn published in 1895. In 1910, the Vangavasi Press edn with Bengali trans. by Panchanan Tarkaratna. The Anandashrama and Vangavasi edns divide the text into four pādas: *Prakriyāpāda* (chh. 1–6), *Anuṣaṅgapāda* (7–64), *Upodghātapāda* (65–99) and *Upasaṃhārapāda* (100–112); the *Gayāmāhātmya* (chh. 105–112 in these edns) is not found in all mss but is found independently. The Asiatic Society and Venkateshvara Press edns have a *Prathamakhaṇḍa/Pūrvārdha* (1-6 entitled *Prakriyāpāda,* 7-61 *Upodghātapāda*) and *Dvitīyakhaṇḍa/Uttarārdha* (1-42 entitled *Anuṣaṅgapāda* and 43-50 are the *Gayāmāhātmya*).

**title** *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** perhaps mid 4th cent. (Schreiner); Gayā area ??

**edition(s) \*** *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1997: *The Critical Edition of the Viṣṇupurāṇam*, ed. by M.M. Pathak, 2 vols (Vadodara: Oriental Institute). **own copy**

**translation(s)** *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1840: *The Vishńu Puráńa: a system of Hindu mythology and tradition,* trans. by H.H. Wilson (London: John Murray, 1840).  
 **download** of 4.4-5 + 15 [retyped]

*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 2013: *Viṣṇupurāṇa: Althergebrachte Kunde über Viṣṇu,* aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt und hrsg. von Peter Schreiner (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen (Insel Verlag). **own copy**

*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 2021: *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa: ancient annals of the god with lotus eyes,* tr. by McComas Taylor (Acton: Australian National University Press). **download**

**studies** Hazra, Rajendra Chandra 1937: “The date of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa”, *ABORI* 18.3, 265-75.

Harendra Dayal, Thakur 1983: *The Visnu Purana* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan)  
 **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Visnu 8 – minimal value**

Wadekar, Mukund Lalji 1993: “Description of Rāma’s life in the Viṣṇupurāṇa – some observations”, *ALB* 57: 49-57 [reprint in Wadekar 2001: 263-70]. **download; disregard**

**notes** deals with Rāma in prose within its narrative of solar dynasty (4.4.49-58), while at 1.9.141 Lakṣmī becomes Sītā when Viṣṇu becomes Rāma.

Ahalyā is said to be purified just by a look from Rāma (4.4.50).

Sīradhvaja (“with plough on banner”) given as Janaka’s personal name at *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 4.5.11, in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Sūryavaṃśa genealogy), and (acc. to Weber, *Über das Rāmāyaṇa,* p.8 init.) in Bhavabhūti’s *MVC* and *URC;* does it also occur in a Jain version?

**title** *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** *Vāyu/Brahmāṇḍa* nucleus post 335; separate texts later

**edition(s)** *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* n.d.: || *atha brahmāṇḍapurāṇaṃ prārabhyate* || *punarmudraṇādi sarvādhikāra “śrīveṅkateśvara” yantrālayādhyakṣādhīna hai* | (Mumbai [reprint c. 1958 of original Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press 1906 edn]).

**translation(s) \*** *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 1983-84: *The Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa,* trans. and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, 5 vols (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).  **(IND) 4.5.3. Brhmnd 13**

**studies** Vielle, Christophe 2002: “An Introduction to the *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*” in Mary Brockington 2002: 337-57.  
 **own copy; also handout in grey box file**

Vielle, Christophe 2005: “From the *Vāyuprokta* to the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas:* Preliminary Remarks towards a Critical Edition of the *vāyuprokta Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*”, in Koskikallio 2005: 535-60. **own copy**

Vielle, Christophe 2009: “Transmission et recréation purāṇique: le cas du *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa”,* in *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique,* ed. by Gérard Colas and Gerdi Gerschheimer, Études thématiques 23 (Paris: École française d’extrême-orient): 173-87. **printout of proofs**

**notes** *upodghātapāda* (= 3) *adhy.* 64, entitled *maithilānāṃ vaṃśanirūpaṇaṃ,* with mention at verse 15 of Sītā’s birth (wording identical to *Vāyu Purāṇa*); for *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* **see** under later Skt *Rāmāyaṇas*

[In Vielle 2009] Christophe Vielle traces the development from an "original" or "classic" *Brahmāṇḍa-* or *Vāyuprokta-purāṇa,* the composition of which he situates in the Gupta era, via additions and a subdivision into parts *(bhāgas* and *saṃhitās),* to the "artificial" *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* "fabricated" by the Venkatesvara Press, which came to be considered the standard text. from review (Ludo Rocher, *JAOS* 131.1 (2011): 133-35); **see** **download**

**3.63.181-207 and 3.64.4-24 photocopied   
[also whole text downloaded from GRETIL]**

**first vol. of AITM trans. downloaded**

**3.73.91-92:** j*āmadagnyas tadā ṣaṣṭhe viśvāmitrapurassaraḥ* ||  
*caturviṃśe yuge rāmo vasiṣṭhena purodhasā* || 91||  
*saptame rāvaṇasyārthe jajñe daśarathātmajaḥ* ||  
*aṣṭame dvāpare viṣṇur aṣṭāviṃśe parāśarāt* || 92 ||

The Veṅkateśvara Press edn (1st edn 1906) comprises 14,286 verses, in 2 parts:

1) the first 2 sections, the *Pūrvabhāga*, the *Madhyabhāga* and the first part of the 3rd section *Uttarabhāga* (to *adhy.* 4). The *Pūrvabhāga* comprises two *pādas*: *Prakriyā* (*adhy.* 1–5) and *Anuṣaṅga* (6–38). The *Madhyabhāga* and the *Uttarabhāga* comprise only one *pāda* each, *Upodghāta* (*adhy.* 1–74) and *Upasaṃhāra* (*adhy.*1–4). The names of these four *pādas* are the same as the extant *Vāyu Purāṇa* and their contents are almost identical.

2) *adhy.* 5–44 of the 3rd section, the *Uttarabhāga,* also called *Lalitopākhyāna* and narrating the worship of the goddess Lalita, written as a dialogue between Hayagrīva and Agastya. It describes Lalita's emergence from the fire during a sacrifice offered by Indra to Devī, her war with an asura and her final triumph.

**title** *Vāmana Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 5th-7th century (???)

**edition(s)** *Vāmana Purāṇa* 1967: *The Vāmana Purāṇa,* critically ed. by Anand Swarup Gupta (Varanasi: All India Kashiraj Trust).  
  **(IND) 4.5.3. Vam. 2 / OIL 544.11 Vam Fol.; download**

**translation(s) \*** *Vāmana Purāṇa* 1968: *The Vāmana Purāṇa with English translation,* ed. by Anand Swarup Gupta, trans. by Satyamsu Mohan Mukhopadhyaya [and others] (Varanasi: All India Kashiraj Trust, 1968). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Vam. 3; download**

**studies**

**notes** contains Vedavatī story (*Saromāhātmya* 16.8-12) – **text + trans.** **photocopied**

artificially connects a *tīrtha’s* fame with Rāma’s time in the Daṇḍakāraṇya (the head of a *rākṣasa* cut off by Rāma sticks to the leg of a sage, Rahodara, *Saromāhātmya* 18.5-7) **text photocopied**

**title** *Liṅga Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** later than the nucleus of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*; probably 6th century

**edition(s)**

**translation(s) \*** *Liṅga Purāṇa* 1980: *Liṅga Purāṇa, with Sanskrit commentary Śivatoṣiṇī of Ganeśa Nātu,* ed. by J.L. Shastri, AITM vols 5-6 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).   
 **(IND) 4.5.1. 1/5-6**

**studies**

**notes** extremely brief narration at 1.66.34-38 (as part of Ikṣvāku genealogy):

*ajaḥ putro raghoś cāpi tasmāj jajñe ca vīryavān |  
 rājā daśarathas tasmāc chrīmān ikṣvākuvaṃśakṛt || 34 ||  
 rāmo daśarathād vīro dharmajño lokaviśrutaḥ |  
 bharato lakṣmaṇaś caiva śatrughaś ca mahābalaḥ || 35 ||  
 teṣāṃ śreṣṭho mahātejā rāmaḥ paramavīryavān |  
 rāvaṇaṃ samare hatvā yajñair iṣṭvā ca dharmavit || 36 ||  
 daśavarṣasahasrāṇi rāmo rājyaṃ cakāra saḥ |  
 rāmasya tanayo jajñe kuśa ity abhiviśrutaḥ || 37 ||  
 lavaś ca sumahābhāgaḥ sattvavān abhavat sudhīḥ |  
 atithis tu kuśāj jajñe niśadhas tasya cātmajaḥ || 38 ||*

**also**Rāma listed as incarnation of Viṣṇu, Bharata of his right arm, Śatrughna of his left arm and Lakṣmaṇa of Śeṣa at 2.5.146-8:

*ambarīṣasya putrasya naptuḥ putro mahāyaśāḥ |  
 śrīmān daśaratho nāma rājā bhavati dharmikaḥ || 146 ||  
 tasyāham agrajaḥ putro rāmanāmā bhavāmy ayam |  
 tatra me dakṣiṇo bāhur bharato nāma vai bhavet || 147 ||  
 śatrughno nāma savyaś ca śeṣo ‘sau lakṣmaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ |  
 tatra māṃ samupagaccha gacchedānīṃ nṛpaṃ vinā || 148 ||*

and at 2.11.38:

*viṣṇunā rāvaṇaṃ hatvā sasainyaṃ brahmaṇaḥ sutam |  
 sthāpitaṃ vidhivad bhaktyā liṅgaṃ tīre nadīpateḥ || 38 ||*

**[*Liṅga Purāṇa* parts 1 and 2 downloaded from GRETIL]**

**title** *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** prob. mid 7th cent. acc. to Vielle; c. 600 A.D. acc. to Gail, *Paraśurāma:* 98–101 (probably in Kashmir)

**edition(s) \*** *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 1985: *The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam,* ed. Cārudeva Śāstri (Delhi: Nag Publishers [repr. of Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edn])   
 **(IND) 4.5.3. Visnud 1**; **cf. below**

**translation(s) \*** *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 2005: *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, English translation of first khaṇḍa (Pauranic legends and rebirths),* trans. by Priyabala Shah (Delhi: Parimal Publications). **own copy**

**studies**

**notes**  dating (from Gail): post 587 (i.e after Varāhamihira’s *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*) but pre 628 (before Brahmagupta’s *Sphuṭabrahmasiddhānta*)

It includes a reference to the meeting of the two Rāmas (1.35.11–14b [**not** in Nag edn – ? = 1.66.10-14ab], cf. Rm 1.73–76), as well as narrating the duel itself; its account is altogether more advanced theologically than that of the Bālakāṇḍa. The story of Vedavatī (Rm 7.17) is narrated here (1.221.17–46 – in Nag edn) as well as in several otherPurāṇas. Further incidental refs to Rām. in 1.238-9. 1.241-7 (Nag edn) narrate Śatrughna’s defeat and killing of Lavaṇa (cf. 1.212.24 below).

from Maity 1992 p. 40 [including misprints; based on Raghavan 1973: 64 (cf. below)]:  
 “In the first part, chapter 178-200 [198-200 in Raghavan] describe the race of the rākasas, the birth of Rāvaṇa, the birth of Lavaṇa in Mathurā and his slaying by Śatrughna. Chapter 201 to 211 give detailed description of Bharata’s battle against the Gandharvas. Chapter 212, like Nārodiya Purāṇa, says that Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna are the avatāras of Vāsudeba, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Chapters 218 to 223 relate the ancestral history of the rākṣasas in the nether regions and in Laṅkā. There are descriptions of the births of Rāvaṇa and his four brothers, the episode of Kuvera and the Puṣpaka-ratha and the battle preparation of Rāvaṇa. Chapters 221 to 224 relate how Rāvaṇa is cursed on his campaign to conquer the earth. King Anaraṇya, a scion of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, is killed by Rāvaṇa. He curses Rāvaṇa that he too will be killed by one of his descendants. After this, the curse on Rāvaṇa by the meditating Vedavatī, daughter of Kuśadhvaja, is related.  
 At the end is Sītā’s prayer to Mother Earth to take her on to her bosom. The praises about Rāma and his reign are just as in Vālmīki’s Rāmāyaṇa.”

from Raghavan, *Greater Rāmāyaṇa,* pp.64-65  
 “One of the lustful verses he utters to Vedavatī here (221.27) is what he says to Sītā in the *Sundara Kāṇḍa* in Vālmīki (V.20.13). ... ...  
 In the end of the story, when describing Sītā’s final prayer to Mother Earth to take her into the latter’s bosom and the qualities of Rāma and *Rāmarājya,* many lines from Vālmīki are reproduced (65-71).”  
 [in 1.248 the account of the vultures has lines reproduced from Rām.3.14]

