**instructional texts,   
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for a long list of supposed other Rāmāyaṇas from Rāmdās Gauḍ: *Hindutva* (Kāśī: Śivaprasād Gupta, 1995 [i.e. 1938]), reproduced in Nagar 1999: I, 52-53, see “mythical Rāmāyaṇas” in “Further Notes (verbal/general)”; cf. also the modern Tamil *Nārada Rāmāyaṇam* by Pudumaippitan translated by Paula Richman(**download**)

*Satyopākhyāna* (? 13th cent.; so Nagar 1999: I, 88), called by Mitra apparently a compilation from one of the Purāṇas (*Notices ...* 2.2: 149 [no. 714], is identified by Bakker as “a late Sanskrit work pertaining to the Rasika branch of Rāma *bhakti*” and copying parts of the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* (*Ayodhyā* pt. III: 19; cf. B.P. Singh 1980: 496); it is now published, ed. by Shailaja Pandey 2011 (see RSktS publications list p.4).

On a *Prema Rāmāyaṇa* and a *Mahā Rāmāyaṇa,* which must both be late from the *rasik* content, see brief remarks in B.P. Singh 1980: 496-7.

On the rejection of Sītā in later versions, see *Summaries, 5th World Skt Conf.,* pp.97-99

**title (and author)** *Pañcatantra* ascribed to Viṣṇuśarman

**date (and provenance)** c. 300 A.D. (Olivelle); pre 550 definitely

**edition(s)** Edgerton, Franklin (ed. and trans.) 1924: *The Panchatantra reconstructed*, 2 vols (New Haven: American Oriental Society).

**translation(s)** Edgerton, Franklin (trans.) 1965: *The Panchatantra* (London: George Allen and Unwin). **own copy**

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**studies** Maten, E.P. 1980-81: “In quest of the original Pañcatantra. A methodological discussion”, *IT* 8-9: 241-52. **own copy**

**notes** cf. Warder III, 49- 52 (§§ 1248-53)

terminus ante quem provided by first translation (into Pahlavi by Borzūya around 570), so Edgerton (1965: 11) places before 5th century A.D.

**N.B.** McComas Taylor 2007: 25 speaks of ‘the *Pañcatantra* **corpus’**

as a *nītiśāstra* it has a definite instructional purpose  
“A renowned collection of Indian ‘folk’ wisdom. Composed by (according to the text itself) an ancient brahmin called Viṣṇuśarman, the *Pañcatantra* consists of five books of (mostly) animal tales and proverbs, each designed to confront a dilemma in order to make a moral and/or political point. It is not only the best-known collection of its kind in India—where, like its off-shoot, the *Hitopadeśa,* it helped to define the genre of *nīti*—but it is also the work of Indian literature most widely disseminated throughout the rest of the world. (Will Johnson, *Dict. of Hinduism*)

"It is clear that the Buddhists did not invent the stories. [...] It is quite uncertain whether the author of [the Panchatantra] borrowed his stories from the *Jātaka*s or the *Mahābhārata*, or whether he was tapping into a common treasury of tales, both oral and literary, of ancient India." (Olivelle, CSL vol. p.18)

**include** along with *Pañcatantra* other fable literature: *Hitopadeśa* ascribed to Nārāyaṇa (**see** separate entry) and *Śukasaptati*

MB’s analysis notes:

Ṛśyaśṛṅga has face / form of deer because mother was a doe:

*motif: culture hero son of deer mother Th A511.1.8.1:* *Pañcatantra*: Edgerton 1965: 31; Olivelle 1997: 15

Rāma: mild criticism of folly for being deluded by golden deer:  
 *Śukasaptati*: Haksar 2000: 36 tale 6  
 Nārāyaṇa, *Hitopadeśa*: Törzsök 2007: I,64  
 *Yudhiṣṭhira returns for second dicing despite knowing it will bring disaster:  
 ‘although a golden deer is impossible, yet Rāma was enticed by it’. This insert excuses Y by reference to Rāma’s high status, while not entirely respecting it*.]

**title (and author)** *Hitopadeśa* attributed to Nārāyaṇa

**date (and provenance)** c. 800-950 A.D. (Törzsök, after Ingalls)

**edition(s)** *Hitopadeśa: the Sanskrit text, with a grammatical analysis, alphabetically arranged,* by Francis Johnson, 2nd edn (Hertford: Stephen Austin, 1864). **own copy**

**translation(s)** Haksar, A.N.D. (trans.) 1998:  *The Hitopadeśa* (New Delhi: Penguin Books)**. own copy; analysed**

**\*** Törzsök,Judit (trans.) 2007: *“Friendly Advice” by Nārāyaṇa & “King Vikrama’s Adventures”,* Clay Sanskrit Library (New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation). **own copy**

**studies** Ingalls, D.H.H. 1966: “The Cāṇakya collections and Nārāyaṇa’s Hitopadeśa”, *JAOS* 86: 1-19. **download**

Sternbach, L 1960: *The Hitopadeśa and its sources,* American Oriental Series 44 (New Haven: Americal Oriental Society). **OIL 544.76 Ste**

**notes** *Hitopadeśa* — A collection of fables and folk wisdom, compiled by Nārāyaṇa in 12th century Bengal, and well-known in India and beyond as a Sanskrit ‘reader’. The first English translation was made by Charles Wilkins in 1787, but many of the stories had found their way to Europe in Arabic and Persian versions well before that. It is a radically altered version of the Pañcatantra. (Will Johnson, *Dict. of Hinduism*)

Sternbach 1960 shows that the *Hitopadeśa* is based for its story-line on the *Pañcatantra* but adds a great deal of aphoristic material drawn from the epics and *dharmaśāstras.*

**title (and author)** *Śukasaptati*

**date (and provenance)** 12th century (?)

**edition(s)** *Śukasaptati* 1839: *Die Çukasaptati: textus simplicior,* hrsg. von Richard Schmidt (Leipzig: Brockhaus).

*Śukasaptati* 1959 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1959). [Skt text only] **OIL 545.2 Suk**

**translation(s)** Morgenroth, Wolfgang (trans.) 1986: *Śukasaptati, Das Indische Papageienbuch,* Die Großen Märchenromane der Inder (Köln: Eugen Diederichs).  
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\* Haksar, Aditya Narayan Dhairyasheel (trans.) 2000: *Shuka Saptati: seventy tales of the parrot* (New Delhi: HarperCollins Publishers India). **own copy**

Wortham, B. Hale (trans.) 1911: *The Enchanted Parrot, being a selection from the “Suka Saptati”* (London: Luzac & Co) **download**

**studies** Schmidt, Richard 1896: *Der Textus ornatior der Çukasaptati : ein Beitrag zur Märchenkunde* (Stuttgart : Verlag von W. Kohlhammer). **download**

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various articles by Csaba Töttössy from *Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*  
 **(IND) 5 Suk. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10**

**notes see** *Hitopadeśa,* Haksar 1998 (**own copy**):800—950 A.D.; Śaiva affiliation;   
also consult Sternbach 1960 (under *Hitopadeśa*)

The Śukasaptatiis a collection of stories that are supposed to be narrated to a woman by her pet parrot, at the rate of one story every night, in order to dissuade her from going out to meet her paramour while her husband is away. The collection actually contains 72 stories, of which one story forms the main narrative, while the remaining 71 stories are narrated by the parrot. The stories frequently deal with illicit liaisons, the problems flowing from them and the way to escape those crises by using one's wits. Although the parrot’s actual purpose is to prevent its mistress from leaving, it does so without moralising. At the end of the 70 days, the woman's husband returns from his trip abroad and all is forgiven. Most of the stories are ribald and uninhibited, with some verging on the pornographic. The situations depicted in the stories not only test the bounds of marriage, some stray into taboo areas of incest and, in one case, zoophilia.

The collection is part of the *kathā* tradition; some of the tales are actually repeated from earlier well-known collections. In the tradition of Sanskrit literature, the tales are frequently interspersed with verse, many original, some repeated from earlier works. It is not known when it was originally written; current scholarship accepts that the collection was in its current form by the 12th century, though currently the oldest known manuscript dates back to the 15th century. The collection has been translated into many languages, including Persian in the 14th century, and in Malay, *Hikayat Bayan Budiman,* by a certain Kadi Hassan in 773 AH (1371 AD).

There are two versions of the work available in Sanskrit, the *simplicior* version attributed to a Brahmin Cintāmaṇi has been described as having a "simple, somewhat abrupt style" while the *ornatior* version, attributed to a Śvetāmbara Jain monk is "elaborate and ornate". The simplicior version is considered to be older. The names *simplicior* and *ornatior* were assigned by Richard Schmidt.

**title (and author)** *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa / Mokṣopāya*

**date (and provenance)** 12th-13th century (?)

**edition(s)** *Yogavāsiṣṭha* 1984: *The Yogavāsiṣṭha of Vālmīki with the commentary Vāsiṣṭhamahārāmāyaṇatātparyaprakāśa,* ed. by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇśīkar, 2 vols (New Delhi: Munshiram Mahoharlal). **[**reprint of 3rd edn — Bombay: Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1937]. **(IND) / Wolfson Coll. Lib. 294.592191 VAL / download**

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Slaje, Walter 2001: “Observations on the Making of the Yogavāsiṣṭha (caitta, nañartha and vaḥ)”, *Le Parole e i Marmi: Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70° compleanno,* a cura di Raffaele Torella, II: 771-796 (Roma: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente). **scan**

[Slaje, Walter 2004: “Major Results of Historical Research in Yogavāsiṣṭha”,*planned for Sahdev 2004 but then excluded from this volume*]

Slaje, Walter 2005a: “Locating the Mokṣopāya”, in *The Mokṣopāya, Yogavāsiṣṭha and related texts,* ed. by Jürgen Hanneder (Aachen): 21-35. **download**

Slaje, Walter 2005b: “The Mokṣopāya Project (III)”, in *The Mokṣopāya, Yogavāsiṣṭha and related texts,* ed. by Jürgen Hanneder (Aachen): 37-54. **download**

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Steiner, Roland 2014: “Über kurz oder lang: Warum is das *“Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha”* eine Kürzung des *Mokṣopāya*?”, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Südasien* 31: 167-94. **download**

Thomi, Peter 1983: “The Yogavāsiṣṭha in its longer and shorter version”, *JIPh* 11: 107-16.  
[= introduction to his *Cūḍālā* 1980] **printout**

**notes see** also summary of Slaje’s and Hanneder’s work by Lekh Raj Manjdadria (**download**) **and** YV bibliography by de Jong in review of Thomi at *IIJ* 23 (1981): 225-6 [whole review = 221-7]; also Leslie, *Authority ...,* pp. 104-10; Chris Chapple (Helsinki); photocopied pages from O’Flaherty, *Dreams, Illusions ...* on YV (in red box files)

abstract of Hanneder and Slaje 2005 (p. 509):

The relationship between the so-called longer and shorter versions of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha,* i.e. the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* proper (YV) and the *Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha* (LYV), remained unsolved for some time. The present authors had previously not dealt with all earlier theories in detail, since most conclusions were based only on the printed editions, whereas only an examination of a wider selection of primary sources could reveal the actual relationship. In brief, the LYV turned out to be an unfinished abstract of the *Mokṣopāya* (MU). The YV is a bowdlerized redaction of the MU, conflated with the LYV. In a recent review Peter Thomi has contested the research results published by the present authors and reaffirmed his earlier theory of the priority of the LYV over the YV. The present article represents a review of his position.

and from p. 511: Slaje konnte nun zeigen, dass das LYV auf die kaschmirische Rezension zurückgeht, während die Yv-Version, und somit der bisher allein zugängliche gedruckte Text, ein Kontamination aus diesen beiden Versionen darstellt, die darüberhinaus noch redaktionell bearbeitet worden war. ... ... [Kashmir recension = MU]

Slaje 1990: 148 —  
“... but it is equally true that it was quoted in Indian literature as early as in the 13th century A.D.3, and it has since then strongly influenced later Vedānta authors such as Vidyāraṇya, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Vijñānabhikṣu and Prakāśānanda. The influence the YV later exerted on the mental culture of India is comparable only with that of the Bhagavadgītā. This can clearly be seen from the fact that not only the philosophy of Jñāneśvara contains distinct traces of the teachings of the YV4, but also that the (Laghu-)YV has become the literary source of some of the Minor Upaniṣads5.”

