**vernacular Rāmāyaṇas – South India**

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*Torave Rāmāyaṇa* of Narahari alias Kumāra Vālmīki RR: 274

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  **Ind. Inst. 18 D 66 / OIL 593.5 Cha Ref.**

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Karthyayani Amma, Ambadi 1981: “The influence of the ‘Ramayana’ on Malayalam literature”, *Malayalam Literary Survey (Trichur, India)* 5.3-4 (Jul-Dec 1981): 90-94.

Filliozat, Vasundhara 2014: “*Rāmāyaṇa* and the elements of ecology”, in *Sanskrit and development of world thought*, ed. by Vempaty Kutumba Sastry (New Delhi: Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan): 96-103. **own copy**

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[Ind. Inst. Ind gen e 613] **photocopy**

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**general notes** Dessigane, Pattabiramin and Filliozat 1964: 18 —

*Maṇikaṇṭēcam*

Les deva et les acura craignant la mort, allèrent demander à KamalakkiLavaṉ (Brahmaṉ) de leur indiquer le moyen de devenir immortels. Celui-ci les amena chez Nāraṇaṉ qui leur dit que si l’on barattait l’océan de lait, on obtiendrait l’ambroisie, laquelle donnerait l’immortalité à ceux qui l’absorberaient.

... ... ...

Les acura commencèrent d’abord l’opération. Ils enroulèrent Vācuki autour du Mantaram et le tirèrent en le saississant les uns par la tête et les autres par la queue. Le mont resta immobile et les acura fatigués et désespérés, lachèrent Vācuki.

Les deva voulurent essayer à leur tour. Ils firent de grands efforts pour faire bouger le Mantaram. Celui-ci ne fit aucun mouvement. Les deva peinés, perdirent courage. Ils aperçurent alors le roi des singes Vāli que le hasard amenait. Ils le prièrent de les aider.

Vāli dit aux deva et aux acura: “Nous allons tous ensemble essayer de baratter la mer. Je saisirai le serpent par la queue, tandis que vous autres, vous l’attraperez tous par la tête.”

On commença le barattement. La traction de Vāli étant plus vigoureuse que celle des autres, le mont Mantaram pencha dans la direction, de sorte que du côté opposé on ne pouvait résister et on lachait prise. Vāli saisit alors Vācuki par la tête avec l’une de ses mains et par la queue avec l’autre et tira d’un mouvement alternatif de ses deux bras. Le Mantaram commença à s’enfoncer dans la mer. Tirumaṟumārpaṉ (Viṣṇu) prit alors la forme d’une tortue, se plongea dans l’océan et porta sur son dos le Mantaram qui surnagea. Le roi des singes le fit tournoyer à droite et à gauche en tirant sur Vācuki qui lui servait de corde.

Le serpent, se voyant très malmené et ne pouvant supporter l’ardeur des mouvements que lui impreignait Vāli, cracha du venin. Vāli saisi de frayeur, abandonna son œuvre et s’enfuit.

... ... ...

[*Śiva saves the situation*]

**also** on pp. VI-X comments on Vālin at the Churning of the Ocean, on which **see** also Filliozat 1983: 202, Kampaṉ (trans.) p. 288 and, in Kerala dance,Freeman 2001: 198;   
*see also Tārā* (*analysis*)

**title (and author)** pre-Kampaṉ Tamil literature

**date (and provenance)** 3rd(?)-9th century (Tamil)

**edition(s)** Gros, François (ed. and trans.) 1968: *Le Paripāṭal, texte tamoul,*Publications de l'Institut français d'indologie, 35 (Pondichéry : Institut français d'indologie). **Weston David (IND) Or. ser. E 1/35**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Anandakichenin, S. 2014a: “On the Non-Vālmīkian Sources of Kulacēkara Ālvār’s ʻMini-Rāmāyaṇaʼ” in *The Archaeology of Bhakti I: Mathurā and Maturai, back and forth*, ed. by Emmanuel Francis and Charlotte Schmid, Collection Indologie no. 125 (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry; Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient). **Weston David (IND) Or. ser. E 1/125; pp. 278-83 photocopied**

Anandakichenin, Suganya 2014b: “Kulacēkara Aḻvār’s ‘The Lament of Daśaratha’ “, *JVS* 22: 167-201. **download**

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 **pp.26-33 on refs by Āḻvārs photocopied**

Narayanan, Vasudha 1994: “The *Ramayana* in the Theology and Experience of the Srivaisnava Community: the poetry of the Āḻvārs and the commentaries of Periyavāccaṉ Piḷḷai”, *JVS* 2.4: 55-89. **scan**

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Tieken, Herman 2001: *Kāvya in South India: Old Tamil Caṅkam poetry,* Gonda Indological Studies 10 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten). **download**

**notes** for refs to Rāma in Caṅkam literature and in Āḻvār poetry **see** Narayanan 1987: 26-33, Nammāḻvār 1993: *Hymns for the Drowning,* pp. 10, 40 (verse 2) and 47, and Zvelebil 1995: 618-9 (photocopied); cf. also Panattoni 2009 on Rāvaṇa. Episodes alluded to include Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa (*Kalitokkai* 38.1-5), Rāvaṇa seizing Sītā (*Puṟanāṉūṟu* 378.18-21), Rāma silencing the birds (*Akanāṉūṟu* 70.15-17) and the Ahalyā story (*Paripāṭal* 19.50-53).

*Puṟanāṉūṟu* 378 compares the wife and children of a poet not knowing how to put on jewels given by the Cōḻa king to the *vānaras* putting on the jewels that Sītā dropped (378.13-22). [source: p.291 of R. Varadadesikan, “Vaiṣṇava Literature in Tamil”, in Gillet 2014: 287-301]

Panattoni 2009: 304 “Campantar and Appar – but never Cuntarar — refer to Rāvaṇa in verses where he is mentioned as the abductor of Sītā by deception and the enemy of Rāma, who killed him. In this *Rāmāyaṇa* context, there are fewer references to Rāvaṇa and they are less interesting than in his encounter with Śiva, as neither Campantar nor Appar identify themselves with the demon in such a situation.”

**n.b.** both Nāyaṉmār use Rāvaṇānugraha motif in their poetry: Appar refers to it in the last verse of all his hymns and Campantar uses it in the 8th and 9th verses of his hymns.

Kulacēkara’s *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* decade 8 praises the events of Rāma’s life and decade 9 is a lament by Daśaratha over Rāma’s departure (cf. Anandakichenin 2014b, which includes translation of 9).

from Anandakichenin 2014a:  
 Kulacēkara’s *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* comprises 105 *pācurams* (stanzas) in 10 decades,  
3 of which (i.e. almost ⅓) are dedicated to Rāma, with the 10th decade forming a brief retelling of Rāma’s story references or allusions to Rāma or the *Rāmāyaṇa* in *Akanāṉūṟu, Puṟanāṉūṟu* and *Paripāṭal* (p. 250)  
 Kulacēkara has Guha himself row the boat across the Gaṅgā (pp. 252-3), as does Kampaṉ (pp. 253-5)  
 Śūrpaṇakhā apparently becomes beautiful to approach R + L. (cf. Vimalasūri, *Narasiṃha P.,* Bhaṭṭi, also reliefs at Nāchnā and Deogaṛh) and she is mutilated (ears and nose) by Rāma (cf. VRm 1.1.46)  
 Kulacēkara omits the Ahalyā episode, Sītā’s fire ordeal and her later banishment but has the killing of Śambuka and resurrection of brāhman boy, as well as killing of Lavaṇāsura by Śatrughna

Rao 2015: 107: — “Kulacēkara. . . . , for the first time connected the *Rāmāyaṇa* with a contemporary temple site, the Govindarāja shrine at the Śaiva centre of Cidambaram (reconfigured as Citrakūṭa, the mountain where Rāma and Sītā spent their forest exile). . . .  
 In the first half of each verse of the tenth decad of the tenth section of the *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, Kulacēkara recounts events from the epic only to assert in the subsequent half that the very Rāma who performed these acts stands before him at Cidambaram.”

