

# The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki



## रामायणं वाल्मीकीयं

AN EPIC OF ANCIENT INDIA

*Volume I: Bālakāṇḍa*

Introduction and Translation by Robert P. Goldman

PRINCETON LIBRARY OF ASIAN TRANSLATIONS



THIS is the first of seven volumes that will present a complete and fully annotated translation of the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. This great Sanskrit epic of ancient India has profoundly affected the literature, art, religions, and cultures of countless millions of people in South and Southeast Asia—an influence that is perhaps unparalleled in the history of world literature. For the first time it has here been translated on the basis of the critical edition (Oriental Institute, Baroda), which is based on manuscripts representing all recensional traditions.

In this first volume Robert P. Goldman, general editor of the translation, has written a major scholarly introduction and, in collaboration with Sally J. Sutherland, assistant editor, has given copious annotation dealing with the poem's numerous textual and exegetical problems, drawing on the contributions of generations of Sanskrit commentators. Forthcoming volumes will be translated by other members of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Translation Consortium as follows:

*Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, by Sheldon I. Pollock  
*Araṇyakāṇḍa*, by Sheldon I. Pollock  
*Kuśīndhākāṇḍa*, by Rosalind J. Lefebvre  
*Sundarakāṇḍa*, by Robert P. Goldman  
*Yuddhakāṇḍa*, by Barend A. van Nooten  
*Uttarakāṇḍa*, by Sally J. Sutherland.

India has many versions of the story of Rāma composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and various vernaculars of the north and south. Yet the ancient Sanskrit version, attributed to the sage-poet Vālmiki, by tradition the first work of true poetry, is the source revered throughout India as the original account of the career of Rāma, ideal man and incarnation of the great god Viṣṇu.

Robert P. Goldman is Professor of Sanskrit at the University of California, Berkeley. Sally J. Sutherland is a Lecturer in Sanskrit at the University of California, Berkeley. The noted poet Leonard E. Nathan is serving as editorial consultant for the translation project.

*Princeton Library of Asian Translations*





# The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki

AN EPIC OF ANCIENT INDIA

*Volume I*  *Bālakāṇḍa*

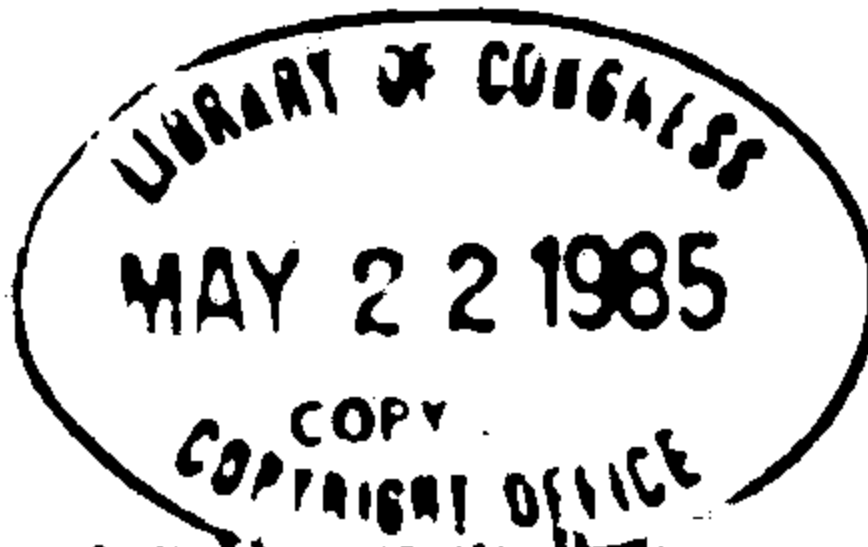
Introduction and Translation by Robert P. Goldman

Annotation by Robert P. Goldman and Sally J. Sutherland

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS : PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY



*For Jesse and Seth*



Copyright © 1984 by Princeton University Press

Published by Princeton University Press, 41 William Street, Princeton,  
New Jersey 08540

In the United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, Guildford, Surrey

All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data will be found on the last  
printed page of this book

ISBN 0-691-06561-6

Publication of this book has been aided by a grant from the Henry A. Laughlin  
Fund of Princeton University Press

This book has been composed in Linotron Baskerville

Clothbound editions of Princeton University Press books are printed on acid-free  
paper, and binding materials are chosen for strength and durability

Printed in the United States of America by Princeton University Press,  
Princeton, New Jersey

The translation of this volume was made possible through a grant from the  
translation program of the National Endowment for the Humanities,  
an independent federal agency, to which we would like to express  
our deep appreciation.

*Frontispiece:* The destruction of the hermitage of the sage Vasistha  
by his rival Visvāmitra. From the "Jagat Singh Ramayana," 17th c. British Library  
Add. 15295. By permission of the British Library.

13489



*The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India*

Robert P. Goldman, *General Editor*

Sally J. Sutherland, *Assistant Editor*

Leonard E. Nathan, *Editorial Consultant*

*Translators:* Robert P. Goldman, Rosalind Lefebvre,

Sheldon I. Pollock, Sally J. Sutherland, Barend A. van Nooten

PRINCETON LIBRARY OF ASIAN TRANSLATIONS

*Advisory Committee (South Asia):* Edward Dimock,

Barbara Stoler Miller, A. K. Ramanujan, Ralph Russell



*vāṇat sthāsyanti girayah saritāś ca mahitale  
tāvad rāmadhyanakathā lokesu pracariṣyati*

As long as the mountains and rivers shall endure  
upon the earth, so long will the story of the  
*Rāmāyana* be told among men.

—*Rām* 1.2.35



# Contents

|                                                                                      |         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| List of Abbreviations                                                                | ix      |
| Preface                                                                              | xiii    |
| Guide to Sanskrit Pronunciation                                                      | xix     |
| <br>PART I. INTRODUCTION                                                             | <br>1   |
| 1. General Introduction                                                              | 3       |
| 2. History and Historicity                                                           | 14      |
| 3. Introduction to the <i>Bālakāṇḍa</i>                                              | 60      |
| 4. The <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> Text and the Critical Edition<br><i>by Sheldon I. Pollock</i> | 82      |
| 5. Translating the <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i><br><i>by Leonard E. Nathan</i>                    | 94      |
| 6. The Translation and Annotation                                                    | 96      |
| <br>PART II. BĀLAKĀṆḌA                                                               | <br>119 |
| <br>PART III. NOTES                                                                  | <br>271 |
| <br>Glossary of Important Proper Nouns and Epithets                                  | <br>397 |
| Bibliography of Works Consulted                                                      | 403     |
| Index                                                                                | 417     |



# List of Abbreviations

*Manuscripts, Commentaries, and Editions Used in Volume 1, Following the Conventions Established in the Crit. Ed. of the Bālakāṇḍa (see pp. xiii-xiv)*

## I. MANUSCRIPTS

Northern Manuscripts (N) (21 MSS—including 10 Devanāgarī)

Northwestern Manuscripts

i. Ś Śāradā NW undated (= Ś1)

Northeastern Manuscripts

i. Ñ Nepālī

Ñ1 A.D. 1020

Ñ2 A.D. 1675

ii. V Maithilī

V1 A.D. 1360

V2 A.D. 1551

V3 A.D. 1831

V4 A.D. 1836

iii. B Bengālī

B1 A.D. 1688

B2 A.D. 1789

B3 A.D. 1832

B4 undated

iv. D Devanāgarī manuscripts aligned with N

D1 A.D. 1455 W

D2 A.D. 1594 W

D3 A.D. 1717 W

D5 A.D. 1786 NW

D7 A.D. 1817 NW

D9 A.D. 1848 W

D10 undated NE

D11 undated NW

D12 undated NW

D13 undated NW

Southern Manuscripts (S) (16 MSS—including 5 Devanāgarī)

i. T Telegu

T1 undated

T2 undated

T3 undated

ii. G Grantha

G1 A.D. 1818

G2 undated

G3 undated

G4 undated

iii. M Malayālam

M1 A.D. 1512

M2 A.D. 1690

M3 A.D. 1823

M4 undated

iv. D Devanāgarī manuscripts aligned with S

Dt the 'vulgate'; the version of Tilaka undated

D4 A.D. 1774

D6 A.D. 1796

D8 A.D. 1831

D14 undated

II. COMMENTARIES (Note: Spelling follows the conventions established by the crit. ed., see vol. 7, pp. 655-56.)

- Ck the commentary called the *Amṛtakataka* of Kataka Mādhav Yogīndra  
 Crā the commentary of Rāmānuja\*  
 Cm the commentary called *Tattvadīpikā* of Maheśvaratīrtha  
 Ctś the commentary called *Tanīśloki* of Ātreya Ahobala  
 Ct the commentary called *Tilaka* of Nāgesa Bhaṭṭa, composed in the name of Rāmavarmā  
 Cg the commentary called *Bhūṣaṇa* (the name of the commentary on the *Bālakāṇḍa* is the *Maṇimañjirā*) of Govindarāja  
 Cv the commentary called *Vivekatilika* of Varadarāja Uḍāli (Uḍāri)  
 Cmu the commentary called *Munibhāvaprakāśikā*—author unknown  
 Cr the commentary called *Rāmāyaṇa Śiromaṇi* of Vaṃśīdhara (Bansidhara) Śivasahāya\*

### III. EDITIONS

- GPP Gujarati Printing Press (also called the vulgate). *Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki*. 7 vols. Bombay: Gujarati Printing Press, 1914-1920. With three commentaries called *Tilaka*, *Shiromaṇi*, and *Bhooshana*.  
 VSP (Venkateśvara Steam Press). *Śrīmadvālmīkirāmāyaṇa*. 3 vols. Bombay: Lakṣmīvenkateśvara Mudraṇālaya, 1935. Edited by Gaṅgāviṣṇu Śrīkrṣṇadāsa.

### *Journals*

- AJP *American Journal of Philology*  
 ABORI *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*  
 AOR *Annals of Oriental Research (University of Madras)*  
 IA *Indian Antiquary*  
 IHQ *Indian Historical Quarterly*  
 IJ *Indo-Iranian Journal*  
 IL *Indian Linguistics*  
 IR *Indian Review*  
 JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*  
 JAS *Journal of Asian Studies*  
 JASB(L) *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal (Letters)*  
 JA *Journal Asiatique*  
 JBORS *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*  
 JIH *Journal of Indian History*

\* The crit. ed. reads Cr for the commentary of Rāmānuja and gives no abbreviation for the commentary of Vaṃśīdhara (Bansidhara) Śivasahāya.



|      |                                                                |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| JIP  | <i>Journal of Indian Philosophy</i>                            |
| JOIB | <i>Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda</i>               |
| JORM | <i>Journal of Oriental Research, Madras</i>                    |
| JRAS | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>                    |
| JUB  | <i>Journal of the University of Bombay</i>                     |
| PO   | <i>Poona Orientalist</i>                                       |
| QJMS | <i>Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society</i>                 |
| RO   | <i>Rocznik Orientalistyczny</i>                                |
| ZDMG | <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> |

*Commonly Quoted Sanskrit Texts*

|            |                       |         |                    |
|------------|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| AdhyāRā    | Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa      | PadmP   | Padmapurāṇa        |
| AmaK       | Amarakośa             | BhagGī  | Bhagavadgītā       |
| ĀpaŚS      | Āpastambaśrautasūtra  | BhāgP   | Bhāgavatapurāṇa    |
| ĀśvaŚS     | Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra | ManuSm  | Manusmṛti          |
| UttarāCa   | Uttararāmacarita      | MBh     | Mahābhārata        |
| AitBr      | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa     | RaghuVa | Raghuvaṃśa         |
| KumāSaṃ    | Kumārasaṃbhava        | Rām     | Rāmāyaṇa           |
| KauṭArthŚā | Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra  | VājaS   | Vājasaneyisaṃhitā  |
| ChāndoU    | Chāndogyopaniṣad      | VāmaP   | Vāmanapurāṇa       |
| Pā         | Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī   | ŚatBr   | Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa |

*Other Important Abbreviations*

|             |                                                                                       |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| crit. app.  | critical apparatus                                                                    |
| crit. ed.   | critical edition                                                                      |
| crit. notes | critical notes                                                                        |
| PW          | Petersburg Wörterbuch: Böhtlingk, Otto and Rudolph Roth. <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch</i> . |

## Preface

THE IDEA of preparing a scholarly, readable, and densely annotated translation of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* has fascinated me since the summer of 1969, when J. Moussaieff Masson and I read through and discussed substantial portions of the epic in the midst of the monkey-haunted forests of Mahableshwar. It struck us then, as indeed it must strike any serious student of the culture, history, or literature of India, that such a translation was one of the prime desiderata of Indological scholarship.

The completion of the critical edition of the poem by scholars associated with the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in 1975 made the need and timeliness of a new English translation all the greater, and it was in the year preceding the publication of that edition that I decided to commit myself to the enormous undertaking.

It was clear to me from the beginning of the project, however, that in view of the size of the text and the translator's obligation to give his audience the benefit of the varied and copious tradition of Sanskrit commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it would be impossible for one person to do the translation alone. I therefore decided to work with a small and dedicated group of scholars expert in the area of Sanskrit epic studies. The plan was to assign each of the epic's seven books to a different translator, each of whom would be responsible for the accuracy of his or her translation and the scholarship of the annotation. The basic questions of format, conventions, and style were to be decided at regular meetings of the group or consortium, and responsibility for seeing to it that stylistic consistency and general quality did not vary significantly from book to book was to be in my hands as general editor, working closely with the individual translators, the group as a whole, and an editorial consultant. The latter, not a Sanskritist, was to be chosen on the basis of recognized expertise in the area of literary criticism and reputation as an author.

Such was the plan of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Translation Consortium. Now, some seven years later, I can say with some satisfaction that it has proceeded, despite many problems of logistics and communication, very much as it was first envisioned. When the project was first announced to the world of Indology it met with both



considerable enthusiasm and not a little skepticism. Everyone agreed upon the need for a serious translation of the great epic, but some were alarmed by what they saw as a "committee translation," and felt that the work must end in either a characterless product or in a failure engendered by the impossibility of seven different scholars agreeing on such matters as style, conventions, and so on. How far we have justified either this enthusiasm or skepticism can only be judged by the readers of the work. However, I can say that the work has been and continues to be the most exciting and enriching scholarly interchange in which it has been my good fortune to participate. Those who have participated in the project are convinced that the constant access to the informed opinion of a body of *Rāmāyaṇa* scholars within the consortium has immeasurably enhanced both the accuracy and style of the translation and the value of the annotation.

As originally constituted, the group consisted of Rosalind Lefebvre of the University of Toronto, Bimal K. Matilal of Oxford University, Jeffrey Mousaieff-Masson, then at the University of Toronto, Barbara Stoler Miller of Barnard College, Barend A. van Nooten of the University of California, Berkeley, and me. Leonard E. Nathan, distinguished professor of Rhetoric at Berkeley and well-known poet served in the capacity of editorial consultant.

Over the course of the last five years, in the face of increasing demands in other areas of their work, Professors Miller, Masson, and Matilal have had to withdraw from active participation in the project, even though each of them had contributed enormously to the fundamental decisions on style, format, conventions, annotation, and countless other details. The consortium and the translation owe much to these scholars, and I should like to thank them here once again for their contribution to the project and for their continuing interest, support, and help.

During this same period two additional Sanskrit scholars joined the consortium, Sheldon I. Pollock of the University of Iowa and Sally J. Sutherland of the University of California, Berkeley.

The responsibilities of the members of the consortium as it is now constituted are as follows. I am the general editor and am responsible for the translation of the *Bāla* and *Sundara Kāṇḍas*, respectively the first and fifth books of the epic. Professor Pollock has undertaken responsibility for the *Ayodhyā* and *Aranya Kāṇḍas*, the second and third books of the poem. In addition to his energetic work on these two books, Professor Pollock has been unusually

generous with his time and assistance in the preparation of the *Bālakāṇḍa* for press. He read closely and carefully through the introduction, translation, and annotation, and made countless suggestions for improvement. In addition, he prepared a scholarly essay on the critical edition and the history of *Rāmāyaṇa* textual studies, which forms part of the introduction to the present volume. All of us involved with the project are grateful for his tireless efforts on behalf of the entire work.

Dr. Lefeber is responsible for the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, the fourth book of the epic. Her meticulous scholarship and attention to both the nuances of meaning and the niceties of style have set a standard for all of us.

Professor van Nooten is responsible for the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, the epic's sixth book. This book, nearly twice the size of some of the others, requires a special degree of dedication. Aside from his own work on this huge volume, his scholarship has contributed significantly to our understanding of a number of important technical terms in the poem.

Dr. Sutherland has performed varied and dedicated service for the project. In addition to her work on the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the seventh and last book of the epic, which is her responsibility, she collaborated with me on the annotation of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and assisted me in the revision, editing, and preparation of this volume. The meticulousness of her scholarship and her extraordinary dedication to all aspects of this enormous project have led to her appointment as assistant editor of the work as a whole. Without her selfless and exhausting work on the notes, the bibliography, and the many complex problems engendered by the use of the UNIX computer system, the present volume could not have appeared in print for several years.

Professor Nathan, too, has given unstintingly of his time, often braving our indignation in his efforts to demonstrate that our cherished "solutions" to various problems of translation must yield to the canons of contemporary literary English style. That he was almost always successful is as much a tribute to his tact, good sense, and human warmth as it is to his superb instinct for the appropriate diction. I should like to thank him for his patience during the many laborious, but frequently hilarious, hours we spent in his home reading aloud over and over again draft after draft of the translation of the present volume.

The work owes, in addition, countless debts to many individuals



and institutions whose advice, assistance, and support contributed to its progress. It is with great pleasure that I take the opportunity to thank them here.

First I should like to express my great debt of gratitude to my friend, colleague, and teacher, Pt. T. S. Śrīnivāsa Śāstrī of the Deccan College, Poona, who graciously, patiently, and learnedly read through the entire text of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and five Sanskrit commentaries on it during 1974-1975, clarifying for me dozens of points that seemed hopelessly obscure. His knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is breathtaking, and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that he knows the text virtually by heart. There is hardly a line of the translation and annotation that has not benefited in some way from his profound learning, deep insight into Sanskrit stylistics, and boundless generosity.

I should also like to express my thanks to Dr. V. W. Paranjpe, Dr. N. M. Sen, and Mr. K. Venugopalan of the Deccan College. Dr. Paranjpe and Mr. Venugopalan read through much of the text with Śrīnivāsa Śāstrī and me, and contributed innumerable valuable suggestions. Dr. Sen was always available to discuss, on the basis of his immense scholarship on the linguistic problems of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, any difficulties that the text presented.

Special thanks are owed to Dr. U. P. Shah of Baroda who, in his capacity as then general editor of the critical edition and director of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Department of the Oriental Institute, made available to me both the resources of his institute and the benefit of his enormous learning. My many discussions with him helped clarify a number of points on the history, geography, and ethnology of the epic.

I must also take this occasion to express my thanks to Professor S. D. Joshi, director of the Center for the Advanced Study of Sanskrit, Poona University, and to the late Professor V. Raghavan. Both of these distinguished scholars were always ready to draw upon the resources of their scholarship and the institutions with which they were affiliated to assist me with scholarly, material, or logistic problems that arose in connection with this work.

A project of this magnitude and duration requires and will continue to require a considerable amount of support beyond the time devoted to it by its principal participants. We have been fortunate in securing the material and financial support of a number of institutions, support without which it would have been impossible

to carry on the work. By far the most generous, consistent, and vital support for the project has been that provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities under its Translation Project Grant program. The *Rāmāyaṇa* Translation Project has, as of this date, been the recipient of two grants under this program (1977-1979 and 1980-1983), which have been the very lifeblood of the project, providing funds for salary replacement, travel for the all important annual meetings of the consortium members, and support for bibliographical and research assistants. Our special thanks are due to Dr. Susan Mango of the Endowment, the initiator and administrator of this vitally needed program, for her advice, encouragement, and unfailing support.

I must also express my appreciation to the American Institute of Indian Studies, whose Senior Fellowship enabled me to carry out the preliminary stages of my research and translation in India during 1974-1975, and to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, with whose support I was able to intensify my efforts on the translation in 1978-1979.

I should like also to express my thanks to the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies of the University of California, Berkeley, and its director, Dr. Bruce R. Pray, for funding and hosting the first meeting of the consortium and *Rāmāyaṇa* Conference in Berkeley during the spring of 1976, and to the College of Letters and Sciences and the Computer Center of the University of California, Berkeley, for the provision of computer terminals and a generous subsidy for computer time that enabled us to expedite the revision of the work enormously.

I must also thank Dr. Margaret Case and Princeton University Press for their support and encouragement and especially for their patient recognition that an enormous cooperative project such as this cannot be rushed for deadlines without losing much of its value.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to a number of individuals whose contributions made the work considerably easier than it might have been. First is Mr. Denis Charles Lahey, whose enthusiasm, ability, and hard work made us aware of and made available to us the tremendously enhanced efficiency of computer text editing and formatting. Without his help in programing and text editing, we might still be trying to dig our way out of an avalanche of the paper used in five drafts of the translation. It is thanks chiefly to him that we have no typist to thank.



Thanks are also owed to Margaret Kane of Harvard University and Pamela MacFarland, Keith Jefferds, Robert Kritzer, Penny Bertrang, Jeannette Flick, and Wayne Surdam of the University of California, Berkeley who worked long hours as research assistants and bibliographers in the service of the project.

Last of all, but certainly far from least, I should like to record here my thanks to Ms. Yvonne Kins, administrative assistant of the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, whose ungrudging and expert assistance with the numerous complex problems of applying for and administering the various grants and subsidies mentioned above permitted me to concentrate my efforts on the completion of the work.

*Robert Goldman*



# Guide to Sanskrit Pronunciation\*

The pronunciation of Sanskrit is usually not very difficult for English speakers. A few guidelines will serve to clarify the basic pronunciation of the sounds. English examples are based on hypothetical “dictionary” pronunciation.

## *Vowels*

- a like the u in “but”
- ā like the o in “mom”
- i like the i in “bit”
- ī like the ee in “beet”
- u like the first u in “suture”
- ū like the oo in “pool”
- ṛ something like the ri in “rig”
- e like the a in “gate”
- ai somewhat like the i in “high”; this sound becomes a diphthong to glide slightly into an “i” vowel.
- o like the o in “rote”
- au somewhat like the ou of “loud” with a similar lip-rounding glide.

## *Consonants*

- k like the k in “skate”
  - kh like the k in “Kate”
  - g like the g in “gate”
  - ṅ like the n in “sing”
  - c like the ch in “eschew”
  - ch like the ch in “chew”
  - j like the j in “jew”
  - ñ like the n in “cinch”
  - ṭ like the first t in “start”
  - ṭh like the first t in “tart”
  - ḍ like the d in “dart”
  - ṇ like the n in “tint”
  - t
  - th
  - d
  - dh
  - n
- } like the four preceding sounds, but with the tip of the tongue touching or extending slightly between the teeth

*\*adapted from Goldman and Sutherland 1980, pp. 4-8*

|    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| p  | like the p in "spin"                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| ph | like the p in "pin"                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| b  | like the b in "bin"                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| m  | like the m's in "mumps"                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| y  | like the y in "yellow"                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| r  | like the r in "drama"                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| l  | like the l in "lug"                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| v  | produced generally with just the slightest contact between the upper teeth and the lower lip; slightly greater than that used for English w (as in "wile") but less than that used for English v (as in "vile") |
| ś  | like the sh in "shove"                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| ṣ  | produced with the tongue-tip further back than for ś, but giving a similar sound                                                                                                                                |
| s  | like the s in "so"                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| h  | like the h in "hope"                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| ṁ  | a nasalization of a preceding vowel                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ḥ  | an aspiration of a preceding vowel pronounced, almost like an echo, as an "h" followed by the short form of the preceding vowel. For example: devaḥ, pronounced deva(ha)                                        |



# INTRODUCTION



# 1. General Introduction

FEW WORKS of literature produced in any place at any time have been as popular, influential, imitated, and successful as the great and ancient Sanskrit epic poem, the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. A. A. Macdonell's sweeping comment is hardly an overstatement of the case: "Probably no work of world literature, secular in origin, has ever produced so profound an influence on the life and thought of a people as the *Rāmāyaṇa*."<sup>1</sup> For at least the last two and a half millennia, the tragic tale of Rāma and Sītā, the oldest and most influential surviving version of which is Vālmīki's poem, has entertained, moved, enchanted, and uplifted untold millions of people in India and much of Southeast Asia for countless generations. The poem in all its versions and representations in the literary, plastic, and performing arts has constituted traditional India's most pervasive and enduring instrument of acculturation.

If the *Rāmāyaṇa* has dominated the cultures of India and Southeast Asia, it has similarly fascinated a whole tradition of modern scholarship both in India and the West. The one hundred fifty years since the appearance of Schlegel's partial edition and Latin translation<sup>2</sup> have witnessed the growth of an enormous body of scholarly, pseudo-scholarly, sectarian, and popular literature on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma, and the Rāma cult and literature. This corpus includes an extraordinary variety of works, ranging from editions, translations, and serious research into the language, metrics, and text history of the poem to bizarre retellings, traditionalist apologia, and wishful fantasies about airborne monkeys, Indian pharaohs, and long-tailed tribal peoples.<sup>3</sup>

The reasons for these two closely related phenomena—the ex-

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell 1919, p. 574.

<sup>2</sup> Schlegel 1829. Schlegel's work was not the first piece of western *Rāmāyaṇa* scholarship. Carey and Marshman had published a rather confused edition of the text as early as 1808, and Frederich Schlegel had offered some tentative translations from Vālmīki in the closing decade of the eighteenth century. European orientalists and travelers must have known of the poem even earlier.

<sup>3</sup> One could compile a quite extensive negative bibliography of *Rāmāyaṇa* studies. A serious analysis of these often amusing works would constitute an important contribution to our understanding of the peculiar effect the poem has had on its audiences. Some striking examples of such works are: Mehta 1941, Buck 1976, and Iyer 1941.

traordinary influence of the epic at home and the curious fascination that it has exerted upon scholars and others in India and abroad—are interesting and important. An examination of them bears centrally upon our understanding not only of the poem and the culture whose touchstone it has become, but on the nature and function of traditional literature, and even on our own response to fantasies that touch the deepest roots of our being.

The story of Rāma, Prince of Ayodhyā, is not one that could be expected to interest greatly a general western audience. Aside from its rootedness in a foreign and alien-seeming culture, one far removed from ours in space and time, the poem's central characters lack the quality of inner conflict, the human frailty that we have come to associate with the protagonists of the finest examples of western literature from Job and Achilles to the heroes and heroines of the contemporary novel. Were this absence of psychological complexity a universal feature of ancient Indian literature, it could constitute the basis for cross-cultural literary criticism. But the poem differs sharply in this respect from the work with which it is most intimately associated in time, place, style, content, and general world view—the other great epic of ancient India, the *Mahābhārata*. What is most interesting, as we shall see, is that this very feature of monovalent characterization is at the heart of the epic's extraordinary success.

Leaving the characterization of Rāma and the other principal figures of the *Rāmāyaṇa* aside for the moment, there remains something in this long tale of the irreproachable but ill-starred prince and his faithful but ill-used princess, of their magical flying monkey companions, and their terrifying and implacable enemy, the ten-headed demon king, that continues to haunt us, to move us with its peculiar enchantment long after we set the book, with its textual and philological puzzles, aside. It is in an effort to convey something of this strange enchantment, this haunting sense of a distant yet somehow familiar inner world that we offer here what we have tried to make a readable and yet philologically accurate translation of the critical edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*.

#### VĀLMĪKI'S RĀMĀYAṆA: ITS NATURE AND HISTORY

In the form in which we have it today, the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* is an epic poem of some 50,000 lines retelling in Sanskrit verse the



career of Rāma, a legendary prince of the ancient kingdom of Kosala in the eastern portion of north central India. The text survives in several thousand partial and complete manuscripts,<sup>4</sup> the oldest of which appears to date from the eleventh century A.D.<sup>5</sup> The poem is traditionally divided into seven major *kāṇḍas*, or books, that deal chronologically with the major events in the career of Rāma, from the circumstances surrounding his birth to his death. The central body of the poem recounts his disinheritance and exile and the abduction and recovery of his wife.

The text has come down to us in two major regional recensions, the northern (N) and the southern (S), each of which has a number of versions defined generally by the scripts in which the manuscripts are written.<sup>6</sup> The versions of N are somewhat less homogeneous than those of S and, in fact, the former may conveniently be spoken of as having two regional subrecensions belonging to the northeast (NE) and northwest (NW), respectively.<sup>7</sup> The three major recensions and subrecensions differ considerably among themselves; approximately one-third of the text of each of them is common to neither of the other two.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, elaborate text-historical studies of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, culminating in the preparation of the critical edition have, in our opinion, more than adequately established that

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the manuscripts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, see Bhatt 1960, pp. xiii-xxix.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. xix.

<sup>6</sup> On the description, genesis, and interrelation of the recensions, see Bhatt 1960; Ruben 1936; Jacobi 1893, pp. 1-23; Bulcke 1949 and 1951; and van Daalen 1980, pp. 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> There appears to be in addition a western subrecension (W), heavily contaminated by both S and NW and represented in the *Bālakāṇḍa* by four Devanāgarī manuscripts (Bhatt 1960, pp. xiii-xiv; xxxii). Wirtz's dissertation on the "Westliche Rezension des Rāmāyaṇa" (Wirtz 1894) is, as Bhatt has noted (Bhatt 1960, p. xxi), concerned with what is, in fact, northwestern. Although Bhatt, in his introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa*, originally accepted a separate western subrecension, he later, in his introduction to the *Aranyakāṇḍa* (Bhatt 1963, pp. xxiii-xxv), felt that there was not enough manuscript evidence to support an independent western version. Other editors of the critical edition, however, have disagreed with him. Vaidya (1971, p. xv) apparently accepts a separate western recension, despite Bhatt's arguments. Mankad (1965, pp. xxvi-xxviii) felt that evidence tended to support a separate recension for the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*. Jhala (1966, pp. xxvii-xxx), like Mankad, felt that an independent western version "would be justified." Shah (1975, p. 23) briefly summarizes the different positions of these editors and feels that various manuscript evidence of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* supports the existence of an independent western recension.

<sup>8</sup> Macdonell 1900, pp. 304-305; Jacobi (1893, p. 4) calculates on the basis of a thirty-*sarga* sample of the fourth book that his versions C and B (our S and the Bengal

all existing recensions and subrecensions are ultimately to be traced to a more or less unitary archetype.<sup>9</sup> The numerous interesting and important textual differences that characterize the various recensions, subrecensions, and versions of the epic—differences that we shall discuss in detail below—are not, in fact, reflected in any significant variations in the major outlines of the story, its contents, tone, moral, or characterizations.

Let us turn now to the central epic tale before continuing with a discussion of the history of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of *Rāmāyaṇa* studies.

## THE STORY

The central narrative of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, as it is contained in the critical edition, is easily told.<sup>10</sup>

The poem, in its surviving form, begins with a curious and interesting preamble (*upodghāta*) that consists of four chapters (*sargas*) in which the audience is introduced to the theme of the epic, the story, and its central hero. This section also contains an elaborate account of the origins of the poem and of poetry itself and a description of its early mode of recitation by the rhapsodist-disciples of the traditional author, the sage Vālmīki. The *upodghāta* is of great importance to the study of the textual prehistory of the poem and to an understanding of traditional Indian thinking on the subject of emotion and literary process. As such we will treat it at length when we discuss the epic's history and again in our detailed introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa*.

The epic proper, which begins with the fifth *sarga*, tells us of the fair and prosperous kingdom of Kosala whose king, the wise and

---

version of NE) have, respectively, only 57 percent and 66 percent of their text in common.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Bhatt 1960, p. xx and van Daalen 1980, pp. 5-8. Hopkins (1926, p. 19) is overly pessimistic in his feeling that no textual reconstruction of the text is possible. For further and more detailed discussion of the textual issue, see the section below on text history and the critical edition.

<sup>10</sup> In fact, many of the subsequent versions of the Rāma story—Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain—condense the narrative considerably. In connection with the development of the Rāma cult, there developed a tradition of extreme compression of what is considered the essence of the tale into the space of a hundred verses, ten verses, one verse, and finally, into the recitation of the single saving name, Rāma. For a further discussion of this phenomenon, see our treatment of the first *sarga* of the epic, the so-called *Samkṣipta*, or abridged *Rāmāyaṇa*, below; and Masson 1980, p. 100 note 10.



powerful Daśaratha, rules from the beautiful, walled city of Ayodhyā. The king possesses all that a man could desire except a son and heir. On the advice of his ministers and with the somewhat obscure intervention of the legendary sage Ṛśyaśṛṅga, the king performs a sacrifice, as a consequence of which four splendid sons are born to him by his three principal wives. These sons, Rāma, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, and Śatrughna, we are given to understand, are infused with varying portions of the essence of the great Lord Viṣṇu who has agreed to be born as a man in order to destroy a violent and otherwise invincible demon, the mighty *rākṣasa* Rāvaṇa who has been oppressing the gods, for by the terms of a boon that he has received, the demon can be destroyed only by a mortal.

The king's sons are reared as princes of the realm until, when they are hardly past their childhood, the great sage Viśvāmitra appears at court and asks the king to lend him his eldest and favorite son, Rāma, for the destruction of some *rākṣasas* who have been harassing him. With great reluctance, the aged king permits Rāma to go. Then, accompanied by his constant companion, Lakṣmaṇa, the prince sets out on foot for the sage's ashram. On their journey, Rāma receives instruction in certain magical spells and in response to his questions, is told a number of stories from ancient Indian mythology that are here associated with the sites through which the party passes. At one point Rāma kills a dreadful ogress and as a reward for his valor, receives from the sage a set of supernatural weapons. At last the princes reach the hermitage of Viśvāmitra where, with his newly acquired weapons, Rāma puts an end to the harassment of the demons.

Viśvāmitra's ostensible goal accomplished, the party proceeds to the city of Mithilā where Janaka, king of Videha, is said to be in possession of a massive and mighty bow. No earthly prince has so far been able to wield this divine weapon, and the old king has set this task as the price for the hand of his beautiful daughter, Sītā. After arriving at Mithilā, Rāma wields the bow and breaks it. Marriages are arranged between the sons of Daśaratha and the daughters and nieces of Janaka. The weddings are celebrated at Mithilā with great festivity, and the wedding party returns to Ayodhyā. On the way, Rāma meets and faces down the brahman Rāma Jāmadagnya, legendary nemesis of the warrior class. At last the brothers and their brides settle in Ayodhyā where they live in peace and contentment. This brings to a close the first book of the epic, the *Bālakāṇḍa*.

### The *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*

The second book of the epic is set, as the name suggests, largely in the city of Ayodhyā. Here we find that, in the absence of Prince Bharata, Daśaratha has decided to abdicate his sovereignty and consecrate Rāma as prince regent in his stead.

The announcement of Rāma's succession to the throne is greeted with general rejoicing, and preparations for the ceremony are undertaken. On the eve of the great event, however, Kaikeyī, one of the king's junior wives—her jealousy aroused by a maidservant—claims two boons that the king had long ago granted her. The king is heartbroken, but constrained by his rigid devotion to his given word, he accedes to Kaikeyī's demands and orders Rāma exiled to the wilderness for fourteen years while the succession passes to Kaikeyī's son, Bharata.

Rāma exhibits no distress upon hearing of this stroke of malign fate but prepares immediately to carry out his father's orders. He gives away all his personal wealth and donning the garb of a forest ascetic, departs for the wilderness, accompanied by his faithful wife Sītā and his loyal brother Lakṣmaṇa. The entire population of the city is consumed with grief for the exiled prince, and the king, his cherished hopes shattered and his beloved son banished by his own hand, dies of a broken heart.

Messengers are dispatched to bring back Bharata from his lengthy stay at the court of his uncle in Rājagṛha in the west. But Bharata indignantly refuses to profit by his mother's wicked scheming. He rejects the throne and instead proceeds to the forest in an effort to persuade Rāma to return and rule. But Rāma, determined to carry out the order of his father to the letter, refuses to return before the end of the period set for his exile. The brothers reach an impasse that is only resolved when Bharata agrees to govern as regent in Rāma's name. In token of Rāma's sovereignty, Bharata takes his brother's sandals to set on the throne. He vows never to enter Ayodhyā until the return of Rāma and to rule in his brother's name from a village outside the capital.

Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa then abandon their pleasant mountaintop dwelling and move south into the wild and demon-infested forests of Daṇḍaka.

### The *Aranyakāṇḍa*

The third book recounts the dramatic events that occur during the years of Rāma's forest exile. The trio have now pushed on into



the Daṇḍaka forest, a wilderness inhabited only by pious ascetics and fierce *rākṣasas*. The former appeal to Rāma to protect them from the demons, and he promises to do so. Near the beginning of the book, Sītā is briefly carried off by a *rākṣasa* called Virādha in an episode that strongly prefigures her later abduction by Rāvaṇa, the central event of the book and the pivotal episode of the epic.

While the three are dwelling peacefully in the lovely woodlands of Pañcavatī, they are visited by a *rākṣasa* woman, Śūrpaṇakhā, the sister of Rāvaṇa. She attempts to seduce the brothers and failing in this, tries to kill Sītā. She is stopped by Lakṣmaṇa, who mutilates her. She runs shrieking to her brother, the demon Khara, who sends a punitive expedition against the princes. When Rāma annihilates these demons, Khara himself comes at the head of an army of fourteen thousand terrible *rākṣasas*, but the hero once more exterminates his attackers. At last news of all this comes to the ears of Rāvaṇa, the brother of Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā and the lord of the *rākṣasas*. He resolves to destroy Rāma by carrying off Sītā. Enlisting the aid of the *rākṣasa* Mārīca, a survivor of the battle at Viśvāmitra's ashram, the great demon comes to the Pañcavatī forest. There Mārīca, assuming the form of a wonderful deer, captivates Sītā's fancy and lures Rāma off into the woods. At Sītā's urging, Lakṣmaṇa, disregarding his brother's strict orders, leaves her and follows him.

Rāvaṇa appears and after some conversation, carries off the princess by force. Rāma's friend, the vulture Jaṭāyus, attempts to save Sītā, but after a fierce battle, he falls mortally wounded. Sītā is carried off to the island fortress of Laṅkā where she is kept under heavy guard.

Upon discovering the loss of Sītā, Rāma laments wildly and maddened by grief, wanders through the forest vainly searching for her. At length he is directed to the monkey Sugrīva at Lake Pampā. This brings the *Aranyakāṇḍa* to a close.

The book is remarkable in a number of respects. Like the following *kāṇḍa*, it has a number of passages of great poetic beauty in which the seasonal changes in the forest are described. Further, as has been noted by several scholars,<sup>11</sup> it differs sharply from the preceding book in leaving the relatively realistic world of palace intrigue in Ayodhyā for an enchanted forest of talking birds, flying

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Macdonell 1900, pp. 312-13.

monkeys, and dreadful demons with magical powers. This is a difference, or perhaps an apparent difference, that we shall discuss further below.

### The *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*

The fourth book of the epic is set largely in the monkey citadel of Kiṣkindhā and continues the fairy-tale atmosphere of the preceding book. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa meet Hanumān, the greatest of monkey heroes and an adherent of Sugrīva, the banished pretender to the throne of Kiṣkindhā. Sugrīva tells Rāma a curious tale of his rivalry and conflict with his brother, the monkey king Vālin, and the two conclude a pact: Rāma is to help Sugrīva kill Vālin and take both his throne and his queen. In return for this, Sugrīva is to aid in the search for the lost Sītā.

Accordingly, Rāma shoots Vālin from ambush while the latter is engaged in hand-to-hand combat with Sugrīva.<sup>12</sup> Finally, after much delay and procrastination, Sugrīva musters his warriors and sends them out in all directions to scour the earth in search of Sītā. The southern expedition, under the leadership of Aṅgada and Hanumān, has several strange adventures, including a sojourn in an enchanted underground realm. Finally, having failed in their quest, the monkeys are ashamed and resolve to fast to death. They are rescued from this fate by the appearance of the aged vulture Sampāti, brother of the slain Jaṭāyus, who tells them of Sītā's confinement in Laṅkā. The monkeys discuss what is to be done, and in the end, Hanumān volunteers to leap the ocean in search of the princess. This brings to a close the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*.