1.66.10-14ab *mārkaṇḍeya uvāca |  
 evam uktvā dadau cāsya tūṇam akṣayasāyakam |  
 dattvā ca bhagavān āha rāmaṃ parabalārdanam || 10 ||  
 śaṅkara uvāca  
 tūṇam etat pradātavyaṃ tvayāgastyāya bhārgava |  
 cāparatnaṃ ca rāmāya kṛte karmaṇi suvrata || 11 ||  
 agastyo ‘pi mahātejās tūṇam akṣayasāyakam |  
 rāghavāyātiyaśase rāmāyaiva pradāsyati || 12 ||  
 rāmasaṃdarśanād ūrdhvaṃ mā kṛthāḥ śastradhāṛaṇam |  
 rāmasaṃdarśane rāma tava tejo hi vaiṣṇavam || 13 ||  
 rāmaṃ pravekṣyati tadā surakāryārtham ūrjitam |*

1.74.38-39ab *tretāyuge caturviṃśe bhṛguvaṃśodbhavena tu |  
 vālmīkinā tu racitaṃ svam eva caritaṃ śubham || 38 ||  
 rāmākhyānaṃ mahāpuṇyaṃ śrotṝṇāṃ viṣṇulokadam |  
 [vartamāne kaliyuge kṣīṇe nṛpatisattama || 39 ||  
 kalki viṣṇuyaśo nāma bhaviṣyati jagatpatiḥ | (40ab)]*

1.81.24-26 *saptamasya caturviṃśe rājaṃs tretāyuge tadā |  
 yadā rāmeṇa samare sagaṇo rāvaṇo hataḥ || 24 ||  
 rāmeṇaiva tadā rājan kumbhakarṇo nipātitaḥ |  
 vartamāne tu yad vṛttaṃ kalpe yadukulodvaha || 25 ||  
 rāmasya caritaṃ baddhaṃ tadā vālmīkinā śubham |  
 atītakalpe yadvṛttaṃ mayā tat kāmyake vane || 26 ||*

1.212.2-2250 *duṣṭāṇāṃ nigrahārthāya caturmūrtir janārdanaḥ |  
 jāto raghukule rājan putro daśarathasya tu || 20 ||  
 aṃśena vāsudevasya jāto rāmo mahāyaśāḥ |  
 saṃkarṣaṇasya cāṃśena lakṣmaṇaḥ paravīrahā || 21 ||  
 pradyumnasya tathāṃśena bharato dharmavatsalaḥ |  
 aniruddhasya vāṃśena śatrughnaḥ sumahābalaḥ || 22 ||  
 tatra rāghavasiṃhena rāmeṇākliṣṭakarmaṇā |  
 rāvaṇo ‘bhihataḥ saṃkhye sarvatattvabhayaṃkaraḥ || 23 ||  
 meghanādo nirastaś ca saṃgrāme lakṣmaṇena ca |  
 śatrughnena nirastaś ca lavaṇo duṣṭarākṣasaḥ || 24 ||  
 manye viśiṣṭabhāvatvaṃ bharatasya mahātmanaḥ |  
 yena mālī hataḥ pūrvaṃ laṅkāvāsī sa rākṣasaḥ || 25 ||*

1.221.17-44 **photocopied** (on pp.14-15 of Nag edn)

1.221.45-47: *iti vedavatīvākyaṃ śrutvā kopasamanvitaḥ |  
 kāmena rākṣasendras tāṃ keśapāśe parāmṛśat || 45 ||  
 tvayā saṃdharṣitā pāpa pravekṣyāmi hutāśanam |  
 ayonijā bhaviṣyāmi vadhārthaṃ ca tathā tava || 46 ||  
 evam uktvā citāṃ kṛtvā praviṣṭā jātavedasam |  
 bhūyaḥ sītā samutpannā janakasya mahātmanaḥ || 47 ||*

1.221.48-71cd **photocopied**  (on f.141v)

1.221.71ef to end: *janānurāgaś ca mahān rāmasya viditātmanaḥ || 71 ||  
 na te kṣamaṃ tena narendracandra  
 vairaṃ mahātmā sa tu lokapūjyaḥ |  
 tasyāstravegasya raṇe ca vegaṃ  
 soḍhuṃ na śaktās tridaśāḥ saśakrāḥ || 72 |*

*iti śrīviṣṇudharmottare prathamakhaṇḍe mārkaṇḍeyavajrasaṃvāde śailūṣaṃ prati nāḍāyanavākye rāvaṇasya bhūrlokavijayaṃ nāmaikaviṃśatyuttaradviśatamo ‘dhyāyaḥ || 221 ||*

at 3.85 a list of *avatāras* includes:  
 *rāmo dāśarathis kāryo rājalakṣaṇalakṣitaḥ |  
 bharato lakṣmaṇaś caiva śatrughnaś ca mahāyaśāḥ || 62 ||*

**title** *Kūrma Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 7th-9th cent. (??);600-1000 acc. to O’Flaherty, *Hindu Myths*

**edition(s) \****Kūrma Purāṇa* 1971: *The Kūrma purāṇa,* critically ed. by Anand Swarup Gupta (Varanasi: All-India Kashi Raj Trust). **OIL 544.11 Kur.1 Fol.**

**translation(s) \*** *The Kūrma-purāṇa,* trans. and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare,   
2 vols**,** AITM 20-21 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981-82). **(IND) 4.5.1. 1/20-21**

*Kūrma Purāṇa* 1981-82: *The Kūrma purāṇa, with English translation,* trans. by Ahibhushan Bhattacharya [et al.], ed. by Anand Swarup Gupta (Varanasi: All-India Kashi Raj Trust, 1972). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Kur 5**

**studies** Dumont, P.E. 1950: “The Legend of Sītā in the Kūrma-purāṇa”, *Siddha-Bhāratī: Siddheswar Varma presentation volume* (Hoshiarpur: V.V.R. Institute):I, 236-38.

**notes** Pāśupata reworking of an originally Vaiṣṇava work

CE (text only): ix — “Thus according to Hazra, the dates of the original Viṣṇuite Kūrma-Purāna and its *Pāśupata* recast are between 550–650 A.D. and between   
700–800 A.D. respectively.” [Hazra, 1940: 57ff.]

brief summary within solar dynasty (1.20.17-56 [= *adhy.* 1.21 in AITM trans.]), with establishment of liṅga by Rāma on causeway and Śiva blessing Rāma.

Uttarabhāga 30-34, dealing with sins, expiations and virtues, illustrate *pātivratya* with how Rāvaṇa was destroyed because of Sītā’s chastity. Kūrma *P.*’s innovation here of illusory Sītā then found in *Adhyātma, Adbhuta* and *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇas* and Tulsīdās’ *Rāmcaritmānas.*

Dumont 1950 translates the *Kūrma Purāṇa* passage about the illusory Sītā and suggests that the idea was invented by the author of the Purāṇa because “In his opinion, it was inadmissible that Sītā had actually sat on the lap of the lord of the demons, for Sītā is an incarnation of the great goddess Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, as Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu.” (p. 238)

The substitute Sītā occurs in only one *KūP* version (2,34) not in the other (1,21) and Rāma is not informed until her restoration, contra *BVP;* in *BVP* Rāma is reassured by Agni at the time, in *KūP* not until Sītā is restored to him by Agni after fire test.The stress in *KūP* 2,34.126 + 138 that Agni’s purpose is the destruction of Rāvaṇa suggests that this *KūP* version is a later refutation of the *BVP* [*if Rāma knows Sītā has not been abducted, why bother with the search and war?*]. There is some discussion of the shadow Sītā in Doniger O’Flaherty 1984: 92ff. (photocopy)

**CE 1.20.15-60 photocopied (also AITM translation)**

**AITM translation of 2.34.111-152 photocopied; whole *Uttarabhāga* text downloaded from GRETIL**

**title** *Padma Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** ? 8th century

**edition(s)** *Padma Purāṇa* 1893-94: *padmapurāṇam mahāmuniśrīmadvyāsapraṇītaṃ,* ed. Viśvanātha Nārāyaṇa, ASS 131, 4 vols (Puṇya: Ānandāśrama). **OIL 544.11 Pad.2**

*Padma Purāṇa* 1957-59: *Padmapurāṇaṃ śrīmanmaharṣikṛṣṇadvaypāyanavyāsaviracitam,* 5 vols (Kalakattā: Manasukharāya Mora). **OIL 544.11 Pad.1**

*Padma Purāṇa* 1984-85: *Śrīpadmamahāpurāṇam,* ed. by Cārudeva Śāstri, 4 vols (Delhi: Nag Publishers).

**translation(s) \*** *Padma Purāṇa* 1988-92: *The Padma Purāṇa,* trans. and annotated by N.A. Deshpande, 10 vols, AITM 39-48 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988-92) **Ind. Inst.**

**studies** Koskikallio, Petteri 1999: “The horse sacrifice in the Pātālakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa”, *Composing a Tradition: Concepts, Techniques and Relationships*, Proceedings of the first DICSEP, August 1997, ed. by Mary Brockington and Peter Schreiner (Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts): 227-43 **own copy**

**notes** Two different versions (often called recensions), Bengali and South Indian/ Devanāgarī. The Bengali recension consists of five *khaṇḍas*: *Sṛṣṭi*, *Bhūmi*, *Svarga*, *Pātāla* and *Uttara*. The South Indian recension [as in ASS edn] consists of six *khaṇḍas*: *Ādi* (also called *Svarga* in some printed edns, e.g. VePr), *Bhūmi*, *Brahma*, *Pātāla*, *Sṛṣṭi* and *Uttara*. The *Bhūmikhaṇḍa* of the Bengal recension contains 13 additional chapters, while the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* contains 31 additional chapters; the *Svargakhaṇḍa* contains the descriptions of different regions (*loka*s) and narratives of kings, including the Śakuntalā story. The *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* may be divided into two parts but the second part is not then found in the Bengal recension.

extended narrations in *Pātālakhaṇḍa* (5.1-68, see below) and *Uttarakhaṇḍa* (6.269-71, entitled *Rāmacarita* and forming part of a section on the *avatāras,* 6.258-79); **cf.** *RR* p.235 and Raghavan 1973: 47-59.

*Padma P.* drawn on by *Nāradīya* and *Skanda Puraṇas* and influenced by Bhavabhūti, while its elaborate descr. (5.5) of *rāmarājya* is in the style of Bāṇa.

During its wanderings Rāma’s sacrificial horse, as the party is crossing the Narmadā, vanishes into the underworld but a *yoginī* there restores it to Śatrughna and party, then come encounters with kings Vīramaṇi and Suratha before it reaches Vālmīki’s *āśrama,* where Lava captures it. The story of Sītā from her finding by Janaka is now narrated (5.57) and the fight between Lava and Śatrughna’s party begins (5.60); Kuśa, returning from Ujjain, now joins the skirmish, renders Śatrughna unconscious, and reveals his own identity.

Hospital 1985 p.363: “*Padma* 6.29 follows [?? JLB] the *Bhāgavata* tradition of the cursing of Jaya and Vijaya (233).”

translation (AITM) of 1.33 and 1.35-38 (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa) **photocopied**

5.28.6-193 and 5.35.105-54 (ASS edn, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa) **photocopied**; devanāgarī text of Pātāla and Uttara khaṇḍas **downloaded**

Bhṛgu’s curse on Viṣṇu to incarnate as Rāma found at *VR* 7. App.7, *MatsyaP* 47.94-113and *PadmaP* (ASS) 2.121; curse on Sītā at *Padma* (ASS) 4.57.4-68 has some analogies with *krauñca* episode at start of Bālakāṇḍa.

