**Jain Rāmāyaṇas**

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Specifically composed to counter absurdities and falsehoods of traditional tale: Jain, Vimalasūri, *Paümacariya* 2-3

[*Essential outline retained: Rāma leaves Ayodhyā, followed by Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, after losing kingship to Bharata; Sītā abducted by Rāvaṇa but remains faithful; Rāvaṇa killed.*

*Many minor episodes / characters retained but modified to greater/lesser extent, sometimes almost out of recognition.*]

Shah 1983: 60 / Kulkarni 1959-60: 191 —

Three groups:

1. Vimalasuri; Raviṣeṇa; Svayambhū; Śīlācārya; Bhadreśvara; Hemacandra; Dhaneśvara

2. Saṅghadāsa; Hariṣeṇa [*follow VRm more closely than other groups*]

3. Guṇabhadra; Puṣpadanta

Bhayani 1989: 30  
Puṣpadanta (Apabhraṁśa: Pupphayanta alias Mammaiya) (c. 957-972 A.D.), was born of Brāhmaṇa parents that were later converted to Digambara Jainism. He composed his three Apabhraṁśa poems under the patronage of Bharata and his son Nanna, who were successive ministers to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Kṛṣṇa III (939-968 A.D.) and Khoṭṭigadeva (968-978 A.D.), ruling at Mānyakheṭa (modern Malkhed in the Andhrapradeśa).

Richman 2008: 17-18   
Kannada literature nurtured two robust strands of Ramkatha that flourished side by side. For several centuries, the prestige gained by composing Jain Ramayanas rivaled that of composing Hindu Ramayanas ... Most Hindu tellings culminate with Rama slaying Ravana, but most Jain tellings culminate | with Rama taking vows to become a Jain monk.

Dundas 2002:

p.301 n.87 ... the legendary Mount Aṣṭāpada [is] the scene of Ṛṣabha’s liberation, which Jains would identify with Mount Kailāsa ...

pp.113-15 *on Mathurā as a Jain holy place*

p.119 *on Jains and aggressive kings* [*cf. Śatrughna*]

p.237*on negative Jain attitude to Kṛṣṇa* [*implications for relationship to Baladeva and Vāsudeva/Nārāyaṇa?*]

pp.238-40*on Raviṣeṇa, Padmacarita*

Kulkarni 1990: 12-14 lists 30 unpublished Jain treatments of the Rāma story (besides the 15 dealt with in the book), of which no. 3 is “*Padmapurāṇa* by Somasena”.

Saran and Khanna 2004: 7 — While Buddhism constitutes an integral and important component of the ‘Indianization’ of Southeast Asia, Jainism remained very much an exclusively Indian phenomenon; yet many motifs which first appear in one or other Jaina version of the Ramayana resurface in the Malay world. Of course it is possible that many Indian traders in that region were Jainas who were more successful in transmitting their stories than their religion. Alternatively, traders from Southeast Asia may have visited parts of India where these versions were popular and introduced into their own burgeoning Rama lore such variants as they found attractive.

Warder 1972-92: VII, 860 §7526 [on Añjanā and Pavana romance] – ‘This story bears some resemblance to that of Samudradatta and Nandayantī in Brahmayaśas’s *Puṣpadūṣitaka*, though all the details are different. ... The story of Nandayantī, known also to Daṇḍin (as Suvratā), belongs to the Mūladeva cycle and may be much older than Vimala, whose version does not look original. It is followed closely by Raviṣeṇa, ... more freely by Svayambhū. [*See also Warder III §§1367ff, IV §2001* **own copies**]

*Digambaras: Śvetāmbaras*

*generally:* Śvetāmbaras in GujaratDigambaras in Karnataka

*liberation for women possible not possible, must first be reborn male*

Vimalasūri 676 A.D. Raviṣeṇa Dhanañjaya

Śīlācārya 9C 9C Guṇabhadra Hariṣeṇa (Gujarat)

Bhadreśvara

Hemacandra 12C Hastimalla

**Añjanā in the Jain ‘Rāmāyaṇa’,** from JAINpedia (under **Añjanā Sundarī)**

The most significant Jain telling of Añjanā's story is found in the poem Paūmicariyam. Composed by Vimalasūri in the fourth century, the Paūmicariyam tells the story of Añjanāsundarī in cantos 15 to 18.

For both Jains and Hindus Añjanāsundarī is the mother of Hanumān but the Jain version is quite different. Two examples clearly demonstrate this.

Firstly, Hindus know Hanumān as the king of the monkeys who helps Rāma rescue his wife Sītā from the demon-king Rāvaṇa. In the Jain version of the Rāmāyaṇa neither Añjanā nor Hanumān is a monkey. In the Jain telling Añjanā is human while Pavanañjay is a ***vidhyādhara*** and so is Hanumān.

Secondly, in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa in Kiskindha Kāṇḍa 66, Añjanā is married to the monkey Kesarin. She is grabbed by Vāyu, the god of the wind. He seduces her with promises of a semi-divine son and thus Hanumān is conceived. In the Hindu story, it is therefore Añjanā's infidelity that blesses her with her son, Hanumān. However, in some Jain versions Hanumān's god-like strength is attributed to the power of his mother's ***śakti*** rather than his father or his half demi-god parentage.

Thus the emphasis in the Jain account is on Jain values, in which practising celibacy and fidelity leads to great spiritual power, and it is Añjanā who displays the greatest virtue.

Outside the Rāmāyaṇa context, Añjanā's story has appeared in popular Jain didactic literature over the centuries and contemporary accounts are widespread. The tale of Añjanā offers a template for marital fidelity in a difficult marriage and is another example of a *satī* or virtuous Jain woman.

Versions appear in medieval anthologies of stories, such as Śubhaśilagaṇi's 15th-century Bharateśvar Bāhubalī Vṛttiḥ. The story forms part of the Rāma story in collections of Jain universal history, such as Book 7 of Hemacandra's 12th-century Trīśaśṭi-śalāka-puruṣa-caritra.

Contemporary Jain satī narrative collections tend to remove Añjanā's story from the frame of the Rāmāyaṇa and contextualise her with other Jain satī, highlighting the characteristics of the notion of the satī. Tellings in contemporary collections and single volumes dedicated to the story of Añjanā abound.

**Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives (MB’s thoughts)**[originally sent to Eva De Clercq as part of an e-mail discussion]

I believe that at Ghent I repeated the view put forward in rather casual terms by a number of scholars that the Jain versions were the *source material* for some of the SE Asian versions. After analysing the SE Asian as well as the Jain material, I now take the view that this is not the case (or only minimally so). I have found no major episode shared by Jain and SE Asian versions that is not shared by at least one non-Jain tradition indigenous to India; and no SE Asian version with the distinctive Jain framework, ethos, or new characters.

The post-Vālmīki material raises some interesting narrative points. In every telling, Rāma always leaves Ayodhyā, Sītā is always abducted, always remains chaste, is always rescued, and Rāvaṇa is always defeated; this basic plot can be recognised whether the context is Brāhmanic, Buddhist, Muslim, Jain, Sikh or secular, whether the story is located in India or indigenised elsewhere, and whatever local names are given to the characters. I use the catch-phrase: “the tyranny of the original plot”. Everything else is optional, including the characterisation (the SE Asian Rāma is a much more violent and imperious character than the Indian). So when the story has been indigenised, how far does it remain the same story, and why should a foreign teller *choose* to adapt it?

As I see it, the Jain versions are characterised by several innovations:

(i) Distaste for violence, particularly if committed by Rāma or (more surprisingly) Rāvaṇa.

(ii) Romantic episodes with high moral tone, such as the birth of Hanumān within wedlock, contrasted with the polygamy of both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (unthinkable in most non-Jain Indian versions).

(iii) New or remodelled characters (Bhāmaṇḍala, Virādhita, the impostor-Sugrīva) and absence of others (Brāhman sages, Dundubhi and other monsters).

The Jain authors faced a number of conflicting interests, and had some difficulty reconciling them. In order to produce the ‘correct’ story, they had to reproduce the original ‘incorrect’ version in a recognisable form: the general outline remains.

The tyranny of the original plot has far-reaching consequences:

A: In a story based on violence, the insistence upon limiting it shifts the narrative emphasis from Rāma towards Lakṣmaṇa.