### The *Sundarakāṇḍa*

The fifth book of the poem is called, for reasons that are not wholly clear, the *Sundarakāṇḍa*,<sup>13</sup> and it is centrally concerned with

<sup>12</sup> It is interesting that, although Rāma provides a casuistic and, finally, unconvincing series of justifications for this seemingly cowardly act (4.18.18-39), the tradition has never been wholly comfortable with what it continues to regard as a stain on the hero's character. See Masson 1976 and 1980, pp. 95-96.

<sup>13</sup> The Sanskrit word *sundara* means "beautiful." The title was therefore taken by Jacobi (1893, p. 124) and, after him, by Winternitz (1927, vol. 1, p. 490) to mean, "The Beautiful Book." This, however, makes little sense, for it does not appear that *Sundara* is so different in style, tone, or content from the two preceding books to justify its being singled out for its beauty by any criterion. Moreover, the titles of the other books refer to either subject matter or location, and it seems unlikely that



a detailed, vivid, and often amusing account of Hanumān's adventures in the splendid fortress city of Laṅkā.

After his heroic leap across the ocean, the monkey hero explores the demons' city and spies on Rāvaṇa. The descriptions of the city are colorful and often finely written. Meanwhile Sītā, held captive in a grove of *aśoka* trees, is alternately wooed and threatened by Rāvaṇa and his *rākṣasa* women. Hanumān finds the despondent princess and reassures her, giving her Rāma's signet ring as a sign of his good faith. He offers to carry Sītā back to Rāma, but she refuses, reluctant to allow herself to be willingly touched by a male other than her husband, and argues that Rāma must come himself to avenge the insult of her abduction.

Hanumān then wreaks havoc in Laṅkā, destroying trees and buildings and killing servants and soldiers of the king. At last he allows himself to be captured and brought before Rāvaṇa. After an interview he is condemned, and his tail is set afire. But the monkey escapes his bonds and leaping from roof to roof, sets fire to the city.<sup>14</sup> Finally, Hanumān returns to the mainland where he rejoins the search party. Together they make their way back to Kiṣkindhā, destroying on the way a grove belonging to Sugrīva, and Hanumān reports his adventures to Rāma.

### The *Yuddhakāṇḍa*

The sixth book of the poem, as its name suggests, is chiefly concerned with the great battle that takes place before the walls of Laṅkā between the forces of Rāma (Sugrīva's monkey hosts) and the demon hordes of Rāvaṇa.

Having received Hanumān's report on Sītā and the military disposition of Laṅkā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa proceed with their allies to the shore of the sea. There they are joined by Rāvaṇa's renegade brother Vibhīṣaṇa who, repelled by his brother's outrages and un-

---

the type of *kāṇḍa* name would change for this one book. Some writers have argued that the word *sundara* is a place name, a reference to the Sunda islands or straits of Southeast Asia (see, for example, Mehta 1941, pp. 187-89). But this explanation, too, lacks any strong evidence to support it. I am inclined to agree with Jhala 1966, p. xxii that so far the question lacks a solution.

<sup>14</sup> This passage, like several of its type in *Sundara*, appears to have been interpolated at some point in the textual prehistory of the epic, for the incidents described in it seem to be unknown to the characters in subsequent passages, a fact that has been noted by several scholars. See Jacobi 1893, pp. 33-34.

able to reason with him, has defected. The monkeys construct a bridge across the ocean, and the princes and their army cross over to Lañkā. A protracted and bloody, though far from realistic, battle rages. The advantage sways from one side to the other until, at length, Rāma kills Rāvaṇa in single combat. The prince then installs Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Lañkā and sends for Sītā. But Rāma expresses no joy in recovering his lost wife. Instead, he abuses her verbally and refuses to take her back on the grounds that she has lived in the house of another man. Only when the princess is proved innocent of any unfaithfulness through an ordeal by fire does the prince accept her.

At last, traveling in the flying palace Puṣpaka, which Vibhīṣaṇa had given him, Rāma returns to Ayodhyā where, the period of his exile now over, his long-delayed coronation is performed.

#### The *Uttarakāṇḍa*

The seventh book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is entitled simply "The Last Book" and is more heterogeneous in its contents than even the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Of the nature of an extensive epilogue, it contains three general categories of narrative material. The first category includes legends that provide the background, origins, and early careers of some of the important figures in the epic whose antecedents were not earlier described. Approximately the first third of the book is devoted to a lengthy account of the early career of Rāvaṇa and to a much shorter account of the early life of Hanumān. In this section many of the events of the central portion of the epic story are explained as having their roots in encounters and curses in the distant past.

The second category of *Uttarakāṇḍa* material consists of myths and legends that are only incidentally related to the epic story and its characters. Some of these episodes concern ancestors of the epic hero and in the main, are related to the central story only in the loosely topical or associative way by which such material is included in the *Bālakāṇḍa* and in many sections of the *Mahābhārata*. This sort of material, as will be discussed below, is characteristic of only the first and last books of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The last and in several ways the most interesting category of material in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* concerns the final years of Rāma, his wife, and his brothers. Struggle, adversity, and sorrow seemingly behind him, Rāma settles down with Sītā to rule in peace, pros-



perity, and happiness. We see what looks like the perfect end to a fairy tale or romance. Yet the joy of the hero and heroine is to be short-lived.

It comes to Rāma's attention that, despite the fire ordeal of Sītā, ugly rumors of her sexual infidelity with Rāvaṇa are spreading among the populace of Ayodhyā. In dreadful conformity to what he sees as the duty of a sovereign, Rāma banishes the queen, although she is pregnant and he knows the rumors to be false. After some years and various minor adventures, Rāma performs a great horse sacrifice during which two handsome young bards appear and begin to recite the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It turns out that these two, the twins Kuśa and Lava, are in fact the sons of Rāma and Sītā who have been sheltered with their mother in the ashram of the sage Vālmīki, author of the poem. Rāma sends for his beloved queen, intending to take her back. But Sītā has suffered too much. She calls upon the Earth, her mother, to receive her, and as the ground opens, she vanishes forever. Consumed by an inconsolable grief, Rāma divides the kingdom between his sons, and then, followed by all the inhabitants of Ayodhyā, enters the waters of the Sarayū river near the city and yielding up his life, returns at last to heaven as the Lord Viṣṇu. These events bring to a close both the book and the poem itself.

## 2. History and Historicity

FEW QUESTIONS in the history of world literature have evoked so many and so widely differing answers as those that bear upon the date of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and the historicity of the characters and events that are represented in it.<sup>1</sup> Even if we leave aside the traditional ascription of the life of Rāma to the legendary era of the Tretā Yuga, c. 867, 102 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> opinion as to the date of the poem and its central events range from the fourth century A.D. to the sixth millennium B.C.<sup>3</sup> Surely the dating of no other work of world literature can boast such a range of scholarly disagreement.

The problems of dating the poem are numerous and complex. As with most of the literary and philosophical documents of ancient India, there exists virtually no independent and objective testimony in the form of historical, archeological, epigraphical, or similar survivals on the basis of which to establish the dates even roughly. Literary works are mentioned and quoted in other literary or technical works, but in general, until quite recent times the dates of these other works are equally indeterminate. The problem is greatly compounded in the case of this immensely popular epic narrative transmitted both orally and through the medium of huge numbers of manuscripts—a narrative whose origins are obscure and whose author is known to us chiefly as a character in the poem itself.

The question of the authorship of the poem is complicated. For one thing, it has long been known that the poem in its present

<sup>1</sup> The two issues are to some extent connected in that both the poem (in the form in which we have it) and the unanimous tradition of India represent the sage Vālmīki, the legendary author of the work, as a contemporary of its hero and, indeed, a participant in the epic events. One of the first public recitations of the poem is said to have been given by Vālmīki's disciples, Rāma's sons Lava and Kuśa, in Rāma's presence. Cf. 1.4 and 7.85.

<sup>2</sup> See Ramaswami Sastri 1944, pp. 23-24.

<sup>3</sup> See Weber 1870, pp. 44-63, and Ramaswami Sastri 1944, p. 39. Gorresio (1843, p. xcix) cites the opinions of Jones, Bently, and Tod, who place Rāma in 2029, 950, and 1100 B.C., respectively. Gorresio, himself a keen student of the epic, dated the poem to the thirteenth century B.C. (1843, p. c). These early opinions are based on often faulty premises. Nonetheless, as we shall see, some of the positions taken with regard to the absolute and relative chronology of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are still defended today.



form cannot be the work of a single author, or even the product of a single period of time. The text, in all its recensions, is marked by a large number of passages, ranging in size from a quarter verse to hundreds of lines, that can be demonstrated on the basis of cultural, religious, linguistic, or text-historical evidence to be interpolations or additions that have become part of the text over the centuries. Moreover, it has been generally accepted by scholars, since at least the time of Jacobi, that much of the first book and most, if not all, of the last book of the epic, the *Bāla* and *Uttara Kāṇḍas*, are later additions to the work's original core, represented by Books Two through Six.<sup>4</sup>

In the absence of reliable external evidence bearing on the date of any stratum of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, scholars have been thrown back on such evidence as the text itself affords and have tried to date the work relative to other equally problematic texts, chiefly the *Mahābhārata*. The general types of internal evidence used may be conveniently categorized as linguistic, stylistic, cultural, political, and geographical.

Linguistic investigations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been quite numerous, and several have been used in an effort to determine the date of the poem and the relative priority of its principal recensions.<sup>5</sup> But the linguistic evidence can cut two ways, for the so-called irregularities of the epic language have been seen, on the one hand, as pre-Pāṇinian archaisms and, on the other, as late innovations.<sup>6</sup> All such arguments, when they are applied to the question of the date of the poem, ultimately depend on their authors' conception of the relation of the epic language to that de-

<sup>4</sup> Jacobi 1893, pp. 50-59. Jacobi developed a suggestion first made by Holtzmann (1841, pp. 36ff.), whom he quotes. Van Daalen (1980, pp. 1-2, 223) sustains Jacobi's views on the *Bāla*, that is, that some portions of it belong to the oldest stratum of the text. On the basis of his own text-critical studies, he posits a single poet for the older portions of *Bāla*. There are a number of reasons for regarding *Uttara* as a later work even than *Bāla* (see Guruge 1960, p. 32). A number of scholars, particularly in India, have, however, seen some portions of *Uttara* as belonging to an early stratum of the text on literary critical grounds. See Kibe 1947, pp. 321ff. and Guruge 1960, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the more useful studies in this area are: Gorresio 1843; Michelson 1904; Roussel 1910; Brockington 1969b and 1970; Vrat 1964; the numerous valuable articles of N. M. Sen (see bibliography); and van Daalen 1980.

<sup>6</sup> Most recently van Daalen (1980) has argued that the "irregularities" are characteristic of late portions of the text and were largely alien to the original poet.



scribed by Pāṇini.<sup>7</sup> However, as a number of authors have argued,<sup>8</sup> the language of the Sanskrit epics is a popular dialect of the rhapsodists, and its divergences from Pāṇini's rules cannot convincingly be used as evidence that the epics are either earlier or later than the great grammarian.

In brief, then, analyses of the language of the epic, although they may be of great intrinsic interest and shed some light on the relative age of different parts of the text and of its various recensions, have not proven themselves useful as tools for determining the date of the poem or of the events that it purports to represent.

Stylistic studies of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in our opinion, have shed no more light on the absolute date of the poem than have linguistic investigations. Here again the approach appears to be most productive when it is applied to the study of the relative age of the different sections of the work and its relationship to the *Mahābhārata*. This latter problem is extremely complicated. For, in the course of their parallel development, the two epics have influenced each other and borrowed from each other to the extent that it has become difficult in many cases to disentangle the web of their mutual involvement. Both poems employ the style of the popular oral-formulaic epic and share a considerable body of gnomic phrases and commonplaces as well as the same meters.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, the *Rāmāyaṇa* does have a number of stylistic features that generally distinguish it from the *Mahābhārata*. The work is traditionally designated as *kāvya*, poetry, in contradistinction to the *Mahābhārata*, which is generally classified as *itihāsa*, traditional history.<sup>10</sup> This is justified to a great extent by the frequent

<sup>7</sup> Van Daalen's disclaimer, " 'Irregularities' have not been defined in this study in terms of 'forms contravening particular rules of Pāṇini' " (van Daalen 1980, p. 37) is confusing, especially in the light of his statement on the same page, that "the above does not mean that Pāṇini is not the frame of reference with previous collectors of irregularities and, consequently, implicitly in this study in many cases, since the collection of §4 is the summation of the previous collections as far as the items chosen for study are concerned." In any case, the analysis of "irregularities" is problematic without some standard for what is regular. See Goldman 1982.

<sup>8</sup> See Roussel 1910, p. 6, and Macdonell 1900, pp. 311-12.

<sup>9</sup> For discussions of the common features, interrelationships, mutual influence, and metrical and common stylistic features of the two epics, see Hopkins 1901, Kane 1966, and Sukthankar 1941.

<sup>10</sup> The tradition is not unanimous in making this distinction. The *MBh*, for example, refers to itself as *kāvya*. See, for example, the famous passage at the beginning of the *Ādiparvan* where, in an encounter parallel to that of Vālmīki and Brahmā at

striving on the part of the poet for the creation of what in the Indian tradition is regarded as specifically poetic effect through the massive accumulation of figures, forceful use of language, dense descriptions, and the evocation of aesthetic pleasure through a play on intense emotional states.

One stylistic point at which the two epics diverge is the way in which the poets deal with the junctures at which the direct address of one narrator gives way to that of another. The point is important, for the virtually unvarying convention of the epic and purāṇic poets is that their works are represented as a series of direct narrations on the part of various speakers on various levels of the narrative. The *Mahābhārata* consistently introduces its speeches with the prose formulae that are common also to the *purāṇas* of the type *arjuna uvāca* and *ṛṣaya ūcuḥ*, that is, "Arjuna said," "the seers said," and so on. These formulae are not part of the metrical body of the text but occur between verses and unmistakably signal a change of speaker. By way of contrast, the *Rāmāyaṇa* typically integrates this sort of information directly into the text of the poem in the form of a variety of rather tedious metrical formulae. This difference has led several scholars to conclude that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a later work than the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>11</sup> For, they argue, Vālmīki's usage in this respect represents a later development than the usage of the *Mahābhārata*, which they see as an archaic survival of the style of ancient balladry. But this argument is far from convincing. For one thing, the prose formulae of the *Mahābhārata* are universally employed in the *purāṇas*, all of which are later and most of which are much later than even the latest forms of either epic.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, it is by no means clear that the integration of the formulae into the verses of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a sign of anything other than a genre distinction between the poem and the *Mahābhārata-purāṇa* literature mentioned above.<sup>13</sup>

---

*Rām* 1.2, Vyāsa and the god discuss the creation of the former's poem (*MBh*, crit. ed., *Ādiparvan* App. 1). Some writers on *alamkāraśāstra* regard *Rām* as an example of *itihāsa* and group it with the *MBh* for purposes of criticism. For a discussion of Abhinavagupta's handling of the epics, see Masson 1969, pp. 78-84 and 103-12.

<sup>11</sup> See Macdonell 1919; Winternitz 1927, vol. 1, pp. 324, 506.

<sup>12</sup> In response to this objection, Winternitz was driven to the somewhat circular argument that "The Purāṇas have always retained these prose formulas in order to preserve the appearance of antiquity" (1927, vol. 1, p. 506 note 1).

<sup>13</sup> In any case, as we shall see, this "advance" on the part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* poets often has the effect of slowing the epic text by clogging it with tedious formulae



The general stylistic inferiority of the first and last books to the others supports Jacobi's theory of the textual prehistory of the poem. In general, however, the stylistic evidence adduced by scholars seems unlikely to shed much light on the question of the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In its great extent and its profusion of detail, the poem provides us with a wealth of data concerning the material, sociological, psychological, and general cultural conditions prevalent in ancient India during the period of its composition. These conditions have long been a major area of interest to students of India, and a number of books and articles have been devoted, in whole or part, to the cataloging and analysis of such data.<sup>14</sup>

Such studies have organized for us a great deal of the cultural data to be gleaned from the epic. But because of the virtual impossibility of referring most of this data to a clear historical context and to the generally quite conservative nature of Indian society, we cannot tell with any certainty the dates of the culture represented in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Moreover, the obscurity of the poem's textual history, with additions and interpolations having been made over a period of some centuries, makes it virtually impossible to correlate a given bit of cultural data with the period of the composition of the core of the work. Thus, for example, the elaborate description of the city of Ayodhyā at 1.6 does not necessarily mean that the bulk of the poem cannot predate the age of significant urbanization in the Gangetic plains.

Similarly, attempts to date the poem on the basis of specific cultural phenomena associated with Hindu society have not yielded very convincing results. For example, several authors have noted that although the immolation of widows upon their husbands' funeral pyres is commonplace in the *Mahābhārata*, this custom is almost wholly unknown to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>15</sup> The case of *niyojana*, or

---

that merely mark the end of one speech and the beginning of another, whereas the "archaism" of the *Mahābhārata* permits the poets to free themselves and their text of what is often a stylistic disaster. It seems to us an equally tenable argument that the poets of the *MBh* have made a stylistic advance over the *Rām*.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, the elaborate and useful treatment of Guruge 1960, and the works of Khan 1965, Vyas 1967, and Sharma 1971, which cull the text for information on the subjects of realia, social, economic, and political life, the arts, religion, and so on.

<sup>15</sup> In fact, the practice is mentioned only once in the *Rām*, in a passage in the late

levirate, in which a woman whose husband is dead, or otherwise incapable of fathering children, may conceive by another man in the name of her husband, is similar. Not only is this practice commonplace in the *Mahābhārata*, it is fundamental to the development of the epic story. In contrast, although the *Rāmāyaṇa* may know of the custom, it gives no clear examples of it and certainly none in the case of the royal family of Ayodhyā.<sup>16</sup>

A further example of the use of cultural data in an effort to date the epic involves the much-discussed question of whether Rāma's marriage to Sītā is a case of child marriage. In this case, the re-censional evidence is so various that it is difficult to ascertain the precise age of Sītā at the time of her marriage.<sup>17</sup> But here, again, whatever may have been the case in regard to this or any of the other practices of traditional Hinduism, their presence or absence in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is at best only secondary evidence of the priority or posteriority of the poem with respect to the *Mahābhārata*. This is so for two reasons. First, the *Mahābhārata* is encyclopedic and became a sort of compendium of traditional law and custom. As a result, it accumulated episodes illustrating virtually every social custom known to the epic bards and redactors. These episodes, moreover, were accumulated over a long period of time. Under these circumstances, the exclusion of a practice or convention from the *Mahābhārata* constitutes fairly good evidence that it was not known to the compilers and expanders of the text. This is not the case with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was never intended to be so inclusive. Therefore, the omission of a traditional practice from the *Rāmāyaṇa*

---

*Uttarakāṇḍa* (7.17.13), where Vedavatī, who is represented as a prior incarnation of Sītā, tells Rāvaṇa that her mother had burned herself on her husband's funeral pyre. On this point see Lassen 1858, p. 592; Hopkins 1889, pp. 116-17, 314-15; 1901, p. 149, Guruge 1960, pp. 203-204; Sharma 1971, pp. 95-98; and Meyer 1952, pp. 412-14.

<sup>16</sup> See Guruge 1960, p. 201; Sharma 1971, p. 437; and Meyer 1952, pp. 165-73. At one point the *MBh* ascribes the practice of *niyojana* to the Ikṣvāku dynasty: at *MBh* 1.168.11-23, the sage Vasiṣṭha, the hereditary *purohita*, or family priest, of the Ikṣvākus, is said to have fathered an heir for King Kalmāṣapāda upon his queen at the king's own request (see Goldman 1978, pp. 356-57). Although this practice is apparently eschewed in the royal family of the *Rām*, there is some evidence that it may lie at the bottom of the *Bālakāṇḍa*'s rather awkward introduction of the sage R̥ṣyaśṛṅga into the account of Daśaratha's efforts to procure an heir. If this is so, then the lack of instances of the levirate in the *Rām* cannot be used as an argument of the epic's priority to the *MBh*.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Guruge 1960, pp. 197-99.



does not, to our way of thinking, conclusively demonstrate that its authors were ignorant of the practice. It may be that they simply had no occasion to mention it. Moreover, in the absence of any independent historical or sociological evidence concerning the epic period, it is impossible for us to rule out the possibility that cultural differences between the two poems may reflect regional rather than chronological distance.

It would appear then, that internal linguistic or cultural evidence can, at best, shed some light on the relative dates of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, but it cannot provide us with anything like an absolute time frame for the dating of either epic.

By way of contrast, the geographical and political data gleaned from the *Rāmāyaṇa* can, as Jacobi argued, shed considerable light on the question of the latest date for the composition of the 'archetype'.<sup>18</sup> Let us summarize Jacobi's arguments. Jacobi argued that, although the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* appears to originate in and centrally concerns the royal house of the Kosala-Magadha region of east central India, the area in which both the great Buddhist movement and the rise of the imperial Magadhan power occurred toward the middle of the sixth century B.C., it appears to know nothing of these important developments. The world known to the authors of the epic is that of small quasi-tribal kingdoms whose kshatriya overlords may or may not have owed some special fealty or deference to the Ikṣvāku monarch reigning in Ayodhyā. The poets are fairly familiar with the geography of northern India and with the countries and towns of the pre-Magadhan period.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Jacobi 1893, pp. 100-107. Jacobi's arguments put to rest the issue of a post-Buddhistic date for the *Rām* raised by scholars such as Wheeler (1867-81, vol. 2, p. lxxiv) and Weber (1870, pp. 1-13). For this reason, we shall not discuss the theses that they put forward. Moreover, the critical edition has shown the epic's one explicit reference to Buddhism to be an interpolation. See *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, crit. app., \*2241, 14-15.

<sup>19</sup> See Guruge 1960, pp. 51-80. It is interesting in this connection that, although the poem shows, in a textually well-supported passage from what is generally regarded as its oldest stratum (2.62.9-15), at least a general familiarity with north central and northwestern India, including sites central to the story of the *MBh* such as Hastinapura, Pañcāladeśa, and Kurujāṅgala, its authors nowhere show any familiarity with the characters or events of the longer epic. The absence of references to the *MBh* in the *Rām* has been noted many times before and has been urged as evidence of the priority of the latter (Jacobi 1893, p. 70). On the other hand, the significance of the *Rām*'s knowledge of Kurukṣetra has been perhaps insufficiently appreciated. It would appear to lend additional support to the supposition that the



An extremely important observation in this connection was made by Jacobi when he noted that the *Bālakāṇḍa*, which is closely concerned with the history and geography of the region through which Rāma is led by Viśvāmitra, appears to know that region at a time prior to the rise of Buddhism and the growth of Magadhan hegemony.<sup>20</sup> For, although Rāma is led right past the site of the great Magadhan capital of Pāṭaliputra (1.34), and the sage is eager to discourse on the founding and origins of other urban settlements in the area, the city is not mentioned.<sup>21</sup> Later in the first book (1.46-47), we find that for the poet the settlements of Viśālā and Mithilā, which we know to have been merged into the urban center of Vaiśālī by the time of the Buddha, were separate and under separate rulership.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, we see that in the *Bālakāṇḍa*, as in the central five books of the epic, the kingdom of Kosala is represented as being at the height of its power and prosperity, governed from a major urban settlement called Ayodhyā. It is only at the very end of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, in what must be regarded as a late epilogue to the poem, that we find reference to Śrāvastī as a successor capital to the ruined city of Ayodhyā.<sup>23</sup> It is worth noting in this connection that, as

---

*Rām* was substantially completed at a time before the epic of the Kauravas had gained very wide currency in north India, for, had that not been the case, we would expect at least some passing reference to the events of the Bhārata war that took place in the regions named.

<sup>20</sup> Jacobi 1893, pp. 101-102.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the treatments of the foundations of Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya, Dharmāraṇya, Girivraja, and Vasumatī at 1.31.3-8, where the region of the latter is called Māgadhi.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Law 1951, pp. 23-27. One must treat such an argument from ignorance with great care. Nonetheless, the fact that the *Bālakāṇḍa* poet is at such pains to provide the legendary and historical traditions connected with the sites encountered during Rāma's journey from Ayodhyā to Mithilā lends credence to the proposition that, if an important urban site at Pāṭaliputra had been known, it would have been mentioned.

<sup>23</sup> 7.98.5. Here Śrāvastī (crit. ed., Śrāvati) is established as the capital of North Kosala, to be ruled by Rāma's son Lava. South Kosala is to be governed from Kuśāvati by Rāma's other son, Kuśa. This division of the ancient *janapada* of Kosala into two parts, a northern and a southern, is well attested in inscriptional and literary sources, as shown by Sarma (1927). It is, however, a division that is only to be found in quite late material. Sarma's contention that this distinction is known to the *Bālakāṇḍa* (1927, p. 70) is based on the vulgate passage at 1.13.26, according to which Daśaratha includes Bhānumant, the king of Kosala, among those he invites to his horse sacrifice. The passage is, however, a spurious one and known only to a very few Devanāgarī manuscripts. See crit. ed., 1.\*373.

Jacobi also pointed out, the capital city of the unified realm of Kosala is invariably known as Ayodhyā in the epic and never by the name Sāketa, the name by which it comes to be known in much of Buddhist and later literature.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, the *Rāmāyaṇa*—including the *Bālakāṇḍa*, which is generally agreed to be among the latest additions to the text—appears to know or have a fresh recollection of the ancient *janapada* of Kosala at the time of its greatest glory. But, the last great ruler of Kosala, Prasenajit, was a contemporary of the Buddha and ruled from Śrāvastī. After his time the kingdom was absorbed into the growing empire of the new, non-kshatriya imperial dynasty of Magadha whose great capital, Pāṭaliputra, was founded approximately 460 B.C.<sup>25</sup> Even if we grant no value at all to the traditional purāṇic dynastic lists<sup>26</sup> or to the Buddhist view that the Buddha himself was a descendant of the ancient and glorious Ikṣvāku rulers of Ayodhyā and that the events recounted in the *Rāmāyaṇa* predate his birth by many generations,<sup>27</sup> it is difficult to see how the portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa* mentioned above can have been composed later than around the beginning of the fifth century B.C. If, however, we take into consideration the tradition that the poem was set and composed in a long-distant past<sup>28</sup> and the generally accepted notion of the relative lateness of *Bāla*, it seems reasonable to accept for the composition of the oldest parts of the surviving epic a date no later than the middle of the sixth century B.C.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Jacobi 1893, pp. 104-105.

<sup>25</sup> See Law 1951, pp. 4-6; Mookerji 1951, pp. 22-31, 36-38.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Pargiter 1922, pp. 90-95, who argues that the lists are often questionable and that the *Rām* version of the genealogy of the solar kings is much less reliable than the versions of the *MBh* and the *purāṇas*.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Johnston 1936, pp. xlvii-xliix, and Thomas 1927, pp. 5-15.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Gorresio 1843, pp. cx-cxi, basing his judgment on the traditional Tretā Yuga date and the *Rājatarāṅginī* legend that King Dāmodara, traditionally dated to remote antiquity, heard the *Rām* recited, puts the composition of the poem in the thirteenth or fourteenth century B.C., a date that he himself regards as conjectural. Weber (1870, pp. 61-62) has shown the unlikelihood of Gorresio's argument, although, as noted above, his own views of the date of the core of the epic are equally unconvincing.

<sup>29</sup> These dates, like so many in pre-Alexandrian Indian history, are ultimately based on the generally accepted date of the death of the Buddha in 486 B.C. If one accepts the Sinhalese tradition of the death of the Buddha in 544 B.C., then all the dates of the late Kosalan and early Magadhan period, and with them the latest date for the composition of the *Rām*, must be shifted back by some sixty years. For a discussion of the problem of the date of the Buddha's death, see Raychaudhuri 1923, p. 184.



In the matter of determining the earliest date for the composition of the poem, we can speak with far less certainty. The most we can say at the present with any confidence is that the language, style, content, and world view of the poem appear to be consistent with what we know of the late vedic and early Hindu periods, with small patriarchal kingdoms, heavy forestation, great emphasis on the knowledge of the *vedas*, and great *śrauta* rituals as the principal public expressions of religious life. In the poem itself, particularly in its later portions, we see the influence of the newly developing cult of Viṣṇu, but the text, even in these sections, is largely free from the devotional passion that came later to characterize traditional Hinduism.

Taking all of this into consideration, we feel that it is extremely unlikely that the archetype of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* can be much earlier than the beginning of the seventh century B.C., although it is impossible to demonstrate this with any sort of rigor.<sup>30</sup>

#### THE HISTORICITY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA

We have thus narrowed down the probable date of the composition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, sometime between 750 and 500 B.C. What now can be said of the historicity of the characters and events that the epic purports to represent? The author or authors of the central portions of the poem—including the older parts of the *Bālakāṇḍa*—appear to have been familiar with the Kosala-Magadha region at the time of the sixteen *janapadas* and well before the period from which we can recover our first verifiable historical data. Since their geographical and geopolitical data are in keeping with such knowledge of the place and time as we have, there can be no doubt that, at least in the first two books of the epic, the poets are dealing with real places and kingdoms. If we make some allowance for epic hyperbole in the elaborate description of the city of Ayodhyā and in the accounts of the wealth of the various kings that people the text, we have no difficulty in reading the setting of the first part of the poem as a credible, if idealized, rendering of a fortified township in the heavily forested plains of the Ganges-Sarayū watershed.

<sup>30</sup> It has been generally accepted that tales of Rāma and the ancient royal house of Ayodhyā must have been current for some time before the composition of the epic itself. This is more than probable. But in the absence of any corroborative evidence, our conception of these tales must be purely speculative.

Our first difficulty relating to the historicity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* concerns the principal characters of the story. Of these the only thing that may be said with certainty is that the author did not invent their names. The names Rāma, Daśaratha, Sītā, Janaka, Vasiṣṭha, and Viśvāmitra are attested in various strata of the vedic literature, at least some of which are older than the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, nowhere in the surviving vedic literature is anything like the Rāma story related in connection with any figures bearing these names, nor are any of these figures related to each other in ways paralleling their interrelationships in the epic.<sup>32</sup> The finding of like-named or even parallel figures in the *vedas* merely pushes the problem one stage back to still more ancient texts whose historicity is at best as dubious as that of the epics. The most that one could hope to accomplish by examining the vedic literature is to find literary sources for characters or events in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, sources that finally shed no light on the problem of historicity.

The genealogical and dynastic lists of the Ikṣvākus found in the *purāṇas* and the epics themselves provide another external source that has been used in attempts to verify the historicity of the characters in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>33</sup> The problem with this sort of testimony is that we have no way of determining the reliability of such lists. In many cases it seems clear that names are inserted or invented simply to give the lineage of a given ruler or house a claim to great antiquity, and we are not convinced that the collation of these lists has any great value. Moreover, all the available lists, other than those in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, are drawn from texts that in their present forms are later than the epic.<sup>34</sup> Even if, as Pargiter argues, some

<sup>31</sup> See Guruge 1960, pp. 7-9, and Jacobi 1893, pp. 127-32. Of these perhaps the most elaborately described in the vedic literature is the philosopher-king Janaka of Videha who plays an interesting and important role in the *brāhmaṇas* and *upaniṣads*.

<sup>32</sup> Thus Jacobi's arguments about the mythological connection between the epic heroine Sītā and the like-named vedic goddess, personification of the plowed furrow, are highly questionable. The former is doubtless named and perhaps inspired by the latter, but the superimposition of the epic story on the vedic myth of Indra and the rains is unwarranted by the evidence.

<sup>33</sup> For discussions of these lists and the light that they are thought to shed on the *Rām*, see Lesny 1913; Pargiter 1910, 1913; and Smith 1973.

<sup>34</sup> As noted above, Pargiter found the *Rām* lists to be inferior to the one generally common to the *purāṇas*. If the *Rām* lists are not—as may well be the case—themselves late and abridged versions of a received genealogy, then the *purāṇa* list may simply be inflated with additional names as a result both of the conflation of the dynastic lists of various families that derived from or claimed to derive from the ancient



of the purāṇic lists are actually the sources of the *Bāla* genealogies, we can push this sort of material no further than to say that the *purāṇas* preserve a tradition of a lengthy Ikṣvāku genealogy according to which Rāma, the son of Daśaratha and descendant of Raghu, ruled in Ayodhyā during the Tretā Yuga.<sup>35</sup>

Another level of the problem of the historicity of the epic is reached when one passes from the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* to the remainder of the poem. For in the elaborate and detailed narrative of Book Two we have what is, if not a historical, at least a credible account of a harem intrigue and its political consequences; but in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* we move abruptly into the enchanted realm of the forests, poorly charted and peopled by mighty sages who wield magic powers, dreadful supernatural monsters, and flying monkeys who can change their shapes and sizes at will and who speak elegant Sanskrit.

This abrupt change<sup>36</sup> from the at least pseudo-historical to the totally fantasied has long been an object of interest to scholars, some of whom have seen the epic as pieced together from two different stories, the first a historical reminiscence of a family feud and the second a legend of a demon-slaying hero. A lucid statement of this seeming dissonance is that of Macdonell:

The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as narrated in the five genuine books, consists of two distinct parts. The first describes the events at the court of King Daśaratha at Ayodhyā and their consequences. Here we have a purely human and natural account of the intrigues of a queen to set her son upon the throne. There is nothing fantastic in the narrative, nor has it any mythological background. If the epic ended with the return of Rāma's brother, Bharata, to the capital, after the old king's death, it might pass for a historical saga. For Ikṣvāku, Daśaratha and Rāma are the

---

solar race and of an effort to dignify the family further by extending its lineage. I am inclined toward this last position and am skeptical of Pargiter's faith in the *vaṃśa* lists and his cavalier dismissal of the *Rām* genealogy as the product of brahmins who "notoriously lacked the historical sense"; see Pargiter 1922, pp. 93, 119-25.

<sup>35</sup> See, however, Guruge 1960, p. 35 for reference to a tradition of Rāma's having lived in the Dvāpara Yuga.

<sup>36</sup> Abrupt if one disregards the *Bāla*. The subject matter of the first book with its demons and demonesses, its supernatural weapons, superhuman feats, and marvelous legends, is in many ways more like that of Books Three through Six than that of the more sedate and realistic *Ayodhyā*.



names of celebrated and mighty kings mentioned even in the *Rg-veda*, though not here connected with one another in any way.

The character of the second part is entirely different. Based on a foundation of myths, it is full of the marvellous and the fantastic.<sup>37</sup>

Macdonell's statement is characteristically lucid and is responsive to what appears to be a real discontinuity in the poem. And yet we should, perhaps, attempt to see the poem as a coherent whole before accepting it as some species of hybrid. This is an extremely important point, for it bears directly upon our understanding of the epic, of what its authors intended it to be, and of the role it has played for more than two thousand years in the lives and thoughts of the Indian people.

Before undertaking a detailed discussion of the nature and purpose of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, it will be appropriate to examine critically the second of Macdonell's "two distinct parts" with an eye toward determining whether or to what extent the events described there may be said to be historical.

One of the most common approaches to the study of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, from the early days of modern Indological scholarship to the present, has involved the attempt to discover in Rāma's strange alliance with the monkeys of Kiṣkindhā and his bitter war with the savage *rākṣasas* of Laṅkā the representation of some historical reality. In fact, the numerous attempts to determine the exact geographical location of the demon king's island fortress and the ethnic or religious groups represented as apes or goblins may be said to form a minor genre of Indological writing. The *rākṣasas* have been identified as various of the Dravidian and tribal peoples of South India and Ceylon, the Sinhalese Buddhists, and even, in an extreme case, with the aboriginal population of Australia!<sup>38</sup>

Even Gorresio, who saw the central conflict of the epic as a struggle between two hostile races, recognized, with his usual insight, that this was also a narrative representation of the conflict of the two abstract principles of good and evil.<sup>39</sup> If the demons have been

<sup>37</sup> Macdonell 1900, pp. 312-13.

<sup>38</sup> Gorresio 1843; Lassen 1867, p. 535; Weber 1870, pp. 8-9; Wheeler 1867-81 (vol. 2); Mehta 1941.

<sup>39</sup> Gorresio 1847, p. iv. Citing Gioberti, he notes that an epic is nothing other than a system for representing poetically what philosophical systems express theoretically (p. v). The suggestion here is that the epic represents not the external historical

viewed as hostile and barbarous aboriginals, the *vānaras*, or monkeys, are seen as tribesmen who, if they exist on a primitive level of culture, are well-disposed toward the Aryan warriors from the north.

The arguments against these interpretations have been tellingly made by a number of authors.<sup>40</sup> The problem is that such interpretations that seek to allegorize or rationalize what is essentially a work of fantasy, fail to show why a text that gives rational and at least relatively realistic description of tribal groups such as Guha's Niṣādas should represent other tribes as possessed of animal forms and supernatural powers. It seems to us as fruitless to attempt to read the epic as an ethnological *roman à clef*, as it is to try to demonstrate that the supernatural events described in the poem are, in fact, possible.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the careful and copious scholarship on the geography of Rāma's adventures in the forests and on the location of Laṅkā,<sup>42</sup> we would still basically share Jacobi's opinion that, once the poet has his hero cross the Ganges and move south into peninsular India, he has him enter a dimly known realm that he could safely represent to an originally provincial audience as inhabited by ogres, magicians, and talking beasts.<sup>43</sup> We do not mean to argue that the poet

---

data of an area, but rather the collective inner "history" of a culture. A somewhat similar notion is expressed by B. J. Chatterjee 1956, p. 117, who quotes R. C. Dutt as follows: "To trace the influence of the Indian epics on the life and civilization of the nation, and on the development of the modern languages, literatures, and religious reforms, is to comprehend the real history of the people during the three thousand years." The point is well taken, although here, once again, the use of the word "history" is questionable.

<sup>40</sup> See Jacobi 1893, pp. 89-90; Macdonell 1900, p. 313.

<sup>41</sup> It has been argued, for example (Bhatt 1960, pp. 446-47), that Indian tribal people may have had monkeys' faces and tails, and it has even been proposed that the lord of the *rākṣasas*, the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, suffered from a birth defect that, incidentally, accounted for his hostility (Iyer 1941, pp. 55-56). Even so scientifically oriented a scholar as Mankad, critical editor of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, argues that Rāma's legendary feat of hurling the carcass of an enormous theriomorphic demon (a man, according to Mankad) a distance of considerably more than a mile with a single blow of his foot is well within the realm of possibility (Mankad 1965, p. 457).

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Pargiter 1894; Guruge 1960, pp. 51-80; Kibe 1914, 1928, 1941a, and 1947; Shah 1976; Sankalia 1973; Ramdas 1925 a and b, 1928, and 1930.

<sup>43</sup> Jacobi 1893, p. 103. Cf. Macdonell 1900, p. 313, who remarks, "The poet knows nothing about the Deccan beyond the fact that Brāhman hermitages are to be found there. Otherwise it is a region haunted by the monsters and fabulous beings with which an Indian imagination would people an unknown land."



does not set the latter portion of the epic in south India. He does. But it is a south India known to him only as a distant and wild land ideally suited to his purposes in pitting his fearless hero against the terrifying dark forces of what is, after all, an inner world.

Even the elaborate descriptions of the battles at Lañkā do not, despite their minute concern with the various types of weapons, create an impression that the poet is trying to render real events. As Macdonell remarks, "The warfare in the epic nucleus of the Mahābhārata is that of heroic human combatants on both sides; in the Rāmāyaṇa it consists of conflicts with monsters and demons such as are described by writers of fairy-tales without knowledge of real fighting."<sup>44</sup>

Since the geography of the south becomes increasingly vague the farther the poet takes us from Ayodhyā, and since the poem gives evidence of only the most tenuous notions of coastal India, it seems improbable that the authors of the original portions of the epic had any very detailed knowledge of Sri Lanka (Ceylon). There is some evidence in the poem that the island was known, but is distinguished from Lañkā. The most that can be said with any certainty is that the poet knew of an island kingdom, whether real or mythical, said to lie some distance off the coast of the Indian mainland. It seems unlikely that, as some scholars have contended, Lañkā was conceived of as lying within the boundaries of peninsular India.<sup>45</sup> In any case, we are convinced that attempts at the ethnological identification of the *rākṣasas* and the *vānaras* and the geographical location of their strongholds are not only futile but wrongheaded. For in seeking a historical basis for what is, in many respects, a kind of elaborate fairy tale, we are led away from a true understanding of the work.