3 Raghavan 1939: 128 [= “Date of YV”, *JORM* 13: 110-28]

4 Pendse 1946: 238ff. [= “Jñāneśvara and Yogavāsiṣṭha”, *Proc. & Transactions of AIOC 13th Session* (Nagpur 1946[51], III: 238-43]

5 Sprockhoff 1976: 17, 312-377. [= *Saṃnyāsa*, Wiesbaden]

“Numerous quotes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (in the *Vairāgyaprakaraṇa*) [of the *Mokṣopāya*] and from the *Bhagavadgītā* (in the *Arjunopākhyāna*), which clearly reflect readings characteristic of the Kashmir recensions of both these works, also point to such a local origin.”  
 Slaje 2005a: 21

It is embedded within a succession of frameworks: Agastya narrating to Sutīkṣṇa what Agniveśya told Kāruṇya, all the way to Vasiṣṭha’s sermon to Rāma. It contains over sixty stories within them, aimed at showing that interactions with the world are shaped by the nature of thought and so, by understanding one’s motivations, one can become liberated in the embodied state.

illustrated copy of Persian translation of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in Chester Beatty Library (Ind. MS. 5) [**see** Losty 1982:92]

Śāradā ms. of *Mumukṣuprakaraṇa* in Nat. Mus., New Delhi, 53.17/195(paper, 87 folios); Śāradā mss. of *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* in Nat. Mus., New Delhi, 53.17/219(paper, 25 folios) and 53.17/321 (paper, 25 folios), as well as various others

The *YV* is a source for Tulsīdās and for Mādhava (Marāṭhī)

**download** of a LYV translation in “texts and translations” folder

**content of the work and relationship to the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa**

The course of the action of this extensive work is basically the following (the various stories-within-stories are numbered):

[1] The brāhman Sutīkṣṇa asks the saint Agasti whether the carrying out of his duties or knowledge or both would lead to release. The sage reveals that only the combination of both would guarantee salvation and with this end in view tells him the following story.

[2] Agniveśya saw that his son Kāruṇya, after completing his studies, did not carry out his religious duties, because he was tormented by doubt about whether it would not be better to abstain from all action and renounce the world completely. So Agniveśya suggests to his son that he should listen to a legend and then come to a decision:

[3] The Apsaras Suruci once saw in the Himālaya a messenger of Indra flying past and asked him where he was going. The messenger answered that he was carrying messages back and forth between Indra and King Ariṣṭanemi.

[4] The king had renounced his kingdom and practices *tapas* so zealously that Indra wanted to have him conveyed to heaven in a heavenly vehicle. As the messenger was informing the king of this, the king had him describe the pros and cons of heaven. Thus the king learned that one’s stay in heaven is transitory, for it comes to an end when one’s good works are exhausted. Thereupon he declined to go to heaven and decided to practice asceticism until he could abandon his unclean body (‘as a snake does its skin’) for ever (1.1.41). When Indra learnt this from his messenger, he commanded him to take the king to Vālmīki’s hermitage to receive instruction.

[5] Vālmīki thereupon recounts to Ariṣṭanemi the whole Rāmāyaṇa, esp. the conversation between Vasiṣṭha and Rāma (*Vasiṣṭharāmasaṃvāda*), which is an aid to release (1.1.52).

[6] Moreover, Vālmīki says that he was the first to compose the Rāmāyaṇa and to pass it on to his pupil Bharadvāja. The latter proclaimed it to the god Brahmā on Mt Meru. Highly delighted, Brahmā granted Bharadvāja the fulfilment of a wish. Bharadvāja asked Brahmā to tell him how to achieve release; Brahmā recommended Bharadvāja to persuade his teacher Vālmīki to complete the Rāmāyaṇa and so to create a *śāstra* that would bring blessing on the world (1.2.15). To reinforce his suggestion, Brahmā appeared in person to Vālmīki and repeated his advice. After the deity left him, Vālmīki made it clear to his pupil Bharadvāja that release is attained when, like Rāma and the prominent members of his entourage (in the list at 1.2.25 the queens Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Sītā are also named), in possession of the highest knowledge and release during his lifetime, and free from all worldly inclinations, one sacrifices, makes and receives donations, lives and mediates.

At Bharadvāja’s request, Vālmīki then sketches how Rāma attained release during his lifetime (*jīvanmukti* 1.3.16). When Rāma had left school (*vidyāgṛha* 1.3.18), to complete his training, he made a great pilgrimage to the holy rivers and places of pilgrimage (1.3.33-40), in the company of his brothers, under the guidance of brāhmans. After his triumphant return home, he led the life of a light-hearted and virtuous prince (1.4). But when he was fifteen and Daśaratha was consulting his ministers about his marriage, a transformation occurred in him, he sat there as lethargic as a painted picture, and his face resembled a wilting lotus (1.5.7-8), but he gave no reason for his brooding. At this point Viśvāmitra visited the king’s court at Ayodhyā, to ask Daśaratha for the protection of the young hero Rāma against the demons who were disturbing the sacrifices. At first Daśaratha is reluctant to release Rāma for such a dangerous undertaking but, since Viśvāmitra flew into a terrible rage at his refusal, on Vasiṣṭha’s advice the king decides to have Rāma summoned. He however is in a sombre mood. Asked the reason, he explains that he has realised the fleeting nature of this deceptive existence and is sated with the world (the evils of the world are exhaustively portrayed in *adhyāyas* 12-31). The whole court, Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, and even the birds on the trees in the royal park (1.32.9), the gods and demi-gods, deeply agitated, follow Rāma’s eloquent words and flowers fall from heaven as a sign of assent. Divine beings and sages of old times appear, to declare their approval to Rāma.

Then Viśvāmitra narrates the story of Vyāsa’s son Śuka, who perceived the truth in a similar fashion and remained steadfast in the face of all temptations of the senses (2.1). He then instructs Vasiṣṭha to enlighten Rāma, so that, from the insight he gained into the fickleness and illusoriness of the world, he might be led further towards the blessed peace of the self, which is gained by knowledge of the All-One. To this end Vasiṣṭha is called on above all, since in an earlier *kalpa* he had been created specifically for this purpose by the god Brahmā from his nature, to instruct the suffering mankind of Bhāratavarṣa about the way to release (2.10.17ff.) Vasiṣṭha then further hands on to Rāma the teaching received from Brahmā. His teachings comprise the content of the whole following section of the YV. Vasiṣṭha’s discourse is punctuated by Rāma’s questions and the approving remarks of the audience of courtiers (3.4, 5.1ff, 6a.1, 6a.29.d etc).

At the end of the first part of book 6, ch. 127, Rāma has learnt so much of Vasiṣṭha’s teachings ‘summarising the Vedānta’ (*vedāntasaṃgraha* 6a.127.3) that he partakes of the bliss of All-Oneness in deep meditation. Viśvāmitra congratulates Vasiṣṭha on this result but at the same time calls on him to wake Rāma out of his Yoga sleep, for he still has many tasks to perform, which are listed in 6a.128.68-76; in a few verses a summary of the main points of the Rāmāyaṇa is given. Rāma will, it declares, gain admittance to the Siddhas’ Aśrama, destroy the Rākṣasas, release Ahalyā, marry Sītā after bending and breaking the great bow, will meet Paraśurāma, go to the Daṇḍaka forest and there protect *tīrthas* and men from harm. He will then present a model for all husbands by his grief for the abducted Sītā. Next he will kill Rāvaṇa and bring back to life the monkeys who have fallen in the war, and finally investigate Sītā’s purity. Though released from life himself, he will show mankind the way to the harmonious combination of works and knowledge (*jñānakarma­samuccaya* 74a).[[1]](#footnote-1)  After Viśvāmitra has praised Rāma as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, a manifestation of the All-spirit, etc., Vasiṣṭha wakes Rāma from his state of trance. Those present take leave of Rāma, honour him and thank him for disclosing to them the truth through his grace, that there is nothing higher than self-knowledge and the master who possesses it (105).

One might expect that here Vasiṣṭha’s instruction would be over and that now only the conclusion of the stories-within-stories would be left, but this is far from the case. Vasiṣṭha continues his discourse in the same manner throughout the 214 chapters of the second part of book 6, until Rāma and his brother declare themselves fully satisfied and celebrate the conclusion of the instruction with a festival. Vālmīki then tells his pupil Bharadvāja that he too has attained release during his lifetime and that those who study and disseminate the YV are certain to reach release in no more than three existences (215.13).

In the last chapter king Ariṣṭanemi [4] achieved knowledge and dismissed the gods’ messenger satisfied. The Apsaras too [3], when she heard the messenger’s words, felt herself exalted above all trouble and the fever of worldly desire; Kāruṇya [2] also has now overcome his doubts through his father Agniveśya’s story, and knows that by completing all worldly duties fully he can become a world-renouncing sage. The brāhman Sutīkṣṇa [1] however has for his part again been saved from the sea of saṃsāra by the words of his guru Agasti; it has become clear to him that Brahmā is the sole eternal absolute.

The plot of the stories-within-stories outlined above is only a small part of the whole; out of the 1572 pages of the text in the Nirṇaya Sāgara edition, used here as the basis, fewer than 50 pages are allotted to them. All the rest of the space is filled with philosophical debates and illustrative tales, which have nothing to do with the *Rāmāyaṇa* as such.

Thus, despite its name, the YV is not a true *Rāmāyaṇa* but a work that supplements it from a didactic point of view. Its place within the epic would be in the *Bālakāṇḍa*, at the point where Viśvāmitra appears to take Rāma off to do battle with the *rākṣasas* (ch. 18-22). It accords with the older view of Rām’s nature, insofar as Rāma is presented as an earthly being striving for knowledge, not as one enlightened from the beginning and in full possession of all wisdom. While Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu (as portrayed at YV 1.1.55ff.) is only one of the highest gods, not the Supreme. Viṣṇu had to descend to earth and in so doing forfeit his omniscience, because, when he first visited Brahmā in his world, he was cursed by Sanatkumāra, Bhṛgu, Vṛṇḍā and Devadatta, since he had offended Sanatkumāra, killed Bhṛgu’s wife, deceived Vṛṇḍā in the form of her husband Jalandhara, and the pregnant wife of Devadatta had died of fright on seeing him in his Narasiṃha form. To expiate these crimes, Viṣṇu had to become an ignorant human as Rāma and to experience the pain of separation from his wife. It does not contradict this view that at 6a.128.71 Rāma is extolled as the highest spirit, etc., for Rāma has there become a *jīvanmukta* and so a divine being.

Since the plot of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is referred to only occasionally, its author’s views about its characters and events cannot be determined in detail. Although basically he seems to have followed Vālmīki’s version, in some places it appears that the YV was influenced by other versions. 6a.128.70 declares: ‘having left his paternal kingdom, Rāma will without fear or desire save the inhabitants of the Daṇḍaka forest through the lustre (*chala*) of his life in the forest.’ This clearly indicates that the exile etc. were only a means subtly planned by Rāma to benefit the forest-people. So too (6a.128.90) Rāvaṇa is congratulated because Rāma has thought constantly of him, although it is not clear whether the concept of *dveṣabhakti* is yet being invoked. Overall, the YV is a work whose basic concern is to demonstrate the illusory nature of the world of plurality and to assure mankind that *jīvanmukta* are employed on earth in an unremitting endeavour to benefit all living creatures. The concept of *pauruṣa* (human effort) is quite prominent in the second book.

**title (and author)** *Saṃgraharāmāyaṇa* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya

**date (and provenance)** 14th century

**edition(s)** *śrīnārāyaṇapaṇḍitācāryyaviracitaṃ saṅgraharāmāyaṇam, prathamo bhāgaḥ,* ed. by Bannañje Govindācārya (Udupi: Jagadguru Śrī Madhwācārya Mahā Saṃsthāna, 2015). **download**

**translation(s)**

**studies** brief notice in B.N.K. Sharma, *History of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and its Literature,* p. 220 [p. 273 of download]

**notes** A condensed rendering in 3,512 *ślokas* of *VR,* along the lines of Madhva’s *Mahābhāratatātparyanirṇaya, adhy.* 3-9; the author is better known for his biography of Madhva, the *Madhvijaya*.