The *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* (1.35-37[= ASS 5.27-28]) has a section dealing with Rāma’s killing of Śambuka (cf. Sherraden 2023: 103-06), conversation with Agastya and decision not to perform a *rājasūya.*

The *Uttarakhaṇḍa* too deals with Rāma’s story in a few chapters which tell the story of his birth, birth rites, the naming ceremony, etc. (including briefly the birth of Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna as well as of Sītā, Rāma’s guarding Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, the weddings of the four brothers, Rāma’s exile to the forest and life there, Sītā’s abduction and Rāma’s subsequent battle with Rāvaṇa, his return to Ayodhya, the crowning and his eventual departure from the world). The narration here is mostly the same as in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, with some variations. Rāma’s story here ends with Sītā entering the earth and later Rāma and his brothers walking into the Sarayu accompanied by the citizens of Ayodhyā, the *vānaras*, the *rkṣas* and so on, to end their life on earth, as in the Uttarakāṇḍa.   
 However, the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* contains a detailed narration. Most of the *khaṇḍa* (1-68), named *Rāmāśvamedhacarita*, is the last part of the story told against the background of the first *aśvamedha* sacrifice that Rāma conducts years after he abandons the pregnant Sītā, beginning with Rāma’s return from Laṅkā after killing Rāvaṇa (i.e. mainly from end of Yuddha and middle of Uttara). The story is not narrated in strict chronological order: for instance, the abandoning of Sītā, an incident that takes place in the earlier part of the story, is narrated towards the end. The palace garden scene is altogether missing. There is no scene describing Sītā and Rama sitting together in the gardens attached to their palace, no scene in which Rāma tenderly offers Sita drinks with his own hands, no scene in which Apsaras, Nāga and Kinnarī women, intoxicated from drinks, sing and dance near Rāma. The Padma Purāṇa is specific about the fairly advanced stage of Sita’s pregnancy – we are told she is five months pregnant, while Vālmīki tells us only that Rāma observes on Sītā the signs of pregnancy. It is *rahasi*, in private, that Rāma asks her about her *dohada*, the desire of a pregnant woman. And whereas in Vālmīki it is the ascetics that she wishes to visit in their āśramas on the banks of the Gaṅgā, it is specifically female ascetics that she wishes to see in the Padma Purāṇa: *lopāmudrādikā striyah sundarīh:* Lopamudra and other beautiful women.

Another narration at 5.100-113 subordinates Rāma to Śiva and may reflect Liṅgāyata views; it refers to a *Skanda Purāṇa* (at 5.100, somewhere after verse 38). **N.B.** Raghavan’s remark (1973: 54 §7), apparently referring to 5.100-113 (or perhaps just 112): “It may be observed that the style in prose as well as the tenor of the whole narrative is poor and falls short of the general literary level and narrative quality of the *Pādma.*”

M.B.: *PdP* (*Pātālakh.*) 5,1-68 is probably multi-layered, also late:

tendency to see Rāma as object of worship (God, not just *avatāra*)

frequent use of ‘Rāmacandra’

efficacy of Name taken for granted

mental summoning of Rāma

Koskikallio 1999: 231: Message on horse’s forehead is innovation, NOT Vedic practice   
 [M.B. *i.e. associated with recognition of boys*]

Koskikallio 1999: 240: Rāma touches horse — but touch liberates brāhman cursed to be horse, rather than Rāma being purified by horse [M.B. *i.e. original declared purpose of aśvamedha, cleansing of sin of killing brāhman Rāvaṇa, inverted; Rāma is supreme, needs no purification*]

**title** *Nāradīya Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** end 7th – mid 10th cent. (so Hazra)

**edition(s)** *Nāradīya Purāṇa* 1980: *Śrī Nārada purāṇa,* sampādaka Rāmacandra Varmā Śāstrī (Dillī: Dharmagrantha Prakāśana, 1980). **BL**

**translation(s) \*** *Nāradīya Purāṇa* 1980-82: *The Nārada-Purāṇa,* trans. by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, 5 vols, AITM 15‑19 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980-82). **(IND) 4.5.1. 1/15-19**

**studies** Hayashi, Takao: “The Mathematical Section of the *Nārada-purāṇa*.” *IIJ* 36 (1993): 1–28. **not relevant**

Nambiar, K. Damodaran 1979: *Nārada Purāṇa: a critical study* (Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1979). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Nārad. 3**

**notes RR p.237:** The *Nāradīya* *Purāṇa*, as part of a narration by Rāma of Hanumān’s story, includes the story of Vibhīṣaṇa’s rescue by Rāma (1.79), found also in the *Padma* *Purāṇa*, as well as giving more precise timings than often, for example in Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa staying for a month with Viśvāmitra after his sacrifice, and in Sītā having been carried off in the thirteenth year of exile. Hanumān himself is said to be a Śaiva devotee reborn, which contributes to the substantial Śaiva element already present in Rāma’s discourse on the worship of the crystal *liṅga* at Tryambaka.

1.73 gives the mantras of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; 1.74 gives the mantras of Hanumān;  
1.75 is on lighting lamps before Hanumān; [1.76-77 are on Kārtavīrya];  
1.78 gives the *Hanumatkavaca*; 1.79 gives the story of Hanumān, told by Rāma

At 1.79.7 it has Viṣṇu in *caturvyūha* form incarnate as Rāma and his three brothers (more fully at 2.75.3-5, **see** RR p. 236).

2.38-81 enumerate various tīrthas, giving māhātmyas and legends, including 2.75 on Lakṣmaṇācala.

2.75.3-5 followed by a summary of *Rāmāyaṇa* (2.75.7-49). After the return to Ayodhyā Rāma invites Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇa etc to Ayodhyā but Vibhīṣaṇa fails to arrive. Śambhu (Śiva) in form of a brāhman takes Rāma to Drāviḍadeśa and releases Vibhīṣaṇa imprisoned there (1.79.26-30). Mountain where Lakṣmaṇa performed *tapas* after leaving Rāma, before reaching Vaikuṇṭha, became famous as Lakṣmaṇācala (2.75.50-76).

*The Vṛihannáradíya purána*, ed. by Pandit Hṛishíkesa Sástrí, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1891). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Nārad. 2  
This is NOT the same as the Nāradīya Purāṇa (though related) –** cf. comments at Nambiar 1979 p.214 (photocopied)

Hazra (1958: 309-45 and 1940: 127-32), after comparing ritualistic elements in various Purāṇas, concluded that the *Nārada P.* consists of at least three strata:  
 *Pūrvabhāga* 1-41 c. 875-1000  
 *Pūrvabhāga* 42-125 “comparatively late”  
 *Uttarabhāga* 1-37 c. 875-100, but independent of *Pūrvabhāga* 1-41  
 *Uttarabhāga* 38-82 “comparatively late”  
He considered that the original nucleus was a work close to the present *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa,* datable to c. 750-900, which became *adhy.* 1-41 of *Pūrvabhāga,* to which *Uttara* 1-37 were added c. 875-1000, with the rest later still.

**1.79.1-33 and 2.75 (AITM) photocopied; e-text downloaded from GRETIL**

**title** *Śiva Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 8th-14th centuries; 750-1350 acc. to O’Flaherty, *Hindu Myths,* probably compiled by an Āgamic Śaiva in S. India (Zvelebil 1987: xl)

**edition(s)** *Śiva Purāṇa* 1987?: *Śrī Śivamahāpurāṇa hindīṭīkāsahita* (Bambaī: Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa). [date 1987? sic in cat.] **Ind.Inst. 4.5.3. Siva 5**

**translation(s) \*** *Śiva Purāṇa* 1969-70: *The Śiva-purāṇa,* trans. by a board of scholars, 4 vols,AITM 1-4(Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). **OIL 544.12 Siv**

*Śiva Purāṇa* 2007: *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa (an exhaustive introduction, Sanskrit text, English translation with photographs of archaeological evidence),* tr. by Shanti Lal Nagar, 3 vols (Delhi: Parimal). **Ind.Inst. 4.5.3. Siva 9/1-3**

**studies** Kapp, Dieter B. 1988: “Zwei Anspielungen auf die Mahīrāvaṇa-Sage: Śivapurāṇa 3.20.34 und Padumāvatī 394-395”, *WZKS* 32: 91-102. **photocopy**

**notes see** RR p.237 fin. + 238 §1

*Śiva Purāṇa* apparently drawn on by *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa,* Tulsīdās and (indirectly) the Malay version.

*Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* assigned by Zvelebil (1987: xl) to C9-10 and written by “an Āgamic Śaiva, *most probably of Southern Indian* origin” [Z’s emphasis]

Hospital 1985 p.359: “The treatment of Rāvaṇa in the *Śiva* seems to be an attempt to answer the question why Śiva allowed his devotee to be defeated by Rāma.”

In its *Koṭirudrasaṃhitā,* in an *adhyāya* on the Vaidyanātheśvara liṅga (4.28), Rāvaṇa propitiates Śiva with bhakti, then with tapas, cuts off 9 of his heads, but then Śiva restores them and grants him unequalled strength. He misuses this, as a result of Nārada’s wiles, to lift Kailāsa, prompting Śiva to declare that a destroyer of his arrogance will soon appear (4.28.72).

*Śatarudrasaṃhitā* (=3) 20 is devoted to praise of Hanumān and his exploits; it includes Hanumān as a manifestation of Śiva, with his exploits as part of Śiva’s *līlās.* Śiva’s semen, shed when he sees Viṣṇu as Mohinī, is transferred by the seven sages to Gautama’s daughter Añjanī through her ear and she gives birth to Hanumān (found also in the Malay version, cf. too Lao IV). There is also a brief allusion (3.20.34) to his killing Mahīrāvaṇa and freeing of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, found also for example in the Tamil folktale (cf. Zvelebil 1987: xxxvi-vii + xl mid.).  
[**see further**notes on Mahīrāvaṇa above under *Jaimini Bhārata*]

It has a burlesque parody of the Rāma story with Viṣṇu and Nārada encountering a thinly-disguised Sītā, Janaka, Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, *vānaras* (*ŚiP* 2,3—4).

Lovesick for Śrīmati (daughter of king Śīlanidhi), Nārada predicts to her father she will be:

highly fortunate and blessed like Lakṣmī. Her future husband will certainly be a splendid God, lord of all, unvanquished, heroic, on a par with Śiva, and vying with Kāmadeva. [*ŚiP* 2,3.17-18]

Nārada asks Viṣṇu to give him his own form to win her at a *svayaṃvara*, but he is not chosen, and he is mocked by 2 brāhman attendants, whom he curses to be demons born of brāḥman semen; he then discovers the reason: Viṣṇu has given him the face of Hari (monkey). Viṣṇu is subsequently chosen at a *svayaṃvara* (no suitor test). Enraged, Nārada curses Viṣṇu:

O Viṣṇu, enchanter that you are, you made me distressed for the sake of a woman. O Hari, you shall experience misery in that human form which you imitated while proceeding with your deceptive tactics. Your allies will be those whose fate you assigned to me.

O inflicter of miseries upon others, you shall get the misery of separation from a woman. You shall have the travails of a human being deluded by ignorance. [*ŚiP* 2,4.15-17]

Rāma’s encounter with Śiva and wife – *hierarchy without antagonism*

*ŚiP*, *Rudrasaṃhitā* 2.24.21—25.69: Śiva and Satī encounter Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by chance during the search for Sītā. Śiva bows to Rāma and explains to the puzzled Satī that Rāma is divine. Satī, unconvinced, agrees to Śiva’s suggestion that she test Rāma, approaches him alone in the guise of Sītā but is immediately recognised. Satī is ashamed. Rāma explains that Śiva considers Viṣṇu as worthy of respect (25.15-16), but that Śiva is still supreme (25.19-20), and that Rāma is devoted to Śiva (25.40). This episode leads to a breach between Śiva and Satī, but it is only temporary. The Dakṣa episode follows immediately (chapters 26—31) but it is not a consequence.

***Śatarudrasaṃhitā* 20 and *Koṭirudrasaṃhitā* 28 and 31 photocopied  
[*Vidyeśvara* and *Vāyavīya saṃhitās* available on GRETIL]**

**title** *Brahma Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** mid 10th century (final redaction later)

**edition(s) \*** Schreiner, Peter and Renate Söhnen (eds) 1987-89: *Brahmapurāṇa*, Purāṇa Research Publications, Tübingen 1-2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz). **own copy**

**translation(s)** *Brahma* Purāṇa 1985-86: Brahma *Purāṇa,*4 vols,AITM 33-36 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). **(IND) 4.5.1. 1/35-36**

**studies** Söhnen-Thieme, Renate 2006: “Rāmāyaṇa stories in the Brahmapurāṇa and other Purāṇic sources”, paper presented at the 13th WSC, Edinburgh, 2006.

**notes** **download** of Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edn in “texts and translations” folder; see Renate Söhnen’s paper at Philadelphia conference (in folder)

*Gautamīmāhātmya* = BrP 70(.12)–175

The *Gautamīmāhātmya* presents Rāma for his filial piety in rescuing Daśaratha from hell rather than for his fidelity to his father’s oath (see BrP 123.187-90), so only that episode (= Śrāvaṇa) of the well-known story is narrated, with Kaikeyī earning the boon that initiates the story.