B: In a story based on lust and abduction, the insistence on sexual propriety is, to say the least, difficult to maintain.

C: Many details are retained, although they may be no longer relevant or essential.

The Jain authors also had to eliminate as far as possible the important role played in the *VRm* by Brāhmanic sages; the episodes they chose to introduce as substitutes are usually romantic and military. Rāma gains Sītā as his bride as a consequence of helping Janaka defeat his enemies, with Janaka’s request for aid closely mirroring Viśvāmitra’s. Wandering through Daṇḍaka, the exiles no longer visit sages, but the time between exile and abduction is filled with a number of romantic military exploits. Vālmīki as composer is completely eliminated, and as protector of the banished Sītā he is replaced by a king who can give Sītā comfortable lodging, but has to be supplemented in educating the boys by a visiting Jain sage. The absence of sages to be protected leaves Śatrughna with no excuse for his attack on Madhu and Lavaṇa, an episode of unprovoked aggression and greed for territory (? cf. Dundas 2002: 119 on Jains and aggressive kings).

Non-violence: the plots are riddled with violence and killing, but only of the subordinates. Foot-soldiers do not matter (in common with heroic literature of all types). Hardly any of the prominent characters are killed; they are captured, magnanimously released, and then take initiation, or in the case of Vālin avoid all conflict. However, no *Rm* can end with Rāvaṇa not dead! And if Rāvaṇa is killed, someone must kill him; since Rāma is being absolved from killing (important) characters, Lakṣmaṇa has to do it.

Another character to suffer from the tyranny of the original plot is Jaṭāyus, who still dies.

A third notable killing is that of the impostor-Sugrīva — a ludicrous solution to the problems posed by the killing of the *VRm* Vālin. But to which problem is this a solution? Rāma kills the impostor when he challenges him openly, so he is not here absolved from killing (the Jain problem), he is absolved from the accusation of unfair tactics (intervening unannounced in an ambivalent dispute, and shooting Vālin unawares had been criticised from very early in the *VRm* tradition). The Jain versions absolve both Vālin and Sugrīva from the crime of sibling rivalry (a topic explored *in extenso* in the *VRm*), with the consequence that Dundubhi and the whole episode in which he figures must be eliminated. I must say I find Vālin’s voluntary abdication and the romantic impostor a most inadequate substitute.

The fourth notable killing is that of Śambūka, ascetic son of Śūrpaṇakhā, ultimate cause of the abduction and war. An act of accidental violence substitutes for the (ill-conceived) teasing of the amorous *VRm rākṣasī*, whose attentions are rejected by the Jain heroes in a more dignified manner. But why is the unfortunate ascetic given the name Śambūka, the same as that of the *śūdra* executed by Rāma after the return to Ayodhyā in the *VRm*, where his crime is that asceticism is inappropriate to his *varṇa*? This ascetic, in common with other Brāhmanic sages, does not appear in the Jain versions. Are the two ascetics presented as the same character, the Jain one ‘corrected’ from the ‘incorrect’ *VRm* one (both are decapitated, and Hemacandra includes the perhaps-significant detail that he is hanging upside-down from a tree, as in *VRm*)? Or are they different, but merely have the same name? And if so, why?

This problem of names recurs. Who is Virādhita (occasionally even called Virādha)? He is not the *VRm* Virādha (a monster liberated from a curse when killed by the brothers for grabbing Sītā —in Jain terms, an ‘incorrect’ episode, for curses are not favoured), unless Raviṣeṇa’s account (9.40-48) that he grows up wild and resentful in the forest is a hint that this is the ‘corrected’ version. Same character corrected, or a different character with the same name?

Nalakūbara and [Upa]rambhā pose the same question. Are they all too well-known to be entirely eliminated?

This brings us to Rāvaṇa and his exemplary, devout behaviour — behaviour which does not in the least restrict his worldwide rampage of conquest (he must remain a sufficiently fearsome opponent for Rāma / Lakṣmaṇa). When he then proves his piety by releasing all his captive opponents, I wonder why he bothers in the expedition in the first place. Nor does the piety that leads him to lecture Uparambhā on marital fidelity prevent him from accepting her betrayal of her husband’s impregnable city and breaking his promise to grant her the sexual favours she craves — a piece of double-crossing recommended by the ever-pious Vibhīṣaṇa.

This piety raises 2 problems:

1: If Rāvaṇa is so devout, why does he abduct Sītā? Apparently, simply because he sees her and lusts. This explanation is a bit feeble, in a work where he already has several thousand legal and willing concubines. But Sītā has to be abducted ...

2: How can he be prevented from raping her, as his chief wife recommends? In the source material he is subject to a curse for previous sexual transgressions (Rambhā, Vedavatī), but this Rāvaṇa is of exemplary behaviour, so to demonstrate his extreme virtue the husband of several thousand legally available women, who has never before seemed tempted to sexual transgression, takes the hardest vow he can imagine — not to rape an unwilling woman. Ludicrous and feeble!

Ascribing a brother to Sītā is not an innovation; Janaka has a son in several Purāṇas. Why though have the Jains given Bhāmaṇḍala this far-fetched romantic birth-story, with its abduction and incestuous love for Sītā? Attributing his love-sickness to the malice of the otherwise positively-depicted Nārada may itself be an attack on Brāhmanic figures, but I can only explain Bhāmaṇḍala’s rivalry to Rāma as due to the necessity not to jettison the *svayaṃvara* suitor-test. Can a *Rm* exist in which Rāma does not bend the bow? In the *VRm* this episode is linked, albeit tenuously, to Rāma’s validation episode, his protection of Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice. The Jains substitute an alternative validation episode, the aid given by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Janaka to repulse his attackers, for which Sītā is the inducement. So some other excuse must be found for the suitor-test. My explanation is weak, but so is some of the Jain narrative structure! And why should the poor man die by lightning strike?

Who is the hero of the Jain texts?

Of course the hero is Rāma: Rāma gets the girl, Rāma loses the girl, Rāma gets the girl back, Rāma achieves liberation.

But Lakṣmaṇa also bends a bow (he cannot win Sītā, but he does get a large number of concubines as a consolation prize).

As the hero, Rāma cannot be allowed to commit any sin, especially violence, so when killing is a narrative necessity (Rāvaṇa, Khara/Kharadūṣaṇa), Lakṣmaṇa must do it. So Lakṣmaṇa goes to hell. Killing involves a great deal of fighting, and that shifts the narrative emphasis towards Lakṣmaṇa, particularly in the battle with Khara/Kharadūṣaṇa, where in one text Lakṣmaṇa rebukes Rāma for leaving Sītā alone to come to his assistance — the reverse of the *VRm*. Lakṣmaṇa inevitably becomes more prominent, more authoritative, of greater stature.

Lakṣmaṇa becomes king, not Rāma.

Lakṣmaṇa is identified with Nārāyaṇa, Rāma with Baladeva. In the *VRm* tradition, the relationship of Rāma to his brothers becomes complicated: all 4 are regularly incarnations of Viṣṇu / Nārāyaṇa — equal parts — but Rama is definitely superior to the others. He is the oldest brother, and he is Nārāyaṇa. In the Jain scheme, Nārāyaṇa is evidently supreme, but he is the younger brother — and he ends up in hell. Rāma, the older brother, eventually triumphs. The other 2 brothers do not figure in the scheme.

So is it Rāma, the narrative hero, who is being devalued in the Jain texts, or is it the Jain Nārāyaṇa/Vāsudeva who is being devalued?

Or should we not expect too much logic in heroic narratives?

