**vernacular Rāmāyaṇas – North India**

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[pp. 31-39 on Rāmāyaṇa frieze on Kṛṣṇa temple at the Pāṭan palace, Malla period] **Sackler IW Gai; pp. 31-39 photocopied**

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**general notes**

**n.b.** W.L. Smith’s motif index (and associated correspondence) **Eternal Rāma box file**

**W.L. Smith: motif analysis (Citrakūṭa to the Śabarī):** texts analysed:

Assamese:

DB Dūrgābar / Dūrāvara *Gīti Rm* **analysed**

MK Mādhav Kandalī *Rm* [cf. trans. Nagar 2000] **analysed**

**to analyse ?**

Bengali:

JR Jagatrām *Jagatrāmī Rm*

KBs Kṛttibāsa [Sukhmay Mukhopādhyāya edn]

KBp Kṛttibāsa [popular edition]

RR *Rāma Rāsāyana*

SK Śaṅkara Kabicandra *Biṣṇupurī Rm*

Oriya: AN Anaṅga Narendra *Śrīrāma Līḷā*

BC *Bicitra Rm*

BN Bikram Narendra *Śrīrāma Līḷā*

BRD Baḷarāmadāsa *Jagamāhan Rm*

SD Śaraḷā Dāsa *Mahābhārata* [????]

Ṭika *Ṭīkā Rm*

[V Gorresio’s edn of Gaudian recension

Vc Vālmīki CE]

Anaṅga Narendra mentions the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* so is probably no earlier than mid 18th century

*for Mairāvaṇacarit* [???] *see* Sahai 1976: 26n.1, 27nn.3,5,6,8,10,11; on Mahīrāvaṇa see Singh and Datta: 101-2

**title (and author)** Assamese *Rāmāyaṇa* of Mādhava Kandalī (*Kathā Rāmāyaṇa*)

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

**edition(s)**

**translation(s) \*** Nagar, Shanti Lal (trans.) 2000: *Mādhava Kandalī Rāmāyaṇa, composed in Assamese*, 2 vols: I, 110-II,207. Rāmāyaṇa in Regional Languages 1 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). Mādhava Kandalī (Assamese): Nagar 2000   
[based on Mādhava Kandalī 1979: *Asamīyā Madhava Kandalī Rāmāyaṇa* [Hindi trans.} (Bhuvan Vani Trust, Lucknow)] **own copy; analysed**

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**notes** only 2nd-6th *kāṇḍas* are by Mādhava Kandalī; *Ādikāṇḍa* is by Mādhavadeva and *Uttarakāṇḍa* by Śaṅkaradeva (see below); treated here as three separate works; **check** relationship of Nārada’s prediction to all 3. Mādhava Kandali’s version is based on the Gauḍīya text acc. to N.K. Handiqui at 2015 WSC (Bangkok**).** Follows *VR* closely, sometimes apparently verbatim, with elaborations; repeated unsuccessful interventions detract from menace posed by Indrajit.

Kandali's patron was the Kacāri king Mahāmāṇikya (Mahamanikpha, 1330-1370), whose kingdom was located in what is present-day Nagaon. The Barāhi is a branch of the Bodo-Kachāri tribe of Mongoloid stock. [A different Mahāmāṇikya ruled in the early part of the 15th century (the reign of his successor Dharmamāṇikya starting in 1431); they ruled in the Tripura area.] Inscriptional evidence of acquaintance with story in Assam as early as Dubi copperplate inscription of c. 620 A.D., while reliefs from the ruins of the Deoparvat temple (Golaghat dist.) date to 11th century (Chattopadhyay 2017: 2-4).

RR pp.278-79:In ... Assam the fourteenth-century poet Mādhava Kandalī rendered the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Assamese, producing a poetic version quite close to the original but with some popular material | incorporated. Although he states that he translated all seven books, the first and last have since been ousted by the more Vaiṣṇava oriented versions of Mādhavadeva (1489–1596?) and Śaṅkaradeva (1449–1568?) respectively, while in the first half of the 16th century Durgāvara composed his *Gīti Rāmāyaṇa* in a popular form intended for sung performance which is based mainly on Mādhava Kandalī’s rendering.

Mādhava Kandalī names himself internally at Nagar 2000: I, 189 (end of Ayodhyākāṇḍa), 190 (start of Araṇyakāṇḍa), 243 (start of Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa), 257, II, 1 (start of Sundarakāṇḍa), 17, 26, 39, 41, 53, 57, 58, 62 (3 times; end of Sundarakāṇḍa), 64 (twice; start of Laṅkākāṇḍa), 65, 69, 71, 76, 79, 85, 96, 101, 144, 151, 152 156, 161 [Kandalī only], 168,   
193-94, 206 [Kavirāja Kandalī and Mādhava Kandalī; end of Laṅkākāṇḍa).

also names Mādhava at I, 122; I, 242; II, 154; II, 161; II, 173 [Lord Mādhava]; II, 186 and Dāmodara at II, 188 [*all apparently = Rāma*]

[Smith motif analysis = W.L. Smith’s motif analysis (private communication to MB]

Śarabhaṅga tells Rāma he is destined to kill Rāvaṇa: see Smith motif analysis 3.4

Lakṣmaṇa asks Agastya for a bow and is given one too: see Smith motif analysis 3.6

Śūrpaṇakhā assumes beautiful form before approaching Rāma: see Smith motif analysis 3.8

Rāma knows the deer is really Mārīca: see Smith motif analysis 3.13

Lakṣmaṇa touches earth while swearing oath to Sītā: see Smith motif analysis 3.14   
[*see also Indian Folklife 31 (Nov. 2008): 4, for Assamese folk tradition of touching stone to affirm oath*]

Rāvaṇa refers to Sītā as 16 years old: see Smith motif analysis 3.15

Rāvaṇa sends 8 *rākṣasas* to forest to kill Rāma: see Smith motif analysis 3.18

Rāvaṇa tells guards that any man laying eyes on Sītā is to be killed:   
 see Smith motif analysis 3.18

Sītā curses Rāvaṇa in *aśoka* grove: see Smith motif analysis 3.18

Rāma wonders if Sītā has disappeared through fickleness: see Smith motif analysis 3.20

W.L. Smith 1988: 35-36: [MK regards *VR* as a secular work, not sacred]

W.L. Smith 1988: 49-50: [mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā: Vālmīki’s emphasis changed; handling and purpose of Śabarī by *VRm*, MK and Kṛttibās]

**Innovations: check VR** stage 4

Ayodhyākāṇḍa: opens with wedding party’s return to Ayodhyā cf. VR 1,76

closes after Bharata retires to Nandigrāma VR 2,107

Araṇyakāṇḍa: opens with Rāma leaving Citrakūṭa VR 2,108

closes with Rāma’s lovesick lament at Pampā VR 3,71 + 4,1

Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa: opens with Sugrīva’s suspicions of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇā VR 4,2

closes immediately after encounter with Saṃpāti VR 4,62

Sundarakāṇḍa: opens with *vānaras* deliberating who shall undertake the leap VR 4,63

closes after *vānaras* cross causeway VR 6,15

Laṅkākāṇḍa: opens with Rāvaṇa sending Śuka and Sāraṇa as spies VR 6,16

closes after *abhiṣeka,* allies return home, *rāmarājya* VR 6,116

**title (and author)** *Rāmāyaṇ* (or *Rāmer Pāñcāli*) of Kṛttibās

**date (and provenance)** 15th century (Bengali)

**edition(s)** *KṛR* 1957: *Rāmāyaṇa Kṛttibāsa viracita*, ed. by Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya (Calcutta: Sahitya Saṁsad [repr. 1989]).

Cakrabartī, Janārdana and Nareśacandra Jānā (eds) 1982: *Kṛttibāsī Rāmāyaṇa Uttarākāṇḍ* (Kalikātā: Bhārata Buka Ejensi). **BL**

**translation(s) \*** *Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa,* trans. by Shantilal Nagar and Suriti Nagar, 2 vols (Delhi, India : Eastern Book Linkers, 1997). **own copy**

**studies** Benoȋt, Philippe 1988: “*Rāmāyaṇa* de Vālmīki et *Rāmāyaṇa* (bengali) de Kṛttivāsa: la description dans le Sundarakāṇḍa”, *BEI* 6: 37-67. **scan**

Benoȋt, Philippe 1992: “Quatre chansons de *paṭuyā* du Bengale sur le *Rāmāyaṇa”, BEI* 10: 53‑87. **English summary photocopied**

Bose, Mandakranata 2002: “Beginnings: legends of origin in the *Kṛttivāsi Rāmāyaṇa*”, in *Devotional literature in South Asia: current research, 1997-2000*, Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Early Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages, Leuven, 23-26 August 2000, ed. by Winand M. Callewaert and Dieter Taillieu (New Delhi: Manohar, 2002): 23-28. [*mainly on birth of Bhagīratha*] **(IND) 75 D 35/8**

Bose, Mandakranta (2006): “What happened to Sita’s voice? The portrayal of Sita in Three Bengali *Ramayanas*” (unpublished STIMW paper)

Bose, Mandakranta 2008: “Miraculous Maternity: a gender paradox in the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*”, *Traditional South Asian Medicine* 8: 188-201. **photocopy**

Bose, Mandakranta 2015: "The killing of Sindhu in the painted scrolls of Bengal", in Kaushal and others 2015: 235-41. [on the episode in Kṛttibās and on her own painted scroll acquired in Midnapore dist.]

Cakrabarttī, Tanimā 2000: *Kṛttibāsī Rāmāyaṇa o Bāṃlāra lokaaitihya* (Kalakātā: Ajita Kumāra Cakrabarttī; Paribeśaka, Pustaka Bipaṇi). 11, 245 pp.   
[s*tudy on the folk elements in Rāmāyaṇ of Kṛttibās*] **British Library; Cambridge**

Chakravarty, Saumitra 2019: “Defeating patriarch on its own terms: the paradox of female chastity in Krittivasa’s *Ramayana”, Journal of Asian Research* 3.2: 70-81. **download**

Choudhuri, Indra Nath 2007: The Bengali Rāmāyaṇa of Kṛttivāsa”, in Singh 2007: 123-47. *rather too general*

Datta, Bhabatosh 1980: “The Rāmāyaṇa in Bengal”, in Raghavan 1980: 546-60. **own copy**

d’Hubert, Thibaut 2007: “Le prince devenu esclave: l’histoire de Harishcandra dans le *Râmâyana* bengali”, *Synergies Inde* 2: 217-30. **download**

Mahapatra, Tushar Kanti 1983: “A critical recension of the Ramayana by Krttivasa”, in Banerjee and others 1983: 136-41. **download (vol.)**

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

Smith, William L. 1981: “Kīrttibās [sic] and the Pandits: the revision of the Bengali Rāmāyaṇa”, *Studia Orientalia* 50: 229-40. **offprint**

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

Stewart, Tony K., and Edward C. Dimock, “Kṛttibāsa’s Apophatic Critique of Rāma’s Kingship”, in Richman 2001: 243-64. **own copy**

Tripathi, Ramanatha 1963: *Krttibāsā-Baṅgalā-Rāmāyaṇa aura Rāmacaritamānasa kā tulanātmaka adhyayana* (Alīgaḍha: Bhārata Prakāśana Mandira). [Agara Viśvavidyālaya dvāra Pī.Eca.Dī. upaādhi ke lie svīkṛta prabandha.] **CUL (unverified)**

Zbavitel, D. 1976: *Bengali Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz). **pp. 140-47 photocopied**

**notes** **see** e-mails to + from Mandakranta Bose (in grey box file); Stewart and Dimock 2001: 248-64; for typically Bengali elements see Sen 1920: 84-86 (photocopied + download)

Kṛttibās was a *kulīn* brāhman from Phuliya village in W Bengal, according to his supposed autobiography, *Ātmabiraraṇ,* where the astronomical data for his birth and references to ‘the sovereign of Gauṛ’ who asked him to write a Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* seem to be in conflict, but most scholars accept the beginning of the fifteenth century for his work (Zbavitel 1976: 141). His poem is in the popular *Pāñcāli* form.

It has the motif of Tārā cursing Rāma to lose Sītā after he recovers her, deriving from N recension (absent from S).

Apparently drawn on by *Serāt Kāṇḍa* (Javanese) and Burmese version, and indirectly by Khmer *Rāmakerti I* and Malay and Lao versions. Draws on *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* and *Jaiminibhārata.*

*Mahīrāvaṇerpālā* (Sen 1920: 252-83, including translation)

**Narrative elements** (mostly from *Uttarakāṇḍa*) summarised from *Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa,* trans. by Shantilal Nagar and Suriti Nagar, 2 vols (Delhi, India: Eastern Book Linkers, 1997). (**MB**)

1,1: fourfold incarnation

1,38: birth of Sītā/Lakṣmī *precedes* birth of Rāma/Viṣṇu (I,39); cf. Candrāvatī.

2,4: Brahmā creates Dundubhī *ad rem*

6,14: disrespect for Śiva:

Pārvatī taxes Śiva with neglecting his devotee Rāvaṇa; quarrel amuses *devas*; Śiva confesses he must be overcome by Viṣṇu.

7,1: Ayodhyā overtly transformed into Vaikuṇṭha

7,2: Rāma clarifies the issue of who killed Indrajit to Agastya

7,11: births of *rākṣasas* by curse of Brahmā

7,12: boons

7,15: Nārāyaṇa defeats *rākṣasas*

7,15ff: remainder of Agastya’s narrative follows *VRm* fairly closely, with some re- arrangement and augmentation.

7,27: Arjuna Kārtavīrya is also incarnation of Viṣṇu

7,49: Hanumān episode includes Rāhu, Vāyu stopping air flow, boons, cursed by *guru* with ignorance of power

Other episodes of *kāṇḍa* 7:

Sītā banished (washerman; Sītā draws Rāvaṇa)

Rāma judges dog v. ascetic

Lavaṇa

*śūdra*

Rāma judges owl v. vulture

visits Agastya

in-tales: Ila/Ilā

*aśvamedha*:

horse escorted by Śatrughna

battle with Lava and Kuśa

Lava and Kuśa recognised by singing *Rm*

Conclusion:

7,74: Rāma’s 3 mothers protest at further chastity test; inform him she is Lakṣmī;

identity also known to sages’ wives

reproachful Sītā protests; calls on her mother Earth, enters earth but goes straight to Vaikuṇṭha

7,75—76: angry Rāma consoled when Brahmā reveals his identity as Viṣṇu and Earth explains he will meet Sītā again in Vaikuṇṭha

7,80: next generation installed;  
 Kāla, Durvāsas and Lakṣmaṇa;

Rāma leads procession into Sarāyu;

all 4 brothers merge in Nārāyaṇa, met in Vaikuṇṭha by Sītā/Lakṣmī

**title (and author)** *Rāmāyaṇ-kathā* of Viṣṇudās

**date (and provenance)** 1442/3 (in Avadhī); Viṣṇudas lived in Gwālior

**edition(s)** Silākārī, Loknāth Dvivedī (ed.) 1972: *Rāmāyaṇkathā* (Ilāhābād: Sāgar). **CUL**

**translation(s)** Garcin de Tassy, [J.H.] 1852: “Tableau du *Kali yug* ou de l’âge de fer, par Wischnu-das”, *JA*  4ème série, tome XIX: 551-61. **download (vol.)**

**studies** Bangha, Imre 2014: “Early Hindi epic poetry in Gwalior: beginnings and continuities in the *Rāmāyan* of Vishnudas”, in *After Timur Left: culture and circulation in fifteenth-century North India,* ed. by Francesca Orsini and Samira Sheikh (Oxford, Oxford University Press): 365-402. **download from OSO**

Bangha, Imre forthcoming: *Hindi Literature through its texts and manuscripts*  **download + printout**

McGregor, R. Stuart 1991: “An early Hindi (Brajbhāṣā) version of the Rāma story: the Rāmāyaṇ-kathā (A.D. 1442) of Viṣṇudās”, in Eck and Mallison 1991: 181-96.  
 **photocopy**

McGregor, R. Stuart 1992: “The Rama Story and Rama Devotion in North India”, in Vyas 1992: 16-21. **photocopy**

McGregor, R. Stuart 1999: “Viṣṇudās and his *Rāmāyan-kathā”,* in *Studies in Early Modern Indo-Aryan Languages, Literature and Culture,* ed. by Alan W. Entwistle and Carol Salomon, 239–247 (New Delhi, Manohar). **photocopy**

McGregor, R. Stuart 2000: “A Narrative Poet's View of his Material: Vishnudas's Introduction to his Brajbhasa *Pandav-carit* (AD 1435)”, in *The Banyan Tree: Essays on Early Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages,* ed. Mariola Offredi, 2 vols., II: 335-42 (New Delhi: Manohar). **photocopy**

Stasik, Danuta 2000: *Opowieść o prawym królu: Tradycja Ramayany w literaturze hindi* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog). **own copy**

Stasik, Danuta 2003: “Before Tulsīdās: the beginnings of the Rāmāyaṇa tradition in Hindi literature”, *RO* 55.2: 87-95. **photocopy**

Stasik, Danuta 2007: “He Who Dwells in the City of the Hearts of All: Notes on the Nature of Rām in Hindi Literature,” *AO* 75: 305-27. **offprint**

Stasik, Danuta 2009: *The Infinite Story: The Past and Present of The Rāmāyaṇas in Hindi* (New Delhi: Manohar). [pp. 66-71 on Viṣṇudās] **own copy**

**notes** in just 3 parts: *Bālkāṇḍ* (which in fact covers the narrative up to the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*)*, Sundarkāṇḍ* (which includes the events of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*) and *Uttarakāṇḍ*; composed under the patronage of Tomara ruler Dūṅgarsiṃh of Gwālior (r. 1427-59); its now mainly Brajbhāṣā language retains some Apabhraṃśa elements and McGregor notes that one of the two mss retains and the other removes *tadbhava* archaisms (McGregor 1999: 245-6).