Other stories narrated elsewhere as appropriate: **see** BrP II, p. XXXII §3 and index (cf. RR: 239-40)

**title** *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 10th-16th centuries

**edition(s) \*** *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* 1984-85: *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa of Krsna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa,* ed. by J.L. Shastri, 2 vols(Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas; repr. 2004). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Brhv. 4**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Brown, Cheever Mackenzie 1974: *God as mother, a feminine theology of India: an historical and theological study of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (Hartford, Vermont: Claude Stark) **OIL 544.14 Bra.B**

Gupta, A.S. 1961: “The apocryphal character of the extant Brahamavaivarta Purāṇa”, *Purāṇa* 3: 92-101. **download (vol.)**

**notes** contains Vedavatī story (2.14.1-64) – **text photocopied**

The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* recounts in full the story of Vedavatī (2.14.1-64), though with some variations from the *Uttarakāṇḍa* account (Rm 7.17): her father Kuśadhvaja is a king rather than a sage and she is said to be Lakṣmī rather than Vāc. Immediately before the incident of the golden deer a brāhman, who is in fact Agni, tells Rāma secretly that he will remove the real Sītā for safekeeping and restoration after the battle, leaving meanwhile a duplicate (*chāyā*) Sītā behind. Mārīca, when killed by Rāma, goes to Vaikuṇṭha, resuming his true form as Jaya, one of its two gate-keepers (2.14.40-41). Elsewhere it narrates the story of Indra’s adultery with Ahalyā (4.47) and follows it with a brief narration of the Rāma story, laying particular stress on Śūrpaṇakhā’s lust; it also mentions Hanumān as a partial incarnation of Śiva (4.47.62-63).

The Ahalyā story is at 4.47.19-43 in 1984-85 edn (above), ending:  
 *ṣaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi bhuktvā bhogaṃ munipriyā |  
 śrīrāmacaraṇasparśāt sadyaḥ śuddhā babhūva ha* || 43 ||

The Ahalyā story is also found at 4.61 and is **followed** by a summary of the *Rāmāyaṇa* at 4.62, entitled *Śrīrāmacarita.*

**2.14.1-64, 4.47.19-42 and4.61.30-64.5 photocopied**

**title** *Varāha Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 750 A.D. acc. to O’Flaherty, *Hindu Myths*

**edition(s) \*** *Varāha Purāṇa* 1981: *The Varāha Purāna,* critically ed. by Anand Swarup Gupta, with English translation by Ahibhushana Bhattacharya (Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Var 3**

**translation(s) cf. above**

**studies**

**notes** in 217 or 218 *adhyāyas*

no Rāma narrative as such but evidence of acquaintance with *Uttarakāṇḍa*

In *Kapilavarāhamāhātmya* (= CE 161), Rāvaṇa after defeating Indra enters his house, sees the Kapilavarāha image and takes it back to Laṅkā (161.32-41). After defeating Rāvana, Rāma asks Vibhīṣaṇa for the image and takes it back with him to Ayodhyā (161.49-51). Subsequently Śatrughna is given it for ridding Mathurā of Lavaṇa and establishes it there.

Hazra (*Studies in the Purāṇic Records,* 1940, p. 105 ff.) dates CE *adhy.* 150-178 later than *adhy.* 140-149 (which he places not later than 1500 A.D.) but not later than the date of the *Haribhaktivilāsa* [i.e. before c. 1540]

***adhy.* 161.21-62 and 206.1-89 (CE) photocopied** [206.1-89 for Janaka, grandson of Nimi and ancestor of VR Janaka (see VR 1,70, not for ER]

**title** *Garuḍa* *Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 9th-11th centuries

**edition(s) \*** *Garuḍa* *Purāṇa* 2006:  *The Garuda Mahāpurāṇam,* English translation by M.N. Dutt, ed. by Pushpendra Kumar, 2 vols. (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers).  
 **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Gar. 14; pp. 411-16 photocopied**

*Garuḍa Purāṇa* 2007:*The Garuda Mahāpurāṇam: Sanskrit text with English translation & notes,* English trans. by M.N. Dutt, ed. by Pushpendra Kumar (Delhi: New Bharatiya Book Corporation). [Dutt’s translation first published – Calcutta: Society for the Resuscitation of Indian Literature, 1908] **OIL 544.11 Gar**

**translation(s)** *Garuḍa Purāṇa* 1978-80: *The Garuḍa Purāna,* trans. by a board of scholars, AITM 12-14 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). **(IND) 4.5.1. 1/12-14**

**studies**

**notes** text and translation of 1.142 and 143 **photocopied** (from 2006 edn above); AITM vol.12 (1978): 410-17 **photocopied** for GP 1.143

two brief accounts (1.142 and 143) as part of an account of the different dynasties and of Viṣṇu’s *avatāras.*

**title** *Saura Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 11th-12th centuries acc. to Gonda; 500-800 for ch. 30 acc. to Hazra

**edition(s) \*** *Saura Purāṇa* 1924: *Vyāsakṛtaṃ saurapurāṇam,* ed. Kasinath Sastri Lele, 3rd edn (Poona: Ānandāśrama). [1st edn 1889] **(IND) Sansk. ser. C 1/18 / OIL 544.11 Sau**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Barth, A. 1896: “Deux chapitres du Saurapurāṇa”, *Mélanges Charles de Harlez: Recuil de travaux d’érudition offert à Mgr Charles de Harlez* (Leyde: E.J. Brill):12-25. **scan**

Hazra, R.C. 1943-44: “The Saura-purāṇa”, *NIA* 6: 103-11 and 121-29. **download (vol.)**

Jahn, Wilhelm 1908: *Das Saurapurāṇam: Ein Kompendium spätindischer Kulturgeschichte und des Śivaïsmus, Einleitung, Inhaltsangabe nebst Übersetzungen, Erklärungen und Indices* (Straßburg: Trübner). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Ādit.1 / OIL 544.11 Sau.1**

Krishnamurti Sarma, B.N. 1931-32: “An attack on Śrī Madhvācārya in the Saura Purāṇa”, ABORI 13: 59-76. [in adhy. 39-40, regarded as an interpolation]

**notes** brief account (30.48-69) within chapter on history of ancient dynasties; its Śaiva emphasis includes Rāmeśvaram liṅga being set up by Rāma, Rāma’s *aśvamedha* being to propitiate Śiva, and Kuśa and Lava being devotees of Mahādeva.

its account seems to share some particular features with the *Kūrma Purāṇa* [**check**]

Gonda, *Religionen Indiens* II: 56 — “ ... das späte Saura-Purāṇa (12. Jh. ?), das Śiva mit dem Sonnengott identifiziert”

Jahn 1908 pp. X-XIII notes that several citations from the *Saura Purāṇa* by Hemādri in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* are found in the ASS text (used by Jahn) but others are not.

pp. XIII fin.-XV (following Barth 1896) states that chapters 38-40 are polemic against Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas in a developed form, but nevertheless dates the *Saura Purāṇa* before 1200.

30.27-72 give a genealogy from Kaśyapa, Ikṣvāku and Kakutstha to Raghu, Daśaratha, Rāma and his brothers, then on to Bhānujit (9 generations after Rāma); Jahn’s fn.1 on p.79 at Rāma’s name to his summary/table of this is:  
“Dessen Leben (Inhalt des *Rāmāyaṇam*) kurz erzählt wird. Śl. 64 ff. stellt Rāma nach Besiegung *Rāvaṇa*’s das Götterbild *Śiva*’s (*Rāmeśvara*) auf der Brücke nach Ceylon auf. Rāma wird dann König, beherrscht die ganz Erde und bringt *Śiva* ein Roßopfer dar. Śl. 69 verweist auf *Vālmīki,* den Dichter des *Rāmāyaṇam.*”

from Jahn’s index:  
Kuśa + Lava 30.69-70 Bharata 30.49 Vālmīki 30.69  
Kaikeyī 30.54-55 Rāma 30.49ff. Sītā 30.51ff.  
Janaka 30.51-53 Rāmeśvara 30.65 Sugrīva 30.59  
Daśaratha 30.48 ff. Rāvaṇa 30.14ff., 57ff. Hanumān 30.59-61  
Dūṣaṇa 30.14ff. Lakṣmaṇa 30.49

**text of *adhy.* 30 printed out (scan of ASS edn and MUM online)**

**title** *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 9th or 10th century (South India, prob. Tamilnad)

**edition(s)** *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1951: *Maharṣivedavyāsapraṇītaṃ śrīmadbhāgavatamahāpurāṇam* (Gorakhpur: Gītā Press, V.S. 2008).

**\*** *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1996-2002:  *Bhāgavata (Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa),* crit. ed. by H.G. Shastri (Ahmedabad: B.J. Institute of Learning and Research).   
[vol. 3 (1998) ed. by K.K. Shastree contains *skandha* 9] **(IND) 4.5.3. Bhag. 53**

**translation(s) \*** *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1976-78: *The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa,* trans. by G.V. Tagare, AITM 7-11, 5 vols (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). **(IND) 4.5.1. 1/7-10**

**studies** Satyavrat 2005-6: “Rāma story in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa: an appraisal”, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 43-44: 226-31. **checked (rather general)**

**notes** account in two chapters (9.10-11), within solar dynasty narrative, which begins with statement that *rāmacarita* has been sung by many *ṛṣis* (9.10.2). The second chapter is devoted to the *Uttarakāṇḍa* narrative.

It demonstrates the beginning of a shift in understanding of Rāma (and others):

Rāma has very tender feet

Rāma’s terrifying anger against Ocean is only apparent

Rāma’s helplessness after the abduction is only simulated

Rāvaṇa is deprived of his auspicious fortune by touching Sītā [*he does touch her and does not lift the ground she stands on*]

Satyavrat 2005-6 notes following differences in its account:  
it merges *svayaṃvara* and *dhanurbhaṅga* (9.10.6) [Sahai 1976: 11 notes that Rāma draws the bow in the presence of other suitors];Mārīca decoys Rāma but no mention of his becoming a golden deer or Sītā fancying it, nor of what Lakṣmaṇa does;  
it drastically abbreviates the battle scenes;  
Rāma himself after fall of Laṅkā visits Sītā in the *aśokavana* and takes her straight back to Ayodhyā on the *vimāna* (with their close allies) – **no** “fire ordeal”;  
**but** does have subsequent banishment where, however, Sītā reaches Vālmīki’s hermitage on her own, **not** taken by Lakṣmaṇa, and descends to Pātāla while there (so nothing about Kuśa and Lava as singers, etc.).

Satyavrat p.227: “It accords well with the way the royal *svayaṁvara* has been detailed in some of the later texts and vernacular Rāmāyaṇas, to some of which the BP is doubtless indebted for the version.” [cf. *Prasannarāghava* (ed. R.S. Tripathi, Delhi, 1970) 3.40-49]

**Bhāg.P. 9.10-11 photocopied from CE and from AITM**

**title** *Mahābhāgavata* *Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 10th or 11th century (??) / c. 1400-1600 (eastern Bengal)

**edition(s)** *Mahābhāgavata* *Purāṇa* 1913: *mahabhāgavatapurāṇam,* ed. Manilal Itaharam Desai (Bombay: Gujarati Printing Press). [*used in Raghavan 1973*]

**\*** *Mahābhāgavata* *Purāṇa* 1983: *śrīmahābhāgavatapurāṇam,* ed. by Pushpendra Kumar (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1983). **(IND) 4.5.3. Mbhag. 1**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Bhatt, Hansa B. 2004: *A Critical Study of the Mahābhāgavatapurāṇam* (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan). **pp. 44-55 + 312-319 photocopied**

Dold, Patricia 2003: “Kālī the terrific and her tests: the śākta devotionalism of the *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa”,* in McDermott, Rachel Fell, and Jeffrey J. Kripal, eds, *Encountering KālI: in the margins, at the center, in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 35-59. **(IND) Hindu B 964**

**notes pp. 8-11 of contents summary and adhyāyas 37-48 downloaded  
(**from 1983 edn)

emphasis on Devī worship and also includes Rāmeśvaram liṅga

Sītā as Mandodarī’s daughter (42.64)

emphasis on Rāma’s worship of Devī, especially in ch. 43 and 48.

from Maity 1992 pp. 42-42: “Rāma’s life can be found in Chapters 37 to 49. ... Bibhīṣaṇa is the avatāra of Yama. ... [when gods appeal to him] Viṣṇu tells them that a goddess abides in Laṅkā, and, as long as she | is there no one can defeat Rāvaṇa. She tells them that she will leave Laṅkā because of Sītā’s abduction, and Śiva will assume the form of Hanumān to assist Rāma. ... There is reference to the magic-image of Sītā and to Nārada’s curse.”

Dold 2003: 56 fn.1 [Hazra dates the *Mahābhāgavata* to 10th or 11th century; Sircar’s work on other śākta texts] “suggests a seventeenth-century dating. See his *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), p. 106 n. 2. In my dissertation on the *Mahābhāgavata* (forthcoming, McMaster University), I argue that a major period for the composition of the text was ca. 1400 to 1600.”