**title (and author)** *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 14th (?) / 16th (?) or late 17th–early 18th century [cf. below]

**edition(s)** Singh, B.P. (ed.) 1975: *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa, Poorva Khand* (Varanasi: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan). **download + offprint of V. Raghavan’s introduction**

Singh, B.P. (ed.) n.d. [1982-84]: *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa, Part II (Dakṣiṇa Khaṇḍa), Part III (Paścima-Uttara Khaṇḍa)* (Gorakhpur: Avadh Sahitya Mandir). **Ind.Inst. 4.4.4. 1/1-3**

**translation(s)** [some chapters translated in Keislar 1998]

**studies** Keislar, Allan Mott 1998: *Searching for the Bhuśuṇḍi-rāmāyaṇa: one text or many?: the Ādi- rāmāyaṇa, the Bhuśuṇḍi-rāmāyaṇa, and the Rāmāyaṇa-mahā-mālā,* PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, Dec. 1998. **abstract downloaded (below)**

Singh, Bhagwati Prasad [Siṃh, Bhagavatī Prasād] 1957: *Rāmbhakti meṃ rasik sampradāy* (Balrāmpur: Avadh Sāhitya Mandir).

Singh, Bhagwati Prasad 1980: “Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa and its influence on the mediaeval Rāmāyaṇa literature”, in Raghavan 1980 (1):475-504. **own copy**

Singh, Bhagwati Prasad 1989: *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa: kathāvastu tathā samīkṣā,* lekhaka ḍŏ bhagavatīprasāda siṃha (Vārāṇasī: Viśvavidyālaya Prakāśana). **Ind.Inst. 4.4.4. 2**[*mostly reprint of vol.1 of edn (1975)*: Raghavan’s intro., *prastāvanā* (62 pp.) and *kathāvastu* (38 pp.); pp. 39-64 are new: *Bhuśuṇḍi-Rāmāyaṇa aur Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa kī Rāma kathā: tulanātmaka vivecana*]

Stasik, Danuta 2006b: “Crow Bhuśuṇḍi and his story of the deeds of Rām”, in Stasik and Trynkowska, eds 2006: 293-99. **own copy**

Stasik, Danuta 2009a: *The Infinite Story: The Past and Present of The Rāmāyaṇas in Hindi* (New Delhi: Manohar). [*pp. 21-22 on Viṣṇudās, pp. 48-54 on Rāmrasik saṃpradāy*] **own copy**

**notes summary of contents below**

In four *khaṇḍas* (and 36,000 verses): *Pūrva, Dakṣiṇa, Paścima* and *Uttara* [on other names, mss. and so on of the *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa*, **see** now Singh 1980 and Keislar 1998]; a Kākabhuśuṇḍaris one of the Tamil Śaiva siddhas [**see** messages about Kākabhuśuṇḍi on the Indology list (March 1998)]

*RR:* 256-8 – Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa mentions as authorities Bhuśuṇḍi, Garuḍa, Pṛthvī, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān

*RR:* 257 § 2: The Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa also contains (ch. 105) a version of an itinerary for the circumambulation of Mathurā. [Entwistle]

“... a description of Braj itself. This forms part of the narrative of a pilgrimage undertaken by Dasharatha after he had placed Rama in charge of affairs of state.” (Entwistle, *Braj,* p. 245; ref. to *Bh.Rām.* 104ff [? 104-10])

“However, the necessity for regarding it as a source for Tulsidas does not seem warranted, and in view of the amount of *rasika* material it has borrowed from Krishna literature and the relatively modern places included in its description of Braj, the late sixteenth century is an acceptable *terminus a quo* for its composition.73

73 As is also argued by Bakker. [referring presumably to *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* part of *Ayodhyā* vols]

*Bhuśuṇḍi Rām.* is said to be drawn on by Tulsīdās (rebutted by Danuta Stasik, also Entwistle) and (indirectly) the Lao version. Will Johnson suggests (*Oxford Dictionary of Hinduism*): “For a long time it may have been available only to Rāmānand rasik sects”.

[abstract]  **Allan Mott Keislar:** *Searching for the Bhusundi-ramayana: One text or many?   
The Adi-ramayana, the Bhusundi-ramayana, and the Ramayana-maha-mala*

**PhD Dissertation,** University of California, Berkeley 369 (1998)

The so-called Bhusuṇḍi-ramayaṇa (BhR), a late medieval Sanskrit work published in three volumes by B. P. Singh from 1975 to 1985, has often been identified with the text of this name quoted by traditional commentators as a source of Tulasi-dasa's sixteenth-century Hindi Rama-carita-manasa. However, this dissertation disproves such an assumption, especially by a close comparison of two BhRs' vaguely similar versions of an important incident involving Garuḍa's bewilderment about the divinity of Rama. In addition, this dissertation demonstrates that several almost identical passages in the published BhR and the Rama-carita-manasa, cited by Singh as striking proof that the former was a source of the latter, rather were both derived from other Sanskrit works. This dissertation also: (1) reviews all available scholarship on the BhR; (2) suggests that a text called the Ramayaṇa-maha-mala, summarized in Rama-dasa Gauṛa's 1938 Hindutva, is identical with the BhR utilized by Tulasai-dasa; (3) reviews the published BhR itself, along with its introductory material; (4) shows that another text, also called the BhR. (known from a single manuscript entitled Sita-rama-yugala-sahasra-nama, self-identified as a chapter of the "Sri Bhusuṇḍi-ramayaṇa ") is not only different from the published BhR, but is almost certainly not the BhR used by Tulasi; (5) reveals that the published BhR was written by one Ramarsi, a follower of the seventeenth-century rasika acarya Bala-kṛṣṇa Svami; (6) shows that the published BhR was written in the late seventeenth and/or early eighteenth centuries CE; (7) presents, evidently for the first time in any language, a translation of several chapters of the published BhR, describing Rama's erotic encounter with Sita (identified with a cowherdess, Sahaja); and (8) suggests that, in order to avoid confusion with the BhR utilized by Tulasi, the published BhR henceforth be designated by the name given in the text itself, Adi-ramayaṇa (or "the Adi-ramayaṇa of Ramarṣi," to distinguish it from the Ramayaṇa of Valmiki, also known as the Adi-ramayaṇa).

Keislar 1998 establishes that the published *Bhuśuṇḍi Rām.* was written by one Rāmarṣi, a follower of the 17th-century rasik ācārya Bālakṛṣṇa Svāmī, and was written in the late 17th and/or early 18th centuries. In addition, he identifies another text, the *Sītārāmayugalasahasranāma,* which claims to be part of the *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa,* as being different from the published *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa* and also almost certainly not the text supposedly used by Tulsīdās. He further suggests that a *Rāmāyaṇamahāmālā* (see Gauḍ 1938: 138-43) is identical with the *Bhuśuṇḍi Rām.* used by Tulsīdās.

Paramasivan 2009: 103 –  
 The Rasika branch of the Rāmānandi Sampradāya originated in the mid-sixteenth century, in the cities of Raivasa and Galta in Rajasthan.12 Although this order has been known variously as the Jānakī Sampradāya, Rahasya Sampradāya, Janakavallabhī Sampradāya and Siyā Sampradāya, it is most commonly referred to as the Rasika Sampradāya. *Rasika,* or “connoisseur”, is used as a term of self-identification in the earliest works of this order, such as the sixteenth-century *Dhyān-mañjarī,* authored by the founder of the Sampradāya, Agradās. Profoundly influenced by the Krishnaite conception of Braj, the highly aestheticised devotion of the Rasika Rāmānandīs is conceptualised around the idyllic life of Rāma and Sītā as a couple along with their *sakhīs* and *sakhās* (“female” and “male companions”).

**12** For the most authentic study on the Rasika Rāmānandīs, see Siṃh 1957.

summary of contents from B.P. Singh’s edn, 1975 + n.d.

1.1 Brahmā praises Rāma as supreme Brahman. (colophon: *iti śrīmadādirāmāyaṇe brahmabhuśuṇḍasaṃvāde brahmastutir nāma prathamo ’dhyāyaḥ*)

2. The gods assemble at Brahmā’s *sattra* and ask what deity he is sacrificing to.  
(colophon: … … *praśnarūpaṃ* … …)

3. Brahmā declares that Rāma is the supreme creator, etc., dwelling in Sītāloka (3.7 – 3.7cd-8ab = unidentified quote by Raghavan on p. 3 of Intro); the gods ask him to tell them the story of Rāma by Bhuśuṇḍa. (colophon: … … *upadeśakathanaṃ* … …)

4. Brahmā narrates that Bhuśuṇḍa was born as the son of Sūrya and Kālakaṇṭakī, the terrible sister of Kāla, and took the form of a ferocious crow (*bhuśuṇḍo nāma vai dvijaḥ* || *kākaveśadharaḥ śūro* 4.1d-2a); he defeated Viṣṇu’s mount, Garuḍa and was becoming a menace to the gods. So Brahmā reproved him and spoke about the greatness of Rāma and Rāma-*bhakti.* To calm Bhuśuṇḍa Brahmā points to Rāma as saviour. (colophon: … … *bhuśuṇḍopaśamo* … …)

5. Brahmā reports the discourse of Hanumān to Garuḍa on Rāma worship and Garuḍa sees/has *darśan* of Rāma. (colophon: … … *garuḍāya darśanadānaṃ* … …)

6. Garuḍa praises Rāma (*stotra* 18b); Rāma blesses him (19); Brahmā and Hanumān chip in; Garuḍa declares that Kṛṣṇa and others are just *aṃśas* of Rāma (32ab, quoted by Raghavan) and sees Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī in south of Ayodhyā, so pays them homage (*nanāma* 34d), whereat Kṛṣṇa gives a homily on the greatness of Rāma (36-44). (colophon: … … *hanumaddarśanaṃ* … …)

7. Hanumān further praises Rāma (1-16) and Rāma responds (17-32), declaring that he will tell (*pravakṣyāmi* 30b) the story of his descent (*avatāracarita* 30c).   
(colophon: … … *kathāvatāro* … …)

8. Bhuśuṇḍa asks Brahmā to narrate the birth and deeds of Rāma at length. Brahmā starts with the trio of *rākṣasas* headed by Daśāsya, predicts Rāma’s birth (5) at Kośala on the Sarayū (7). (colophon: … … *kathāvataraṇaṃ* … …)

9. Brahmā declares that Śrī will become Jānakī and Rāma will bear/take away the burden of the earth (*hariśyati bhuvo bhāraṃ dharmaṃ ca sthāpayiṣyati* 3cd). Bhuśuṇḍa again asks Brahmā to tell the *Śrīrāmacarita* (7-11). Brahmā first lists the ten *avatāras* before praising Rāma as supreme and asking who is able to declare his greatness; **n.b.** 39-30ab: *hayagrīveṇa yat proktaṃ yac ca valmīkajena ca* | *mayā tvayā ca yat proktaṃ vasiṣṭhena tathoditam* || *tad aṃśamātrakaṃ viddhi rāmāyaṇam anantakam* |.  
(colophon: … … *mahimavarṇanaṃ* … …)

10. Bhuśuṇḍa asks about how Rāma was born in Daśaratha’s house (1). Brahmā gives astronomical details of time of birth (2) and describes elaborately his auspicious features. Daśaratha praises Rāma and pays homage (9-22), then Kausalyā (23-28). Again, other *avatāras* are declared to be forms of Rāma (29 onwards). All the gods from Brahmā down gather to praise him (45-49). (colophon: … … *janmastavo* … …)

11. The Śrutis (= Vedas) praise Rāma (1-3, in prose!), which Raghavan notes as a brief imitation of the elaborate *Śrutigītā* at Bhāg.P. 10.87. They then descend *gopaveśmaṣu* (4d) on the further bank of the Sarayū in Ābhīra families. Rāma’s parents rejoice. (colophon: … … *śrutistavo* … …)

12. Divine music and so on attend his birth (1-6). Daśaratha performs *jātakarma kumārāṇāṃ* (7c, n.b. pl.) with all due magnificence and liberality. The citizens join in the celebrations. **n.b.***dvitīyaś ca sumitrāyāḥ sūnuḥ* ... 30ab, *anyau bharataśatrughnau* 31a (cf. Raghavan p.8 fin.). (colophon: … … *janmotsavavarṇanaṃ* … …)

13. Vasiṣṭha goes to Daśaratha on 13th day to arrange namegiving ritual and performs it (10), then utters a list of names of Rāma, identifying him with Hari, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, as well as giving his own and Kṛṣṇa’s exploits (e.g. *rāvaṇāriḥ kaṃsanihā* 12a) (11-34ab), then of the *avatāras* (34cd-35ab) and further names and epithets in apparently random order up to 87ab.  
 *iti evaṃ nāmasahasraṃ rājendra tanayasya te* || 87cd  
 *yaḥ paṭhet prātar utthāya dhautapādaḥ śucivrataḥ* |  
 *sa yāti rāmasāyujyaṃ bhuktvānte kevalaṃ padam* || 88  
followed by more on the merits of recitation up to end of *adhyāya* (98).  
(colophon: … … *vasiṣṭhakṛtanāmasahasrakathanaṃ* … …)