With the legend of Kulacēkara becoming so immersed in the story – and taking it so literally – that he marshals his army to cross the sea to rescue Sītā can be compared two much later traditional tales recorded by A.K. Ramanujan (*Folktales from India*, pp. 55-56 and 57-58): one about the reluctant husband taken to *Rāmāyaṇa* recitations by his wife who one night does actually listen and becomes entranced in the story of Hanumān losing the ring during his leap to Laṅkā, so jumps up, dives into the sea and comes back with the ring; the other about Tenali Rama supposedly halting his narrative of the story after just declaring that Rāma and Sītā went to the forest and replying, when challenged about his continuing silence, that they were still walking, and again, when saying that Hanumān set fire to Laṅkā, setting fire to the house of the courtesan demanding the narration.

Nagaswamy 2003: II, 309 – “The *Paripāḍal,* a Sangam classic of 1st century A.D. refers to a painted pavilion in the temple of Subrahmaṇya, near Madurai. . . . . . . The reference is to the pictures of Kāma (Cupid) and Rati, and also Indra and Ahalya, painted on the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa.*”

**title (and author)** *Irāmāvatāram* of Kampaṉ

**date (and provenance) (**9th-) 12th century (Tamil)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)** Hart, George L. and Hank Heifetz (trans.) 1988: *The Forest Book of the Rāmāyaṇa of Kampaṉ* (Berkeley: University of California Press).  
 **(IND) 4.4.8. 1 / OIL 592.7 Kam; pp. 6-7 photocopied** (in grey box file)  
 [cf. review by Zvelebil (**download**)]

*Kamba Ramayana*, translated by P.S. Sundaram, ed. by N.S. Jagannathan (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2002). [Padma Sundaram translates only extracts, with linking passages said (p. xlv) to be “mostly in the poet’s own words”]

\* Hande, H.V. (trans.) 1996: *Kamba Rāmāyanam, an English prose rendering* (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan). **own copy**

Nagar, Shanti Lal (trans.) 2008: *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇa: English translation of Tamil Rāmāyaṇa of Sage Kamban* (Delhi: Parimal Publications).

Ponniah, S.M. (trans.) 1969: *Sri Paduka: the exile of the prince of Ayodhyā,* Ohio Univ. Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Series 7 (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University). **EUL**

**studies** Bytchikhina, L. 1995: “Main Characters of Ramayana in Kamban’s Interpretation”, in Pollet 1995: 67-71. **ignore**

Gnanasundaran, D. 2007: “Vālmīki, the Sage and Kamban, the Artist”, in Singh 2007: 63-78. **pp. 64-69 photocopied** (grey box file)

Hart, George Luzerne 1976: *The relation between Tamil and classical Sanskrit literature,* History of Indian Literature, X.2 (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz): 343-51. **download**

Marudanayagam, P. 2000: “Watching on the Walls: a scene from Kambaramayanam”, *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* (Pondicherry Inst. of Linguistics and Culture) 10.1: 41-52. [compares a scene from Kampaṉ’s “War Canto” with that in *Iliad* III]

Nadar, A.C. Paul 1957-58: “The Problem of the Life and Age of Kamban”, *Tamil Culture* 6.1: 31-49, 6.2:92-112 and 7.2: 150-69. [left incomplete (by death)] **Ind. Inst. Per 11 d 14; checked**

Naidu, S. Shankar Raju 1971: *A comparative study of Kamba Ramayanam and Tulasi Ramayan* (Madras: University of Madras). (**IND) 18 D 67;** *naïve, long-winded and superficial*

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Pandurangan, A. 1982: “Rāmāyaṇa versions in Tamil”, *Tamil Culture* 21: 58-67.

Shulman, David Dean 1978: “The cliché as ritual and instrument: iconic puns in Kampaṉ’s *Irāmāvatāram*”, *Numen* 25: 135-55.

Shulman, David Dean 1979a: “Divine order and divine evil in the Tamil tale of Rāma”, *JAsianS* 38: 651-69, repr. 1987 in *Temples, kings, and peasants: perceptions of South India’s past*, ed. by George W. Spencer: 53-83 (Madras: New Era Publications). **printout**

Shulman, David Dean 1986: “Battle as Metaphor in Tamil Folk and Classical Traditions”, in Blackburn and Ramanujan 1986: 105-30. **own copy**

Shulman, David 1987: “The anthropology of the avatar in Kampaṉ’s Irāmāvatāram,” in *Gilgul: essays on transformation, revolution, and permanence in the history of religions, dedicated to R.J. Zwi Werblowsky,* ed. by S. Shaked, D. Shulman, G.G. Stroumsa (Leiden: Brill): 270-87. **download**

Shulman, David Dean 1991b: “Fire and Flood: the Testing of Sītā in Kampaṉ’s Irāmāvatāram,” in Richman 1991: 89-113 (repr. in Shulman 2001 (2): 293-322).

Singaravelu, S. 1980a: “Tulasī-dāsa’s Rāmacaritamānasa in Hindi and its relationship to the Sanskrit version of Vālmīki, the Tamil version of Kamban, and the Thai version of King Rāma I”, in Raghavan 1980: 455-74. **own copy**

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**

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Thampi, P. Padmanabhan 1996: *Ramayanas of Kampan and Eluttacchan* (Thuckalay: O. Padmakumari). 343pp. **Ind. Inst. 4.4.8.7 – part photocopied**

Venkatachari, K.K.A. 2004: “Rāma could never do any act against dharma: Vāli episode in Kamba Rāmāyaṇa”, *Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal* 47: 39-50.

**notes** in 6 *kāṇṭams,* each divided into up to 40 *paṭalas,* amounting to just over 12,000 verses in total. Kampaṉ is linked to the village of Teralundur in the Kaveri delta.

**photocopied** pages (in grey box file) – Gnanasundaran 2007: 64-69, Hart + Heifetz 1988: 6-7 and Thampi 1996: 206‑7 + 220-27; **see** also Narayanan 2001: 265-73, 278-79 and Freeman 2001: 214.

a prefatory verse refers to *śaka* 807 (= 885 A.D.) as the year that it was presented to a distinguished audience, but internal evidence suggests rather the 12th century; **n.b.** mention of Kulottuṅga Cōḻa (presumably Kulottuṅga I, 1070-1120) in Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa (Hande p. 329 fin.)

an *Uttarakāṇḍa* in around 1,500 verses and attributed to Kampaṉ’s rival, Oṭṭakkūttar, exists but tradition insists that it is not by Kampaṉ (so Shulman in Richman 1991: 111 n.5).