**title (and author)** *Paümacariya* of Vimalasūri (in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit) [*VPC*]

**date (and provenance)** acc. to its colophon, completed in year 530 after Mahāvīra’s death (= 4 A.D.), but assigned on linguistic evidence by Hermann Jacobi to around 3rd century A.D. and by K.R. Chandra to 5th century A.D. (cf. below)

**edition(s)** Vimalasūri 1962-68: *Ācārya Vimalasūri’s Paümacariya,* with Hindi translation, ed. by Hermann Jacobi and [revised by] Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, 2 vols (Varanasi: Prakrit Text Society). [1st edn: *śrīrāhusūripraśiṣyaśrīvimalasūriviracitaṃ paumacariyam, padmarāmacaritam,* ed. by H. Jacobi (Bhavnagar: 1914).  
 **OIL 560.3 Pra.12 / download of vol. 1**

**translation(s)** Vimalasūri 1941: *Paumacariya of Vimalasūri (Cantos 33-35),* critically ed. with an introduction, complete trans. into English and explanatory notes by R. D. Laddu and N. A. Gore (Poona: A. H. Limaye). **BL**

**studies** Chandra, K.R. 1963: “New light on the date of Paümacariyaṁ”, *JOIB* 13.4: 378-86. **scan**

Chandra, K.R. 1964: “Sources of the Rāma-story of Paumacariyam”, *JOIB* 14: 134-47.   
[≈ Chandra 1970: 232-34 (*more divergence thereafter*)]

Chandra, K.R. 1966: “Extent of the influence of the Rāma-story of Paumacariyam”, *JOIB* 15: 341-49. [≈ Chandra 1970: 280-315 (mainly 295-305)] [*Chandra sees its influence in wide range of later versions on rather slight evidence — table of topics (≈ episodes) and works influenced on pp. 346-49*]

Chandra, K.R. 1970: *A Critical Study of Paumacariyaṁ,* Prakrit Jain Institute Research Publications Series, 4 (Vaishali: Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa). [Ph.D. thesis at Bihar University; pp. 232-33 on “series of names” **scanned**] **download**

Chatterjee, Asim Kumar 1972-73a: “Vimalasūri’s Paümacariya”, *JAIH* 6.1-2: 105‑15. **used**

Chhikara, Savita 2007: “Paumacariyam adaptation or variation”, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 68.1: 179-84. [very general] **download**

De Clercq, Eva 2005b: “The *Paümacariya – Padmacarita – Paümacariu:* The Jain Rāmāyaṇa-Purāṇa” in Koskikallio 2005: 597-608. **own copy; also handout in grey box file**

Smith, William L. 2003: “The source of Vimalasūri’s version of the Kuśalavopākhyāna”, in *Jainism and early Buddhism: essays in honor of Padmanabh S. Jaini,* 669-76 (Fremont, California: Asian Humanities Press). **photocopy**

**notes** extended summary at Kulkarni 1990: 15-50 (ch. II) and Chandra 1970: 18-32; a list of parallels at Chatterjee 1983: 163-64.

Specifically composed to counter absurdities and falsehoods of traditional tale: Jain, Vimalasūri, *Paümacariya* 2—3

[*Essential outline retained: Rāma leaves Ayodhyā, followed by Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, after losing kingship to Bharata; Sītā abducted by Rāvaṇa but remains faithful; Rāvaṇa killed. Many minor episodes / characters retained but modified to greater/lesser extent, sometimes almost out of recognition.*]

mostly in *āryā* metre; sections 1-35 called *uddeśa* (or variant) but 36-118 *parvan* (*pavva*)*.* Vimalasūri was also the author of a lost *Harivaṃśacariya.* The first 24 sections describe the *śalākāpuruṣas* who flourished before Rāma’s time.

Chandra 1970: 234-51 examines the relationship of Vimala’s *PC* with the *VR* and in particular (pp. 245-51) with which recension, noting some similarities with all and concluding (p. 251): “Thus on the whole we find that the PCV bears more similarity with the Northern Recension of the VR and specially with the N-W. version rather than the Southern Recension of the VR as regards either being influenced by or having exercised its influence on the VR.”

Rāma, like other Baladevas, has 8,000 wives, with Sītā, Prabhāvatī, Ratinibhā and Śrīdāmā as his chief queens. Lakṣmaṇa, like other Vāsudevas, has 16,000 wives. [source: Bhayani in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 25: 18-25 (on p. 21)]

Śūrpaṇakhā is given a son, called Śambūka, who is killed by Lakṣmaṇa idly practising with a sword.

Relevant to its dating:   
Vimalasūri’s version contains an account of Sītā’s banishment;

also story of Lava and Kuśa, born as twins in sheltering king’s palace, growing up belligerent with much fighting, recognised when they attack Rāma’s troops;

the story of Śūrpaṇakha’s son Śambūka [whether he is to be linked with the Śambūka of the *VRm Uttarakāṇḍa* (also in Kālidāsa [C4-5], Bhavabhūti’s *Uttararāmacarita* [early C8], and *PdP Sṛśṭikh* [? C8]) is explored by De Clercq (report below)];

a preposterous death story for Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma’s even more preposterous reaction, followed by renunciation (? counter to end of *VR Uttarakāṇḍa*).

The *VR Uttarakāṇḍa* has been dated to 1st-3rd centuries AD. 1st century date for Vimalasūri (contested; adopted from colophon) seems implausibly early therefore and a date of 3rd-5th century for Vimalasūri is much more credible; **i.e. Vimalasūri’s version is post-*VRm Uttarakāṇḍa*, with which he is thoroughly familiar.**

Chandra 1970: 17 (adaptation of Chandra 1963: 386 [final §]) — “. . . . . . In the light of the above evidences the genuineness of the date mentioned in the Praśasti of *Paumacariyaṁ* becomes doubtful. I am tempted to suggest that the date mentioned, really may belong to the Kṛta or Vikrama Era which was converted into Nirvāṇa era by mistake or even may be deliberately. Thus the correct date of *Paumacariyaṁ* come to (530-57 = 473 A.D.).”

Vimalasūri’s version also contains a version of the Vedavatī story as part of the past lives of the main characters, where she is called Vegavatī and is raped by Svayambhū (= Rāvaṇa in a previous birth); **see**De Clercq 2011: 199-200.

Eva De Clercq focused on a specific ‘difficult’ episode of the normative Rāma telling: the case of Śambūka, the *śūdra* who unlawfully practices asceticism, and is therefore executed by Rāma. As De Clercq explained, it would have been impossible for the Jaina authors to include this episode as it stands in the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* in their retelling. There would have been no severe objection against a Śūdra performing *tapa*s, and it would have been very difficult to legitimate the hero Rāma killing a mendicant for no clear reason. But instead of simply omitting this incident some Jaina authors, starting with Vimalasūri, chose to place it in the very centre of the story: By transforming the *śūdra* Śāmbūka into a young prince, the son of Rāvaṇa’s sister Śūrpanakhā, who performs heroic austerities before being killed accidentally by Lakṣmaṇa, these Jaina authors raised Śambūka’s death to be *the* catalyst for later events: It is to avenge the death of his nephew Śambūka that Rāvaṇa goes to the Daṇḍaka forest in the first place. De Clercq concluded that this transformation of the character, and the advancement of his story, can be seen as deliberate attempts by the Jaina authors to criticize the orthodox versions of the Rāma story and the broader Brahminical restrictions in religious activities for certain groups of people.

Vimalasūri is drawn on by Raviṣeṇa, Hemacandra, Dhaneśvara, Śīlācārya/Śīlāṅka, Bhadreśvara, Svayambhūdeva and the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa.*

**title (and author)** Saṅghadāsa, *Vasudevahiṇḍi*

**date (and provenance)** 5th century or earlier

**edition(s)** Sanghadāsa 1933: *Vasudevahiṇḍī: a narrative text in archaic Prakrit, by Saṅghadāsagaṇi,* ed. by Caturvijay Muni and Punyavijay Muni (Bhavanagara : Jain Atmananda Sabha; repr. Gandhinagar: Gujarat Sahitya Akadami, 1989). **Ind. Inst. 12 C 143 (reprint); pp. 240-47 photocopied**

Jain, J.C. (ed.)1977:Saṅghadāsa, *The Vasudevahiṇḍi: an authentic Jain version of the Bṛhatkathā,* *i,* L.D. Series 59 (Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology). **(IND) Sansk. ser. C 2/59**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Alsdorf, L. 1935-37: “The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a specimen of archaic Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī”, *BSOS* 8: 319-33. **download**

Esposito, Anna Aurelia 2012: “How to Combine the *Bṛhatkathā* with Jain Universal History — Reflections on Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahiṇḍi*”, in Jayandra Soni, ed., *Jaina Studies: Proceedings of the DOT 2010 Panel in Marburg, Germany* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan): 201-12. **scan**

Jain, J.C. 1973-74: “Is Vasudevahiṇḍī a Jain version of the Bṛhatkathā”, *JOIB* 23: 59-63.  
 **download (vol.)**

Jain, J.C. 1975-76: “An old version of the Jaina Rāmāyaṇa”, *Sambodhi* 4.3-4: 22-29. **photocopy + download**

Jain, Jagdishchandra 1979: “Some old tales and episodes in the Vasudevahiṇḍi”, *ABORI* 60: 167-73. [for background and some episodes in common] **download**

Jhamkhedkar, A.P. 1984: *Vasudevahiṇḍī: a cultural study* (Delhi: Agam Prakashan).  
 **(IND) 12 E 45**

de Jong, J.W. 1954: “Three Notes on the Vasudevahiṇḍi”, *Saṃjñāvyākaraṇa*, *Studia Indologica Internationalia* 1 (Poona/Paris). [12pp.; reprint/offprint in **BL;** **details?]**

Kulkarni, V.M. 1952: The Rāmāyaṇa version of Saṅghadāsa as found in the Vasudevahiṇḍi”, *JOIB* 2.1: 128-38. [= Kulkarni 1990: 104-14 (ch. IV)] **photocopied**

**notes** Esposito 2012: 20 fn.1 — VH dated “about fifth century CE”.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative is found within the *Mayaṇavegālambha* (one of the originally 28 *lambhas* [19th and 20th are now missing] – each named after its heroine – of the fifth and longest *ahigāra* of the six into which the VH is divided).