14. Vasiṣṭha declares that he will recite the 1000 names of Sītā, identifying her with Śrī, Lakṣmī, Rādhikā (4d) and Rukminī (5a) and using epithets relating to her story (e.g. *aśokavanamadhyasthā* 6c), as well as *brāhmī māheśvarī* (30c), with a statement of results at the end (96-100). (colophon: … … *sītāsahasrakaṃ* … …)

15. Vasiṣṭha: “Now I will declare the 1000 names of your second son (1), i.e. Lakṣmaṇa, who is Śeṣa (2c), *mathurāpuranirmātā* (58a), up to 79; statement of benefits at 80-88. (colophon: … … [*lakṣmaṇasahasranāmakathanaṃ nāma*] … …)

16. Vasiṣṭha declares the names of the third son, Bharata (1-10ab), and of the fourth, Śatrughna (10cd-14). Daśaratha gives wealth to brāhmans, etc. (20-22). The childhood of all four is a delight to their father and mothers (23-32).  
(colophon: … … *bālhyavarṇanaṃ* … …)

17. Nārada goes to announce Rāma’s birth to Rāvaṇa; Rāma was formerly his killer when he was Hiraṇyakaśipu and will kill him now (3-5). But Rāvaṇa believes that the gods cannot overcome him, recalling his worship of Śiva (7-10), so what can Viṣṇu do to him (11)? He plans to oppress the gods, who go to Daśaratha (12-15). Daśaratha then, *putrarakṣāparāyaṇaḥ* 20b, sends his wives and sons across the Sarayū to the dwelling of *goparāja* Gavendra (20--24). Pūtanā tries to kill Rāma like Kṛṣṇa with the same result (25-33) and everyone rejoices, invoking Kṛṣṇa by his various names to protect every part of the child Rāma (34-45). (colophon: … … *pūtanāvadho* … …)

18. Next day, Māṇgalyā (wife of Gavendra, so equivalent of Yaśodā) puts Rāma to bed after suckling him but an Asura named Vikaṭa enters the bed and unsuccessfully tries to kill him (1-6). Next day again, Vātyāsura (a hurricane demon) attacks the place and is defeated, to the relief of Kausalyā (7-17). The *gopas* express wonder (18-25) and their chief resonds (26-32). (colophon: … … *rāmabālacaritravarṇanaṃ* … …)

19. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa roam with the *gopālabālaka* in Vraja, tending cattle etc. (1-6), exciting the women’s hearts and stealing the butter (7-11; Raghavan p.5 quotes 8-9). The *gopīs* complain about their pranks (12-18). Once Rāma ate a *badarī* fruit and, when Kausalya tells him to open his mouth, she sees the universe inside (19-29).  
(colophon: … … *viśvarūpadarśanaṃ* … …)

20. More Kṛṣṇa-style exploits (cf. Raghavan p.5 fin.). From the tree dragged by Rāma emerges *mahākāyaḥ puruṣaḥ* (19), who utters a hymn of praise (21-34) and goes to heaven (35ab). Bhuśuṇḍa asks his name (35cd-36) and Brahmā explains (37-47).  
(colophon: … … *sunīthamokṣaṇaṃ* … …)

21. Everyone runs up at the sound of the tree’s fall and are amazed and disbelieving; the *gopa* chief releases Rāma, kisses him and tells him not to do such things (1-11). So the boys grow up in the *gopas’* abode and tend the cattle, playing flutes (14c) (12-16). Once they see an Asura in the form of a calf sent by Rāvaṇa, which Rāma crushes (17‑20), then a great Asura in the form of a *baka* seizes Rāma, who destroys it (21-22). The gods wonder at these and the various other exploits of Rāma (23-70).   
(colophon: … … *rāmavatsacāraṇalīlānukathanaṃ* … …)

22. On the analogy of Kṛṣṇa’s prohibition of the Indra festival and promulgation of worship of Mt Govardhana and Indra deluging the Vraja with rain, here Daśaratha and his queens inaugurate a Vaiṣṇava *yāga* and Indra pours down rain to disrupt it. Rāma holds up his huge umbrella and protects the whole Vraja from the rain. Parallel to the Bhāg.P. *Govindapaṭṭābhiṣeka,* Kāmadhenu utters a hymn to Rāma (40-44) and the humbled Indra bathes Rāma in her milk. 47 verses.   
(colophon: … … *indramānabhañjanaṃ* … …)

23. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa tend the cows of Pramodavana, along with the cowherd boys. *tatra kaścit kharo nāma rākṣasendro hi garvitaḥ* (15ab) appears and is killed by Lakṣmaṇa (15-19). They take the cows to the Sarayū but find the waters poisoned by a snake (≈ Kālīya episode), so kill the *kṛṣnāhi* (20-23). Rāma extinguishes a forest fire (32). The *gopīs* become enamoured of Rāma (38-45), Rāma offers them a favour (46-48) and they make their request (49-51); Rāma tells them about Durvāsas’ Jānakīmantra (52-55) and they all *sītāveśadharāḥ* sport with Rāma (56-59). (colophon: … … *gopīvaradānaṃ* … …)

24. In a counterpart of Kṛṣṇa’s *rāsalīlā* Rāma dances with them. With verse 5 cf. Bhāg.P. 10.1.21.5 (so Raghavan). *rāghavo modayan gopīs tā eva saparicchadāḥ* | *evaṃ yogī vai ramate rāmo ramayatāṃ varaḥ* || 7. 13 verses. (colophon: … … *kelivarṇanaṃ* … …)

25. Bhuśuṇḍi wants it all explained (1-10ab). Brahmā obliges, explaining the inner truth of Rāma’s Rāsalīlā and its close relationship to Kṛṣna (10cd-47).  
(colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

26. The Rāma-rāsa continues; *viraha* (separation) of Rāma and Sītā and his consequent suffering. *Dūtīs* approach Rāma and speak of the pangs of separation of women, appealing to him to help (27-58); Rāma responds (59-67). Nārada and other *munis* appear (68-71) and address Rāma about Sītā (72-85); the *dūtīs* are satisfied (86-88).(colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

27. A description of *śarad,* autumn, modelled on Bhāg.P. 43 verses.   
(colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

28. Sītā appears and they make love through the night. 58 verses.   
(colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

29. [whole *adhyaya,* except 42, in prose] Rākṣasas called Ulbaṇas arrive; Lakṣmaṇa see them and gives battle but swoons under the rain of their spears (1-3); the gods express alarm and urge him to regain consciousness (4-5); he revives and the rākṣasas are dispersed (6). The Vedas, described as *vidyādharaveṣadhāriṇyaḥ,* and Mahopaniṣadaḥ arrive to sing for the awakening <of Rāma and Sītā> (7); the Vedas’ *stuti* at 8-33, the major Upaniṣads’ *stuti* at 34-42. It is morning (42).  
(colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

30. Rāma and Sītā wake (1-11); *dūtīs* arrive and express their longings (12-20), so Sīta disappears/withdraws (*tatraivāntaradhīyata* 21d), but she is present in all devotion to Rāma (22-33). Rāma sports with the *dūtīs* in Sītā’s absence (34-43), then dismisses them (44-47). (no name in colophon) [cf. Raghavan p.7 no.15 for this and next few]

31. The *gopīs* go about their tasks, distracted by thoughts of Rāma (1-13ab). He addresses them (13cd-24) but then disappears (25-27). The *gopīs* lament and search for him (28‑60). (colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

32. The *gopīs’* search continues as they lament. 75 verses. (colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

33. The *gopīs* utter a lament/*stuti* to Rāma (1-36; cf. *Gopikāgītā* at Bhāg.P. 10.1.31), ending with an invocation of Sītā (37-40). (colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

34. Rāma reappears with Sītā beside him (1); long description/invocation of Rāma (2-16). The *gopīs* each react in their own way (17-27) and then together praise Sītā (28-47). They address Rāma (48-52) and he preaches to them (53-79).   
(colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

35. Rāma and the *gopīs* resume the *rāsa* dance: a long description in Bhāg.P. style.   
64 verses. (colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

36. The sages of the Daṇḍaka forest praise Rāma and long to enjoy him; Rāma assures them that their longing will be fulfilled in his next *avatāra* as Kṛṣṇa. 34 verses (17 is prose). (colophon: … … *rāmarāso* … …)

37. Rāma sports with the *gopīs* in the waters. 27 verses.   
(colophon: … … *jalavihāravarṇanaṃ* … …)

38. Rāma sports with the *gopīs* in the forest. 38 verses. (colophon: … … *vanavihāro* … …)

39. The *gopīs* see the highest form of Brahman, which is *sāketapurakalpana* (10b), and unite in the form of Sītā with Rāma (1-43). One *dūtī* speaks (44-48). Rāma feels a longing for Sītā alone (49-56). Sītā appears (57-59) and talks with him (60-65). Everyone goes off to join Lakṣmaṇa in Pramodavana (66-72).   
(colophon: … … *rāca*[sic]*caritavarṇanaṃ* … …)

40. They see Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna fighting a host of *dānavas* (1-3). Lakṣmaṇa welcomes their arrival (4-6) and announces that Daśaratha has sent for them so that their marriages can be celebrated (7-8). Gavendra bids them farewell (13-23), as do Māṅgalyā (24-28) and the *gopas* (29-56). (colophon: … … *rāmaprayāṇo* … …)

41. Rāma addresses Gavendra, Māṅgalyā and the *gopas* about *viraha,* consoling them (1‑36) and, though eager to go to his father’s house, stays the night (37-38).  
(colophon: … … *rāmapravāsa* … …)

42. The *gopīs* express their dismay at his departure next day, recalling their lovemaking and asking for instruction (1-32). (colophon: … … *rāmayātrānāma* … …)

43-59 *Rāmagītā* (cf. Raghavan p.7 no.19)  
 *iti tāsāṃ vacaḥ Srutvā rāmaḥ karuṇikottamaḥ* |  
 *dadau prativacas tāsāṃ smitvā saṃmohayann iva* || 43.1

colophons: … … *rāmayātrāyāṃ purapraveśo nāma rāmagītāyāṃ … …*  43  
 … … *rāmagītāyāṃ* … … 44-45  
 … … *rāmagītārahasyopākhyānaṃ* … … 46  
 … … *rāmagītārahasyopākhyāne* … … 47  
 … … *rāmagītāmahopākhyāne* … … 48  
 … … *rāmayātryāyāṃ rāmagītāmahopākhyāne* … … 49-59 (°*e* 50-51)  
and additionally after *adhy.*59 || *samāptā ceyaṃ rāmagītopaniṣatsaṃhitā* ||

60. Rāma spends the night with the *gopīs* (1-2). He shows his supreme world to Gavendra, Māṅgalyā and the other *gopas* and *gopīs* (3-10). Then Sukhita (= Gavendra) utters a *stuti* (11-22), the *gopas* pay homage (23-29) and so do the *gopīs* (30-36). Rāma expresses his gratitude (37-48), mounts his chariot surrounded by his brothers and sets out (49‑51). They travel to Sāketa (52-59). (colophon: … … *rāmayātrāyāṃ* … …)

61. Daśaratha welcomes Rāma (1) and his brothers (2) on their return from the Pramodavana and acknowledges/praises Rāma’s divinity (3-31). [i.e. start of the Rāmāyaṇa story proper] (colophon: … … *ayodhyāgamanaṃ* … …)

62. **n.b.** 1a *yauvarājye sthito rāmaḥ.* Daśaratha delights in Rāma’s presence (1-5). Daśaratha goes to bathe but is seized by a servant of Pracetas (6-7), called in 9b a *yādas.* Rāma hears and dives in (9-11). Varuṇa honours him and releases Daśaratha (12-30). [Episode modelled on Nanda being carried away by Varuṇa’s servants and being recovered by Kṛṣṇa, Bhāg.P. 10.1.28] (colophon: … … *daśarathānayanam* … …)

63. Daśaratha celebrates the spring festival along with his sons on the banks of the Sarayū (1-14). An Asura Chāyāmaya arrives (15) and casts a pall of darkness in which all except Rama swoon, but Rāma kills him with an arrow (19‑21). *ayaṃ chāyāsuro nāma* 26a. 29 verses. (colophon: … … *chāyāsuravarṇanaṃ* … …)

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**notes** On the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* **see** *Vaiṣṇavism* (ed. Bakker and Entwistle) p.183, also **abstracts** of two conference papers by Vidyut Aklujkar [in “relevant handouts” in **Eternal Rāma box file**]. In 9 *kāṇḍas,* 109 *sargas* and 12252 verses. It draws on Bhavabhūti and has links with Jain versions (e.g. in Sāmba = Śambūka episode, 1.7.42-43, and again but unnamed at 7.10; cf. on this Sherraden 2019a: 170-75 and Sherraden 2023: 129-32); it is drawn on by Nityānanda (Bengali) and the Thai version. It declares itself part of the *Śatakoṭi Rāmāyaṇa* (7.23.64-65). One verse in the episode of Nala and the floating stones is shared with the *Hanumannāṭaka.*

**See also** notes on the Mahīrāvaṇa episode under *Jaimini Bhārata* in 3. MBh & Purāṇas, as well as comments below

The 7 *sāl* trees pierced by Rāma are supported by king of snakes (1.8.35-36; cf. *Mahānāṭaka*), **see**  ref. to episode under Vālin in MB’s narrative elements for interesting features concerning *nāga’s* curse (connecting *VR* 4 App.6 and *Ā.R.* 1.8.37-39).