**title** *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 11th-12th century (?) (NE India, prob. Bengal)

**edition(s) \*** *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa* 1988?: *devībhāgavataṃ sabhāṣāṭīkaṃ samāhātmyam* (Bambaī: Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa; repr. of Bombay: Venkatesvara Press, 1889). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Devibha 4**

**translation(s) see below**

**studies** Brown, C. Mackenzie 1990: *The Triumph of the Goddess: the canonical models and theological visions of the DevīBhāgavata Purāṇa,* SUNY Series in Hindu Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press). **pp. 167-9 + 280-1 photocopied**

Kinsley, David 1982: “The image of the divine and the status of women in the Devī-bhāgavata-purāṇa”, *Anima* 9.1: 50-56. [nothing relevant] **download**

**notes** In response to Janamejaya’s question about how Rāma observed the *Devīvrata* and regained his kingdom and wife, Vyāsa briefly tells the story of Rāma (chapters 28-30). It contains Vedavatī story (3.30.6-12 and 9.16.3-53) and Indra’s mission to Sītā in captivity (30.16-17, cf. Rām. 3 App.12)

Acc. to Maity 1992, it refers to the illusory Sītā; also, in chapter 62 in the Kṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa **(??)**, the Rāma story is briefly touched on in the description of the release of Ahalyā from the curse.

At 28.67-68 Rāvaṇa, as he abducts Sītā, tells her that he had stayed away from her *svayaṃvara* out of respect for his guru Śiva (whose bow is to be strung) but has been thinking of her ever since.

The *vānaras* are partial incarnations of gods, as Lakṣmaṇa is of Śeṣa (30.55-56).

*Devībhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.16.1-63 corresponds almost verbatim with *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* 2.14.1-64.

**Devībhāg.P. 3.28-30 photocopied** (from edn above)

**trans. by Vijñānānanda (1921-22) of 3.28-30 downloaded**

**title** *Skanda Purāṇa* (vulgate)

**date (and provenance)** ? 12th century, up to 14th century

**edition(s) \*** *Skanda Purāṇa* 1986-87: *śrīskandamahāpurāṇam,* 7 vols (Delhi: Nag Publishers [repr. of Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edn]). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Skanda 19**

**translation(s) \*** *Skanda Purāṇa* 1992-2003: *The Skanda-purāṇa,* translated and annotated by G.V. Tagare, 23 vols, AITM 49-71 **(**Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass).  
 **(IND) 4.5.1. 1/49-71**

**studies**

**notes** RR: 236, 238

**photocopied:** 1,1.8.32-113, 2,1.5.18-30, 2,4.25.7-27.19, 2,7.21.53-68, 3,1.1.86-2.114, 3,1.43.8-44.65, 3,1.45.45-46.52, 3,2.29.2-31.12, 5,1.24.1-26.19, 5,1.30.90-31.55,   
5,2.79.1-44, 5,3.83.101-84.24, 6,20.1-21.54, 6,95.79-103.62, 7,19.74-20.60

**[see** photocopies of Awasthi, *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa, pt II,* pp. 158-9(grey box file) **and** Tagare, “The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa and its impact on Purāṇic versions”, pp. 248-9]

contains Vedavatī story (1.1.8.105-10 and 2.1.5.18-30); Hanumān is regarded as an *avatāra* of Śiva (5.2.79 and 5.3.84)

stresses *liṅga*-worship by the Rākṣasas, going on to describe the gods’ appeal to Viṣṇu and his incarnation as Rāma (1.1.8); here an aspect of Śiva himself appears as Hanumān, whose celibacy is for the first time stressed. Subsequently, it also deals with the causeway and the Rameśvaram *liṅga* (3.1.1–2 and 43–47); this account is notable for its close verbal coincidences with the *Rāmopākhyāna*, which is evidently its source, although the discourse that Rāma gives to Hanumān in connection with the establishment of the *liṅga* follows closely Rāma’s discourse to Bharata (Rm 2.98). Its next section, the *Dharmāraṇya*, again returns to the Rāma story (*Brahma khaṇḍa* 30-36 = 3.2.30-36; these have Rāma among their interlocutors but only 2.30 is on the Rāma story), this time basing its narrative with its many chronological details on the *Padma* *Purāṇa* account (*Pātālakhaṇḍa* 36).

At 1.1.8.113 Rāvaṇa, when killed by Viṣṇu, attained *sārūpya* with Śiva [**analysed**].

There is a discussion of Rāma’s sin of *brahmahatyā* in killing Rāvaṇa at *Brahmakhaṇḍa* (=3) 47; in order to remove it he installs the Rāmeśvara liṅga (40-41). [cf. *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* for Rāmeśvara liṅga]

3.1.1-52 is called *Setumāhātmya* in colophons, with the background to the building given in *adhy.* 2.

3.1.43 begins: *śrīsūta uvāca |  
 athedānīṃ pravakṣyāmi rāmanāthasya vaibhavam |  
 yac chrutvā sarvapāpebhyo mucyate mānavo bhuvi ||1 ||  
 rāmapratiṣṭhitaṃ liṅgaṃ yaḥ paśyati naraḥ sakṛt |  
 sa naro muktim āpnoti śivasāyujyarūpiṇīm || 2||* and continues with further eulogy

3.1.47.1-5 (Nag, 1986-87)  
  *ṛṣaya ūcuḥ ||  
 rākṣasasya vadhāt sūta rāvaṇasya mahāmune |  
 brahmahatyā katham abhūd rāghavasya mahātmanaḥ || 1 ||  
 brāhmaṇasya vadhāt sūta brahmahatyābhijāyate |  
 na brāhmaṇo daśagrīvaḥ kathaṃ tad vada no mune || 2 ||  
 brahmahatyā bhavet krūro rāmacandrasya dhīmataḥ |  
 etan naḥ śraddadhānāṃ vada kāruṇyato ‘dhunā || 3 ||  
 iti pṛṣṭas tataḥ sūto naimiṣāraṇyavāsibhiḥ |  
 vaktum pracakrame teṣāṃ praśnasyottaram uttamam || 4 ||  
 śrīsūta uvāca  
 brahmaputro mahātejāḥ pulastyo nāma vai dvijaḥ |  
 babhūva tasya putro ‘bhūd viśravā iti viśrutaḥ || 5 ||*(and continuing through Rāvaṇa’s genealogy)

ref. in *Vaiṣṇavakh.* 21 to Vālmīki as son of a sage Kṛṇu (who is a hunter – unnamed – reborn as a sage through a boon gained by praying to Rāma), covered by a termite mound during his *tapas* and so called Valmīka.

robber/bandit Agniśarma repents of his sins and becomes Vālmīki at *Āvantya Kṣetramāhātmya* 24

robber/bandit Lohajaṅgha repents of his sins and becomes Vālmīki at *Nāgarakh.* 124

robber/bandit Vaiśākha (**but** son of a brāhman, Śamīmukha) repents of his sins and becomes Vālmīki at *Prabhāsakh.* 278

**5.** At *Āvantya* (=5) 1.31 Rāma establishes a liṅga called after himself at Ujjain on his way from Citrakūṭa and performs a *śrāddha* for Daśaratha, in which context occur the incidents of Sītā vanishing from shame and of Lakṣmaṇa’s rebellion found in the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Sṛṣṭi* 27.130ff. and 189-91). The establishment of other liṅgas is ascribed to various Rām. figures elsewhere in this *khaṇḍa* (**see**Raghavan 1973: 88-89).

**3**.2.30 provides dating for all the major events of the Rāma story, from his marriage at 15 (when Sītā was 6) to his *abhiṣeka* on the 7th of the bright half of Caitra when he was 42.

**6**.99-104 expands on the last period of Rāma’s life with Rāma deciding to visit Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā after Lakṣmaṇa’s entry into the Sarayū and before his own, during which he establishes a triad of liṅgas at Rāmeśvaram and destroys the *setu* at Vibhīṣaṇa’s request.

The printed edns published by Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, Shri Venkateshvara Press, Bombay (1910) and N.K. Press, Lucknow. All contain 7 khaṇḍas: Maheśvara, Vaiṣṇava, Brahma, Kāśī, Āvantya, Nāgara and Prabhāsa.

**1.** Maheśvara Khaṇḍa contains: the Kedāra Khaṇḍa (35 *adhy.*), the Kaumārika Khaṇḍa or Kumārika Khaṇḍa (66 *adhy.*) and the Arunācala Khaṇḍa or Arunācala Māhātmya, which is further divided into : Pūrvārdha (13 *adhy.*) and Uttarārdha (24 *adhy.*).

**2.** Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa contains 9 sections: Veṅkatācalamāhātmya (40 *adhy.*), Puruṣottamakṣetramāhātmya (49 *adhy.*), Badarikāśramamāhātmya (8 *adhy.*), Kārttikamāsamāhātmya (36 *adhy.*), Mārgaśirṣamāsamāhātmya (17 *adhy.*), Bhāgavatamāhātmya (4 *adhy.*), Vaiśākhamāsamāhātmya (25 *adhy.*), Ayodhyāmāhātmya (10 *adhy.*) and Vāsudevamāhātmya (32 *adhy.*).

**3.** Brahma khaṇḍa has three sections: Setumāhātmya (52 *adhy.*), Dharmāraṇya khaṇḍa   
(40 *adhy.*) and Uttara khaṇḍa or Brahmottara khaṇḍa (22 *adhy.*).

**4.** Kāśī Khaṇḍa has two parts: Pūrvārdha (50 *adhy.*) and Uttarārdha (50 *adhy.*).

**5.** Āvantya Khaṇḍa contains the Avantikṣetramāhātmya (71 *adhy.*), Caturaśītiliṅgamāhātmya (84 *adhy.*) and Revā khaṇḍa (100 *adhy.*).

**6.** Nāgara Khaṇḍa (279 *adhy.*) consists of the Tirthamāhātmya.

**7.** Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa (366 *adhy.*) contains the Prabhāsakṣetramāhātmya, Vastrāpathakṣetramāhātmya, Arbuda khaṇḍa and Dvarakāmāhātmya

**title** *Agni Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 6th century onwards (?), post 11th century acc. to Raghavan ( i.e. post Bhoja, on basis of its *alaṃkāra* chapters)

**edition(s) \*** *Agni Purāṇa* 2001: *Agni Mahāpurāṇam*, ed. J.K.L. Shastri, trans. M.N. Dutt, Parimal Sanskrit Series 53, 2 vols (Delhi: Parimal). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Agni 6  
 *translation is NOT close*** *(Gangadharan better)*

**translation(s) \*** *Agni Purāṇa* 1984-87: *Agni Purāṇa,* trans. by N. Gangadharan, AITM 27-30 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). **(IND) 4.5.1. 1/27-30; download; notes (Mary)**

*Agni Mahāpurāṇam* [as edn]

**studies** Krishna Aiyangar, A.N. 1965: ‘Agnipurāṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa”, *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 25: 9–17. **download (vol.);** *see notes*

**notes** adhy. 5 (= *Bālakāṇḍa*) has 15 *ślokas,* 6 (= *Ayodhyāk.*) has 51, 7 (= *Araṇyak.*) has 24,   
8 (= *Kiṣkindhāk.*) has 17, 9 (= *Sundarak.*) has 33, 10 (= *Yuddhak.*) has 35, 11 (= *Uttarak.*) has 14, making a total of 179 *ślokas* (there are no verses in longer metres). [*adhyāyas* 1-4 cover up to the story of Paraśurāma and *adhy.* 12 on narrates story of Kṛṣṇa]

The killing of Virādha is omitted.

Sampāti’s advice to look for Sītā in Laṅkā comes at 9.1 (rather than end of *Sundara*).

*Bāla* summary: Daśaratha’s descent is traced from Nārāyaṇa, through Brahmā, Marīci, Vivasvat and Manu. Nārāyaṇa decides to incarnate as Daśaratha’s four sons to punish Rāvaṇa. Viśvāmitra claims Rāma to protect his sacrifice –> killing of Tāṭakā, R. + L.’s initiation into weaponry (*astras*), death of Subāhu and use of *mānavāstra* against Mārīca. Journey to Mithilā, breaking of the bow, marriages of Rāma and Sītā and of all the brothers. Encounter with Paraśurāma and triumphant return to Ayodhyā. [**n.b.** no Ahalyā]

*Ayodhyā* summary: the preparations for Rāma’s installation are interrupted by Kaikeyī; Mantharā’s hatred explained by her having been dragged by the feet by Rāma (6.8). Kākāsura *upākhyāna* included here (6.36-37) instead of in the *Sundarakāṇḍa.*

*Araṇya* summary: visit to Atri’s *āśrama* and Sītā’s meeting with Anasūya here rather than end of *Ayodhyāk.* Virādha omitted. Kabandha directs them to Sugrīva.