Like all powerful works of the imagination, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is rooted in both the inner and outer realities of its creators. There was a kingdom of Kosala (although it could hardly have been the earthly paradise depicted by the poets), and there may even have been a Rāma who ruled it long ago. Yet, even for the historicity of the events of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, there is not a shred of evidence other than the idealized, exaggerated, and clearly largely imaginary account of the poem itself. As to the kingdoms of the demons and

<sup>44</sup> Macdonell 1919, p. 574.

<sup>45</sup> For more detailed discussion of the Ceylon issue, see Jacobi 1893, pp. 89-93; Keith 1915, p. 324; and Guruge 1960, pp. 67-69.

the monkeys, it is our conviction that they never existed anywhere except in the mind of the poets and more importantly, in the hearts of the countless millions, among whom we must include ourselves, who have been charmed and deeply moved by this strange work.

### VĀLMĪKI AND HIS SOURCES: THE ORIGINS OF THE RĀMA STORY

We see then that the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is uncertain and its historicity dubious. Let us now examine the question of the authorship of the epic and the sources upon which its author or authors may have drawn for their subject matter.

The Indian tradition, as expressed in the first and last books of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and a large number of later poetic, purāṇic, and other texts,<sup>46</sup> is unanimous in its agreement that the poem is the work of a single poet, the brahman sage Vālmīki, a contemporary of Rāma and a peripheral actor in the epic drama. On the basis of this unanimity and the general plausibility of single authorship for the middle five books, modern scholarship has, by and large, accepted Vālmīki as a historical personage.<sup>47</sup>

An interesting concomitant to this acceptance is the almost uniform rejection by these same authors of the validity of the tradition concerning Vyāsa, the legendary author of the *Mahābhārata*. There are two main reasons for this difference. The first is the patent impossibility that the *Mahābhārata* could be the product of a single hand. The second is the fact that Vyāsa, "the arranger," is more of a descriptive title than a proper noun, and in fact, the tradition has also ascribed to him the composition of the *purāṇas* and even the arrangement of the *vedas* into their various textual divisions.

It seems to us that these grounds for the different evaluations of the historicity of the two sages are not very firm. If we are to ascribe any historical validity to the traditions with regard to either

<sup>46</sup> For a brief survey of these texts see Bulcke 1958, 1959.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Jacobi 1893, pp. 66-67; Weber 1870, p. 210; Winternitz 1927, vol. I, p. 475; and Bulcke 1958, p. 121. Also cf. von Schroeder 1887, pp. 454ff., and Glasenapp 1929, p. 89, both cited in Bloch 1964, pp. 81-82 note 1. But see also Renou and Filliozat 1947, vol. I, p. 404, who, like the above authors, see no reason to doubt the attribution of the poem to a single author named Vālmīki, but are not convinced of the poet's contemporaneity with the protagonist of the epic story. For a lengthy discussion of this question, see Bloch 1964.



author, we must restrict the scope of the author's work to the central epic nucleus: in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the tales of Rāma's exile, his loss and recovery of Sītā (Books Two through Six), and his restoration to his hereditary throne; and in the *Mahābhārata*, the tales of the Pāṇḍavas' exile, battle with Duryodhana, and recovery of their hereditary kingdom. As is well known, however, the *Mahābhārata* has developed into an all-inclusive and virtually encyclopaedic repository of ancient Indian myths, legends, laws, and so on. All its inclusions, interpolations, and additions have naturally been fathered upon Vyāsa, just as the late portions of the *Bāla* and *Uttara* have been upon Vālmīki. There is in this no inherent reason to argue against the single authorship of the presumed Bhārata nucleus of the *Mahābhārata*.

The tradition of Vālmīki's contemporaneity with Rāma and, indeed, of his participation in the action of the epic tale is paralleled in the case of Vyāsa.<sup>48</sup> Indeed if, as has been argued, this is a basis for judging the tradition to be a genuine historical reminiscence, then it is more so in the case of the longer epic. For as the biological grandfather of the epic heroes and a constant adviser to them and those close to them, he plays a much more central and significant role in the *Mahābhārata* than does Vālmīki in the *Rāmāyaṇa* where he plays an important role only in the late portions of the latest books.<sup>49</sup> As for the name Vyāsa or Vedavyāsa, it is indeed an epithet of the legendary sage Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, and he comes by it in a fashion quite analogous to that in which Vālmīki comes by the title Ādikavi or first poet. For Vyāsa has, doubtless, acquired the reputation as the editor of the huge mass of vedic, epic, and purāṇic literature on the basis of the tradition that makes him the author and first reciter of the great epic of the Bhāratas, in almost exactly the same way as Vālmīki, on the basis of the tradition that makes him the author and first reciter of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, has been elevated to the position of the first poet of all time. In both cases it is clear

<sup>48</sup> Even the stories of the two sages' creation of their respective masterpieces through the inspiration of the god Brahmā, as given at *MBh Ādiparvan*, App. 1 and *Rām* 1.2, are closely parallel, and it is clear that one of them has been heavily influenced by, if not actually derived from, the other. Most likely the *MBh* episode, rejected as an interpolation by Sukthankar, was modeled on the famous story of Vālmīki and the origin of poetry.

<sup>49</sup> The famous reference to Vālmīki's ashram in Book Two has been shown to be an interpolation by the critical edition. For a discussion of the passage, see Bulcke 1958 and 1959.

that the traditions of inspired authorship are considerably later than the oldest surviving portions of the epics.

There is, finally, no reason to regard Vālmīki as having any greater claim to historicity than Vyāsa. The traditions in both cases are late and are unsupported by anything other than still later texts that accept the stories as genuine and repeat, modify, or elaborate upon them as they find appropriate. In the end, the most that can safely be said is that there appears to be no real evidence to contradict the proposition that the central portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* had a single author. On the basis of the unanimous tradition, there is no reason for us to doubt that this author's name was Vālmīki; but to attempt, as has been done, to provide him with other than a legendary biography and to assign particular verses or passages to his hand is, we would argue, to waste one's efforts.<sup>50</sup>

We now turn to a brief discussion of the much disputed question of the author's sources. Although a number of theories have been advanced as to the sources of the Rāma legend, we believe that most of the major issues have now been settled. In the last century and a half of *Rāmāyaṇa* studies, a number of literary texts have been put forward as the proximate or distant sources of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. Some of these, such as the Homeric epics, suggested by Weber and others, are no longer taken seriously, and it would be pointless to refute them here.<sup>51</sup> It is a general and quite reasonable assumption on the part of many scholars that the poet Vālmīki drew his inspiration from some body of ballads or legends about heroism and self-sacrifice, and that no such materials are recoverable. Indeed, this is much the traditional view of the creation of the poem as it is dramatized in the opening two chapters of the first book. There, at 1.1, we are told that the sage Vālmīki heard the story from the divine seer Nārada who tells it to him in a highly compressed form. It is this simple account that the sage is represented at 1.2 as elaborating through the help of divine inspiration into the great epic. Nārada's account is, of course, nothing but a terse, elliptical, and late abstract of the central portion of the existing epic. Nonetheless, it is interesting that the later strata of the text show the sage as first learning of Rāma and of his wonderful career as a story, despite the fact that he is considered to be a

<sup>50</sup> See van Daalen 1980; Bulcke 1958 and 1959; and Bhatt 1960, p. 425.

<sup>51</sup> Weber 1870, pp. 22-36; see, for refutation, Jacobi 1893, pp. 94-99, and Macdonell 1900, pp. 309-10.



subject of the prince and in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, a participant in the epic action.

Leaving the question of these floating ballads aside, only two of the surviving texts that have been suggested as sources for the *Rāmāyaṇa* are worthy of mention here. These are the Pali *Dasaratha Jātaka* and the *Mahābhārata*'s *Rāmopākhyāna*.

The suggestion that the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* could be traced to Buddhist sources was put forward by Weber who saw it as growing, under the influence of the Greek epics, to its present form out of the Buddhist legend of Prince Rāma; the point of which was a glorification of the virtue of indifference to events in the real world.<sup>52</sup> Weber then saw the *Dasaratha Jātaka* as the original of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was, he felt, a poetic expression of, among other things, brahmanical hostility to the Buddhists. This theory was cogently refuted shortly after it was promulgated,<sup>53</sup> but owing to the excessively late date assigned to the epic by a number of reputable scholars and the inaccurate estimate by others of the antiquity of the prose portions of the *jātakas*, the theory has continued to be put forward in some quarters.<sup>54</sup> There can be no doubt, however, that on the basis of the best historical and literary evidence available to us, the *Dasaratha Jātaka* is substantially later than the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and that it is both inspired by and derived from it.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Weber 1870, pp. 1-32.

<sup>53</sup> See Lassen 1874, pp. 102-103, and Jacobi 1893, pp. 84-89. Cf. also Winternitz 1927, vol. 1, p. 510, and Macdonell 1900, pp. 308-309. For a comprehensive survey of the question of the *Dasaratha Jātaka* and the *Rām*, including summaries of the arguments of the principal writers on the problem, see Bulcke 1950, pp. 84-105.

<sup>54</sup> On the date of the *Rām*, see Keith 1915, pp. 318-28. Keith, incidentally, does not accept the theory that the *Rām* is post-Buddhist. On the other hand, he denies the validity of Jacobi's historical argument and does not accept a date for the text earlier than the third century B.C. On the date of the *jātakas*, see Rhys Davids 1903, p. 103, and Sen 1920, pp. 4-9. The theory was very strongly argued, for example, by Sen in his collection of lectures on the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇas* (Sen 1920, pp. 4-23). Here he adduces evidence from other *jātakas* that contain characters or themes in common with the *Rāmāyaṇa* in support of this hypothesis.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, the short but cogent remarks of the great epigraphist Sircar (1976, pp. 50-53). See also Kane 1966, pp. 45-46. There seems to be little likelihood of, and less evidence for, Keith's suggestion (1915, p. 323) that the *Dasaratha Jātaka* and the epic are independently derived from a common source. Bulcke (1952, pp. 102-103) concludes his discussion of the *jātaka* problem by saying that although a narrative poem on the subject of the Rāma story was current at the time of the compilation of the Pali *Tipiṭaka*, the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was not yet complete. This amounts to the same argument as Keith's. The argument that the *Jātaka*

The question of the relationship between the two great epics of ancient India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, especially with regard to the latter's elaborate version of the Rāma legend, the *Rāmopākhyāna*,<sup>56</sup> is more complex and difficult and has generated a considerable body of scholarly writing.<sup>57</sup>

Especially since the appearance of the critical editions of the two epics, the evidence confirms the view of Jacobi that the *Rāmāyaṇa* in its present form is on the whole somewhat older than the *Mahābhārata* in the form in which it has survived to us. There are numerous textual and contextual grounds for this assertion, not least of which is the fact that the longer epic knows, alludes to, and summarizes the shorter, which it regards as an ancient text, whereas the *Rāmāyaṇa* is ignorant of the events, issues, and characters that make up the central content of the *Mahābhārata*. As for the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Weber found himself unable to decide on the basis of his researches whether it was the source of Vālmīki's epic, was derived from it, was derived from an unknown early version of the epic, or was an independent derivate from a common source.<sup>58</sup>

---

is older than the epic because it would surely have included the story of the abduction of Sītā had its author known of it, still finds adherents among learned authorities on ancient Indian cultural history. The difficulty is that it is a purely negative argument that presumes a knowledge that we do not have of the motives and methods of the authors and compilers of the *jātaka* collection. We cannot say with any certainty that the author of the *Dasaratha Jātaka* would have included any portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that did not serve his needs, even if he knew it intimately. The *jātakas* are short stories, each of which is designed to illustrate some specific Buddhist virtue through an episode drawn from the career of some creature—animal, human, or supernatural. In the *Dasaratha Jātaka*, the virtue is steadfastness in the face of emotional trauma, and it is on the basis of his reputation as a paragon of steadfastness that Rāma is chosen to be its exemplar. The legend of the abduction of Sītā is irrelevant to this purpose. If anything, Rāma's reaction to the loss of his wife is the very antithesis of that expected of the steadfast and self-controlled hero. The authors of the *jātakas* chose various legends from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other stories as it suited their purposes. The fact that the author of the *Dasaratha Jātaka* restricted himself to one highly modified episode from the Rāma legend is to my mind no proof that he did not know the tale in its entirety.

<sup>56</sup> *MBh* 3.257-76.

<sup>57</sup> See Weber 1870, pp. 64-75; Hopkins 1901, pp. 58-84; Kane 1966, pp. 11-58; Winternitz 1927, vol. 1, pp. 500-507; Jacobi 1893, pp. 69-84; Sukthankar 1941, pp. 472-87, and 1939, pp. 406-15; Holtzmann 1846; Holtzmann 1892; Vaidya 1971, pp. xxxi-xxxvi; van Buitenen 1975, pp. 207-14; Shah 1975, pp. 29-53; and Raghavan 1973, pp. 2-31.

<sup>58</sup> Weber 1870, pp. 68-71.



Jacobi argues on the basis of a detailed and cogent analysis that the Rāma episode of the great epic is a “Nachdichtung” drawn, in fact, from Vālmīki’s poem. This opinion has been given powerful support by the meticulous textual comparisons of Sukthankar and the learned observations of Raghavan.<sup>59</sup> We feel, on the basis of the available evidence, that this view is correct and should now be generally accepted.<sup>60</sup> There is neither space nor reason here to attempt to adduce all the arguments and citations that bear on the various sides of this issue, and only two of the most recent need be discussed in any detail.<sup>61</sup>

These views, closely related, have been put forward within the past decade by two distinguished authorities in the field of Sanskrit epic studies, the late professors Vaidya and van Buitenen. Because of the eminence of these scholars and the fact that their revival of the theory that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not the source of the *Rāmopākhyāna* has been subjected to little published criticism, we will consider it in some detail. For the issue is an important one and should be put to rest.

Vaidya’s and van Buitenen’s efforts to disprove the priority of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were made in their respective introductions to the critical edition of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* and the translation of the *Āraṇyaka-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. The two positions differ only slightly, because van Buitenen has borrowed several of his chief arguments from Vaidya. However, where Vaidya unequivocally regards the *Mahābhārata* episode as the direct source of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, predating it by “centuries,”<sup>62</sup> van Buitenen prefers, in the end, to equivocate, stating only that “rather than viewing either one as the source of

<sup>59</sup> Sukthankar 1941, pp. 472-87 and 1939, pp. 406-15. Raghavan 1973, pp. 11-25. Sukthankar’s work has been updated with reference to the critical edition of the *Rām* by Jhala 1968, pp. 295-98. Jhala makes some interesting observations on the question of the recension of *Rām* known to the authors of the *Nalopākhyāna*. For a critique of this view and a discussion of the parallel passages of the two epics from the point of view of their grammatical irregularities, see van Daalen 1980, pp. 42-56. Also see Shah 1975, pp. 29-53.

<sup>60</sup> For some dissenting views, see Hopkins 1901, pp. 62-64, Ludwig 1894, pp. 30ff., and, more recently, Vaidya 1971, pp. xxxi-xxxvi, and van Buitenen 1975, pp. 207-14.

<sup>61</sup> For a brief summary of some of the less recent opposing views and the rationales behind them, see Bulcke 1950, pp. 53-54. Bulcke himself is of the same opinion as Jacobi and Sukthankar.

<sup>62</sup> Vaidya 1971, p. xxxii, xxxvi.

the other it is more profitable and also more interesting to see the story of *Rāma* (i.e. the *Rāmopākhyāna*), as preserved in *The Mahābhārata*, as the happy documentation of a stage in the development of *The Rāmāyaṇa* very close to the point in time when the main story of this text was given the form in which we now know it.”<sup>63</sup> He concludes, somewhat nebulously, that “the only conclusion that seems reasonable concerning the relationship between the story of *Rāma* and Vālmīki’s *Rāmāyaṇa* is that the former is a summary of a fully expanded *Rāmacarita* that after its contents were fixed in the story of *Rāma*, underwent further development, acquired a new beginning and a new end, attracted subsidiary elements, and became known as the original poem (*ādikāvya*) of Vālmīki.”<sup>64</sup>

Let us now examine the evidence for these conclusions. Vaidya’s first argument is that since the *Rāmopākhyāna* is narrated to Yudhiṣṭhira at an appropriate juncture in the tale, it cannot therefore be an interpolation in the text. He goes on to say that, “being thus a genuine part of the *Mahābhārata*, it is much older than the poem of Vālmīki, and being a part of an *Itihāsa*, it is much more trustworthy than a *Kāvya*.”<sup>65</sup> As to the first point, it may be said that practically all of the *ākhyānas* of the *Mahābhārata* are introduced at suitable points in the narrative. This is because particular events and situations in the central narrative suggest these stories and are used by the epic bards as the thematic pegs on which to hang the loose structure of the massive poem. If Vaidya’s point were allowed, then we would be obliged to accept all such episodes as part of the original saga and could then safely abandon the theory of interpolations.

As for the distinction of genre that separates the two poems, the *itihāsa* is in no discernible way either more or less valid historically than the *kāvya*. To assert that it is leads one to absurdities such as that proposed by Vaidya, who suggests that we must contrast the *Mahābhārata*’s “historical statement” of the wind god’s testimony as to Sītā’s purity with the poetic innovation of having the god of fire give the same testimony in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>66</sup> Vaidya follows this preamble with a list of eight differences between the two versions that he claims to be innovations on the part of Vālmīki. Many writers

<sup>63</sup> Van Buitenen 1975, p. 214.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>65</sup> Vaidya 1971, p. xxxii.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., pp. xxxiv-xxxv.



on this subject have collected lists of differences between the two texts, and one must expect discrepancies between poetic accounts of the same story when the one is some 50,000 lines in length and the other is less than 1,500. The great majority of these are consistent with Jacobi's theory that the *Rāmopākhyāna* is a free retelling, with great condensation, of an orally transmitted text. Nonetheless, let us look at the following points marked with Vaidya's numbers.

1. The *Rāmopākhyāna* makes no mention of Viśvāmitra. This is interesting, but it seems to be in keeping with the compression of the text, which has eliminated many characters from the *Bālakāṇḍa* that do not figure significantly in the main narrative of the poem. Vaidya's argument that in the original version, which for him is the *Rāmopākhyāna*, the hero's marriage is arranged not by the Kauśika sage, as in Vālmīki, but by Tvaṣṭṛ has been shown by Raghavan to be based on a faulty interpretation of the passage in question.<sup>67</sup>

2. The *Rāmopākhyāna* lacks the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s account of the curse of Ahalyā and of her liberation from it by Rāma. This is true, but since we are dealing here with what is undoubtedly part of the latest stratum of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, this can hardly be called "an innovation of Vālmīki."<sup>68</sup> Nothing about the relation of the two texts can be adduced from this fact.

3. The *Rāmopākhyāna* has a character, the venerable *rākṣasa* minister Avindhya, who aids and comforts the desolate Sītā and chides Rāvaṇa for his ill treatment of her. It is Avindhya who has the prophetic dream that is in Vālmīki ascribed to Trijaṭā, and he is rewarded by Rāma for his kindness to Sītā. This character, according to Vaidya, is unknown to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Van Buitenen was very impressed by this point and regards it as critical to his own argument:

There is a telling variation between *Rāma* and *Rām*. in the dream episode. In *Rām*. it is Trijaṭā's dream, but in *Rāma* it is not just the dream of some young and friendly demoness but the rather more official vision of a venerable Rākṣasa named Avindhya, who later comes in for a reward from Rāma. Vālmīki knows nothing of him. Now it is very difficult to understand why an abridger of *The Rāmāyaṇa* who, according to Jacobi, consistently simplifies his original, suddenly should invent a wholly new character. It

<sup>67</sup> Raghavan 1973, pp. 12-13 note 3.

<sup>68</sup> Vaidya 1971, p. xxxii.

is more likely that Vālmīki did not want any more friendly Rāk-  
ṣasas than Vibhīṣaṇa.<sup>69</sup>

The problem is that Vālmīki does know Avindhya and mentions him and his disregarded counsel to Rāvaṇa at two separate points in his poem.<sup>70</sup> Clearly what has happened is that the *Rāmopākhyāna* has condensed Vālmīki's version by largely merging the roles of Avindhya and Trijaṭā.

4. In the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Kumbhakarna is killed by Lakṣmaṇa, whereas in the *Rāmāyaṇa* he is killed by Rāma himself. This point is worthy of consideration, for it is representative of a class of such differences that characterize the two texts. What are we to make of situations in which one text ascribes a specific deed to one character and the other to a second, or where the two works use different names for what appears to be the same person or place? Do they require us to posit separate sources for the two versions? Surely not. For if we do, then how are we to explain the difference in the hypothetical sources? Can there really have been two *ur-Rāmāyaṇas*, one of which made Lakṣmaṇa the killer of Kumbhakarna and the other Rāma? Even if one were willing to accept such an unlikely state of affairs, how could we explain this difference in these hypothetical constructions other than by saying that one or the other had made a change? If we accept the possibility of such a change in these hypothetical texts, or in their own predecessors, we are forced back toward an ever more distant and imaginary source. We cannot in all cases expect to know the reason for such a change.

The remainder of Vaidya's points are either erroneous<sup>71</sup> or easily explainable as examples of the *Rāmopākhyāna*'s somewhat awkward and often pedestrian condensation of the tale as told by Vālmīki.

Most of van Buitenen's points are either repeated from Vaidya or are subject to the same objections as Vaidya's. He adduces, however, two additional arguments against Jacobi that deserve atten-

<sup>69</sup> Van Buitenen 1975, p. 212. It is odd that in attempting to strengthen his sense of the contrast between Avindhya and Trijaṭā he should describe the latter as "young." Virtually the only thing we are told about the demoness in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is that she is *vrddhā*, "old" (5.25.4).

<sup>70</sup> 5.35.12-13 and 6.25.20 (v.1. Aviddha). Vaidya's error was first pointed out by Raghavan (1973, p. 18). It is particularly unfortunate for van Buitenen's argument that it is so heavily dependent on this error of Vaidya.

<sup>71</sup> See his point 6 about the magic water (p. xxxii) and Raghavan's discussion (Raghavan 1973, p. 22).



tion. First, he remarks that Jacobi's observation that the *Rāmopākhyāna* knows the late *Uttarakāṇḍa* and must therefore postdate the composition of the older portions of the poem by a considerable period is not necessarily valid. For, he argues, the *Uttara*-derived material "may well have been inserted" later in the *Mahābhārata* version.<sup>72</sup> But although there is clear evidence for the lateness of the *Uttara* in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, there is none for the later addition of its references to Rāvaṇa's antecedents to the *Rāmopākhyāna*.

Van Buitenen's second point deals with Jacobi's observation that the *Rāmopākhyāna*'s allusion to the famous incident of Sītā and the crow<sup>73</sup> is so terse that it is unintelligible unless we presuppose on the part of its author and audience knowledge of Vālmīki's text. Van Buitenen denies this, but his arguments are difficult to follow. He says that "it is in the nature of abridgments to abbreviate most concisely those episodes that are best known,"<sup>74</sup> illustrating this enigmatic statement with a series of examples from the *Mahābhārata*. His examples, however, are elliptical versions of tales whose full narratives follow immediately, a common practice in the longer epic. Since the *Mahābhārata* has no longer version of the Rāma story than the *Rāmopākhyāna*, which is in any case hardly an episode of the type given in the examples, his point is not telling. Van Buitenen concludes this argument with another bewildering statement: "the Mount Citrakūṭa episode, in my view, appears as a risqué story (not necessarily only told of Sītā), and the mere reference to 'the reed cast at the crow' could bring instant recognition."<sup>75</sup> Are we to understand the reference to reeds and crows to allude to some general habit of ancient Indian ladies? If so, how would an allusion to this serve to reassure Rāma that Hanumān had actually seen Sītā? In any case, this argument leaves us with no known source for the reference other than the improbable proto-Rāmacarita hypothesized by its author. The whole point is, in fact, based on a passage of dubious textual authority. The actual crow episode is known only to the northern recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, although Hanuman's allusion to it in Book Six appears in the best reconstruction of the text. More telling on the side of Jacobi's view is a

<sup>72</sup> Van Buitenen 1975, p. 209.

<sup>73</sup> *MBh* 3.266.67, erroneously cited in van Buitenen (1975, p. 210) as 3.266.15.

<sup>74</sup> Van Buitenen 1975, p. 210.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

previously unnoticed allusion in the *Rāmopākhyāna* that would appear to presuppose a passage in the constituted text of the critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. At *Mahābhārata* 3.275.60 it is said that when Hanumān has been sent to bring the good news of Rāma's victory to Bharata, he carried out his mission after "observing all gestures" (*lakṣayitveṅgitam sarvam*). This phrase is obscure unless one has in mind *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.113.12-15, where Rāma charges the monkey to observe closely all of Bharata's bodily and facial gestures when he hears the news, with the purpose of determining whether the prince is truly willing to relinquish his regency to Rāma. At verse 14 he says, "take note of all of Bharata's gestures and behavior" (*jñeyāḥ sarve ca vṛttāntā bharatasyeṅgitāni ca*). The opacity of the former passage leads us to believe that it is an elliptical allusion to the latter. This would appear to be a better example of what Jacobi argues is evidence of the priority of *Rāmāyaṇa* with respect to the *Rāmopākhyāna*.

With the elimination of the *Rāmopākhyāna* as probable source or even a collateral descendent from a common source for the story, we can with some assurance assert that the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* or at least the text that can be reconstructed from the manuscripts of its three recensions, is the earliest surviving version of the Rāma legend.

## THE FATE OF THE RĀMA STORY IN INDIA AND BEYOND

The *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, as the oldest surviving version of the Rāma story, assimilated and superseded its presumed bardic sources. Moreover, an early stage of the text can, we believe, be recovered from the existing manuscripts and, to a large extent, has been reconstructed in the text of the critical edition. At an indeterminate but relatively early date, the work acquired tremendous prestige not only as an edifying and even redemptive tale but as both the first work of true poetry and a record of God's deeds among men. It thus seems reasonable to view the poem as the ultimate source of all versions of the tale in existence.

The pervasive appeal of the story and its principal characters is astounding. The enormous and diverse body of Sanskrit literature, from the time of the *Mahābhārata* onward, is filled with retellings, allusions, poems, plays, hymns, and philosophical and religious texts inspired by the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The literatures of even such pow-



erfully anti-Hindu groups as the Buddhists and the Jains, from the time of the *gāthās* of the *jātakas* and the *Paumacariya*, respectively, have adapted this moving story to their own needs. The story has been enthusiastically adopted by the literatures of virtually every language of modern India.<sup>76</sup> In some cases, such as that of Kamban's Tamil masterpiece and Tulsi Das's *Rāmcaritmānas*, works derived from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are still regarded as among the greatest pieces in the literary traditions of important languages. The power and popularity of the Rāma story has been such that it has been able successfully to cross not only the boundaries of caste, religion, and language but even those that divide major cultural areas. In this way the story has come to serve as one of the major wellsprings of poetry, folklore, and puppet theater in many of the languages and cultures of Southeast Asia. The power of the tale to inspire artistic creation has manifested itself as well in many of the finest examples of painting and sculpture in both South and Southeast Asia.<sup>77</sup>

Before turning to a discussion of the translation of the epic, its style, conventions, aims, and annotation, we must make some effort to explain it. In order to do so, we must probe into the nature and significance of the work as an expression of the needs, ideals, and beliefs of the culture that produced it and continues to cherish it.

<sup>76</sup> For an extensive and comprehensive survey of virtually all of the major literary versions of the Rāma story in both Indian and non-Indian languages, see Bulcke 1950, pp. 1-285. Bulcke (pp. 281-285) also gives a short survey of early western writers on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. An early survey of the Indian Rāma literature is to be found in Baumgartner 1894, pp. 235-330. See also N. M. Sen 1956b, pp. 95-100. An interesting discussion of epic and purāṇic versions and variants is provided by Raghavan 1973. For a treatment of some of the less well-known and fragmentary Rāma plays, see Raghavan 1961. On Jain *Rāmāyaṇas*, see Narasimhachar 1939, pp. 575-94; Kapadia 1952, pp. 115-18; and Kulkarni 1959, pp. 189-204, 284-304. Sen 1920 has an interesting account of the nature and extent of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇas*. For the expansion and development of the Rāma story beyond India, see the important and scholarly work of Sweeney on Malaysia (1972), as well as Hooykaas on Java (1958) and Sahai on Laos (1976). Raghu Vira and Yamamoto 1938 have presented the text and translations of two *Rāmāyaṇa*-derived *jātakas* found in China. For a general survey and discussion of the non-Indian versions of the Rāma story, see Raghavan 1975.

<sup>77</sup> For treatments of important examples of artistic representations of the Rāma story see the select bibliography in Mittal 1969, p. 67. A sizable filmography of Indian cinematic representations of the *Rām* could be compiled and would be both interesting and useful.

THE MEANING OF THE *RĀMĀYAṆA*

Like any monumental work of literature, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has always functioned on a variety of levels. Through the millennia of its popularity, it has attracted the interest of many kinds of people from different social, economic, educational, regional, and religious backgrounds. It has, for example, served as a bedtime story for countless generations of Indian children, while at the same time learned *śāstrins*, steeped in the abstruse philosophical, grammatical, and metaphysical subtleties of classical Indian thought, have found it a subject worthy of their intellectual energies.

Originally the story, or at least its kernel, must have drawn its audience as a stirring martial saga of a legendary warrior hero of Kosala. On this level, the level of a legendary tale, the compound story has two main portions fused into an epic of intrigue, quest, and triumph such as we find in literature the world over. The first section of this story, the account of the events in Ayodhyā culminating in the exile of Prince Rāma, has, despite its relative realism and apparent historicity, much in common with the folk or fairy tale. Its central event, the dispossession of a favorite child through the machinations of a wicked and pitiless stepmother, is commonplace in fairy tales.<sup>78</sup> Although the epic, as we now have it, has treated this motif in its own peculiar fashion, modifying it in the service of other ends, the essential plot of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* is unmistakably allied to that of hundreds of stories in the collections of the folk and fairy tales of India, Europe, and the Middle East.

The subsequent portion of the poem seems even closer to such a source. For the hero, now exiled, wanders through a succession of enchanted woods peopled by strange creatures, filled with enormous and magical powers for good or evil. In these woods he is befriended by a powerful and beneficent sage who gives him magical weapons.<sup>79</sup> With these weapons Rāma manages to kill huge

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Thompson 1957, vol. 5, p. 300, for references to folktales involving a wicked stepmother. If we can see in the unflattering portrait of Kaikeyī the wicked stepmother of the fairy tale, we may perhaps also perceive in Mantharā, her deformed and malicious maidservant, a variant of the fairy-tale figure of the wicked witch or evil fairy.

<sup>79</sup> 3.11.29-34. It is not unlikely that this encounter with the sage Agastya is the source for the much more elaborate episode of Viśvāmitra's gift of divine weapons to Rāma at 1.26-27.



numbers of dreadful demons, creatures common to the fairy-tale literature; but, at last, the lord of all the demons, using his magic power, steals away the beautiful princess Sītā whom he imprisons in a remote citadel across the sea. Then, just when Rāma seems to have lost everything, he is befriended by a group of talking monkeys who agree to help him. One of the monkeys flies across the sea and returns with news of the princess. Then, with the aid of the monkey army, the hero crosses the sea, fights a dreadful battle and, at last, recovers both the princess and his throne. Once more, similar stories could be picked out of virtually any collection of fairy tales.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, when told in outline, the story seems at times more like Puss in Boots than a great heroic saga or courtly epic.

The basic plot of the epic, then, is clearly derived from or heavily influenced by the folk literature of ancient India, which is closely allied to the folk literatures of Europe and West Asia. It is, perhaps, this that has led some scholars to see western influences at work on the authors of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We may view the *Rāmāyaṇa*, then, as either an epic built upon a heroic legend of the Kosalan aristocracy and largely shaped by the hands of storytellers steeped in the tradition of *Märchen* and fairy tales, or as an ancient folktale adapted by the bards to suit the tastes and interests of the Kosalan nobility.

We cannot, of course, finally decide between these two hypotheses. But, in any case, the destiny of the Rāma story is such as to demonstrate clearly that it was from a very early date regarded as far more important than just another fairy tale or even legend of the heroic age, such as are recorded by the hundred in the *Mahābhārata*, the *purāṇas*, the *kathā* literature, and even the *vedas*. By the time of the addition of the *Bāla* and *Uttara Kāṇḍas*, the text had taken on a fully defined function as an exemplary tale, and its hero had assumed a role as a model for human behavior.

By the time of the completion of the *Bālakāṇḍa*—and probably somewhat earlier—the original characterization of the unfortunate Prince Rāma had come to be obscured by a massive and hyperbolic catalog of manly virtues. At the very beginning of the poem as it now stands, the sage Vālmīki is represented as plying the divine seer Nārada with questions as to the existence in his own day of a

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Thompson 1955-1958, vol. 1, p. 450 for references to the motif of an animal helping in the quest for a vanished wife. For a thoroughgoing analysis of the poem as a "Märchen-epic," see Gehrts 1977.

man possessed of a long list of human virtues. In Nārada's reply Rāma is identified as just such a man.<sup>81</sup>

Thus it appears that the author or authors who put the text into the form and order in which it has survived wished to make it clear that their hero was not by any means an ordinary man, nor even an ordinary hero. He is the perfect man, an ideal toward which ordinary mortals should strive. Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that this exaltation of Rāma to the status of a perfect man is an independent development of and, in fact, a precursor to the elevation of this ideal figure to the rank of earthly manifestation of God. For the first development seems to have become popular with early writers who are either only peripherally interested in the divinity of the hero or who, like the Buddhists and Jains, would reject it out of hand. In this way the character of Rāma, as delineated by Vālmīki, became an exemplary hero for the authors of the *Rāmopākhyāna*, the *Dasaratha Jātaka* and other *Rāmāyana*-derived *jātakas*, and the Jain *Rāmāyaṇas*. The deification of Rāma appears to belong to the very latest stratum of the conflated epic. The great bulk of the text in the central five books is almost wholly unaware of his identification with Viṣṇu, and even parts of the *Bāla* seem uncertain on this point.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> 1.1.1-18. This catalog of Rāma's virtues is probably not the oldest of its type in the epic. At the beginning of the second book (2.1.15-27) there is a similar list that, if our understanding of the history of the text is correct, is very likely the source of the *Bāla* passage.

<sup>82</sup> The *Yuddhakāṇḍa* chapter (6.105) in which Brahmā reveals to Rāma his divine nature and praises him as the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa has good manuscript support. It is, however, virtually the only unambiguously Vaiṣṇava passage in Books Two through Six, and like the devotional portions of Books One and Seven, it is almost certainly a relatively late addition. Several authors have remarked that the closing verses of the late first chapter in all but a few Devanāgarī manuscripts have Nārada tell Vālmīki that, at the end of Rāma's eleven-thousand-year reign, he will go to Brahmā's world and not Viṣṇu's (1.1.76), whereas earlier in the same passage the hero is compared to Viṣṇu for his valor (1.1.17). These references would seem to support the theory that the identification of Rāma with Viṣṇu is not known to some strata even of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Ruben 1936, p. 63, argued that the issue of the hero's identification with Viṣṇu has little bearing on the question of the relative age of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, since we cannot explain the fact that Books Two through Six, which have numerous late interpolations, have still no Vaiṣṇava passages. Therefore, Ruben argues, the central books and the bulk of the *Bālakāṇḍa* may deliberately withhold allusions to Rāma's divinity. I find Ruben's argument to be implausible, not least because it would seem to imply some unspoken but uniformly observed agreement among generations of *Rāmāyaṇa* scribes and reciters. As to why so few of the later



The intrusion of the theological element, albeit at a late and somewhat heterogeneous stratum of the text, gave rise to the tradition that the epic has a soteriological virtue. This development, however, is not very pronounced and is perceptible in the critically edited text in only a few obviously late passages. The first of these, and the only one accepted by the critical editors, is to be found at the end of Nārada's *Samkṣipta Rāmāyaṇa*, which forms the bulk of the epic's opening chapter. There we are told that the story is holy, the equal of the *vedas*, and that it purges one from sin.<sup>83</sup> The reading of it is said to free one from all sin. Further, it is said that the reading of the *Rāmāyaṇa* insures a place in heaven, not only for the reader, but for his sons, grandsons, and dependents. Finally we learn that reading it was open to all four of the social orders of Indo-Aryan society, and benefited them all, according to their respective social roles: it brought mastery in the use of the sacred utterances to brahmins, kingship to kshatriyas, success in business to *vaiśyas*, and greatness to even the *śūdras*.

The more elaborate *phalaśruti* at the end of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, often cited as proof that the original poem ended with the sixth book, is rejected by the critical edition.<sup>84</sup>

By the same token, the text is for the most part free from a strongly devotional attitude toward its hero. Even the *Bālakāṇḍa*, which explicitly describes Rāma's birth as a manifestation of God on earth in response to the prayers of the lesser gods, shows almost nothing of the devotional fervor that will characterize the *bhakti* movement. Only at the very end of the *Uttara* and in a curious passage near the end of *Yuddha*<sup>85</sup> do we see real devotionism

---

interpolations in Books Two through Six are of a Vaiṣṇava cast, there is little that can be said with any certainty; but there is little evidence to oppose the theory that an explicit Vaiṣṇava reference is a sign of a relatively late stratum of text formation in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The question of the textual history of the *Bālakāṇḍa* will be taken up in greater detail below. For a provocative and dissenting discussion of the divinity of Rāma in Vālmiki, see Pollock's forthcoming Introduction to Volume 3 of this translation and forthcoming article in *JAOS*.

<sup>83</sup> 1.1.77-79.

<sup>84</sup> GPP 6.128.105-122, crit. app. \*3703. Similar passages at the end of *Uttara* are, likewise, relegated to the apparatus.

<sup>85</sup> 6.105. This is the only passage accepted by the critical edition that resembles a classic Vaiṣṇava devotional hymn in both form and content. The hero, hearing this hymn of praise from the mouths of the gods, is puzzled and remarks, "As far as I know I am a man, Daśaratha's son." Brahmā then intervenes, explaining to Rāma

creeping into the epic. Even in the *Bālakāṇḍa*, with its unequivocally Vaiṣṇava account of the circumstances surrounding the birth of the hero, we find few other references to Rāma's divinity, even in contexts such as the breaking of Śiva's bow that would appear to lend themselves especially well to a sectarian treatment. Only at the very end of the book do we find even a subdued reference to the identification of the hero with Viṣṇu.<sup>86</sup>

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, then, although it has come to be regarded as an essentially devotional text, has become one only as a result of accretions. The devotional element never permeated the Sanskrit epic and has left the bulk of it untouched. As a result, the tone and feeling of Vālmīki's work is markedly different from that of later versions of the Rāma story, such as those of the Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas* and the poets of the *bhakti* movement who use the tale to give literary expression to the consuming force of their devotional passion.

It may well be that the Vaiṣṇava element in the *Rāmāyaṇa* was first introduced in emulation of the authors of the *Harivaṃśa*, perhaps between the second and fourth centuries A.D.<sup>87</sup> This latter

---

that he is, in fact, Nārāyaṇa. He identifies Rāma with various of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, including Kṛṣṇa, and this fact alone suggests the late date of the passage. The testimony for this passage is unusually uniform, and the variants are remarkably few and insignificant. In this case, as in many others in the epics, textual homogeneity indicates not antiquity but a late and sectarian passage accepted with little change by all scribes. One is reminded of the situation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* in the recensions of the *Mahābhārata*. Passages such as this must make us very wary of claims, such as those put forward by van Daalen 1980, pp. 5-13, that universal testimony is a sign that passages belong to the archetype or even to the corpus of the original poet. See Goldman 1982.

<sup>86</sup> At 1.75.17-19. This episode, with its preamble (1.74.14-20), is one of the few truly sectarian passages in the epic. The Bhārgava Rāma, who in the *purāṇas* and very late strata of the *MBh* is elevated to the status of an *avatāra*, shows no evidence of divinity in this passage, even though the episode is a relatively late addition to the *Bālakāṇḍa* and presupposes knowledge of the *MBh* tradition of the warrior-sage. The *Bāla* episode (1.48.12-21) in which Rāma releases Ahalyā from her long curse—an episode that in the hands of Tulsī Das (*Rāmcaritmānas* 1.210-211) and other poets of the *bhakti* movement becomes the archetypal demonstration of the lord's saving grace—is in Vālmīki handled with no reference to the divinity of the hero.