The *Vasudevahiṇḍi* is broadly a Jain version of Guṇāḍhya’s *Bṛhatkathā,* as Alsdorf established; it is drawn on by Guṇabhadra’s *Uttarapurāṇa* and (indirectly) by the Malay version. Saṅghadāsa replaces Guṇādhya’s hero, Naravāhanadatta, with Vasudeva, father of Vāsudeva Kaṇha/Kṛṣṇa, so facilitating the insertion of the narrative about the ninth and last triad of heroes (Kaṇha, Rāma, Jarāsandha).

It contains the earliest occurrence in Jain literature of the motif of Sītā as Rāvaṇa’s daughter, which is then found also in Guṇabhadra’s *Uttarapurāṇa* and Puṣpadanta’s *Mahāpurāna* (De Clercq 2011: 201-4).

Sahai 1976: 10 — “The UP and the VH mention Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa, but do not refer to her being cast adrift. Due to the Valmikian influence on both these versions Sītā is buried at the instance of her parents, and is later discovered by Janak.”

Dating of *Vasudevahiṇḍi* ( Paul Dundas, personal communication, 2nd August 2012):  
I suppose I would stand by my statement [in *The Jains*] (perhaps adding something like 'self-contained version' with ref to the Paumacariyam), but would now be a bit more guarded about the basis of the relative dating. Assuming, as one probably must, that Sanghadasa of the VH is different from the c. 7th cen. Sanghadasa who wrote the Brhatkalpabhasya, then the terminus ante quem must be the work's mention in the Avasyakacurni whose dating is c 600-650 CE. My own view is that the VH appeared round about the fifth century when the Svetambara agama was settling down. This also seems to be the published view of Anna Aurelia Esposito who has been working on the VH recently. The problem is the PC whose dating many Indian scholars still locate in the first century CE. However, the balance of scholarly assessment, at least to the extent I am aware of it, would assign a date of around 300 CE. It might be added that the Maharastri of the PC can also be regarded as 'archaic' and the chronological implications of Alsdorf's linguistic work were not really developed by him. Nonetheless, I still have certain reservations about these relative datings and would be open to further persuasion.

**title (and author)** *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa

**date (and provenance)** 677-8 A.D. (1,203 years and 6 months after Mahāvīrā’s *nirvāṇa*) (in Sanskrit)

**edition(s)** Raviṣeṇa 1958-9: *Padmapurāṇa of Raviṣeṇācārya,* ed. with Hindi translation,by Pannalal Jain,3 vols, Jñānapītha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Saṃskṛta Grantha 20, 24 and 26 (Kāshī: Bhāratīya Jñānapītha).  
 **(IND) 12 F 16/20; OIL 547.4 Rav; download of vol.1**

**translation(s)** \* Raviṣeṇa 2008: *Jain Rāma Kathā or Padma Purāṇa (Padmacarita),* *composed in Sanskrit by Raviṣeṇācārya,* trans. by Shantilal Nagar, 2 vols (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers). **own copy**

**studies** Kulkarni 1990: 91-103 (ch. III).

Clines, Gregory M. 2018a: *The Lotus’ new bloom: literary innovation in early modern North India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University). [thesis] **download**

Clines, Gregory 2022: *Jain Rāmāyaṇa narratives: moral vision and literary innovation* (Abingdon: Routledge). **download**

**notes**  Raviṣeṇa was a Digambara monk (he does not specify his *gaṇa*) and his *kāvya-*inspired work is based on but greatly enlarges Vimalasūri’s *Paümacariya.* **see**for a brief synopsis Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (2nd edn, 2002): 239-40.

mainly in *anuṣṭubh* metre, in 123 *parvans* (nos 56 and 112 being additions to Vimala’s PC and 66-67, 68-69 and 106-7 dividing Vimala’s 65, 66 and 103 respectively) and 18,023 verses.

Ch. 118 translated by Phyllis Granoff in *The Forest of Thieves and the Magic Garden* as “The Death of Lakṣmaṇā and the Awakening of Rāma” at pp. 115-24. **own copy [analysed]**

**title (and author)** *Padmacarita / Rāmāyaṇapurāṇa* of Caturmukha (Caümuha)

**date (and provenance)** 8th or 9th century (in Apabhraṃśa)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Bhayani, H.C. 1958: “Caturmukha”, *JOIB* 7: 214-24. **scan**

Bhayani, H.C. 1983: “The Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa Rāmāyaṇas”, in Srinivasa Iyengar (ed.) 1983: 77-82. **own copy**

**notes see** Bhayani 1983: 78-79 (**own copy**) and Warder vol. V: 254-7 (§§ 3270+3273; **photocopy**)

*NCC* 25:36 records one ms of this work (BORI 1120 of 1884-87).

in *sandhibandha* form (i.e. divided into *sandhis,* each subdivided into *kaḍavakas* consisting of rhyming couplets with a closing piece)

**title (and author)**  *Paümacariu* of Svayambhū

**date (and provenance)** 9th-10th century (Apabhraṃśa)

**edition(s)** Svayambhū 1953-60: *Paumacariu of Kavirāja Svayambhūdeva,* crit. ed. by Harivallabh C. Bhayani, 3 vols, Singhi Jain Series 34-6 (Bombay: Singhī Jain Śāstra Śikṣāpītha, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan).  
 **OIL 567.5 Sva; pp. 41-52** (“The Paümacariu and its sources”) **photocopied**

**translation(s)** Svayambhū 2002: *Jain Rāmāyaṇa: Paumacaryu: rendering into English from Apabhraṁśa* by Shantilal Nagar (Delhi: B.R. PC). Svayambhū, *Paumacaryu*: Nagar 2002  
 **pp. vii-xxiii scanned; contents photocopied; MB analysed**

Svayambhū 2018-:  *The Life of Padma,* ed. and trans. by Eva De Clercq, vols. 1-2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Murty Classical Library of India). **own copies**

**studies** Chandra, K. Rishabh 1970: *A critical study of Paumacariyam,* Prakrit Jain Institute Research Publications Series (Vaishali, Muzaffarpur: Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology & Ahimsa). **(IND) 12 C 81**

De Clercq, Eva 2001: “The influence of Svayambhūdeva’s Paümacariu on Puṣpadanta’s Rāma-story in the Mahāpurāṇa”, *Śramaṇa* 51: 103-21. **photocopy**[reprinted in *Sanmati* (2015): 131-42. **PDF of typescript**]

De Clercq, Eva 2005a: *Een kritische studie van Svayambhūdeva’s* Paümacariu (PhD thesis, Universiteit Gent). **CD / download**

De Clercq, Eva 2005b: “The *Paümacariya — Padmacarita — Paümacariu: t*he Jain Rāmāyaṇa-Purāṇa”, in Koskikallio 2005: 597-608. **own copy**

**De Clercq, Eva 2010c**: The Apabhraṃśa of Svayambhūdeva's Paümacariu, Pandit Nathuram Premi Research Series 17 (Mumbai: Hindi Granth Karyalay).

De Clercq, Eva forthcoming: “Svayambhūdeva’s Paümacariu and the Jain doctrine”, in *Jaina Sacred Places,* ed. by Peter Flügel, Studies in Jaina History and Culture 3 (London: RoutledgeCurzon).