*Kiṣkindhā* summary: Rāma meets Śabarī (8.1 – **n.b.** location); 8,6-8 taken verbatim from Rāmāyaṇa; Svayaṃprabhā is here called Suprabhā (8.12).

*Sundara* summary: begins at 9.1 with Saṃpāti’s advice to look for Sītā in Laṅkā and the vānaras’ deliberations about how to cross the sea. Indrajit’s triumph in binding Hanumān is the result of the *nāgapāśa (9.18)* **not** *brahmāstra.*

*Yuddha* summary: begins with the message sent through Aṅgada to Rāvaṇa to surrender Sītā to Rāma.

*Uttara* summary: Viśravas has just two wives: Puṣpotkaṭā, mother of Kubera, and Kaikasī, mother of Rāvaṇa (11.1-3)

Its section on *rājanīti* (238-242) is claimed to be what Rāma taught Lakṣmaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* especially in the course of the battle (but no verbal echoes of Vālmīki).

*adhy.* 5-11 **photocopied** from Parimal 2001 edn

**title (and author)** *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** c. 1100-1400 (possibly Maharashtra)

**edition(s)** *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* 1993: *The Gaṇeśa Purāṇa,* ed. by S.S. Purohit (Delhi: Nag Publishers; repr. 2006).

*Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* 1995:*Gaṇeśapurāṇa,* [saṅkalanakartā] Camanalāla Gautama (Barelī: Saṃskṛti Saṃsthāna, 1995). **BL**

**translation(s) \*** *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* 1995-2008: *Ganeśapurāṇa: Part I Upāsanakhaṇḍa; Part II Krīdākhaṇḍa,* trans. by Greg Bailey, 2 vols, Purāṇa Research Publications Tübingen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz). **own copy**

**studies** Hazra, R. C. 1951” "The Ganesa Purana," *JGJRI* 9:79-99.

**notes** refs to Rāma/Rāmāyaṇa locatable through indices

Greg concurs with dating to 1100-1400 (II: 79)

**title** *Narasiṃha Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** part at least post 1250 A.D. (quotes *Dūtāṅgada*)

**edition(s) \*** *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* 1987a: *The Narasiṃhapurāṇam,* ed. Puspendra Kumar (Delhi: Nag, 1987). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Naras. 3**

**translation(s)** *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* 1987b: *The Narasiṃha Purāṇam* (text with English translation and notes), by Siddheswar Jena (Delhi: Nag). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Naras. 4**[text is same as in text only edn (same details), ≈ Gītā Press edn (**see** preface p. 10)]

*Narasiṃha Purāṇa* 2003: *Narasiṃha-Purāṇa, Sanskrit text, English translation and index of verses,* ed. and trans. by Joshi K.L. Shastri <and> Bindiya Trivedi, Parimal Sanskrit Series, 67 (Delhi, Parimal). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Naras. 5**

**studies** Jena, Siddheswar 1987: *The Narasiṃha Purāṇam: a study,* Purāṇa vidyā series, 1 (Delhi: Nag Publishers). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Naras. 2**

Raghavan, V. 1972: “The Date of the Narasiṃha Purāṇa”, *India Maior,* Leiden, pp. 239-40.

Raghavan, V. 1973: *The Greater Rāmāyaṇa* (The Professor L. Venkataratnam Lectures for 1971 in the University of Madras). Varanasi, All-India Kashiraj Trust. **[see pp. 60-63]**

**notes** Rāma narrative in six chapters (47-52) **photocopied** (from Nag 1987 text); **see** k to EPB 4957.

Jena 1987: 16 dates the text to “about the middle of the 13th Century AD.”   
Jena 1987: 253 – Though the Narasiṃha Purāna gives a brief resume of all the eighty one tīrthas, it refers to some twenty one tīrthas which we notice for the first time in our text. They are:– Mālyodapāna (65.8), Pāṇḍusahya, Vasurūḍha, Vallivaṭa (Ch. 65.9), Kubjāgāra, Gandhadvāra, Sakala, Sāyaka (6511), Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Tṛṇabinduvana (65.13), Kaseraṭa (65.14), Halāṅgara, Devaśālā, Daśapura (65.15), Liṅgakūṭa (65.18), Āḍhya (65.20) and Keralaka (65.22), Kuṇḍikā (66.25), Piṇḍasthāna (66.29-30), Dhanuḥpāta and Śarabindu (66.33-34).

no Śrāvaṇa episode; as in several later versions, Rāma draws the bow in the presence of other suitors; it remodels the abduction: Rāvaṇa tells Sīta that Bharata has arrived from Ayodhya and is talking with Rāma over where the golden deer has been caught and that they and Lakṣmaṇa will go to Ayodhyā in the chariot he has brought, thus inducing Sītā to get into it (48.78-83); as in the *Rāmopākhyāna* (3.264.19-26), only one round of battle between Vālin and Sugrīva is described (Sahai 1976: 19 n.2, citing Bulcke 1950: 475)..

from e-mail from Peter Schreiner (2nd Oct 2005): “I am struck by its version of some episodes: Rāma is writing a letter to Lakṣmaṇa to command him to cut off the nose of Śūrpaṇakhā [49.41-47, p. 431]; Sītā is convinced by Rāvaṇa (in disguise) that Bharata has been calling Rāma back and that she should step into his chariot so that he can bring her back to the capital (which she believes) [49.81-87, p. 437].”

acc. to Maity 1992, when Rāma rejects Śūrpaṇakhā, she asks him to give her a letter for Lakṣmaṇa telling him to marry her but the letter Rāma gives her tells him to cut off her nose and ears. Also, it has Virūpākṣa killed by Vibhīṣaṇa rather than Sugrīva.

**translated into Telugu c. 1300**

**title** *Kalki Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 1500-1700 acc. to O’Flaherty, *Hindu Myths*; not later than 18th cent. acc. to Hazra

**edition(s) \*** *Kalki Purāṇa* 2006: *Śrī Kalki Purāṇa,* trans. by Bhumipati Das, ed. by Pūrnaprajña Das; presented by Laxman Das and Sanmohini Devi Dasi (Mathura: Jai Nitāi Press). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Kal. 7**

**translation(s) as above**

**studies**

**notes** It has an unusual variant on Sītā’s final disappearance, with Rāma suggesting at this point that Sītā should undergo another fire-ordeal – the only noteworthy point in its treatment of the Rāma story (3.24-57).

As in several later versions, Sītā sees Rāma at the suitor contest and is enamoured (3.3.29).

It rationalises episodes in *HV* concerning Dvivida and Jāmbavān

text of 17.56 from 2006 edn above [17 = 3, evidently]

*tato raghupatis tu tāṃ sutayutāṃ rudantīṃ puro  
 jagāda dahane punaḥ praviśa śodhanāyātmaḥ itīritam  
 avekṣya sā raghupateḥ padābje  
 natā viveśa jananī yutā  
 maṇigaṇojjvalaṃ bhūtalam*trans.: When Vālmīki brought Sītā and Her two sons to see Lord Rāma, the Lord said to Her: You must again enter fire to prove Your purity. Upon hearing these words, mother Sītā entered within the earth and went to Rasātala.

Rāmāyaṇa narrative in this edn is vv. 22-57 (with 58 as *praśasti*)

**title** *Bṛhaddharma* *Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 1250 acc. to O’Flaherty, *Hindu Myths;* C13-14 acc. to Hazra (Bengal); 17th century acc. to D.C. Sircar

**edition(s) \*** *Bṛhaddharma* *Purāṇa* 1888-97: ***B****ṛihad-dharma-purāṇam,* ed. by Haraprasád Śástrí, Bibliotheca Indica [6 fascicules] (Calcutta: Asiatic Society).  
 **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Bṛhd. 1**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** It reproduces almost verbatim (18-21) the *Mahābhāghavata* *Purāṇa* narrative, setting it in the context of Śārada Navarātri and giving its mythological framework the appropriate slant. Rāvaṇa is a devotee of Pārvatī as well as Śiva. However, when Rāvaṇa begins terrifying the three worlds, Pārvatī declares (18.31-32) that she will abandon Laṅkā and that Rāvaṇa will abduct “your human wife, the beloved goddess, a manifestation of me”. Virādha is described as the son of Danu (19.36); Indra brings Sītā divine food at Brahmā’s request (19.55)

It also has another section which narrates Sarasvatī’s manifestation through Vālmīki and his utterance of the first *śloka* (25.45-69) before an encomium of the Rāmāyaṇa, making slight reference to the story (26).

*Rām.* summary at 19-21 )  
Vālmīki’s commissioning at 25.52-87 ) — **all photocopied**  
encomium of *Rām.* at 26.1-25 )

In 27 init. Vālmīki suggests Vyāsa to compose the *Mahābhārata,* saying that he has said all that he wishes to in the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

**title** *Kālikā* *Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 700-1000 (Assam) acc. to Raghavan; composed in Assam after 11th century acc. to Shastri (1991 edn, pp. 51-67)

**edition(s)** *Kālikā* *Purāṇa* 1972: *Kālikāpurāṇam,* sampādakaḥ Viśvanārāyaṇaśāstrī, prastāvanā-lekhaka Bāladeva Upādhyāya (Vārāṇasī: Caukhambā Saṃskṛta Sīrīja Āphisa). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Kal 2**

**\*** *Kālikā* *Purāṇa* 1991: *The Kālikāpurāṇa,* text, introduction and trans. by B.N. Shastri, 3 vols (Delhi: Nag Publishers). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Kal 4**

**translation(s)** \* Nag edn (above)

**studies** Kooij, K.R. van 1972: *Worship of the Goddess according to the Kālikāpurāṇa, Part I.  
 A translation with an introduction and notes of chapters 54-69* (Leiden: E.J. Brill) **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3 Kāl. 3**

**notes** In ch. 38 (= 37.1-18 of 1991 edn [= Bengal/Guwahati edns]) has story of Earth giving Sītā to Janaka when he is preparing to perform a sacrifice to procure offspring in imitation of Daśaratha’s.

It expatiates (in context of Durgāmahotsava) on the link between Navarātri and Rāma’s victory over Rāvaṇa (62.24-41 = 60.24-41 of Bengal/Guwahati/1991 edns); cf. Sarkar 2017: 192 –  
 “The version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* containing the theme of the dispossessed king is to be found in the two eastern Purāṇas, the *Kālikā* 60.25-43 and the *Bṛhaddharma* 22.1-25, and also in the possibly Deccan *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa* 3.30.18-60. In these episodes a lamenting and powerless Rāma worships Durgā in Āśvina after Sītā’s abduction, and acquires the goddess’s grace and a boon of victory in the forthcoming war in Laṅkā. His victory is therefore attributed to Durgā, while each day of the Navarātra is explained as a day of his battle with Rāvaṇa’s death said to have occurred on the Ninth *tithi* and the goddess’s ritualized departure from the world of men occurring on the Tenth with the performance of a lavish worship (*viśeṣapūjā*) and the Śavarotsava. Indra then ritually lustrated his army and concluded the rite.” [based on *Kālikā* 60.25c-38]

***adhy.* 37 and *adhy.* 60.17-42 photocopied**

**title**  *Daśagrīvarākṣasavadhacarita* = pt 2 of *Vahni Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 1st part: 5th-6th century (South India); 2nd part uncertain

**edition(s)** *Vahni Purāṇa* 2012: *Vahnipurāṇam tathā Āgneyapurāṇam* /*Vahni-Purāṇam, also referred as Āgneya-Purāṇam,* ed. by Anasuya Bhowmik, Bibliotheca Indica 336 (Kolkata: Asiatic Society). **(IND) Bibl. Ind. I. 336**

*Vahni Purāṇa* 2023: *Daśagrīvarākṣasavadhacaritam,* ed. by Anasuya Bhowmik, Bibliotheca Indica 344 (Kolkata: Asiatic Society, 2023). **own copy**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Anasuya Bhowmik 2008, “Rāma episode in an unpublished Purāṇa manuscript”, paper delivered at DICSEP 5. (**copy in grey box file)**

Bhowmik, Anasuya 2018: “Critical observations on the *Daśagrīvarākṣasavadhacaritam,* an unpublished Rāmopākhyāna”, paper delivered at 17th WSC, Vancouver. **handout**

Hazra, Rajendra Chandra 1953-54: “Studies in the genuine Āgneya-purāṇa *alias* Vahni-purāṇa”, *Our Heritage* 1.2: 209-245 and 2.1: 77-110.  
[repr. in *Vahnipurāṇa* 2012: xc-cxx] **parts copied/photocopied (grey box file)**

**notes** cf. Rocher, *The Purāṇas,* p. 63. List of contents by *adhyāya* placedin “Further Notes (verbal + general)” within “D. Ancillary material”.

from Bhowmik 2018: 2nd part (by same author, she claims) is titled *Daśagrīvarākṣasavadha-carita,* covering whole Rāma narrative except Bāla and Uttara kāṇḍas but starting with Rāvaṇa’s genealogy; in form of a dialogue between king Ambarīṣa and Vasiṣṭha, with Vasiṣṭha mentioning that Rāma and Sītā became incarnate as a result of curses; apparently influenced by S recension; multiple metres used; parallels to + divergences from *VR* on Vancouver handout (in conference folder).