Hande 1996: 26-27: birth of Dāśarathis after simultaneous conception following *yajña*

It seems to be drawn on by the Thai version

**names in Kampaṉ**

Tacarataṉ, king of Ayōtti, and his wives Kōcalai, Cumittirai, Kaikēyi/Kaikeci

Irāmaṉ, Parataṉ, Ilakkumaṇaṉ, Catturukkaṇaṉ; Kākuttaṉ (Kākutstha)

Vaciṭṭaṉ, Kalaikkōṭṭu Muṉivar (= Ṛśyaśṛṅga), Urōmapātaṉ

Cītai, found while Caṉakaṉ is ploughing; Paracurāmaṉ, son of Camatakkiṉi

Mantarai/Kūṉi: Kukaṉ (Guha); Cittirakkūṭam; Parattuvāca (Bharadvāja)

Virātan (Virādha); Carapaṅkaṉ (Śarabhaṅga); Akattiyar (Agastya); Cutikkaṇaṉ (Sutīkṣna)

Anumāṉ, Cukkirīvaṉ, Vāli, Aṅkataṉ, KiTkintai; Caṭāyu; Cāmpavān

Irāvaṇaṉ, king of Ilankai; Cūrppaṇakai, Karaṉ, Tūṭaṇaṉ, Marīcaṇ, Intiracittu, Vipīṭaṇaṉ

Puṣpaka vimānam, Nikumpilai, Tiruculam (triśūla)

Intiraṉ (his seduction of Ahalyā at 1.543-50), Karuṭaṇ, Airāvatam

**title (and author)** *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* of Abhinava Pampa (= Nāgacandra)

**date (and provenance)** late 11th-12th century, in Kannaḍa

**edition(s)** Rice, B. Lewis (ed.) 1882: *The Pampa Rámáyaṇa or Rámachandra charita puráṇa of Abhinava Pampa: an ancient Jain poem in the Kannaḍa language* (Bangalore: Mysore Government Central Press). [English summary on pp. 13-76] **OIL 594.8 Nag**

**translation(s)** Nāgacandra 2022: *Pampa Ramayana: Ramachandra charita purana in prose and verse,* tr. by D.A. Shankar (Bengaluru: Kuvempu Bhasha Bharathi Pradhikara). **own copy**

**studies** Aithal, Parameswara 1987: “The Rāmāyaṇa in Kannada Literature”, *South Asian Digest of Regional Writing* 12: 1-12. **photocopy**

**notes summary** at Lewis 1882: 13-76; written mainly in the *campū* style and in the Jain tradition of Vimalasūri, with Lakṣmaṇa killing Rāvaṇa, who is presented more sympathetically; Nāgacandra (who probably lived at the court of the Hoysaḷa ruler Viṣṇuvardhana) also composed a work on the 19th Jain *tīrthaṃkara,* the *Mallināthapurāṇa.* The *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* seems to be drawn on by the Malay and (indirectly probably) Thai versions.

In 16 *āśvāsas* [names and verse totals from Rice 1882: 7]: *Piṭhikāprakaraṇam* (139), *Daśarathavaṃśavarṇanam* (77), *Daśarathaputrodayavarṇanam* (161), *Janakabhavanadarśanam* (131), *Sītāsvayaṃvaravarṇanam* (138), *Vanapraveśavarṇanam* (181), *Araṇyavarṇanam* (170), *Cāraṇagugaladarśanam* (68), *Sītāharaṇavarṇanam* (198), *Daśavadanavaṃśavarṇanam* (236), *Laṅkādahanavarṇanam* (188), *Śrīrāmadigvijayaprayānavarṇanam* (99), *Balācyutapuṇyaprabhāvodayavarṇanam* (158), *Raghuvīravijayavarṇanam* (207), *Sītāparityāvavarṇanam* (85), *Nirvāṇakalyānotsavavarṇanam* (97). Oldest ms A.D. 1428.

A Kannaḍa treatise on poetics, the *Kavirājamārga,* written in the middle of the 9th century, already refers to Kannaḍa versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Aithal 1987: 3-4). The oldest extant Kannaḍa work in continuous prose, dating from the late 10th century, is Cāmuṇḍarāya’s *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇamahāpurāna,* which contains a narrative of the Rāma story based on Guṇabhadra’s (Cort 1993: 193 §3; cf. Sitaramiah 1980: 187-8). A now lost *Bhuvanaikarāmābhyudaya* by Ponna, another Jain, can also be assigned to the 10th century.

Kannaḍa versions of the Rāmāyaṇa (from Bulcke 3rd edn, p.68): *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* (11th cent.), and Rāmāyaṇas by Kumudēndu (c. 1275 acc. to Rice, **or** 16th cent.), Devappa [Jain, *Rāmavijayakāvya*] (16th cent.), Devacandra (1770-1841; the Jain *Rāmakathāvatāra* in prose, c. 1797) and Candrasāgara Varṇī (1760-1835, also Jain, composed, as the author states in his colophon, at the request of the *śrāvakas* of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭana). Also, the *Cāmarājoktivilāsa* by – or at the court of – the 17th-century Wodeyar ruler, Krishnaraja III (**see** Goswamy 2007: 166-68 **and** Mittal 2011) and *Kauśika Rāmāyaṇa* by Battaleśa (**see** Aithal 1987: 6-7).   
From Rice 1918: 58-59, 92 — *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* by Timmārya (c. 1708), *Hanumadvilāsa* by Tippanārya, *Uttara Rāmāyaṇa* by Tirumala Vaidya (c. 1650, in *ṣaṭpadī* metre), also adaptation of *Rāmopākhyāna* by Timmarasa (c. 1650), called *Mārkaṇḍeya Rāmāyaṇa.*  
Another list in Nagar’s trans. of *Torave Rām.* p. xv, including [+ extra info. from elsewhere] *Uttararāmāyaṇa* of Yogīndra (c. 1650); *Rāmāyaṇa* of Veṅkāmātya (c. 1770; **see** later page) [rest checked without result]

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

Note the Kannaḍa etymology (‘sneeze’), linked with the story of Rāvaṇa himself giving birth to her (cf. Ramanujan 1991b: 36) — etymology giving rise to story about her birth; cf. also Bulcke 1952.

Rice 1918: 53 “Kumudendu (c. 1275) wrote a Ramayana, called Kumudendu Ramayana, in shatpadi metre. It follows the Jaina tradition, and therefore it would be worth while comparing it with the Pampa Ramayana (page 30). No perfect copy, however, has yet been found.”

Kumudēndu 1981: *Kumudēndu Rāmāyaṇa,* Kumudēndu kavi viracita; sampādaka Pi.Vi. Nārāyaṇa (Beṅgaḷūru: Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣattu). [entirely in Kannaḍa]  
 **BL:** SAC.1986.a.15016

**title (and author)** *Rāmacaritam* of Cīramān kavi / Cēramāṉ   
 (Unni 1993-94 has Cīrāma)

**date (and provenance)** 2nd ½ of 12th century, Kerala (Malayāḷam)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Menon, A. Govindankutty 1991: “The Sanskrit and the non-Sanskrit traditions of Rāmāyaṇa from the west coast of India”, in Thiel-Horstmann 1991: 47-67.

Menon, C.A. 1940: *Ežuttaccan and his Age,* Madras University Malayāḷam Department Series, no. 6 (Madras: University of Madras). **(IND)**; **download**

George, K.M. 1956: *Rāmacaritam and the Study of Early Malayalam* (Kottayam: National Book Stall). **Ind. Inst. 18 C 106; pp. 32-33 photocopied** (in grey box file)

Satchidanandan, K. 2007: “Ezhuthaccan’s Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa tradition”, in Singh (ed.) 2007: 181-210. *reasonable study*pp. 192-3, 196-9 and 206-7 **photocopied**

**notes** free rendering of *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (as also the *Rāmakathāppāṭṭu* of Ayyippiḷḷai Āśān), with portions of the *Ayodhyā* and *Sundara kāṇḍas* as background; 1814 verses in 164 *paṭalas*; *pāṭṭu* (song) form; for **survey** of Rāmāyaṇa in Kerala **see** Sreekantan Nair and Joseph 2005: 145-50 (photocopy).