Its account of Kalahā (Kaikeyī’s former life) and Dharmadatta, told by Mudgala at 1.4.119-5.42, much expanded from *Padma P., Uttarakhaṇḍa* 106-7 (so Aklujkar 2000: 112).

Rāvaṇa, not Indrajit, beheads the illusory Sītā (as in Guṇabhadra). Hanumān carries Mandodarī to where Rāvaṇa is doing penance, in order to disturb him (cf. *Kṛtyārāvaṇa,* etc.) Sītā draws Rāvaṇa’s portrait (as in Bhadreśvara and Hemacandra).

*ĀR* contains the *Rāmarakṣāstotra* (= *Rāmakavaca,* no.229 of *Stuti and Stava*), well known *stotra* composed acc. to verse 15 by Budhakauśika, summarising through epithets for Rāma, Rāma’s deeds in order of the epic. *Rāmasahasranāmastotra* at 7.1.31-163. Series of *kavacas* at 8.13-15.   
 cf. Bühnemann 1983:62 – “ A version of the RR occurs in the Janmakāṇḍa, 5th Sarga of the Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa (= ĀR), a text traditionally attributed to Vālmīki, which is quite popular in Mahārāṣṭra among the followers of the Mādhava tradition which does not accept the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa. According to Bulckethe ĀR is later than the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, from which it quotes passages, and before Eknāth (1600 A.D.), thus probably 1500 A.D.”

Rāma is homologated with Kṛṣṇa, granting boon to maidservant who loved him to take birth as Rādhā, etc. (2.7.40-50, 4.7.32-51, 4.8.1-58, 7.4.24-48, 7.11-12, 7.21.31-40); predicts his birth as Kṛṣṇa.

points from Vidyut Aklujkar’s Bangkok WSC paper:

ĀR humanises the divine; comparatively feminist perspective with Sītā shown as fully divine and in many ways equal to Rāma;

much humour;

Rāma arranges with Sītā to exile her on the pretext of evil talk from washerman,   
in reality because he cannot restrain his passion during and after her pregnancy: *Janmakāṇḍa* 2-3;

Sītā wrongly suspects Rāma of adultery with concubine Piṅgalā, demands demonstration of chastity: *Vilāsakāṇḍa* 8.48-99 (Aklujkar: carfully crafted parody of fire-ordeal; women are agents of own enlightenment – the Piṅgalā episode as mirror-image/ counter to the “fire-ordeal”, with Rāma having to prove *his* fidelity/chastity;

Rāma’s killing of Vālin counter-balanced by the hunter (Vālin reborn) killing Kṛṣṇa;

Lakṣmaṇa will be reborn as the elder brother so that Rāṃa may now serve him in recognition of his service in the forest-exile [*cf. Serat Kanda*]

**MB’s comments on narrative structure:**

Represents a change of emphasis from typical *Rm* tradition, reversing the standard themes.

Sītā is now much more equal.

Rāma’s sexuality, rather than Sītā’s, is now explored, with a certain amount of humour/ ridicule: Rāma must make humiliating defence of his own chastity against Sītā’s suspicions.

**analogue:** For impropriety of sexual activity during lactation/*post partum* *cf.* *VRm* (4 N) App. 6,58.280-353 [part of the Kālanemi episode]: Hanumān kills an attacking crocodile, who reverts to the form of a beautiful *apsaras*, cursed by lover after she had been raped **during menstruation** and impregnated by Rāvaṇa (gives birth to Atikāya).

Generally speaking, follows *VRm* closely, but in outline summary;

to the extent that sometimes impossible to follow the narrative without a close knowledge of all the details;

? no need to detail what is already well-known to target audience; traditional narrative used to illustrate main didactic purpose (but without the long devotional passages characteristic of the *Adhyātma Rm*).

However, when episodes so far not encountered by MB are included, they are narrated at length; technique evidently marks them out as innovations, either from author or other sources.

Examples:

Marriage of Daśaratha and Kausalyā

Subsequent journey from Ayodhyā to Mithilā, to celebrate *dīpāvalī*, giving rise to battle with disappointed rivals and encounter with Mudgala

New analogues to existing episodes:

Abduction of Kausalyā, enclosed in box by Rāvaṇa : birth and rejection of Sītā

Attack by rivals on second return from Mithilā : Paraśurāma episode

Bharata healed by *sañjīvanī* herb against reluctance of guardians : Hanumān on Laṅkā

Obvious efforts (sometimes innovations) taken to exonerate heroes/heroine in sensitive areas:

That Sītā’s abduction would be chaste predicted to Daśaratha by Mudgala early in narrative.  
Lakṣmaṇa does not touch (beautiful) Śūrpaṇakhā to mutilate her: he has sword, but shoots ears, lips and breasts off with arrow just sent to him as Uriah letter by Rāma. How? Arrow symbolism???

Sugrīva blocks and leaves cave seeing issue of blood, assumes Vālin killed by Māyāvin/Durmada (no explanation); exculpated by enemies having just besieged Kiṣkindhā and fleeing with no further explanation at his appearance.

Episode of Vālin, 7 *tālas* and *nāga* shared with *VRm* (stage 5, 2 mss only);  
in *ĀRm* only, Rāma then sends serpent to steal Vālin’s garland when asleep (warned about its power of reducing opponent’s strength); serpent then restores garland to Indra.

A compendium of incompatible narrative elements cobbled together in an ill-thought-out attempt to preserve the traditional material — albeit incorporating several unfamiliar incidents — forcing it to conform to a later religious context for which it was not originally designed, thereby producing an incoherent view of those characters whom the authors intend to venerate that often strains all credibility. Some elements in the later *kāṇḍas* can become ludicrous.

Does the *ĀRm* create any tradition of its own?

**title (and author)** *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa / Adbhutottarakāṇḍa*

**date (and provenance)** 14th-15th century (?)

**edition(s)** *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* 1884: *atha śrīmadadbhutarāmāyaṇaṃ prārabhyate* (mumbai: veṅkaṭeśvaramudranālaye). **download**

*Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* 1989: *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa of Maharṣi Vālmīki,* ed. by Rām Kumār Rāy (Vārāṇasī: Prācya Prakāśana). **Ind. Inst. 4.4.13. 1**

**translation(s)** *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* 2010: *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa of Śrīmad-Vālmīki,* compiled and trans. by Ajai Kumar Chhawchharia, Chaukhamba Surbharati studies. 7 (Varanasi: Chaukhamba Surbharati Prakashan). [a very free translation] **Manchester UL**

Nagar, Shantilal (trans.) 2001: *Adbhut Rāmāyaṇa, attributed to the Sage Vālmīki* (Delhi: B.R. PC). **own copy**

**studies** Coburn, Thomas B. 1995: “Sita fights while Ram swoons: a Shakta version of the Ramayan”, *Manushi (Delhi)* 90 (Sept-Oct 1995): 5-16. **download**

Coburn, Thomas B. 2009: “Sītā fights while Rāma swoons: a Śākta version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*”, in Humes and McDermott 2009: 35-59. [slightly revised version of 1995 article]

Grierson, George A. 1926-28: “On the Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa”, *BSOAS* 4: 11-27. **printout**

Raghavan, Venkatarama 1945: “Music in the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa”, *Journal of the Music Academy* 16: 65-72 (repr. in Janaki 1991: 489-97). **(IND) Per Ind mus 2**

Raghavan, Venkatarama 1998: *Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇas other than Vālmīki’s: the Adbhuta, Adhyātma, and Ānanda Rāmāyaṇas* (Chennai: Dr. V. Raghavan Centre for Performing Arts). **own copy**

Vanita, Ruth 2005 (2): “The Sita who smiles: wife as Goddess in the Adbhut Ramayana”, *Manushi* 148 (May-June 2005): 32-39. **download**  
[*outlines story, comments on śākta aspect, equates smiling with goddess aspect; overall, too general to be useful*]

**notes** V. Raghavan, “Music in the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa” [reprint p. 489 § 2] —  
 Though the legend-elements in this work may be old and current among the masses, the text, in the form in which we have, does not appear to possess any antiquity. It may not be far removed in antiquity from the Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa which Rāmānanda, the great Rāma-cultist of Benares, composed.1 The occurrence here of the concept of Rāgas and Rāginīs in music shows that the text was composed in some part of North India, during the Rajput-Muhammedan period.

1. See Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa III.iv.19; also Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Vol. I. pt. 2.

Śāradā ms. of *Adbhuta R., Uttarakāṇḍā* (paper, 52 folios) in Nat. Mus., New Delhi, 57.106/21 (and also others)

re *RR* p. 255 § 1 — The story about Mandodari is also found in a long Gujjar folk epic called the Bagṛāvat Bhārat, in which also Sītā is born out of a jar containing the blood of 24 ṛṣis, who have paid Rāvaṇa their blood in lieu of taxes. [Malik, at Leiden]

*Adbhuta Rm* is first Hindu telling of motif that Sītā is Mandodarī’s daughter; but Sītā is not Rāvaṇa’s daughter and the question of incest is raised [*Sītā as Rāvaṇa’s daughter found from early Jain sources, folk tradition, Buddhist, SE Asian*] **see** Coburn 1995: 11

original story-line condensed ‘almost to extinction’  
 (Coburn 1995: 6,12; cf. Grierson 1926: 12)

author does not set out to retell familiar (earthly) *Rm*, but excerpts of additions made to heavenly *Rm*: (so Coburn 1995: 7; cf. Grierson 1926: 12)

The earliest episodes of Rāma’s life — such as the story of his birth, his training with Viśvāmitra, and the breaking of Śiva’s bow — are omitted. The narration of Rāma's life begins with his confrontation with Rāma Jāmadagni. In form a dialogue between Vālmīki and Bharadvāja, containing 1353 verses.

*sargas* 1-8 give causes for and an account of Rāma’s incarnation  
9-16 outline Rāma’s life (i.e. broadly narrate Rāmāyaṇa)  
17-27 narrate killing of Sahasramukha Rāvaṇa by Sītā

1.11 Sītā = *prakṛti*

2-3 story of king Ambarīṣa and his daughter, wooed by both Nārada and Parvata

4 sages deceived by Viṣṇu who takes Śrimatī himself (1-58), so they curse Viṣṇu that he and Śrī will be born as Rāma and as Sītā who will be abducted by Rāvaṇa (59-64); Rāma born (75-78)

6.12-17 Nārada curses Lakṣmī to be reborn from a *rākṣasī* (12-17); Lakṣmī asks Nārada and he agrees for her to be born from drops of blood of forest sages (23-25)

6 (rest) and all *sarga* 7 stories of Harimitra and of Nārada learning singing

8.1-13 Rāvana gets boons of invulnerability and (!) death if he desires his own daughter

15-42 Rāvaṇa reaches Daṇḍaka in his conquests, exacts blood from sages, collects it in Gṛtsamada’s pot and hands it over to Mandodarī (15-24); Mandodarī, suicidal, drinks blood and conceives; aborts foetus and buries it secretly (29-35); Janaka finds child and gives her to his queens (36-42)

9 Rāma encounters Rāma Bhārgava and humiliates him by showing his *viśvarūpa*

10 (21 vv. only) brief, incomplete summary of Araṇyakāṇḍa; n.b. including Rāma’s four-armed and gigantic form shown to Hanumān (11-18)

11-14 Rāma lectures to Hanumān on Sāṃkhya-Yoga, *kāla, bhakti* and himself as the supreme and controller of the universe (one topic per *sarga*)

15 Hanumān’s praise and worship of Rāma

16.5-7 killing of Vālin

17 building of *setu* (17ab) and killing of Rāvaṇa (17cd)

18-20 return to Ayodhyā and installation

17.1-15 sages arrive and praise Rāma for killing Rāvaṇa (1-15); Sītā poohpoohs this (17-20) and narrates what brāhman told her as a child about 1000-headed Rāvaṇa (27-68)

18.1-23 Rāma sets out with his brothers, *vānaras,* etc. in the Puṣpaka (1-23); R. challenges 1000-headed Rāvaṇa, who responds boastfully and musters warriors (24-end)

19 (42 vv.) sons and leading warriors named and described as they leave for battle

20 (31 vv.) battle joined

21 1000-headed Rāvaṇa disperses Rāma’s army with wind-arrow, leaving only R + L.