“Valmiki in Gopachala: Beginnings and continuities in Vishnudas’s Ramayan-katha”, Imre Bangha (abstract for conference “After Timur Came” at SOAS, 28-30 May 2007)

Vishnudas’s Ramayan-katha (dated to 1443) and his Pandav-carit (1435) are amongst the first major extant works in a literary tradition that came to play an important role on the North Indian literary scene in the Early modern times.

Vishnudas worked in Gwalior that at his time consolidated its position as an independent state under a Hindu dynasty amongst threatening Muslim powers, and his recourse to ancient epic themes worked towards the formation of the ideal of the “warrior-hero” fighting the forces that threaten “dharma”.

In recent scholarship Vishnudas achieved the emblematic position of the initiator of the Gwaliori/Brajbhasha tradition. The paper intends to consider questions of continuities in Vishnudas’s poetry and glance at the relationship of parallel literary traditions.

A study of the received text of his epics shows that unlike Tulsidas, who used a plethora of source material, Vishnudas relied heavily on Vyasa and Valmiki, which he and the manuscript tradition repeatedly emphasise. The second part of the paper examines the “translation techniques” of Vishnudas as well as the instances of changing the emphasis in certain parts of the epic and the ways through which the poet embedded his work into the political life of Gwalior of the fifteenth century.

**Bangha 2014 fn.27:**

(27) The royal collection in Jaipur alone has preserved some thirty Hindi works on the Rama story among which are several composed under the patronage of the local maharajas; see G.N. Bahura, *Literary Heritage of the Rulers of Amber and Jaipur*, Jaipur: Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, 1976, pp. 62, 192–4. Bahura explains the abundance of Rama works by Jai Singh’s initial disposition towards Rama bhakti. Many of the works, however, were composed towards the end of the ruler’s life. Although the importance of Rama’s cult, especially through the presence of the Ramanandis, cannot be underestimated, these poems reflect a courtly milieu deeply interested in Rama.

**title (and author)** *Rāmavivāha* and *Rāmabālacarita* of Bhālaṇa (trad. 1434-1514)

**date (and provenance)** 15th century (Gujarātī)

**edition(s)** Bhālaṇa 1991: *Rāmavivāha ākhyāna,* saṃśodhana saṃpādana Baḷavant Jānī (Rājakoṭa: Tirtha). 87 pp. **BL / SOAS**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Joshi, Devdatta S. 1995b: “Rāmakathā in the mediaeval Gujarātī literature”, *JOIB* 45.1-2: 17-32. **photocopy**

Joshi, Umashankar 1980: “The Rāmāyaṇa and its impact on Gujarati literature”, in Raghavan 1980 (1): 397-408. **own copy**

**notes** *at same period*: Māṇḍaṇa (15th century), a dyer of Sirohi, was the first to present the Rāma story in Gujarātī; however, his *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *ākhyāna* style only narrates events up to Rāma’s banishment and Bharata’s going to Citrakūṭa to entreat him to return.

Māṇḍaṇa (C15) composed a work covering the story up to Rāma’s banishment and Bharata’s mission to persuade him to return. C16 Gujarātī versions (eclipsed by Giradhara’s) are by Nakar (1568, in six *kāṇḍas* and 125 *kaḍavas*; unpublished), Kahan (1571) and Viṣṇudās (1589). In 1685 the Jain Premānand composed his poem *Rāmayajña* on the Yuddhakāṇḍa material in 26 *kaḍavas*.

Banerjee 1986: 246 notes as earliest “songs on *Rāmalīlā* (Saṁvat 1427 = A.D. 1371) by Āśāet or Āśait, son of Rājarāma. These songs are known as *Rāmarlīlā-nā pado.*”

Girdhar, trans. Nagar: *cf. RR 285. See Introduction p. xx for list of other Gujarati Rms; see also trans pp 2-3 and p.4 for Girdhar’s knowledge of earlier versions and his declared sources.*

McGregor 1991: 186  
. . . It is possible given the wealth of the Gujarati *ākhyāna* tradition that Viṣṇudās found models for his treatment in early Gujarati poetry. Yet it is not clear that a direct analogue to *Rāmāyaṇ-kathā* exists in the works ascribed to Viṣṇudās’ contemporary Bhālan (1409-89), who is regarded as the inaugurator of that tradition. Bhālan’s works, with the *Rām-kathā* (1470) of Karmaṇ Mantrī, indicate, when taken with Viṣṇudās’ *Rāmāyaṇ-kathā,* that a body of vernacular Rāma material of some extent was in circulation in related languages in Viṣṇudas’ time.

Maheshwari 1980: 6  
 . . . The early Rajasthani and Gujarati were identical till about 1450. The separation started thereafter. To this common language various names, such as Maru-Soraṭh, Old Western Rajasthani, Old Gujarati, Old Rajasthani and Maru-Gurjar have been given. The last of the names, namely, Maru-Gurjar is more appropriate. . . .

**title (and author)** episodes from Rām. by Uddhav and Viṣṇudās

**date (and provenance)** authors are sons of Bhālaṇa, so ?16th century (Gujarātī)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** Banerjee 1986: 247 — “Of the Ramayanic works in Gujarati of the 15th-16th century, mention may be made of the *Sītā-Hanumān-Saṁvāda* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (first six Kāṇḍas) by Uddhava; the *Rāmāyaṇa* (7th Kāṇḍa) of Vishṇudāsa; the *Rāmāyaṇa Purāna* of Svayambhūdeva, the *Sītā-haraṇa* of Mantri and *Rāma-līlānā pado* of Bhīma, the *Rāma-vivāha* by Vaikuṇṭha and *Hanumant-charita* of Shedhaji.”

Jhaveri 1978: 28-29 — “*Sita Haran* by Karman Mantri (c. 1470) is a brief narration of the *Ramayana* Story, commencing from the departure of Rama with Sita and Lakshmana to the victorious return of Rama to Ayodhya at the end of the exile. . . . This work, therefore, does not rise much beyond the level of bare narration except at a few places where Rama laments the abduction of Sita by Ravana; or when **|** Mandodari the wife of Ravana, dissuades her husband from defying Rama with a cryptic remark that he, Ravana, with his 20 eyes failed to see what she, a mere woman with only two eyes, could clearly see.”

Jhaveri 1978: 33 — “ . . . Mandan Bandharo (c. 1480) seems to be a person with a power of observation and experience of the ways of the world. His *Ramayana* and *Rukmangada-Katha,* an akhyana, are ordinary pieces of composition. . . . ”

Jhaveri 1978: 33 — “Vishnudas (c. 1564-1632) . . . also translated several cantos of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. . . . ”

**see** also Umashankar Joshi 1980: 402 and, for *Lava-Kuśa ākhyānas* in Gujarātī by Nākara (v.s. 1572-1624), Viṣṇudāsa (c. v.s. 1624-34), Raghurāma (v.s. 1772) and Śambhurāma (v.s. 1795), Devdatta Joshi 1989.

**title (and author)** *Aṅgad paij* of Īśvardās

**date (and provenance)** 1502 A.D.(Hindī)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Stasik, Danuta 2015: “Immovable as Aṅgada: Īśvardās’s Aṅgad paij (1502)”, *IT* 40: 300-17. **own copy – analyse**

**notes** Version of Aṅgada’s embassy to Rāma in 496 verses (in *caupāī-dohā* sequence), which is more elaborate than that in Tulsīdās’ *RCM* [from Stasik 2015]

**title (and author)** *Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa* of Baḷarāmdās, and other Orīya versions

**date (and provenance)** completed c. 1504 A.D. (?) (Orīya)

**edition(s)** Baḷarāmdās 1976(?): *Santakabi Baḷarāmadāsakaṃ biracita Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa bā Daṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa,* ed. by Tāreśvara Caudhurī and Banamāḷī Biśvāḷa, 2 vols (Kaṭaka: Dharmagrantha Shṭora). **BL**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Ghosh, Ujaan, and Amrita Chowdhury 2020: “Refiguring *Baidehīśa Bilāsa*: reading the queer and the erotic in Upendra Bhanja’s Rāmāyaṇa”, *JAAR* 88.2: **download**

Mahapatra, Sitakant 2007: “Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa of Balarāma Dāsa: Inheritance and Innovation”, in Singh, Avadhesh Kumar (ed.), *Rāmāyaṇa through the ages: Rāma-gāthā in different versions* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld): 167-80.

Mishra, Nilamani 1980: “Rāmāyaṇa in Oriya Literature & Oral Tradition”, in Raghavan 1980: 617-35. **own copy**

Misra, Narendra Nath 1983: “Folk-elements in Jagamohana Ramayana”, in Banerjee and others 1983: 74-79. **download (vol.)**

Panigrahi,Krishna Chandra 1975:  *Sarala Dasa* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi). 68 pp.  
 **Ind. Inst. Ind gen d 71 (176)**

Sahoo, K.C. 1980: “Rāma-literature in Orissa and its influence on Indonesia”, in Raghavan 1980: 561-72. **own copy**

Sahoo, K.C. 1981: *Literature and social life in mediaeval Orissa* (Bhubaneswar: Bookland International). **Ind. Inst. 27 A 194; extracts + notes** (see below)

Śāraḷā Dāsa 1989:  *Stories from Sarala's Mahabharat,* ed. and trans. with a critical introduction by Prafulla Kumar Mohanty (New Delhi: Vikas). [selections only] **Ind. Inst. 47 B 124**

Satpathy, Sumanyu, and Jatindra K. Nayak 2015: “‘Mad’ Balarama Dasa and his   
‘Rāmāyana’”, *Indian Literature* 59.3: 10-12. [very slight] **download**

Smith, William L. 1988: *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions in Eastern India* (Stockholm: Department of Indology). [review by R.P. Goldman in *JAOS* 110: 152-55] **own copy**

Smith, William L. 2004b: “*Rāmāyaṇa* lore in the *Mahābhārata* of Saraḷā Dāsa”, *JVS* 12.2:   
137-50.

Tripathy, Basant Kumar 2022: “The rebirth of an epic: Siddheswar’s *Bichitra Rāmāyaṇa*” in *Great Indian Epics: international perspectives,* ed. by Udayanath Sahoo and Shobha Rani Dash (London: Routledge): 77-82. **download**

**notes** Orīya Rāmāyaṇas according to the State Museum catalogue (with additions):

*Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa* (composed c. 1490-1500) of Balarāmadāsa of Puri (b. 1472), also called *Dāṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa* from its metre; in two recensions, the southern (*dakṣiṇī*) one much the longer [shorter perhaps is *Rāmacarita* ms. listed in Fogg cat. 17, no. 131]

*Rāmabibāha* of Arjunadāsa (15th-16th century) in 12 cantos

*Ṭīkā Rāmāyaṇas* by Maheśvaradāsa (written 1640-45), Lakṣmīdharadāsa and Śatṛghnadāsa

*Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛṣṇacandra Rājendra

*Rāmāyaṇas* of Kṛṣṇacaraṇa Paṭṭanāyaka and Puruṣottamadāsa

*Pūrṇa Rāmāyaṇa* of Keśava Tripāthī

*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇas* by Haladharadāsa (15th-16th century), Gopāla Telengā (18th century), Dāmodaradāsa, Gopīnāthadāsa and Śāraḷādāsa

*Bilaṅkā Rāmāyaṇas* by Bārānidhidāsa (16th century) and Siddheśvaradāsa (prob. 17th cent.)

*Saṃkṣipta Rāmāyaṇa* of Mukunda Paṭṭanāyaka

*Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa* of Viśvanātha Khuntiā, c. 1710 AD (basis of the Orissan Rāmlīlās)

Upendra Bhañja’s *Vaidehīśavilāsa* of c. 1701 (cf. Williams 1996: 28-29 – and see index – and for Jaṭāyus motif Markel 2010: 109) [an erotic retelling of the Rāma story in 52 cantos, making considerable use of *śleṣa*; the author’s grandfather, Dhanañjaya Bhañja, composed a *Raghunāthavilāsa*]

*Jagadrāmī-Rāmprasādī Rāmāyaṇa* (18th century) [by Jagadrāma and Rāmaprasāda Rāya, edn. ed. by Nirmalendu Mukhopadhaya (Kolkata: Mahesh, 1996)]

**see** also W.L. Smith 1988: 32-34 (own copy), where (p.33 § 3) *Bilaṅkā* *Rāmāyaṇa* traditionally ascribed to Śāraḷādāsa is assigned to late 16th century; acc. to Nagar 2006: 242 this text “highlights the astonishing story of Rāma’s encounter with the thousand headed Rāvaṇa of Vilaṅkā, for the subjugation of whom, Rāma proceeded at the instance of Sītā.” cf. also Tripathy 2022.

Saran and Khanna 2004: 137 **own copy**  
“... the Rama tale included in the Mahabharata of the fifteenth-century Oriya poet, Saraladasa.”

“In the *Ṭīkā Rāmāyaṇa* of Māheśvaradāsa, Rāma’s thirst is mentioned in the context of this encounter [first meeting of Rāma with Sugrīva]. Instead of tears of Sugrīva, this work of the 17th century refers to his saliva." (Sahai 1976: 15 §2)

**notes from Sahoo 1981:**

p. 2 [on Baḷarāmdās]: ... ... The poet admits that he had not gone through the work of Valmiki personally. He listened to it as recited by the learned pandits of Orissa along with other scriptures.

p.3: The frequent mention of Valmiki does not make it clear, which of the three recensions of the Valmiki Ramayana was followed by the poet as the basis of his work. A systematic comparison of the subject-matter of the *Jagamohana Ramayana* with that of the three recensions of the Valmiki Ramayana makes it clear that Balarama Dasa had known the Bengal recension of Valmiki. Although Vālmīki remains the chief source of Balarama Dasa, yet the poet has made many deviations.  
 [a list follows on pp. 3-6, with some discussion of particular episodes on pp. 9-17 and in ch. 3 (pp. 37-45), “Balarama Dasa and the various recensions of the Valmiki Ramayana” – *worth checking some time*]

p.19: Sarala Dasa wrote *Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagabata, Chandi Purana* and some other minor works. ... ... but his *Ramayana* and *Bhagabata* are not yet traceable. One Ramayana known as *Vilanka Ramayana,* written by Sidheswara Dasa, belonging to a much later period, was wrongly assigned to Sarala Dasa, by the scholars and historians of Orissa and more especially of Oriya literature. This is due to the fact that the name of Sarala Dasa in his early age was Sidheswara Parida, and scholars mistook Sidheswara Parida and Sidheswara Dasa for one man.

pp. 20-35 are entitled “Scope of Ramakatha in Mahabharata” (i.e. Saraladāsa’s MBh) [notes to these pages on pp. 35-36]

ch. 4, “The date of Sarala Mahabharata” ends (pp. 50-51): As both the kings – Kapilendra and Purushottama – were mentioned in the beginning of the *Mahābhārata,* it seems certain that Sarala Dasa began the *Mahābhārata* sometime between 1467 and 1470 A.D.”

ch. 5 (pp. 53-60) is “The Saora Tradition in a Hindu Ramayana”, i.e. on Saoras/Śabaras as depicted in the *Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa*

**title (and author)** *Rāmāyaṇa* of Mehojī (died 1544)

**date (and provenance)** early 16th century (Rājasthānī)

**edition(s)** Mehojī 1985:  *mehojī kṛt rāmāyaṇ:* *vicetan, sampādit pāṭh, bhāvārth aur śabdārth*, lekhak-sampādak: ḍo. harilāl māheśvarī (Calcutta: Sat Sahitya Prakashan).