Menon 1991: 58 – “There was a general belief that the *Rāmacaritam* was composed by a king of Travancore.[fn. Paramesvara Aiyar (1967:303)] Two arguments were given to support this belief. The author’s name, Cīramān, probably refers to one of the Travancore kings, who is known as Śrī Vīrarām Varmā. According to this theory, the *Rāmacaritam* would have originated in the southern part of Kerala.[fn. Krishnan Nair (1973:11-16)].”  
Menon himself suggests that linguistic evidence points to northern Malayalam dialects.

A.G. Menon (12th International Rāmāyaṇa Conference, Leiden, 1995) dates *Rāmacaritam* to 14th century, linking it with popular performing traditions, as also the *Rāmakathāppāṭṭu* (dated to 15th century, in 3163 verses in 279 *vrittas*), in which is found the Pātāla Rāmāyaṇa episode (**not** in Kampaṉ or the *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇa*).

Menon 1940: 14 [on *Rāmacaritam* and *Rāmakathappāṭṭu*] – “These two works are considered by Mahākavi Uḷḷūr and others to be the earliest literary works in Malayāḷam. Their style and the preponderance of genuine Tamil words contained therein and the place of their origin, however, belie this contention. The marked difference in language and the mode of expression noticeable in contemporary records found in other parts of Malabar confirm the suspicion aroused by their linguistic peculiarities. Another school of literary criticism has definitely declared them to be bilingual productions. Their literary merit is beyond question, and on that ground they are no doubt assets to the Malayāḷam or Tamil literature, as the case may be. The “Yuddhakāṇḍa” of the Rāmāyaṇa story is the theme for both. The realistic description of the Rāma-Rāvaṇa war is undoubtedly a remarkable positive achievement which has earned for the authors an undying fame and a permanent place in the world of letters. One of the Travancore Rājas is supposed to be the author of Rāmacaritam and Rāmakathappāṭṭu is assigned to one Ayyi Piḷḷaiāśān.”

George 1968: 37 – “The author of *Ramacharitham* is largely dependent on Vālmīki’s Ramayana. Ulloor Paramesvara Iyer and K. Sambasiva Sastrikal (who first brought out the full text of *Ramacharitham*) feel that *Ramacharitam* has been greatly influenced by the Tamil Ramayana of Kamban. Though *Ramacharitham* was written more or less in the period when Kamban’s Ramayana was written, there is no justification in thinking that one is an imitation of the other. Many of the special features of *Kambaramayanam* are not found in *Ramacharitham.* There are, of course, some similarities which, however, are not sufficient for a definite conclusion.”

Freeman 2003: 461 – “. . . Though the entirety of the *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative is related through the course of the *Rāmacaritam,* this is accomplished through flashbacks and fill-ins that are woven through a recasting of the whole epic in the framework of the single chapter of war (the Yuddhakāṇḍa) of the original.”

Chaitanya 1971: 75 – “The *Rāma Charitam* is modelled on Vālmīki, but it is a free creative handling, rather than a straight translation. It covers the story only from the war with Ravana to the coronation. But, just before the coronation, Bharata requests Hanuman to tell him all that happened after he met Rama in the forests to implore him to come back. In this way, the previous sequences are brilliantly condensed as a flash-back. There are many episodic variations too. Thus, Surpanakha arrives when Sita is alone and threatens to kill her: Ravana times his arrival just then, in the garb of an ascetic, and offers to lead Sita to Rama and to safety.”

**title (and author)** *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* ascribed to Gōna Buddhā Reḍḍi

**date (and provenance)** 13th-14th century (Telugu)

**edition(s)** *Raṅganātharāmāyaṇamu*, granthakartā Gōna Buddhāreḍḍi, pariṣkartā Vēṭūri Prabhākaraśāstri ([Waltair;] Āndhraviśvakaḷāpariṣattu, 1942). **(IND) 19 E 16**

[a critical edn was produced sponsored by Andhra Univ. acc. to Narayana Rao 2001: 177, but untraceable]

**translation(s)** Nagar, Shantilal (trans.) 2001: *Śrī Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa: Rendering into English from Telugu* (Delhi: B.R. PC). **Ind. Inst. 19 E 54**  
[uses Hindi trans. published by Bhuvan Vanī Trust, Lucknow, 1979]

*Śrīranganātha rāmāyaṇam* [Hindi trans.], anuvādaka Kamākṣī Rāva, sampādaka Avadhanandana (Paṭanā: Bihāra Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariṣad, 1961). **BL**

**studies** Adeswara Rao, P. 1995: “Changes in the Theme and Character of the Ranganatha *Ramayana”,* in Pollet 1995: 59-65. **slight**

Kulasekhara Rao, M. 1988: *A History of Telugu Literature* (Hyderabad: ?): 122-5. **photocopied**

Malayavasini, K. 2007: “Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam: Telugu Rāmāyaṇa”, in Singh (ed.) 2007: 93-122. **(notes below)**

Narayana Rao, Velcheru 2001: “The Politics of Telugu Ramayanas: Colonialism, Print Culture and Literary Movements”, in Richman 2001: 159-85 [repr. in *Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism* 53 (2003): 323-35]. **own copy**

**notes** Kulasekhara Rao (1988: 121-2) on the evidence of an inscription of 1276 A.D. by Gōna Buddhā Reddi’s maternal aunt dates his birth at c. 1240 and composition of the *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* to between 1290 and 1295.

Fairly faithful rendering of Vālmīki, interspersed with occasional (?) innovations / borrowings (often incompatible doublets), in *dvipada* metre; contains 17,290 *dvipadas* (first to be composed in this metre) in six books, with another covering the Uttarakāṇḍā attributed to the author’s sons, Kāca and Viṭṭhala.

Adeswara Rao at Leiden Rām. Conf. noted following new incidents/variants in Bālakāṇḍa:  
Rāma striking Mantharā in his childhood, breaking her knee (i.e. source for her later antagonism); Sītā sees Rāma from a window **before** the breaking of the bow (cf. *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*) **[abstract in Leiden folder]**

Are the considerable number of minor narrative details shared (sometimes exclusively) between Raṅganātha and Eẓuttaccan at all significant?

acc. to Naidu (?1971), *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* has the following individual features:  
i) Janaka got Sīta from the earth while ploughing (1.27) [numbering differs from Nagar]  
ii) Lakṣmaṇa gets two boons from Nidrādevī: one a long sleep for his wife Urmilā for 14 years of exile, the other perpetual wakefulness for himself then (2.3-5)  
iii) as in *Paümacariya,* L. cuts off the head of Śūrpaṇakhā’s son accidentally (3.4-5)  
iv) L. draws **seven** lines round the hut before leaving Sītā (3.14)  
v) story of Kālanemi at the time of Hanumān’s flight to the Himālaya (6.103-106).

notes from Malayavasini 2007:

When Rāvaṇa tries to cross seven lines drawn by L., flames stop him. [**not** in Nagar]

Lakṣmaṇa comes across sword hanging in air, tests it on the bamboo clump where Jambukumāra [Jambumālin in Nagar] is doing *tapas* (sword sent by Sūrya to J. but ignored because Sūrya did not come in person). J.’s mother Śūrpaṇakhā finds decapitated body, learns from nearby *munis* that her son was killed by a young prince dressed as an ascetic, and goes to Rāma’s hut, but anger turns to lust at sight of Rāma.

Squirrel wants to help build causeway, wets body and rolls in sand, then shakes it off on *setu;* Rāma notices, asks Sugrīva to fetch her, fondles her, drawing the 3 lines.

During battle for Laṅkā, Bharata dreamt that R. + L. are drowning in mud; taking this as an ill omen, he performed a *pūjā* for their health and life.

Indrajit given a wife, Sulocanā, who goes herself to battlefield to recover his body when Rāvaṇa says he is unable to. Rāma, impressed by her courage, tells Aṅgada to hand over Indrajit’s body.