4 mss of *Vahni Purāṇa* used by Bhowmik in edn: 2 in India Office (ms 1425 in 343 ff., dated 1589 A.D., and ms 1501 in 353 ff., dated 1804 [saṃvat 1861]), a third in Calcutta (Asiatic Society, undated?) which lacks the Rāmakathā in second part (found in both I.O. mss), and a fourth in Sanskrita Sahitya Parishad (ms 6215 in 308 ff.). Bhowmik notes (*Vahnipurāṇa* 2012: cxxiv) that there are references to the *VR* in the main text, at 36.73 (to be read regularly, as it dispels and demolishes all sins) and at 61.43. “From above quotations, it can be concluded that Rāmakathā is not an interpolation but was included in the second phase of its transformation.”

from Christophe Vielle’s message to INDOLOGY list (21 Dec 2015):

[The *Vahni Purāṇa*] was once in details studied by Hazra (who listed 4 mss. of the work, cf. ref. below [1985] p. 70 n. 14, 72 n. 18, 138 n. 40), at the time it was not yet edited.

Hazra tells us that the Râma legend “constitutes almost the half of the present extensive text” of this purāṇa. And he presents it (pp. 138-150) on the basis of one of the two IO ms. (no. 1001) mainly because the Asiatic Society ms. was incomplete ("has lost more than half [of Rāma legend chapters] from the end", p. 138 n. 40). ... ...

The 6th century dating would be based on the (Hazra's) 6th century dating ... of the Vahnipurāṇa, not on the manuscript itself.

• Hazra 1953-54 ..., re-issued in *Dr. R.C. Hazra Commemoration Volume,* Part I, Varanasi, All-India Kashiraj Trust (= *Purāṇa* 27/1), 1985, pp. 67-122, 122-171.

Christophe’s personal response on same day to my message to INDOLOGY list:  
Thank you, dear John, for correcting me; I should have checked in our library ... to see that it is only the 1st vol. of her planned edition which has been published, whereas the Rāma-kathā should appear in the 2nd volume, covering the concerned part of the text.

According to Hazra referring to  R.L. Mitra's Catalogue of Mss. in the Library of the Mahārāja of Bikaner, a fifth manuscript should be located there.

Interestingly, Hazra gives a list of parallel passages of VP ch. 75 with Rm Bk 7.

I am rather sceptical with Hazra and Bhowmik's early datings of this purāṇa (what they consider to be the original one, as well as the Rāma-kathā part which could be secondary).

**contents (by *adhyāya*)**

*adhy.* Title or indication of contents [where only *iti vahnipurāṇe* in colophon]

1. Sītāśāpakathanam

2. Vaiśravaṇavarapradānam

3. Kapiladarśanam

4. Rākṣasayuddham

5. Rāvaṇa settles in Laṅkā after defeating the gods.

6. Viśvāmitrayajñasamāptiḥ

7. Ahalyāśāpādhyāyaḥ

8. Sītāvivāhaḥ

9. Paraśurāmadarśanam

10. Sumantrapreṣaṇam [Rāma stated to be 18 at this point, 10.3cd]

11. Rāmanirgamaḥ

12. Rāma says farewell to Kauśalyā

13. Janasaṃlāpaḥ

14. Janasaṃlāpaḥ

15. Citrakūṭanivāsaḥ

16. Sumantra returns to Ayodhyā and reports to Daśaratha, who laments

17. Daśaratha tells Kauśalyā about his accidental killing of the ascetic boy

18. Daśaratha continues his narration with his going to the boy’s parents,

19. concludes it with the father’s prediction that he will die longing for his son (*putraśokāturaḥ prāṇāṃs tyajāmi tv avaśo yathā* | *tvam apy evaṃ tathā prāṇāṃs tyakṣyase putralālasā* || *20* || ) and then dies (21-23) [whole account rather muddled]

20. Kaikeyīvākyam

21. Bharata replies angrily to his mother and curses her; he declares to the ministers that he will not accept the throne; goes to give water (*jalaṃ dātuṃ yayau* 54c).

22. Bharata declares intention to go into exile himself instead and sets off after Rāma.

23. R. shows S. Citrakūṭa and says they will stay there with L.; R. shoots arrow at crow that molests S.

24. Nandigrāmavāsaḥ

25. They set off for Daṇḍaka forest and visit Atri; they reach Daṇḍaka and *ṛṣis* tell R. that he ought to protect them.

26. R. declares intention to follow out Daśaratha’s decree of exile, tells Bharata to rule meanwhile and gives him his sandals.

27. Bharata, Śatrughna, Vaśiṣṭha etc. return to mournful Ayodhyā. R. + L + S. attacked by Virādha; he reveals that he was once the *gandharva* Tumburu and directs them to Sutīkṣṇa’s *āśrama.*

28. Sūrpaṇakhānāsānikṛntanam [n.b. S]

29. Sūrpaṇakhā goes to Khara with her complaint.

30. Khara sets out amid fearsome omens; L. takes S. to cave for safety; R. prepares to fight Khara’s army,

31. which rushes against him,

32. but gets the worst of it; Duṣaṇa on chariot attacks R. but is killed by him.

33. Triśirāvadhaḥ

34. Kharavadhaḥ

35. Seeing all of them killed, Śūrpaṇakhā sets off to Laṅkā, tells Rāvaṇa about it and about S.’s beauty; Rāvaṇa sets off to and reaches Mārīca’s *āśrama.*

36. Rāvaṇa tells Mārīca to become golden deer but Mārīca declares that it will lead to destruction of Laṅkā and all its inhabitants, tells of his encounter with R. at Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, but decides that to be killed by R. is better than by Rāvaṇa.

37. disguised as golden deer, Mārīca approaches *āśrama*; S. sees him and covets skin; R. goes after him, leaving L. to guard S.

38. Mārīcavadhaḥ

39. S. hears supposed anguished cry of R. and orders L. to go to his assistance; he refuses but then reluctantly agrees.

40. Rāvaṇa approaches S. *parivrājakarūpadhṛk* (2b); she honours him and offers him food, telling who she is and reason for their presence in forest; Rāvaṇa declares his identity. [S. states that R. is now 28 and she is 20, 40.25]

41. Rāvaṇa abandons his disguise, propositions S. and then grabs her (*aṅkenādāya vaidehīṃ* 12c) and mounts his chariot. Jaṭāyus sees them, challenges Rāvaṇa and attacks him.

42. Jaṭāyuvadhaḥ

43. Sītālaṅkāpraveśaḥ

44. Rāvaṇavākyam

45. Aśokavanikāpraveśaḥ

46. Having killed Mārīca, R. starts return to *āśrama* apprehensively because of cry, sees L. , realises that S. has been left alone and reproaches L.

47. Rāmaparivedanam

48. Rāmavilāpaḥ

49. Vanagaveṣaṇam

50. Rāmakrodhaḥ

51. Jaṭāyuṣo darśanam

52. Jaṭāyuṣaḥ satkaraṇam

53. Ayomuktiḥ

54. Kabandhadarśanam

55. Kabandhapraśnaḥ

56. Kabandavākyam

57. Kabandopadeśaḥ

58. Sugrīvadarśanam

59. Sugrīvavākyam

60. Hanumadvākyam

61. Rāmavākyam

62. Rāmapratijñā

63. Sugriva tells R. about Vālin and his fight with Dundubhi; L. wants to hear more and Sugrīva gives full story, including Mataṅga’s curse which leads to his living on Ṛṣyamūka. R proves his strength by kicking Dundubhi’s corpse and piercing Mt Śālā and Rasātala with single arrow.

64. Balisaṃgrāmaḥ [pp. 306-8, **n.b.** numbering]

65. Bālivākyam

66. Sugrīvābhiṣekaḥ

67. R. goes to Praśravaṇa with L. and waits out the four months impatiently.

68. Varṣānivṛttiḥ

69. Rāmaviṣādaḥ

70. Lakṣmaṇakrodhanam

71. L. enters Kiṣkindhā to warn Sugrīva.

72. Hanuman reinforces the message by reminding SugrIva of what R. has done for him and needs from him.

73. Sugriva honours L. and promises to take action.

74. Vānarasainyasamāgamaḥ

75. Sugrīvavākyam

76. Vānarayūthapratyāgamanam

77. Prasthāpanam

78. Hanumantaprasthāpanam

79. Having sent out southern search party, SugrIva sends out other search parties.

80. Vānarapratyāgamanam

81. Vanavivṛpanam

82. Rāghavacarite vānaraviṣādaḥ

83. Vānaraprāyopaveṣanam

84. Sītāvārtopalabdhiḥ

85. Saṃpātipakṣanāśaḥ

86. Vānarapratyāgamanam

87. Hanumadgarjanam

88. Laṅkāvalokanam

89. Laṅkānveṣaṇam

90. Avarodhadarśanam

91. Sītānveṣaṇam

92. Sītopalambhanam

93. *tasya tad vacanaṃ śrutvā krodhaparyākulekṣaṇā* | *tṛṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā pratyuvācātha rāvaṇam* || (v.1); Sītā answers Rāvaṇa defiantly.

94. Rākṣasīsamāveśaḥ

95. Rākṣasīvākyaṃ

96. Sītāvilāpaḥ

97. Svapnadarśanam

98. Sītāsambodhanam

99. Sītāpraśnaḥ parisamāptaḥ

100. Vanabhaṅgaḥ

101. Kiṇkaravadhaḥ

102. Amātyavadhaḥ

103. Senāpativadhaḥ

104. Akṣakuvaravadhaḥ

105. Rāvaṇavākyam

106. Prahasta urges freeing Hanumān who may be envoy from one of the gods. Hanumān declares he is R.’s envoy and about R.’s alliance with Sugrīva, then issues warning.

107. Laṅkādāhaḥ

108. Laṅkādāhaḥ pucchanirvāpaṇaṃ ca

109. Laṅkādāhaḥ

110. Sītāśvāsanam

111. Hanumatkathanam

112. Madhubhakṣaṇam

113. Dadhimukha propitiates *vānaras* and Aṅgada and Hanumān reports to Sugrīva.

114. Sītāvakyam

115. Sugrīvavākyam

116. Senāniveśaḥ

117. Vibhīṣaṇavākyam

118. Vibhīṣaṇavākyam

119. Vibhīṣaṇavākyam

120. Vibhīṣaṇāgamanam

121. Setubandhaprārambhaḥ

122. Setubandhanam

123. Śuka and Sāraṇa deliver their report to Rāvaṇa.

124. Māyāmayarāmadarśanam

125. S. laments over the illusory head of R.

126. Saramā reassures her; Mālvavā warns Rāvaṇa of R.’s power.

127. Vibhīṣaṇa advises R. of disposition of Rāvaṇa’s forces.

128. Rāvaṇa sees *vānara* forces encircling Laṅkā; battle is joined.

129. Sītāpralāpaḥ (pp. 603-4: Trijaṭā reassures S. that R. + L. are not dead)

130. Vibhīṣaṇa laments seeing them in *nāgapāśa* but Sugrīva reasssures him and asks Suṣeṇa for advice, who mentions Garuḍa as snake-killer. *Rākṣasa* chiefs prepare to renew battle.

131. Prahastavadhaḥ

132. Rāvaṇa himself goes out to fight; general warfare ensues; Rāvaṇa retreats into Laṅkā.

133. Kumbhakarṇavibodhaḥ (awakening of Kumbhakarṇa)

134. Vibhīṣaṇa tells R. about *rākṣasa* background and Brahmā’s warning to Rāvaṇa; the *vānara* chiefs prepare to renew conflict.