**translation(s)**

**studies** Maheshwari, Hiralal 1980: *History of Rajasthani Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi). **(IND) Hindi misc A 68; pp. 84-85 + 94-97 photocopied**

**notes** On a Rājasthānī Rāmāyaṇa by Mehojī **see** Callewaert’s paper at 12th Int. Rāmāyaṇa Conf. (Leiden, 1995). **[abstract in “relevant handouts”, Eternal Rāma box]**

**See** photocopied extracts from 1985 edition (in Hindi), pp. k-th, 246; **see also** Maheshwari 1980: 94-97 (**photocopied**)

Mehojī’s father Sekhojī was closely associated with Jāmbhojī (1450-1536), the founder of the Viṣṇoi *sampradāya.* Mehojī’s *samādhi* is in a temple near Bikaner.

Acc. to tradition Mehojī composed his *Rāmāyaṇa* at the age of 35 (VS 1575, c. 1518 AD) and started singing it. Some of its specific details are: Daśaratha was sick and Kaikeyī gained the two boons by looking after him devotedly; at the time of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa’s exile Bharata is present in Ayodhyā; Rāma and Sītā marry on the way to the forest; a soldier of Rāvaṇa, Bhoja, tells him of Sītā’s beauty and advises him to abduct her; Hanumān jumps too far, past Laṅkā, and has to return; Hanumān starts eating the fruit of the *aśokavana* but is told by Sītā only to eat the fallen fruit; Hanumān reveals to the rākṣasas about setting fire to his tail (cf. *Ānanda Rām.*); Mahārāvaṇa abducts Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Pātālaloka; Rāvaṇa is killed by Lakṣmaṇa.

Mehojī’s *Rāmāyaṇa* comprises 261 *sākhīs* in various metres and *rāgas.* At the end he claims that the merit of singing and reciting his *Rāmāyaṇa* is equal to the merit earned by bathing in the 68 *tīrthas.* It is popular in modern Rajasthan.

For earlier adaptations, both called *Rām Rāsau,* **see** Maheshwari 1980: 81-82 (**see** below) and 84-85 (photocopied). **n.b.** Surjandās has Hanumān disguised as a cat for entry into Laṅkā and Lakṣmaṇa swooning twice.

Maheshwari 1980: 81-82 “*Ram Rāsau* by Mādhodās Dadhawāḍīyā (1553-1621), the **|** son of Cūṅḍā of village Lalūṅdā kā Wās, is a well-known narrative poem of 1034 verses, composed on epic scale, around 1595. It describes the story of Ram and is mainly based on *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇ.* The poet is also influenced by *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇ, Ānand Rāmāyaṇ, Vicitra Rāmāyaṇ* (by Mādhodās), the *Mahābhārat* and the *Bhāgavat Purāṇ.* The emphasis is on characterization of Ram as a redeemer and a hero.”

Banerjee 1986: 254 “Rajasthan produced a large number of literary works on the Rāma theme during the medieval times. Among them mention may be made of the *Sīyā-haraṇā-rāsu* by Āsagu (Samvat 1257 = 1200); the *Rāma-charita* by Brahmā Jinadasa (Samvat 1508 = 1451); the *Rāmāyaṇa* composed by the saint Mehā Godārā (born Samvat 1540 = 14830; the *Padma-charita* (describing the glories of Rāma) by the Jaina saint Vinaya Samudra; the *Rāma-Sītā Rāsa* by Guṇakīrti; the *Rāmamandodarī-samvāda* by the saint Lāvaṇya; the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa* by Jinarāja Sūri, the *Sītā-Chaupāi* and *Sītā-prabandha* (Samvat 1628 = 1571) by Kusala Lābha, etc. (See B.M. Jawalia, *op. cit.,* p. 14).”  
[Banerjee’s citation is B.M. Jawalia, *Maru-Bhāratī* 3.1 (Apr. 1982)]

**see** Banerjee 1986: 255-56 (**photocopied**) for list of further Rājasthānī works from 17th century onwards

Maheshwari 1980: 156 [in section on Jain poetry] “Jinarāj Sūri (1590-1643) was a scholar and poet. Of his narrative poems, *Śalibhadra Dhannā Caupaī, Gaj Sukumāl Mahāmuni Caupaī,* and *Rāmāyaṇ,* particularly the first one, got much popularity. . . . All the poems are meant to be sung.”

On Rāmāyaṇa associations of *Pābūjī* epic, see John Smith’s book (Smith 1991: 91-93).

**title (and author)** *Rām Rās* of Brahma Jinadāsa (or Brahm Jindās)

**date (and provenance)** 1451 (Maru-gurjara)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Clines, Gregory 2015: “Religious identity and narrative emplotment: Jinadāsa in the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* and the *Rām Rās*”, paper read at International Graduate Student Conference, Yale University, May 2015. **download**

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

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

Clines, Gregory M. 2020: “Salvaging the plagiarist: Digambara Jain text production in early modernity”, *International Journal of Jaina Studies (online)* 16.3: 1-23. [revised version of “Plagiarized Purāṇas? Jain textual composition in early modernity”, paper presented at AAR 2016 (**download)**] **download**

**notes** The author, a Digambara living in the *Balatkāra Gaṇa* temple complex at Iḍar, Gujarat, also wrote a *Padmapurāṇa* in Sanskrit (in 82 *parvas*), which he states is directly based on Raviṣeṇa’s work, in fact somewhat condensing it [on this see within 6. Jain]. Among the differences between the two works is that here Candraṇakhā (= Śurpanakhā) entices Rāvaṇa to abduct Sītā by describing her beauty to him (which is closer to the *VR*)*,* whereas in the *Padmapurāṇa* she claims that R. + L. attempted to rape her.

The work was probably intended “as a publically performed text that encourages audience participation and improvisation” (Clines 2018a: 280), “meant to be danced and sung in public” (Clines 2022: 107-8). It is of interest that Jinadāsa used the generally known name Rāma rather than the specifically Jain Padma in this work, unlike his *Padmapurāṇa.*

**title (and author)** *Rāvaṇamandodarīsaṃvāda* of Lāvaṇyasamaya

**date (and provenance)** 1506 [?] (Gujarātī)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** Lāvaṇyasamaya (1465-1534) was a major Jain poet and also a minister of Bhīma Solaṅki. His original name was Lahurāja. He was initiated as a Jaina sādhu at the age of eight. He composed over 29 works.

**see** Banerjee 1986: 247 (**photocopy**) for further 16th-17th century Gujarātī authors

**title (and author)** *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* of Eknāth(Ekanātha)

**date (and provenance)** Eknāth traditionally *saṃvat* 1455-1521 / 1533-99 A.D. (Marāṭhī)

**edition(s)** Eknāth 1980: *Śrībhāvārtharāmāyaṇa,* santaśreṣṭha śrī ekanāth mahārāj viracit, 2 vols (Mumbaī: Mahārāṣṭra śāsana sikṣaṇa). **BL** (vol.1 only)**; Cambridge**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Dhere, Aruna 2007: “Ekanātha’s Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa”, in Singh, Avadhesh Kumar (ed.), *Rāmāyaṇa through the ages: Rāma-gāthā in different versions* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld): 211-38 **superficial, perhaps some use**

Keune, Jon Milton 2011: *Eknāth remembered and reformed: bhakti, brahmans, and untouchables in Marathi historiography,* Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University. **download**

Keune, Jon 2015: Eknāth in context: the literary, social, and political milieus of an early modern saint-poet”, *South Asian History and Culture* 6.1: 70-86. **download**

Lalye, P.G. 1989: “Ramayanas in Marathi”, in Ramachandrudu 1989: 340-44.

Tagare, G.V. 1993: *Eknath,* Makers of Indian Literature (Delhi: Sahitya Akademi). [esp. pp. 25-38, including some summary] **download**

Tulpule, S.G. 1991: “Eknāth’s treatment of the Rāmāyaṇa as a socio-political metaphor”, in Thiel-Horstmann 1991: 139-52. **photocopy**

**notes** contains over 39,000 verses but left incomplete in ch. 45 of the Yuddhakāṇḍā at his death in 1599 (Tulpule 1979: 355-56) and so Uttarakāṇḍas were supplied by his disciple Gāvabā, by Jayarām and by his grandson, Mukteśvar (Mukteśvar, *Bhāvārth Rāmāyaṇ: Uttarkāṇḍ*, ed. by Vasant Sa. Jośī. Puṇeṃ: Vhīnas Prakāśan, 1963). Another earlier work by Mukteśvar is his *Saṃkṣeparāmāyaṇa,* “made up of renderings and adaptations of select relevant passages from different Sanskrit works like the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa and the Hanumantanāṭaka” (Tulpule 1979: 368). This must be the *Kautūhala Rāmāyaṇa* by Mukteśvara (main theme of which is establishment of *rāmarājya*) mentioned in Blumhardt’s catalogue of BM Marāṭhi etc mss, nos. 29-30, as “An abridged metrical version of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa”? [**download**]

Sītā narrates story of her birth to Anasūyā: as Janaka was ploughing for sacrifice he saw Menakā and wished that he had a child by her, a celestial voice stated that a *mānasaputrī* would be born and, as he sows seed in the *yajñabhūmi* he finds Sītā.

“According to some other Indian sources, after the burning of Laṅkā, a fish consumes the sweat of Hanumān in the ocean and becomes pregnant.” (*Bhāv. Rām* 5.2, acc. to Sahai 1976: 25, citing also *Jaimini Bhārata* and *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*)

**cf.** Sontheimer, Günther-Dietz 2004: “The *Rāmāyaṇa* in contemporary folk traditions of Maharashtra”, in *Essays on religion, literature and law,* ed. by Heidrun Brückner, Anne Feldhaus and Aditya Malik, 383-99 (New Delhi: Manohar). **photocopy**  
[*also abstract of his St Augustin paper (1987) on this topic in Rāmāyana conferences box*]

**and** Tulpule, Shankar Gopal 1987: abstract of paper on “Ekanatha’s treatment of the Rāmāyaṇa as a socio-political metaphor”, Conference on Contemporary Ramayana Traditions, St Augustin, September 1987. **in folder in Rāmāyaṇa conferences box**

There are 3 illuminated leaves of an illustrated manuscript of the Marāṭhī version by Mādhavasvāmī (1676-1713) in the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjavur; cf. also Losty 1982: 141 for an illustrated ms. of Mādhavasvāmī’s 1693 Marāṭhī version in 220 *prasaṅgas* acquired by BL in 1974 [Mādhava wrongly (?) identified as Eknāth’s grandson].

**title (and author)** a Yuddhakāṇḍa by Kṛṣṇadāsa Loḷyā (or Kṛṣṇadāsa Mudgal)

**date (and provenance)** second half of 16th century (Marāṭhī)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** brief mention at Tulpule 1979: 365

Kṛṣṇadāsa refers to the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, Agni Purāṇa* and *Śiva Purāṇa,* as well as Vālmīki. His *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is in 78 chapters and some 8,000 *ovīs.* He was a contemporary of Eknātha, who lived at Paiṭhaṇ

**title (and author)** *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsīdās (and other works)

**date (and provenance)** *RCM*begun in 1574 at Ayodhyā (Avadhī Hindī)

**edition(s)** Tulsīdās 1962: *Rāmacaritamānasa,* praṇetā tulasīdāsa, saṃpādaka viśvanāthaprasāda miśra ([Vārāṇasī:] sarvabhārata kāśīrāja nyāsa).   
[Imre Bangha’s recommendation] **(IND) Hindi Tul Ram 28**

*Śrī Rāmacaritamānasa, or, The Mānasa lake brimming over with the exploits of Śrī Rāma*, with Hindi text and English trans., 7th edn (Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 1993?).  
 **(IND) Hindi Tul Ram 33 [download (? which edn ?)]**

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**see** also Bibliography in *Rāmcaritmānas* 2016

**translation(s)** Allchin, F.R. (trans.) 1964: Tulsīdās, *Kavitāvalī* (London: Allen and Unwin). **(IND) Hindi Tul 11 / OIL 583.8 Tul.1**

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Stasik, Danuta 1999: “Text and Context: two versions of Tulsīdās’s *Rām-lalā-nahachū*”, in *Studies in Early Modern Indo-Aryan Languages, Literature and Culture,* ed. by Alan W. Entwistle and Carol Salomon, 379-91 (New Delhi: Manohar). **photocopy**

Stasik, Danuta 2000: *Opowieść o prawym królu: Tradycja Ramayany w literaturze hindi* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog). **own copy**

Stasik, Danuta 2001a: “Tulsidas’ Vision of the nuptials of Ram and Sita”, *Hindi: language, discourse, writing* 1.3-4: 295-306. **scan**

Stasik, Danuta 2001b: “On the nature of Rāma in Tulsīdās’s *Rāmcaritmānas*”, in *Toḥfa-e-Dil: Festschrift Helmut Nespital,* ed. by Dirk W. Lönne,487-500 (Reinbek: Inge Wezler). **printout**

Stasik, Danuta 2005: “In the world of Tulsīdās’s *rām-kathās*”, *RO* 58.2: 114-31. **photocopy**

Stasik, Danuta 2006a: “God’s Anger: notes on the nature of Tulsīdās’s Rām”, in *Bhakti in Current Research, 2001-2003,* Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference on Early Devotional Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages, Heidelberg, 2003, ed. by Monika Horstmann, 295-304 (New Delhi, Manohar).