<sup>87</sup> There can be little doubt that the *Harivaṃ* is later than the bulk of the *Rām*. For a discussion of this point, see Ingalls 1967, pp. 393-94. If, as seems likely, the *Harivaṃ* was the first great Sanskrit epic poem to concern itself centrally with the life of a divine incarnation, it is at least plausible to see the Vaiṣṇava element in the *Rām* as derived from the poetic life of Kṛṣṇa. The date of the *Harivaṃ* is uncertain,



work, an appendix to the *Mahābhārata* and the oldest surviving complete account of the career of Kṛṣṇa, stands, we feel, in a complicated relationship to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There can be no doubt that the latter is the older work, for as we have argued it is in the main older than the surviving form of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Harivaṃśa*, on the other hand, at least in the form in which we now have it, presupposes the longer epic.<sup>88</sup>

What the authors of the *Harivaṃśa* did was to take the somewhat obscure and enigmatic god-man of the Bhārata saga and of the popular legend of the Mathurā countryside and provide for him a coherent and sequential biography set in an often highly poetic medium. In creating such a work, a poetic rendering of the legend of a kshatriya hero, the authors must certainly have used the *Rāmāyaṇa* as their inspiration and model.<sup>89</sup>

If, however, the narrative poem of the life of Kṛṣṇa is inspired by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is evidence to indicate that the development of the cult of Kṛṣṇa considerably predates that of Rāma.<sup>90</sup> If this is so, then it seems quite possible that the Vaiṣṇava authors or expanders of the *Bāla* and *Uttara Kāṇḍas* might, in turn, have been influenced in their conception of the Ikṣvāku hero as a demon-

---

but it would appear unlikely that, in the absence of any new evidence, the core of the work, the *Viṣṇuparvan*, much predates the beginning of the Christian era. If all of these suppositions are correct, we can take the first century A.D. as the rough date of the introduction of the Vaiṣṇava portions of the *Bāla* and *Uttara Kāṇḍas*.

<sup>88</sup> The *HariVam* knows Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (*HariVam* 65.42-43). The significance of this, however, is unclear. The *HariVam* reference to Vālmīki as a poet of Vyāsa's eminence (see Ingalls 1967, p. 393) has been relegated to an appendix by the compilers of the critical edition. See *HariVam* App. No. 8.30.

<sup>89</sup> See Ingalls 1967, for a discussion of the poetry of the *HariVam*. There is even some evidence that specific incidents in the *HariVam* account of Kṛṣṇa's career may have been drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus the story of how Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma come to Mathurā to see the great bow of Kaṃsa, which Kṛṣṇa then breaks (*HariVam* 71.27-46), must certainly be an adaptation of the story of Rāma's breaking of Janaka's bow that forms the climax of the *Bālakāṇḍa*.

<sup>90</sup> See Bhandarkar 1913, pp. 1-4, 30-48. On the basis of literary, inscriptional, and other evidence it is clear that the cult of Vāsudeva must date from at least the third century B.C., and that the identification of this figure with the cowherd-god Kṛṣṇa cannot be much later than the beginning of the Christian era. On the other hand, despite the evidence of the *Bāla*, *Uttara*, and other stray references in the *Rām* and the inclusion of Rāma Dāśarathi in epic and purāṇic lists of *avatāras*, an organized cult of Rāma does not appear to have existed much before the eleventh century A.D.

slaying warrior, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, by their exposure to the *Harivaṃśa*.<sup>91</sup>

With the rise of the cult of Rāma and development of the Vaiṣṇava schools of theology, particularly that of Rāmānuja and his successors, the numerous commentators on the *Rāmāyaṇa* aimed to provide a Vaiṣṇava hermeneutic for the poem as an account of God's manifestation among his earthly devotees. We feel that this sort of interpretation is largely forced upon the poem. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was not originally intended to be a theological narrative, nor, we would argue, is its extraordinary popularity to be explained as a function of its religious significance. On the contrary, we would suggest, it was the great popularity of the work at an early date that attracted the interest of the sectarian bards of the purāṇic tradition and, later, of the Vaiṣṇava theologians and the great *Rāmabhaktas* among the poets of India's modern languages. Although the traditional regard for Rāma as a compassionate manifestation of God on earth must certainly be a major factor in our understanding of the increasing vitality of the poem and its extraordinary destiny in medieval and modern India, this cannot be the principal reason for its early spread and popularity.

With this in mind, we may now turn to the much-discussed question of the interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Few works of Indian literature, with the possible exception of the *Gītā*, have generated so great a mass of exegetic writing. A great deal of this writing consists of muddled pieties of a religious and moral nature, and it is often more useful to us as source material on the role of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the process of acculturation in Hindu society, than as critical secondary scholarship.

The traditional interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is that it represents a poet's vision of actual events involving an earthly manifestation of the supreme divinity, events that took place in historical time, but in an age enormously remote from our own.<sup>92</sup> The interpretations of modern scholars usually differ in only a few respects from the traditional view. That is to say that a large number of

<sup>91</sup> Additional evidence of this may be found in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*'s knowledge of Mathurā as an important site, and its appropriation on behalf of Rāma's brother, Śatrughna, of the glory of having founded that important city.

<sup>92</sup> See 1.2.32-34 where, through the grace of Brahmā, Vālmiki is granted knowledge of all the actions and thoughts of the epic characters—the public and private, the known and the unknown.



students of the *Rāmāyaṇa* take the poem to be a poetic rendition, in however distorted a form, of historical events.<sup>93</sup> But, as we have argued, there appears to be no genuine historical basis for the Rāma legend, and these theories are now largely discredited. Jacobi was one of the first to demonstrate the flaws in the historical interpretation, and he proposed to interpret the epic on a wholly different level: that of mythology.<sup>94</sup>

Jacobi is concerned in his analysis of the epic only with the material of Books Three through Six. Like other scholars, he finds a discontinuity between the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* and what follows it, and he seems willing to take the events of the second book as historical. In his view, the portion of the epic narrative that deals with the abduction and recovery of Sītā is an agricultural myth and, in fact, a reworking of the ancient Indra-Vṛtra material of the *vedas*. This interpretation, which proceeds chiefly from Jacobi's identification of Sītā as the personification of the plowed furrow and therefore of agricultural fruitfulness in general, belongs to a type of mythical analysis that is no longer generally accepted. In any case it must be regarded as a premature essay into speculation that mars Jacobi's otherwise incisive and generally convincing treatment of the poem.<sup>95</sup>

The point that Jacobi raised in opposition to the proponents of allegorical interpretations is, however, an important one: it is improbable that the essential significance of so enormously popular a work as the *Rāmāyaṇa* should not on some level be well understood

<sup>93</sup> Thus, for example, Wheeler felt he could discern four distinct historical stages of religion and civilization in the epic, whereas Lassen and Weber saw the poem as a sort of chronicle of Aryan expansion into peninsular India. These interpretations and others offered by nineteenth-century scholarship are no longer generally accepted, but the idea that the *Rām* developed around a historical core is still current.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Jacobi's amusing deflation of Wheeler's interpretation of the epic as a historical allegory: "Imagine! Vālmīki, the greatest poet of the pre-classical age composed an allegory that no one understood until a European nineteen centuries later came upon the obscure secret!" (1893, p. 90). The point is a good one and ought to be brought to bear on all interpretations that seek to "discover" a concealed meaning in the epic. It is, ironically, equally damaging to Jacobi's own cherished interpretation.

<sup>95</sup> Jacobi 1893, pp. 126-39. It is probable that the figure of Sītā is somehow derived from the vedic divinity of the plowed field, but we are in agreement with Winternitz 1927, pp. 515-16 that Weber 1891, p. 818 was right in his feeling that a wide gulf separates the vedic from the epic legends. Moreover, there is evidence to indicate that the Rāma story does not proceed originally from the vedic legends of the *asura-deva* conflict. See Goldman and Masson 1969, pp. 95-100.

in its native environment. In the end, then, we must return to the point from which we began: the unparalleled success of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in India and the enormous influence it has exerted over virtually every aspect of India's culture. For surely, this is the most remarkable fact about the Rāma story, and no attempt to explain the significance of the epic can be judged truly successful unless, in some measure, it addresses this question.

Although the *Rāmāyaṇa* as we know it is a mixture of many elements—bardic, legendary, folkloric, mythic, poetic, didactic, devotional, and so on—none of these elements, either separately or in combination, seems sufficient to explain the pervasive influence of the story. Indian literature, from very ancient times, provides us with an unusually rich corpus embodying all these elements. Yet none of these stories and their legendary heroes has even remotely approached the *Rāmāyaṇa* in influence and vitality, century after century, over all the cultural, national, social, religious, and linguistic boundaries of India, Southeast Asia, and even East Asia. In an effort to explain the unique success of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and its numerous descendents, the many versions of the Rāma story, we must direct our attention more closely to the nature of the epic story itself and to the poet's delineation of its principal characters.

#### RĀMA: THE HERO AS RENOUNCER

The most striking aspect of Vālmīki's characterization of his hero is not his martial valor but his refusal to assert his rights to succeed to the throne of the Kosalas and, when finally enthroned, to protect his beloved wife from the malicious gossip of his people. Rāma's unemotional acquiescence to his wrongful disinheritance marks the central moment of the epic, and it is this willing renunciation of his inheritance and apparently perfect control of his emotions that is the reason for the enormous esteem in which he is held. That Daśaratha's exile of his son is unjust serves only to heighten the traditional admiration for the hero's feat of self-effacement. Testimony to this is abundant in both the popular and scholarly literature on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A typical example of this attitude is expressed by Dhirendra Narain, who remarks,

The heroism of Rama precisely lies, on the one hand, in the enormous injustice of the demand made on him, and on the



other, in his unprotesting, almost willing submission to it. . . . The highest adoration has . . . always gone to Rama. He is what cannot be easily achieved, he suffers gladly. Lest this be said that Rama is the ideal of self-control, in full possession of his emotions, let it be pointed out that Rama is never angered, he never has the feeling of being unjustly treated. He is incapable of being angry. It is not the control of anger but the complete absence of it that makes him a great hero in Hindu estimation.<sup>96</sup>

Rāma's exaggerated self-denial and general lack of emotion in the face of personal tragedy—however appropriate they may be to the selfless sages that populate traditional Indian literature—are peculiar attributes for the warrior hero of a martial epic. This is especially striking when we contrast the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with those of the Homeric epics: It is precisely the selfishness and self-assertiveness of the Achaian leaders that give rise to the tragic events of the *Iliad*.<sup>97</sup> But the contrast between Rāma and the heroes of non-Indian warrior epics, if striking, is not as illuminating as the differences of the Kosalan prince from the principal protagonists of the other great Indian epic poem, the *Mahābhārata*. For although a number of the important figures connected with the central ruling family of the *Mahābhārata*, most notably Bhīṣma, exhibit an unusually exaggerated form of self-denial, the central narrative of the epic depends upon the Pāṇḍavas' insistence on asserting their rights, even where this involves armed confrontation with their brahman preceptor and the patriarchs of their clan.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Narain 1957, pp. 114-15. Despite Narain's statement, Rāma is subject in certain circumstances to almost total loss of self-control, a loss accompanied by unrestrained anger and sorrow; see Goldman 1980, pp. 166-67. This will be discussed further below.

<sup>97</sup> This difference has long been a subject of discussion among scholars. Gorresio summed it up in a sort of aphorism: "accordo dell' uomo col creatò in Grecia, lotta dell' uomo col creato nell' India" [Harmony of man with nature in Greece, struggle of man with nature in India] (Gorresio 1847, p. vii).

<sup>98</sup> Bhīṣma, like Rāma, is deprived of his rightful succession to the throne through his father's infatuation for a beautiful and ambitious woman. His sacrifice is, however, in many ways more complete than that of Rāma: he relinquishes his claim to the throne voluntarily. His father does not have to ask or order him to do so. Moreover, his loss of royal power is permanent, unlike Rāma's, which has a fixed term. Finally, Bhīṣma also renounces both the pleasures of sex and the hope of progeny in an act of self-denial so dreadful that the gods, seers, and heavenly nymphs cry out "*bhīṣmo 'yam*," "He's awesome!" thus giving the hero his best known

The difference in the two epics' central attitudes toward self-assertion is most clearly seen in a comparison of their respective heroes' response to the same situation of potential conflict. In several well-known passages from the beginning of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Arjuna, confronted with the prospect of having to fight his friends, kinsmen, and teachers, succumbs to a fit of depression and loses his resolve to fight for what he knows is right.<sup>99</sup> In explaining to Kṛṣṇa his unwillingness to do his warrior's duty, the great Pāṇḍava hero states that he has no longer any desire for victory, kingship, pleasure, or even life itself, since those for whose sake he desires these things—his kinsmen and teachers—must be fought and slain if he and his brothers are to obtain them. To emphasize his refusal to attack his elders, Arjuna argues that he would not do so even for the sake of the kingship of the three worlds, much less for mere lordship of the earth. The poignancy of Arjuna's horror of killing his family for the sake of material and political gain is brought home powerfully to the *Gītā*'s intended audience by the hero's use of a metaphor deriving its force from the traditional Indian concern with the purity of food. He tells Kṛṣṇa that should he kill his elders, he would "eat food smeared with blood."

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* at 2.90-91, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, exiled to the forest, are confronted with a situation that looks, at least to the latter, very much like that confronting Arjuna on the field of Kurukṣetra. For Bharata, approaching with a huge army in order to bring Rāma back to the capital in a manner befitting a king, seems to Lakṣmaṇa's protective and somewhat cynical eye to be bent on the destruction of his older brother and apparent rival. Lakṣmaṇa urges Rāma to prepare for battle and promises to kill Bharata for him. Rāma, however, has no stomach for such a fight and, in any case, does not believe that Bharata means him any harm. He rebukes Lakṣmaṇa for saying such things for the sake of a mere kingdom, adding that both Bharata and he himself stand ready to cede the kingdom to him.<sup>100</sup>

---

epithet; see *MBh* 1.94.86-90. For a discussion of some of the psychological implications of Bhīṣma's filial devotion and that of similar *MBh* figures such as Pūru and Rāma Jāmadagnya, see Goldman 1978, pp. 338-47.

<sup>99</sup> *BhagGī* 1.25-47, 2.4-8.

<sup>100</sup> 2.91.6-8. In this *sarga*, many southern manuscripts and the vulgate have a passage of some twenty lines in which Rāma, in a virtual paraphrase of the comparable *Gītā* passage, expresses his horror at the thought of fighting his kinsmen (*Ayodhyākāṇḍa*,



These apparently similar confrontations are of interest precisely because they focus our attention on the fundamentally irreconcilable attitudes toward the nature and limits of self-assertion that characterize the two great Sanskrit epics. Although both Rāma and Arjuna speak eloquently for the traditionally sanctioned posture of deference and self-denial in the face of one's male elders or their representatives,<sup>101</sup> only Rāma is fully prepared to carry this attitude into practice. For in the end, despite his protestations, Arjuna allows himself to be persuaded not only to fight his kinsmen but to slaughter them treacherously, murdering such revered elders as Bhīṣma, the patriarch of his family and his surrogate father, and Droṇa, his brahman teacher. Rāma, in contrast, really means it when he claims that he would far rather yield his right to the throne of the Kosalas than be involved in any sort of conflict with his kinsmen. This is a central point, critical to our appreciation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its destiny in India.

The point is stressed repeatedly throughout the epic. First the hero receives the news of his dispossession and banishment with astonishing equanimity.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, he affirms in the confrontation with Bharata at Citrakūṭa his absolute unwillingness to accept the throne in violation of his father's orders, despite the fact that Daśaratha is now dead and Bharata and the sages beg him to return.<sup>103</sup> Even in the end, when he has fully carried out the instructions of his father and is returning victorious to Ayodhyā, Rāma makes it unmistakably clear that, should Bharata display by so much as a facial gesture any unhappiness at the thought of relinquishing

---

crit. app. 2.112\*.1-12; GPP 2.97.2-8). Like Arjuna, Rāma argues that there is no point in killing his kinsmen for the kingdom, since it is only for their sake that he desires wealth, power, and pleasure. Like Arjuna, he too claims that, although he could easily gain the earth, he would not wish even the lordship of the gods (*śakratvam*), if it should come to him through foul means. He too likens things acquired through the killing of his friends and kinsmen to the consumption of tainted food (*bhakṣyān viṣakṛtān iva*). Although several factors make it difficult to determine the relative priority of the two passages, it seems probable that one is a paraphrase of the other. It is especially interesting that the tradition sees the two confrontations as similar, even though their resolutions are radically different.

<sup>101</sup> In the *Rām*, Bharata, although he is Rāma's junior and must therefore defer to his elder brother, is viewed by the latter as the representative of Daśaratha, since he is now the appointed heir.

<sup>102</sup> 2.16.27-61.

<sup>103</sup> 2.98-104.

the throne to him, he would still be willing to abandon his claim to sovereignty.<sup>104</sup> Rāma's unwavering deference to Daśaratha and his reluctant successor Bharata is matched only by the latter's deference to Rāma himself. Thus the confrontation at Citrakūṭa is the very opposite of what is represented as having taken place at Kurukṣetra. Here it is a contest of self-denial, a virtual battle of mutual deference, with the two princes each urging the other to accept the throne.

Clearly the epic poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are at pains to minimize and diffuse, if not totally eliminate, conflict within the heroic family. It is true that a certain fundamental conflict is necessary both to make the epic story work and to provide a background against which the hero's virtues of self-denial can be shown to best advantage. But the conflict is represented as the product of a lowly, scheming maidservant who plays upon the jealousies and maternal feelings of the susceptible Queen Kaikeyī. None of the men of the House of Raghu is ever set in conflict against another, or for that matter, against himself. Rāma and his brothers rarely show any of the inner ambivalence that lends such psychological reality to the finest portions of the *Mahābhārata*. In the world of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, struggle must always be directed outward. The enemy is not one's self, one's elders, or one's family. In fact, the objects of aggression are not even human but are, instead, fantasied demonic incarnations of all the darker forces that are so completely exorcised from the characters of Rāma and Bharata. Insatiable lust and unbridled grasping for power are not unknown to the poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; they are simply alien to the principal heroes of the epic who are invariably governed, even to their great disadvantage, by the promptings of a higher morality whose principal strictures derive from deference to one's elders and adherence to the loosely codified principles of one's collective elders, or *dharma*.

This sort of deference to both specific and generalized paternal authority is by no means unique to the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Mahābhārata* can offer a number of examples, some of which, as in the stories of Bhīṣma, Rāma Jāmadagnya, and Pūru, are even

<sup>104</sup> 6.113.12-16. Rāma's unwavering devaluation of the throne relative to what he perceives as his duty to his father and such abstractions of paternal authority as *dharma* and truth is closely paralleled by his recurrent undervaluation and repeated rejection of Sītā in favor of his male kinsmen and such abstractions as duty and reputation. For a detailed discussion of this see Goldman 1980.



more dramatic than that of the prince of Kosala. Yet in the longer epic these stories are relatively minor and self-contained incidents set in the greater context of an internecine struggle so bitter that, in the end, it sweeps away the old morality to leave the heroes' world a smoldering ruin. The genius of the authors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* lies, in part, in their ability to create a national epic of political and military deeds that retains all the moral simplicity of its underlying fairy tale, in which the hero acts only on higher motives, and the villain, a ten-headed monster, is unredeemed by even a shred of decency or humanity.

In order to lend to the story a certain amount of tension and move the complex plot, raising the poem from the level of a fable to that of a compelling and often moving drama, the poets have made extensive use of the technique of creating a series of closely associated but clearly differentiated composite character sets.<sup>105</sup> The most elaborate and complex of these sets of characters is that made up of the heroic brothers, the four sons of Daśaratha. This group is further subdivided into two subsets, the closely linked and carefully differentiated pairs, Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata-Śatrughna. A very clear and important series of differentiations is made among the three principal wives of Daśaratha. They differ in age, function, and the degree of fascination that they exert on the aged monarch. Moreover, the moral and emotional qualities of Kausalyā and Kaikeyī are sharply contrasted; the character of the latter provides the impetus to the development of the entire narrative. Even the villain of the piece, the dreadful and uncontrolled Rāvaṇa, is supplied with a contrasting counterpart in the person of his pious and righteous (if disloyal) brother, the renegade demon Vibhīṣaṇa.

These sets of contrastive figures provide the poets with a vehicle for portraying the ambivalence inherent in all real human beings while keeping the central characters largely free from inner struggle. Yet even in the case of the almost totally self-controlled Rāma, they have permitted occasional but important lapses in which his inner feelings find expression in his speech or even overwhelm him completely. Thus, for example, we find that at 2.47.8-10 the prince, on his way into exile with his brother and wife, gives vent to the bitterness he feels toward his father for having subjected him to such hardship and humiliation. He says,

<sup>105</sup> For a detailed study of this phenomenon in the *Rām* with special reference to the epic's composite hero, see Goldman 1980.

Without me the old man has no one to look after him. All he thinks about is sex, and so he has fallen completely under Kaikeyī's power. What will he do now? When I reflect on this disaster and the king's utter change of heart, it seems to me that sex is a more potent force than either statecraft or righteousness. For, Lakṣmaṇa, what man, even a fool, would give up an obedient son like me for the sake of a woman?

Passages such as this keep Rāma from becoming just one more of the static and one-dimensional paragons of filial devotion with which the epic and purāṇic literature is filled. Vālmīki's sensitivity and psychological insight in allowing his hero a measured degree of human frailty has enabled him to create a figure who, more than any other, stands as the very symbol of filial obedience. The simpler and wholly unambivalent characters of this type, figures such as Bhīṣma, Rāma Jāmadagnya, and Pūru, are respected by the tradition and are important in the *Mahābhārata* and later literature. They are not, however, the stuff of which great epic heroes are made; lacking any suggestion of inner doubt and uncertainty, they are not figures with whom an audience can empathize. Moreover, the authors of the legends of these other heroes have deprived their characters of one of the fundamental elements of human life. In seeking to portray the hero as totally a creature of his father's needs, all these figures are made to renounce sex.<sup>106</sup> Bhīṣma abandons the pleasures of sex forever so that his father can indulge his own fascination for a beautiful young woman.<sup>107</sup> Pūru is said to have exchanged his youthful sexual vigor for his father's senile impotence.<sup>108</sup> Rāma Jāmadagnya, in complying with the order of his father, summarily beheads his own mother who is guilty of having had a transient sexual thought.<sup>109</sup> Alone among his clan, he adopts a career of lifelong celibacy. Only Rāma, of all the legendary paragons of filial piety, is spared the fate of impotence or celibacy. He alone is permitted a mature love, albeit one that is fraught with difficulties and ultimately tragedy. In fact, Rāma has

<sup>106</sup> See Goldman 1978; Devereux 1951; and Carstairs 1961, pp. 159-60.

<sup>107</sup> *MBh* 1.94.86-88. It is interesting to note that in a Jain account of this episode, found in the *Pāṇḍava Purāṇa* of Vāḍicandrasūri (1.105-106), Bhīṣma is said to have lent substance to his famous vow by actually castrating himself. I am grateful to Professor P. S. Jaini for pointing out this reference to me.

<sup>108</sup> *MBh* 1.79.27-29.

<sup>109</sup> *MBh* 3.116.13-14. See Goldman 1978, pp. 342-44.



come to be regarded in India as the great exemplar of devoted, monogamous married love, despite his cruel treatment of Sītā.

The most striking and important result of this tension between the two aspects of Rāma's personality is the fact that, although the hero is represented as being deeply in love with Sītā and is driven almost to the point of insanity by his grief at her abduction,<sup>110</sup> he repeatedly asserts that she occupies an inferior place in his heart to that of his male relatives and his subjects.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, in his concern for his own reputation, he twice repudiates Sītā, banishing her and his unborn children to what seems to him certain death in the wilderness. It would appear that the poets wanted to rescue their hero from the censure that Indian tradition heaps upon those who place too high a value on sexuality and who indulge in expressions of it in violation of their duty to their elders.<sup>112</sup>

In addition to Rāma's clearly stated and fundamental ambivalence toward Sītā, his early life—the adventures that culminate in his marriage—includes a series of events that bear directly upon the resolution of the tension between his portrayal as, on the one hand, an aggressive and romantic hero and, on the other, a self-controlled, deferential, and asexual son.

Like his Bhārgava namesake, the brahman Rāma Jāmadagnya, Rāma is forced at the very beginning of his recorded adventures to kill a woman. Here, however, the story is both more elaborate and more complex. Jāmadagnya kills his mother on the order of his father, after his older brothers have refused to do so. In our story, recounted at 1.23-27, the victim is not the hero's mother but a once-beautiful *yakṣī* who, because of an attack of some kind on a venerable sage, has been transformed into a hideous and insatiable man-eating demoness. The man who orders her death is not the hero's father, but is regarded as speaking with the authority of and as a surrogate for King Daśaratha.<sup>113</sup> The refusal of Jamadagni's older sons is paralleled by Rāma's reluctance, despite Viśvāmitra's instructions, to kill a woman.<sup>114</sup> Just as Rāma's action in killing the

<sup>110</sup> See 1.76 where the blossoming of this love is charmingly described; and 3.59-61, 4.1, etc. for his grief.

<sup>111</sup> For a detailed discussion of this, see Goldman 1980, pp. 160-63.

<sup>112</sup> For a dramatic illustration of this attitude in Indian society, see Gandhi 1960, pp. 43-46.

<sup>113</sup> 1.25.2-4.

<sup>114</sup> 1.25.11-12. In the vulgate and several southern manuscripts, Rāma's reluctance

demoness Tātakā is closely parallel to that of Jāmadagnya's in beheading Reṇukā, the consequences of the two deeds are also similar. Both heroes receive boons at the hands of the elders who have ordered the death of the women. Rāma Jāmadagnya receives, among other things, the virtue of being unrivaled in battle.<sup>115</sup> Rāma Dāśarathi is given possession and mastery of an elaborate set of supernatural weapons that likewise make him invincible in battle.<sup>116</sup>

It is one of the major tenets of traditional Indian literature, religion, and society that renunciation of the objects of sensual desire is compensated either through material gain or the acquisition of supernatural or spiritual powers. Clearly Bhārgava Rāma, a lifelong celibate and blind follower of his father's most dreadful commands, is being compensated for renunciation. The kshatriya Rāma, in killing the *rākṣasa* woman, is engaging in similar, although more heavily disguised, renunciation—an act for which he is compensated by Viśvāmitra's gift of the magical weapons. Where the two legends differ in this respect is that, although the brahman hero must remain celibate, the prince must marry and father sons if the purposes of the epic poets are to be fulfilled.

In order for these things to happen in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is necessary that Rāma first pass through two additional trials that serve, in large measure, to undo the psychological effect of his killing of Tātakā. These trials both involve the mastery and neutralization of powerful bows in the keeping of patriarchal figures. In the first of these, Rāma, alone among all the kings of the earth, is able to lift, wield, and destroy the great bow of Śiva that had been left in the possession of the patriarch Janaka. It is in reward for this feat that Janaka gives the prince his daughter Sītā in marriage.<sup>117</sup> In confirmation of his having thus overthrown the dominance of the

---

is so great that the sage has to order him once more, rather sharply, to get on with it. See App. I, No. 5.15-20.

<sup>115</sup> *MBh* 3.116.18. This is one of the several ways in which the *MBh* accounts for Rāma Jāmadagnya's reputation for being a great master of the science of arms. For a discussion of this and other legends bearing upon the Bhārgava Rāma's acquisition of his military skills, see Goldman 1977, pp. 99-112 and 1982a.

<sup>116</sup> 1.26-27. Bhīṣma and Pūru, the other major epic exemplars of filial subservience, are also given boons by their fathers in compensation for their renunciation of sexuality. Śantanu grants Bhīṣma the power to choose his time of death (*MBh* 1.94.94), whereas Yayāti makes Pūru, his youngest son, his heir and successor (*MBh* 1.79.30).

<sup>117</sup> 1.66.15-23.



patriarch and thereby won the right to take his daughter, Rāma is confronted almost immediately with a second, almost identical, test. On his way back to Ayodhyā with his new bride, Rāma is accosted by none other than his namesake, the terrible son of Jamadagni who, enraged by the destruction of Śiva's mighty bow, challenges the prince to try his strength against that of the even mightier weapon of Viṣṇu. If he can wield this bow, he must fight the scourge of the kshatriyas. The hero is more than equal to the challenge and easily defeats Jāmadagnya.<sup>118</sup> This episode, which virtually brings to a close the *Bālakāṇḍa*, is evidently a late addition even to this book, for its portrayal of the Bhārgava Rāma clearly presupposes knowledge of the *Mahābhārata*. It nonetheless demonstrates that the later poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were at some level aware of the psychological significance of the Rāma legend as well as the tale of "Paraśurāma" and sought, through these three striking episodes—the killing of Tātakā, the breaking of the bow, and the humiliation of Rāma Jāmadagnya—to deal with the complex psychological realities underlying the epic and the characterization of its hero.

Through the careful manipulation of these themes, characters, and episodes, the authors of the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* achieved a delicate balance in their characterization of Rāma. On the one hand, he is the most important, if not the most extreme, example of traditional India's ideal man, the son who subordinates the goals of his own life to those of his father. On the other hand, he has a sufficient degree of ambivalence and a sufficiently rounded character to enable him to serve as a model for countless generations of Indians, while remaining the compelling hero of a fundamentally tragic epic tale.<sup>119</sup> I have, nonetheless, discussed this aspect of *Rāmāyaṇa* interpretation at some length because it is clear that in this area we find the richest source of data that bear on the all important question of the longevity, vitality, and fecundity of the epic and its derivatives in India and much of contiguous Asia.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is, at least in part, an exciting, moving, and beautiful poem. It is also the saga of the incarnate divinity's battle against

<sup>118</sup> 1.73.

<sup>119</sup> A detailed psychological analysis of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, although desirable, is beyond the scope of this introduction. For psychological discussions of particular characters and episodes in the epic, see Goldman 1978 and 1980; and Masson 1975 and 1980, pp. 80-109.

the forces of evil. Yet Indian literature is filled with poems and sagas such as this, none of which have achieved the prestige, diffusion, and influence of Vālmīki's poem. The success of the work, like the prestige and even divinization of its hero, derives from its success in striking at the heart of one of the critical cultural problems of traditional India. Reading the *Rāmāyaṇa*; hearing it chanted, discussed, expounded, and analyzed; seeing it represented in plays, dances, paintings, sculptures, and films has enabled its audience, through their identification with Rāma and Sītā, to cope in their own lives with the problems that the epic poets have addressed. Like any piece of fantasy, the *Rāmāyaṇa* permits the reader partially to externalize and more completely master his most urgent anxieties and inner conflicts. Hundreds of generations of Indian children, urged to emulate Rāma and Sītā by elders eager to stifle rebelliousness and self-assertiveness, have submitted themselves to the sway of its powerful fantasies. In doing so they have made an adjustment that is central to the formation of the Indian personality, family, and society. As both the traditional literature and modern field observation show, many Indians, both men and women, act out in their own lives the central plot of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with all its negative entailments in the areas of sexuality, relation to authority figures, and emotional life in general. For them, and almost necessarily for their children, a fascination for the figures of Rāma and Sītā and their story is unavoidable. It is this, more than anything else, that is responsible for the extraordinary destiny of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.



### 3. Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa*

WE MAY NOW turn our attention from the general problems of history and interpretation to a more detailed consideration of the form and contents of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and of their implications for the study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a whole.

Since the appearance of Jacobi's seminal study, it has been generally accepted, at least among western scholars, that most if not all of the *Bālakāṇḍa* is a later addition to the central core of the poem. There is considerable evidence in support of this position. As early as 1841 Adolph Holtzmann pointed out a number of apparent contradictions in the early sections of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, remarking forcefully on the book's stylistic inferiority to what he regarded as the genuine portions of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. He also provided a cogent explanation for the inclusion in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the miraculous origin of the hero and his early feats of prowess.<sup>1</sup> Holtzmann noted the evident confusion in the *Bālakāṇḍa* account of Daśaratha's sacrifice to produce a son. There are at least two distinct rites involved, a *putrakāmeṣṭi* and an *aśvamedha*, the purposes of which appear to be identical. Moreover, as he suggests, there is some confusion and duplication in the roles of Vasiṣṭha, the official *purohita* of the king, and of R̥śyaśṛṅga in the performance of the rites. Holtzmann was also the first to report that the contents of the first book, with its pastiche of myths, legends, genealogies, and other digressions, is in sharp contrast with the more coherent narrative of the middle books. Since Holtzmann's time, this "purāṇic" quality of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, as contrasted with the more "epic" quality of Books Two through Six, has been noted by most writers on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>2</sup> Several of these authors have also remarked that the first *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, as it now stands, summarizes the main events of the poem but makes no reference to the events of the book itself, a deficiency corrected in *sarga* 3.

These points are good ones, and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that at least some significant portion of the *Bālakāṇḍa* is later, perhaps considerably later, than the bulk of Books Two

<sup>1</sup> Holtzmann 1841, pp. 36-38.

<sup>2</sup> See Lesny 1913, p. 497; Macdonell 1900, pp. 304-307; Winternitz 1927, vol. 1, pp. 495-96; Bulcke 1952/1953, pp. 327-31; and Jacobi 1893, pp. 50ff.

through Six. The question of just how much later has been treated somewhat casually by many scholars. Most are content to remark that the book is later, and some, like Lesny, have stated simply that “ein grösserer Zeitraum,” a considerable period of time, must lie between it and the five following books.<sup>3</sup> R. G. Tiwari argued, on the basis of a comparison of some of the mythological material from the *Bālakāṇḍa* with known data from political and religious history, that the book was composed sometime in the period from the latter half of the second century to the first half of the first century B.C.<sup>4</sup> His arguments are not wholly convincing, however, and since he offers no new evidence that bears on the date of the “genuine books,” he brings us no closer to an informed estimation of the period that separates the *Bālakāṇḍa* from the older material.

The question of the date of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, like that of the epic itself, is greatly complicated by the fact that the text developed gradually, perhaps over a period of several centuries. As Jacobi convincingly argued, portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa* appear to be quite old and, undoubtedly, belong to the earliest strata of the text.<sup>5</sup> In fact, Jacobi went so far as to propose a reconstruction of the beginning of the *Bālakāṇḍa* from which he excised all but sixteen verses that set the scene in the prosperous Kosalan capital of Ayodhyā and introduced the principal characters.<sup>6</sup> Since he regarded these few verses as the original preface to what is now the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, Jacobi implicitly rejected most of the first book as part of the original work. In this, as we shall see, he was probably overly cautious.

In a brief article written in 1953 entitled “The Genesis of the Balakanda,” Bulcke provides us with a conspectus of the book’s subject matter. Without subjecting the text to the minute verse-by-verse analysis that we find in Jacobi, he divides the book into five sections as follows:

1. Introduction. Sargas 1-4.
2. Daśaratha’s sacrifices. Sargas 5-17.

A description of Ayodhyā; the horse sacrifice; \*the Putreṣṭi-yajña.

<sup>3</sup> Lesny 1913, p. 497.

<sup>4</sup> Tiwari 1952-53, pp. 9-17.

<sup>5</sup> Jacobi 1893, pp. 55-59.

<sup>6</sup> Jacobi 1893, p. 59.



3. Rāma's birth and youthful exploits. Sargas 18-31.  
Birth of the four brothers; Viśvāmitra's arrival; encounter with Tātakā, Mārīca, and Subāhu.
- 4.\*Pauranic stories. Sargas 32-65.  
Viśvāmitra's family; sons of Sagara; churning of the sea; Ahal-yā's deliverance; the long story of Viśvāmitra becoming a Brāhmaṇa.
5. Rāma's marriage. Sargas 66-77.  
The breaking of the bow; the marriage; \*the encounter with Paraśurāma; return to Ayodhyā.

Bulcke's asterisks indicate passages that he regards as later interpolations, so he appeared willing to allow that a substantial portion of the book, amounting to well over half the *sargas* of the constituted text, belongs to its oldest stratum. According to Bulcke, the early *sargas* are those dealing directly with the antecedents and early career of Rāma. Bulcke refers to Jacobi's reconstruction and presumably accepts its validity, although he offers no explicit judgment of it. He appears to regard the first four *sargas*,<sup>7</sup> the *upodghāta*, as belonging to the "original *Bālakāṇḍa*." According to him, the oldest part of Book One is the introduction, the first *sarga*. This was followed—in response to questions asked by the poem's original audience—by a description of Vālmīki and how he came to write his poem, and only then by the material about Rāma, his youth and marriage. After this material had been composed, continues Bulcke, bards added the purāṇic material that makes up the bulk of the central portion of the book.

There is nothing inherently unreasonable about Bulcke's reconstruction of the history of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. But like Jacobi's reconstruction of the kernel of the first book, it is based on a number of judgments concerning what the ancient bards and their audiences would or should have done. As such, it lacks any probative force. On the other hand, his arguments do force us to think of the first book analytically, rather than as an indivisible whole.

It is the failure to regard the book as having its own textual

<sup>7</sup> Actually *sargas* 1, 2, and 4: see Bulcke 1952/1953, p. 329. The exclusion of *sarga* 3, the second conspectus of the epic poet, is evidently based upon the fact that it knows the events of *Bāla*: the journey with Viśvāmitra, the marriage, the breaking of the bow, and the confrontation with Bhārgava Rāma (1.3.4-5). This exclusion is problematic, however, in the light of Bulcke's acceptance of these events as belonging to the oldest portion of *Bāla*.



history that has led scholars such as Tiwari astray.<sup>8</sup> The geographical references in the portion of the *Bālakāṇḍa* concerned with Rāma's journey appear to date from a time prior to the rise of Magadhan hegemony. If we take the earliest reasonable period for purāṇic reference to Śakas and Yavanas to be the late first century A.D., then it is evident that at least four hundred years must separate the earliest from the latest portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. These later portions are, as we shall see, heavily influenced by the *Mahābhārata* and older *purāṇas*.

As to the relative dates of the second and fourth *sargas*, the portion of the text dealing with the composition and early performance of the poem, it is difficult to say anything definite. The highly developed knowledge of traditional poetics and the sophisticated notion of art as a sublimation of emotion set forth in these sections suggests that their author or authors were at least familiar with the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; and although this text presents its own complicated problems of chronology, it can hardly be much older than the second century B.C.<sup>9</sup>

In discussing the nature and contents of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and its relation to the epic as a whole, earlier scholars have been, like Holtzmann, negative in their appraisal of the book. In their zeal to demonstrate the relative lateness of the book and its lack of an organic relation to the "genuine" portions of the poem, a number of writers have tended to overstate their case. For example, as evidence for the tenuousness of the link between the first book and the core of the epic, Holtzmann claimed that in the second book, to which he ascribes real poetic merit, there are no references to the events described in the first.<sup>10</sup> Jacobi, Winternitz, and Bulcke all declared that this observation could be extended to include all the genuine books.<sup>11</sup> In conjunction with this point, these three scholars all point to what they regard as a clear contradiction be-

<sup>8</sup> Tiwari's arguments as to the late date of the *Bālakāṇḍa* (Tiwari 1952/1953, p. 15) are, in fact, relevant only to the later portions of the text. His remarks about the Śakas, Yavanas, and other barbarians produced by Viśvāmitra's cow—remarks similar to those of earlier writers on the date of the *Rām*—apply only to the passage in which the reference occurs, a fact first pointed out by Jacobi (Jacobi 1893, pp. 94-95).

<sup>9</sup> Ghosh 1967, pp. xlix-lit.

<sup>10</sup> Holtzmann 1841, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Jacobi 1893, p. 52 note 1; Winternitz 1927, vol. 1, p. 496; Bulcke 1952/1953, p. 328.

tween the *Bālakāṇḍa*'s description of Lakṣmaṇa's marriage to Ūrmilā at 72.18 and Rāma's famous assertion at 3.17.3 that his younger brother is unmarried.