Kaikasī, Rāvaṇa’s mother, comes dressed all in white to advise him to return Sītā.

Vibhīṣaṇa reveals to Rāma about the pot of nectar at Rāvaṇa’s navel and advises him to aim at it (cf. *Adhyātma Rām.*).

In *Uttarakāṇḍa* (by B. R.’s sons; *Yuddhakāṇḍa* complete but no suggestion that this is the end of the telling) explanation for Rāvaṇa’s 10 heads: Viśvavasu ignored Kaikasī’s desire for children for 10 periods, so when he does impregnate Kaikasī Rāvaṇa is born with 10 heads.

Sahai 1976: 25 – mentions female fish attacking the causeway but not birth of a son to her.

Zvelebil 1987: xxxviii-ix notes that it contains episode of Rāvaṇa performing a *pātāḷahoma,* disturbed by Hanumān and other vānaras and compares other S. India tellings.

6.978-87 [from Nagar (trans.) 2001]

[Ocean advises Rāma to have causeway built by Nala, monkey son of Viśvakarman]

‘During childhood, in a forest of the Vindhya mountain, he used to play in the hermitage of the sage Kaṇva. Whenever the sage consecrated images of gods for adoration, then Nala used to throw them in the streams of the forest. On his return, the sage came to know of the reality. Getting enraged he thought of punishing him but an idea flashed in his mind that the young monkey was not quite appropriate for awarding punishment. He then deeply thought of a plan to get back the lost things. Looking at the child, the sage thought of a way out and declared that, “whatever was thrown by Nala into the water, even if it is a straw, it would keep on floating over the surface of the water.” With the pronouncing of the boon, the images, thrown by Nala in the water, came out and started floating over the water surface. The sage collected them. O lord of the earth, I assure you that till the construction of the bridge in a proper manner, I shall remain with great devotion. You send for Nala.’

[*The floating property is not reflected in Nala’s subsequent construction of the causeway/  
bridge, which he performs using the skill he has learned/inherited from his father.*]

**title (and author)** *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇa* of Tikkaṇa Somayājī

**date (and provenance)** mid 13th century (Telugu)

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Chenchiah, P., and M. Bhujanga Rao 1928: *A history of Telugu literature* (Calcutta: Association press / London: Oxford University Press). **Ind. Inst. 19 B 45**

Kulasekhara Rao, M. 1988: *A History of Telugu Literature* (Hyderabad: M. Indira Devi): 42-44.

**notes** in 10 cantos and entirely in verse, with no prose (*nirvacana*)

Tikkaṇa’s *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇa* is dedicated to Manumasiddhi, the Telugu Cōḷa ruler of Nellore 1248-63 A.D. (whose chief minister Tikkaṇa was). It is based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, so sometimes thought to be a completion of the *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* or of the lost *Rāmāyaṇa* of Bhāskara, Tikkaṇa’s grandfather. [from Kulasekhara Rao, 1988: 42]

Bhāskara’s grandson Tikkaṇa composed a *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇa,* “an all-verse composition relating the story of Rāma after his coronation, and describing his reign, his conquests and his death. ... For some reason or other he did not finish the last canto, but Jayantī Rāmabhut completed it later on.”  
 (Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao 1928: 46)

“In this *Uttara Rāmāyaṇa,* Tikkanna had dealt with two kinds of stories, the first being the stories of Rama and Sita, and second being the old episodes of Ravana. The coronation of Rama, the married life of Rama and Sita, the exile of Sita, the agony of Rama, the Horse sacrifice done by Rama, singing of Ramayana by Lava and Kusa in the court of Rama, Sita’s descent into earth etc., are included in the first part. The dialogue between Ravana and Rambha, Ravana’s journey to Kailasa, etc., come under episodes of Ravana. The story of Hanuma [sic] is also narrated in a suitable context in this work.” (Kulasekhara Rao, 1988: 44)

**title (and author)** *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa* ascribed to Huḷḷakki Bhāskara

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

**edition(s)** *Bhāskararāmāyaṇamu: Āraṇyakāṇḍamu* (Madras, 1867). **(IND) 19 B 109**

*Bhāskararāmāyaṇamu: Bālakāṇḍamu.tippaṇamu,* Rēkamu Rāmānujasūri (Madras, 1873)  
 **(IND) 19 B 111**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Chenchiah, P., and M. Bhujanga Rao 1928: *A history of Telugu literature* (Calcutta: Association press / London: Oxford University Press). **Ind. Inst. 19 B 45**

M. Kulasekhara Rao, *A History of Telugu Literature* (Hyderabad, 1988): 81-89. **photocopied**

**notes** in *campū* form, based on *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* in many places; about three-fifths of the length of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*

Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao (1928: 24) “Huḷḷaki Bhāskara, the author of *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa,* dedicated it to Sāhiṇimāra, a cavalry officer of the king” [i.e. Pratāparudra II (1295-1323) of Kākatīya dynasty].

other Telugu *Rāmāyaṇas* (besides those separately listed below); most info. from Kulasekhara Rao 1988 (to which page numbers refer):

Eṟṟa Preggaḍa (? 2nd half of 14th century), the author of an *Āndhra Mahābhārata,* seems also to have written a now lost *Rāmāyaṇa.* [pp. 62 + 66]

Maḍiki Siṅgana (1st half of 15th century) wrote a *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa,* based on the *Jñāna Vasiṣṭha* in Sanskrit (i.e. *Yogavāsiṣṭha*) in six sections.

*Dvipada Rāmāyaṇa* by Tāḷḷapāka Annamaya (or Annamācārya, trad. 1408 - 1503); 15th century (in *dvipada* metre); **?** no longer extant [but **see** *Sri Ramayanamu by Katta Varadaraju* I.xv]Author known for devotional *padas* to Veṅkaṭeśvara of Tirupati.

Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra (mid 16th century at court of Kṛṣṇadevarāya) wrote a *prabandha Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Rāmābhyudayam,* in eight *āśvāsas*. Sītā accompanies Rāma into the forest without knowing the reason and is only told by Rāma once they are there; Rāma himself (not Lakṣmaṇa) mutilates Śūrpaṇakhā. [pp. 214-16]

Piṅgaḷi Śūrana (16th century?) was the author of five works, including a *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* (a *dvyarthī kāvya* in Telugu) on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* simultaneously. [pp. 228-29]

Mariṅganti Siṅgarāchārlu (16th century) wrote two *niroṣṭhya* (without labials) works: *Daśarathanandanacaritra* (a brief treatment of the whole *Rāmāyaṇa*) and Ś*uddhandraniroṣṭhyasītākalyāna* [diacritics?] (up to the wedding of Sītā with Rāma), both in *prabandha* style. [pp. 245-46]

Raghunātha Nāyak, ruler of Tanjore 1600-31, credited with a *Rāmāyaṇa* but only four cantos from the Bālakāṇḍa published; a *campū kāvya.*  Extant part covers up to the birth of Rāma and his brothers (1-3), with a description of Śvetadvīpa, Viṣṇu’s abode, in canto 4. Raghunātha is also credited with a *Vālmīkicaritra* in *prabandha* form, which has Vālmīki as the highwayman converted by the *saptarṣis.* [pp. 275-76]. Raghunātha Nāyak’s poem was reworked in Sanskrit as the *Rāmāyaṇasāra* by Madhuravāṇī.

also *Uttararāmāyaṇam* of Kaṅkaṇṭi Pāparāju (c. 1575-1630), in 8 *āśvāsas* and c. 3000 verses

18th-century versions: *Śaṅkara Rām.* of Timmanna, *Mulabala Rām.* of Haridāsa, *Adhyātma Rām.* of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa

Narayana Rao 2001: 166-67 lists, with some comments, many later Telugu versions.