Stasik, Danuta 2006b: “Crow Bhuśuṇḍi and his story of the deed of Rām”, in Stasik and Trynkowska 2006: 293-9. **own copy**

Stasik, Danuta 2007: “He Who Dwells in the City of the Hearts of All: Notes on the Nature of Rām in Hindi Literature,” *AO* 75: 305-27. **offprint**

Stasik, Danuta 2009a: *The Infinite Story: The Past and Present of the Rāmāyaṇas in Hindi* (New Delhi: Manohar). **own copy**

Stasik, Danuta 2009b: “Perso-Arabic lexis in the *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsīdās”, *Cracow Indological Studies* 11: 1-20. **download**

Stasik, Danuta 2009c: “Tulsīdās’s forest: the Forest Book of the *Rāmcaritmānas.* Towards the anatomy of socio-cultural/literary landscapes?”, *Pandanus ’09*: 59-70. **download**

Stasik, Danuta 2010: “Food in the city – food in the forest: a few notes on food and its imagery in the Rāmcaritmānas”, in Stasik and Trynkowska 2010: 223-36. **download**

Stasik, Danuta 2013: **“**Following the path of one’s duty: Tulsīdās’s *Rāmcaritmānas* as a socio-cultural code”, *Cracow Indological Studies* 15: 237-48. **download**

Stasik, Danuta 2016a: “The oral v. the written: A few notes on the composition of Tulsīdās’s *Rāmcaritmānas”, RO* 69.1: 20-30. **download**

Stasik, Danuta 2016b: “Let the feast go on: food and eating on the battlefield of Laṅkā”, in *A World of Nourishment: reflections on food in India culture,* ed. by Cinzia Pieruccini and Paola M. Rossi (Milano: Ledizioni): 201-14. **download**

Stasik, Danuta 2017-18: “O kruczej opowieści w *Ramćaritmanas*raz jeszcze”, *Wratislavensium Studia Classica* 6-7: 253-64. [On the crow’s story in the *RCM* once again] **download**

Stasik, Danuta 2019: “A (thin) boundary not to be crossed, or *lakṣmaṇ-rekhā”, Cracow Indological Studies* 21.2: 207-24. **download**

Stasik, Danuta 2023: “The liminal on the battlefield of Laṅkā in the imagery of the *Rāmcaritmānas*”, in *Liminal Spaces, and Identity Transformations in South Asian Literatures and Arts: essays in honour of Professor Alexander Dubtansky,* ed. by Paola M. Rossi (Milano: Milano University Press): 197-207 **download**

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Tiwari, Heeraman 2012: *Language, Memory and the vernacular: the power of the Rāmacaritmānas in India’s epic culture,* Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics (Heidelberg: South Asia Institute). **download**

Vaudeville, Charlotte 1955: *Étude sur les sources et la composition du Rāmāyaṇa de Tulsī-Dās* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve). **various pages photocopied + notes**

Weightman, S.C.R. 1982: “The Rāmcaritmānas as a religious event”, in *Contributions to South Asian Studies* *2*, ed. by Gopal Krishna (Delhi: Oxford University Press): 53-72. **scan**

Wolcott, L. Thompson 1992: “Social connotations of *bhakti* in the writings of Tulsi Das” in Koppedrayer (ed.) 1992: 312-16. [slight]

Wolcott, Leonard Thompson 1999: “The Love of God in the New Testament and in the Tulsikrt Ramcaritmanas”, *Hindu-Christian Studies Bulletin* 12: 28-33. **photocopy**

**notes see** Stasik 2009a: 273-85 for a summary of the story in *RCM* and 286-91 for list of characters, also 91-112 for other works by Tulsīdās, 238-9 for narrative elements and 267-70 for figure of Rāma.Vaudeville 1955 – typed extracts in “Further Notes (verbal/ general)”. Apparently an indirect source for Malay and Thai versions.

an early ms (*saṃvat* 1704/1648 A.D.) in possession of Hanumān temple in Ākhāṛā Gosvāmī Tulsīdās, Tulsī Ghāṭ, Vārāṇasī (stolen in December 2011 but recovered 7 months later).

abstract of Stasik 2017-17:  
 In the most prominent of the Hindi *Rāmāyaṇas*, the sixteenth-century *Rāmcaritmānas* by tulsīdās (1532–1623), the word communicated by the poet adopted the metaphorical form of the waters of lake mānas. The whole structure of the poem serves to construct this metaphor–its seven books (*kāṇḍ*) are visualized as the seven stairs (*sopān*) of the embankments (*ghāṭ*) leading to the lake, while the embankments themselves are identified with four structural dialogues, through which the story of rāma’s deeds (*rāmkathā*) is conveyed. one of the four characters conducting one of these dialogues, one of the narrators of *rāmkathā*, is a mysterious crow named Bhuśuṇḍi, who tells his story to Garuḍa, the king of birds.

This paper attempts to discuss the place of ‘Bhuśuṇḍi’s Rāmāyaṇa’ in the structure of the *Rāmcaritmānas*, its specific function of a *rāmkathā* metastory and offers its interpretation. The dis- cussion refers to previous research focusing on the textual relationships between the *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmcaritmānas*. The analysis of the role of Bhuśuṇḍi as one of the poem’s narrators is aimed at broadening our understanding of the meaning of the four-dialogue-based text structure. it corroborates that this very structure is a carefully designed comprehensive tool, catering for the different needs of rāma’s believers and allowing them to reach the core of the story’s mystery. The poem’s composition appears to be thoughtful and homogeneous, thus not giving much support to the concept of separate stages of its composition.

de Bruijn 2005 compares RCM with Jāyasī’s *Padmāvat.* “Tulsidas composed his *Ramacharitamanas* in a format that was developed by Indian sufi poets who adapted local tales into mystical romances in Avadhi. The sufi poets used the same idiom from the poetry of Indian *Nāth-yogis* (shaivite ascetics) and *Sant* poets (North Indian devotees to God beyond attributes) that Tulsidas used to praise the name of Rama as the object to devotion to an attributeless god. The story of Rama was also part of the repertoire of the sufi poets, as is evident from Muhammad Jayasi’s *Padmavat* (1540 AD), which depicts Rama’s exile and voyage to Lanka as an intertext for a Rajput king’s quest for the princess of Simhala Dvipa.” (p. 40)

story of Nārada’s delusion in RCM 1.124-136 taken from *Śiva P. Rudrasaṃhitā* (2) 2-4 (Sharma 1998); allusion in *Vinayapratikā* 28.3 to Hanumān figuring in the *Mahābhārata* (cf. Allchin 1966: 266); Bulcke notes (*Rāmkathā* pp. 175-7) that the story of Pratāpabhānu in the Bālakāṇḍa is taken from the *Mañjula Rāmāyaṇa* of Sutīkṣṇa and the *Agastya Rāmāyaṇa.*

Bangha 2011: 150  
An examination of other minor works of Tulsīdās shows that some existed in several forms in handwritten books before their text became standardized in the second half of the nineteenth century. The *Barvai Rāmāyaṇ* (Rāmāyaṇa in *barvais*), for example, has a short recension containing 69 *barvai* couplets and a longer recension with 405 *barvais.* The two share only fourteen couplets. The former shows a style full of *alaṅkāras* and may have been influenced by works of poetic virtuosity such as Rahīm’s *Barvai nāyikā-bhed* or Keśavadās’s *Rāmcandracandrikā.* The longer recension tells the complete Rāma story.31  
 31. *Barvai Rāmāyaṇ,* 29. [Tulsīdās, *Barvai Rāmāyaṇ,* ed. Rāmkumār Varmā (Allahabad: Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, [1967])]

**see** further in photocopy of pp. 376-7 from *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature* (in Eternal Rāma box file) and in Imre Bangha’s book draft (**downloaded**, parts printed).

Some editions of *RCM,* in order to include the omitted Uttarakāṇḍa material, add an obviously interpolated eighth book, the *Lavkuśkāṇḍ,* which covers the Śambūka episode, the banishment of Sītā, the birth of Lava and Kuśa in Vālmīki’s *āśrama,* their fight with Bharata’s army, Sītā’s vanishing into the earth and Rāma’s entering the river Sarayu (Stasik 2009a: 86-87, cf. Stasik 2005: 119).

On *Kavitāvalī* **see** Imre Bangha’s book draft and article  
[notes from symposium paper: contains 290-380 *kabittas*; vulgate’s 325 divided   
22 + 28 + 1 + 1 + 32 + 58 + 183 between *kāṇḍas*; mss use title *Kabittarāmāyaṇa*; talking ring episode shared with Keśavdās’s *Rāmcandrikā* (1600)]

The variation in Tulsī’s treatment of the Rāma story is neatly encapsulated in the title Danuta Stasik gave to a lecture in Vienna: “One Poet – Many Rāmāyaṇas: Tulsīdās’ tellings of Rāmkathā” (18th January 2013, Institut für Südasien-, Tibet- und Buddhismuskunde).

?? mention in relation to Tulsī, Sūrdās’ use of Rāma story, e.g. in poem where Yaśodā lulls Kṛṣṇa to sleep with story of Sītā’s abduction and he thinks himself to be Rāma and calls for his bow (Bryant, *Poems to the Child-God,* p. 170).

Hawley, John Stratton (trans.) 2009: *The memory of love: Sūrdās sings to Krishna* (New York/ Oxford: Oxford University Press). **(IND) Hindi Sur 16**  
In this volume, Jack Hawley offers a selection of his charming translations of the most appealing of these poems, arranged according to such themes as "Krishna growing up," "the pangs and politics of love," and "The Ramayana." (= pp. 167-74)

**other Hindī Rāmāyaṇas —**Keśavdās’s Brajbhāṣā version, *Rāmacandracandrikā* (or *Rāmcandrikā*)*,* of 1601 AD (**see** below); other later Hindī writers – Senāpati and Padmākar, Agradās and Bālkṛṣṇa (**see** Stasik 2009: 126-33), also *Avadhavilāsa* of Lāldās (composed acc. to a verse by poet in *saṃ* 1732 = 1675 A.D. at Ayodhyā; poet a wandering *sādhu* of *rasik* school) in 18 *viśramas,* covering from Rāma’s birth to his exiling from Ayodhyā. A list of Hindī versions at Sreekrishna Sarma (ed.) 1967: 23-24 (handwritten notes).

on Agradās:

McGregor, R.S. 1983: “The *Dhyān-mañjarī* of Agradās”, in *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979-1982,* ed. by Monika Thiel-Horstmann (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer): 237-44. **offprint**

Burchett, Patton 2018: “Agradās and Rām *rasik bhakti* community: the politics of remembrance and the authority of the Hindu saint”, *IJHS* 22: 431-49. **download**

**title (and author)** *Ādikāṇḍa* by Mādhavadeva (1489-1596?)

**date (and provenance)** 16th century (Assamese)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)** Nagar, Shanti Lal (trans.) 2000: *Mādhava Kandalī Rāmāyaṇa, composed in Assamese*, 2 vols: I, 1-109. Rāmāyaṇa in Regional Languages 1 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, **analysed**

**studies** Barua, Birinchi Kumar 1953: *Studies in early Assamese literature* (Nowgong: Shri K.K. Borooah). **some pages photocopied**

Barua, Birinchi Kumar 1964: *History of Assamese Literature* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press) **some pages photocopied**

1. Hazarika, Karabi Deka 2006: *Mādhavadeva: his life, art and thought* (Dibrugarh: Bani Mandir). **(IND); pp. 77-59 scanned**

Sarma, Satyendranath 1985: *Madhavadeva*, Makers of Indian Literature (New Delhi : Sahitya Akademi) 79 pp. **Ind. Inst. Ind gen d 71 (165); disregard**

**notes** in 1491 verses

Like Kṛttibās, Mādhavadeva states that Nārada narrated the outline of the entire Rāmāyaṇa to Vālmīki before Rāma was born. He has Indra’s 1000 *yonis* commuted to eyes as in *Bṛhaddharma* *Purāṇa* (? a source for Mādhavadeva, despite his being a Vaiṣṇava).

names self as Mādhavadāsa, presenter of *Ādikāṇḍa*, asks for hearers’ indulgence: Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 54-55  
names self as Mādhava at end of *Ādikāṇḍa*: Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 108

In Nagar’s translation Nārada’s prediction to Vālmīki switches from 3rd-person narrative to 2nd-person in *Uttarakāṇḍa* material, integrating the frame story into the narrative   
[*?? accurate ??*]: Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 9

Rāvaṇa’s exploits summarised, then repeated in greater detail by Nārada: [*Nārada’s prediction*] Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 9; 11-12

[*recitation by Kuśa and Lava*] Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: II, 223-24

Episode of ascetic boy narrated in full, repeated as summary; both poorly integrated, BUT curse motivates Daśaratha’s fear of Paraśurāma and his decision to install Rāma before what he sees as his impending death as result of curse [*see notes*].

War against disappointed kings postponed from *VRm* position before Rāma’s arrival at Mithilā to after Rāma has triumphed; this enables the lengthy battle to be fought by Rāma and Lakmaṇa, with a little help from Ajaya.

Genealogy of Ikṣvāku kings moved from marriage negotiations in *VRm* to beginning of narrative, diverting attention from Rāma’s human descent (Viśvāmitra declares him to be incarnation of Great God when introducing him to Janaka).

**title (and author)** *Uttarakāṇḍa* by Śaṅkaradeva (1449-1568?)

**date (and provenance)** (Assamese)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)** Nagar, Shanti Lal (trans.) 2000: *Mādhava Kandalī Rāmāyaṇa, composed in Assamese*, 2 vols: II, 208-67. Rāmāyaṇa in Regional Languages 1 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: II,

**studies** Barua, Birinchi Kumar 1941: *Assamese Literature* (Bombay: International Book House). **pp.18-19 photocopied**

Barua, Birinchi Kumar 1953: *Studies in early Assamese literature* (Nowgong: Shri K.K. Borooah). **some pages photocopied**

Barua, Birinchi Kumar 1960: *Sankaradeva: Vaisnava sait of Assam* (Gauhati: Assam Academy for Cultural Relations). **pp. 42-49 photocopied**

Barua, Birinchi Kumar 1964: *History of Assamese Literature* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press) **some pages photocopied**

1. Mahanta, Pona 2018: *Sankaradeva* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi). **(IND); pp.53-57 scanned**

Neog, Maheswar 1959: “Sankaradeva’s Uttara-kanda of the Ramayana”, *Journal of the* *Assam Research Society* 113: 71-74. **scan**

Neog, Maheswar 1965: *Śaṅkaradeva and his times: early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Assam,* 1st edn (Gauhati: Dept. of Publication, Gauhati University; 2nd edn [with title reversed] Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980; 3rd edn Guwahati: Lawyer’s Book Stall, 1998). (**IND) Hindu C 183** [2nd edn]; **pp. 194-5 + 205-7 photocopied**

Smith, William L. 1994: “The Wrath of Sītā: Śaṅkaradeva’s *Uttarakāṇḍa”, JVS* 2.4: 5-15. **photocopy**

**notes** Highly devotional; similar but increased pattern of frequent authorial comment and exhortations to audience. Does not conform to Nārada’s prediction. At the end of his life Śaṅkaradeva also wrote a one-act play (*aṅkīya nāṭa*) on the marriage of Rāma and Sītā, the *Rāmavijaya* or *Sītāsvayaṃvara* (supposedly composed in *śaka* 1490 = 1568 A.D.) in an artificial blend of Maithilī and Assamese, that was called Brajāvalī.

Śaṅkaradeva names self internally at: Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: II, 212; II, 213; II,217; II, 231; II, 233; II, 239; II, 260

as slave of Kṛṣṇa: Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: II, 213; II, 239

birthplace described: Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: II, 232-33

**Structure**:

recitation by Kuśa and Lava gives detailed summary of whole *Rm* (II, 216-28), including (II, Agastya’s account of *rākṣasas*, Vālin and Hanumān (II, 223-25) [*not in Śaṅkara’s main narrative*].

Sundarakāṇḍa begins with Saṃpāti: II, 220

ends with construction of causeway followed by defection of Vibhīṣaṇa: II, 221

**Differences from Nārada’s prediction** at beginning of Mādhavadeva’s version include:

Rāma gives audience to dog Sāraṇa [*after Lavaṇa episode*]: [*Nārada’s prediction*] Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 9

[*Nārada’s prediction absent*] Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000

Rāma kills Śambūka and resurrects *brāhman* boy: [*Nārada’s prediction*] Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 9

[*Nārada’s prediction absent*] Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000

Rāma settles quarrel between owlandvulture: [*Nārada’s prediction*] Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 10

[*Nārada’s prediction absent*] Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000

Rāma visits Agastya with gods: [*Nārada’s prediction*] Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 10

[*Nārada’s prediction absent*] Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000

Māndhātṛ fights with Rāvaṇa: [*Nārada’s prediction*] Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 9

[*Nārada’s prediction absent*] Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000:

Rambhā and Nalakūbara’s curse [*unspecified*]: [*Nārada’s prediction*] Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 9

[*Nārada’s prediction absent*] Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000:

Vedavatī curses Rāvaṇa: [*Nārada’s prediction*] Mādhavadeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000: I, 9

[*Nārada’s prediction absent*] Śaṅkaradeva (Assamese): Nagar 2000:

**title (and author)** prose*Rāmāyaṇa* of Shamaraja / Kṛṣṇadās Shama

**date (and provenance)** 1st half of 16th century, in Koṅkaṇī

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Rodrigues, Tensing 2017: “The Konkani Ramayana”, *Navhind Times,* Sunday July 9th 2017: 142. **download**

Sardesai, Madhavi 2006: *A comparative linguistic and cultural study of lexical influences on Konkani* (Goa University: Ph.D. thesis). **download**

SarDessai, ManoharRai 2000: *A history of Konkani literature from 1500 to 1992* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi). **(IND) Mar gen 106**

**notes** transliterations in Roman script preserved in Portugal (codices 771 and 772 in the Arquivo Distrital de Braga); translation of a small portion in Rodrigues 2017.