22 duel between 1000-headed Rāvaṇa and Rāma; R. shoots arrow that killed first Rāvaṇa (32-45) but 1000-headed Rāvaṇa catches and breaks it (46), then shoots Rāma who falls unconscious (47-51 [end])

23 so Sītā assumes a ferocious form (7-11), attacks and kills the 1000-headed Rāvaṇa (12-13), then destroys the other *rākṣasas* (14-22), plays ball with 1000-headed Rāvaṇa’s heads along with *mātaraḥ* (23-67 – list of names at 27-54), until Śiva puts himself under her feet and earth is stilled (68-70)

24 all the gods praise/propitiate Sītā (1-21); she retorts that Rāma is lying as if dead (23-25), so gods revive him (26-28); he sees not Sītā but Kālī (29-37), so Brahmās explains that Sītā is his *śakti* without whom he is powerless (38-44 [end])

25 R. appeals to Devī/Sītā (1-3); Parameśvarī declares her nature (4-7); R. sees her cosmic form and unites with it (8-16), praising Parameśvarī with 1008 names (17-152); merits of reciting 1008 names (154-59)

26 R. begs her to resume original form (1-2); descr. of Maithilī’s beautiful form (4-7); R praises her as best of all gods (8-37); Sītā offers boon (38-42) and R. asks for dead to be restored (43-47 [end])

27 return to Ayodhyā and joyful welcome (1-7); a version of *rāmarājya* (8-10); merits of reciting Adbh. Rām. (14-18); another even briefer summary of story (23-29); *phalasruti* (30-32)

**title (and author)** *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 1st half of 16th century (??)

**edition(s)** Siddhantaratna, N. (ed.) 1935: *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇam*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series 11 (Calcutta: Metropolitan Printing & Publishing House).

Munilal (ed. and trans.) 1982: *The Adhyatma Ramayana: original Sanskrit stanzas with Hindi translation* (Gorakhpur: Gītā Press). **download**

Menon, K.P.A. 1999: *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam, text with introduction and English translation,* 2 vols (Delhi: Nag Publishers). **download (vol. 1 only)**

Chhawchharia, Ajai Kumar (ed.) 2000: *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa,* 2 vols (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass [repr. Delhi: Chaukhamba Surbharti Prakashan, 2010]).

**translation(s)** Baij Nath, Lala (tr.) 1913: *The Adhyatma Ramayana* (Allahabad, Panini Office) [repr. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1979; Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 2008].  
 **(IND) S.B.H. Extr. 1 (extra vol. 1) / Sansk. d.100; download (1979 reprint)**

\* Tapasyananda, Swami (tr.) 1985: *Adhyatma Ramayana: the spiritual version of the Rama saga,* original Sanskrit, with English translation. Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Matha, 1985.  
 **own copy**

**studies** Allen, Michael S. 2011: “Sītā’s Shadow: Vedāntic symbolism in the *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*”, *JVS* 20: 81-102. **download**

Bagchi, P.C. 1935: [Introduction to] *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇam* 1935.

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Narahari, H.G. 1952-53: “Rebirth and Release in the Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa”, *BDCRI* 14: 106-08.

Raghavan, Venkatarama 1998: *Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇas other than Vālmīki’s: the Adbhuta, Adhyātma, and Ānanda Rāmāyaṇas* (Chennai: Dr. V. Raghavan Centre for Performing Arts). **own copy**

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Shāstrī, Raghuvara Miṭṭhūlāl 1943: “The authorship of the Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa”, *JGJRI* 1: 215-39. **download (vol.)**

**notes handwritten copy** (annotated) of Wheeler 1869: 159 n.3, etc. in “various extracts and notes” in Eternal Rāma box file; **handwritten summary** of Uttarakāṇḍa (from Baij Nath’s trans.) in same place; **see** also Freeman 2001: 213 and nn.39-40

The work also calls itself by various other names: *Adhyātmarāmacarita, Adhyātmarāma, Rāmacarita* (in some internal colophons), *Adhyātmikarāma saṃhitā* and *Adhirāmasaṃhitā.* It comprises around 4,200 verses, mostly in *anuṣṭubh,* arranged in 64 *sargas,* and normally divided into the 7 books of the original (however a Rājasthānī ms in Sam Fogg cat. 17, no. 46, contains the first 9 out of evidently 18 sections). In accordance with its religious character, the *Adhy. Rām.* frequently interrupts the plot with longer or shorter philosophical reflections, hymns of praise to Rāma and the like.

The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa’s* date of composition can only be roughly determined. The *terminus ad quem* is given by the commentary of Narottama(dāsa), a disciple of Caitanya, which would have been composed towards the end of the 16th century. The t*erminus a quo* is uncertain. Since the Marāṭhī poet Eknāth (traditionally *saṃvat* 1455-1521 / 1533-99 A.D.) calls the *Adhy. Rām.* a modern work, it cannot be very old. P. C. Bagchi in the intro. to his edn of the text in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series draws attention to the fact that at 6.13.16 Vṛṇḍāvana is mentioned as a holy abode of Rāma and that this place, which had long been forgotten, was according to the tradition of the Caitanya school restored to its lost position in the last quarter of the 15th century. The passage may however be a later interpolation, since its Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* does not completely suit the context as a whole. J.N. Farquhar placed the *Adhy. Rām.* in the 13th or 14th century, holding, from the fact that modern Rāmānandīs use the text, that Rāmānanda (whom he considers to have lived c.1400-1470) already knew it and brought it from the south to the north. But since Rāmānanda’s disciples were all non-brāhmans and followed Rāmānuja’s Viśiṣṭādvaita, it is possible that the *Adhy. Rām.* was not composed until a later period by brāhmans trying to direct the Rāma cult along their own path and to interpret it in the sense of Śaṅkara’s Advaita. The popularity of the text with the Rāmānandīs would then have originated at a later date. Bhandarkar considered ti to have been composed in Maharashtra in 15th-16th century, while Raghavan placed it in Andhra before 16th century.

The hypothesis that the Adhy. Rām. originated first at the end of the 15th or early in the 16th century does not exclude the possibility that both the *Rāmahṛdaya* (1.1.44(104)ff.) and the *Rāmagītā* (7.5), which are often transmitted and commented on separately, originate from an earlier period and were only later incorporated into the Adhy. Rām.

Like the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the *Adhyātma* *Rāmāyaṇa* is a philosophical work, which teaches that the world is an illusion imposed on the eternally blessed, peaceful absolute. However, whereas the YV adopts a unified and independent standpoint, the *Adhy. Rām.* tries to combine Advaitin ideas with belief in Rāma’s saving grace. As literary compositions, the two works are quite distinct. Unlike the *YV,* the *Adhy*. does not seek to supplement Vālmīki’s work but completely to supersede it in a shorter form and with a new meaning. That the author knew and used other Rāmāyaṇas follows from 2.4.77(76), where Sītā says to Rāma “Many times have Rāmāyaṇas been heard from many brāhmans, but when and where does it say in any of them that Rāma went to the forest without Sītā?” Which they were, we do not know, but there were by then a whole range of Rāmāyaṇas, as is confirmed by the remark of the Vaiṣṇava philosopher Madhva (12th century) who explicitly declares that only the *Mūla-Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki possesses authority.

The *Adhy. Rām.* is drawn on by Eẓuttaccan, Kṛttibās, Viṣṇudāsa (Hindī), Tulsīdās and Mukteśvara (Marāṭhī); Bhānubhakta’s Nepālī Rāmāyaṇa is an abridged translation of it.

Śāradā ms. (93 folios) in Nat. Mus., New Delhi, 53.17/113.

**Divergences from VR**

According to 1.2.6 the Earth, oppressed by Rāvaṇa, goes in the form of a cow to Brahmā, who induces Viṣṇu to incarnate himself as Rāma (acc. to Rām.1.15 it is the gods who go to Brahmā).

At 1.3.5 Rṣyaśṛṅga is already Śāntā’s husband at first mention (but **no** story).

1.3.43 tells of all sorts of childish games by Rāma as a boy which recall those of Kṛṣṇa told in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*

In a previous existence Daśaratha was Kāśyapa Prajāpati and Kausalyā was Aditi, mother of the gods. As a reward for his faithful worship Viṣṇu grants his request to become his father in his next birth; Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna are incarnations of Śeṣa and of Viṣṇu’s conch and discus respectively (1.4.16ff/18).

When Rāma kills Tāḍakā (*VR* 1.25ff.: Tāṭakā), she changes into a beautiful *yakṣiṇī* and goes to heaven, for she only became a monster in consequence of a curse (*Adhy*. 1.4.26-32).

A thousand *yonis* sprout on Indra, cursed for his adultery with Ahalyā (1.5.26/25; acc. to *VR* 1.48 he loses his testicles and the gods give him a ram’s testicles).

Rāma draws the bow in the presence of other suitors (1.6.24, cf. *Nṛsiṃha* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*).

The defeated Paraśurāma begs Rāma the favour of being always filled with humility towards Viṣṇu-worshippers in his future lives (1.7.42/35ff.; cf. Rām. 1.75).

Before Rāma’s planned coronation Nārada appears to him, greets him as the highest being and says to him that he should not allow himself to be installed but instead must accept exile, for otherwise he cannot kill Rāvaṇa and thereby fulfil his duty to the world (2.1).

Mantharā is instigated, according to *Adhy*. 2.2.44-46/40 and 9.63/56, by Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech, who has entered her.

2.4.77-78 – no Rāmāyaṇa without Sītā going with Rāma to the forest.

Vāmadeva, Daśaratha’s sacrificial priest (mentioned at *VR* 1.7 and 2.3) comforts those grieving at Rāma’s banishment in a long address, in which he explains that Rāma is Viṣṇu and Sītā his *yogamāyā* (*Adhy*. 2.5.9ff.). Vasiṣṭha too expresses a similar opinion to Bharata, when he visits Rāma with him in exile and even KaikeyĪ recognises this (2.9.43/38ff, 55/50ff.); also Agastya praises Rāma as the soul of the world (3.8.18ff.).

Mārīca advises Rāvaṇa earnestly against picking a quarrel with Rāma (*VR* 3.31); he bases this (3.6.15) on the fact of Rāma being the *paramātman*; he himself constantly thinks about Rāma and is terrified by words like *rājan, ratna, ratha* since they begin with *r*; he also tells of an intervening encounter with Rāma (3.6.19-21, cf. *VR* 3.37.7-14).

A major divergence occurs at *Adhy*. 3.7. Here Rāma informs Sītā that Rāvaṇa will come to her in the guise of a mendicant. She should therefore enter the hut and allow only a phantom of herself to emerge; she herself should stay for a year in the fire. So it is the *chāyā-*Sītā who sees the deer into which Mārīca has transformed himself and is abducted by Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa treats the captured *chāyā-*Sītā like his own mother (3.7.65/59). Later the *chāyā-*Sītā hurls herself into the funeral pyre and the real Sītā emerges from it (6.12.68-85, 13.19-22).

At 4.6.59-84 Svayamprabhā actually goes to Rāma in order to achieve *mokṣa.*

According to *Adhy*. 5.2.17/13, Rāvaṇa sees in a dream that a small monkey came to Laṇkā, goes to Sītā and woos her love, asserting that Rāma has no desire for her (mystical meaning: the liaison of the Supreme with Śakti).

According to *Adhy* 5.3.19/16, Hanumān appears before Sītā in a sparrow-sized form, and at 5.3.90 Rāvaṇa wishes to fight him in person.

At 6.4.1-4 there is the establishment of the Rāmeśvaram liṅga.

After the death of Kumbhakarṇa, who knew that Rāma was Viṣṇu (6.7.57), Nārada appears and congratulates Rāma in a hymn (6.8.34/29ff.).

Rāvaṇa [**n.b.**] offers a great homa sacrifice on the advice of Śukra in order to gain invincible weapons (6.10), but this is disturbed by the monkeys.