The first and more important of these two points is simply not true. The "genuine" books contain at least two references to the events of Book One. At 2.110.26-52, Sītā, responding to the questions of Anasūyā, gives a fairly detailed synopsis of the events surrounding her birth, *svayamvara*, and marriage. This synopsis follows closely the account of the concluding chapters of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, as we now have it, and mentions specifically that Lakṣmaṇa married Ūrmilā (verse 51). This passage, known to almost all of the subrecensions of the text, has nevertheless been overlooked or ignored by these scholars.<sup>12</sup>

Similarly, in verses 1 through 18 of the thirty-sixth *sarga* of the *Aranyakāṇḍa*, the *rākṣasa* Mārīca, seeking to dissuade Rāvaṇa from his plan to abduct Sītā, tells him in some detail the story of his earlier encounter with Rāma that culminates at *Bālakāṇḍa* 29.7-21. In his preamble to the story of his being knocked unconscious by the force of Rāma's weapons, the demon gives a concise account of Viśvāmitra's persecution at his own hands and of the sage's visit to the court of King Daśaratha to procure the services of the young prince, all matters treated in Book One.<sup>13</sup> It is of paramount importance to note that the passage not only summarizes the narrative of Book One with only minor changes, but it betrays, in at least one verse, a close textual affiliation with the *Bālakāṇḍa* passage, for lines 1.19.2ab and 3.36.6ab are almost identical. Clearly one of the passages is derived from the other.

These two passages, drawn from two of the central books of the epic, summarize the material of most of the *Bālakāṇḍa* passages dealing with the early career of Rāma.<sup>14</sup> It is thus apparent that

<sup>12</sup> See crit. app. for 2.110. The passage appears in the vulgate and is accepted by the critical edition. It is, in fact, very widely distributed and is omitted only in a few B and D manuscripts. Jacobi was aware of the passage and mentioned it specifically in a note (Jacobi 1893, p. 53 note). Yet so firm was he in his belief in the lateness of the first book that he regards the episode as interpolated.

<sup>13</sup> 3.36.3-9.

<sup>14</sup> This is precisely the material that Bulcke regards as constituting the oldest stratum of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Regardless of the direction of the borrowing, it is clear that all of this material is early, and it is probable that these portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa* are contemporaneous with or not very much later than the "genuine" books. The detailed and highly colored account of the confrontation between the sage and the



the claim that the central core of the epic knows nothing of the events of the *Bālakāṇḍa* is without foundation. This fact does not, by itself, disprove the theory of the lateness of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. On the other hand, the parallels in text and content between the *Bālakāṇḍa* accounts of the youthful exploits of Rāma and their epitomes in the second and third books, coupled with the historical-geographical data offered by this same early stratum of Book One, make it clear that there could not have been, as has so often been argued, a very great lapse of time between the composition of Books Two through Six and the oldest portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, the portions roughly represented by *sargas* 5-8, 17-30, and 65-76.<sup>15</sup>

Another of the major charges in support of the claim for the book's lateness and inferiority is the inconsistency involving the princess Ūrmilā who is said to marry Lakṣmaṇa in the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Not only do the "genuine" books know nothing of Ūrmilā, so the argument goes, they contain a passage in which Lakṣmaṇa is explicitly said to be unmarried.

Once again Jacobi seems to have been the first to make this observation. He remarks that it is especially striking that Book Two contains no mention of Sītā's sister, because one would have expected the poet, had he known of her, to have used her to intensify the touching farewells of the exiled heroes. In a footnote to this statement, Jacobi refers to the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* passage mentioned above, but dismisses the passage as an interpolation on the grounds that the first book does not constitute an integral part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Jacobi finds the verse in which Ūrmilā is mentioned to be spurious even by the standards of its own ungenuine context. He bases this argument on the grounds that the verse (2.110.51, Jacobi's [Bombay edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*] 2.118.53) falls between two verses that belong together. These arguments are invalidated by the fact that this passage, including the verse men-

---

king over the issue of sending Rāma to fight Mārīca and Subāhu is found at 1.17.22-1.21.6. Although Mārīca's account in *Aranya* is concise and omits many details, it covers the whole period described at *Bāla* 17-29. Similarly, the tale Sītā tells Anasūyā at the end of *Ayodhyā* summarizes the events detailed in *Bāla* 65-76.

<sup>15</sup> Some of the passages and episodes within these *sargas* have been introduced at later periods. The most significant of these, such as the story of the encounter of the two Rāmas, will be discussed individually below.

<sup>16</sup> "Diese Episode scheint eingeschoben zu sein, als das erste Buch noch keinen festen Bestandteil der *Rāmāyaṇa* bildete." Jacobi 1893, p. 53 note 1.

tioning Ūrmilā, is found (with some variation in a few cases) in virtually every known subrecension of the text.

Nonetheless, Jacobi's observation about the absence of Lakṣmaṇa's wife from the elaborate scenes of leave-taking and departure that form so vital a part of the second book is interesting. It can be explained in the light of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s consistent portrayal of Lakṣmaṇa as a man who suppresses his own emotional life in deference to that of his older brother.<sup>17</sup> The poet is at pains to develop Lakṣmaṇa as the archetype of the de-erotised and totally subservient younger brother that has become normative in traditional Indian culture.<sup>18</sup> The inclusion of any emotional leave-taking on the part of Lakṣmaṇa and Ūrmilā would therefore be wholly out of keeping with the carefully elaborated characterization of Rāma's companion and alter ego. That Lakṣmaṇa as a Hindu prince should be married is to be expected, but omission of references to Lakṣmaṇa's wife from the departure scenes of Book Two is appropriate to the poet's design, and can tell us nothing about the date or genuineness of the *Bālakāṇḍa*.

Rāma's well-known description of Lakṣmaṇa as *akṛtadāra*, or unmarried, at 3.17.3 has also been subject to misinterpretation on the part of many scholars. Jacobi remarked that Vālmīki does not make Rāma a liar by having him so describe Lakṣmaṇa to the infatuated *rākṣasa* woman Śūrpaṇakhā because, in the older books, his younger brother indeed has no wife. Winternitz and Bulcke concur.<sup>19</sup>

Here again, as in the whole question of Lakṣmaṇa's supposed bachelorhood, these scholars have overlooked the cultural and narrative contexts of the passage. It is true that Rāma tells the lust-maddened demoness that she should choose Lakṣmaṇa, for he is

<sup>17</sup> See Goldman 1980, pp. 167-70.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Carstairs 1961, pp. 69-70. The culturally enjoined suppression of a younger brother's reference to his sexual life, even mention of his wife's name, is amusingly illustrated in the context of the Rāma story by the great Sanskrit playwright Bhavabhūti in his famous *Uttararāmacarita*. After verse 18 in act 1, Sītā who, with Rāma, is being shown a group wedding portrait of the brothers and their brides asks Lakṣmaṇa to identify Ūrmilā. This embarrasses the prince so much that he quickly skips to another picture to cover his confusion and avoid having to mention his wife's name or openly acknowledge her existence in the presence of his elder brother and sister-in-law. See Belvalkar 1915, p. 20. For a discussion of this incident and this phenomenon in the traditional literature, see Goldman 1978, pp. 327-29 and note 21.

<sup>19</sup> Jacobi 1893, p. 53; Winternitz 1927, vol. 1, p. 487 note 2; Bulcke 1952/1953, p. 328.



unmarried and is seeking a wife (3.18.3-4). But how seriously are we to take his remarks here? Are we to believe, for example, that he really means his brother to marry this monster? Certainly not. Rāma is having a little joke, albeit a cruel one, with the foolish creature. When the jest goes too far, ending in an attack on Sītā and the savage mutilation of the *rākṣasa* woman, Rāma remarks casually to his brother, *krūrair anāryaiḥ saumitre parihāso na kāryaḥ*, "Saumitri, one really shouldn't joke with these savage non-Aryans" (3.18.19). Rāma is only teasing the wretched creature. The strict code of truthfulness of the Aryan warrior class, a virtue for which Rāma is famous, simply does not apply to dealings with such barbarians, any more than the code of kshatriya chivalry will apply, in the following book, to Rāma's killing of the monkey Vālin from ambush. Certainly we can draw no serious inference about the relation of the older portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa* to the rest of the epic from this foolish and ultimately tragic joke.<sup>20</sup>

In conclusion, then, it would appear that previous scholarship has been overly harsh in its judgment of the genuineness of much of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Examination of the first book shows that the fairly substantial portions of the text that deal directly with the early exploits of the epic hero are indeed known to the central books and are, on geographical and historical grounds, almost certainly products of the pre-Magadhan era. As such, it seems most probable that these portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa* formed part of the original stratum of the epic.

The remaining portions of the first book, comprising the prefatory material of *sargas* 1-4, the legend of the sage Ṛśyaśṛṅga and the account of his participation in Daśaratha's sacrifices, Viśvāmitra's retellings of sectarian and genealogical legends from the *purāṇas*, the lengthy and interesting account of Viśvāmitra's struggle to achieve the rank of *brahmarṣi*, and the tale of the encounter of the two Rāmas, belong to later strata of the text. Let us now turn briefly to each of these sections in an effort to set them in their proper relation to the oldest material in the *Bālakāṇḍa* and, therefore, to the oldest core of the epic itself.

The opening *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, as it now stands, presents

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed discussion of this incident and its implications both for the development of the epic story and for our understanding of the relationship between Books Two through Six and the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, see Goldman and Masson 1969, pp. 95-100.

us with a number of interesting puzzles. It consists for the most part of a detailed, if selective, synopsis of the epic story (verses 18-70) put in the mouth of the divine seer Nārada, who recites it in response to the questions of the seer Vālmīki concerning the existence of an ideal man (verses 1-5). Nārada begins his account with an elaborate catalog of Rāma's physical, mental, and moral perfections (verses 6-18) and closes it with a brief description of the hero's ideal reign (verses 71-74) and the various political, spiritual, and economic benefits that accrue to people who read the poem.

As has been remarked at various times, the first *sarga* does not appear to know Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.<sup>21</sup> This inference is drawn on the basis of two references in the text. First, Viṣṇu is mentioned simply as one of those with whom the hero is compared (verse 17). Also at the end of the chapter, when Nārada is forecasting the future of Rāma's rule, he states that, after having reigned for eleven thousand years, Rāma will ascend to the world of Brahmā (verse 76). Neither of these references seems consistent with the position that Rāma is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and so it would appear that the section is older than the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and *Bālakāṇḍa* passages that posit this identification. In addition, the synopsis is strikingly free from allusions to the events of the *Bālakāṇḍa* proper, a fact that appears to support the theory that the substance of the *Bālakāṇḍa* is late.<sup>22</sup> In brief, then, it would appear safe to set up a chronological sequence according to which *sarga* 1, the so-called *Samkṣipta Rāmāyaṇa*, predates even the oldest stratum of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, which, in turn, would have to postdate the central body of the narrative that is summarized in this section. But although this conclusion appears to be unexceptionable, it may be open to serious question.

For one thing, the framing portions of the chapter, the first seven and the closing three verses, seem not to belong to the oldest strata of the text. The sketchy introduction of the sage-poet Vālmīki seems to link the chapter closely with the remainder of the *upodghāta*, a section that must be a subsequent addition to the core of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. The figure of Vālmīki is, as has often been noted, known only to the *upodghāta* and the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. He is unknown to the so-called "genuine" books, and there is no allusion to him in the other parts of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Moreover, the whole tone, style, and content of the opening *sarga* support the notion that it is an

<sup>21</sup> See Bulcke 1952/1953, p. 330.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 328.



integral part of the preamble. The three closing verses of the chapter, the *phalaśruti*, make no explicitly Vaiṣṇava reference, but do presuppose a powerful association with divinity on the part of the epic hero: the ancient audience of a pre-Vaiṣṇava heroic ballad could hardly be expected to believe that hearing the piece would free them of all sin and conduct them with their descendants and retainers to heaven.<sup>23</sup> The presence of a *phalaśruti* has been regarded as evidence of the late and interpolated character of the *Bālakāṇḍa*'s section telling of the descent of the Ganges, and there is no reason why this argument should not apply equally to this other set piece, the *Samkṣipta Rāmāyaṇa*.

Further evidence of Rāma's identification with Viṣṇu in the first chapter is found in the last verse of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Virtually every version of the text tells us that the newly married Rāma in the company of his wife was as radiant as the lord of the gods, Viṣṇu, in the company of Śrī.<sup>24</sup> Most scholars argue that the entire book is late, and particularly this verse with its longer meter and Vaiṣṇava allusions. And yet, 1.76.18, like 1.1.17, merely compares Rāma with Viṣṇu; it does not identify the two. If, as Bulcke argues, we must take the verse from 1.1 as evidence of the first *sarga*'s priority to the Vaiṣṇava element in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, then we must make the same judgment with regard to the last verse, if not the last *sarga* of the text. In fact, it would appear that these allusions to Viṣṇu presuppose the identification of the god and the hero and are intended to suggest it in the context of the audience's knowledge.

The failure of the first *sarga*'s conspectus of the epic plot to include reference to the *Bālakāṇḍa* is evidence more suggestive than conclusive of the lateness of the book. The conclusion that the compiler of the *Samkṣipta Rāmāyaṇa* knew a *Rāmāyaṇa* that, as yet, lacked a *Bālakāṇḍa* is simple and appealing. It is not, however, necessarily correct. Bulcke argued that the first *sarga*'s omission of allusions to the early career of Rāma is an "anomaly" that has been "corrected by the insertion of a second conspectus (cf. *sarga* three) in which the subject-matter of the *Bālakāṇḍa* is incorporated."<sup>25</sup>

The "correction" Bulcke refers to is a *sarga* of nearly sixty lines

<sup>23</sup> It is interesting that the *Bālakāṇḍa*, although it has often been regarded as a late addition to the poem, does not, according to the best reconstruction of the manuscript evidence, end with a *phalaśruti*.

<sup>24</sup> 1.76.18; the reference to Śrī and the identification of Viṣṇu, rather than Indra, as the ruler of the gods is a sure sign of sectarian influence.

<sup>25</sup> Bulcke 1952/1953, p. 328.



of which only three (1.3.4-5b) refer to the events of the *Bālakāṇḍa*.<sup>26</sup> Rather than compose an entire second table of contents, it would surely have been much simpler, had the redactors intended correction, for them to have inserted the necessary verse or two directly into the first chapter. The fact that such an insertion does not occur in any known manuscript of the text suggests that the first *sarga* is a fairly late set piece appended, not so much to the epic or even to the *Bālakāṇḍa*, as to the late *upodghāta* itself. Its function is not to provide the background to the story of Rāma, but to provide a narrative context and background for the story of the creation and dissemination of the poem. It does this by representing the legendary sage Vālmīki as the audience of Nārada's terse purāṇic account of the virtues and career of Rāma who is represented as the contemporary ruler of Kosala. In order to illustrate the qualities about which the sage has inquired and of which, Nārada tells him, the Ikṣvāku prince is the unique repository, the divine seer summarizes the central, and original, portion of the epic in which they are most clearly made manifest.

Why the events of the central story of the *Bālakāṇḍa* are omitted is not wholly clear. It may be, as has been claimed, that the author of the *Samkṣipta Rāmāyaṇa* did not know them. On the other hand, it may well be that, as in the case of the other famous ancient condensation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Rāmopākhyāna*, the author or authors were aware of the events of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and even the *Uttarakāṇḍa* but, in keeping with the special purposes of their texts, do not mention them.<sup>27</sup>

*Sarga* 3 was certainly not added as an afterthought or correction to *sarga* 1. On the contrary, it is an integral part of the *upodghāta* and, as such, is probably the older of the two condensations of the story and serves a different purpose. *Sarga* 3 is a conspectus of the contents of Vālmīki's poem as known to the author of the *upodghāta*; *sarga* 1 is supposed to be the concise rendition of the Rāma legend

<sup>26</sup> These events—the journey with Viśvāmitra, the breaking of the bow, the marriage, and the encounter with the other Rāma—are mostly those that constitute the older strata of the first book. In addition, the chapter contains a couple of lines mentioning some of the events of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (1.3.28).

<sup>27</sup> As discussed above, it is clear that the *Rāmopākhyāna* is later than and derived from the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. That its authors knew the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is demonstrated by their familiarity with the legend and antecedents of Rāvaṇa and by the fact that they quote the latter book. See Jacobi 1893, pp. 74-75, and Raghavan 1973, pp. 11-12.

upon which the poet based his work. Both accounts are doubtless drawn from the poem, but their authors regarded them as different sorts of condensation, and it is this that explains the epic's need for the two passages and the differences between them.

Let us now turn our attention to the remainder of the *upodghāta*. The first four *sargas* of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, as it now stands, give us insight into the ancient Indian view of the poem, its origin, nature, and destiny. In its treatment of the epic as the world's first piece of true poetry, and its author therefore as the *ādikavi*, or first poet, the preamble affords us our earliest glimpse of the tradition's attitudes toward art, emotion, and aesthetics.

*Sargas* 2-4 of the *Bālakāṇḍa* constitute the heart of the preamble, recounting how the sage came to compose the poem and teach it to his disciples. In addition, this section provides some description of the poem in the technical terminology of poetics and music and concludes with a brief account of a command performance of the poem before Rāma himself by his twin sons Kuśa and Lava, disciples of Vālmiki.<sup>28</sup>

*Sarga* 2 is one of the most interesting, widely known, and frequently mentioned passages in all the epic literature. It is in this passage that we hear of Vālmiki's discovery of the art of poetry and of how he comes to compose the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Immediately after hearing Nārada's compressed and somewhat elliptical account of Rāma's career, the sage, wandering through a charming forest glade with a disciple, is lost in rapture while contemplating a pair of mating birds. Suddenly a tribal hunter emerges from the cover of the trees and kills the cock with an arrow. The sage, seeing the bird in its death throes and hearing the piteous cries of its mate, is filled with compassion and spontaneously curses the hunter.<sup>29</sup> To the amazement of the sage, his curse bursts forth in metrical form. Upon reflection he realizes that his grief (*śoka*) over the suf-

<sup>28</sup> This episode, in which Rāma and his sons first meet and the king is overwhelmed by emotion at hearing the moving ballad of his tragic career, has fascinated the transmitters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They return to it at the end of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* where an elaborate and highly dramatic version culminating in Rāma's recognition of his sons and the return and final disappearance of Sītā is made to occupy five *sargas* (7.84-89). Most of the dramatic events in this version, including the encounter of Rāma and Vālmiki and the return of Sītā, are unknown to the *Bālakāṇḍa* passage.

<sup>29</sup> 1.2.8-13. For a brief discussion of the underlying psychological significance of this episode and its relation to similar legends in the Sanskrit epics, see Goldman 1978, p. 392.



fering of the birds has somehow been transmuted into an aesthetic, rather than a purely emotional, experience and has expressed itself as poetry (*śloka*) (1.2.15-17). The verse itself (1.2.14), supposed to be the very first example of the poet's genius, is rather a disappointment, for it appears to be almost entirely lacking in the qualities of sound, sense, and suggestion that form the basis for the major traditional schools' critical assessment of poetry. Nonetheless, because of the place assigned the verse at the very wellsprings of poetic inspiration, it has, along with the entire episode, been accorded great significance by both literary critics and sectarian commentators.<sup>30</sup>

Vālmīki returns to his ashram, where he is visited by the great god Brahmā. The god tells the sage that it is he who has inspired him with poetic genius and commissions him to compose a major poetic account of the life of Rāma based upon Nārada's tale, the gaps in which are to be made good through a special gift of insight (1.2.21-34). It is here that we find Brahmā's famous prophecy concerning the longevity of the poem (1.2.35).

The *sarga* is interesting in many respects, but chiefly because of the light it sheds upon the close connection between emotional and aesthetic experience in early Indian thought. It is interesting also to note that in this legend of the creation of the first poetry, the underlying emotional states that give rise to the aesthetic experience are grief and pity. If we are to view this as reflecting a theoretical position—and this is by no means certain—then it is a provocative one that is not generally reflected in the massive technical writings of the followers of the "*rasa* school" of Indian poetics.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The episode has been regarded by many literary critics as foreshadowing the tragic events of the central epic narrative, while the Vaiṣṇava scholiasts have interpreted the verse, ingeniously if not wholly convincingly, as encoding allusions to many of the episodes in the epic and their underlying theological significance. For a discussion of the interpretations of the episode at the hands of Indian writers on poetics, see Masson 1969. For some examples of the treatment of the verse on the part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators, see the notes to 1.2.14 below.

<sup>31</sup> The position that the *upodghāta* appears to hold regarding the priority of the *karuṇarasa* is strikingly articulated (in a non-technical context) by the great dramatist Bhavabhūti who in the *Uttararāmacarita* (3.48) has one of his characters remark à propos the pathos of the Rāma story,

eko rasaḥ karuṇa eva nimittabhedād  
bhinnāḥ prthak prthag iva āśrayate vivartān  
āvartabudbudataraṅgamayān vikārān  
ambho yathā salilam eva hi tat samastam

Nonetheless, the *upodghāta*'s evident familiarity with the theory and traditional enumeration of the *rasas*, and the implicit interpretation of the entire poem as having a single central organizing mood, strongly suggest that the preamble is later than the oldest portions of the epic, including the central portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa*.<sup>32</sup> Finally, after the conspectus of the poem's contents that makes up the third *sarga*, the preamble addresses the issue of the bardic tradition of *Rāmāyaṇa* transmission. The poet is represented as teaching the poem and its mode of recitation to Kuśa and Lava, who are said to be twin sons of Rāma. It seems clear that these figures are a late invention designed to personalize the anonymous tradition of the bards, the *kuśīlavas*, of ancient India.<sup>33</sup> Through the creation of these two imaginary figures and their identification as both disciples of the legendary poet and sons of the epic hero, the authors have linked the origin of the poem with the career of its central character. In having the twins recite the epic before their father in Ayodhyā, they have set the stage for the beginning of the epic proper.

The saga of the *Rāmāyaṇa* begins, as Jacobi claimed, with the fifth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* in which the audience is introduced to the royal house of Ikṣvāku, its scion King Daśaratha, and its hereditary seat Ayodhyā, capital of the fair realm of Kosala. *Sargas* 5-7 describe in some detail the glories of the city and the surpassing virtues of its inhabitants. The descriptions are elaborate and extremely hyperbolic, but this is in keeping with the style of the Sanskrit epics and lends weight to the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s claim of universal sovereignty for the princes of the Rāghava line.

Daśaratha is a fortunate, prosperous, powerful, and happy man. But as is so often the case with the great monarchs of Indian legend,

---

"There is really only one aesthetic mood, that of pity. It is only through its different modifications and manifestations that it appears to have different forms. It's just like water that, although it may take on the forms of whirlpools, bubbles or waves, is still, in the end, just water."

<sup>32</sup> See 1.4.8 where, in a reading regarded as uncertain by the editor, the poem is said to possess the traditional *rasas*, of which seven are named in the S manuscripts and nine in the N manuscripts. For a discussion of the commentators' views on the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s *rasas* and the text-historical implications of the difference between the N and S recensions, see *Bālakāṇḍa*, critical notes, at 1.4.8.

<sup>33</sup> It is evident that the names of Rāma's sons are derived from the term for bard, not vice versa, as tradition holds. See *Bālakāṇḍa*, critical notes, at 1.4.3, for further details.



his happiness is flawed by his lack of a son and heir. In order to rectify this deficiency, the king resolves to perform the great Horse Sacrifice (1.8.1-2). The staging of the elaborate Horse Sacrifice, normally employed in the epics to sanctify a king's acquisition of sovereignty over his neighbors' territories, is unusual for the purpose of procuring a son. Bhatt, in his notes to the critical edition, attempts to gloss over this peculiarity by referring to the vedic tradition, according to which "the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice secures everything for the performer. It is, therefore, performed even for a particular purpose (e.g. for getting a son)."<sup>34</sup> This explanation is far from satisfactory. For one thing, there does not appear to be any other example in the extensive list of Aśvamedhas performed in the two Sanskrit epics of a king's making such use of the rite. Moreover, as has been noted by other scholars,<sup>35</sup> the king performs at least one additional rite for the acquisition of a son, the Putrīyā Iṣṭi initiated at *sarga* 14. One of these rites would appear to be redundant, and in the light of the seeming inappropriateness of the Horse Sacrifice in this context and of the peculiar recruitment of the sage Ṛśyaśṛṅga as its chief officiant, I would be inclined to disagree with Bulcke's suggestion that the superfluous rite is the one specifically designed to produce a son.<sup>36</sup> It would, on the whole, appear more probable that Daśaratha's great Horse Sacrifice, which is described in far greater detail than any other ritual performance in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is a later addition introduced with the purpose of firmly establishing in the mind of the audience the splendor and might of the Kosalan monarchy. By the period of the final shaping of the Sanskrit epics, the Aśvamedha had evidently become the great symbol and demonstration of Hindu hegemony. Although the *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Uttarakāṇḍa* together attribute the performance of the rite to no fewer than five Ikṣvāku kings and refer to at least eight performances of the ceremony in all, the central five books rarely, if ever, mention it.<sup>37</sup> From this discrep-

<sup>34</sup> Bhatt 1960, p. 437.

<sup>35</sup> See Holtzmann 1841, pp. 36-37, and Bulcke 1952/1953, pp. 330-31.

<sup>36</sup> Bulcke 1952/1953, p. 331. Bhatt, who has argued for the propriety of performing the Aśvamedha as a device for producing an heir, appears willing to accept the traditional view that the purpose of the former sacrifice was merely to remove the sins that were obstructing the birth of a royal heir (Bhatt 1960, p. 446).

<sup>37</sup> Aside from the detailed description of Daśaratha's sacrifice, the poem mentions those of Sagara (1.38-40), Ambarīṣa (1.60), Saudāsa (7.57.18), and, of course, Rāma (7.82-83). By way of preamble to the performance of Rāma's sacrifice, the *Uttara-*

ancy, it would appear that the portions of Books One and Seven that mention this ritual, and especially the extremely detailed and elaborate account of Daśaratha's somewhat otiose performance, are late additions to the text, introduced under the influence of the *Mahābhārata/purāṇa* tradition that sets such great store by the Aśvamedha.

The derivative and interpolated nature of the account of Daśaratha's two sacrifices is further demonstrated by its use of an important figure drawn from a wholly unrelated mythic context—the sage R̥śyaśṛṅga. This interesting figure, the story of whose seduction is one of the most widely distributed of Indian legends, had no original connection whatever with the tale of Rāma or the House of Ikṣvāku.<sup>38</sup> He is brought into it abruptly and in the manner of purāṇic narratives. Hearing that the king wishes to sacrifice in order to procure a son, his old retainer and counsellor Sumantra is reminded of an ancient story that he has heard from some sacrificing priests who tell him that the sage Sanatkumāra related it long ago (1.8.5-6). He then recounts to the king an abbreviated and relatively colorless version of the tale of the seduction of the innocent ascetic boy and his marriage to Śāntā, the daughter of King Romapāda of Aṅga.<sup>39</sup>

This perfunctory account of the unicorn-sage is introduced be-

---

*kāṇḍa* briefly mentions two legendary performances of the rite for the purpose of freeing someone from an impure or undesired state. At 7.77.8-10 the gods perform the rite on behalf of Indra in order to free him from the taint of *brahmahatyā*. At 7.81.12-20 the sage Marutta and a company of brahmins perform the sacrifice on behalf of King Ila who has been transformed into a woman by Śiva. The rite does not operate directly, as in the case of Indra, but rather serves to ingratiate the officiants with Śiva who, as a favor to them, agrees to restore the king's masculinity. At 7.25.7-8 the Aśvamedha is mentioned as one of the seven sacrifices completed by Rāvaṇa's son, Meghanāda.

<sup>38</sup> For a discussion of this fascinating character, the probable prototype of the European unicorn, whose legend has permeated the literatures of Hinduism, Buddhism, and of areas far beyond the borders of India, see Lüders 1897 and 1901, and the forthcoming study of the legend by Masson and Goldman.

<sup>39</sup> The northern recensions of the epic, and much of later Indian literature, regard Śāntā as actually a daughter of Daśaratha given in adoption to his friend and ally Lomapāda (Romapāda). On the basis of careful textual analysis, Asoke Chatterjee has shown this tradition to be a later invention of the northern redactors, owing its existence to their confusion of the Aṅga monarch, Daśaratha or Lomapāda, mentioned in several purāṇic genealogies, with the Kosalan Daśaratha. See A. Chatterjee 1954 and 1957.



cause Sanatkumāra had concluded it with the prophecy that Ṛśyaśṛṅga would somehow produce sons for Daśaratha.<sup>40</sup> Having heard this, Daśaratha asks Sumantra for a more detailed account of the career of Ṛśyaśṛṅga. Sumantra's response is a slightly more elaborate but still highly compressed and pedestrian rendering of the charming story.<sup>41</sup> Sumantra, concluding the prophecy of Sanatkumāra, now reveals that the king will bring Ṛśyaśṛṅga to officiate in his sacrifice and that the result of this will be the birth of four mighty and renowned sons (1.10.1-11). Daśaratha journeys to the kingdom of Aṅga, brings back the sage and his wife Śāntā, and installs them in his womens' apartments (1.10.13-29). This sets the stage for the performance of the rites of the Aśvamedha and the Putrīyā Iṣṭi. The description of the preparations for the execution of the first of these rituals occupies virtually the whole of *sargas* 11-13. The latter is undertaken at the beginning of *sarga* 14, but is interrupted immediately by the story of the petition, on the part of the gods, to Brahmā and then to Viṣṇu in their desire to find relief from the oppression of Rāvaṇa (1.14.4-15.6). Viṣṇu agrees to take birth as the sons of Daśaratha, and this resolution takes effect through the appearance of a celestial being who arises from the king's sacrificial fire, bearing a vessel filled with a pudding infused with the god's essence (1.15.8-22).

This dramatic event marks the culmination of the sacrificial interlude of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. After the king's distribution of the divine food to his three principal wives, the Vaiṣṇava interlude continues with a chapter in which the gods generate sons in the form of various kinds of monkeys in order to assist Viṣṇu in his mission (1.16). After this, the text returns at last to the tale of the birth of Rāma and his brothers, which occurs in due course after the completion of the king's Horse Sacrifice (1.17.1ff.).

Clearly—as has been observed many times—the nine *sargas* from 8 through 16 are a somewhat diverse collection of materials added

<sup>40</sup> 1.8.22. In a passage substituted in a number of manuscripts of various recensions it is specified that the sage will accomplish this after having offered oblation in the sacrificial fires. See crit. app. \*298.

<sup>41</sup> 1.9. The story, like all but a few of the purāṇic narratives inserted into the *Bālakāṇḍa*, is brief to the point of opacity, and largely lacks the charm and power that characterize many other versions. This is especially noticeable in the *Bālakāṇḍa* versions of the stories of the churning of the ocean (1.44) and the birth of Kumāra (1.36), which are terse, perfunctory, and obscure, comparing unfavorably with the *Mahābhārata* versions.



after the completion of the original story of Daśaratha and the birth of his sons. These materials may be subdivided into two originally unrelated elements, the sacrificial and the Vaiṣṇava. The latter of these has long been known for a late addition to the original saga of Rāma, which appears to know nothing of its hero's divinity. The former is probably older, but is itself made up of a number of heterogeneous elements. There appears to be some unresolved confusion and a certain degree of overdetermination in the relationship between the Horse Sacrifice and the Putreṣṭi. Moreover, the abrupt and clumsy introduction of the legend and the person of the sage Ṛśyaśṛṅga into the sacrificial material is evidently the result of a secondary manipulation of the text, which appears to have served two purposes. The legend of the seduction of the boy-sage, like the other purāṇic stories of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Uttarakāṇḍa*, lends to the *Rāmāyaṇa* something of the encyclopedic quality and prestige of the *Mahābhārata*. In this way the poem and its hero are glorified, as is the learning of the bards. More specifically, however, the Ṛśyaśṛṅga legend was, no doubt, thought apposite here because of the powerful association of the sage with sexuality and especially with great fecundity. The sage is perhaps viewed as serving the purpose of Vyāsa or the other *Mahābhārata* practitioners of the ancient custom of *niyोजना*, or levirate, only through an act of sacrifice in place of direct sexual liaison with the king's wives.<sup>42</sup>

The remaining mythological episodes of the *Bālakāṇḍa* may be generally classified according to two principal purposes that they serve. The first is to invest with a mythic and sacred significance the landscape through which Viśvāmitra and the two Ikṣvāku princes pass on their journey from Ayodhyā, via the ashram of the Perfected Being, to Mithilā. In this way the legend of Rāma is associated with and ultimately equated with the great myths of the brahmanic-purāṇic tradition. The second major type of legend has a similar purpose. It is to glorify the principal figures of the first book, Rāma and Viśvāmitra, through accounts of the greatness of their early deeds and those of their ancestors. Some important legends or sets of legends incorporate both elements.

<sup>42</sup> Although I have as yet come across no assertion on the part of any scholar that the sacrificial role of Ṛśyaśṛṅga is, in fact, a disguised form of *niyोजना*, I think that the evidence of the text leads us to serious consideration of such an underlying element. Other scholars may have advanced this thesis, for we find that one V. Panoly takes issue with them in the strongest and most colorful language. See Panoly 1961, pp. 17-19.

Examples of the first type are Viśvāmitra's version of the myth of the destruction of Kāma (1.22.10-14), his tale of the origin of the Ganges and birth of Skanda (1.34-36), and his narration, in connection with the cities of Viśālā and Mithilā, of the stories of the churning of the ocean, the origin of the Maruts, and the curse of Indra and Ahalyā (1.44-48).

Episodes of the second type, perhaps because the authors and audiences of the text were more interested in the heroic antecedents of their protagonists, tend to be more elaborate and, in fact, make up the most significant addenda. Two of these episodes combine genealogical with geographical interest. In response to Rāma's questions concerning the region of Magadha through which they are passing, Viśvāmitra relates the genealogy of the legendary king, Kuśa. He tells of the cities founded by the king's four sons and of the strange fate of the hundred daughters of his son, King Kuśanābha (1.31-32). Viśvāmitra concludes his tale with an account of his own descent from the line of King Kuśa and the extraordinary statement, in which the geographical and the genealogical elements are fully fused, that his sister Satyavatī has become the river Kauśikī (1.33.1-13).

As a sequel to his description of the Ganges and the birth of Skanda, the Kauśika sage tells Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa an elaborate and detailed saga of their own Ikṣvāku forbears. This tale, the story of the sons of Sagara, the digging of the ocean, and the descent of the Ganges, picks up from the geographically motivated tale that precedes it and presents, in seven chapters (1.37-43), one of the major legendary interpolations of the first book. The episode deals with the superhuman deeds of Rāma's ancestors and with their close associations with divinity. It is just the sort of purāṇic set piece that one would expect in a work of this sort.<sup>43</sup>

The last significant legendary interpolation of this type in the *Bālakāṇḍa* is also the longest. This is the well-known saga, really an epic within an epic, of the career of Viśvāmitra and his struggle to achieve the status of a brahman seer within a single lifetime. This saga, which contains at least three separate legendary components organized around the common theme of the sage's quest, occupies almost all of *sargas* 50-64.

<sup>43</sup> The story is popular in the epic and purāṇic literature, and Sagara is one of the cherished dynasts of the Rāghava House. Its somewhat separate origin is suggested by its ending in a widely distributed *phalaśruti* (1.43.20).



While it is clear that this lengthy episode with its complicated sub-episodes must be a later interpolation in the Rāma story, it is equally clear that it is important in the minds of the authors of the first book. Viśvāmitra is one of the central characters of the book, and it was evidently felt that his importance demanded a major rehearsal of his legendary feats of asceticism and supernatural power. The significance of this exaltation of the sage and the consequent elaboration of the *Mahābhārata* tale of his conflict with Vasiṣṭha, here interspersed with the legends of Triśaṅku and Śunaḥśepa, is not wholly clear. Perhaps the *Bālakāṇḍa* reached its present form at the hands of bards or redactors associated with the Kauśika clan, who exerted a formative influence something like that exercised by the Bhārgava redactors of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>44</sup>

The remainder of the *Bālakāṇḍa* consists of material directly connected with the early adventures of the epic's hero and heroine. In *sarga* 65 we are given the tale of the origin of Sītā and one version of the history of the great bow that Rāma is to break. This is a necessary background to the central scenes of the testing of the bow and the hero's marriage. If this material was added to the epic after the completion of the central tale, it could not have been much later, for, like the central portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, it fills lacunae in the audience's grasp of the poem's principal characters. Later on, the same motivation that led to the inclusion of the legend of Sītā will impel the authors of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* to provide their audience with the legends of the origins and early careers of such figures as Rāvaṇa and Hanumān.

Finally, a certain amount of originally unrelated and almost certainly later material has been juxtaposed with the central part of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. The most striking and important examples are the two dramatic encounters that frame Rāma's adventures in the *Bālakāṇḍa*—the encounters with Tātakā and Rāma Jāmadagnya. The two episodes, whose psychological focus is the breaking of Śiva's great bow, should be considered together; their placement at the very beginning and very end of the hero's boyhood odyssey and their complementary emotive thrust whereby he overcomes first a terrifying mother figure and then the menacing aspect of the father, provide Rāma with the closest thing to a *Bildungsroman* the ancient Indian literature can show.

The literary or legendary sources of the Tātakā episode remain

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Sukthankar 1937, pp. 1-76, and Goldman 1977.

obscure.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps it is an adaptation of some older legend of a sphinxlike *yakṣī* who blocks a road at some dreadful enchanted forest and devours those who seek to pass. In any case, the destruction of this personification of the sexually charged devouring mother and the compensatory boon of the huge array of magical weapons offered by the surrogate father Viśvāmitra constitutes the first great rite of passage for Rāma from a pampered boy-prince to an Indian warrior hero. The lateness of the passage with respect to the central books of the epic is further suggested by the fact that in Books Two through Six the hero does not appear to use the weapons that Viśvāmitra so liberally bestows upon him at 1.26-27.<sup>46</sup>

The second of these episodes, the encounter with the dreadful brahman-warrior Rāma, is interesting not only from psychological and literary standpoints, but also with regard to the textual pre-history of the epic. Like the episode of Tātakā, it is introduced directly into the epic action and, indeed, forms the culminating event of Book One. Nonetheless, it is clearly a later interpolation, for the figure of Rāma Jāmadagnya is proper to the *Mahābhārata* in its expanded form and was a product of the Bhārgava redactors of that work.<sup>47</sup> Since the older portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are older than the *Mahābhārata* and the development of the figure of Rāma Jāmadagnya belongs to a relatively late stratum of the Bhārata corpus, it would follow that the episode of the encounter of the two Rāmas must be a late development in the *Bālakāṇḍa*.<sup>48</sup> None-

<sup>45</sup> It is probably related to other epic accounts of the confrontations between heroes and *rākṣasa* women such as those between Bhīma and Hidimbā in the *Mahābhārata* (1.139-144) and between Rāma and Śūrpaṇakhā in our text (3.16-17). Those episodes are, however, typologically different from the slaying of Tātakā.

<sup>46</sup> In fact, the conferral of the magic weapons upon Rāma by the Kauśika sage, although it is a version of a motif common to the epics, is probably a transposition and expansion of a similar conferral of divine weapons upon the prince by the seer Agastya at 3.11.29-34. It is these latter weapons, most particularly the great Vaiṣṇava bow, that Rāma appears to use in his battles with the *rākṣasas* in much of the remainder of the poem.

<sup>47</sup> See Goldman 1977.

<sup>48</sup> It should be noted here that if we do not presuppose the *Mahābhārata* or a still later purāṇic account of Jāmadagnya and his extermination of the kshatriyas, the figure introduced in the *Bālakāṇḍa* would be utterly mysterious, for the *Rāmāyaṇa* nowhere recounts his proper legend, trusting to its audience's knowledge of the story from the greater epic and purāṇic tradition. The encounter of the two Rāmas, which appears to be a *Rāmāyaṇa* application of a figure drawn from the *Mahābhārata*, in turn appears in a late stratum of the latter text where, in a Vaiṣṇava passage



theless, the episode has been used with great psychological and literary skill by the authors of the *Bālakāṇḍa* to complete their exposition of the character of Rāma as an irresistible warrior-hero who will earn his reputation not only for his skill at arms, but for his aptitude for renunciation and deference to authority.

The *Bālakāṇḍa*, like the character of Rāma himself, is, as we find upon close examination, considerably more complex than most scholars have hitherto led us to believe.