**notes** Svayambhū was a Jain of uncertain sectarian affiliation, who was the author also of the *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* (also *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* or *Bhāratapurāṇa*), a Jain version of the *Mahābhārata*; the last 8 *sandhis* of the Paümacariu are by his son Tribhuvana [*for structure see* **scan** pp. xi-xxiii], as are the last 5 of the *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu.* He was a professional author and both works were written as commissions from no doubt wealthy Jains. He acknowledges indebtedness to Raviṣeṇa (1.2.9).   
**see** De Clercq 2001 and 2005; Svayambhū 2018 [intro.]

note on history of its discovery and editing by K.C. Sogani in *Kriti Rakshana* 2006: *Paümacariu* has 90 sandhis and is divided into five kaṇḍas known as *Vijjāharakaṇḍa* (20 *sandhis*), *Ujjhākaṇḍa* (22 *sandhis*), *Sundarakaṇḍa* (14 *sandhis*), *Jujjhakaṇḍa* (21 *sandhis*) and *Uttarakaṇḍa* (13 *sandhis*); it was edited on the basis of three mss (two from 15th century and one 18th century). Kulkarni has remarked that Svayaṃbhūdeva “is perhaps the first Jain poet to divide the poem into *Kāṇḍās*. Of his five *Kāṇḍas* four have titles common with Vālmīki’s poem—only instead of *Bālakāṇḍa* he speaks of *Vidyādharakāṇḍa*. He does not have the two titles *Araṇya-kāṇḍa* and *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa.*” (Kulkarni 2001: 57)

“O Supreme lord, we have heard the story of Rāma in other faiths in a somewhat perverted manner. How has it been retold in the Jain scriptures?” Svayambhū, *Paumacaryu*: Nagar 2002: 1.9

Opens with long pre-history of characters’ ancestors, beginning with the first Jina Ṛṣabha and his son Bharata, considered as the first kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty; *Rm* proper starts in *sandhi* 9 with marriage of Rāvaṇa’s parents.

*sandhi* 25-34: After exiles dismiss Bharata’s appeal and leave Citrakūṭa for Daṇḍaka, there is a long passage, irrelevant to main narrative, detailing various military encounters, the amorous encounter of Vanamālā and Lakṣmaṇa, and discourses with sages.

*sandhi* 35: return to main narrative with story of Jaṭāyus.

*Uttarakaṇḍa* starts before final battle between Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa

Ambivalent attitude to supernatural / superhuman: no causeway / flights / leaps — all travel is by aerial chariots, including *vānara* army crossing to Laṅkā

Rāvaṇa prominent, more equal; narrative / feelings often shown from his point of view. He has a conscience, is torn between lust and piety.

Slaughter of *rākṣasa* army explicit, but reluctant to kill major *rākṣasas* — capture often implied rather than narrated. Indrajit and Kumbhakarṇa retire to take initiation.

Eliminated characters recycled: no golden deer (Sītā abducted during fight against Khara) but Mārīca fights in battle for Laṅkā.

75.13 Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa equated with Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva. Rāma sometimes has plough as favoured weapon e.g. 75.21

many references to consecrating images of Jina and worshipping in Jain temples: Svayambhū, *Paumacaryu*: Nagar 2002: e.g. 22.1

travelling in *puṣpaka*, Rāvaṇa sees Jain temples built by Harisena: Svayambhū, *Paumacaryu*: Nagar 2002: 11.1-2

Rāvaṇa visits Jain temples built by Bharata: Svayambhū, *Paumacaryu*: Nagar 2002: 13.9

Rāvaṇa makes, consecrates, worships image of Jina in sand of Narmadā river bed; image washed away by flow generated by Arjuna’s love-sports: Svayambhū, *Paumacaryu*: Nagar 2002: 14.9

Hanumān not conceived in adultery but in romantically sad chaste love-story: Svayambhū, *Paumacaryu*: Nagar 2002: 18-19

Viśvāmitra episode replaced by military aid to Janaka: Svayambhū, *Paumacaryu*: Nagar 2002: 21.6

**title (and author)** *Dvisaṃdhāna* or *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* of Dhanañjaya

**date (and provenance)** ± 800

**edition(s)** Dhanañjaya 1970: *Dvisandhāna mahākāvya, saṃskṛta ṭīkā tathā hindī anuvāda sahita, dhanañjayaviracita* (Dillī: Bhāratīya Jñānapītha Prakāsana, 1970).   
[intro. in English and Hindi] **(IND) 12 F 16/35**

Dhanañjaya 1895: *The Dvisandhâna of Dhananjaya, with the commentary of Badarînâth,* ed. by Pandit Sivadatta and Kâsînâth Pândurang Parab (Bombay: Tukâram Jâvajî). **(IND) 5 misc. 35/19 / (IND) Sansk. 4.835/48**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes see** Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature* V: 73-75 (§§ 2892-97; **photocopied**)

Dhanañjaya was a Digambara Jain; “he mentions the Jain logician Akalaṅka (c. 720-789) and is quoted in Vīrasena’s commentary on the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* (c. 816)” (Bronner 2010: 291 [fn.30]); he is placed by others in the 1st half of the 12th century.

**title (and author)** *Rāmakathā* / *Śivabhadrakāvya* of Śivabhadra

**date (and provenance)** 9th century (?)

**edition(s)** Śivabhadra 1973: “Śivabhadra’s Śivabhadrakāvya”, ed. by Nilanjana S. Shah, *Sambodhi* 2.2: 1-31 and 2.3: 33-59 (supplementary pages). **download**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes see** Warder V: 392-3 (§§ 3538-40; **photocopy**) [Vāsudeva (cf. § 3537) is of uncertain date but probably before (? much before) ± 1350 and placed by Warder in 9th century]

**title (and author)** *Caüpaṇṇamahāpurisacariya* of Śīlācārya/Śīlāṅka

**date (and provenance)** VS 925 = 867/8 A.D. (Prakrit)

**edition(s)** Śīlācārya/Śīlāṅka 1961: *Cauppannamahāpurisacariam by Ācārya Śri Śīlāṅka,* ed. by Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak (Varanasi: Prakrit Text Society). **OIL 560.3 Pra.3**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Kulkarni, V.M. 1955: “The Rāmāyaṇa Version of Śīlācārya as found in the Caüpannamahāpurisacariya”, *ABORI* 36: 46-53. **download**  
[essentially identical to Kulkarni 1990: 140-44 (ch. VI)]

Bruhn, Klaus 1954: *Śīlānkas Cauppannamahāpurisacariya: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Jaina-Universalgeschichte****,*** Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, 8 (Hamberg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co.). [review by K.R. Norman at *BSOAS* 19 (1957):184 — **download**] **download**

**notes** basically dependent on Vimalasūri’s *Paumacariya* plus the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* (Kulkarni 1955 + 1990).

**title (and author)** *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra

**date (and provenance)** 2nd half of 9th century (Karnataka)

**edition(s)** Guṇabhadra 1954: *Mahāpurāna with Hindi translation* by P. Jain, 2 vols, II: *Uttar Purāna of Acārya Gunbhadra,* Jñāna-pītha Mūrtidevi Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrita Grantha 14 (Kāshi: Bhāratīya Jñānapiṭha). [no useful info.] **(IND) 12 F 16/8-9**

Guṇabhadra 2004: *Uttarapurāṇa* *ācārya guṇabhadrakr̥ta, Hindī anuvāda tathā pariśishṭa ādi sahita,* sampādana-anuvāda Pannālāla Jaina (Nayī Dillī : Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭh). **SOAS**

**translation(s)**

**studies see** Kulkarni 1990: 115-39 (ch. V); Shah 1983

**notes** Since Jinasena did not live to complete his *Ādipurāṇa,* the lives of the remaining 61 *śalākāpuruṣas* were narrated by his disciple Guṇabhadra, who also wrote the last 4 parvans of the *Ādiparvan,* in the *Uttarapurāṇa* in 34 *parvans* (the two together forming the *Mahāpurāṇa*).