At 6.10.45-52 Rāma himself is the other *avatāras* up to Rāma Jāmadagnya.

A whole series of individuals are declared to have attained release on their deaths: Jaṭāyu (3.8.35) Śabarī (3.10.40/37), Vālin’s wife Tārā (who achieves release while alive, 4.3.36/35), Svayamprabhā (4.6.84), Śambūka (not actually named, by death at Rāma’s hands, 7.4.24-27) and, in the future, Guha (6.16.15/13). Most notably opponents conquered by Rāma reach eternal bliss: Virādha (3.1.44), Mārīca (3.7.20), Vālin (4.2.71) and above all Rāvaṇa himself, whose sun-like brilliance leaves him and enters Rāma (6.11.78-70). The reason is that even the greatest sinner who has ever though about God, even if only in anger or fear, enters into him after death. Two episodes relating to this, Sanatkumāra’s advice to Rāvaṇa and Rāvaṇa’s visit to Śvetadvīpa (7.3.29/25 and 4.1ff.), both also occur in interpolations into the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* (cf. Jacobi, *Das Râmâyaṇa,* p.207). The belief that an opponent of the deity nevertheless on death enters into him or his heavenly realm is borrowed from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* where it appears frequently.

Rāma grants Hanumān the boon that he will live as a *jīvanmukta* to the end of the *kalpa,* honouring him by invocation of his name, in order to become one with him then in the *sāyujya* state (6.16.11/13).

**Episodes absent from Vālmīki’s work**

When Rāma sought out Vālmīki on Citrakūṭa, he told him his life history (2.6.64/61ff.). According to this, Vālmīki, though a brāhman by birth, grew up among Kirāṭas, had numerous children by a śūdra woman and lived by hunting and robbing. Once when about to plunder seven *ṛṣis* in a wood, they told him that, since he excused his intended crime by his family’s need, he should ask his wife and children whether each of them would also share the guilt that he was amassing from his crime; they promised to await the outcome. Vālmīki returned with the answer that his family certainly wanted to share the fruits of his robbery but declined to share the guilt. This produced a complete change of outlook in Vālmīki and, on the advice of the *ṛṣis*, he sat down in meditation on the syllable *mā rā* (Rāma in reverse). When he had sat for a thousand ages like this in contemplation and an ant-hill had grown up around him, the *ṛṣis* reappeared. Like the sun out of mist, he broke out of the ant-hill. The *ṛṣis* greeted him therefore as Vālmīki, because he had been reborn for the second time out of an ant-hill (*valmīka*). So he was transformed from sinner to saint.

Śuka, one of Rāvaṇa’s counsellors (mentioned at *VR* 6.20-25 and 7.14 and 32), was formerly a Brahma forest-hermit (*Adhy*. 6.5.5). As he was sacrificing to the gods, the *rākṣasa* Vajradaṃṣṭra (mentioned at *VR* 6.8 and 53-4; in many versions he is called Vajradanta) wanted to play a trick on him. When formerly Agastya was visiting Śuka and had gone for a bathe, the rākṣasa took on Agastya’s form and said to Śuka that he was hungry and asked for a meal of meat, since he had not eaten goat for a long time. When the muni sat down to the meal, the demon took on the form of Śuka’s beautiful wife, served Agastya human flesh and then vanished. Agastya noticed at once and pronounce the curse that Śuka should become a rākṣasa and live on human flesh. When the innocent Śuka explained what had happened, Agastya said that he could not alter the curse once pronounced, but that in the future Śuka would belong to Rāvaṇa’s following and, when Rāma came, would enlighten Rāvaṇa about Rāma’s true nature (6.4.40/37ff.), become a brāhman penitent again and be released.

When Lakṣmaṇa is transfixed by Rāvaṇa with a lance (*VR* 6.100; in the *Adhy*. 6.6.8\* exposition of *śakti* ‘lance’ and *śakti* ‘power’ ≠ *māyā*) and Hanumān wants to cure him with healing herbs, Rāvaṇa goes by night to the house of the rākṣasa Kālanemi and calls on him to hinder Hanumān by an illusion. Kālanemi refuses and suggests that Rāvaṇa give up Sītā and as an ascetic in the forest meditate on Rāma as the true Self. Rāvaṇa will hear none of it and becomes angry, so Kālanemi decides to comply and fly to the Himālaya. There he assumes the form of an ascetic and creates a hermitage with his magic. When Hanumān arrives on his search for the healing herbs and comes across him worshipping Śiva, Hanumān asks him for water. Kālanemi has the monkey taken to a lake, where he is to drink water with closed eyes and then come back to him to learn a mantra which will show him the healing herbs. When Hanumān enters the lake, he is seized by a crocodile; however, he succeeds in tearing apart the monster’s mouth, so that it dies, whereupon it is revealed as the *apsaras* Dhānyamālī. She says that she has been under the influence of a curse because of her sins, but has now been released from it by his action and is about to go to the Brahmā-world. She explains to Hanumān about Kālanemi’s illusion and so Hanumān kills the Asura after a bitter fight.

The story about the birth of Vālin and Sugrīva told at *Adhy*. 7.3 is found in the *VR* (despite the statements of Lal Baijnath, translation p.197, and P. C. Bagchi, introduction p.73), but only in an insert into the *Uttarakāṇḍ*a (cf. Jacobi, *Das Râmâyaṇa,* p.206).

**Notes/comments by MB**

Completely permeated with knowledge that Rāma is Viṣṇu on earth:

fourfold incarnation

purpose solely to kill Rāvaṇa

Rāvaṇa’s sole aim is to be killed/liberated by Rāma

Narrative:

Closely follows *VRm*

Much shorter overall; narrative even briefer to accommodate large portions given over to didactic or devotional passages

Innovations:

Few.

Sītā replaced by substitute before abduction; guarded by Fire *cf. KuP etc.* to preserve her/Rāma’s purity.

Rāvana undertakes abduction not out of lust but to entice Rāma to seek her in Laṅkā

and kill him.

In *kāṇḍa* 7, banishing Sītā is a ploy to enable her to return to heaven and induce Rāma to follow her there to resume role as Viṣṇu; the exile to prevent public scandal is merely a stratagem.

Anomalies:

The substitute Sītā motif of *kāṇḍa* 3 is re-used at end of *kāṇḍa* 6, but not in *kāṇḍa* 7.

Lakṣmaṇa is kept unaware of the substitution; Rāma’s grief and anger when Sītā disappears into the earth are feigned.

Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā only as a captive/hostage, not as a concubine, yet his threats in the *aśokavana* scene remain.

Rāvaṇa wishes to be killed by Rāma: does he wish his family and followers all to be slaughtered too?

The image of Rāma in *kāṇḍa* 7 is uxorious and undutiful: having achieved the purpose of his incarnation he remains on earth for 10,000 years before the *devas* induce Sītā to take action. Rāma/Viṣṇu is diminished.

The fourfold nature of Viṣṇu’s incarnation is largely ignored in practice: 3-quarters of Viṣṇu are not allowed to share in the confidence of 1-quarter with regard to the substitute Sītā or the sham banishment.

The ploy of having Sītā return to heaven first, to entice Rāma to follow her, is not implemented: Rāma returns flanked by Lakṣmī and Earth in the mass suicide in response to Brahmā’s summons via Kāla.

Conclusions:

The author felt unable to depart from the received narrative: where he finds it too shocking (abduction, exile of Sītā), he introduces explanations full of anomalies. This applies particularly to *kāṇḍa* 7 (in the *VRm* devoted largely to the theme of sovereignty, leading to the succession of the next generation) where Kuśa and Lava and their cousins must be allowed to grow up before their parents leave them.

1. The transmission of the received narrative is paramount.

2. The narrative received is that of the *VRm* of the majority of Stage 3, before the concept of Rāma as Viṣṇu had been incorporated.

**title (and author)** Rāmabrahmānanda, *Tattvasaṃgraha Rāmāyaṇa* and *Rāmāyaṇatattvadarpaṇa*

**date (and provenance)** 18th century acc. to Raghavan

**edition(s)** *Tattvasaṃgraha Rāmāyaṇa* 2005: *Tattvasaṃgraharāmāyaṇa of Rāmabrahmānanda Sarasvati,* crit. ed. by V. Venkataramana Reddy (Tirupati: Oriental Research Inst., Sri Venkateswara Univ.). **own copy**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Bulcke 1958: 128-29.

Leslie 2003: 151 and Leslie 2005 for Vālmīki as hunter in the text **own copies**

Raghavan, Venkatarama 1952-53: “The Tattvasaṁgraharāmāyaṇa of Rāmabrahmānanda”, *AORM* 10: Sanskrit 1-55, repr. in Janaki 1991: 421-466 and Raghavan 2009: 109-70. [*including extensive summary*] **own copy** (1991); **download** (2009)

Raghavan, Venkatarama n.d.: “Analysis of the *Rāmāyaṇa-tattvadarpaṇa*: the author’s other work on the *Rāmāyaṇa*”, in Raghavan 2009: 171-74. **download (vol.)**

**notes** **see** Maity 1992: 94-95

like the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa,* narrated by Śiva to Pārvatī

Acc. to Raghavan 1952-53 (cf. RR p. 259) the *Tattvasaṃgraha Rāmāyaṇa* also has:  
 birth of Jaya and Vijaya (Viṣṇu’s *dvārapālas* cursed by Sanaka etc.) as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa  
 Śūrpaṇakhā marries Jidyujjihva  
 Trijaṭā is Vibhīṣaṇa’s daughter  
 Daśaratha is an incarnation of Manu, Kausalyā of Manu’s wife  
 story of Vālmīki as hunter who reforms (*marā* mantra)  
 Hanumān hits Rāvaṇa on the face with his burning tail  
 the real Sītā, earlier concealed on Rāma’s person, immediately before the battle (it would be difficult for Rāma to fight, if encumbered with her) goes at her own suggestion to her mother Earth, and Rāma says that after 15 days he will send the *māyā* Sītā to Earth’s womb and the real Sītā should emerge then  
 Vibhīṣaṇa tells Rāma that the secret of Rāvaṇa’s immortality is at his navel, so Rāma strikes him there  
 Vibhīṣaṇa, now king of Laṅkā asks Rāma to demolish the causeway as a safety measure and Rāma strikes it with the end of his bow (–> Dhanuṣkoṭi) and consecrates many Śiva liṅgas  
 in the *Uttarak.* story of 100-headed Rāvaṇa (*śatānana*) and his henchman Raktabindu, an 18-armed Sītā kills Śatānana

**other relevant notes:**

**Ballāla Sena’s quotes**

notes from Bhattacharya 1952-53 — Ballāla Sena (3rd quarter of 12th century) was author of at least five digests on *dharmaśāstra.* His *Dānasāgara* names the *Rāmāyaṇa* among its authorities (terming it an *ākhyāna*) and quotes four verses, whereas the later (16th century) writer Raghunandana has fourteen groups of quotations in his encyclopaedic *Smṛtitattva.*

notes from Sen 1953-53[Sen, Nilmadhav 1952-53: “A note on ‘The *Rāmāyaṇa* and its influence upon Ballāla Sena and Raghunandana’ “, *JOIB* 2: 232-35]

Identifies more of the *Rāmāyaṇa* quotations by Ballāla Sena and Raghunandana noted by Bhattacharya 1952-53 and shows that the *Dānasāgara* quotes are based on the NW recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* whereas Raghunandana knew both NW and Bengali recensions (or a misch-codex). “As both the identified quotations of *Dānasāgara* are found *only in the NW version,* we shall perhaps not be far from the truth if we come to the conclusion that *this NW. version was known to Ballāla Sena.*” (p. 235) But Raghunandana *either* used a misch-codex of NW mostly with some NE characteristics *or* two different mss. Sen favours the latter, noting that “Lokanātha, a 16th century commentator of the Bl. version, was conversant with more than one version of the Rāmāyaṇa.” (p. 235)

Passages quoted in the *Smṛttitattva* are: 2.1799\*, 2.95.31cd, 2.1815\*1 (cf. 2.71.2ab), 2.109.25ab + 2373\*, 2.95.30, 2.37.9, 6.107.24c-25b, 2.71.1-3 + 73.1-4

Bhatt, B.N. 1982-83: “An Analysis of the Rāmāyaṇasārasaṃgrahavivaraṇa of Appayya Dīkṣita”, *JOIB* 32: 150-61.

acc. to Bhatt 1983-83, the *Vivaraṇa* is an auto-commentary by Appayya Dīkṣita (15th/16th century) on his *Rāmāyaṇasārasaṃgraha,* which seeks to show that Rāma’s greatness is owed to Śiva; for example, Rāma installs three liṅgas at the start, middle and end of the Nalasetu.