SarDessai 2000: 30-31 – “The public library of Braga in Portugal contains two codices No. 771 and 772 of Konkani Language Manuscripts in Roman script: They contain the following stories in prose retold from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana: (1) Raghunathachea Vansachi Katha; (2) Dasharathachi Katha; (3) Ramachi Janmakatha; ...   
 A note indicates that these were found in the seminary at Raitur. Fr Vicki notes that these were in possession of D. Francisco Garcia. These manuscripts are a transliteration in Roman script with diacritical marks made by Jesuit scholars in 16th Century. ... ...  
 Shama, alias Krishnadas Shama or Krishnadas Nama is supposed to be the author of these prose composition. Eminent Konkani Scholar Dr. José Pereira is certain that Krishnadas Shama is the author since in one of the stories of Ramayana he mentions his own name. ... ...   
 ... ...   
 Shama was a native of the village of Quelossim (Kelixi) near Cortalim and was Mhajan of the Goddess Shanta Durga of the village. ... ... Krishnadas was serving in the temple of Shanta Durga. It is there that he started writing his work “Krishna Charitrakatha” on 25th April 1526. Vaislakh Shukla of Shake 1448. He mentions this date in ovis 245-250 of his work. ... ... This Purana is found in the first 130 pages of codex No. 773.”

Sardesai 2006: 66 – “The 839 page manuscript no. 771 contains ten *parvas* of Mahabharata in sixty-nine stories in prose Konkani. It also contains three stories of an incomplete *parva* of Ramayana and four other independent stories. In some of the *parvas* of Mahabharata, names of Vistnudasu Nama, Canga Nivrutti and Namadeva are mentioned. The 453 page manuscript no. 772 contains fifteen *parvas* of Ramayana, three *parvas* of Mahabharata and three other independent stories in prose Konkani.”

**title (and author)** *Gīti Rāmāyaṇa* of Durgāvara Kāyastha (Durgābar)

**date (and provenance)** 16th century, in Assamese

**edition(s)** Durgāvara 1994: *Kabi Durgābara Kāyastha biracita Durgābarī Rāmāyaṇa,* ed. by Prabīṇacandra Dāsa (Guwāhāṭī: Bāṇī Prakāśa). **BL**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Rajkhowa, Bijoya Baruah 2011: *A comparative study on oral Rāmāyani trdition of Assam, Bengal & Orissa* (Khetri, Kamrup: Post-Graduate Department of Assamese, Dimoria College). **(IND); parts scanned**

Thakuria, Ramcharan 2002: “The Rāmāyaṇa of Durgābara: An Intermixture of Oral and Written Traditions”, in Ghosh, Sujit K. (ed.), *Rāmāyaṇa in the North-East India*, Proceedings of the National Seminar organised by Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Samiti, Silchar (Delhi: B.R. PC): 83-89. **own copy**

**notes** printed version lacks Ādi and Ayodhyā kāṇḍas (Smith 1988: 28 §2) and the last two are very briefly treated; circulated orally until quite recently; lyrical, romantic sentiments; surviving parts are concerned with Rāma’s dalliance with Sītā in forest and his grief after her abduction; material is to a considerable degree non-Vālmīkian (W.L. Smith 1988: 42); see also Datta 1993a: 120-22. Durgāvara can be dated by his praise of king Viśvasiṃha, founder of a kingdom in Kāṃtā in North Bengal (1509-33) and a liberal patron of literature, encouraging Assamese translation of the epics and Purāṇas.

Durgāvara / Durgābar, *Gīti Rāmāyaṇa* (Assamese) **analysed from** W.L. Smith 1988 *and* Smith motif analysis

some innovations in the plot noted at Rajkhowa 2011: 148-49 (**scanned**)

JLB 1985: 278-79 **–** In ... Assam the fourteenth-century poet Mādhava Kandalī rendered the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Assamese, producing a poetic version quite close to the original but with some popular material **|** incorporated. Although he states that he translated all seven books, the first and last have since been ousted by the more Vaiṣṇava oriented versions of Mādhavadeva (1489–1596?) and Śaṅkaradeva (1449–1568?) respectively, while at the same period Durgāvara composed his *Gīti Rāmāyaṇa* in a popular form intended for sung performance but based mainly on Mādhava Kandalī’s rendering. Then in the eighteenth century Raghunātha Mahant wrote the first prose version in his *Rāmāyaṇakathā*, as well as certain other works treating parts of the story.

Raghunātha Mahant’s *Rāmāyaṇakathā* covers the first four *kāṇḍas* only but he also composed an *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* and *Śatruṃjaya.*

**title (and author)** *Rāmāyaṇa* of Ananta Kandalī, alias Candra Bhārati

**date (and provenance)** 16th century, in Assamese

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Deva Goswami, Basanta Kumar 1994: *A critical study of the Rāmāyaṇa tradition of Assam, upto 1826 A.D.* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak).  **Ind. Inst. 4.4. 53**; **pp. 169-202 photocopied**

Sarma, Nabin Chandra 1991: *The Vaiṣṇavite Poets of North-Eastern India: Ananta Kandalī* (Calcutta: Punthi-Pustak). [ch. 5, pp. 63-96, Ananta Kandali’s Ramayana]  
  **(IND) 58 B 23; brief typed extract below**

**notes** Deva Goswami 1994: 184-92 **[photocopied]**on Ananta Kandali; a work in *pada* metre, much influenced by Mādhava Kandali.

Sarma 1991: 14 — “Now we can come to the conclusion that, Ananta Kandalī was a court-poet of king Naranārāyaṇa. Naranārāyaṇa reigned from 1553 A.D. to 1584 A.D. So, Ananta Kandalī must have flourished as a poet of that time. Secondly, Ananta Kandalī was junior to Śaṅkaradeva, but was contemporary of Śaṅkaradeva. Śaṅkaradeva flourished in the sixteenth century A.D. Hence, Ananta Kandalī was a poet of the same century.”

He was a disciple of Śaṅkaradeva; his version is heavily based on Mādhava Kandali’s work. May also have written a *Mahīrāvaṇavadha* (this ascribed to him as Candra Bhārati) but this seems too different in tone to be by Ananta Kandalī (Smith 1988: 29-30; Rajkhowa 2011: 152-53), who is also credited under that name with a drama, the *Sītārpātālpraveś.*

On another Ananta in the next century, cf. Sarma 1976: 64 — “Besides a few episodical translations, the entire story of the Rāmāyaṇa was written down to facilitate its recitation in daily or occasional prayer-services which includes chanting of prayers. The work, entitled Śrīrāma-kīrtana, divided into sub-sections or chapters, each being headed by a refrain, contains nearly one thousand verses. The poet Ananta Kāyastha composed this work in 1655 A.D.

**title (and author)** (Rāmāyaṇa) of Candrāvatī

**date (and provenance)** end of 16th century (Bengali)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)** Candrāvatī 2013: *A Woman’s Rāmāyaṇa: Candrāvatī’s Bengali epic,* trans. by Mandakranta Bose and Sarika Priyadarshini Bose, Routledge Hindu Studies Series (Abingdon: Routledge). **own copy**

Candrāvatī 2020: *Chandrabati’s Ramayan,* trans. by Nabaneeta Dev Sen (New Delhi: Zubaan). **(IND)**

**studies** Bose, Mandakranta 2009: “The Portrayal of Sita in two Bengali Ramayanas”, in Lal and Gokhale (eds) 2009: 141-46. **(nothing not elsewhere)**

Bose, Mandakranta 2010b: *Women in the Hindu Tradition: rules, roles and exceptions* (London: Routledge). **download;** *pp. 132-35* *on Candrāvatī*

Bose, Mandakranta 2010c: “Candrāvatī Rāmāyaṇa”, paper presented at the ACM Singapore conference, July 2010. **printout**

Bose, Mandakranta 2016: “Designing women: felicitous malice in a Bengali Rāmāyaṇa”, in *The Other Rāmāyaṇa Women,* ed. by John Brockington and Mary Brockington, with Mandakranta Bose (Abingdon: Routledge): 107-17. **own copy**

Bose, Mandakranta 2023: “Debatable devotion: Candrāvatī’s *Rāmāyaṇa*” in Andrijanić and others 2023: 491-500. **own copy (vol.)**

Bose, Mandakranta 2022: “A requiem for women: narrative strategy, rhetoric and ideology in Candrāvatī’s Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*”, *JHS* 15: 107-20. **download**

Chakravarty, Barun Kumar 2006: “Chandrāvati’s Ramayana”, *Kalyan Bharati* 10: 72-77. **photocopy**

Dev Sen, Nabaneeta 1994: “A woman’s retelling of the Rama-tale: narrative strategies employed in the ‘Chandrabati Ramayana’”, in *Narrative: a seminar,* ed. by Amiya Dev, 166-79 (Delhi: Sahitya Akademi). **BL:** General Reference Collection YA.1996.a.522

Dev Sen, Nabaneeta 1997: “Rewriting the Ramayana: Chandrabati and Molla”, *India International Centre Quarterly (New Delhi)* 24.2-3: 163-77 = *Crossing Boundaries*, ed. by Geeti Sen, 163-77 (New Delhi: Orient Longman). **photocopy**

Dev Sen, Nabaneeta 1998b: “When women retell the Ramayan”, *Manushi (Delhi)* 108 (Sept-Oct 1998): 18-27. **download**

Dev Sen, Nabaneeta 2000: “Candrāvatī Rāmāyaṇa: feminizing the Rāma-tale”, in *Faces of the Feminine in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern India,* ed. by Mandakranta Bose, 183-91 (New York, OUP). **download**

Gäbel, Cora 2013: “Wer tötete Rāvaṇa? Hinduistische Frauen auf der Suche nach einem starken Ideal”, in *Frauenbilder – Frauenkörper: Inszenierungen des Weiblichen in den Gesellschaften Süd- und Ostasiens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz): 197-213. **download**

Mukhopadhyaya, Satkari 2000 [?]: “Two less-known versions of Bengali *Rāmāyaṇas”,* paper presented at International Seminar on *Rāmāyaṇa,* Bangkok.  
 **(info. from Mandakranta Bose’s paper at ACM conference)**

Sen, Dineshchandra, and Chandrakumar De 1923-32: *Eastern Bengal Ballads,* 4 vols (Calcutta: University of Calcutta). **(IND) Misc. Ind. d.69**[preface to *Candrāvatī Rāmāyaṇa* in vol. IV pt. I (1932): 306-22 (**photocopy**), followed by his translation at 323-52; Bengali text in vol. IV pt. II: 97-112]

**notes see** Bose 2010c, esp. pp. 10-11 Appendix (Singapore conference paper)

Candrāvatī 2013 *(*trans. by Bose and Bose): “especially Jaina versions” — *in fact, the “Jaina version”* [*sing.*] *referred to by DC Sen, Bengali Ramayanas, is only Hemacandra*.

source (?) of portrait episode in Kashmiri *Rāmāyaṇa* and for Malay version (Sahai 1976: 29 n.4 states that Candrāvatī refers here to a daughter of Kaikeyī named Kakua)

[from RR ch. 9] From a Jain version of the story, Bhadreśvara’s *Kahāvalī* or Hemacandra’s treatment, Kṛttibās takes the motif of Sītā sketching Rāvaṇa’s portrait, which rouses Rām’s jealousy and thus leads to her banishment. In Kṛttibās’ version she draws the sketch on the floor of her bedroom to satisfy the curiosity of Rāma’s brothers’ wives. But in Candravatī’s version this incident is given greater definition, for the instigator now acts out of malice and is named as a daughter of Kaikeyī; she gets Sītā to draw the portrait on a fan and, when Sītā falls asleep, places it on her breast before going to inform Rāma.

Sen, Nabaneeta Dev 1994 —

**p.169**  . . . All the histories of Bengali literature that mention Chandrabati’s work seriously, both in West Bengal and in Bangladesh, ignore this text as the worst and the weakest (also a bit weird) of her works. Sukumar Sen even seems to think it is a fake — in fact he thinks most of Mymensingh ballads, and all of Chandrabati, is faked (1962). There are others who do not agree and even in 1966, long after Sukumar Sen had aired his views, fresh versions of Chandrabati’s works were found in Mymensingh by Khitish Moulik and published by Suniti Kumar Chatterjee in 1976.

**p.170** However, all scholars agree that what is found as *Chandrabati Ramayana* is an incomplete text, an incomplete *Ramayana.* All the collectors, the editors and the historians of Bengali literature support this view, that the whole of the Rama-tale is not to be found in it. It is only a fragment. Besides, it differs heavily from both Valmiki and Krittibas, the two pillars of the great tradition and the little tradition, the standard Sanskrit text and the standard Bengali text of the *Ramayana.* Instead, it shows strange similarities with the southern *Ramayanas,* the *Jain Ramayana* [sic], and *Adbhuta Ramayana* — apart from showing distinct influences of the folk *Rama-kathas,* the *Mangal Kavyas* and *Brata-kathas,* in its text and language.

**p.171** . . . this text has been silenced by the urban literate male mediators in the role of literary historians. . . . Rama himself is gently pushed back to a corner where he is hardly visible except in relation to Sita. The narrative pattern clearly and unmistakably follows the story-line of Sita’s life and the tale as it stands is unabashedly a Sita-tale under the traditional guise of a Rama-tale. The only episodes of the *Ramayana* depicted here are the episodes of Sita’s life, beginning with the supernatural birth of Sita, going through her tales of woe, “Sita’s Baromasi” (which mentions her childhood, her marriage, her life as an abducted woman), describing her pregnancy, childbirth, exile, humiliation and her entry into mother earth. . . .

. . . In any case, in a patriarchal social system, that ought to be the traditional pattern of storytelling (cf. K. Moulik, vol. 7, p. 278: “According to rule, Rama’s birth story should come first and Sita’s should come next. The songbooks that I have seen have it that way. But, in D.C. Sen’s earlier edition, Sita’s birth comes first. I am following D.C. Sen’s footsteps here.”)

Chandrabati breaks the accepted pattern by beginning her epics with Sita’s birth story. K. Moulik, in his later search for material, found that the order had been “corrected”, but he preferred to keep the earlier order and edited the text according to D.C.Sen’s edition. . . .

[text published in: D.C. Sen ed. 1921: *Maimansiṃha Gītikā,* vol. 4 pt. 2  
 K. Moulik 1976: *Prachin Purbabanga Gitika,* vol. 7

cf. Bose and Bose 2013: 13 — D.C. Sen 1920 ch. 7 is “more concerned with placing Candrāvatī’s *Rāmāyaṇa* in the alternative tradition of Rāma tales, especially Jaina versions than with studying the poem itself in any depth.”]