**title (and author)** *Mollā Rāmāyaṇa* of Atukuri Mollā (trad. 1440-1530 A.D.)

**date (and provenance)** 14th or 15th century / 16th century (Telugu, in c. 900 verses)

**edition(s)** *Mollā Rāmāyaṇa* 1925: *Molla Ramayanam,* by Atukuri Molla (Vizianagram: R. Sanjeevi Row & Son). [entirely in Telugu script]  
 **BL:** Asia, Pacific & Africa 14174.i.27(10)

**translation(s)**

**studies** 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**

Jackson, William J. 2005: “Two poets of the people: Shripadaraya and Atukuri Molla”, in idem, *Vijayanagara voices: exploring South Indian history and Hindu literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate): 74-90 (= ch. 5). **pp.80-90 photocopied**

M. Kulasekhara Rao, *A History of Telugu Literature* (Hyderabad, 1988), pp. 242-3 **photocopied**

Tharu, Susie J. and Ke Lalita 1991-93: *Women writing in India: 600 B.C. to the present,* 2 vols (New York: Feminist Press): I, 94-98. **Bod. / OIL (IND) Ind gen e 226 Ref.**  
[of limited value; states (p.95) extent as 138 verses in six *kāṇḍas*]

**notes** a relatively condensed and simple version of the story, but influenced by *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* as well as *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa.* Mollā is placed in 2nd half of 16th century by Kulasekhara Rao (1988: 242-3 — the only point of significance here)

Kulasekhara Rao 1988: 242 – “composed only 871 verses, in addition to some prose passages to narrate the entire story of Rama.”

in text edn (ref. above) the work is divided into 7 sections (? = kāṇḍas), divided into 125 + 74 + 27 + 235 + 120 + 93 + 138 units (? verses + accompanying prose ? = *campū*)

Mollā traditionally daughter of a Liṅgāyat/Vīraśaiva potter named Kesana or Keśava in Gopavaram (c. 80 km north of Kadapa); her name means ‘jasmine’ (cf. her declaration that she writes by the grace of the lord Śrīkaṇṭhamalleśa). Both father and daughter were Śaivas

episodes included (acc. to Nagar, *Raṅganātha* preface, p. xi):   
 Rāma’s breaking of bow after other princes flee at sight of it  
 marriages of Sītā, Māṇḍavī, Urmilā and Śrutakīrti  
 Sītā holds straw in hand when speaking to Rāvaṇa  
 Sītā rejects Hanumān’s offer to carry her back to Rāma

Her narration of Ramayana is crisp and is roughly 900 verses long. Mollamamba has exercised a significant amount of liberty in her narrative and has not religiously stuck to Valmiki’s narrative. She has condensed the extensive descriptions of the flora and fauna that Valmiki has indulged in his original version and has focussed only on the plot. Other episodes overlooked in Molla’s Ramayana are the Lakshmana Rekha episode (which is absent even in Valmiki’s version as it was only a creation of Tulsidas in Rama Charita Manas), Uttara Ramayana or the story after the Pattabhisheka of Rama, dialogue between Jabali and Rama and some of the sub plots. She has taken the liberty of attributing Rama’s lament and rage after Sita’s Abduction to Lakshmana.   
[from URL http://historyunderyourfeet.wordpress.com/2014/09/26/creators-of-telugu-epic-literature-kummara-molla/]

Srinivasan 1984: II, 99 – In the Mollarāmāyaṇamu, too, there is only one boon, and again the occasion for granting it is not specified. Of interest is that there is no reference, not only to Kaikeyī’s feminine influence over the king, but none also to Mantharā and her machinations. What we find is a discreet allusion to Kaikeyī fully satisfying the king in the night, and then the statement that “she knew that he would content her” for that.

Dev Sen 1997:

**p.166** [Mollā] Her Ramayana is a superbly crafted praise-book of Rama. ... It was self-consciously created in the “Great Tradition” [*in distinction to Candrāvatī*]

[*a Śaiva, śūdra, perhaps royal concubine*. *Highly erotic. Warfare narrated.*   
*pp.169, 176: her Rm banned from court for caste and gender*]

**p.169** Her Ramayana was clearly meant for court.  
... exquisite erotic imagery.   
... She makes Sita quite insignificant [*no birth story*]

**p.175** Molla, too, effectively challenged the male epic tradition, but from within, by stricly following the rules in an impeccable,

**p.176** superior style. Writing a perfect epic as a woman, and a lower-caste woman at that, was an undeniably subversive act.

**p.177** [Molla was] writing in the male tradition. ... We hear neither her own voice, nor Sita’s.

Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: 78 —  
Le *Molla Rāmāyaṇa* (MR) a été rédigé par la poétesse Molla dont les dates sont controversées. Dans son texte, on trouve l’intéressant passage dans lequel Guha lave les pieds de Rāma avant de le faire monter dans son embarcation, de peur que la poussière sur les pieds de Rāma ne la transforme en femme. Suite à la rédemption d’Ahalyā, Guha a entendu dire que la poussière des pieds du héros transformait les pierres en femmes, pourquoi pas les bateaux ! Cette variante se trouve également dans l’ĀR.

[Another Telugu poet, Ayyala Tippurāju (court poet of Prauḍha-Dēvarāya, 1423-46 A.D.), composed a *Śrīraghuvīraśatakamu* (source: Surendra Reddy 2005: 100)]

**title (and author)** *Torave Rāmāyaṇa* of Narahari (*alias* Kumāra Vālmīki)

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

**edition(s)** *Torave Rāmāyaṇa* 1981: *Torave Rāmāyaṇa,* ed. S.S. Byātanāḷa (Beṅgaḷūru: Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣattu). **BL**

**translation(s)** Narahari 2004: Torvey Rāmāyaṇa, by Torvey Narahari (Kumāra Vālmīki), trans. by Shantilal Nagar (Delhi: B.R. PC). **own copy**  
[English trans. based on the Hindi trans. published by Bhuvan Vani Trust Lucknow]

**studies**

**notes** so-called because written in Torave, Bijapur District; has over 5,000 verses. Narahari gives a highly developed view of Rāma as gentle (e.g. to weary Sītā and in crow episode) and, for example, he offers peace to Khara. Rāma’s identity with Viṣṇu is clear throughout, to the extent that it can be hard to tell whether Rāma or Viṣṇu is acting (for example, it is unclear which one created the boar to enable Lakṣmaṇa to shoot Śambūka), yet Viṣṇu also remains in heaven, consorting with the other gods. Narahari is also familiar with Jain versions — he uses a modified Śambūka episode and hints of Rāma’s lion’s roar in the battle with Khara — but he does not use them to further his narrative. Although he does not include an Uttarakāṇḍa, basic elements from it occur throughout (Rāvaṇa’s capture of the gods, Sītā’s banishment and taking refuge with Vālmīki, her sons’ education and being taught the *Rāmāyaṇa*).

Narahari’s work seems to have inspired the Yakṣagāna folk theatre.

according to Naidu 1971, Fire takes away half the portion of Sītā before her abduction (3.9), but this is not found in Nagar’s translation.

**title (and author)** *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam* of Niraṇam Rāma Paṇikkar

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

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Ramachandran, Puthussery 2020: *Index of Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam* (Thiruvananthapuram: International School of Dravidian Linguistics).