---

known to the vulgate and a few northern manuscripts, a version of it appears. See *MBh* 3, crit. app. I, No. 14.20-84 (Citrashala ed. 3.99.40-71). Sukthankar 1937, pp. 20-21, has clearly shown the *Mahābhārata* passage to be the work of a late and "ignorant" northern interpolator. In this way the *Mahābhārata* has borrowed a *Rāmāyaṇa* episode in which one of its own heroes is humiliated by the hero of the older epic.

## 4. The *Rāmāyaṇa* Text and the Critical Edition

**D**ESPITE its great antiquity, we probably know as much about the origin and development of Vālmīki's epic as of any other ancient or early medieval work of Sanskrit literature. A substantial body of testimony and numerous parallel versions in addition to the long and self-conscious *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition aid us considerably in our effort to reconstruct its past. The publication at the Oriental Institute, Baroda, between 1960 and 1975 of the first critical edition of the poem—the basis of our new translation—has given us ready access to all of the manuscript evidence for the work that we are ever likely to have and enables us to draw some new conclusions about the nature of its transmission. It will be necessary to consider at some length the character of this edition, its rationale, value, and limitations. But before we do this, let us recall briefly what we know about the history of the poem beyond its strictly textual tradition.

In the late *upodghāta*, Vālmīki is represented as having created his masterpiece out of the terse narrative provided to him by the sage Nārada. He recasts this in a new metrical form and inspired by the god Brahmā, expands the story. "The whole *Rāmāyaṇa* poem" is taught by Vālmīki to two disciples chosen because they are "retentive and thoroughly versed in the *veda*." They learn the poem by heart and perform it in public, singing it back "just as they were taught" to the accompaniment of the *viṇā*, or Indian lute.<sup>1</sup>

The tradition thus represents Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* as an individ-

<sup>1</sup> See 1.1ff. on Nārada; 1.2.40 on the new metrical form; 1.3 on Brahmā; 1.2.40, 7.84.5 on the whole *Rāmāyaṇa* poem. In the northern variant of 1.3.1 Vālmīki is said to discover the other events in Rāma's life—to supplement the account of Nārada—"from the world," though we need not, with Agrawala, view the poet as an early folklorist "who collected the several versions of the legend from what was current as folklore" (Agrawala 1962, p. 578). See 1.4.5 on the performers and 1.4.12, 7.84.9,16 on memorization. The singers are to recite twenty chapters per day (7.84.9), or about some 1,200 sixteen-syllable lines; the performance is said to take many days. (Excluding Book Seven, there are 500 chapters, according to 7.85.20, and thus the performance would extend over approximately a month.) For the various types of duo oral recitation, cf. Chadwick 1932, p. 574; Lord 1960, p. 125 and note. It is not clear from the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself how we are to picture the recitation.



ual artistic elaboration of a pre-existing narrative, composed and transmitted orally in a more or less memorized form. There is little in this account that is not in keeping with the unitary character of most of the poem and with what we can infer about its sources. That the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an oral composition has now been statistically demonstrated, and indeed, as we shall see, our manuscript evidence implies a long antecedent period of oral transmission.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in its written form effectively commences in the eleventh century. The probable date of our earliest exemplar, a palm-leaf manuscript from Nepal representing the northwest tradition, is A.D. 1020. No earlier manuscript fragments have been discovered. Ancient epigraphical documentation is wholly lacking except for the commemoration, in a Sanskrit temple inscription from Cambodia dating about A.D. 600, of the presentation of a *Rāmāyaṇa* codex.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1020 and the introduction of printing in India in the early nineteenth century, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was copied by hand repeatedly in all parts of the country, and at present more than two thousand manuscripts of the poem, in whole or in part, are known to exist. The sheer size of the text, the enormous number of manuscripts, and their often discrepant testimony, make for a text-historical problem equalled in complexity, perhaps, only by that of the New Testament.

Like the *Mahābhārata*, the second great epic of ancient India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been handed down in two principal recensions, one from northern and one from southern India.<sup>4</sup> These recensions

<sup>2</sup> See P. A. Grintser 1974 (English summary, pp. 416ff.) on the genesis of the oral poem. That the transmission of the *Rāmāyaṇa* cannot be reconciled with the image of a wholly memorized original is not a serious contradiction. Although exact reproduction is an ideal that performers of oral poetry envision, in reality a certain amount of personal modification occurs in any given performance.

<sup>3</sup> See Shah 1975, pp. 50-51 and references. The Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa (fl. A.D. 50) might have known a written *Rāmāyaṇa*, for the close agreement in verbal and narrative detail between his *Buddhacarita* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* argues for the kind of "consultability" that only a written text allows. Cf. also Gawróński 1914-1915, pp. 280-81.

<sup>4</sup> This was already apparent to the editors of the incomplete *editio princeps*, Carey and Marshman, in 1806; see Gorresio 1843, p. xx. Sometimes it appears as if we must speak rather of three recensions, distinguishing a NW (Kashmir and west) from a NE (Nepal and east), cf. especially Shastri 1940, pp. 58 and 75. But there is so much contamination among N manuscripts that it is difficult to decide for certain. Ruben, additionally, wished to divide the southern recension into two, one



consist of often heterogeneous versions written in the various regional scripts. Manuscripts of the northern recension come from Gujarat, Rajasthan, Kashmir, Nepal, Bihar, and Bengal; those of the southern recension from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu, with Devanāgarī manuscripts variously affiliated to the northern and/or southern tradition. Unlike the *Mahābhārata* (and this is of primary significance for the text criticism of our poem), the recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* display disagreements of a sort that cannot be accounted for by the inevitable accidents of written transmission.<sup>5</sup>

Although the phenomenon of recensional divergence has long engaged the attention of scholars, adequate scrutiny has become possible only with the appearance of the critical edition. Our understanding of the complicated character of the variations is still imperfect. One explanation that has come to have wide scholarly currency since Jacobi first offered it in 1893 is that the northern recension represents a purification, a polishing of an archaic southern recension.<sup>6</sup> According to this theory, the northern schoolmasters or learned reciters were the custodians of a pristine Sanskrit tradition. They held the *Rāmāyaṇa* to be not so much a sacred document as the archetypal poem and expected it to observe all the canons of linguistic and rhetorical usage that had come to be regarded as standard in post-epic times. When the *Rāmāyaṇa* departed from these norms, the northerners were prepared to alter it.<sup>7</sup>

---

represented by the commentators Vamśīdhara Śivasahāya (*Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi*), Maheśvaratīrtha (*Tattvadīpika*), and Govindarāja (*Bhūṣaṇa*), and the other by Kataka Mādhava Yogīndra (*Kataka*) and Nageśa Bhaṭṭa (*Tilaka*). The editors of the critical edition are not unanimous in their understanding of these problems, and, in fact, the whole notion of "recensions" with regard to the Indian epics is somewhat indeterminate (see Johnston 1933, pp. 182-83).

<sup>5</sup> Ruben 1936, pp. ix, xi, and Bhatt 1960, p. xxxiv, do not adequately appreciate this signal difference. Bhatt's editorial practice, in fact, contradicts his theoretical statements; contrast his remarks in volume 1 with Vaidya's statement (Vaidya 1971, p. xxx).

<sup>6</sup> The most recent major work on the subject, van Daalen 1980, takes issue with the theory but not, in our opinion, in an adequate fashion. For a detailed discussion, see Goldman 1982.

<sup>7</sup> See Jacobi 1893, p. 9; repeated with approval by Bhatt 1960, p. xv, Burrow 1959, p. 78, Renou 1963, p. 283, and, most importantly, Bulcke 1955, p. 92, and 1960, p. 38. The editors of the critical edition, when they do not simply parrot this theory (as Mankad 1965, p. xxiv; Jhala 1966, p. xxiii; Vaidya 1971, p. xxx), have only trivial examples to offer in support of it (Bhatt 1960, p. xiii, Suppl. Intro.).

The basic suggestion—that the northern recension presents some sort of revision—we feel to be correct, but not necessarily for the reasons usually given. For the argument supporting that theory is based on the preservation in the southern recension of grammatical irregularities and no longer seems tenable.<sup>8</sup>

If we closely examine the northern recension, we observe two phenomena that are far more common than any attempt to bring the poem into conformity with the rules of classical grammar or rhetoric and tell us a great deal about the history of the poem's transmission and the value of the northern recension in the reconstruction of the original. First, the wording of the northern recension frequently differs from that of the southern without appreciably altering the text's grammatical regularity or poetic acceptability. The northern recension, moreover, often tends toward a popularization or glossing of the southern text.

The critical apparatus on virtually every page of the *Rāmāyaṇa* indicates how the northern recension rephrases the southern recension almost gratuitously, without eliminating solecisms or enriching the poetic quality of the text. The density of this divergence is highly variable, anywhere from 0 to 66 percent for different sections of the poem. It seems that the only way we can account for these variations is to posit a long period of oral transmission after, as well as before, the split in the tradition had occurred.<sup>9</sup>

Although this first feature has been appreciated to some extent by other scholars, the apparent tendency of the northern recension to gloss southern recension readings appears to have gone unnoticed. The text came to be viewed as obscure in places, as the learned medieval commentators amply attest. The northern singers seem to have been particularly sensitive to this, and in the course of centuries, they evolved a somewhat simpler idiom, vulgarizing Vāl-

<sup>8</sup> It is not clear how much reliance is to be placed on the so-called linguistic archaisms preserved in the southern recensions, as indicating an earlier date. A very large percentage of the archaisms that have been examined (Böhtlingk 1887, 1889; Michelson 1904; Roussel 1910; Satya Vrat 1964, pp. 173ff.; N. M. Sen, all items in bibliography; van Daalen 1980, especially pp. 72-117) are contained only in the first or seventh book, of which substantial portions are later additions, and, more remarkably, in passages that the critical edition excludes from the constituted text as more recent interpolations. The northern recension, moreover, frequently preserves archaisms that appear in the southern recension, and quite often "archaizes" where the southern recension does not. See also van Daalen 1980, pp. 27-32.

<sup>9</sup> In essence, the critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has collected the fullest record anywhere of the stages of growth and development of a great oral epic tradition.



mīki's poem for the sake of their audiences.<sup>10</sup> Instances of this are very common.<sup>11</sup> This tendency does not, however, generally involve an effort to regularize grammatical usage. It is rather a simplification of the text, a transposition into a more popular idiom, a close paraphrase of passages that, although grammatically correct, are nonetheless difficult or obscure for lexical, syntactical, or other reasons. In fact, in many ways, the northern recension acts as our oldest commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>12</sup>

This tendency of the northern recension to modernize and gloss a text perceived as archaic offers decisive support to the position adopted by the editors of the critical edition that the southern recension preserves an older state of the text, and consequently must serve as the basis for any reconstruction. We have been able to find no passages that would indicate such a tendency on the part of the southern recension. Indeed, we would appear to have in the type of variation found in the northern recension the first sign of the popularizing impulse that leads ultimately to the great vernacular translations and adaptations of medieval times.

How these recensions are related to one another, or, indeed, whether they are related at all, forms the central problem of *Rāmāyaṇa* textual criticism. With the publication of the northeastern and southern recensions in the mid-nineteenth century and the northwestern version in the early twentieth, a fairly complete picture of the text's history began to emerge and with it a certain pessimism about the possibility of recovering the original poem. Thus Hopkins argued that "all our classical notions of a fixed original from which manuscripts vary by the slightest alteration vanish into thin air before such freedom of transmission as instanced here. . . . The

<sup>10</sup> In the south the religious significance imputed to the text lent it an almost scriptural status, insulating it to a greater extent from alteration. The commentators, attracted to the text for this same reason, would have been particularly instrumental in preserving the poem in its archaic state. Just the opposite is true of the *Mahābhārata*. There the southern recension revises rather freely, whereas the northern recension (the NW version in particular) preserves more authentically the tradition of the archetype.

<sup>11</sup> See Pollock 1981. For examples, see the notes on 1.8.9, 2.17.7, 21.11, 47.26, 94.49 (lexical glosses); 2.24.7, 51.12 (syntactical glosses).

<sup>12</sup> Like any commentary, the northern recension must be used with discretion as a gloss. The glossers were not invariably right, though as participants in a continuous and ancient tradition of recitation they can claim weightier authority than our medieval commentators. The general editor of the critical edition seems to have been aware of this feature, but the examples he provides are trivial (e.g. *dhanuḥ* replacing *śarāsanam*, Bhatt 1960, p. xxxiii).

hope of getting at any *ādi*-[original] *Rāmāyaṇa* by working back from the textual variations handed down in the several recensions is quite vain. There can be no plausible original reconstructed."<sup>13</sup>

Other scholars, although they acknowledge textual fluidity, have argued in just the opposite way on the grounds of the remarkable congruence that often does appear between recensions. Jacobi, for instance, maintained that the various local versions must "all have descended from an old recension, and one can adduce no reason why this Ur-recension should not have been one that was set down in writing."<sup>14</sup>

On the one hand, then, we have the denial that the *Rāmāyaṇa* ever existed in any stable form, and on the other, the assertion that not only was its form stabilized at an early date but it was fixed in a written archetype. Each position has some truth in it, but obviously both cannot be wholly correct.

Disagreement among the recensions, as we have noted, is sometimes stark—in fact, irreducible. Nonetheless, the different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are unquestionably versions of the same poem. This is the basic postulate that underlies the critical edition.<sup>15</sup> Although substitutions do occur, and although their density some-

<sup>13</sup> Hopkins 1926, pp. 206, 219. As early as 1870, Weber argued that "there are as many *Rāmāyaṇas* as there are manuscripts" (p. 21; cited in Ruben 1936, p. x; cf. Burrow 1959, p. 78). Recent work on oral poetry might appear to support Hopkins' impression. For example, Lord concludes that "it is impossible to retrace the work of generations of singers to that moment where some singer first sang a particular song. . . . There was an original, of course, but we must be content with the works that we have and not endeavor to 'correct' or 'perfect' them in accordance with a purely arbitrary guess at what the original might have been" (Lord 1960, p. 100). It seems to us, however, that the type and quality of manuscript congruence in important sections of the *Rāmāyaṇa* suggest that the sort of transmission here may be of a different order from what we see, for example, in Slavic or French literary history. Very possibly the mnemonic tradition of vedic transmission exerted some influence upon the performers of secular heroic poetry. The text may preserve an historical reminiscence when it states that the first performers of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were deeply grounded in the *vedas* (1.4.5). In any case, broad arguments from the nature of oral poetry in general should not be applied uncritically to the Indian evidence, where a reconstruction may not be "purely arbitrary."

<sup>14</sup> Jacobi 1893, p. 11 (this position is somewhat contradicted by what we find on pp. x, 5). Lévi also speaks of a written archetype. "Our *Rāmāyaṇa*, composed at a still undetermined period, derives in its multiple recensions from an edition published sometime around [the commencement of] the Christian era" (Lévi 1918, p. 150). Ruben's *Studien* are predicated on the existence of an archetype; Agrawal, too, assumes one, without explanation (1963, p. 577).

<sup>15</sup> See Bhatt 1960, p. xxx.



times reaches two lines in three, it frequently drops to as low as 2 or 3 percent, or disappears altogether. In some places we find dozens of consecutive verses or even whole chapters for which there are no significant parallel passages. Thus, though variable to a degree, agreements between the recensions in wording, sequence of verses, chapters, and incidents are often remarkably close, and the only way to account for this continuous concord is to posit a common descent. This in turn implies that the source must be to some extent recoverable.

But if convergence is too marked to deny a genetic relationship between the recensions and thus the possibility of reconstruction, divergence is likewise too pronounced to allow the assumption of a written archetype.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, were such an archetype admitted, we should expect the original to be potentially always recoverable, which is patently not the case.<sup>17</sup> We must, therefore, postulate a mode of transmission that can account for both features of the *Rāmāyaṇa* textual tradition. The recensions must have been handed down through oral transmission—perhaps influenced in a distinctive way by the vedic mnemonic tradition—from the oral composition attributed to Vālmīki, that is, the monumental poem that was a *remaniement* of an ancient Rāma story. The resulting versions were then independently fixed in writing at different times and places.<sup>18</sup> This hypothesis alone would allow for both the divergences and agreements, and although it is not consistently upheld by the editors of the critical edition,<sup>19</sup> it is what study of the critical apparatus clearly and emphatically confirms.

<sup>16</sup> The agreements among the recensions in the *Sundara* passage noticed by Jacobi (1893, pp. 17ff.), for example, can be as conveniently explained by postulating an oral transmission, which saves us from the real contradictions involved in the archetype theory. We may then interpret the data in Jacobi's passage by the special dynamic of an oral tradition, which in one place gives rein to variation, in another inhibits it, which permits deviation in wording to some extent but demands conservation of the significant structures of significant passages.

<sup>17</sup> One need only glance at Ruben's *Textproben* to confirm this (1936, pp. 84-222).

<sup>18</sup> Such is also more or less the opinion of Bulcke 1955, p. 66, and 1960, pp. 37-38. The versions continued to grow, perhaps orally, and to interact throughout the period of written transmission, both within and, to a lesser extent, across recensional boundaries. A number of passages that on the grounds of higher criticism must be considered quite late additions to the text are sometimes, especially when they have a powerful sectarian thrust, unusually well represented in all the recensions, with a minimum of variation. A good example is Brahmā's hymn in praise of Rāma as Viṣṇu at 6.105.

<sup>19</sup> Bhatt 1960, p. xiv and particularly Vaidya 1971, p. xxx understood this. Contrast

Under these special conditions of textual transmission, stemmatic analysis is clearly inappropriate. For the many verses in irreducible disagreement of a neutral sort (that is, in the absence of linguistic, stylistic, contextual, or historical features that would allow discrimination), an *a priori* choice on the basis of the generally best version is not only admissible but necessary.<sup>20</sup> But the absence of stemmatic compulsion also requires that where the choice between versions is not neutral, we must review the recensions with care; for if they all ultimately derive more or less independently from the same oral source, then the correct reading in any given case may be preserved by any one of them.

In countless instances it appears that the ordering of the verses and the readings of the southern recension are far more intelligible and authentic than those of the northern recension, while its transmission, in general, seems considerably more uniform.<sup>21</sup> And thus, despite some literary and historical arguments that have been made to the contrary, it recommends itself as the basis of a critical edition.<sup>22</sup> But the southern recension, too, is marred by corruptions,

---

however Mankad (1965, p. xxiv) and Jhala (1966, p. xxvi).

<sup>20</sup> This principle was clearly enunciated by Sukthankar with respect to the *Mahābhārata*. "The peculiar conditions of the transmission of the epic force upon us an eclectic but cautious utilization of all manuscript classes. . . . Each variant has to be judged on its own merits." But where the tradition is irreducibly divided, a choice on the basis of otherwise generally best versions must be followed (Sukthankar 1944, pp. 243, 248). It is even more compelling in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* than the *Mahābhārata*, for which a written archetype must have existed.

<sup>21</sup> Granted the circularity involved in applying standards of authenticity to correct a text from which those same standards are derived, nevertheless, as Kenney puts it, "critical argument is by its very nature circular," and it is not "necessarily vicious, providing, as Lachmann said, that the circle is trodden with care and discretion" (Kenney 1974, pp. 126, 135). Ruben adduces other grounds for the relative antiquity and sincerity of the southern recension, such as the agreement in parallel passages of the *Mahābhārata* with the southern recension against the northern recension (Ruben 1936, pp. 47, 54, etc.; but n.b. his caution, p. 55).

<sup>22</sup> Sylvain Lévi, in a fascinating article on the geographical data of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, determined that a text of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* (39-43) was used by a Buddhist work, the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*, which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 593; and since, he says, the translator only worked with materials of great authority, the *Sūtra* must be far older than that (Lévi 1918, p. 15; Lin Li-Kouang, however, has shown that the *Sūtra* is a composite work and that chapter VII, the one in question, is the latest, see 1949, pp. 111-12). He concluded that, although the southern recension alone does preserve some readings and details that are in harmony with the *Sūtra*, the northwestern recension is in fact closest to it (p. 135), and he considers this fact "the most ancient datum with regard to the recensions and a datum de-



false emendations, accretions, and the like, and does not invariably give us the right text. The northern recension can help correct it and thereby reveal the oral original.<sup>23</sup>

We can show the truth of this at every level of the text in the case of individual words and phrases as well as large interpolations. One small paradigmatic example may serve as demonstration. In 2.63.4 we read in the vulgate:

*vādayanti tathā śāntim (lāsayanty api cāpare  
nāṭakāny apare prāhur . . .)*

The reading *śāntim* is that of the entire southern recension. The commentators try desperately to explain its sense: "Some caused *śānti*, peace, to sound (others danced or staged dramatic pieces . . .)" but obviously, without success; for here the word has no sense. It is a stop-gap emendation, an early one, faithfully reproduced throughout the whole southern tradition. Northern manuscripts, for the most part, offer:

*(avādayaṇ) jaguś cānye . . .*

replacing the meaningless *śāntim* with "(some made music) and sang." The northern recension is, in fact, glossing an obsolescent verbal form preserved for us in three other northern manuscripts, one from the northeast, one from the northwest, one from the west:

*(vādayanti tathā) gānti . . .*

This form (classical *gāyanti*), as we now know, was current in the epic dialect, for the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* repeatedly attests to it.<sup>24</sup>

Even such a minor example should suffice to answer Hopkins'

---

cisively in favor of the western recension" (p. 14). It is only reasonable, however, that the Sūtra should employ the version current in the area in which it itself was composed. This would apply also to the arguments adduced in favor of the north-western recension by Słuszkiewicz 1938, pp. 266-73. Furthermore, the evidence can only serve to confirm the fact that the split in the transmission of the *Rāmāyaṇa* occurred at a relatively early date; it cannot prove which branch of the tradition was more conservative.

<sup>23</sup> Because the northern recension transposed or vulgarized in one place does not mean that it did so in another, nor is the southern recension's conservatism absolute. Furthermore, the problems inherent in transcribing an oral poem would affect the southern recension no less than the northern.

<sup>24</sup> See the note on 2.63.4; unfortunately the editor of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* mistook this



complaint that “no comparison of the varied readings of the two versions will enable one to discover the *ādi*-form.” If we multiply this type of evidence many times over, in the case of word, verse, or chapter, we can get some sense of the text-critical value of the northern recension and the reality of the critical edition’s reconstruction.

Perhaps the most dramatic results of the critical edition can be seen in the treatment of interpolated passages. We must bear in mind that committing the versions to writing in no way arrested their growth. New material of a mythological, sectarian, or simply expansive nature continued to be added nearly equally in the different recensions and versions throughout the period of written transmission, just as we suppose happened in the period of purely oral transmission. The principle developed to deal with these interpolations is similar to the one used for the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*: A passage missing in any of the recensions or versions as a whole, or in uncontaminated manuscripts of these (in a descending order of probability, with due attention paid to contextual requirements), is suspect and eliminated from the critical text. In practice as well as in theory the principle has proved to be sound.

At first glance, this may seem like an artificial formula that might have disastrous consequences in application. It is, of course, a natural corollary of the hypothesis of common origin, which is probable on other grounds. But one might expect it to be too crude to deal with, for example, the tendentiousness and wilfulness of scribes so often demonstrated in the western literary tradition. We do well here to recall the remarkable, perhaps unparalleled, fidelity of the Indian copyist to his exemplar. As Edgerton describes it, “it appears that no scribe, no redactor, ever knowingly sacrificed a single line which he found in his original . . . there is certainly not a shred of evidence for a single deliberate omission, and I do not believe it ever took place.”<sup>25</sup> In fact, when the interpolations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are excised, a perfectly smooth text usually does result. The editors may sometimes have erred either way in their application of it, but the principle itself repeatedly demonstrates its validity. And the result is remarkable: a full 25 percent of the vulgate (the southern

---

variant for a corruption. One serious error of the critical edition is its failure fully to exploit the northern recension and to realize that a reading that is not utterly impossible (Bhatt 1960, p. xxxiv) does not, therefore, become probable.

<sup>25</sup> Edgerton 1944, p. xxxiv. *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators continue to transmit passages even when they themselves consider them interpolated.

recension) has been eliminated as not deriving from Vālmīki's monumental composition.

The critical edition, then, we believe, puts us in possession of the most uniform, intelligible, and archaic recension of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, corrected and purified on the basis of the other recensions and versions that are descended from the common oral original. Although the reader of this translation thus has access to a more authentic text than has hitherto been available in translation, we are aware of the fact that those familiar with the *Rāmāyaṇa* may miss favorite or well-known passages that have become established in later tradition, particularly those that belong properly to the vulgate. For this reason, we have translated or summarized in the notes such passages as we thought significant. On the other hand, where the text-critical principle has been applied with less consistency and rigor (as in the *Bālakāṇḍa*), such material as ought properly to have been excised has nonetheless been included in the translation, since our primary purpose was translating, not editing. An examination of the notes to the translation will show which passages we regard as possible interpolations and why.

The critical edition has in general followed the methods and fulfilled quite admirably the expectations that Johnston wrote of fifty years ago:

The proper procedure would be to collect and collate the oldest and most representative MSS. from the various parts of India and Nepal and prepare from them a composite text. After excising obvious interpolations, there would remain a number of passages in substantial agreement and probably original in the main, and secondly, many much expanded passages in which the MSS. would differ greatly and which would require skilled handling. According to all appearance we have lost little of Vālmīki's work, and it is a question in the main of determining which passages or verses are original. In the end it should be possible to obtain a coherent text which, though constructed by subjective methods, would not differ so very much from the poem as it left Vālmīki's hands; and such a version would have the supreme advantage that, stripped of most of the accretions of later times, it would reveal to us in precise detail the genius of the greatest figure in Sanskrit literature.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Johnston 1933, p. 183.



But, of course, although a certain degree of scientific precision can be attained in application of the critical method, manuscript testimony can be inconclusive, and subjective decision is sometimes the only recourse available to the editors. But editors, as one textual critic puts it, “are not always people who can be trusted, and critical apparatuses are provided so that readers are not dependent on them.”<sup>27</sup> For these reasons we have carefully scrutinized the sources of the constituted text and have never followed it where we felt it was in error. When textual emendation was unavoidable we have emended. But again, given our main task, this has been kept to a minimum, and for the most part, we rest content with registering and explaining our disagreements in the notes.

<sup>27</sup> West 1973, p. 9.

## 5. Translating the *Rāmāyaṇa*

THE AIM of every serious translator of poetry is to stay faithful to the original and yet create something like its quality in the receiving language. This ambition is always tempered by a disheartening awareness of the difficulties that inhere in the task. Difficulties exist even when the transaction is between languages that have a good deal in common; but they increase as the linguistic and cultural distance that separates the original from the target language grows greater. It should come as no surprise, then, that the task of rendering an ancient Sanskrit epic into contemporary English is more than usually daunting; for the distance here is virtually antipodal.

Consider what we now have come to regard as authentic poetry: personal utterance in the poet's own voice, dense with the inner reality of private experience, and largely free from the formal patterning of calculated art. What, then, is a contemporary audience to make of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a poem for public recitation, emphatically impersonal in tone, and whose author was committed to his culture's unwavering faith in an immutable social, moral, political, and aesthetic order?

We are, for the most part, silent and solitary readers, appreciating poetry in the quiet of our homes and only insofar as it resonates through our own inner lives. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was meant to be heard at gatherings, to be chanted like liturgy—a poem that, early in its history, promises its audience not only aesthetic rapture but salvation. And though we call this poem an epic, there is little, as we shall see, in a reading of the *Iliad* or *Paradise Lost* that can adequately prepare the western reader for the movement, tone, and style of Vālmīki's masterpiece. There is little, for example, in the most widely read western narrative poetry to compare to the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s long and repetitive passages that seem to lack all poetic or dramatic function. That such passages do have some function is attested by their preservation, but the translator must despair of making them palatable to his audience.

It is bad enough to have to deal with difficulties that arise out of extreme cultural disparities. But such difficulties are not the worst kind. There are other, less tractable problems, problems of



style and of feeling, of trying somehow to capture and transmit the flavor of the stately, scarcely changing, and sonorous drone of the Indian oral poet. Many of our solutions to these problems were *ad hoc*—what seemed to answer most effectively to a particular need. But certain general principles were fundamental to the endeavor. Above all, we decided that it was essential to follow, as closely as possible, the relative simplicity of Vālmīki's syntax and diction, and to adhere, as strictly as we could, to the poem's verse-by-verse narrative movement.

The notion of attempting a verse translation was early abandoned because there is no equivalent of chanted prosody in modern English poetry, and anything less would have yielded the sort of doggerel employed by some earlier translators. An alternative could have been a more elaborate meter and syntax, but this would have been a fatal distortion of the uncomplicated surface of the original. Where the *Rāmāyaṇa* does rise to something that the modern reader might recognize as poetry, we have tried to follow with an enriched prose. But for the most part we have aimed at a diction that would unobtrusively carry the narrative without jarring either with archaism or colloquialism.

If the music has been lost and with it something of the magic the poem held for its original audience and their heirs, we think we have kept the grand outline of the conception and the large verbal gestures that create a sense of the idealized world of the poet and his characters. To this degree we have kept faith with the original. It must remain for our readers to decide whether or not we have given them a living *Rāmāyaṇa* in their own tongue.

## 6. The Translation and Annotation

ON THE BASIS of the foregoing discussions of the antiquity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of its unrivaled popularity and influence in the traditional culture of India and much of contiguous Asia, one need hardly offer an explanation for undertaking to produce a new translation of this important work. Translations into several European languages of the entire poem exist, including at least three into English. A few of these, like Gorresio's Italian rendering of the Bengal Recension and Roussel's French translation, are elegant and readable, while others, such as Shastri's English rendering and the much older translation of Dutt, are helpful, perhaps, to the beginning Sanskrit student, but are stylistically unpalatable to the English reader. Whatever their literary merit, and this varies radically, all of the translations so far made have been based upon a single version or recension of the text, either the vulgate or the Bengal version, and their authors have not been in a position to judge accurately the vital text-critical problems that the epic presents. None of them, moreover, has attempted to put before its audience the results of a close and critical reading of the extensive and important commentarial literature that has grown up around the poem. As a result, readers of previous translations have had to accept without criticism the translators' judgments on often very difficult questions of interpretation without even knowing where the problems are to be found, much less the issues raised by attempts to solve them.

It is principally these two shortcomings, which diminish the value of all previous translations of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, that we seek to remedy in the present work. We wish to set before the general, as well as the scholarly, reading public an accurate and readable translation of the epic that is as faithful as possible to the style, tone, and general feeling of the original. As an aid to the understanding of the poem and our translation, we have provided a fairly dense annotation in an effort to lay before the reader the issues involved in each one of the numerous textual, interpretational, and stylistic problems that the work presents. In this way, we hope to enable our readers to judge for themselves the success of our efforts at the solution of these problems.

A point that must inevitably strike the reader upon first exam-



ination of this translation is that it is in prose. Surely, it will be argued, one cannot hope to capture the feeling and flavor of the original if the very mode of composition is abandoned. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is unquestionably regarded by the majority of exponents of the Indian tradition of literary scholarship as *kāvya*, or poetry.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, for this tradition the quality of poetry in a literary work does not inhere in its metrical form. Prose can be judged as *kāvya*, whereas much metrical composition, such as the great mass of *śāstras*, *kośas*, *purāṇas*, and so on, represents, in the main, the antithesis of poetry.

In any case, despite its traditional reputation as the *ādikāvya*, and with the exception of a number of well-known and undeniably beautiful passages, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is often far from poetic. The major thrust of the text is narrative. The bulk of the poem, moreover, consists of short syntactic units, generally coincident with the basic metrical unit, the *śloka*, the effect of which is most accurately represented to the modern ear by simple, rather paratactic, English prose.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, it was ultimately agreed by all the members of the translation consortium that, as this was to be the first translation of the critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, its principal concerns should be accuracy and readability. It was agreed that these two goals would be best served by a prose diction as uncomplicated and straightforward as that of the original. Moreover, in view of the decision that a small group of Sanskritists would each prepare the translation of a different book of the poem, it was soon realized that stylistic consistency from *kāṇḍa* to *kāṇḍa* could be maintained most easily in the medium of prose.

The most general and by far the most important issue confronting someone who contemplates an English translation of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* is that of the style, tone, and underlying ethos of the poem.<sup>3</sup> The educated western reader's conception and expectation

<sup>1</sup> Some influential authors, however, such as Abhinavagupta, refer to the poem as *itihāsa*, or traditional history, whereas others, such as Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, regard it as *śāstra*.

<sup>2</sup> The few actual attempts to capture the flavor of the epic in English verse are particularly unpalatable to the modern reader. Thus, Griffith's noble effort (Griffith 1870-1874) in rendering the entire poem in rhymed octosyllabic couplets does not, as he himself warned, "bear reading through" (p. viii).

<sup>3</sup> I am referring here to attempts at actual translation, but similar problems have beset the authors of the numerous retellings and "transcreations" (to use P. Lal's infelicitous term) of the poem and its derivative works that have appeared in recent



of what an epic poem is and should be are largely derived from Homer. In his still-illuminating essay, *On Translating Homer*, Matthew Arnold called attention to what he saw as the four principal stylistic virtues of the Homeric epics. Homer, he remarks, is rapid, plain, and direct in both his language and thought, and noble.<sup>4</sup> It is precisely these qualities of the Greek poet that we have come to regard as the standard for all epic poetry. But although many passages in the *Rāmāyaṇa* can be said to share something of Homer's rapidity, directness, and elevation of style, the feeling of the whole poem is quite different from that of the *Iliad*. True, both poets rely heavily on the use of elaborate and highly formalized speeches. Both make heavy use of epithets, the choice of which is largely governed by meter. Both poets delight in the liberal use of descriptive adjectives and poetic figures, particularly the simile. Both authors are oral poets employing densely formulaic metrical discourse to sing of the quests and battles of ancient warrior-heroes. And yet, the feeling one gets from reading the two poets is very different.

Erich Auerbach, in his learned and provocative study of realism in western literature, argues that Homer's well-known predilection for narrative digressions and epithets is a result of the poet's "need for an externalization of phenomena in terms perceptible to the senses."<sup>5</sup> Auerbach argues persuasively that the epic style, as exemplified by Homer, knows no depths of narrative perspective but rather strives to present a world in which all events, thoughts, and actions are uniformly foregrounded in a uniformly illuminated present. Upon first consideration one might be tempted to say that this quality is shared equally by the poetry of Vālmīki and his followers. For Vālmīki, like Homer, is at pains to hold back nothing from his audience. Every thought, speech, and action of the epic

---

years. These authors, such as Buck (1976), Menen (1954), and Narayan (1972) have had the advantage of being able to select and modify the episodes that appeal to them and to render them in their own words. Their efforts have, therefore, produced works which, if occasionally entertaining, bear no resemblance whatever to the style or the feeling of their originals. We believe, however, that the task of representing Vālmīki in a readable guise to the English reader is not an impossible one and have striven to avoid what Griffith feared, that his version might actually enhance the tediousness of some of the original. (See Griffith 1870-1874, p. viii.)

<sup>4</sup> Arnold 1905, pp. 41ff.

<sup>5</sup> Auerbach 1953, p. 6.

characters is carefully set in the context of its antecedents and its consequences. Like Homer, the poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are deeply concerned with the visual description of their characters, their actions, and the places in which these actions take place. Yet a sense of stylistic parallel is diminished by a careful reading of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Greek epics.

Vālmīki is not so digressive as the poets of the *Mahābhārata*, and yet the pace of the poem is often slower than that of the greater epic and of the bulk of Homer. As with any work of originally oral poetry, the flow of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s narrative is often impeded by formulaic phrases conveying only the information that one character has heard the speech of another and will now reply; but the occurrences of such phenomena seem especially numerous in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Moreover, the Indian poet's diction is not infrequently repetitive, relying on participles and gerunds that echo a previous finite verb to lend an often dreary continuity to the tale. Features such as this, which originally served both to provide time to the oral poet to compose successive verses and to provide continuity for a shifting audience, tend to become tedious to a literate audience of a printed version of the poem.<sup>6</sup> Again, whereas Homer, in the manner of oral bardic poets, employs many metrically conditioned epithets, Vālmīki seems to take an unusual delight in their proliferation. Thus, a character in the *Rāmāyaṇa* may be burdened with three or more epithets or patronymics in a single verse. In many cases, a single such term, such as *kausalyānandavardhana*, or a term paired with a proper noun, such as *lakṣmaṇo lakṣmīvardhana* or *rāvaṇo rākṣasādhipa*, will occupy a full quarter of a verse. This sort of thing taken cumulatively slows the progress of the poem enormously and although it enhanced the appreciation of the original audience, often stands in the way of a contemporary reader's enjoyment.

Aside from these tendencies, both the style and the content of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are, in the main, quite simple. Partly because of the absence of ambivalence in the characterizations of the epic's central figures, they almost invariably think, speak, and act simply and directly. This simplicity is matched by the poet's diction. The style

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Griffith 1870-1874, p. viii. In parts of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, for example, nearly one-quarter of the verses contain formulaic elements. For an analysis of the first book from the standpoint of the study of oral poetry and formulaic analysis, see Nabaneeta Sen 1966, pp. 397ff.



tends to be paratactic and the periods are usually short. Only occasionally does a syntactic unit extend over one and a half or, at most, two of the thirty-two-syllable *śloka* verses that constitute the bulk of the text. The major exception to the rule of simple diction is the verses composed in meters longer than the *śloka*. Aside from the frequent usage of the forty-four-syllable *upajāti* meter, which varies the text somewhat but often modifies the style only insofar as it permits the packing of still more adjectives and epithets into a verse, these longer lines occur in two main contexts. Such verses occur sporadically in groups or singly at the end of *sargas*, where they slow the progress of the narrative and mark closure. Also, in the middle six books of the poem, longer verses appear in clusters, sometimes constituting an entire *sarga* in which the poet gives rein to his powers in creating highly wrought descriptions rich in rhetorical figuration. These form many of the poetic set pieces of the poem and lend it much of its charm. In both cases, the longer lines tend to slow the already stately progress of the story and interrupt somewhat the monotony of the various *ślokas*.

In our translation, we have striven to reproduce the paratactic style of the original on a verse-by-verse basis, while remaining within the limits of what we judged to be contemporary readability. Thus, we have rendered the basic *śloka* passages into straightforward English prose, avoiding, wherever possible, long periods and intricate constructions. When, as in the case of sentences that run over verse boundaries, we felt that the style of the original warranted it, we have used a somewhat more complex English syntax.

Another aspect of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that distinguishes it from the western epic is the way in which the poet acts as a mediator between the objects and events he describes and his audience. Homer's descriptions, even though he makes frequent use of figures, are characterized by the accumulation of minute, objective, and almost clinically observed detail. As Auerbach notes, Homer is never far from the world of sense perception. As a result, Homeric description serves to focus the attention of the audience upon the perceptible nature of the person, thing, or act described. By way of contrast, Vālmīki's descriptions, partly because of their unremitting accumulation of similes and partly because of the poet's general preference of moral to physical attributes, have the effect of interposing the poet between the event and the audience. On the one hand, the imagination of the reader is constantly diverted from the objects in the story to the things with which they are compared;

on the other hand, the text's ethical and moral descriptions tend to filter the audience's perception of the epic events through the implicit moral judgment of its author.

In order to illustrate this difference, it will be helpful to quote briefly two passages that describe the ends of the duels between Diomedes and Pandaros<sup>7</sup> and between Rāma and Kumbhakarna.<sup>8</sup> In the Greek poem, Diomedes, wounded by Pandaros' arrow, parries a spear throw and hurls his own spear:

At this he made his cast,  
his weapon being guided by Athena  
to cleave Pandaros' nose beside the eye  
and shatter his white teeth: his tongue  
the brazen spearhead severed, tip from root,  
then plowing on came out beneath his chin.  
He toppled from the car, and all his armor  
clanged on him, shimmering. The horses  
quivered and shied away; but life and spirit  
ebbed from the broken man, he lay still.