“In Guṇabhadra’s narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* for example, Rāma is not asked to abdicate in favour of Bharata, as he is in Vimalasūri’s *Paümacariya,* but instead leaves Ayodhyā of his own volition, together with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa and sets out to found a kingdom of his own.” (P.S. Jaini 1993 [2000: 411-12])

Sahai 1976: 10 — “The UP and the VH mention Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa, but do not refer to her being cast adrift. Due to the Valmikian influence on both these versions Sītā is buried at the instance of her parents, and is later discovered by Janak.”

**see** also e-mails on RISA from Eva De Clercq and Whitney Kelting on Sītā as Rāvaṇa’s daughter

Sahai 1976: 9 — “In the UP, Princess Maṇīmatī of Alkāpurī reincarnates herself as Sītā, the daughter of Rāvaṇa, because the latter tries to seduce her” [in UP 68]

The *Uttarapurāṇa* is drawn on by Puṣpadanta, Kṛṣṇadāsa and the Pampa Rāmāyaṇa, also perhaps by Ānanda Rām.

Some features of Saṅghadāsa-type versions, some of Vimalasūri-type.

Some violence eliminated, some retained.

Rāvaṇa less pious (violates Vedavatī, abandons baby daughter Sītā, ritual to gain new powers successfully disrupted by *vānaras*).

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa reluctantly allowed by Daśaratha at own request to leave Ayodhyā, rule Vārāṇasī (former capital of Daśaratha); Rāma then sought by Janaka to protect his sacrifice from threatened danger of disruption by Rāvaṇa and given Sītā as reward. [*These episodes substitute for Viśvāmitra episode*]

No exile (abduction takes place on Citrakūṭa during pleasure trip (*vanakrīḍā*) from ruling Vārāṇasī while Daśaratha remains [*alive*] at Ayodhyā.

Mandodarī is mother of Sītā, sympathetic to her.

*VR* Sundarakāṇḍa episodes repeated / redistributed: apparently 3 visits to Laṅkā before main army crosses.

**title (and author)** *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa

**date (and provenance)** VS 989 / Śaka 853 (= 931-2 A.D.) (in Prakrit)

**edition(s)** Hariṣeṇa 1943: *Bṛhat Kathākośa of Śrī Hariṣeṇāchārya,* ed. by A.N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series 17 (Bambaī: Bhāratīya Vidyābhavana). **OIL 567.4 Har**

**translation(s)**

**studies see** Kulkarni 1990: 145-51 (ch. VII)

Chatterjee, A.K. 1979: “The Bṛhatkathākośa of Hariṣeṇa”, *JOIB* 28.3-4: 7-12.

**notes** Hariṣeṇa was a Digambara living in Gujarat under the Pratīhāra ruler Vināyakapāla and writing in Sanskrit, using mainly *anuṣṭubh* metre.

It contains 157 *kathānakas* totalling around 12,500 verses, including the *Rāmāyaṇakathānaka* (no. 84) in 57 verses and another, the *Sītākathā,* on Sītā’s entering the fire and eventually becoming a Jain nun (no. 89), containing only 9 verses; at the end of the work it is stated that it is based on the Prakrit *Ārādhanā* (= *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* ascribed to Śivārya): *ārādhanoddhṛtaḥ* (*Praśasti* 8a). (Chatterjee 1979: 7; Kulkarni 1990: 145). This separation of the *Sītākathā* seems to mark the start of the emergence of Sītā-narratives as *satī-kathās* (Plau 2018b + c).

Upadhye (edn p. 86): “There is a story (No. 84) which gives the Kathānaka of the Rāmāyaṇa; and there is another (No. 89) in which Sītā is passing through an ordeal after which she accepts Jaina renunciation under Saṁyamasena.”

**title (and author)** *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta

**date (and provenance)** 965 A.D. (in Apabhraṃśa)

**edition(s)** Puṣpadanta 1937-41: *The Mahāpurāṇa or Tisaṭṭhimahāpurisaguṇālaṃkāra of Puṣpadanta,* I-III, ed. by P.L. Vaidya (Bombay: Manikchand Digambara Jaina Granthamālā). [contains brief summaries] **(IND) 12 E 13**

Puṣpadanta 1979-2001: *Mahākavi Puṣpadanta’s Mahāpurāṇa,* Hindi translation by D.K. Jain, 5 vols, Moortidevi Jain Granthamala, Apabhramsha Grantha 15, 16, 17, 18 and 23 (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith).

**translation(s)**

**studies** De Clercq, Eva 2001: “The influence of Svayambhūdeva’s *Paümacariu* on Puṣpadanta’s Rāma-story in the *Mahāpurāṇa*”, *Sanmati* ?: 131-42. **photocopy**[reprinted in *Sanmati* (2015): 131-42. **PDF of typescript**]

Shriyan, Ratna Nagesh 1969: *A critical study of Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta* (Ahmedabad: L.D. Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyamandir). **OIL 547.84 Shr**[mainly word studies, so of minimal relevance]

**see** also Kulkarni 1990: 152-70 (ch. VIII)

**notes** for summary of Puṣpadanta’s treatment of Rāma story see Warder vol.V: 633-65 (§§3993-97; **photocopy**), cf. De Clercq 2001 and 2005a.

whole work consists of 102 *sandhis* (1-37 named *Ādipurāṇa* and 38-102 *Uttarapurāṇa*) and c. 20,000 *kaḍavakas*; the Rāma story comes in *sandhis* 69-79 and is based on Guṇabhadra’s work.

**title (and author)** Bhadreśvara, *Kahāvalī*

**date (and provenance)** 11th/12th century (Prakrit)

**edition(s)** Bhadreśvara 2012: *Kahāvalī,* ed. by Muni Kalyānakīrtivijaya (Ahmedabad: Kālikālasarvajnaśrīhemacandrācārya navamaśatābdīsmṛtisaṃskāraśikṣaṇanidhiḥ).

**translation(s)**

**studies** Kulkarni, V.M. 1953: "The Ramayana of Bhadresvara as found in his Kahavali", *JOIB* 2.4: 332-338. [= Kulkarni 1990: 180-86]   
 **photocopied** [except p. 338 = Literary Estimate]

Malvania, Dalsukh D. 1983, On Bhadreśvara’s Kahāvalī”, *IT* 11: 77-95. **download**

Shah, Umakant P. 1983: “Rāmāyaṇa in Jaina Tradition”, in Srinivasa Iyengar 1983: 57-76, esp. 74-76. **own copy**

**notes** unpublished and preserved in only one ms (U.P. Shah 1983: 74) ‑ actually two overlapping but incomplete mss

Bhadreśvara or Hemacandra appears to be a source for Kṛttibās.

Malvania 1983: 81-82 —  
 *K<ahāvalī>* is indeed a type of “Universal History”, but it has its own style of narration. ... For his narration of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Harivaṃśa* (*Mahābhārata*), the sources are *Vasudevahiṇḍi* and *Pauma-*|*caria,* and such other Jain Purāṇas. ...

p. 85 (in his list of *kahās* on pp. 83-95)  
49. Rāmāyaṇakahā including Rāmabaladeva and Lakkhaṇa Vāsudeva (Vāsudeva and Baladeva 8); ...

**title (and author)** Hemacandra (1089-1172), *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* and *Yogaśāstrasvopajñavṛtti*

**date (and provenance)** 12th century (Gujarat) (in Sanskrit)

**edition(s)** Hemacandra 1989: *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita,* anuvādakaḥ Gaṇeśa Lālavānī evaṃ Rājakumārī Begānī, 4 vols (Jayapura: Prākr̥ta Bhāratī Akādamī). **(IND) 12 E 104**

**translation(s)** Hemacandra 1954: *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita,* trans. into English by Helen M. Johnson, 6 vols (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931-1962), IV: 107-352 (1954) “Jaina Rāmāyaṇa*”.* **(Ind) Sansk. ser. D 1 / OIL 508 Gae/125 / download (vol.4)**

**studies see** Kulkarni 1990: 187-204 (ch. XI)

Clines, Gregory M. 2023: “Guys who bond: fraternal love in Hemacandra’s *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*”, *CIS* 25.1: 319-42. **download**

Hemacandra 1998: *The Lives of the Jain Elders,* tr. with an introduction and notes by R. C. C. Fynes, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press). **own copy**  
[sequel to his *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita —* for background]

Kulkarni, V. M. 1958: “Sītā-Rāvaṇa-Kathānaka of Hemacandra (as found in his commentary to his own Yogaśāstra)”, JOIB 7.3: 171–79. **(IND) Per 10 d 7; photocopy**

**notes** Rāma story begins at *parvan* 7.

Hemacandra wrote another version in his *Yogaśāstrasvopajñavṛtti* [**see** Kulkarni 1958, also Kulkarni 1990: 205-213 (ch. XII) and Shah in Srinivasa Iyengar 1983: 76, but *Yogaśāstra* trans. by A.S. Gopani has nothing relevant]

Further motifs/details (than given at RR p.268 fin.) occurring in Hemacandra’s *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita:* Vālin (vice Śiva) suppressing Rāvaṇa; Rāvaṇa’s conflict with Sahasrabāhu, Daśaratha’s **two** wives (p.190 §1, cf. pp.193-5 on birth of sons); Bhāmaṇḍala, Sītā’s twin; Mleccha chief Kāka = Kabandha; killing of Śambūka (from Vimalasūri), one of **two** sons of Śūrpaṇakhā (Candraṇakhā); Meghavāhana distinct from Indrajit; Rāvaṇa slain by Lakṣmaṇa as in *VH*; joyful reunion of Rāma and Sītā with no ordeal; Śatrughna captures Mathurā.