Sherraden, Aaron Charles 2019a: *The many deaths of Śambūka: a history of variation in the Rāmāyaṇa tradition* (PhD thesis, University of Texas at Austin): 158-60. **PDF from author**[cf. Sherraden 2023: 107-9]

**notes** *pāṭṭu* (song) form in 3059 verses in several metres

Niraṇam — place in Tiruvalla, central Travancore, site of Kaṇṇaśśan parambu, home of the Niraṇam poets. Rāma Paṇikkar in last 3 stanzas of his *Uttararāmāyaṇam* gives a genealogy from his grandfather Karuṇēśan (whence supposedly Kaṇṇaśśan). One ms of the *K. Rāmāyaṇam* apparently dated 1440 (perhaps prepared in Rāman’s lifetime). *K. Rām.* dramatises meeting of the two Rāmas (possibly reflecting antagonism to Paraśurāma as a symbol of brāhman superiority); its descr. of Sītā dancing like a peacock when Rāma breaks the bow taken over by Eẓuttaccan, who makes it a peahen.

**title (and author)** *Rāmāyaṇacampū* attributed to Punam Nampūtiri

**date (and provenance)** probably 2nd half of 15th century (Malayāḷam)

**edition(s)** *Rāmāyaṇacampū* 1982: *Bhāṣārāmāyaṇa Campu,* ed. by V. Vēṅkiṭṭarāma Śarma (Trichur: Kerala Sahitya Akkademi, 1982; 1st edn 1967). **(unverified; NOT on COPAC)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** George, K.M. 1968: *A Survey of Malayalam Literature* (Bombay/New York: Asia Pub. House): 88-89. **photocopied**(grey box file)

**notes** It is divided into 20 *prabandhas* each built round a major episode (beginning with birth of Rāvaṇa and ending with Rāma’s *svargārohaṇa*), with a total length of around 2,000 stanzas and 150 prose sequences; composed in *maṇipravālam* and intended as a text for *pāḍakam* a one-man dramatic performance in temples.

Menon 1940: 23 – “The authorship of Campus, as I have already observed, is very often a thorny question, owing to the fact that they were handled for professsional purposes by Cākkyārs who were often guilty of addition and subtraction and plagiarism. An incredibly large number of campus which form the majority of this class of literature are assigned to Punam. He is indisputably the author of Rāmāyaṇa Campu, in which the whole story has been divided into a number of episodes. Sīta Svayamvaram is the most typical.”

**see** Freeman 2001: 214 [= *Questioning Rms***, own copy**] and Freeman 2003: 476-7 (**photocopy** in grey box file)

**title (and author)** *Kauśika Rāmāyaṇa* of Battaleśvara

**date (and provenance)** ± 1500 / 16th-17th centuries (Kannaḍa)

**edition(s)** Battaleśvara 1966:  *Kauśikarāmāyaṇa, varakavibattaleśvaraviracita* (Puttūru: Haṃsa Prakaṭaṇālaya). **BL**

**translation(s)** Battaleśvara 1999: K*auśika rāmāyaṇa* [Hindi trans.] (Lucknow: Bhuvan Vani Trust).

**studies**

**notes** ?? same as Battatīśvara (**see** RR: 274)

in 44 chapters (and 2,516 units); Vīraśaiva oriented

includes the story of Ahirāvaṇa and Mahirāvaṇa, as well as Rāma’s abduction to Pātāḷa Laṅkā from where Hanumān rescues him (Zvelebil 1987: xxxviii)

has a variant of the story of Śambūka as Śūrpaṇakhā’s son killed by Lakṣmaṇa (**see** Sitaramiah 1980: 191)

**title (and author)** *Attiyātuma Rāmāyaṇam* of Eẓuttaccan

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

**edition(s)** Eẓuttaccan1995:  *Attiyātuma Rāmāyaṇam,* *kiḷippāṭṭ’ Tuñcatt’ Eḷuttacchan,* saṃsodhanam M. S. Candraśekharavāriyar (Kottayam: D. C. Books). **BL**

**translation(s)** Eẓuttaccan1978:  *Adhyatma Ramayana: Uttara Ramayana,* tr. by N.P. Kuttana Pillai (Lucknow: Bhunauani Trust)*.*

Eẓuttaccann.d.:  *Adhyathma Ramayanam,* tr. by P.R. Ramachander, ed. by T.N. Sethumadhavan, vol. 1. Bala Kandam & Ayodhya Kandam. **analysed**  
 downloaded **from http://www.esamskriti.com/essays/ARamayan-Vol\_1.pdf**

Eẓuttaccann.d.:  *Adhyathma Ramayanam,* tr. by P.R. Ramachander, Aranya Kandam, Kishkinda Kandam, Sundar Kandam, Yuddha Kandam. **analysed**[by kāṇḍa only]downloadedfrom **http://www.hindupedia.com/en/**[Aranya\_Kandam, etc.]

**studies** Gabriel, Theodore 1993: “Parrot song — Tuncatteruttaccan and the Hindu epics”, *South Asia Research (London)* 13.1: 56-65. **scan**

Menon, Chelnat Achyuta 1940: *Ežuttaccan and his Age,* Madras University Malayāḷam Department Series, no. 6 (Madras: University of Madras). **(IND)**

Nair, Radhakrishnan 1995: “Politics of Retelling: Hymnodic Subversion of Ramayana”, paper presented at the 12th International Rāmāyaṇa conference, Leiden.  
 **copy in Leiden folder**

Pillai, K. Raghavan 1986: *Ezhuttacchan,* Makers of Indian Literature, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi. **Ind. Inst. Ind gen d 71 (65);** *v. general, no real value*

Satchidanandan, K. 2007: “Ezhuthaccan’s Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa Tradition” in Singh (ed.) 2007: 181-210. pp. 192-3, 196-9 and 206-7 **photocopied**

Thampi, P. Padmanabhan 1995: “Ramayanas of Kampan and Eḻuttacchan”, paper presented at the 12th International Rāmāyaṇa conference, Leiden. **copy in Leiden folder**

Thampi, P. Padmanabhan 1996: *Ramayanas of Kampan and Eḻuttacchan* (Thuckalay: O. Padmakumari). **Ind. Inst. 4.4.8.7 — some pages photocopied**

Thomas, A.J. 2021: “Making of a language and the making of a bhakti text: the story of the composition of Tunćat Ezhuttaććan’s Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇaṃ Kiḷippāṭṭu”, in Dhar 2021a: 217-31. **own copy (vol.)**

Unithiri, N.V.P. 1998: “*Adhyātmarāmāyana* and its Malayalam *Kiḷippāṭṭu* version”, in Nanavati 1998: 306-10. [*no use for Eẓuttaccan*] **(IND) 4.1. 29**

**notes n.b.** photocopies (in grey box file) of Thampi 1996: 206-7 + 220-27, Chaitanya 1971: 132-37 and Freeman 2003: 480-81.

6 sections (Bāla to Yuddha)

Bālakāṇḍa 1700 lines

Ayodhyā 3188

Araṇya 2040

Kiṣkindhā 2285

Sundara 1474

Yuddha 5154

Thampi 1996 references are to *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇam (Kiḷippāṭṭu)*, crit. ed. by A.D. Harisarma (repr. 1977 Kottayam: Sahitya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society). **check**

Eẓuttaccan = “father of writing”; an *Irupatthinālu Vrittham* (“24 metres”) in 800 *ślokas,* as well as a Mahābhārata in *kiḷippāṭṭu* form, are attributed to him, as is doubtfully an Uttara, the *Uttararāmāyaṇaṃ kiḷippāṭṭu.* He lived some time between 1425 and 1625, either in first half of this period (Pillai 1986) or in 16th century (Thampi 1996); traditionally born in a Nayar family called Tuñcattu at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr (in Tirur, Malappuram dist.; but see Thomas 2121: 220), he apparently became a schoolmaster; traditionally also created the modern Malayāḷam script of 51 letters. Incorporation of some Portuguese terms must place his work in 16th century at earliest (Thomas 2021: 221).