Vālmīki renders Rāma's killing of Kumbhakarna in this way:

Then Rāma took up the arrow of Indra. Sharp, well-feathered, and perfect, it shone like the rays of the sun, had the speed of the wind, and seemed like the staff of Brahmā at the time of the world's end. Its feathers were made beautiful with gold and diamonds, and it shone like the glare of the blazing sun. Its striking power was like that of great Indra's mace or a lightning bolt. Rāma shot it at that roamer of the night, and once set in motion by Rāma's arm, it looked like the flame of a smokeless fire as it sped on its course, like the thunderbolt of Śakra, lighting up the ten directions with its inherent luster. Just as Indra, smasher of citadels, once long ago severed the head of Vṛtra, the arrow cut off the head of the *rākṣasa* lord. Its teeth bared and its gorgeous earrings wildly swinging, the head looked like the peak of some huge mountain. Struck off by Rāma's arrow, the *rākṣasa*'s head, which looked like a mountain, fell smashing roads, buildings, and gateways and knocking down the lofty ramparts of the city. But the *rākṣasa*, with his huge body that looked like the Hima-

<sup>7</sup> *Iliad* 5.259-268; Fitzgerald 1974, pp. 118-19.

<sup>8</sup> 6.55.120-125.



layas, fell into the sea where, crushing sea monsters, shoals of great fish, and serpents, he at last entered the earth.

The passages deal with similar events but, obviously, quite differently. Where Homer is spare, Vālmīki is diffuse and repetitive, relying on the massive accumulation of adjectives and similes for his effect. Homer, who is in general by no means averse to the use of simile, in this stark passage is at pains to render the nature of Pandaros' injury in unemotive, objective, and even clinical terms. The effect is powerful, even overwhelming, for the reader is forced to imagine, almost to experience, the agonizing passage of the spearhead through the stricken man's skull. Homer achieves his effect using only two simple adjectives, "brazen" and "white," both of which make direct appeal to our senses and with no similes. Elsewhere in his poem he delights in the extended simile and in the piling up of masses of descriptive adjectives, but, nonetheless, the effect is always to bring the audience close to an objective and sensorially grounded perception of objects, actions, and characters.

How different is the effect of the *Rāmāyaṇa* passage. Here the objects that principally absorb the attention of the poet, Rāma's arrow and Kumbhakarna's head, are all but obscured by a cloud of qualifiers and rhetorical figures. The first three verses of the passage quoted convey only three pieces of narrative information: Rāma selects an arrow and shoots it at his opponent, and the arrow flies on its way. This is communicated in some six or seven short words; the great bulk of the twelve lines of poetry consists of thirteen adjectives, seven of which function within similes. In the two following verses Rāma's target, the demon's head, is severed and falls. The head is qualified by five adjectives of which two express similes, while the act of decapitation itself is made the subject of a non-adjectival simile based on a conventional mythic reference. Finally, the fall of the now separated head and body (modified by an adjectival simile) is rendered in a straightforward but elaborate and extremely hyperbolic fashion. Only three or four of all the adjectives in the passage are simple words. The great majority of them are nominal compounds, many of four or more members. In one case, the adjective *sabrahmaṇḍāntakakālakalpam*, "seeming like the staff of Brahmā at the end of the world," constitutes in itself a full eleven-syllable *pāda* or quarter verse.

The mere density of the modifiers and the richness of the figuration are not all that distinguish the passage from Homer's. There is a fundamental difference in the kinds of adjectives and similes

that the two poets have chosen and in their purposes in choosing them. Where the Greek poet strives to speak to the sensory experience of his audience, the Sanskrit bard aims to stir the emotions of awe and amazement with a dense texture of descriptions and comparisons that move us away from the world of mundane experience to that of the supernatural. Vālmīki tells us very little about the physical nature of Rāma's arrow and what he does tell us is of small help to those who would visualize the weapon. We are told only that it is sharp and flawless<sup>9</sup> and that it is well-feathered. Later it is said that the feathered portion of the arrow is adorned with gold and gems. But all arrows are sharp, and even the second reference to the feathers leaves much to the imagination. What is more, it tends to remove us at once from the world of ordinary experience. For who, in real battle, uses arrows wrought with gold and diamonds? To know that the arrow was associated with the god Indra and that it is set in motion by Rāma's arm does not enhance our ability to picture it. For the rest, we find that two qualities of the arrow engage the interest of the poet. He is concerned with the speed of the arrow, for it is twice said to have the swiftness of Indra's lightning bolt and once that of the wind. He is also eager to represent the dazzling brilliance of the arrow; for he compares it first to the blazing sun, and, later, to a smokeless fire, mentioning further that its luster illuminates the ten directions. Once more, the emphasis is on exaltation and exaggeration, with the repeated mention of the vedic gods and the celestial powers serving to divert the mind of the audience from a mundane weapon to more lofty realms.

Related to the poet's use of simile to draw the hearer from the world of ordinary experience is his pervasive use of hyperbole. Not only are Kumbhakarna's head and body likened to mountains, but their fall is disastrous. The monster's severed head destroys roads, buildings, and palisades, while his falling body wreaks havoc among the creatures of the sea. Yet there is nothing of Rabelais here. It does not appear that Vālmīki is aiming to be either comic or grotesque. The real function of passages such as this—and they constitute a considerable portion of the poem—is to create and sustain for the audience a sense of events utterly removed from everyday experience.

Homer is not averse to hyperbole, and he uses it frequently to

<sup>9</sup> Or, according to Cg, inimical (to foes); neither rendering of *ariṣṭa* helps us form a visual impression of the arrow.



enhance the grandeur of his subject. Thus, he refers often to the prodigies of strength of his heroes whom he represents as men of an earlier and more heroic age. Yet, here again, there is a marked difference between the two poets. When Homer has his heroes heft and throw with ease a boulder such as “no two men now living could lift,” he not only refreshes for the audience its sense that these are not ordinary men, but through the very restraint of his hyperbole, he gives us a boulder that we can easily visualize and whose weight we can intuitively judge. How different is the feeling we get from Vālmīki’s statement that Rāma, while still a boy, lifts, wields, and snaps a divine bow that five thousand powerful men are barely able to drag on a wheeled cart. The very exuberance of the exaggeration serves to remove both the object and the event from the realm of our sense experience. The unrestrained and overwhelming nature of Vālmīki’s use of hyperbole, the creation of a world in which tens of millions of monkeys aid a prince in battle, in which a monkey can leap across the ocean holding a mountain peak, and in which the sixty thousand sons of a king can dig the ocean may—at least for a modern audience—lead to a deadening rather than a heightening of effect.

On the basis of Vālmīki’s fabulous treatment of the battle scenes, as compared to their relatively realistic representation in the *Mahābhārata*, Macdonell argued that the poet had never witnessed a real battle.<sup>10</sup> This conclusion is not, in fact, justified by the evidence. We may be quite certain that the epic bards had ample opportunity to observe real monkeys, yet their own needs and those of their audience led them to the creation and elaboration of the fantasy figure of Hanumān.<sup>11</sup> We cannot then assume, with Macdonell, that the poet’s recourse to exaggeration and fantasy indicates any lack of opportunity to observe real phenomena. On the contrary, we should seek to understand the motives that lead them consistently to idealize and exaggerate the phenomena they did observe, distancing them as much as possible from the realm of sense perception and reality.<sup>12</sup>

Even the profusion of descriptive epithets that cluster around the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* fail, in the main, to appeal to the

<sup>10</sup> Macdonell 1919, p. 574.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of Hanumān as an imaginary companion, see Masson 1981.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of some of the uses of fantasy and hyperbole in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, see Masson 1980, pp. 80-109.



perception of the senses. Homer's epithets, as often as not, allude to a man's particular skill, the loudness of his war cry, the swiftness of his feet, or some other physical attribute, so that they are, as Auerbach has remarked, "in the final analysis . . . traceable to the same need for an externalization of phenomena in terms perceptible to the senses."<sup>13</sup> But although a number of Vālmīki's epithets, such as "great-armed," are similar to those of Homer, they are vastly outnumbered by epithets that allude to moral, ethical, intellectual, and emotional rather than physical qualities. Principal, secondary, and peripheral figures alike are endlessly described as righteous, great, mighty, truthful, noble, and the like. These qualities are applied almost indiscriminately and are generally vague, often obscure, and always sensorially opaque. Such physical descriptions of characters and places as the text does contain tend to be conventionalized, as in the description of Ayodhyā, the forest of Tātakā, and Rāma; fantasied, as in the description of the ten-headed Rāvaṇa or his colossal brother, Kumbhakarna; or difficult for the modern audience, at least, to visualize, as where Rāma is said to be "shell-necked," "great-jawed," or to have "a hidden collar bone."<sup>14</sup> A fair number of epithets are employed simply because they echo the name of the character to whom they are applied. Thus, Lakṣmaṇa may be called *lakṣaṇasampanna*, "endowed with (auspicious) signs," or Rāma described as *lokābhirāma*, "delight of the world." Such terms merely heighten the modern reader's sense that the poet is verbose.<sup>15</sup>

The point of this somewhat protracted comparison between Vālmīki and Homer is not to denigrate the literary achievement of the former. For, as Ingalls has so passionately argued, it would be unfair to expect the literature of one tradition to conform to the aesthetic norms of another.<sup>16</sup> If Homer's intended audience might have found Vālmīki verbose, sentimental, nebulous, and boring, so might an ancient Indian have found the Greek poet terse, crude, ignoble, and lacking in religious and moral sensibility. The heirs of Homer's literary sensibility must be aware of these differences

<sup>13</sup> Auerbach 1953, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> 1.1.9-10.

<sup>15</sup> For a sympathetic and learned discussion of the Sanskrit poets' preference in general for idealization and impersonality as opposed to realism and kinesthesia see Ingalls 1965, pp. 1-29.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-53.

if the poem is to be read on its own terms without an effort to adapt it to western tastes.

We have therefore consistently avoided the temptation to improve upon Vālmiki in an effort to make the poem more attractive to a western audience. Like Griffith, we have attempted to "give the poet as he is," rather than "to represent him as European taste might prefer him to be."<sup>17</sup> Where the poem is repetitive, our translation will be repetitive, and where it is tedious, our translation will, I fear, be equally dull. Yet many of the virtues for which the poem is prized in India should survive both translation and shift in the intended audience. The poem is remarkable for its even tone and diction, the nobility of its characterizations, the beauty of many of its conventionalized descriptions, and above all, its deeply felt rendering of the emotions of grief, sorrow, and a sense of loss. But our readers should not expect in this translation a work that will strike them at once with its universal appeal or uncomplicated charm. The purpose of our efforts was not to render an amusing story into easily digestible form. That has been attempted more than once in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with indifferent results. Rather, we have sought to put before a scholarly and a general audience as accurate and as readable a rendition of this great epic as was possible, retaining as much as an alien language and idiom would permit of the measured pace, lofty tone, and gravity of our original. In our efforts to accomplish this goal, we have had to come to terms with a great number of features of the Sanskrit text that, although they present no apparent difficulties to Indians who are able to read the poem for pleasure and/or religious purposes, are often extremely problematic when the work is subjected to the close reading necessary for a scholarly translation.<sup>18</sup>

The special difficulties that the *Rāmāyaṇa* presents to a western translator are of two kinds. The first are the problems that result from its being a product of a time and a culture far removed from ours. Some of these problems involve simple questions of realia—

<sup>17</sup> Griffith 1870-1874, p. viii.

<sup>18</sup> In 1974-1975 I had the privilege and pleasure of reading the *Bālakāṇḍa* with Pandit Śrīnivāsa Śāstri of the Deccan College in Poona. He had read the entire epic through several times and knew it intimately. Day after day he would clearly and brilliantly elucidate for me words, phrases, and passages that had seemed utterly opaque. Yet, not infrequently, even he would find a passage lucid at first glance, remarking without hesitation, *aham vacmi*, "I'll explain it," only to stare at it, examine four or five Sanskrit commentaries, and conclude by saying, *īśvaro veda*, "God knows!"



the weaponry, architecture, costume, flora, and fauna of ancient India. In some cases the language of the poet is so imprecise that neither we nor the traditional commentators can be absolutely certain that we fully understand what is happening in the story.<sup>19</sup>

The second, and to my mind the most pervasive, significant, and intractable set of problems derives from the poet's general disinclination to address the perceptions of the senses. The innumerable epithets and descriptive adjectives based on moral rather than physical attributes of the characters in the epic drama are difficult to conceptualize accurately and therefore hard to translate with any conviction that one has found an appropriate English equivalent. This problem is aggravated by the fact that our contemporary literary idiom has nothing like the vast Sanskrit lexicon of words suggestive of virtue and vice. Thus, for example, although the epic bards were quite at home with derogatory and pejorative nouns such as *durātman*, "wicked man," most of the simple nouns with this connotation in English are either archaic or colloquial. Neither of these modes of diction, we feel, adequately represents the tone of the original. The common adjectives and epithets based on the word *tejas*, "brilliance," are another good example—terms such as *tejasvin* and *mahātejas*. The word *tejas* may mean in the epic "brilliance," "moral, spiritual, or physical power," or "semen." We have decided that it is best in most cases to keep the ambiguity of the term and have generally rendered the epithets as "powerful."

Another problem of this type is presented by the epic poets' seemingly limitless fondness for compound epithets ending in *ātman*, "soul, self, mind, or body." It has become a common practice in translating Sanskrit to render this term as "Soul." Thus, the common epithet *mahātman* is often rendered as "Great-Souled one." We think this is a mistake. Not only is it vapid and inelegant English, but the translation is based on a technical application of a general term made in the *upaniṣads* and texts on *vedānta*, in a way for the most part alien to the intentions of the bardic narrators of the epics. If the philosophical term for "Soul" were really intended here, one would hardly expect it to be modified, as it is invariably in these

<sup>19</sup> Thus, for all the importance that the Vaiṣṇava poet attaches to the exact apportionment of the divine *pāyasa*, or porridge, among the three wives of Daśaratha, it is all but impossible to make out exactly what fraction of the stuff goes to each woman. This imprecision, in turn, leads to a traditional debate of some theological significance. For a discussion of this point, see the notes to the translation below at 1.17.

compounds, by adjectives. In what sense can the Soul of the *ve-dāntins* be great, accomplished, unskilled, etc.? In general we regard this term, when it appears at the end of compounds, as a reflexive marker such as is widely used in Sanskrit to strengthen simple adjectives by turning them, through the formation of *bahuvrīhi* compounds, into true epithets. When used in this way, the term is essentially untranslatable, and, in fact, unnecessary to translate. Thus, we translate *mahātman* as “great,” *dharmātman* as “righteous,” *kṛtātman* as “accomplished,” and so on.

One characteristic use of epithets in Sanskrit texts is the substitution of an attributive term—patronymic, descriptive, or referent to some legendary feat—for a proper name. Whereas Homer never employs a bare epithet, Vālmīki often uses one or more in lieu of a name; the effect is that of a kenning. A major mythological figure such as the god Indra may be referred to by one or more of dozens of possible epithets, the choice being largely governed by metrical, alliterative, or other formal considerations. Although all of these epithets are either known or transparent to an audience steeped in Hindu mythology, they can only frustrate and baffle the average western reader. But to substitute more familiar, or at any rate more pronounceable names, like Rāma and Indra, would be not only to misrepresent the original but also to deprive the reader of the variety and richness of epithets that lend color to the text. On the other hand, the practice adopted in other translations of Indian epic texts of providing footnotes with unfamiliar epithets would only serve to clutter the page and reduce rather than enhance readability. Our solution to the problem of independent epithets is to provide the name in the running text of the translation together with the translated epithet. Thus, for example, the epithets *sahasrākṣa* and *purandara* have been translated as “thousand-eyed Indra” and “Indra, smasher of citadels,” respectively. Only in the case of recurrent compound epithets used to designate the central characters in the epic story was it thought unnecessary to provide the more familiar proper nouns. In the case of *janakātmajā*, for example, it was felt that “Janaka’s daughter” was sufficient and did not require the name Sītā to complement it.

In the case of shorter, uncompounded epithets, particularly patronymics and those that indicate a country or city of origin, it was decided to leave the original terms untranslated on the grounds that, on the one hand, collapsing the names back to familiar ones



would only diminish the color and variety of the text, whereas translation would only yield the equally unfamiliar name of an ancestor. Thus, although the compound epithets of Rāma, *daśa-rathātmaja* and *raghunandana*, are rendered as “the son of Daśaratha” and “delight of the Raghus,” respectively, uncompounded names such as Jānakī, Saumitri, Vaidehī, Dāśarathi, Vāsava, and the ubiquitous Rāghava have been left untranslated. By this set of modest compromises, it is hoped that something of the flavor and the variety of the original has been preserved without compromising the reader’s ability to follow the story.

Those who are able to follow the Sanskrit of the critical edition will find that we have taken a few additional liberties with the text for the sake of intelligibility. It was frequently felt advisable to break up long syntactic units into shorter English sentences. In so doing it was sometimes necessary to shift or repeat, with or without changes, a single verb that in the Sanskrit is made to govern an extremely long clause or series of clauses. An example of this may be seen at 1.5.1-3. Here, as elsewhere, we have departed from our normal practice of translating on a verse-by-verse basis and numbering each of the verses to correspond to the constituted text of the critical edition. In these cases we provide only the inclusive numbers of the verses in question.

A similar rearrangement of the elements of the original has been made in cases where a single Sanskrit sentence contains more epithets, adjectives, or vocatives than its English counterpart can comfortably hold. In such instances our concern for maintaining a readable English style has led us to separate elements that were originally juxtaposed, turn vocatives into phrases, and generally distribute qualifiers in a way that seemed to us more intelligible to the English reader. In passages where the original uses a pronoun without a clear antecedent, and yet there is no serious doubt as to which character is intended, we have inserted the name, without indicating the insertion either by brackets or notes. In those few cases in which an antecedent is really uncertain, the question is discussed in the notes.

Another problem the translator of Sanskrit epic poetry has to confront is that of the inevitable loss of the kinesthetic effect this poetry had upon its original audience. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, as the second and fourth chapters of the *Bālakāṇḍa* tell us, was intended to be sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments, and the pleas-

ure in hearing this song-poem derived as much from the sonorous chant as from its edifying story. The work is, after all, the prototype of what the Indian tradition calls *śravyakāvya*, "poetry that is intended to be heard." Even today, the poem, like its vernacular derivatives, is normally read aloud to a variety of *gānarītis*, or traditional musical chants, and is not infrequently actually sung to classical *rāgas*. Hearing the poem chanted, or chanting it oneself, produces an extremely pleasant effect, impossible to duplicate through silent reading.<sup>20</sup>

This characteristic droning effect is enhanced by a certain formulaic repetitiveness inherent in the bardic style of the work. In the poem's extensive passages of straightforward narrative, for example, verse after verse begins with the adverbial form *tatas*, "then." Moreover, continuity between verses is often sustained by beginning a verse with a participial form of a verb expressed or implied at the end of the preceding verse. If the translation were to attempt to render these repeated expressions whose function can only be appreciated in the context of oral composition and recitation, it would result in an effect far from pleasurable.

Consistent translation of specific Sanskrit terms posed another problem. In general the substitution of a given English word for each occurrence of the corresponding Sanskrit term was one of the goals of this, as of any serious translation. Yet the nature of the Sanskrit lexicon, the epic no less than the language of the classical poets, is such as to doom any attempt at mechanical correspondences to failure. On the one hand, Sanskrit shows an extraordinary—perhaps unequalled—degree of true synonymity. In many cases there can be dozens of words that signify the same thing with no perceptible nuance of meaning.<sup>21</sup> It is often impossible to find a discrete and acceptable English term for each of the many synonyms of such words as "son," "king," and the like. In some cases, where particular synonyms lend themselves to analytic or etymological representation in English, this has been done in order to retain some sense of the variety of the original. Thus the term

<sup>20</sup> The effect is somewhat monotonous, especially since the reciter rarely varies the cadence or intonation except where the meter changes. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki is recited today mostly for religious purposes, its place in popular entertainment having been taken by its vernacular derivatives.

<sup>21</sup> Through the use of compounds it is possible, as Ingalls has noted, to generate hundreds of synonyms for some words. See Ingalls 1965, pp. 6-8.



*nandana* at the end of compounds, where it idiomatically signifies “descendant” or “offspring,” has been given its etymological value and translated as “delight of.” Similarly, a standard synonym for “king,” the compound *prthivīpāla*, has been rendered literally as “protector of the earth.”

Synonymity is not, however, the only problem to confront the translator. Just as many different words may have the same meaning in Sanskrit, so may a single word have a bewildering variety of meanings. Some of traditional India’s most highly charged terms, words such as *dharma*, *karma*, *tapas*, and so on, have wide ranges of meaning, and it is, as the pandits say, possible to determine the exact meaning only from the specific context. In many cases, where terms do not exhibit this polysemic character, a one-to-one translation is both possible and desirable. Thus, we have rendered every occurrence of the term *ṛṣi* with the English word “seer” and each appearance of the partially overlapping term *muni* as “sage,” in order to reflect the distribution of these two common terms. The important term *dharma*, however, has a number of related but quite different meanings. When it is used generally, as in compounds and derivatives like *dharmajña* and *dhārmika*, “knowing *dharma*” and “dharmic,” we have translated it, depending on the English context, as “righteousness,” “what is right,” and so on. On the other hand, the term has various other meanings. At 1.24.16 it refers to duty, at 2.7.19 it means nothing more than “custom,” and at 2.23.4 it signifies “traditional insignia.” In different contexts the term *tapas* may refer to the practice of bodily austerities or the supernatural powers that are thought to derive from them. But at 2.23.3 the term *tapasvinī*, “woman possessed of *tapas*,” clearly has the idiomatic sense of “poor thing.”

One could multiply examples indefinitely, but the point should by now be clear. We have striven, through our close reading of the text and our study of the commentaries and relevant testimonia, to represent accurately the meanings of these multivalent terms, not by mechanically applying a set of unvarying lexical approximations, but by giving careful consideration to their various and often subtly differing contexts.

One of our fundamental decisions concerning this translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was that it should contain a minimum of untranslated words. To avoid providing an appropriate English equivalent for terms such as *dharma* is to abdicate the translator’s responsibility.



Accordingly it has been our consistent practice in this translation to render all Sanskrit words and terms that have appropriate English equivalents into English.

Nonetheless, it is neither necessary nor desirable in the translation of a document of a culture so far removed from ours in space and time wholly to eliminate words in the original language. For one thing, such words remind the reader that this is a poem of an alien culture rooted in an unfamiliar landscape. Then too, certain terms are either awkward or unwieldy in translation, whereas others—if only a few—do not require it. The most numerous category of words untranslated is that of proper nouns. We have said that epithets in the form of descriptive adjectives are regularly translated even when they come to be treated, as, for example, *daśagrīva*, “ten-headed Rāvaṇa,” as alternate proper nouns. On the other hand, principal names for characters are never translated, even when, as in the case of Daśaratha (“having ten chariots”), they are of the same form as the translated epithets. This holds true also for epithets derived from the names of characters and countries. Thus, for example, the text’s numerous patronymics have been left in Sanskrit. Also untranslated are the numerous terms for fauna and especially flora for which no readily recognizable English name is available. This practice has also generally been followed in the case of technical terms, such as, for example, the *mārga* mode of ancient Indian music and, more generally, in the case of culture-bound terms for important classes of supernatural beings when possible English terms seemed overly restrictive or misleading. Thus the terms *rākṣasa*, *yakṣa*, *gandharva*, *apsaras*, and so on, have been left untranslated, whereas others, such as *deva*, *nāga*, *cāraṇa*, and *siddha*, have been rendered by “god,” “serpent,” “celestial bard,” and “perfected being,” respectively. Sanskrit words that have come to be generally recognized by English speakers are translated without diacritical marks, such as “guru,” “ashram,” “kshatriya,” and “brahman.” In a very few cases technical or semi-technical Sanskrit terms have been rendered by English equivalents chosen more for their transparency to the reader than because they represent precise equivalents. Thus, for example, the text’s two common terms for measures of distance, *yojana* and *krośa*, have been represented by the English words “league” and “mile,” respectively, for these latter words represent the relationship and something of the feeling of the originals, a feeling that would have

been obscured or lost in an effort to calculate and represent the actual distances.

As Professor Nathan reminds us in his brief prolegomena to the translation given above, the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* is preeminently a work intended to be heard, and heard, as I have suggested, with a kind of relaxed absorption into its sonorous drone and its strange and yet compelling reality. It was our task to present this oral poem of ancient India to an audience of modern readers of English in the guise of a written prose-epic. In doing so we have constantly striven to create as easy a flow of contemporary diction as close adherence to the verse structure of the original would permit. For, we realized, only in freeing ourselves to a certain extent from the letter of the oral style would we retain any hope of transmitting some echo of its spirit to those who would try to grasp at first hand this poem that lies so near the heart of India.

One additional feature of the present work is its extensive annotation. In this the translation is virtually unique. Some previous editors and translators of the poem provided sporadically dense annotations of one or sometimes two *kāṇḍas* of the poem, but those who have translated the entire work have been generally satisfied with an extremely sparse set of notes most of which simply provide cultural data for the reader unfamiliar with traditional India. Gorresio, with his two hundred and thirty odd notes for the *Bālakāṇḍa*, and rather fewer for succeeding books, has as copious an annotation as any and yet his notes, like those of his colleagues, tend to concern themselves chiefly with cultural, mythological, and botanical information for the edification of the European audience.<sup>22</sup> Few scholars, aside from Peterson and a few other authors of school-texts of the *Bālakāṇḍa*,<sup>23</sup> have attempted to address systematically the numerous serious problems that the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* presents to the scholar. Moreover, even such noble, if partial, efforts as these were seriously hampered by the absence of a critical edition of the text or a readily available means of making important text-critical judgments.

The issue of close textual analysis is extremely important for any attempt at translation of the epic. For although the style, diction, and lexicon of the poem are for the most part simple, the exact sense of a particular word, phrase, or verse is frequently quite

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Gorresio 1847 and Griffith 1870-1874, pp. 527-565.

<sup>23</sup> See Peterson 1879 and Bhandare 1920.



difficult to ascertain. Paradoxically, or so it seems, we have found it more difficult to be sure of the meaning of a *Rāmāyaṇa* passage than of passages in far more elaborate and difficult genres of Sanskrit literature. Thus we agreed that the value of a translation of the critically edited text would be materially diminished unless it were accompanied by annotations that attempted to deal with every unclear and difficult passage in the poem. Wherever such a passage was encountered, the translation represents our final decision as to the most likely meaning. Those who are interested in the issues taken into consideration in arriving at these decisions, or in disputing them, will find in the notes the textual, recensional, commentarial, and other material that were judged relevant to the problem.

In general, the major thrust of the annotation is to aid in the reading and comprehension of the translation. General cultural, geographical, and botanical matters have been ignored except where a particular item bears on our understanding of the relevant passage or has some direct bearing on a textual or recensional question. Culture-specific phenomena whose significance is not readily apparent are generally glossed in the translation. Thus, for example, the common gesture of deference suggested by the term *prāñjali* is translated as “cupping the hands in reverence,” thus obviating the need for a note. The names of mythological and legendary figures appearing in the text are identified briefly in the Glossary and therefore also do not require annotation.

We have occasionally departed from this practice of elucidating only the text. When the explanation of a passage, problematic or not, by one or more of the commentators is sufficiently interesting, we have included it in a note. This has been done for two reasons. First, the ten or so Sanskrit commentators whose works we have read in connection with this translation represent, collectively, the closest approximation available to us of the audience for which the poem was intended. The reaction of these commentators—even when they are, in our opinion, wrong in their interpretations—often sheds valuable light on the reception of the epic in traditional Hindu circles and constitutes a part of our understanding of the role and destiny of this crucial text. Second, although general cultural, religious, mythological, historical, and literary information about traditional India is readily available in various translations and scholarly studies, the learned and often highly illuminating

contributions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators are both unknown and largely inaccessible to all but a handful of Sanskrit scholars. None of their works has ever been translated nor, in all probability, will they ever be. Limitations of time, space, and readership naturally preclude our inclusion of much of the contents of these invaluable works. Nonetheless, we felt that we would be providing a real service to the general as well as the scholarly audience by providing a sample of the more interesting observations and arguments of the exponents of the rich tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentaries.

A detailed study of the works and interrelationships of the major commentators will have to await a future volume of *Rāmāyaṇa* studies planned as a companion volume to the translation. Nonetheless, a few words on this subject are in order here. In the preparation of the translation and annotation of the epic, ten Sanskrit commentaries have been examined. These are, in roughly chronological order: the *Vivekatilaka* of Varadarāja Uḍāli, the *Rāmānujīya* attributed to Rāmānuja, the *Tattvadīpikā* of Maheśvaratīrtha, the *Amṛtākataka* of Mādhavayogin, the *Rāmāyaṇabhūṣaṇa* of Govindarāja, the *Rāmāyaṇatilaka* of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, the *Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi* of Vaṃśīdhara (Bansidhara) Śivasahāya, and the *Dharmākūṭam* of Tryambaka Makhin.<sup>24</sup> In addition, extracts from the commentaries of Satyatīrtha,<sup>25</sup> Munibhāva, and Sarvajñanārāyaṇa have been used.

These works range in date from around the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. (in the case of Varadarāja) to the eighteenth (in the case of Tryambaka), and vary from the sparse glosses of the former to the dense and often copious commentaries of Mādhavayogin, Govindarāja, Nāgeśa, and Śivasahāya, who have at least something to say on almost every verse in the poem. These works are immensely valuable and, indeed, it would be rash to attempt any serious reading of the poem without reading at least five of the more extensive commentaries. Nonetheless, one obvious prob-

<sup>24</sup> See Raghavan 1950 for the date of Uḍāli. See also Bhatt 1964. Bhatt's Appendix III in Shah 1975 at pp. 655-64 provides a list of commentaries, including Aufrecht's list (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, pp. 523-24) as well as references to and extracts from a number of unpublished commentaries. The question of the chronology of the commentators and of the ways in which they were influenced by their predecessors is a complicated and interesting one, with important implications for our understanding of the history of Vaiṣṇavism, and it will be taken up in the forthcoming volume of *Rāmāyaṇa* studies.

<sup>25</sup> Unavailable for the *Bālakāṇḍa*.



lem with the surviving commentaries is the fact that the earliest of them dates from a time nearly two millennia removed from that of the probable composition of the core of their text. As a result they are often as puzzled as we by certain bits of material, and there are places where it seems clear that the original meaning of the text has been lost. In spite of this, the unusually conservative nature of traditional Indian culture and of the Sanskrit language in particular, coupled with the maintenance of a long and unbroken tradition of reading and discussing the poem, make the interval of two thousand years less significant than they would be in less stable cultural contexts.

One additional factor must, however, be taken into consideration. The authors of all the surviving commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa* were devout Vaiṣṇavas for whom the primary significance of the poem was theological. For these men, most of whom were products of the passionate and compelling world of south Indian devotionalism, every action in the epic—every line—was fraught with clear or hidden theological significance. But, as has been argued above, it is clear that with a few exceptions, most of which are to be found in the later portions of the *Bāla* and *Uttara Kāṇḍas*, the text posits no special relationship between its hero and Viṣṇu, much less their identity. In keeping with their passionately held view of the nature and significance of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the commentators very frequently see as possessing profound and often arcane theological meaning verses and passages that, we believe, had originally nothing whatever to do with theology. This tendency, we consequently hold, causes a consistent overinterpretation and even falsification of the text.<sup>26</sup>

If such theological interpretations and sectarian pleading were all there was to the Sanskrit commentators, one could safely ignore them, at least as serious aids to a better understanding of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But like many of the best minds of traditional India, the commentators were more than special pleaders. They were scholars, connoisseurs of poetry, and grammarians, and a great deal of their exegesis shows little or no concern with theology. The commentaries frequently disagree among themselves, and often a single scholiast offers a series of alternative explanations of the same passage. In passage after passage the best of the commentators,

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, the notes to 1.2.14 and 1.42.17.

particularly Govindarāja, Maheśvaratīrtha, and Nāgeśa, provide learned, judicious, and convincing interpretations of readings that without their help would have remained obscure to us. We gratefully acknowledge the enormous contribution to *Rāmāyaṇa* scholarship of the commentators, and as a perusal of our notes will show, have relied heavily, although never uncritically, upon their learning.



BALAKANDA

## *Sarga 1*

1. Vālmīki, the ascetic, questioned the eloquent Nārada, bull among sages, always devoted to asceticism and study of the sacred texts.
2. “Is there a man in the world today who is truly virtuous? Who is there who is mighty and yet knows both what is right and how to act upon it? Who always speaks the truth and holds firmly to his vows?
3. “Who exemplifies proper conduct and is benevolent to all creatures? Who is learned, capable, and a pleasure to behold?
4. “Who is self-controlled, having subdued his anger? Who is both judicious and free from envy? Who, when his fury is aroused in battle, is feared even by the gods?
5. “This is what I want to hear, for my desire to know is very strong. Great seer, you must know of such a man.”
6. When Nārada, who was familiar with all the three worlds, heard Vālmīki’s words, he was delighted. “Listen,” he replied and spoke these words:
7. “The many virtues you have named are hard to find. Let me think a moment, sage, before I speak. Hear now of a man who has them all.
8. “His name is Rāma and he was born in the House of Ikṣvāku. All men know of him, for he is self-controlled, mighty, radiant, steadfast, and masterful.
9. “He is wise and grounded in proper conduct. Eloquent and majestic, he annihilates his enemies. His shoulders are broad and his arms mighty. His neck is like a conch shell and his jaws are powerful.
10. “His chest is vast, and a subduer of his enemies, he wields a huge bow. His collarbone is set deep in muscle, his arms reach down to his knees, and his head is finely made. His brow is noble and his gait full of grace.
11. “His proportions are perfect and his limbs well-formed and symmetrical. Dark is his complexion and he is valorous. His chest is fully fleshed; he has large eyes. He is splendid and marked with all auspicious signs.



12. "He knows the ways of righteousness and is always true to his word. The welfare of his subjects is his constant concern. He is renowned, learned, pure, disciplined, and contemplative.

13. "He is the protector of all living things and the guardian of righteousness. Versed in the essence of the *vedas* and their subsidiary sciences, he is equally expert in the science of arms.

14. "He is versed in the essence of every science, learned in traditional lore, and highly intelligent. All the people love him, for he is good, cheerful, and clever.

15. "He is the constant resort of good men, as is the ocean of rivers. For he is noble and equable in all circumstances and always a pleasure to behold.

16. "The delight of his mother Kausalyā, he is gifted with every virtue. For he is as deep as the ocean and as unyielding as the Himalayas.

17. "He is as mighty as Viṣṇu, but as pleasant to behold as the moon. In his wrath he resembles the fire at the end of time, yet he rivals the earth in forbearance.

18-19. "In charity he is the equal of Kubera, giver of wealth, and in truthfulness like a second Dharma, the god of righteousness. Moved by affection for him, Daśaratha, lord of the earth, wished to appoint this Rāma, his beloved eldest son, as prince regent. For he was truly valorous, possessed all these virtues, and was gifted with other excellent virtues.

20. "Seeing the preparations for the consecration, the king's wife, Queen Kaikeyī, who had long before been granted a boon, now asked for it. She demanded that Rāma be exiled and that Bharata be consecrated in his place.

21. "Because he was a man true to his word, King Daśaratha was caught in the trap of his own righteousness and had to exile his dear son Rāma.

22. "Keeping the promise, the hero entered the forest, because of the command implicit in a father's word and in order to please Kaikeyī.

23. "Out of love for him, his beloved and obedient brother Lakṣmaṇa, the delight of Sumitrā, followed him as he set forth.

24. "And his wife Sītā, the best of women, possessed of every grace, followed Rāma as Rohiṇī does the hare-marked moon.

25. "He was followed far on his way by his father, Daśaratha, and the people of the city. But at the town of Śṛṅgavera on the banks of the Ganges he dismissed his charioteer.

26. "Wandering from wood to wood, they crossed great rivers until, on the instructions of Bharadvāja, they came to Mount Citrakūṭa.

27. "There the three of them built a pleasant dwelling. Delighting in the forest and resembling celestial *gandharvas*, they lived there happily.

28. "When Rāma had gone to Mount Citrakūṭa, King Daśaratha was stricken with grief for his son and loudly lamenting him, went to heaven.

29. "When he was dead, the brahmans, led by Vasiṣṭha, urged Bharata to become king, but that mighty man did not desire kingship. Instead the hero went to the forest to beg for grace at Rāma's feet.

30. "But Bharata's elder brother only gave his sandals as a token of his sovereignty and repeatedly urged Bharata to return.

31. "Unable to accomplish his desire, Bharata touched Rāma's feet and ruled the kingdom from the village of Nandigrāma in expectation of Rāma's return.

32. "But Rāma, seeing that the people of the city had come there, entered the Daṇḍaka forest with single-minded resolution.

33. "He killed the *rākṣasa* Virādha and met Śarabhaṅga, Sutīkṣṇa, Agastya, and Agastya's brother.

34. "On the advice of Agastya, and with the greatest pleasure, he accepted Indra's bow as well as a sword and two quivers, whose arrows were inexhaustible.

35. "While Rāma was living in the forest with the woodland creatures, all the seers came to see him about killing the *asuras* and *rākṣasas*.

36. "While dwelling there, he disfigured the *rākṣasa* woman Śūrpaṇakhā, who lived in Janasthāna and could take any form at will.

37-38. "Then Rāma slew in battle all the *rākṣasas* who had been sent



against him on the strength of Śūrpaṇakhā's report—Khara, Triśiras, and the *rākṣasa* Dūṣaṇa, as well as all of their followers. Fourteen thousand *rākṣasas* were slain.

39. "But Rāvaṇa, hearing of the slaughter of his kinsmen, went mad with rage and chose a *rākṣasa* named Mārīca to assist him.

40. "Mārīca tried to dissuade Rāvaṇa many times, saying, 'Rāvaṇa, you would do well not to meddle with this mighty man.'

41. "But Rāvaṇa, who was driven by his fate, paid no heed to Mārīca's words and went with him to Rāma's ashram.

42. "With the help of that master of illusion, he lured both sons of the king far away. Then, having slain the vulture Jaṭāyus, he carried off Rāma's wife.

43. "Finding the vulture dying and hearing that Maithilī had been abducted, Rāghava was consumed with grief. Beside himself with grief, he lamented loudly.

44-45. "In sorrow, he cremated the vulture Jaṭāyus. Then, searching the forest for Sītā, he met a *rākṣasa* named Kabandha, deformed and dreadful to behold. The great-armed man killed and cremated him so that he went to heaven.

46. "But Kabandha had first told him, 'Rāghava, you must go to the hermit woman Śabarī, for she is cunning in all ways of righteousness and lives accordingly.' And so the powerful destroyer of his foes came to Śabarī.

47. "Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, was duly honored by Śabarī. Then, on the shores of Lake Pampā, he met the monkey Hanumān.

48. "Acting on Hanumān's advice, mighty Rāma met Sugrīva and told him all that had happened.

49. "Sensing that he had found a friend, the sorrowful king of the monkeys told Rāma the whole story of his feud. And the monkey told him also of Vālin's might.

50. "Rāma vowed to kill Vālin, but Sugrīva remained doubtful of Rāghava's strength.

51. "So to reassure him, Rāghava kicked the great corpse of Dundubhi ten whole leagues with his big toe.

52. "Furthermore, with a single mighty arrow he pierced seven *sāla* trees, a hill, and even the underworld Rasātala, thus inspiring confidence.

53. "The great monkey was confident, and, his mind at ease, he went with Rāma to the cave Kiṣkindhā.

54. "Then the foremost of monkeys, Sugrīva, yellow as gold, gave a great roar. At that roar, the lord of the monkeys, Vālin, came forth.

55. "Rāghava then killed Vālin in battle at the request of Sugrīva and made Sugrīva king in his place.

56. "Eager to find Janaka's daughter, that bull among monkeys assembled all the monkeys and sent them out in all directions.

57. "On the advice of the vulture Sampāti, mighty Hanumān leaped over the salt sea, a hundred leagues in breadth.

58. "Reaching the city of Lañkā, which was ruled by Rāvaṇa, he saw Sītā brooding in a grove of *aśoka* trees.

59. "He gave her a token of recognition and told her all that had happened. Then, when he had comforted Vaidehī, he smashed the gate.

60. "He killed five generals of the army and seven ministers' sons as well. Then, after crushing the hero Akṣa, he was captured.

61. "Knowing that he could free himself from their magic weapon by means of a boon he had received from Grandfather Brahmā, the hero suffered the *rākṣasas* to bind him as they would.

62. "The great monkey then burned the city of Lañkā, sparing Sītā Maithilī, and returned to tell the good news to Rāma.

63. "Approaching great Rāma, the immeasurable monkey walked reverently around him and told him just what had happened, saying, 'I have seen Sītā.'