Hemacandra 1954: 240 – Now in Pātālalaṅkā there were two sons of Khara and Candraṇakhā, Śambūka and Sunda, just grown up. Though restrained by his parents, Śambūka went one day to Daṇḍakāṛaṇya for the purpose of subduing the sword, Sūryahāsa. He stood in a bamboo-thicket on the bank of the Krauñcaravā and said, “I will kill anyone who hinders me.” Enjoying solitude, pure-minded, chaste, his senses subdued, face-down, his feet fastened to a branch of a banyan tree, he began to mutter the vidyā which subdues the sword Sūryahāsa, which attains success after twelve years and seven days. When he had remained in the position of a bat for twelve years and four days, Sūryahāsa, wishing to yield, concealed by its scabbard, with fragrance bursting forth, came through the air to the bamboo-thicket.

Hemacandra 1954: 249 – [*After the battle with Khara, then the abduction*] Virādha bowed and said: “Do not despair, lord. Freedom from despair is the root of glory. I am your servant certainly. Come to install me now in Pātālalaṅkā [*ancestral home*]. There news of Sītā will be easy for her husband to obtain.” Then Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa went with Virādha and his army to territory near the city of Pātālalaṅkā. There Khara’s son, the Rakṣas Sunda, crusher of enemies, came, attended by a large army, ready for battle. Angry at his father’s slaughter, Sunda made at once a terrible fight with the leader Virādha, his former enemy. When Kākutstha took part in the battle, at the command of Candraṇakhā Sunda fled at once from Laṅkā and went to Rāvaṇa for protection. Then the two chief Raghus entered Pātālalaṅkā and installed Virāhda in his ancestral rank. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa lived in King Khara’s palace and Virādha, like a crown prince, in Sunda’s house.

Hemacandra 1954: 276 [*Participates in battle for Laṅkā*]

Hawley, *The Butter Thief,* p.29:

Like Puṣpadanta, he [Hemacandra] made several changes, altering and expanding the tradition. The most notable of these was to effect a greater integration than had yet been known between the legends of Krishna and Rāma, the two major avatars of Viṣṇu. He replaces Balarāma by Rāma himself, so that the latter becomes the “Rāma” who is Krishna’s boyhood companion.

some discussion of H. at D.C. Sen, *Bengali Rms:* 28.

**n.b.** also – Meghavijayagaṇi 1992: *Laghutriṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritam*, ed. by Pradyumnavijaya Gaṇi (Amadābād: Śrī Śrutajñāna Prasāraka Sabhā). **(IND) 12 E 191**[author, active 1652-1703, also named Manmeghavijaya (cf. Sherraden 2019a: 148-9)]

**title (and author)** *Rāghavābhyudaya* and *Raghuvilāsa* of Rāmacandra

**date (and provenance)** 12th century (Rāmacandra, a pupil of Hemacandra, 1093-1174)

**edition(s)** Rāmacandra 1982: *Raghuvilāsanāṭakaṃ, rāmacandraviracita,* prāstāvikaṃ jayanta harikṛṣṇa dave, Siṅghī Jaina granthamālā 75 (Bambaī: Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana). **(IND) Sansk. ser. F 4/75; download**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes see** Warder vol.VII: 160-2 (§§ 5948-54; **photocopy**) and 171-75 (§§ 5971-80; **photocopy**)

These two are nos 19 and 20 in the list at Kulkarni 1990: 12-13 of unpublished Jain *Rāmāyaṇas*

Rāmacandra's *Raghuvilāsanāṭaka* with its plays within plays and illusions reflects the fashion in medieval drama for exploring reality and illusion. In 76 verses (+ prose) spread over eight acts, it relates the Rāma tale from the moment of Rāma’s exile and Daśaratha’s death to the victorious reunion of Rāma and Sītā

**title (and author)** *Maithilīkalyāṇa* and *Añjanāpavanaṃjaya* of Hastimalla

**date (and provenance)** ± 1300

**edition(s)** Hastimalla 1916: *Śrīhastimallaviracitaṃ maithilīkalyāṇam,* ed. by Manohar Lal Śāstrin, Māṇikacanda Digambara Jaina Granthamālā 5 (Bombay: Māṇikacanda Digambara Jaina Granthamālā Samiti). **download**

Hastimalla 1950: *The Añjanāpavanaṃjaya and Subhadrānāṭikā of Hastimalla,* ed. with variant readings and an exhaustive intro. by M.V. Patwardhan (Bombay: Māṇikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, 1950). **(IND) 12 A 98/43; pp. 5-25, 30-35 and 48-53 photocopied**

Hastimalla 1992: *Madhyakālīna Jaina saṭṭaka-nāṭaka: Hastimalla kr̥ta Subhadrā-nāṭikā, Añjanā-Pavanañjaya evaṃ Maithilī-Kalyāṇa nāṭikā tathā Nayacandra Sūri kr̥ta Rambhāmañjarī-saṭṭaka,* ed. by Rājārāma Jaina and Vidyāvatī Jaina (Raphīgañja, Bihara: Prācya Śramaṇa Bhāratī Prakāśana). [with Hindi trans. and intro.] **(IND) 12 B 140**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Clines, Gregory M. 2018a: “Drunk parrots in the pleasure forest: humor in the Jain author Hastimalla’s *Añjanāpavanañjaya*”, paper read at AAR annual meeting, 2018. **download**

**notes see** Warder vol. VII: 849-58 (§§ 7488-7521; **photocopied**) for background and summary of *Maithilīkalyāṇa* (on contest for Sītā’s hand) and 859-71 (§§ 7523-61; **photocopied**) for background and summary of *Añjanāpavanaṃjaya* (on Pavanaṃjaya and Añjanā, parents of Hanūmant). Both works draw on Vimalasūri’s *Paümacariya.*

Warder 1972-92: VII, 860 §7526 on Añjanā and Pavana romance: ‘This story bears some resemblance to that of Samudradatta and Nandayantī in Brahmayaśas’s *Puṣpadūṣitaka*, though all the details are different. ... The story of Nandayantī, known also to Daṇḍin (as Suvratā), belongs to the Mūladeva cycle and may be much older than Vimala, whose version does not look original. It is followed closely by Raviṣeṇa, ... more freely by Svayambhū. [*See also Warder III §§1367ff, IV §2001* **own copies**]

**n.b.** “Añjanā in the Jain Rāmāyaṇa” in JAINpedia (under **Añjanā Sundarī) download**

*Maithilīkalyāṇa* listed as no. 29 in list of unpublished Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* at Kulkarni 1990: 14

**title (and author)** *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* of Dhaneśvara

**date (and provenance)** 14th century (Valabhī, Gujarat) in Sanskrit

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Weber, Albrecht 1858: *Ueber das Çatrunjaya mâhâtmyam: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jaina,* Abhandlungen d. DMG, 1.4 (Leipzig: Brockhaus). [reprint – Nendeln, Liechtenstein : Kraus Reprint, 1966] **OIL 547.8 Dha**[Albrecht Weber, ‘The Satrunjaya Mahatmyam’ in Indian Antiquary, volume 30 (1901): 239-51 + 288-308 = amplified English trans. of Weber 1858]

**notes see** Kulkarni 1990: 171-9 (ch. IX)

Written under one of the Śilādityas; the date given for the start of Śilāditya’s reign (at XIV. 286) of VS 477 (= 421 A.D.) is most improbable. The work is “in fourteen (or rather fifteen) cantos” (Kulkarni 1990: 172), with canto XIV sometimes divided in two. The Rāma story is in *sarga* 9 (in 539 verses) and is based on Hemacandra (plus VR); Dhaneśvara adds the story of Anaraṇya.

from JAINpedia page on Mt Śatruñjaya:

Celebrations of the Greatness of Śatruñjaya is the generic name of several works written mainly in Sanskrit. The most famous of them is Dhaneśvarasūri’s version, probably written in the 14th century (see Weber) and which has remained the main source for stories relating to the holy hill. Visiting the place in the 1820s, the Briton James Tod reports that the Jains who were his guides had a portion of Dhaneśvara’s work with them. Modern compilations published in India about the history and legends of Shatrunjaya draw extensively on this text as well.