135. Kumbhakarṇa, now woken, is appealed to for help by Rāvaṇa.

136. Kumbhakarṇayuddham

137. Sugrīvavigrahaḥ

138. Kumbhakarṇavadhaḥ

139. Narāntakavadhaḥ

140. Triśīrṣavadhaḥ

141. Atikāyavadhaḥ

142. Indrajidyuddhaṃ

143. Auṣadhīnayanam

144. Kumbhavadhaḥ

145. Nikumbhavadhaḥ

146. Makarākṣavadhaḥ

147. Māyāmayasītāvadhaḥ

148. Indrajiddhomaḥ

149. Rāmotthāpanam

150. Indrajiddarśanam

151. Virathīkaraṇam

152. Indrajidvadhaḥ

153. Vijayākhyāyanam

154. Supārśvavākyam

155. Paridevanam

156. Virūpākṣavadhaḥ

157. Mahāpārśvavadhaḥ

158. Śaktibhedaḥ

159. Rāmarāvaṇayuddham

160. Rāvaṇaśiracchedaḥ

161. Rāvaṇavadhaḥ

162. Vibhīṣaṇābhiṣekaḥ

163. Daśarathadarśanam [including boon of revival of all the *vānaras*]

164. Vimānārohaṇam

165. Ayodhyāyāṃ rāmapraveśaḥ

166. Rāmābhiṣekaḥ

167. Rāmarājyavarṇanam [*daśavarśasahasrāṇi daśavarṣaśatāni ca*, 167.8cd]

**title** *Nīlamata Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** ? pre 12th century / mid 13th ? (Kashmir)

**edition(s)** *Nīlamata Purāṇa* 1924: *Nīlamatapurāṇam,* ed, with introduction, appendices, notes etc. in English by Ram Lal Kanjilal ... and Pandit Jagad-dhar Zadoo (Lahore: Moti Lal Banarsi Das). **Ind. Inst. Sansk ser E 3 (5)**

**\*** *Nīlamata Purāṇa* 1936: *Nīlamata or Teachings of Nīla: Sanskrit Text with critical notes,* ed. by   
K. de Vreese (Leiden: E.J. Brill). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Nīla 2**

**translation(s)** *Nīlamata Purāṇa* 1968-73: *The Nīlamata purāṇa,* by Ved Kumari**;** v. 1. A cultural & literary study of a Kasmīrī purāṇa.--v. 2. A critical edition & English translation (Srinagar: J. & K. Academy of Art, Culture and Languages [sole distributors: Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi]). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Nila. 1**

**studies** Ikari, Yasuke (ed.) 1994: *A study of the Nīlamata: aspects of Hinduism in ancient Kashmir* (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University). **own copy**

**notes** *Nīlamata Purāṇa* 500-2 has Viṣṇu born as Daśaratha’s son in the 24th Tretā:

*caturviṃśatisaṃkhyāyāṃ tretāyāṃ raghunandanaḥ |  
 harir manuṣyo bhavitā rāmo daśarathātmajaḥ || 500 ||  
 tasmāt kālāt paraṃ kāryaṃ mahīmānam athālpakam |  
 tasmād evāparaṃ kāryaṃ mahīmānaṃ tathā bṛhat || 501 ||  
 aṣṭamyāṃ sarvasasyais tu caruḥ kāryaḥ prayatnataḥ  
 tenāpūpais tathā pūjyā dvijāḥ saṃbandhibāndhavāḥ |  
 rāmapatnī tathā pūjyā sītā devī prayatnataḥ || 502 ||*

also refs. to Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna at 542 and 913:  
 *pūjayet ...* [540c]  
 *rāmaṃ salakṣmaṇaṃ sītāṃ Seṣaṃ ca dharaṇīdharam |* [542ab]  
 [in similar list] *śatrughno rāmalakṣmaṇau |* [913b]

[These numbers refer to the Leiden edn; in Kumari’s edn they are 518-21, 560c + 562a, 947b]

Kumari 1968-73: I, 16: “the present version of the text may be assigned to about the middle of the 13th Century A.D.”

*rāmasyākliṣṭakarmaṇaḥ* at 1191b is used of **Paraśurāma**

**title** *Mudgala Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** cf. notes below

**edition(s) \*** *Mudgala Purāṇa* 1976: *atha śrīmudgalapurāṇaṃ prārabhyate (*Mumbai: Nirṇayasāgara Press). **Ind.Inst. 4.5.3. Mud. 1**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Granoff, Phyllis 1991: “Gaṇeśa as metaphor: the Mudgala Purāṇa”, in *Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God ...* pp. 85-99.

**notes** from Wikipedia:There is little agreement on the date of the Mudgala Purana. Phyllis Granoff reviews the internal evidence and concludes that the Mudgala was the last of the philosophical texts concerned with Ganesha2. R. C. Hazra suggested that the Mudgala Purana is earlier than the Ganesha Purana which he dates between 1100 and 1400 A.D.3 Granoff finds problems with this relative dating because the Mudgala Purana specifically mentions the Ganesha Purana as one of the four Puranas that deal at length with Ganesha. These are the Brahma, the Brahmaṇḍa, the Ganesha, and the Mudgala puranas. Courtright, says that the Mudgala Purana dates from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries but he gives no reason for this.4 Thapan (pp.30-33) reviews different views on the relative dating of these two works and notes that the Mudgala Purana, like other Puranas, is a multi-layered work. She says that the kernel of the text must be old and that it must have continued to receive interpolations until the 17th and 18th centuries as the worship of Ganapati became more important in certain regions.1

1. Thapan, Anita Raina (1997). Understanding Gaṇapati: Insights into the dynamics of a cult. Manohar Publishers. pp. 304. ISBN 81-7304-195-4.

2. Phyllis Granoff, "Gaṇeśa as Metaphor," in Robert L. Brown (ed.) Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God, pp. 94-5, note 2. ISBN 0-7914-0657-1

3. R. C. Hazra, "The Gaṇeśa Purāṇa," Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute (1951); 79-99.

4. Paul B. Courtright, p. 214, Gaṇeśa: Lord of Obstacles, Lord of Beginnings. (Oxford University Press: New York, 1985) ISBN 0-19-505742-2

**Mudgala P. 3.26 photocopied** (3 = *Mahodaracarita*)

**title** *Ekāmra Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 15th century (?), Orissa

**edition(s) \*** *Ekāmra Purāṇa* 1986: *The Ekamra Purana: Critical Edition,* by Upendra Nath Dhal (Delhi: Nag). **Ind. Inst. 4.5.3. Eka 1; *adhy.* 50-53 photocopied**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Panigrahi, K.C. 2004: “Sanskrit texts in the nature of pilgrim’s guide”, *Orissa Historical Research Journal* 47.3: 7-8. **printout**

**notes** It is a Śaiva work; it must date to after 13th century, since it mentions the Anantavāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar, built in 1278 A.D., and uses the term *mahāpātra* for a high official, first introduced under the last Gaṅga ruler.

Dhal 1986 p.3 init.: “Though the work refers to certain events and traditions, which are much earlier than the actual date of its composition, the upper age limit of the work can be held to be as old as the 15th century A.D.”

*adhy.* 50 has a brief resumé of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vv. 1-7) followed by Rāma going to Ekāmraka kṣetra and paying homage there (16-24), then to Bindusaras (25-27), and various other *tīrthas*.

*adhy.* 51 starts with preparations for *aśvamedha*, leading up to a fight in *adhy.* 52 between Śatrughna and the asura Kamaṭhāṅga (who lives at Mahāplakṣavana, near Śrīsaila, 51.25), followed by establishment of the Rāmeśvara liṅga in *adhy.* 53.

**title (and author)** *Bhārgava Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)** post Rāmānuja (S India?)

**edition(s)** *Bhārgava Purāṇa* 1997: *Śrīmadbhārgavopapurāṇam, adhyayanaṃ sampādanañ ca,* bṛjeśakumāraśukla pravaktā (Delhi: Nāga Prakāśaka).  
 **download** [intro. missing]

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes see** Rocher, *Purāṇas,* p. 151

**title (and author)** *Ādi Purāṇa* or *Nāradaśaunakasaṃvāda*

**date (and provenance)**

**edition(s)** *Ādi Purāṇa* 1990: *Ādipurāṇam,* ed. by Jagdish Narayan Dubey, Dharmshashtra Granthmala 1 (Varanasi: Sudarshan Book Agencies). [minus intro.] **download**

*Ādi Purāṇa* 1999:  *Ādipurāṇam,* ed. S. L. Tripathi (Mumbai: Venkatesvara Press, 1907; repr. Vārāṇasi: Chaukhambhā Vidyābhavana,).

*Ādi Purāṇa 2003*:  *Ādyupapurāṇam,* ed. B.K. Śukla (Delhi, Nag Publishers).

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** The name *Ādi Purāṇa* sometimes applied to the *Brahma Purāṇa* and there was also an *Ādi(upa)purāṇa* or *Ādya Purāṇa* quoted by the Nibandha writers, which is a different work from either

*Nāradaśaunakasaṃvāda* mentioned at Raghavan 1973: 65 (19), citing Hazra for its being post Caitanya and post Muslim dominance

no further useful information in entry at *NCC* 2: 83

2 texts of relevant passage from Petteri Koskikallio (**download** in Purāṇas folder)

**title (and author)** *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*

**date (and provenance)**

**edition(s)** *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* 1967:  *Das Bhaviṣyapurāṇa,* hrsg. von A. Hohenberger, Münchener Indologische Studien 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).  
 **(IND) 4.5.3. Bhav 3 / OIL 544.14 Bhav.H**

*Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* 1984-85: *Śrībhaviṣyamahāpurāṇam*, rājendranāthaśarmaṇā bhūmikā pāṭhaśodhanābhyāṃ pariṣkṛtam, 3 vols (Delhi: Nag Publishers [repr. of Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press edn]). **3.4.5-46 + 3.4.22.57-23.1 photocopied**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes**

**title (and author)** *Sindūragirimātmya*

**date (and provenance)** late 18th century or earlier (Ramtek, Maharashtra)

**edition(s)** *Sindūragirimāhātmya*, ed. by Sa. Mo. Ayācit (Nāgpur: Amogh Prakāśan, 1989).

**translation(s)**

**studies** Bakker, Hans (ed.) 1990: “Ramtek: an ancient centre of Viṣṇu devotion in Maharashtra”, in *The history of sacred places in India as reflected in traditional literature: papers on pilgrimage in South Asia,* Panels of the 7th WSC, vol. 3, ed. by Hans Bakker (Leiden: Brill): 76. **own copy**

Sherraden, Aaron Charles 2019: *The many deaths of Śambūka: a history of variation in the Rāmāyaṇa tradition* (PhD thesis, University of Texas at Austin): 223-36.  
 **PDF from author**

**notes** Bakker 1990: 76 –  
 The *Sindūragirimāhātmya* as it is published by Dr. Ayachit appears to be a product of the second half of the eighteenth century. It contains sixteen chapters and is based on three MSS preserved in Ramtek and Nagpur. The Mairāl family, whom I visited in Ramtek, claims that this text was written by one of their ancestors, Bābū Mairāl, . . .   
At the end of his life (c. AD 1770-1800) this Bābū Mairāl returned to Ramtek to write several books, all of which are said to have been destroyed by a fire apart from this   
*Sindūragirimāhātmya* in 16 chapters. . . . . . . However, although this claim does not seem to be completely unfounded, it is very unlikely that the *māhātmya* text was a new creation of Bābū Mairāl. . . . . . . Moreover, there appears to have existed a recension of the *māhātmya* comprising 45 *adhyāyas.* A MS of it was kept in Rāmtek village and has been consulted by Mirashi, but is now irretrievably lost. From all this we conclude that there may have existed a local *māhātmya* tradition in Ramtek which produced a new up-to-date recension in 16 *adhyāyas* when the place was flourishing once again in the Marāṭhā period.

More generally on the cult of Dhūmreśvara (=Śambūka) at Rāmṭek **see**Sherraden 2019: 194-205 (4.1 Ramtek & the Vākāṭakas)

Sherraden 2019: 205-217 (4.2 Ramtek & the Yādavas)

Sherraden 2019: 217-236 (4.3 Ramtek & the Marāṭhās)

**cf. also** for a long inscription of the Yādava ruler Rāmacandra I (end of 13th century), somewhat reminiscent of a *māhātmya,* which mentions Śambūka and the *liṅga* Dhūmrākṣa in line 45:

Mirashi, V.V. and Kulkarṇi, L.R. 1939-40: “Ramtek stone inscription of the time of Ramachandra”, in *Epigraphia Indica* 25: 7-20. **download (whole vol.)**

1. Presumably to make way for this possibility Dvivida and Mainda are told by Rāma not to join the mass return to heaven but to remain until the Kaliyuga in an insertion at *VRm* 7,1472\*. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See MB 2006 on narrative allusions, and JLB 1985 on convergence of language. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)