**p.173** [*Mandodarī drinks so-called poison (blood of sages, enforced tribute to Rāvaṇa), produces the egg that turns into Sita*] echoing *Adbhuta Ramayana* and  *Jaina Ramayana*. [*i.e. Sītā is not Rāvaṇa’s child but Mandodarī’s, born to avenge his infidelity to her. cf. Adbhuta Rm pp.137-44*]

**p. 175** We have here a narrative about a woman, narrated by a woman (by two women [i.e. author and Sītā], in fact), meant for women narrates [sic]. Yes, the text was originally intended for a female audience and the recurring formula here is “shuno sakhijana” (listen, girl friends), not “shuno sabhajana” (listen, members of the court), nor “shuno sarbajana” (listen, one and all) as the regular formulae go (see Khitish Moulik, vol. 7, p. 247: Bk I, Bk II passim, Bk III,i, p.320). Hence the producer of the text is a woman, the product depicts a woman’s like and the intended consumers are also women.  
 . . . [Rama] Finally, in Book III, he loses her for good, again, by listening to the evil counselling of his jealous sister and some of his evil-minded subjects. Chandrabati scolds him openly for his weakness and lack of judgement, and holds him responsible for the fall of Ayodhya.  
[MB: *cf. VR, RaghuV, where Ayodhyā remains empty and desolate as a result of Rāma’s return to heaven with the rest of the populace, etc.*]

. . . no visible signs [of Rāma’s superhuman quality] — it is in that sense a secular *Ramayana.* [MB: *but Candrāvatī is a Śaiva*]

**pp. 175-6** Interestingly enough, I think Laksmana, and a great chunk of Book III (sections 4 to 9), have been introduced due to the mediation of male performers. In the first edition of the **|** epic (collected between 1914 but published in 1926) this section is absent. But in 1976, in the second version (collected between 1934 and 1966) this portion is found. Clearly, the poem had become the property of the bards of East Bengal long ago and was sung to a mixed audience. To suit them, in the second (later) version we also find that the regular form of the earlier address “shuno sakhijana” becomes the regularized “shuno sabhajana” or “shuno sarbajana” from time to time. [**see** Bose and Bose 2013: 19 §1] The editor notices this and draws our attention to it. The intended audience remains female in Sita’s own narrative about Rama where she is privately conversing with her girl friends (“sat panch sakhijane basiya andare”) in the inner chambers.  
 The patriarchal voice is clearly audible in the last section of the second version, where Lava, Kusa and Hanuman interact heroically and the ascetics Vasistha and Valmiki appear in their full Brahmanical splendour. Before the last two, probably interpolated, sections of Book III, so many males are never seen together in this epic song.

**pp.177-78** As narrators, Sita and Chandrabati differ in that one is a character, the other an outsider. With two different point [sic] of vision, they also differ in their world-views. Sita is an ideal representation of the dominant ideology but Chandrabati is a dissenter. She openly questions, challenges **|** and punctures the ideology of her times in her personal intrusions, and also in her selection of episodes, depth of detail and silences. But, though she critizes Rama every now and then, she does not criticize Sita for acting according to the dominant ideology.

**title (and author) (**Rāmāyaṇa) by Dvija Madhukaṇṭha and   
 *Aṅgader Raibār* by Kavicandra

**date (and provenance)** probably 16th century; 18th century (Bengali)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies see** Sen 1920: 184-85 and 216-21 (photocopied)

**notes**

**title (and author)** *Pātāḷakāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa* of Kānho Trimaladāsa

**date (and provenance)** ?? 17th century (Marāṭhī); 15th century in Crit. Inv. p. 467

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes**

**title (and author)** adaptations of Sundara and Yuddha by Rāmadāsa/Rāmdās (1608-81) and other works by his followers

**date (and provenance)** mid to late 17th century (Marāṭhī)

**edition(s)** Mādhavasvāmī 1951: *mādhavasvāmīkṛta ślokabaddharāmāyaṇa* / *Śloka-baddha Rāmāyaṇa of Madhava Swami,* ed. by P.D. Joshi, Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series, 30; Madras Government Oriental Series, 56 (Tanjore: T.M.S.S. Mahal Library).  
 **(IND) Sansk. ser. E 9/30**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** Rāmadāsa’s two Rāmāyaṇa adaptations are both incomplete.

*Ślokabaddha* *Rāmāyaṇa* in Marāṭhī by Mādhavasvāmī (Rāmdāsī poet at court of Śāhajī of Tañjāvūr, 1684-1711) written around 1700 (Tulpule 1979: 413) in 724 *“ślokas”* (in fact in several meters) of which 259 for Yuddhakāṇḍa. Other kāṇḍas: Bāla 67 verses, Ayodhyā 150, Araṇya 83, Kiṣkindhā 94 and Sundara 73. He also wrote a *Yogavāsiśṭha.*

Mādhavasvāmī 1951: 1 – “Samartha Ramadas, . . . . . . Madhavaswami, the author of this work, “Sloka-baddha Ramayana,” was the disciple of Raghavadas, one of Samartha’s disciples in the South. Madhavaswami has also rendered Ramayana in Ovi meter, and he is the author of Bharata in the same meter. He has also translated several Akhyanas or stories from the great Epics of India, . . . Ovi Ramayana was written in the Saka 1614 and Ovi Bharata in Saka 1625 (1703 A.D.) which shows that Madhavaswami lived during the reign of Shahaji (1684-1710 A.D.).”

Mādhavasvāmī 1951: 3 – “Our author also lays stress, in traditional Ramadasi style, on Yuddha-kanda, as this Kanda alone contains 259 Slokas out of the total of 726.”

Mādhavasvāmī 1951: 5 – The author has compared the story of Ramayana to the holy Ganga, which starts from Mount Valmiki, which finally joins the Ocean of Rama, whose water is nectar itself, being capable of ending sufferings of all of us and before whom even God Shankara lays prostrate.”

mid-19th-century ms with 14 miniatures in BL Or. MS. 13535; **see** further info. plus ill. at Losty, *Arts of the Book*p. 141 (no. 124).

**title (and author)** *Rāmacandracandrikā* (or *Rāmcandrikā*) of Keśavdās

**date (and provenance)** 1601 (Brajbhāṣā)

**edition(s)** Keśavdās 1954-56: *Keśavagranthāvalī,* sampādaka Viśvanātha Prasāda Miśra, 3 vols (Ilāhābād: Hindustānī Ekademī).

**translation(s)** Keśavdās 1976: *Selections from Ramacandrika of Kesavadasa*, trans. into English verse by K. P. Bahadur (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). xiii, 177 pp. **BL / CUL**

**studies** Busch, Allison 2005: “Literary responses to the Mughal imperium: the historical poems of Keśavdās”, *South Asia Research* 25.1: 31-54. **download**[for background]

Busch, Allison 2011: “Keshavdas of Orccha”, in Alison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: the classical Hindi literature of Mughal India* (New York: Oxford University Press): ch. 1 (pp.23-64).  
[see esp. pp. 44-46] **download from OSO**

Cavaliere, Stefania 2006: “Devotion and Refinement: a description of the six seasons in Tulasīdāsa’s *Rāmacaritamānasa* and Keśavadāsa’s *Ramacandrikā”,* *Pandanus* ’06: 225-55. **own copy**

Cavaliere, Stefania 2020: “*Dharmik* kings in courtly agendas: the figure of Rāma in the works of Keśavdās”, in *Oral–Written–Performed: the Rāmāyaṇa narratives in Indian literature and arts,* ed. by Danuta Stasik (Heidelberg: CrossAsia eBooks, 2020): 53-75. **own copy**

Stasik, Danuta 2009: “Rāmkathā in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: in the shadow of Tulsīdās?”, in Stasik 2009a: 115-34 (**see** especially pp. 117-26).

**notes** author was court poet to Indrajīt Siṃh, brother of Vīr Siṃh (Bīr Singh) of Orchā, coming from a family of Sanskrit *paṇḍits.* **See** Stasik 2009: 115-26 on Keśavdās and his *Rāmcandrikā* [Sītā’s chastity restores Rāma to (full) life p.123], also Allchin 1966: 276-78 (ad 146.5 and 165.4).

Keśavdās’s *Rāmacandracandrikā* is composed in 39 *prakāśas,* giving particular emphasis to the Uttatakāṇḍa narrative (17 *prakāśas*); it was composed in the same year (1601) as his *Kavipriyā* (“manual for poets”) and emulates the style of the Skt *mahākāvya.* using a wide range of metres. It has a definite *rasik* emphasis (**see** Schokker’s paper at 12th Int. Rāmāyaṇa Conf., Leiden, 1995 and especially Stasik 2009: 115-26). He was influenced by the *Hanumannāṭaka* and the *Prasannarāghava.* Acc. to Schokker, Keśavdās (1555-1617) also has Sītā consigned to Agni **before** the abduction but does **not** then refer to it in the fire ordeal. Keśavdās also composed the *Vijñānagītā* (1610), modelled on Kṛṣṇamiśra’s 11th-century *Prabodhacandrodaya,* within later sections of which Vasiṣṭha appears as the teacher, as in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (a feature already seen in *prakāśa* 25 of his *Rāmacandracandrikā*).

Keśavdās’s brief *Chandmālā* (Garland of prosody), written a year later in 1602, covers the basic metrics “in a series of definitions, illustrating each one with a verse, usually about Rama” (Busch 2011: 44).

**title (and author)** *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī

**date (and provenance)** 1st half of 17th century (Brajbhāṣā)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Rahurkar, V. G. 1958: “The Bhāṣā-Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī”, *PTAIOC* 18 (December 1955), ed. by R. Ramanujachari. (Annamalainagar: Reception Committeer, 18th AIOC, Dec. 1958): 471-82.

**notes** Adaptation of the *Laghuyogavāsiṣṭhasāra* in 10 sections of *dohās,* also known as the *Jñānasāra.* Author best known for persuading Shāj Jahān to rescind the *jizyah* (poll tax)

**title (and author)** *Rāmyaśorasāyanrās* by Keśrāj (Keśarājayati)

**date (and provenance)** *VS* 1680 = A.D. 1623 (Mārū-Gūrjar)

**edition(s)** Keśarāja 1990: *Muni Keśrājkṛt sacitr Rāmyaśorasāyanrās Jain Rāmāyaṇ: the illustrated manuscript of Jain Ramayana,* ed. by Jyoti Prasas Jain, Muni Samdarshi and others (Arrah, Bihar: Shri Dev Kumar Jain Oriental Library).  **Tokyo Univ. Ind. Lit. 13868; BL; pp. v-vii photocopied**

Keśarāja 2010: *Śrīrāmayaśorasāyana,* yati keśarāja, saṃsodhanakarttā Ācārya Bhikṣu (Lādanūṃ: Jaina Viśva Bhāratī Prakāśana).

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** Author a Śvetāmbara Jain and his work very popular in the Sthānakavāsī and Terāpanthī communities; the work, in *dohā* and *dhala* metres, follows Hemacandra closely. Keśarāja 1990 reproduces 213 paintings in a ms of the work from the latter half of the 19th century.

Keśarāja’s Gujarati poem was set to music in the fashion of his day. A rare illustrated manuscript of Keśarāja’s poem further illustrates the compelling power of popular visual art forms. At crucial points the illustrations deviate from the text to create striking hybrid visual images, relying on the painting tradition associated with the *Vālmīki Ramāyaṇa.* (Phyllis Granoff in SARII conference abstract)

“The text . . . . . . was written in Rājasthānī *dohas* and *dhalas* by a Śvetāmbara *yati* named Keśarāja, probably at Amer (N. E. of Jaipur) in 1623. It is based on Hemacandra’s story in the *Triśasti-śalākā-puruṣa-caritra* 7,4 and shows internal evidence of its suitability for recital with music – a research project for musicologists. The miniatures, here in superb colour reproductions, were painted in local style of the Jaipur region about 1850. In them influence of Sthānakvāsī ideas is visible and they are of greater interest than the text.” (from review by Wilhelm Bollée in *ZDMG* 144.2 (1994): 443.

**title (and author)** *Sītārāmcaupāī* by Samaysundar

**date (and provenance)** 1631 in Meṛtā (Old Gujarātī/Maru-Gūrjar)

**edition(s)** Samaysundar 1959: *Kavivarsamaysundarkṛta Sītārāmcaupāī*, ed. by Agarcand Nahta and Bhavarlal Nahta (Bikaner: Sādūl Rājasthānī Risarc Insṭīṭyūṭ).

**translation(s)**

**studies** Mishra, Shitikanth 1994: *Hindī jain sāhitya kā itihās, bhāg 3* (Varanasi: Pūja Sohanlal Smārak Pārśvanāth Śodhpīṭh): 511-23.

Plau 2018c: 42-44 and 92-94.

**notes** In 9 *ḍhālas* containing nearly 4000 verses; based on *Paumacariya* and more directly on Bhuvanatuṅgasūri’s shorter Prakrit work, *Sīyacariya*; author was a Jain monk of the Śvetāmbara Kharatara gaccha. It retains framework of Śreṇika’s query to Gautama but Gautama mentions the “sorrows of Sītā”, Śreṇika is intrigued and so Gautama narrates the former births of Sīta (as Vegavatī, a *purohita’s* daughter) and her twin brother Bhāmaṇḍala.

**title (and author)** *Sītācarit* of Rāmcand Bālak

**date (and provenance)** VS 1717 = 1657 (Brajbhāṣā with some Maru-Gūrjar influence)

**edition(s)** Plau, Adrian, 2018b: *The Deeds of Sītā: a critical edition and literary contextual analysis of the* Sitācarit *by Rāmcand Bālak,* PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London.  
 **download**

**translation(s)** [synopsis at Plau 2018c: 190-95]

**studies** Plau, Adrian 2018a: “‘A Joke amongst the paṇḍits’: Jain Brajbhāṣā poets, their *Rāmāyaṇas,* and their relations to Sanskrit literary culture”, paper presented at 17th World Sanskrit Conference (Vancouver, 9-13 July 2018). **abstract**

Plau, Adrian 2019a: “ ‘Listen to the story’: narrative and song in Rāmcand Bālak’s *Sītācarit,* a Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* in Brajbhāṣā”, *Sikh Formations* 15.1-2: 183-99. **download**

Plau, Adrian 2019b: “Jain narrative literature in Brajbhāṣā: discussions from an understudied field”, *Religions* 10, 262. **download**

Plau, Adrian 2020: “Vernacular Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* as *satī-kathās*: familiar structure, innovative narrative”, in *Oral–Written–Performed: the Rāmāyaṇa narratives in Indian literature and arts,* ed. by Danuta Stasik (Heidelberg: CrossAsia eBooks, 2020): 177-93. **download**

**notes** The text extends over c. 2550 verses. It author was a Digambara Jain, who essentially follows his Jain predecessors (noting that he draws his inspiration from “Raviṣeṇa’s *Raghu Purāṇa*” at verse 2531) as far as the storyline is concerned but shifts the genre to that of a *satīkathā,* making the main Jain Rāma-story a subplot to Sītā’s forest exile (Plau 2018b and 2028c: 100-110)*.* Some influence also from Tulsī’s *RCM.*

The work was clearly popular – Plau’s thesis is based on 18 manuscripts of which 12 are complete (Plau 2018c: 10, 67-72).

Rāmcand Bālak’s version of the Bhāmaṇdala story (Sītā’s twin brother, in his former life Kuṇḍalamandita; kidnapped and brought up among *vidyādharas,* falls in love with a picture of Sītā) is based on Raviśeṇa’s *Padmapurāṇa* 26-30 (**see** Plau 2020: 184-86).

**title (and author)** *Sītāsvayaṃvara* and incomplete Rām. by Veṇābāī (1628-1700)

**date (and provenance)** 2nd half of 17th century (Marāṭhī)

**edition(s)** Veṇābāī [1913]: *Veṇābāīkṛta Sītāsvayaṃvara,* ed. by S.S. Dev, Dhule, Ś. 1835. **unverified**

Veṇābāī [1925]: *Saṅketa-Rāmāyaṇa,* ed. S.S. Dev, Dhule, Ś 1845. **unverified**

**translation(s)**

**studies see** Tulpule 1979: 401-2.

**notes** Veṇābāī or Veṇusvāmī was a disciple of Rāmdās (who traditionally appointed her the *mahant* of the Miraj maṭh) and was born early in the 17th century (traditional dates 1628-1700); her *Sītāsvayaṃvara* is a kāvya work in *ovī* metre of some delicacy.

Banerjee 1986: 243 notes a C16 work of same name by Jani Janārdana and Viṭhā and Yardi 2001:180 also notes C17 *Sītāsvaraṃvaras* by Rāmdās, Vāmana and Jayarāmasvāmī Vaḍagāoṅkar

**title (and author)** *Raṇayajña* by Premānand (1636-1724)

**date (and provenance)** late 17th century – ? 1685 (Gujarātī)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** basically on the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa in 26 chapters (**see** Blumhardt’s catalogue of Marāṭhī mss. no. 50)

Premānand wrote about 40 *ākhyānas,* including on episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Jhaveri 1978: 40).