The Śatruñjaya-māhātmya is not a straightforward work, but rather a network of hagiographies and stories featuring the Jinas and other mythological figures. They stress, at least to some extent, their connections with Shatrunjaya and expand the tradition of this holy place. The texts have two chief purposes. One is to indicate that Shatrunjaya is extremely ancient, having been frequented by the first Jina Ṛṣabha and his son Bharata, for instance. The other is to show that it has a history and a development. This aim underlies the significance of the chapter of the ‘16 Renovations’ of Shatrunjaya, a topic which has since become commonplace.

**title (and author)** *Balahaddacariu*, also known as *Paümacariu,* by Raïdhū

**date (and provenance)** 15th century (Gwalior), in Apabhraṃśa

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** referred to by Eva De Clerq in “Apabhramsha as a Literary Medium in Fifteenth-Century North India”, in *After Timur Left: culture and circulation in Fifteenth-century North India,* ed. by Francesca Orsini and Samira Sheikh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 339-64, [on p. 349], as following the narrative of Raviṣeṇa’s *Padmapurāṇa* (citing R. Jain, *Raïdhu sāhitya kā ālocanātmak-pariśīlan*, Vaishali: Prakrit, Jainshastra aur Ahimsa Shodh-Sansthan, 1974: 265).

The author is a Digambara Jain, who was closely associated with the Digambara Kāṣṭhā *saṅgha* in Gwalior and who evidently chose to write in the late MIA Apabhraṃśa rather than the emerging vernacular of, for example, his near contemporary at Gwalior, Viṣṇudās, in order to participate in a transregional, literary language.

**title (and author)** *Padmapurāṇa* of Brahma Jinadāsa

**date (and provenance)** mid15th century (Iḍar, Gujarat)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Clines, Gregory 2017: “Thinking about pace, thinking about audience: comparing Jain Rāmāyaṇa narratives”, paper read at AAR, New England– Maritimes Region, annual meeting, April 2017. **download**

Clines, Gregory M. 2018a: *The Lotus’ new bloom: literary innovation in early modern North India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University). [thesis] **download**

Clines, Gregory 2018c: “What did he know and when did he know it: Rāvaṇa’s abduction of Sītā in two Jain Rāma narratives”, paper read at Madison South Asia Conference, October 2018. **download**

Clines, Gregory 2022: *Jain Rāmāyaṇa narratives: moral vision and literary innovation* (Abingdon: Routledge). **download**

**notes** The author, a Digambara (and life-long celibate, hence Brahma = *brahmacārin*) living in the *Balātkāra gaṇa* temple complex at Iḍar, Gujarat, also wrote a vernacular work on the Rāma story, the *Rām Rās* [brief details on this in 8. vernacular (North India)] among between 60 and 80 works, mainly in the local vernacular. The work is divided into 83 *parvas* (as against 123 in Raviṣeṇa’s), which Jinadāsa mainly follows. It was probably “meant to be danced and sung in public” (Clines 2022: 107-8) and with considerable use of poetic formulæ.

**title (and author)** *Rāmapurāṇa* of Somasenabhaṭṭāraka

**date (and provenance)** 17th century (?)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)** Somasenabhaṭṭāraka 1952: *Rāmacarita: Bhaṭṭāraka Somasena viracita Rāmapurāṇa kā Hindī anuvāda,* <Hindi> trans. by Lālbahādur ŚāstrI (Mathurā: Bha. Di. Jainasaṅgha). **BL**

**studies**

**notes** Somasena mentions that he has followed Raviṣeṇa but seems to have drawn on several earlier Jain versions.

e-mails from Paul Dundas

**Date**: Sat, 27 Mar 2010 22:15:34

**From**: Paul Dundas

**To**: J L Brockington

Dear John,

I have not been able to locate the text of Somasena's RP, only Pt Kailascandra's Hindi intro to what seems to be a Hindi translation published in Mathura (unusually for a Jain work of scholarship) in 1954. K quotes bits and pieces of the Sanskrit original and it is clear that Somasena was writing in emulation of Ravisena's Sanskrit Padmapurana which was always regarded as the outstanding version of the Rama story among the Digambaras. I too am intrigued by the RP in terms of its lateness and I may try to see if there exist any accessible manuscripts.

Best,

Paul

Date: Tue, 08 Mar 2011 14:08:04

From: Paul Dundas

To: J L Brockington

Dear John,

... ... ...

I am not long back from a flying visit to India ... ... where I was able to have a look at the Digambara temple libraries at Karanja. Amongst other things, the trustees produced a manuscript (I think the autograph) of Somasenabhattaraka's Ramacarita. The seventeenth century is quite late for a Sanskrit version of the full Jain Rama story, but all the evidence is that this one is heavily based on Ravisena's Padmapurana, the most prestigious Digambara Ramayana.

Best wishes,

Paul

**later Jain Rāmāyanas**

Kulkarni 1990: 245 also lists:

*Puṇyacandrodayapurāṇa* of Kṛṣṇadāsa (dated 1528 A.D.)

*Rāmacaritra* of Devavijayagaṇin (prose, dated 1586 A.D.), author also of a *Pāṇḍavacaritra*

*Laghutriṣaṣṭi* of Meghavijaya Gaṇivara (17th century; an abridgement of Hemacandra’s work)

cf. also list in Shah 1983: 61-62

NCC vol. 25 lists a *Rāmāyana / Rāmacarita / Padmacarita* by Devavijayagaṇi alias Vijayasena in 10 sargas composed in 1595 A.D. (cf. Velankar 1944: 331-32).

**list of later Jain Rāmāyanas**(e-mail from Adrian Plau, 9th June 2017; updated from Plau 2018b, 2018c: 55-58)

*Sītācaritra*. Bhuvanatuṅgasūri. Undated. Prakrit. About 40 ms pages and c. 440 verses. Attested and quoted by Dalal and Gandhi 1937; **see** Plau 2018c: 91-92.

*Sītācaritra* by Śāntisūri (? 11th-century author of philosophical works)

*Sītācaritra* by Bramha Nemidatta (? 16th-century Nemidatta, author of a *Kathākośa*)

*Sītācaritra*. Anonymous, undated *mahākāvya*. Sanskrit. One ms. at the British Library (Bühler 301), in 42 ms. pages and c. 550 verses. Begins with story of births of Sītā and Bhāmaṇḍala; **see** Plau 2018c: 88-91.

*Sītācarita* by Amaradāsa (no info.)

*Hanumāncarit* by Brahma Rāymalla. Mid 16th century. Brajbhāṣā. About 150 ms pages. Plau photographed complete mss in Jaipur and Bharatpur. **See** Plau 2018c: 95-97 on this and next item.

*Hanumaccaritra* by Brahmājita. 1578 (BL ms Or.2129). Sanskrit. Nearly 2000 verses. One ms. at the British Library (Or. 2129).

*Sītāharan*. Jaysagar. Dating unclear, but Gangaram Garg suggests 16th c. Brajbhāṣā. Over 200 pages. I photographed a complete ms. in Jaipur.

*Sītā-Rām-kathā*. Anonymous. Undated. Brajbhāṣā. About 50 pages. Complete ms. photographed in Jaipur.

**see** entries for *Sītārāmcaupāī* by Samaysundar and *Sītācarit* of Rāmcand Bālak under   
8. vernacular (North India)