*Attiyātuma Rāmāyaṇam* based on *VR* and to some extent the *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇa* but Eẓuttaccan treats various incidents in a novel and more poetic manner than his original (*RR* p.274; cf. Sherraden 2019a: 168-70).

Eẓuttaccan links the narratives of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābharata in his *kiḷippāṭṭu Bhārata* by making Jara, the hunter who kills Kṛṣṇa, Vālin reborn to avenge his killing by Rāma.

Are the considerable number of minor narrative details shared (sometimes exclusively) between Raṅganātha and Eẓuttaccan at all significant? There is a tradition of reading it aloud throughout the last month of the Malayāḷam calendar, Karkaṭakam (July-August), at the height of the monsoon.

other MUSLIM tellings in **KERALA**

Richman 2008a: 18

Muslims in the Malabar region of Kerala developed their own telling of Ramkatha ... In addition, for generations, Muslim Tamil savants have studied and commented upon *Iramavataram*.  
[p.35n.40 Umaru Pulavar (ca. 1665-1773), a Muslim Tamil poet, wrote an epic on the Prophet’s life using Tamil literary conventions in ways inspired by Kamban’s *Iramavataram*. For *Iramavataram* in the Tamil Islamic community, see Narayanan (2001: 266-73) [=  *Questioning Rms*].]

p.22 Yet the transition from oral rendition to print can sometimes be an explosive one ... *Mappila Ramayana* [Richman 2008a: 193-200] ... had circulated among Mappilas, Muslims living in the forested Malabar area of Kerala, but had remained virtually unknown outside that area until 1976 when M.N. Karassery [Hindu brāhman !] transcribed it ... and later published it in Malayalam. Some Non-Mappila Muslims in Kerala insisted that Muslims would *not* sing such a song because it dealt with a “Hindu” story.

see also Rich Freeman at Richman 2008a: 193-200.

see also Narayan 2001 for Muslim commentators on Kampaṉ in Tamilnad

**title (and author)**  *Takkai Rāmāyaṇam* by Emperumān Kavirāyar of Tirucceṅgōṭu

**date (and provenance)** c. 1580 (Tamil)

**edition(s)** *Thakkai Ramayanam,* ed. K. Arunachala Gounder, 2 vols,kāṇḍas 1-5 (Chennai: Tamil Nadu State Archaeological Department, 1983).

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** condensation (to about one third) of Kampaṉ’s *Irāmāvatāram,* sung to the accompaniment of a small drum called *takkai.*

Date: Mon, 18 Mar 1996 11:11:52 -0600 (CST)

From: NAS\_NG@vaxp.jsc.nasa.gov.

takkai rAmAyaNam (1580 A.D, tamil) follows Kampan's story from beginning to end. takkai R. has been sung in a way so that it can be used for oral performances, set to "tALam" of takkai, a small drum.

takkai rAmAyaNam is a beautiful, simple, lucid work. (eLimai, teLivu, curukkam) and follows Kampan (9th century.) poem by poem. Almost like a commentary for Kampan. Depending on the place, takkai R. condenses three or two or one poem(s) of Kampan into one song showing the essence of Kampan's genius.

Even though there are about 10-15 Ramayanas in Tamil, including a Jain one, none follows Kampan literally like takkai R. A. K. Ramanujan wrote a classic paper on 300 versions of ramayana in India. He was planning an english book on Kampan along with D. Shulman. Now that AKR is gone to meet Kampan himself in heaven. however, it is a loss down here on earth for South Indian studies. There are other condensations in tamil, usually they turn out to be "harder" than even the originals and they are no longer good poetry where as takkai r. succeeds in its intent to a large extent.

Thanks,

N. Ganesan

more on takkai rāmāyaṇa: Kampan's 10500 classic viruttam poems condensed into 3250 songs by Emperuman.

Kampan praises his patron, Cataiyappa Vallal in about ten places in his Ramayanam as part of thanksgiving. There is a nice story of how it came about. Originally when Kampan introduced his masterpiece to his peers in Srirangam, he praised his protector once in 100 poems. The Srirangam pundits protested this narastuti saying they have no place in God's story; Kampan would not agree. Finally, a compromise was reached so that Kampan can sing about Cataiyappan in 10 places in his 10000-verse Ramayana. Kampan said, "Ah! My Cataiyan is indeed rare. He is one among thousand, not one in hundred." In the takkai Ramayanam at the same places of the Kampa Ramayanam where Cataiyan is eulogized, Emperuman praises Morur Nallathampi, a local chieftain who commissioned his work.

takkai R. is an aesthetic retelling of Kampan in a different metre. takkai rAmAyaNam helps in understanding which are true kampan's poems and about interpolations. Because it is about 400 years-old and a tribute to Kampan, we can confidently say that one particular poem is by kampan if it is redone by emperumAn of takkai rAmAyaNam and not a "mikaip pATal" by someone else. There are lot of examples. In addition to comparing various manuscripts from different places of different periods, takkai R. serves as an aid to get at the Ur-text of Kampan. Only the first five Kandams have come out. (k. aruNAcala kavuNTar, emperumAn kavirAyar pATiya takkai irAmAyaNam, 2v., first five cantos, 1983, Dept. of Archaeology, Madras). Yuddha Kantam is being readied for publication by N. Ganesan.

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

**date (and provenance)** Kannaḍa, c. 1770

**edition(s)** *Śrīmadrāmāyaṇaṃ veṅkāmātyakaviviracitaṃ,* ed. by T. Chandrasekharan, Madras Government oriental manuscripts series, nos. 20, 36, 43, 52, 63 (Madras: Government Press, 1952-57). [Bāla to Sundara kāṇḍas] **(IND) 19 E 37/20, 36,43,52,63**

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** in *vardhaka ṣaṭpadī* metre, closely based on Vālmīki *Rām.*

other Kannaḍa versions:

the *Śeṣarāmāyaṇa,* contained within Lakṣmīśa’s *Jaiminibhārata* (C15-16) [source: Sitaramiah 1980: 189],

the *Rāmavijayacarita* by Devappa, based on Guṇabhadra, in the 16th century (c. 1540),

the *Kauśika Rāmāyaṇa* by Battaleśvara from the 16th or 17th centuries,

the *Cāmarājoktivilāsa* by, or at the court of, a 17th-century Wodeyar ruler (Goswamy 2007: 166-68),

from around the middle of the 17th century an *Uttara Rāmāyaṇa* by Tirumala Vaidya and an adaptation of the *Rāmopākhyāna* by Timmarasa, entitled *Mārkaṇḍeya Rāmāyaṇa* (Rice 1918: 58-59, 92)

*Rāmāyaṇa* of Veṅkāmātya (c. 1770)

**title (and author)** *Śrī Rāmāyaṇamu* of Kaṭṭā Varadarāja

**date (and provenance)** c. 1660, Telugu

**edition(s)** Kaṭṭā Varadarāja 1950-53: *Sri Ramayanamu by Katta Varadaraju,* critically ed. with intro. and notes by Sri N. Venkata Rao, 4 vols, Madras Government Oriental Series 50 (Tanjore: T.M.S.S. Mahal Library, 1950-53).  
 **Ind. Inst. 19 F 6/50** (vols 1-2 only) / **BL** (3 only) / **CUL** (? all); **I.x-xix photocopied** [vol. I = Bāla and Ayodhyā kāṇḍas; vol. II = Araṇya and Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍas]

**translation(s)**

**studies**

**notes** follows VR quite closely (in 23,170 *dvipada* verses over six *kāṇḍas*)