Madhva’s *Mahābhāratatātparyanirṇaya* includes (*adhy.* 3-9) a summary of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which Rāvaṇa abducts a *pratikṛti,* not the real Sītā, and Rāma knows all along.

D.C. Sen (1920: 5): “The commentator Rāmānanda refers to Agniveçya Rāmāyaṇa and Vimalabodha Baudhāyana’s Rāmāyaṇa; these were probably versions of the story other than those of Vālmīki.”

*A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Research Library, Jammu & Kashmir Research and Publication Department, Government of Jammu & Kashmir, Srinagar, India,* comp. by Dinanath Yach and Srikanth Kaul (Srinagar: Jammu & Kashmir Research and Publication Department, 1989):

title acc. no. language script ms ID folios

Agnivesa Ramayana 1800 Sanskrit Sharada DSO0000111060 15

Agniveśarāmāyana 765 Sanskrit Sharada DSO000015581 10  
(Rāmāyanasāra)

There is one ms in the Aufrecht collection (IOL) [cf. article by F.W. Thomas] but **see** Jani in Srinivasa Iyengar 1983: 46 §§ 3-4, also references to it by commentators in notes to Princeton *Yuddha*

**see** p.20 of NCC provisional fascicule, 1937 (= p. 36 on pdf download) [same information on pp. 36-37 of NCC vol. 1, rev. edn (1968)]. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* lists a series of titles for a work composed by Agniveśa, disciple of Ātreyapunarvasu: *Rāmāyaṇasāra, Agniveśa Rāmāyaṇa, Agnidhararāmāyaṇasāra, Rāmacandracaritrasāra, Saptaślokīrāmāyaṇa, Rāmāyanasamayādarśa* and *Samayanirūpaṇarāmāyaṇa* (*NCC* 25. 53).

18th century mss in Allahabad Museum (AM-MSS-116-141) in 28 folios named in colophon   
|| *iti śrī agniveśyenamunijākṛtaṃ rāmāyaṇaṃ samāptaṃ* ||

**title (and author)**  *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* commentators

**date (and provenance)** 13th–18th centuries

**edition(s)** Kheḍkar, T. (ed.) 1859: [*Rāmāyaṇa* with the commentary of Rāmavarman] (Bombay: Ganapati Krishnaji Press).

Tryambakarāyamakhin 1916: *Dharmākūtam, Bālakāṇḍa* (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press). **download**

Tryambakarāyamakhin 1951: *Dharmākūtam: an encyclopædic commentary on Srimad Ramayana, Sundarakāṇḍa* (Tanjore: S. Gopalan). **(IND) Sansk.ser. E 9/29 (Weston)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Bhatt, G.H. 1964-65: “Rāmāyaṇa Commentaries”, *JOIB* 14: 350-61.   
[updated by U.P. Shah in App. III of *Rāmāyaṇa* CE 1960-75: VII, 655-64]

Lefeber’s *Kiṣkindhā* intro., pp. 17-28

Bronner 2010: 182-3 (**scanned**)

Goldman, Robert P. 1992: “Translating texts translating texts: issues in the translation of popular literary texts with multiple commentaries”, in Translation East and West: A cross-cultural approach, ed. by Cornelia N. Moore and Lucy Lower (Honolulu: East-West Center, University of Hawaii): 93-106.

Goldman, Robert P. 2005-06: *Two Lectures on the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa,* M.S. University Oriental Series, 22, appended to *JOIB* 55; 39 pp. [individual lectures: “Commentaries on the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* as windows into the Sanskrit knowledge systems of medieval India” and “The Elephants’ Song: Vālmīki’s *Yuddhakāṇḍa* as *Nītiśāstra* and *Dharmaśāstra”*; U.P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series, 8 – 7th and 8th December 2006] **scan**

Goldman, Robert P. 2006: “How Fast Do Monkeys Fly? How long Do Demons Sleep?”, *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici* 1: 7-29. **(IND) Per gen d 176**

Goldman, Robert P. 2011: “Expert Nation: an epic of antiquity in the world of modernity”, in Bronner and others 2011: 65-79. [on the way the commentators approach the text, removing inconsistencies, theologising and asserting its historicity] **scan**

Goldman, Robert P. 2019c: “*kāvyamaya itihāsa* and *aitihāsika kāvya* revisited? vision, facticity and historical consciousness in the Sanskrit epics and their commentaries”, in *Questioning paradigms, constructing histories: a festschrift for Romila Thapar,* ed. by Kumkum Roy and Naina Dayal (New Delhi: Aleph): 161-76. **scan**

Raghavan, V. 1942-43: “Uḍāli’s commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa: the date and identification of the author and the discovery of his commentary”, *Annals of Oriental Research, Madras* 7.2: 1-8 (repr. in Raghavan 2009: 79-89).

Rangaswami Aiyangar, K.V. 1942: “Govindarāja”, *ABORI* 23: 30-54. **download**

Rao, Ajay K. 2008: “Theologising the Inaugural Verse: *Śleṣa* Reading in *Rāmāyaṇa* Commentary”, *Journal of Hindu Studies* 1: 77-92. **download**

Rao, Ajay K. 2015: *Re-figuring the* Rāmāyaṇa *as theology: a history of reception in premodern India* (Abingdon/New York: Routledge). **(IND); pp. 6-9 photocopied**

Sastri, P.P.S. 1942: “Commentators of the Rāmāyaṇa in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”, *ABORI* 23: 413-4. **download**

Shah, Urmi 2016: “Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa: An Ornate Epic or Dharmaśāstra”, in *Sūtra, Smṛti and Śāstra: select papers presented at the 16th World Sanskrit Conference (28 June - 2 July 2015) Bangkok,* ed. by Shashi Prabha Kumar and Uma C. Vaidya (New Delhi: DK Publishers): 173-188. [on Tryambakamahin’s *Dharmākūta* commentary] **scan**

**notes** **see** e-mail “commentators’ views on the name Rāmāyaṇa” in “Further Notes (verbal + general)”

The commentaries used for the CE are:  
*Vivekatilaka* of Udāḷi Varadarāja (Cv) – c. 1250 A.D.  
*Tīkā* of Rāmānuja (Cr) – 14th or early 15th century  
*Tattvadīpikā* or *Tīrtha* of Maheśvaratīrtha (Cm) – 18th century *Bhūṣaṇa* of Govindarāja (Cg) – 15th or 16th century  
*Amṛtakataka/Kataka* of Mādhava Yogīndra (Ck) – 17th or 18th century  
*Tilaka* of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (Ct) – 18th century

Others include:  
*Rāmāyaṇa Taṉiślokam* of Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai on a selection of verses (c. 1250?)  
 [author also of *Pācurappaṭi Rāmāyaṇam*, using only words from the Āḻvārs’ *pācurams]*  
commentary of Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa (quoted by Lokanātha)  
commentary of Vimalabodha (quoted by Lokanātha)  
*Manoharā* of Lokanātha Cakravartin (17th century or later)  
*Dharmākūta* of Tryambakarājamakhin/Tryambakayajvan (1719 A.D.)  
*Satyatīrthīya* of Satyatīrtha (late 18th or 19th century)  
*Taniślokī* of Ātreya Ahobala – (first half of 17th century)  
*Śiromaṇi* of Vaṃśīdhara Śivasahāya (18th century)

[for a fuller listing **see** Bhatt 1964-65, updated in *Rāmāyaṇa* CE 1960-75: VII.655-64, where 45 commentaries in Sanskrit are listed

There are broadly two groups among the main commentators:  
Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa and Kataka Mādhava Yogīndra, with which is aligned the *Śiromaṇi* of Śivasahāya  
Udāḷi Varadarāja, Govindarāja and Maheśvaratīrtha

[from Goldman 2006]  
Govindarāja: Śrīvaiṣṇava, 15th or 16th century, tendency to rationalist stance  
Kataka: 17th century, “independent minded” (p. 13)

cf. Goldman 2011: 76 fn. 4 – “See, for example, Kataka Mādhava Yogīndra’s comments on verses 6.75.32 and 1665\* of the critical edition (corresponding to the two verses starting with 6.88.36b of the “Vulgate”). Kataka Mādhava Yogīndra not only omits these two verses but criticizes them as redundant and interpolated. He notes that they serve to introduce an improper chapter break. He claims that the division of chapters here, which some manuscripts follow, is incorrect because there is no change of topic, as the battle between Lakṣmaṇa and Indrajit simply continues. (*atra madhye punaruktaṃ ślokadvayaṃ prakṣipya sargam avacchindanti. puraḥ paścād ubhayos tumulaṃ yuddham eva kevalaṃ vartate na kiṃcid arthāntraṃ prakaraṇāntaram. ato ’yukto ’vacchedaḥ.*) Nāgeśa accepts Kataka Mādhava Yogīndra’s position and paraphrases his comments, while Satyatīrtha notes that this is merely one textual tradition (*saṃpradāyaḥ*). Such textual issues constitute a matter of dispute between commentators aligned with Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa and Kataka Mādhava Yogīndra, on the one hand, and those aligned with Varadarāja Udāḷi, Govindarāja and Maheśvaratīrtha on the other. The latter, for example, unanimously mark a chapter boundary after the critical edition’s verse 1669\*.”

**n.b.** Goldman’s comment (Goldman 1992: 97) [on Rām. 5.1.96 *jaharṣa ca nananda ca*]  
“The commentators, who, in general, dislike any attribution of redundancy to the great poet Vālmīki seek to avoid it here either by choosing a different reading or distinguishing clearly in their “translation” the semantic ranges of the two verbs.”

The commentators often either explain away or simply deny what an unpalatable text reading actually states but do not alter it (i.e. text itself now sacrosanct), e.g. on 6.88.33ff (cf. Goldmen’s notes)

Raghavan 1942-43 — “Uḍāli Varadarāja quotes the Vaijayanti of Yādava Prakāśa (pre-Rāmānuja); he was a Śrīvaiṣṇava (but not fanatically so like Govindarāja). He sets himself to examine textual problems and logical inconsistencies; he is therefore comparatively brief. He claims to have selected mss. from different parts of India (n.b. this largely forms the basis of the present Southern recension).”

Bronner 2011: 60 (fn. 52) —  
There is a long passage in Govindarāja’s commentary on *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.5.1, where he asserts Viṣṇu’s supremacy and refutes many of Appayya’s claims (... ...). Although Govindarāja does not mention Appayya by name, the references seem unmistakable. He thus flatly rejects as ridiculous “some recent author’s” claim that the *Rāmāyaṇa* suggests Śiva’s supremacy (*yat kenacin navīnena jalpitaṃ vyañjanāvṛttyā śivaparaṃ rāmāyaṇam iti tad apahāsyam eva,* 85) and refutes many of Appayya’s specific interpretations of passages in Vālmīki’s poem, from his reference to the praises of Śiva in Agastya’s hermitage to the all-important surrender of Vibhīṣaṇa. All this strongly suggests an almost immediate response to Appayya’s arguments from Govindarāja, who probably composed his commentary around 1500-75. I am grateful to Ajay Rao for referring me to this passage and for sharing with me his thoughts about Govindarāja’s date. [**see** Rao’s 2011 article pp. 36-37]

Tryambakayajvan, author of the *Dharmākūta* commentary (completed 1719), also naturally cites or quotes from the *VR* in his *Strīdharmapaddhati,* including *tṛṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā* at 11.9-11 (cf. translation and study by I. Julia Leslie, *The Perfect Wife,* Delhi: OUP, 1989).

Śivasahāya refers to both Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa and Govindarāja, so must be no earlier than 18th century. He has an idiosyncratic approach to etymology and theologically his view is that Rāma is Parabrahman.

Satyatīrtha frequently cites Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa in order to ridicule him, so must be no earlier than late 18th century.

1. 68 – Rāma will be taken to Siddhāśrama in order to destroy *rākṣasas,* then perform the release of Ahalyā and (68-69) marry Sītā; 69 – will break the *kodaṇḍa* <bow>, destroy Rāma Jāmadagnya’s status; 70 – will willingly leave his ancestral kingdom for forest life in Daṇḍaka; 71– will restore *tīrthas* and sorrow over Sītā’s abduction; 72 surrounded by *vānaras* and others will kill Rāvaṇa; 72 *sītāviśuddhim anvicchan* becomes *jīvanmukta*; 74-76 so setting an example to everyone. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)