**title (and author)** *Adbhut Rāmāyaṇ* of Nityānanda Ācārya (Adbhutācāryya)

**date (and provenance)** end of 17th century (Bengali)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** The author draws on the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa, Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Raghuvaṃśa.* His work was once popular but now largely forgotten, but some episodes absorbed into Kṛttibāsa’s work. Another work, the *Śataskandharāvaṇavadha* is also attributed to him. **see** Smith 1988: 30 for Adbhutācāryya (also p. 31 for 18th-century *Rāmalīlā* of Rāmānanda Ghoṣa and more on both later in book); also Sen 1920: 232-48 (on Rāmānanda) and 249-51 [both photocopied] (on Jagadrāma Rāya, cf. Smith 1988: 32 etc.)

**See** Zbavitel 1976: 145 (photocopied)

**other Bengali tellings:**

Banerjee 1986: 188

“A *Ramayanic* work of the 16th century that deserves our attention here is the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* of Kāilāsa Basu. Basu made a literal translation of the whole of the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* in 1586 A.D.

There were several works written on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme in Bengali during the 17th and 18th centuries. Among them mention may be made of the works of Dvija Gaṅgānārāyaṇa, Guṇarājakhān, Ghanhasyāmadāsa, Bhavānīdāsa, Dvija Lakshmaṇa, Rāmaśaṅkara, Chandrāvatī, Kavichandra, Jagatrāma and Rāmachandra Ghosh.

Dvija Gaṅgārāma (a descendant of Krittivāsa) and Ghanasyāmadāsa wrote respectively the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Sītāra Vanavāsa.* The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Guṇarājakhān is known as *Bhārata Rāmāyaṇa* since it is based on the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata.* The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Dvija Lakshmaṇa is based mainly on the Sanskrit *Adhyātma* and *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇas.* Rāmaśaṅkara wrote a complete *Rāmāyaṇa* (only a part of which is available now) based on various works such as the *Vālmīka Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Yogavāsishṭha* and the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa.*

*. . . . . .*

Śaṅkara Kavichandra wrote in the early 18th century a *Rāmāyaṇa* having borrowed details from the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa.* Kavichandra’s *Rāmāyaṇa* is known as *Rāmalīlā* or *Śrī Rāma-maṅgala.* As he belonged to Vishṇupur, it is also called *Vishṇupurī Rāmāyaṇa* (Asitakumar Bandyopadhyaya, *op. cit.* pp. 439-448).

Jagatrāma with the collaboration of his eldest son, Rāmaprasāda wrote two interesting works on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme. The first one is known as *Śrī Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa.* In producing this work Jagatrāma followed the Sanskrit *Adhyātma* and *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa.*”

Saṣṭhivara and Gaṅgādās (father and son) (C17 mss, **see** Sen 1920: 221-23)

Jagatrām and Rāmprasād (father and son), *Rāmprasādī Jagadrāmī Rāmāyaṇa* completed in *śaka* 1712 or 1790 (= 1634 or 1712 A.D.), in 8 *kāṇḍas,* 7-8 being *Puṣkara* (so named after the island home of 1,000-headed Rāvaṇa) and *Uttara*  (Sen 1920: 249-51; Smith 1988: 95-96).

Rāmānanda, *Rāmalīlā,* late C17, author an avowed Buddhist (Sen 1920: 229-48)

[Rāmmohan Bandopadhāy, composed 1838 and drawing on Skt *Adbhuta R.* and Tulsīdās (Sen 1920: 223-29)]

Bhabānināth [= Bhavānīdāsa], court poet of Jagatmanikya of Tripura (r. 1725-29), composed poem on *Adhyātma Rām.*

**title (and author)** *Rāmāvatār* of Gobind Singh

**date (and provenance)** *saṃvat* 1755 = 1698 (Panjab) [in Brajbhāṣā]

**edition(s)** Tulsi, Baljit (ed. and trans.) 1967: *Rāmāwatāra: the Rāmāyaṇa of Śrī Gurū Gobind Siṅgh Jī* (Chandigarh: Guru Gobind Singh Foundation). [xvi, 500 pp.] **BL**

*Rāmāvatāra* 1984: *guru gobindsiṃhjī mahārāj viracit rāmāvatār,* (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith).  **download**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Rinehart, Robin 2011: *Debating the Dasam Granth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). [ch. 2, pp. 50-68, “The ‘Wondrous Drama’ of Guru Gobind Singh” (**download**)]

Sachdeva, Subhash Chander 2007: “The Rāmāvatāra and the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: a comparative study”, in Singh 2007: 79-91. **photocopy; analysed**

Syan, Hardip Singh 2013: *Sikh Militancy in the Seventeenth-Century: religious violence in Mughal and early modern India* (London: Bloomsbury Academic.) **scan of pp. 163-71**

Tulsi, Baljit 1980: “Rāmāvatār (Rāmāyaṇa) by Guru Gobind Singh”, in Raghavan 1980:   
517-33. **own copy; disregard**

**notes** in 864 verses (*dohrā* and *caupāī*) in 26 *adhiāi/adhyāyas* (part of the *Caubīsavtār* on the 24 *avatāras,* 8th *bāṇī* within the *Dasam Granth*); acc. to vv. 860-61 it was composed at Anandpur in *saṃvat* 1755/1698 A.D. near the temple of Nainādevī, close to the bank of the Sutlej. It tends to concentrate on fights and describes in some detail the battle of Lava and Kuśa against Rāma’s forces.

***Rāmāwatāra* – chapter headings** [from SikhiWiki]

[Beginning](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Beginning&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Description of Raghukul](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Description_of_Raghukul&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Killing of MARICH and SUBAHU](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Killing_of_MARICH_and_SUBAHU&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Swayyamvara of Sita](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Swayyamvara_of_Sita&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Description of Exile of Ram](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Description_of_Exile_of_Ram&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: killing of the demon VIRADH](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_killing_of_the_demon_VIRADH&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Chopping of the Nose of Surapanakha](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Chopping_of_the_Nose_of_Surapanakha&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: killing of KHAR and DUSHMAN](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_killing_of_KHAR_and_DUSHMAN&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Abduction of Sita](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Abduction_of_Sita&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Killing of Bali](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Killing_of_Bali&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: The Killing of Devantak Narantak](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_The_Killin_of_Devantak_Narantak&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: The Killing of Kumbhkaran](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_The_Killing_of_Kumbhkaran&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: The Killing of Trimund](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_The_Killing_of_Trimund&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: The Killing of Mahodar Mantri](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_The_Killing_of_Mahodar_Mantri&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: The Killing of Inderjit](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_The_Killing_of_Inderjit&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Killing of Atkaaye](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Killing_of_Atkaaye&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Killing of Makrachh, Kumbh and Ankumbh](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Killing_of_Makrachh,_Kumbh_and_Ankumbh&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Lakshman becoming Unconscious](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Lakshman_becoming_Unconscious&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Killing of the Ten-headed (Ravana)](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Killing_of_the_Ten-headed_(Ravana)&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Bestowal of Kingdom on Vibhishan, Knowledge to Mandodari and Union with Sita](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Bestowal_of_Kingdom_on_Vibhishan,_Knowledge_to_Mandodari_and_Union_with_Sita&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: The Entry of Sita in Ayodhya](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_The_Entry_of_Sita_in_Ayodhya&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: The Birth of two Sons](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_The_Birth_of_two_Sons&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Killing of Lakshman](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Killing_of_Lakshman&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Killing of Bharath](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Killing_of_Bharath&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: The Tying of Horse by Lava and the Killing of Ram](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_The_Tying_of_Horse_by_Lava_and_the_Killing_of_Ram&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Reanimation of the 3 Brothers alongwith their forces](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Reanimation_of_the_3_Brothers_alongwith_their_forces&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter: Ram Died for Sita](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter:_Ram_Died_for_Sita&action=edit&redlink=1)

[Chapter : Brothers to Heaven](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=Chapter_:_Brothers_to_Heaven&action=edit&redlink=1)

[End](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php?title=End&action=edit&redlink=1)

In chapters 2-3 of his *Bachittar Nāṭak* (alternatively *Apnī kathā,*  3rd *bāṇī* within the *Dasam Granth*) Gobind Singh traces his ancestry back to the Sūryavaṃśa, narrating in outline the dynasty through Raghu, Ajj, Dasrath and Rām up to Lav and Kuś, who founded Lahore and Kasur and married Panjabi princesses, tracing the Soḍhi and Bedī families back to their sons.

possible other works in Panjabi/by Sikhs: Bhai Gurdas (1551-1636; refs to Rāmāyaṇa in his work); a *Hanumannāṭaka* ascribed to Hṛday Rām; an *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* by [?] Soḍhī Meharvān/Miharbān (1581-1640), on which see Syan 2013.

Banerjee 1986: 259 “Among the other works on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme in Punjabi mention may be made of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Bhai Gurdas (1551-1629), *Hanumān Nāṭaka* by Hriday Ram (1551-1629), the *Lahandra Nāṭaka* by Kapur Chand, the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* by Soḍhī Meharvān, the *Vichitra Nāṭaka* by Guru Gobind Singh (C. 1698), the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* by Gulab Singh (1732), . . . . . .”

**title (and author)** *Rāmavijaya* of Śrīdhara (1658-1730)

**date (and provenance)** completed in 1703 A.D. (Marāṭhī)

**edition(s)** Śrīdhara 1849: *Rāmavijaya (*Mumbaī: Viṭṭhala Bhikājī Kāḷe va Sakhārāma Nārāyaṇa Kāpaḍī, 1771). **Bod. (IND) Mar Srid 1 (download)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** It consists of 9,147 *ovīs,* in 7 kāṇḍas/40 *adhyāyas*, with Yuddha treated more elaborately than the others; it draws on a wide variety of earlier treatments. Śrīdhara lists as many as 19 *Rāmāyaṇas* on which he drew, as well as the *Hanumannāṭaka.* Date of composition given (at 40.205) as Sunday 7th of *Śravaṇa śuddha, śaka 1625,* the *Subhānu saṃvatsara* [= 1703 A.D.]

listed (only) at Tulpule 1979: 407

a blogpost ,“Two Hindustani Manuscripts at the John Rylands Research Institute and Libary”, on the University of Manchester website (posted on 25th July 2023, accessed on 28th May 2024) notes a bound ms with at least one illustration (Marathi MS 3).

**title (and author)** *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* and *Śatruñjayakāvya* of Raghunāth Mahant

**date (and provenance)** 18th century (Assamese)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Barua, Birinchi Kumar 1964: *History of Assamese Literature* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press). **some pages photocopied**

Sarma, Satyendra Nath 1976: *Assamese Literature,* History of Indian Literature 9.2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz). **OIL 507 His.IX,2 Ref.**

**notes** Raghunāth Mahant, *Adbhuta Rm*: Barua 1964: 83-85 **analysed**

Raghunāth Mahant, *Śatruñjaya*: Barua 1964: 85-89 **analysed**

Barua 1964: 89 – “The poems reveal the poet’s acquaintance with the floating Jaina versions of the Rāmāyaṇa.”

*Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* –Raghunāth claims his source is the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.* The action takes place in *pātāla* after Sītā’s final separation from Rāma. Sītā pines for Kuśa and Lava, has them abducted; Hanumān rescues them and takes them and her back to Ayodhyā; semi-reconciliation: she will visit daily, visible only to Rāma, Kuśa, Lava and Hanumān (Barua 1964: 83-85).

*Śatruñjayakāvya –* composed in *śaka* 1658 / A.D. 1736 in 2310 verses, mainly on exploits of Vālin (also Hanumān, Sugrīva, Nala and Aṅgada) but incidentally telling most of Rāma story; *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* not related to *VR* and not much to Skt *Adbhuta Rām.* but extolls greatness of *vrateśvarī devī* Sītā and Hanumān’s marvellous deeds Detailed account of creation of Laṅkā and early exploits of Vālin and Hanumān, before brief account of Rāma story; Sugrīva completely overshadowed by Vālin (Barua 1964: 85-89).

Barua 1964: 85 – “The author’s intention was not so much to tell the well-known story of Rāma as to narrate the exploits and expeditions of Bālī and Hanumān. The first part of the story which describes these exploits in detail is very amusing, and seems to be the poet’s own invention.”

Raghunāth Mahant also wrote a prose version, *Kathā Rāmāyaṇa* or *Rāmāyaṇkatha,* left incomplete in 1780 (Lekharu 1959: 226-7; Sarma 1976).

Barua 1964: 83 “One of the leading poets who enjoyed great reputation in the later part of the eighteenth century and who drew on the Rāmāyaṇa story was Raghunāth Mahanta. Raghunāth made a prose summary of the Rāmāyaṇa. His prose shows, on the one hand, the influence of the Buranjis and, on the other, in a still more marked degree, that of the traditional style of the Carit-puthis of the Vaiṣṇavas. Raghunāth’s fame as a poet rests on his two long narrative poems ...

Sarma 1976: 69-70 — “. . . . . . Raghunātha Mahanta, the **|** head of the Dayang Elengi Sattra, is specially noteworthy for his contribution to the Rāmāyaṇa literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth senturies. His three works, viz. the Rāmāyaṇa-kathā, the Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa and Śatruñjaya, are devoted to the glorification of Rama and his companions. The Rāmāyaṇa-kathā is an abridged prose version of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, . . . His Śatruñjaya elaborately deals with the heroic exploits of the monkey-chief Bālin (Vālin) and his followers including those of Hanumān, Sugrīva, Nala and Aṅgada. The story of the Rāmāyaṇa is also narrated incidentally. It was completed in 1736 A.D., while the Rāmāyana-kathā was left incomplete in 1780 A.D. . . .

**title (and author)** *Gaṇakacaritra/Maṇḍodarīmaṇiharaṇa* by Dhanañjaya Kavi

**date (and provenance)** 18th century (?), Assamese

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** for some information on episode of Hanumān as a cat having intercourse with Maṇḍodarī **see** Singh and Datta 1993: 112-13

It also presents Hanumān as an astrologer who confounds Rāvaṇa with wrong predictions

**other** Assamese *Rāmāyaṇas* (taken from Deva Goswami 1994):

*Lavakuśaryuddha* by Harivara Vipra (based partly on *Jaiminīya Aśvamedha* and partly on a folk version), composed in first half C14 possibly a little earlier than Mādhava Kandali, describes banishment of S., stay in Vālmīki’s *āśrama,* birth of Kuśa and Lava, their seizing the sacrificial horse and defeating Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna.

*Mahīrāvaṇavadha* of Candra Bhārati (probably 18th century, another folk version **or ?** by Ananta Kandalī, cf. above)

*Rāmavijaya / Sītāsvayaṃvara* (drama) by Śaṅkaradeva (*śaka* 1490 = 1568 A.D.), based on   
 Bālakāṇḍa

*Sītārpātālpraveś* (drama) attributed to Ananta Kandali

*Sītāharaṇanāṭa* (drama) by Gopāla (prob. = Gopāladeva, 1540-1606)

*Pātālīkāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa* (drama) by Gopāla ( “ “ )

*Śataskandharāvaṇavadha* (drama) by Gopāla ( “ “ )

plus others from 18th century

from Lekharu 1959: 225-26 —   
*Śrīrāmakīrtana* of Ananta Ṭhākura Āṭā or Hṛdayānanda, composed in *śaka* 1574, based on the *Rāmāyaṇacandrikā* of Kalāpa Candra Dvija, which is a condensed Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa

**see** Sarma 1976: 64 (above under Ananta Kandalī)

**title (and author)** *[Manipuri Rāmāyaṇa]* by Angom Gopi (c. 1710-80)

**date (and provenance)** 18th century, Manipur (Meiteilon [= Meitei language])

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Nilakanta Singh, E. 1980: “Rāmāyaṇa in Manipuri literature and folklore”, in Raghavan 1980: 573-82, esp. 575-76. **own copy**

**notes** based on Kṛttibās’ Bengali Rāmāyaṇa but only Sundara to Uttara Kāṇḍas extant; poet patronised by king Garib Niwaz, aka Meidingu Pamheiba (r. 1709-48)

**title (and author)** *Rāmcaritmālā* of Nāgarīdās

**date (and provenance)** 1749 (Brajbhāṣā)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Pauwels, Heidi 2016: “Rewriting the Sītā-Rāma romance: Nāgarīdās’ *Rām-Carit-Mālā* (1749)”, *JHS* 9: 251-72. **own copy**

**notes**

**title (and author)** *Mantra Rāmāyaṇas* of Moropanta (Moreshwar Ramji Paradkar**,** born *saṃvat* 1651 = 1729 A.D., d. 1794 A.D.)

**date (and provenance)** 2nd half of 18th century (Marāṭhī)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Armelin, Indumati 1988: “Les cent huit *Rāmāyaṇa* de Moropant (1729-1794)”, *JA* 276: 335-47. **scan**

**notes** Moropant traditionally composed 108 *Rāmāyaṇas* (90 available [?]), including 31 *Mantra Rāmāyaṇas,* 10 *Citra Rāmāyaṇas, Divya Rām.* and *Laghu Rām.,* as a form of *bhaktiyoga,* writing them in different metres (15 *Vṛttabaddha Rāmāyaṇas*) and techniques of expression. His first *Mantra Rāmāyaṇa* was composed between 1757 and 1762. He also wrote a *Kuśalavacarita,* a *Sītāgīta,* a *Sītārāmāyaṇa,* and a *Rāmanāmārya* (names of R. in *āryā* metre).

Tulpule 1979: 423-4 —

... ... in the Mantra-Rāmāyaṇas, which are thought to be 108 in all, the employment of different *mantras* is simply baffling. There is a Rāmāyaṇa which cyclically repeats the thirteen-lettered **|** *mantra, Śrī Rāma, Jaya Rāma, Jaya Jaya Rāma,* another which contains the exclamatory word *dhanya* in each verse and still a third one which is void of any labial consonants (*niroṣṭhya*).

**title (and author)** *Rāmāvatāracarita* by Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa/Prakāśa Rāma

**date (and provenance)** late 18th century (Kāśmīrī)

**edition(s)** Grierson, George A. (ed.) 1930: *The Kāshmīrī Rāmāyaṇa, comprising the Śrīrāmāvatāracarita and the Lavakuśayuddhacarita of Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa,* Bibliotheca Indica 253 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal).  
 **Ind. Inst. 14 D 43 / Bibl. Ind. IV 23; photocopy/download, notes; analysed**

**translation(s)** Grierson, George A. 1921: “Sita’s Parentage”, *JRAS*: 422-4.   
[on Sītā as Mandodarī’s daughter in Kāśmīrī version and Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa]

Grierson, George A. (ed. and trans.) 1929: “Sita Forlorn, a specimen of the Kashmiri Ramayana”, *BSOS* 5: 285-301. **printout; checked**[text and trans. of vv. 1168-1257 cf. Nagar pp.113-17]

Nagar, Shanti Lal (trans.) 2001:  *Rāmāvatāracarita,* *composed in Kashmiri by Śrī Prakāśa Rāma Kuryagrāmī,* Rāmāyaṇa in Regional Languages Series 2 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). **own copy; analysed**

**studies** Kaul, Jankinath ‘Kamal’ 1995: “Ramayana in Kashmiri”, in *Kashmiri Pandits: a cultural heritage,* ed. by S. Bhatt and Janakinath Kaul (New Delhi: Lancers Books): 361-68. **scan**

Pax, Wolfgang 1936: “Zum Rāmāyaṇa”, *ZDMG* 90: 616-25. **photocopy**

Pushp, P.N. 1980: “Rāmāyaṇa in Kashmiri Literature and Folk-Lore”, in Raghavan 1980: 534‑45. **own copy**

Raina, Trilokinath 2002: *A history of Kashmiri literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi).  
[checked] **(IND) 14 B 235**

**notes** A collection of devotional hymns, prayers and laments set in an explanatory narrative within a frame story (unclosed) told by Śiva to Pārvatī, itself told by Nārada to Brahmā (cf. *Sāmajātaka*, where Pāli prose provides context for story narrated in verse *gāthās*, sometimes misinterpreting them). Structure sometimes confused: redemption of Ahalyā, death of Rāvaṇa. **see** also *RR* 285-86 (copied below).

8 *kāṇḍas* preceded by Introduction.  
1-4 fairly standard  
5 starts with search party  
6 ends with emergence of Sītā from fire; no reunion, leave-taking  
7 (*Uttarakāṇḍa*, brief) homecoming, *rāmrājya*8 (*Lava-Kuśakāṇḍa*) exile to Rāma’s departure for heaven

Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar 2000-01: “Kashmir Literature”, *Vitasta Annual Number* 34   
 [online at http://vitasta.org/2001/2.1.html]  
In the 18th century, there was another great Hindu poet in Kashmiri, Prakasa-rama (also known as Divakara-Prakasa Bhatta) who was a contemporary with Raja Sukh-jiwan Mall, a Hindu Nazir or Governor of Kashmir under the Afghans about 1760. Prakasa-rama wrote the *Ramayan*a in Kashmiri, known as the *Ramavatara-carita*, with a sequel *Lava-Kusa-Yuddha Carita*. (This work has been edited in Roman transliteration with an English summary by Sir George Abraham Grierson, and published from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1930; and it was first published from Srinagar in Persian characters in 1910). It consists of 1786 stanzas, some in the two-line *Persian Hazaj* metre and the rest in the native four-line accented metre of Kashmiri.

names himself: Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Nagar 2001: 89, 90, 98, 101, 115, 128

identifies place where Sītā entered earth as Śaṅkaragarh, near Kuryagrāma; he has seen the marks left: Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Nagar 2001: 142

colophon: composed by Prakaśa Rāma of Kuryagrāma, Vikram Samvat, 1904: Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Nagar 2001: 146

Shows little interest in the details of fighting; Kumbhakarṇa’s fight with Sugrīva is the first detailed fight in the story: Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Nagar 2001: 71-72

Grierson 1929 (“Sita Forlorn, a specimen of the Kashmiri Ramayana): regrettable choice of diction, but Grierson’s rendering brings out the power and beauty of the original, compared with Nagar’s pedestrian version.

Grierson 1930 appears to be following a text substantially different from Nagar 2001, apparently including several episodes missing from Nagar’s version; in the absence of any indication by Nagar of the text used they can only be treated as 2 separate, distinct variants. [*notes taken from Introduction and summary only; Grierson also prints text*]

[Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa lived late 19C (1819-85?) in Śrīnagar]

**xi:** in 1893 the poem could be found only in fragments, no entire copy of the epic being then known to exist.

[This edn compiled from several long fragments as specimens of the language, not as crit. edn.]

In the year 1910, an edition of the poem, similarly pieced together from scattered fragments, was published in the Persian character by the Partāp Steam Press in Śrīnagar [with some additions, some omissions, some reorderings. *Is this the text used by Nagar??*]

**xii** [Language pure modern Kāśmīri, probably written in Persian script, transcribed into Śāradā or Nāgarī and much recopied, giving rise to changes]

**xiii** nearly all the narrative sections ... can ... be recognized as composed in the well-known *Hazaj* metre of Persia, in its catalectic hexameter form. ... The songs ... are now purely accentual in metre [doubtful whether origin of metres is Indian or Persian]

**xix** The most important point of variance [*from VR*] is the account of the parentage of Sītā ... [which] **hangs like a menacing cloud over Rāvaṇa from her birth until his death.**

**xx** [*Has Grierson misunderstood?*] In our present poem, Rāma is shown as apparently cognisant of the facts of Sītā’s birth; for, when Hanumat returns from his visit to Laṅkā, Rāma anxiously enquires about the attitude of her brothers, — who can only have been Indrajit, etc. — towards him for having taken Sītā with himself into banishment (758).

[This adaptation raises tensions of birth family versus marriage family — shall Sītā return to Rāma or stay with her mother? — as well as [*unmentioned*] incest]

[Are the names, e.g. Śrāvaṇa, absent from Nagar 2001 but present in Grierson’s summary actually present in his source or is he reading them into it?]

Banerjee 1986: 265 – “The first Kashmiri *Rāmāyaṇa* is the Śaṅkara *Rāmāyaṇa* written in 1900 V.S. (or A.D. 1843). It was transcribed into Devanāgarī characters from Śāradā in the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The other two *Rāmāyaṇas,* popular in Kashmir, are the Vishṇu Pratāpa *Rāmāyaṇa* by Vishṇu Kaul (1913) and the Śarmā *Rāmāyaṇa* by Nīlakaṇtha Śarmā written between 1919-1926 on the model of the *Ramcharitamānasa* of Tulasīdāsa. The fifth was written by Tara Chand in 1927, and another by Amarnath in 1940. Of all these *Rāmāyaṇas* only the one by Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa, edited by Grierson, has appeared in print. The rest are still in manuscripts.”

**localisation**

Lava at birth has auspicious signs such that he could even conquer **Lahore**: Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Nagar 2001: 117

on Rāma’s return to heaven, appoints Lava king of Lahore: Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Nagar 2001: 143

Sītā entered earth at Śaṅkaragarh / Śaṅkarapura, near Kuryagrāma [*author’s home*]; author has seen the marks: Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Nagar 2001: 142 Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Grierson 1930: *sarga* 84

reference to days becoming shorter and nights longer (also frequent references to snow) confirm locality as far north: Prakāśa Rāma (Kāśmīri): Nagar 2001: 78

*RR*: 285-86

A Kāśmīrī version of the Rāma story was produced in the late eighteenth century by Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa [Grierson 1930]. It further develops the significance of Sītā’s birth, for it claims that Mandodarī was originally a fairy (*parī* i.e. *apsaras*) who took human form in order to achieve Rāvaṇa’s destruction. Rāvaṇa marries her and in his absence she bears a daughter, Sītā, whose horoscope predicts that she will kill her father and marry a forest-dweller. She is therefore thrown into a river to drown but is washed ashore and found by Janaka. Subsequently, Indra despatches Sarasvatī to corrupt Kaikeyī (147), while Vasiṣṭha, consoling **|** Daśaratha for Rāma’s departure, declares that Rāma is Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa is Śeṣa, and Śatrughna and Bharata are Viṣṇu’s conch and discus (222–24); both these features are found in the *Adhyātma* and *Bhuśuṇḍi* *Rāmāyaṇas*, with which the Kāśmīrī version shares its theological outlook. The episode of Jaṭāyus’ attempt to prevent Rāvaṇa carrying off Sītā shows a strong similarity to the Khotanese version; in the Khotanese version Rāvaṇa throws lumps of tin red with blood before the vulture guarding Sītā and in the Kāśmīrī version Sītā persuades Rāvaṇa to hurl stones smeared with blood at Jaṭāyus, which he will swallow and so be unable to move (Sītā’s hope is that thus Rāma will find him and discover what has happened, 412–14).

An unusual feature is that the history of Rāvaṇa’s exploits is transferred from the Uttara to the Sundara kāṇḍa and inserted into the episode of Hanumān’s visit to Laṅkā, during which he meets Nārada and learns from him the history of Laṅkā (590–618) and of Pulastya and his descendants (619–38), the former including also the story of Garuḍa, the elephant and the tortoise from the Araṇyakāṇḍa. Vibhīṣaṇa’s advice is rejected by Rāvaṇa and he himself exiled only after Aṅgada’s embassy (822–30). Rāvaṇa’s attempted sacrifice is interrupted by Hanumān’s taunting of Mandodarī (854–70). In the narration of the fire-ordeal it is declared that an illusory (*mohamāyā*) Sītā enters the fire, which burns for fourteen days, and then the real Sītā emerges (1077–88), although there is no previous mention of the illusory Sītā in the extant text; again, there are obvious links with the sectarian Sanskrit versions. Its Uttarakāṇḍa (1098–1137) then narrates the return to Ayodhyā and so forth from the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa.

The events of the Uttarakāṇḍa are in fact related in the second part of the work, the *Lavakuśayuddhacarita*, the centre of which is, as its name shows, the conflict between Sītā’s sons and Bharata and Śatrughna, who are guarding the sacrificial horse (1322–79). Not only Bharata and Śatrughna but also in turn Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma are killed by the boys before being restored to life by Vālmīki (1540–50). This part also includes the episode of the sister-in-law persuading Sītā to sketch Rāvaṇa (1145–63, cf. Candravatī’s Bengali version), the birth of one son and the miraculous creation of the other (1258–1303, cf. the Tibetan and Southeast Asian versions), Sītā’s appeal to and swallowing by the Earth (1692–1723), and the story of Durvāsas (1740–61).

**title (and author)** (Rāmāyaṇa) by Girdhar/Giradhara (*saṃ* 1843-1908 = 1787-1852)

**date (and provenance)** completed in *śaka* 1758/*saṃ* 1893 = 1836 A.D. (Gujarātī)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)** Nagar, Shanti Lal and Tripta Nagar (trans.) 2003: *Giradhara Rāmāyaṇa composed in Gujarati*, Rāmāyaṇa in Regional Languages 3 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). **own copy; read, not yet analysed**

**studies** Dave, Upendra N. 2007: “The Girdhara Rāmāyaṇa: a critical study”, in Singh, Avadhesh Kumar (ed.), *Rāmāyaṇa through the ages: Rāma-gāthā in different versions* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld): 265-304. **scan**

**notes** Giradhara born in Pādrā tāluka, Vaḍodarā state, a Puṣṭimārga Vaiṣṇava; his is the most popular telling in Gujarātī. It comprises 7 cantos, 299 chapters, 9551 stanzas in *ākhyāna* style and was completed by another author on 9th of dark half of Mārgasīrṣa, *saṃvat* 1893 (dates declared in text, see Nagar + Nagar 2003: 488, 489).

Girdhar, trans. Nagar: *cf. RR* 285. *See Introduction p. xx for list of other Gujarati Rms; see also trans pp 2-3 and p.4 for Girdhar’s knowledge of earlier versions and his declared sources.*

Sources as declared in Nagar trans. (pp. 488-89):

*Yogavāsiṣṭha*: p.43

*Hanumannāṭaka*: pp.86, 128, 130, 167, 193, 225, 230, 232, 325, 487 [e.g. meeting with Paraśurāma; Indra’s boast at *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 9.3-6 translated directly from *HN* 8.24]

*Agnipurāna*: pp.287, 297, 488 [e.g. stories of Ahirāvaṇa and Mahirāvaṇa]

*Padmapurāna, Pātālakhaṇḍa* and *Rāmāśvamedha*: pp.369, 381, 397, 488 [story of pair of parrots telling Rāma story overheard by Sītā (*Uttara* 2916-17 and *Ayodhyā* 29.20-21) is borrowed from *PadmaP. Pātālakhaṇḍa*]

*Bhāgavatapurāna*: p.454

*Harivaṃśa*: p.478

The *Bālakāṇḍa* starts with the births of Rāvaṇa and Hanumān. Rāvaṇa attampts to kill Daśaratha and Kausalyā before their marraiage because of a prophecy that Daśaratha’s son will destroy him. The killing of Śravaṇa and Kaikeyī’s boon precede the *putreṣṭi,* performed by Śṛṅgī. Śatrughna is born to Kaikeyī, along with Bharata. Sītā found in chest by Rāvaṇa but on Mandodarī’s advice his servants bury it near Janakpur, where it is found a brāhman (reincarnation of her original father, Padmākṣa) as he is ploughing and given to Janaka. Rāvaṇa attends *svayaṃvara* and nearly crushed by bow.

Much didactic material, especially in *Uttarakāṇḍa*, which is also extended by repetitive, undistinguished and indistinguishable battles.

Many anomalies explained / divergent traditions reconciled

Rāma is conscious of his divinity throughout, which he deliberately conceals in ‘his play’.

Material shared with [some] SE Asian versions:

Daṇḍaka is populated by sages and tribespeople

Śūrpaṇakhā’s son; instructions to Lakṣmaṇa written on her back

recognition of Hanumān

Hanumān is debilitated for pestering sages until he meets Rāma

**see** also “Gujarātī *Lava-Kuśa ākhyānas* (from Professor Nanavati)” in “Further Notes (verbal/general)”