64. "Rāma went with Sugrīva to the seashore, where he made the ocean tremble with arrows blazing like the sun.

65. "The ocean, lord of rivers, revealed himself, and, following the ocean's advice, Rāma had Nala build a bridge.

66. "By this means he went to the city of Lañkā, and having killed Rāvaṇa in battle, he consecrated Vibhīṣaṇa as lord of the *rākṣasas* in Lañkā.

67. "The three worlds, including all that moves and is fixed, and the hosts of gods and seers were delighted by that mighty feat of great Rāma.



68. "All the gods were thoroughly delighted and worshiped Rāma. Having accomplished what he had to do, he was freed from anxiety and rejoiced.

69. "He received boons from the gods and revived the fallen monkeys. Then, mounting the flying chariot Puṣpaka, he went to Nandigrāma.

70. "In Nandigrāma the blameless man and his brothers put off the knotted hair of ascetics. Thus did Rāma regain Sītā and recover his kingdom.

71. "His people are pleased and joyful, contented, well-fed, and righteous. They are also free from physical and mental afflictions and the danger of famine.

72. "Nowhere in his realm do men experience the death of a son. Women are never widowed and remain always faithful to their husbands.

73. "Just as in the Golden Age, there is no danger whatever of fire or wind, and no creatures are lost in floods.

74. "He performs hundreds of Horse Sacrifices involving vast quantities of gold. And, in accordance with custom, he donates tens and hundreds of millions of cows to the learned.

75. "Rāghava is establishing hundreds of royal lines and has set the four social orders each to its own work in the world.

76. "When he has ruled the kingdom for 11,000 years, Rāma will go to the world of Brahmā.

77. "Whoever reads this history of Rāma, which is purifying, destructive of sin, holy, and the equal of the *vedas*, is freed from all sins.

78. "A man who reads this *Rāmāyaṇa* story, which leads to long life, will after death rejoice in heaven together with his sons, grandsons, and attendants.

79. "A brahman who reads it becomes eloquent, a kshatriya becomes a lord of the earth, a *vaiśya* acquires profit from his goods, and even a lowly *śūdra* achieves greatness."

The end of the first *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

## Sarga 2

1. When the great and eloquent sage had heard his words, the righteous man and his disciples did Nārada great honor.
2. After the divine seer Nārada had been duly honored by the sage, he took his leave and receiving it, flew off into the sky.
3. Once Nārada had departed for the world of the gods, the sage went after a while to the bank of the Tamasā river, not far from the Jāhnavī, the Ganges.
4. Upon reaching the Tamasā riverbank, the great sage spied a bathing spot that was free from mud and spoke to the disciple who stood beside him.
5. “Bharadvāja, look at this lovely bathing place so free from mud. Its waters are as lucid as the mind of a good man.
6. “Set down the water jar, dear boy, and give me my barkcloth robe, for I will bathe here at this excellent bathing spot of the Tamasā.”
7. Addressed in this fashion by the great Vālmīka, Bharadvāja, always attentive to his guru, gave him his barkcloth robe.
8. Taking the barkcloth from his disciple’s hands, he walked about, his senses tightly controlled, looking all about him at the vast forest.
9. Nearby, that holy man saw an inseparable pair of sweet-voiced *krauñca* birds wandering about.
10. But even as he watched, a Niṣāda hunter, filled with malice and intent on mischief, struck down the male of the pair.
11. Seeing him struck down and writhing on the ground, his body covered with blood, his mate uttered a piteous cry.
12. And the pious seer, seeing the bird struck down in this fashion by the Niṣāda, was filled with pity.
13. Then, in the intensity of this feeling of compassion, the brahman thought, “This is wrong.” Hearing the *krauñca* hen wailing, he uttered these words:
14. “Since, Niṣāda, you killed one of this pair of *krauñcas*, distracted at the height of passion, you shall not live for very long.”
15. And even as he stood watching and spoke in this way, this



thought arose in his heart, "Stricken with grief for this bird, what is this I have uttered?"

16. But upon reflection, that wise and thoughtful man came to a conclusion. Then that bull among sages spoke these words to his disciple:

17. "Fixed in metrical quarters, each with a like number of syllables, and fit for the accompaniment of stringed and percussion instruments, the utterance that I produced in this access of *śoka*, grief, shall be called *śloka*, poetry, and nothing else."

18. But the delighted disciple had memorized that unsurpassed utterance even as the sage was making it, so that his guru was pleased with him.

19. At last the sage took the prescribed ritual bath at the bathing spot and still pondering this matter, went back.

20. His disciple, the obedient and learned Bharadvāja, took up his guru's brimming water pot and followed behind him.

21. The sage, who knew the ways of righteousness, entered his ashram with his disciple, seated himself, and began to discuss various other matters, still lost in profound thought.

22. Then the mighty four-faced lord Brahmā himself, the maker of the worlds, came to see the bull among sages.

23. Seeing him, Vālmīki rose quickly and without a word. He stood subdued and greatly wonderstruck, his hands cupped in reverence.

24. Then he worshiped the god, offering water for his feet, the welcome offering, a seat, and hymns of praise. When he had made the prescribed prostration before him, he asked after his continuing well-being.

25. Once the holy lord was seated in a place of honor, he motioned the great seer Vālmīki also to a seat.

26. But even though the Grandfather of the worlds himself sat there before him, Vālmīki, his mind once more harking back to what had happened, lapsed again into profound thought:

27. "That wicked man, his mind possessed by malice, did a terrible thing in killing such a sweet-voiced *krauñca* bird for no reason."

28. Grieving once more for the *krauñca* hen, given over wholly to his grief and lost in his inner thought, he sang the verse again right there before the god.

29. With a smile, Brahmā spoke to the bull among sages, “This is a *śloka* that you have composed. You needn’t be perplexed about this.

30. “Brahman, it was by my will alone that you produced this elegant speech. Greatest of seers, you must now compose the entire history of Rāma.

31-33. “You must tell the world the story of the righteous, virtuous, wise, and steadfast Rāma, just as you heard it from Nārada, the full story, public and private, of that wise man. For all that befell wise Rāma, Saumitri, the *rākṣasas*, and Vaidehī, whether in public or private, will be revealed to you, even those events of which you are ignorant.

34. “No utterance of yours in this poem shall be false. Now compose the holy story of Rāma fashioned into *ślokas* to delight the heart.

35. “As long as the mountains and rivers shall endure upon the earth, so long will the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* be told among men.

36. “And as long as the story of Rāma you compose is told, so long will you live on in my worlds above and below.”

37. When the holy lord Brahmā had spoken in this fashion, he vanished on the spot, and the sage Vālmīki and his disciples were filled with wonder.

38. Then all his disciples chanted that *śloka* again. Delighted and filled with wonder, they said over and over again:

39. “The *śloka*, grief, that the great seer sang out in four metrical quarters, all equal in syllables, has, by virtue of its being repeated after him, become *śloka*, poetry.”

40. Then the contemplative Vālmīki conceived this idea: “Let me compose an entire poem, called the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in verses such as these.”

41. And thus did the renowned sage with enormous insight compose this poem that adds to the glory of the glorious Rāma, with hundreds of *ślokas* equal in syllables, their words noble in sound and meaning, delighting the heart.

The end of the second *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



### Sarga 3

1. And so it came about that the righteous man, having learned the entire substance of that story, exemplary of righteousness, the tale of wise Rāma, sought to make it public.
2. First the sage sipped water in the prescribed fashion. Then seated on *darbha* grass with the tips pointed east and cupping his hands reverently, he sought through profound meditation the means of access to this tale.
3. Rāma's birth, his great strength and kindliness to all, the people's love for him, his forbearance, gentleness, and truthful nature,
4. the various other marvellous stories told on the journey with Viśvāmitra, Jānakī's wedding, and the breaking of the bow,
5. the dispute between the two Rāmas and the virtues of Dāśarathi, Rāma's consecration and Kaikeyī's wicked nature,
6. the interruption of the consecration and the banishment of Rāma, the king's grief and lamentation, and his departure for the next world,
7. the dejection of the common people and their abandonment, the conversation with the Niṣāda chief and the return of the charioteer,
8. the crossing of the Ganges and the meeting with Bharadvāja, the arrival at Mount Citrakūṭa on the instructions of Bharadvāja,
9. the building of and dwelling in a hut and the coming of Bharata, the propitiation of Rāma and the funeral libations for his father,
10. the consecration of the wonderful sandals and the dwelling in Nandigrāma, the journey to the Daṇḍaka forest and the meeting with Sutīkṣṇa,
11. the encounter with Anasūyā and her presentation of the ointment, the conversation with Śūrpaṇakhā and her disfigurement,
12. the slaying of Khara and Trīśiras and the setting out of Rāvaṇa, the destruction of Mārīca and the abduction of Vaidehī,
13. the lamentation of Rāghava and the death of the vulture king, the encounter with Kabandha and arrival at Lake Pampā,
14. the encounters with Śabarī and Hanumān, and the lamentations of great Rāghava at Lake Pampā,
15. the journey to R̥ṣyamūka and the meeting with Sugrīva, the

engendering of confidence, the alliance, and the battle between Vālin and Sugrīva,

16. the slaying of Vālin and the installation of Sugrīva, the lamentation of Tārā, the agreement, and the settling in for the rainy season,

17. the anger of the lion of the Rāghavas, the marshaling of the troops, their being dispatched in all directions, and the description of the earth,

18. the giving of the ring, the discovery of Ṛkṣa's cave, the fast until death, and the encounter with Sampāti,

19. the ascent of the mountain and the leap over the ocean, the entry into Lañkā by night and the solitary deliberations,

20. the arrival at the drinking ground, the view of the women's quarters, the arrival at the *aśoka* grove, and the meeting with Sītā,

21. the giving of the token of recognition and Sītā's speech, the threats of the *rākṣasa* women and the dream-vision of Trijaṭā,

22. Sītā's giving of the jewel and the breaking of the trees, the flight of the *rākṣasa* women and the slaughter of the servants,

23. the capture of Vāyu's son Hanumān, and the wailing at the burning of Lañkā, the return leap, and the seizure of the mead,

24. the consolation of Rāghava and the presentation of the jewel, the encounter with the ocean and the construction of Nala's bridge,

25. the crossing of the ocean and the siege of Lañkā by night, the alliance with Vibhīṣaṇa and his revelation of the means of destruction,

26. the death of Kumbhakarna and the slaying of Meghanāda, the destruction of Rāvaṇa and the recovery of Sītā in the enemy's citadel,

27. the consecration of Vibhīṣaṇa and the acquisition of the chariot Puṣpaka, the journey to Ayodhyā and the meeting with Bharata,

28. the celebration of Rāma's consecration and his dismissal of all his troops, his pleasing the kingdom and his sending away Vaidehī—

29. all of this did the holy seer Vālmīki render into poetry. Even those events that had not yet befallen Rāma on earth were rendered in the latter portion of his poem.

The end of the third *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



### Sarga 4

1. It was after Rāma had regained his kingdom that the holy and self-controlled seer Vālmīki composed this entire history in such wonderful words.
2. When the wise master had finished it, including the sections dealing with the future and final events, he thought, "Who should perform it?"
3. And as the great contemplative seer was pondering this, Kuśa and Lava in the guise of sages came and touched his feet.
4. He looked at the two glorious brothers, Kuśa and Lava, who lived in his ashram, for they were sons of the king, familiar with the ways of righteousness, and had sweet voices.
5. Perceiving that they were well grounded in the *vedas* and had excellent memories, he accepted them as students of vedic exegesis.
- 6-7. A man who always fulfilled his vows, he taught them the whole of this great poem, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is the tale of Sītā and the slaying of Paulastya. It is sweet both when recited and when sung in the three tempos to the seven notes of the scale, and it is eminently suitable for the accompaniment of both stringed and percussion instruments.
8. The two disciples sang the poem, which is replete with all the poetic sentiments: the humorous, the erotic, the piteous, the wrathful, the heroic, the terrifying, the loathsome, and the rest.
9. The brothers, beautiful as *gandharvas*, had beautiful voices and were well versed in the *gandharvas'* musical art. They were expert in both articulation and modulation.
10. Gifted with beauty and auspicious marks, they spoke with sweet voices. Like twin reflections they seemed, born of the same image, Rāma's body.
11. That unsurpassed tale is exemplary of righteousness, and so the two blameless sons of the king learned the entire poem by heart.
12. And when they had done so, the two great and gifted men, who understood its essence and were marked by every auspicious sign, sang it as they had been instructed, with single-minded concentration before assemblies of seers, brahmans, and good men.

13. Now on one occasion the two sang the poem in the presence of some pure-minded seers who were seated in an assembly.

14. When the sages heard it, their eyes were clouded with tears and filled with the greatest wonder, they all said to the two, "Excellent, excellent!"

15. All the sages, glad at heart and loving righteousness, praised Kuśa and Lava as they sang, for they were worthy of praise:

16. "Ah, the sweetness of the singing and especially the poetry! Even though this all took place so long ago, it is as though it were happening before our very eyes."

17. Then the two of them together, entering fully into the emotion of the story, sang it with the full range of notes, sweetly and with feeling.

18. Praised in this fashion by those great seers, who were themselves to be extolled for their asceticism, they sang more sweetly still and with still greater feeling.

19. One sage there, delighted, gave them a water jar. Another, a man of great renown, gave them a barkcloth mantle.

20. This wondrous tale that the sage told and that he completed in perfect sequence is the great source of inspiration for poets.

21. Now it happened that on one occasion, the elder brother of Bharata saw there those two singers who were being praised everywhere on the roads and royal highways.

22. And Rāma, the destroyer of his enemies, brought the brothers, Kuśa and Lava, to his own dwelling where he honored them, for they were worthy of honor.

23-24. Then lord Rāma, chastiser of his foes, seated on a heavenly throne of gold with his ministers and brothers sitting nearby, looked at the two beautiful youths with their lutes and spoke to Lakṣmaṇa, Śatrughna, and Bharata.

25. "Let us listen to this tale, whose words and meaning alike are wonderful, as it is sweetly sung by these two godlike men.

26. "For although these two sages, Kuśa and Lava, are great ascetics, they bear all the marks of kings. Moreover, it is said that the profound tale they tell is highly beneficial, even for me. Listen to it."



27. Then at a word from Rāma, the two of them began to sing in the full perfection of the *mārga* mode. And right there in the assembly, even Rāma, in his desire to experience it fully, gradually permitted his mind to become enthralled.

The end of the fourth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 5*

1-3. This great tale, known as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, concerns itself with the dynasty of those great and victorious kings, the Ikṣvākus, descendants of Brahmā, lord of creatures, and those to whom this whole earth first of all belonged. Among them was Sagara, who caused the ocean to be dug and who had sixty thousand sons to form his entourage when he went abroad.

4. I will recite it from the beginning in its entirety, omitting nothing. It is in keeping with the goals of righteousness, profit, and pleasure, and should be listened to with faith.

5. There is a great, happy, and prosperous country called Kosala, situated on the banks of the Sarayū river and rich in abundance of wealth and grain.

6. There was situated the world-famous city of Ayodhyā, a city built by Manu himself, lord of men.

7. It was a great and majestic city, twelve leagues long and three wide, with well-ordered avenues.

8. It was adorned with a great and well-ordered royal highway, always strewn with loose blossoms and constantly sprinkled with water.

9. King Daśaratha, who had expanded a realm already great, dwelt in that city, like the lord of the gods in heaven.

10. It was provided with doors and gates, and its markets had well-ordered interiors. It contained every implement and weapon, and was the resort of every artisan.

11. It was majestic, unequaled in splendor, and thronged with bards and rhapsodists. It had pennants on its tall towers and bristled with hundreds of "hundred-slayers."

12. It was a great city filled with troops of actresses everywhere, dotted with parks and mango groves, and girdled by ramparts.

13. It was a fortress with a deep moat impossible to cross, was unassailable by its enemies, and was filled with horses, elephants, cows, camels, and donkeys.

14. Filled with crowds of neighboring kings come to pay tribute, it was likewise adorned with merchants of many different lands.

15. It was splendid with hills and palaces fashioned of jewels. Brisling with its rooftop turrets, it resembled Indra's Amarāvati.

16. Colorful, laid out like a chessboard, and crowded with hosts of the most beautiful women, it was filled with every kind of jewel and adorned with palatial buildings.

17. Situated on level ground, its houses were built in close proximity to one another, without the slightest gap between them. It held plentiful stores of *śāli* rice, and its water was like the juice of sugar cane.

18. Loudly resounding with drums and stringed instruments—*duṇḍubhis*, *mṛdaṅgas*, lutes, and *paṇavas*—it was truly unsurpassed on earth.

19. The outer walls of its dwellings were well constructed, and it was filled with good men. Indeed, it was like a palace in the sky that perfected beings had gained through austerities.

20-22. King Daśaratha had populated the entire city with thousands of great chariot warriors, both skillful and dexterous—men who would never loose their arrows upon a foe who was isolated from his comrades, the sole support of his family, in hiding, or in flight, but who slew with their sharp weapons, or even the strength of their bare hands, lions, tigers, and boars, bellowing with rage in the forest.

23. But the king also peopled the city with great brahmans who tended the sacred fires and had mastered the *vedas* with their six adjunct sciences—men who were devoted to truth, and gave away thousands in charity—and with prominent seers, like the great seers themselves.

The end of the fifth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



### *Sarga 6*

1-4. Dwelling in that city of Ayodhyā, King Daśaratha ruled the earth, just as powerful Manu once ruled the world. He knew the *vedas* and was lord and master of everything. Powerful and gifted with foresight, he was loved by the people of both town and countryside. That master chariot warrior of the Ikṣvākus performed sacrifices and was devoted to righteousness. He was renowned in the three worlds as a masterful man and a royal seer like one of the great seers. He was mighty and had slain his enemies, yet he had also conquered his senses and had many friends. In wealth and accumulated property, he was the equal of Śakra or Vaiśravaṇa, lord of wealth.

5. True to his vows and ever cultivating the three goals of life, he ruled that splendid city as Indra rules Amarāvati.

6. In that great city men were happy, righteous, and deeply learned. They were truthful and not covetous, for each man was content with his own property.

7. In that most excellent city there was no householder who did not have significant property, who had not accomplished his goals, or who was not possessed of cattle, horses, wealth, and grain.

8. Nowhere in Ayodhyā could one find a lecher, a miser, a cruel or unlearned man, or an agnostic.

9. All the men and women conducted themselves in accordance with righteousness and were self-controlled and joyful. In disposition and conduct they were as pure as the great seers themselves.

10. No one lacked earrings, diadem, and necklace. No one was deprived of pleasures. There was no one who was dirty or whose body lacked for ointments or perfume.

11. There was no one who had unclean food or was ungenerous. There was nobody who did not wear an armlet and a golden breastplate. No one was lacking in either rings or self-control.

12. Nor was there in Ayodhyā a single brahman who did not kindle the sacred fires, sacrifice, and donate thousands in charity. Nor were there any who indulged in mixing of the social classes.

13. The brahmans had subdued their senses and were always devoted to their proper occupation. They were given over to charity and study and were restrained in accepting gifts.

14. There were no agnostics and no liars. There was none who was not deeply learned. None was envious, incompetent, or ignorant.

15. No one was unhappy, fickle, or troubled. In Ayodhyā, one could not find a man or a woman lacking in grace or beauty, or anyone who was not devoted to the king.

16. The men of all the social classes, of which the foremost, the brahmans, makes the fourth, worshiped both gods and guests. They were long-lived, practicing truth and righteousness.

17. The kshatriyas accepted the brahmans as their superiors, and the *vaiśyas* were subservient to the kshatriyas. The *śūdras*, devoted to their proper duty, served the other three classes.

18. In short, the city was as well governed by that lord of the Ikṣvākus as it had been long ago by the wise Manu, foremost of men.

19. Like a cave filled with lions, it was full of fiery warriors, skilled, unyielding, and accomplished in their art.

20. It was full of the finest horses, bred in the regions of Bāhlika, Vanāyu, Kāmboja, and the great river, the equals of Hari's steed.

21. It was filled with exceedingly powerful rutting elephants, like mountains, born in the Vindhya hills and the Himalayas.

22-23. The city was always full of bull elephants, looking like mountains and always in rut; elephants of the *bhadramandra*, *bhadramṛga*, and *mṛgamandra* breeds, descended from the cosmic elephants Añjana and Vāmana. Indeed its name, Ayodhyā—the unassailable—was truly meaningful, even two leagues beyond its gates.

24. Thus did the lord of the earth, Śakra's equal, rule that auspicious and aptly named city crowded with thousands of men, resplendent with wonderful buildings, its gates fitted with firm bolts.

The end of the sixth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

## *Sarga 7*

1. That hero had eight renowned ministers, incorruptible and unswervingly devoted to affairs of state.

2. They were Dhṛṣṭi, Jayanta, Vijaya, Siddhārtha, Arthasādhaka, Aśoka, Mantrapāla, and Sumantra, who made the eighth.



3. He had also two principal officiating priests, the foremost of seers Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva, as well as other counsellors.
4. Great and majestic, learned in the sciences, and steadfast in courage, they were renowned, diligent, and as good as their word.
5. They had acquired power, forbearance, and fame, and always spoke with a smile. They would never utter a false word, whether from anger or for the sake of pleasure or profit.
6. Nothing took place, either in their own realm or abroad, that they didn't know about by means of secret agents, whether it was already accomplished, actually taking place, or even merely contemplated.
7. Adept at their duties, they were tested in loyalty so that, if the occasion demanded, they would punish even their own sons.
8. They were busy increasing the treasury and maintaining the army and would not harm even a hostile man, if he had done no wrong.
9. Heroic, unflagging in energy, they put into practice the science of statecraft. They were the constant protectors of all honest inhabitants of the realm.
10. They filled the treasury without injury to the brahmans and kshatriyas and meted out strict punishment only after considering the relative gravity of a man's offense.
11. When all those honest and likeminded men sat in judgment, there was not a single man in the city or the kingdom who dared to bear false witness.
12. There was no such thing as a wicked man there, or a man who made love to another man's wife. That splendid city and, indeed, the whole country were at peace.
13. The ministers' garments were fine, their ornaments beautiful, and their conduct impeccable. With the eye of statecraft, they were vigilant on behalf of the welfare of the lord of men.
14. Sensible only of the virtues of their master, they were famed for their courage. They were known everywhere, even in foreign lands, for their resoluteness of mind.
15. Blessed with ministers such as these, possessed of such virtues, blameless King Daśaratha ruled the earth.

16. Ever watchful through his secret agents, pleasing his subjects in accordance with righteousness, he found no enemy to be his equal, much less superior to him.

17. Surrounded by devoted, clever, and capable counsellors, skilled both in counsel and in strategy, the king achieved a blazing splendor, as does the rising sun surrounded by its shining rays.

The end of the seventh *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 8*

1. But even though the great man knew all the ways of righteousness and reigned in such magnificence, he suffered for the lack of a son, for he had no son to carry on his dynasty.

2. And as the great man brooded over this, a thought occurred to him. "Why do I not perform the Horse Sacrifice to get a son?"

3-4. Once the wise and righteous king, in consultation with all his accomplished counsellors, had reached the decision that he must sacrifice, he said this to Sumantra, the foremost among them, "Fetch my family priest and all my gurus at once."

5. Hearing that, Sumantra, who served as his charioteer, spoke to the king in private, "I have heard an ancient story that is told by the sacrificial priests.

6. "Long ago, your majesty, in the presence of the seers, the holy Sanatkumāra told this tale, which has to do with your acquiring a son:

7. " 'Kāśyapa has a son known as Vibhāṇḍaka. The latter will have a son famed as Ṛśyaśṛṅga.

8. " 'Raised entirely in the forest, a sage dwelling only in the woods, that lord among brahmans will know nothing other than constant obedience to his father.

9. " 'That great man's chastity will be destroyed, and that event, your majesty, will become famous among the people and will long be talked about by brahmans.

10. " 'But still, there will be a time when he shall live only by serving the sacred fire and his renowned father.



11. “ ‘During that very time, the mighty, valorous, and famous Romapāda will be the king of the Aṅgas.

12. “ ‘Because of some transgression on the part of that king, there will be a cruel and terrible drought endangering all creatures.

13. “ ‘While the drought persists, the king, in distress, will assemble brahmans advanced in learning and will say to them:

14. “ ‘ “You gentlemen are learned in the ways of righteousness and understand the ways of the world. Prescribe some penance such that I might find expiation.”

15. “ ‘And those brahmans, masters of the *veda*, will say to the protector of the earth, “Your majesty, you must by some means or other bring Vibhāṇḍaka’s son here.

16. “ ‘ “And, protector of the earth, once you have had Ṛśyaśṛṅga brought with all due honor, you must, with due ceremony and unwavering mind, offer him your daughter Śāntā.”

17. “ ‘When the king hears their advice he will begin to consider, “By what means can that mighty man be brought here?”

18. “ ‘Then the wise king, having come to a decision in consultation with his counsellors, will dispatch his family priest and ministers, after duly honoring them.

19. “ ‘But they, hearing the words of the king, will be distressed, and with lowered faces, they will entreat with the protector of men, “We dare not go. We are afraid of the seer.”

20. “ ‘But afterwards, when they have thought of a suitable means for accomplishing that purpose, they will say, “We shall bring the brahman. There will be no difficulty.”

21. “ ‘And so the king of Aṅga will bring the seer’s son by means of prostitutes. Śāntā will be given to him, and the god will cause rain.

22. “ ‘Ṛśyaśṛṅga, his son-in-law, shall produce sons for you.’ Thus far, have I related the tale told by Sanatkumāra.”

23. Daśaratha was delighted, and he replied to Sumantra, “Tell me exactly how Ṛśyaśṛṅga was brought.”

The end of the eighth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 9*

1. Pressed by the king, Sumantra said these words: "You and your counsellors shall hear how they brought Ṛśyaśṛṅga.
2. "Romapāda's family priest and ministers said this to him: 'We have devised a flawless plan.
3. " 'Ṛśyaśṛṅga is a forest-dweller devoted to austerity and study. He is wholly unacquainted with women and the pleasures of the senses.
4. " 'So we shall bring him to the city with pleasant objects of the senses that agitate the thoughts of men. Let it be arranged at once.
5. " 'Let beautiful, richly adorned prostitutes go there. He will receive them with honor, and they will infatuate him in various ways and bring him here.'
6. "When the king had heard this, he replied to his family priest, 'So be it.' His family priest and counsellors then did just as they had said.
- 7-8. "Upon hearing their instructions, the finest courtesans entered the great forest and stayed near the ashram trying to catch a glimpse of the seer's steadfast son who always stayed within it. Wholly content with just his father, he had never ventured outside the ashram.
9. "From the day of his birth, that ascetic had never seen either a man or a woman, or any other creature of the city or the countryside.
10. "But on one occasion, Vibhāṇḍaka's son happened to come to the place where the women were and saw them.
11. "Wearing beautiful clothes and singing with sweet voices, all those beautiful young women approached the seer's son and said these words:
12. " 'Who are you? How do you live? Brahman, we wish to know. Tell us, why do you wander alone in this dreadful and deserted forest?'
13. "In a sudden feeling of love for these women with their desirable bodies and their looks such as he had never before seen, the idea came to him there in the forest to tell them about his father.
14. " 'My father is Vibhāṇḍaka and I am the son of his body. My



name—Ṛśyaśṛṅga—and my occupation are well known throughout the world.

15. “ ‘But you look so lovely. Our ashram is nearby, and there I will do you honor as custom demands.’

16. “Hearing the words of the seer’s son, they all consented. Then they all went with him to see the ashram.

17. “When they had arrived, the seer’s son received them with honor, saying: ‘Here is the welcome offering; here is water to wash your feet, here are our roots and fruits.’

18. “But although they had accepted his hospitality and were filled with longing, they were fearful of the seer and so resolved to leave quickly.

19. “ ‘We too have excellent fruits, brahman. Bless you. Take some and eat them now.’

20. “Then they all embraced him joyfully, offering him sweets and various other good things to eat.

21. “When the mighty man tasted them, he thought that they were fruits that he, living always in the forest, had never tasted before.

22. “Then the women, telling the brahman that they had some religious observance to perform, took their leave. Fearful of his father, they departed on that pretext.

23. “But when they had all gone, the brahman, son of Kāśyapa, became sick at heart and wandered about in misery.

24. “Therefore, the very next day that mighty man came again to the place where he had seen those charming, richly adorned courtesans.

25. “When they saw the brahman coming, their hearts were delighted, and they all approached him and spoke.

26. “ ‘Now you must come to our ashram, friend,’ they said. ‘There the welcome ceremony will be especially lavish.’

27. “Hearing all of them utter these words that went straight to his heart, he resolved to go with them. And so the women led him away.

28. “Even as they were bringing the great brahman there, the god suddenly brought rain, refreshing the world.

29. “The lord of men went humbly out to meet the sage who had come to his kingdom bringing rain, placing his head on the ground before him.

30. “His thoughts focused, he offered him the welcome offering as custom demanded, and begged a favor from the great brahman, ‘Please do not be angry, brahman.’

31. “Then the king entered the women’s quarters, and having given him his daughter Śāntā with all the proper ceremony and a tranquil heart, he attained happiness.

32. “And that is how the mighty Ṛśyaśṛṅga came to dwell there with his wife Śāntā, gratified with every desirable thing.”

The end of the ninth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 10*

1. “Now listen further, lord of kings, to my helpful story, just as that wise descendant of the gods related it.

2. “ ‘There will be born in the house of Ikṣvāku a righteous king named Daśaratha, majestic and true to his vows.

3. “ ‘This king will form an alliance with the king of Aṅga, to whom will be born an illustrious maiden named Śāntā.

4. “ ‘The king of Aṅga will have a son known as Romapāda, and the renowned King Daśaratha will approach him and say:

5. “ ‘ ‘I have no children, righteous man. Let Śāntā’s husband, with your permission, undertake a sacrifice for me to perpetuate my family’s lineage.”

6. “ ‘When that wise man hears the king’s request and turns it over in his mind, he will give him Śāntā’s husband who can give him sons.

7. “ ‘The king will receive that brahman, and free from anxiety, he will undertake his sacrifice with a glad heart.

8-9. “ ‘Eager to sacrifice, King Daśaratha, lord of men, who knows the ways of righteousness, will fold his hands in supplication and will beg Ṛśyaśṛṅga, that best of brahmans, to perform his sacrifice



and grant him sons and heaven. And the lord of the people shall obtain his desire from that foremost of brahmans.

10. “‘He shall have four sons measureless in valor and famed in all the worlds to perpetuate his line.’

11. “Thus did the son of the gods, the holy lord Sanatkumāra, tell the tale long ago in the age of the gods.

12. “Now you must go yourself, great king, tiger among men, with troops and mounts, to bring Ṛśyaśṛṅga with great honor.”

13. When the king had heard his charioteer’s words and asked the permission of Vasiṣṭha, he set out with his wives and ministers to where that brahman lived.

14. Slowly traversing forests and rivers, he came to the country where that bull among sages dwelt.

15. Arriving there, he immediately saw the seer’s son, that best of brahmans, shining like fire, near Romapāda.

16. Then according to custom and with a glad heart, King Romapāda paid King Daśaratha special honor, because of their alliance.

17. Romapāda told the seer’s wise son about their alliance and kinship. Then Ṛśyaśṛṅga did honor to Daśaratha.

18. Thus, duly honored by King Romapāda, King Daśaratha, bull among men, stayed with him for seven or eight days and then said this to him:

19. “Your majesty, lord of the people, let your daughter Śāntā come to my city with her husband, for a great ceremony is at hand.”

20. The king promised that the wise man would go, saying, “So be it.” He then said these words to the brahman, “Please go there with your wife.”

21. The seer’s son consented in turn, saying, “So be it,” to the king. And so, taking his leave of the king, he set out with his wife.

22. Daśaratha and the mighty Romapāda cupped their hands reverently to one another, and having embraced each other affectionately, they rejoiced.

23. Once he had taken leave of his friend, the delight of the Raghus

set out, after dispatching swift messengers to the people of his city, saying, "Let the entire city be decorated at once."

24. Hearing that the king was returning, the people of the city were delighted and carried out all that the king had commanded.

25. Preceded by that bull among brahmans, the king entered his beautifully decorated city to the sound of conches and drums.

26. When the people of the city saw the brahman being ushered in and honored by the lord of men whose deeds were like those of Indra, they were all delighted.

27. The king had R̥śyaśṛṅga enter the women's quarters after doing him honor in the manner prescribed in the traditional texts. Then by virtue of his having brought him, he regarded himself as one who had already accomplished his purpose.

28. All the women watched the large-eyed Śāntā arrive in this fashion with her husband, and because of their love for her, they rejoiced.

29. Honored by them and by the king especially, she was happy and dwelt there with the brahman for some time.

The end of the tenth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 11*

1. After some time, when spring had come, ravishing the heart, the king set his mind on performing the sacrifice.

2. With bowed head he propitiated the brahman R̥śyaśṛṅga, splendid as a god, and begged him to perform the sacrifice for the continuation of his dynasty.

3. Treated with such respect, he said to the king, "Very well. You may gather all the necessary articles and release the horse."

4. The king then spoke these words to Sumantra, the foremost of counsellors: "Sumantra, summon sacrificial priests learned in the *vedas* at once."

5. Swift-stepping Sumantra left quickly to assemble all the brahmans who were masters of the *veda*.



6. He called Suyajña, Vāmadeva, and Jābāli, as well as Kāśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, the family priest, and other prominent brahmans.

7. Righteous King Daśaratha honored them and spoke gentle words in keeping with both righteousness and sound policy.

8. "Sorely lamenting the lack of a son, I take no joy in anything. For that reason I have resolved to perform the Horse Sacrifice.

9. "I wish to perform the sacrifice according to the rites prescribed in the ritual texts so that, through the power of the seer's son, I may obtain my heart's desire."

10. Then all the brahmans, led by Vasiṣṭha, approved those words that had issued from the mouth of the king, crying, "Excellent!"

11. Making Ṛśyaśṛṅga their spokesman, they further addressed the lord of men, "You may gather all the necessary articles and release the horse.

12. "Since you have made this righteous resolution in order to obtain a son, you shall surely get four sons immeasurable in valor."

13. When the king heard those words of the brahmans, he was delighted and in his joy said these auspicious words to his ministers:

14. "At the behest of my gurus, gather all the necessary articles at once. Also release the horse, to be guarded by strong men and attended by our preceptor.

15. "Have the sacrificial ground laid out on the north bank of the Sarayū and let the propitiatory rites be performed in due order and according to the ritual injunctions.

16. "This sacrifice may be performed by every guardian of the earth provided that in the performance of this, the greatest of rites, there occurs no serious error.

17. "For learned brahman-*rākṣasas* ceaselessly search for any flaw in it. Whoever performs this sacrifice without following all the injunctions perishes instantly.

18. "You are skilled in ritual performances. Therefore let the preliminary rites be performed in such a way that this sacrifice of mine is completed according to the injunctions."

19. Saying, "So be it," all his counsellors approved these words of the best of kings and then did as he had commanded.

20. Then all the brahmans praised that bull among kings who knew the ways of righteousness and taking their leave, departed as they had come.

21. When the brahmans had gone, the splendid lord of men dismissed his counsellors and entered his private chambers.

The end of the eleventh *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 12*

1-2. When a full year had elapsed and spring had come once more, Daśaratha ceremonially greeted and honored Vasiṣṭha according to custom, and desiring progeny, spoke this respectful speech to that best of brahmans, “Brahman, bull among sages, please perform the sacrifice for me, as you said you would.

3. “Please arrange it so that there shall be no impediment to any of the elements of the sacrifice. You are my dear friend and supreme guru.

4. “Once the sacrifice is begun, responsibility for it is to be borne by you alone.” The eminent brahman replied, “So be it,” and told the king:

5-7. “I will do all that you have requested.” Then he spoke to experienced brahmans, well versed in the operations of the sacrifice, and to righteous men, well versed and experienced in the art of construction. He spoke also to reliable artisans, carpenters, excavators, astrologers, artists, dancers, actors, and deeply learned men, honest and well versed in the ritual texts:

8. “Gentlemen, begin work for the sacrifice in accordance with the king’s command. Bring many thousands of bricks at once.

9. “Let royal dwellings, complete with all amenities, be constructed for the kings and hundreds of fine houses for the brahmans.

10-12. “They must be very well built and stocked with every sort of food and drink. You must also build spacious dwellings for the city folk stocked with good things to eat and furnished with everything one could desire. Even the country folk must be given fine food in accordance with custom, and not contemptuously, but with



respect. Everything is to be done in such a way that all classes of society are treated well and shown respect.

13-15. "No disrespect is to be shown anyone, even though you may be under the influence of lust or anger. Those men who are artisans engaged in work pertaining to the sacrifice are to be shown special respect according to their rank. You gentlemen, your hearts softened by love, must act so that everything is well arranged and nothing omitted." Then all of them came together and replied to Vasiṣṭha:

16. "We shall do just as you have said. Nothing whatever shall be omitted." Vasiṣṭha then summoned Sumantra and spoke.

17. "Invite all the righteous kings of the earth, as well as thousands of brahmans, kshatriyas, *vaiśyas*, and *śūdras*.

18-19. "Assemble men from all lands here and do them honor. You are personally and with great respect to escort Janaka, that truly valorous hero, the illustrious ruler of Mithilā; for he is well versed both in the *vedas* and in every traditional science. Knowing him to be our ancient kinsman, I mention him first.

20. "But you must also personally escort the friendly and godlike lord of Kāśī, who always speaks kindly and whose conduct is impeccable.

21. "Also bring the father-in-law of our lion among kings, the aged and exceedingly righteous king of the Kekayas and his son.

22. "Showing great respect, bring Romapāda, the king of Aṅga, the illustrious and renowned friend of our lion among kings.

23. "Bring all the eastern kings, and the kings of Sindhu-Sauvīra and Saurāṣṭra, as well as the southern lords of men.

24. "And whichever of the other kings on the earth may be friendly to us, bring them at once, along with their followers and kinsmen."

25. Sumantra, hearing those words of Vasiṣṭha, made haste and dispatched good men to bring the kings.

26. Then righteous Sumantra, following the sage's orders, set forth himself in haste to assemble the lords of the earth.

27. Meanwhile all the reliable workmen reported to wise Vasiṣṭha that everything had been made ready for the sacrifice.

28. The eminent brahman was pleased and addressed them once more, “Nothing is to be given to anyone with disrespect or contempt. A thing offered with disrespect destroys the giver. Of this there can be no doubt.”

29. For several days and nights, the rulers of the earth arrived, bringing many fine things for King Daśaratha.

30. At last Vasiṣṭha, greatly pleased, said this to the king, “Tiger among men, the kings have arrived, at your command.

31. “I myself have honored all these excellent kings, each according to his merit. Meanwhile, your majesty, our painstaking workmen have completed all the preparations for the sacrifice.

32. “Sire, go forth to sacrifice at the sacrificial ground so near at hand, for it is now completely furnished with all the desirable things that have been brought.”

33. And so, acting on the advice of both Vasiṣṭha and Ṛśyaśṛṅga, the lord of the world went forth on an auspicious day and under an auspicious constellation.

34. Then all the eminent brahmans, led by Vasiṣṭha, placed Ṛśyaśṛṅga at their head and began the sacrificial rite.

The end of the twelfth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 13*

1. When a full year had elapsed and the horse had been brought back, the royal sacrifice was begun on the north bank of the Sarayū river.

2. Led by Ṛśyaśṛṅga, those bulls among brahmans performed the Horse Sacrifice, greatest of rites, for the great king.

3. The sacrificial priests, masters of the *vedas*, performed the rite according to the ritual injunctions. Following the vedic prescriptions, they undertook it in the correct manner, according to the ritual texts.

4. After they had performed the preliminary offerings, the *Pra-vargya* and the *Upasad*, according to the ritual texts, the brahmans



carried out all the additional rites according to the injunctions laid down in those texts.

5. Completing their preliminary worship, all those bulls among sages were filled with joy. They then performed, according to the ritual injunctions, the rites beginning with the Morning Pressing.

6. Nothing in those rites was omitted or improperly offered, and every rite was accompanied by the appropriate vedic recitation; indeed, they performed them perfectly.

7. During that period there was not a single brahman to be found who was fatigued, hungry, ignorant, or lacking a hundred attendants.

8. Brahmans and their dependents were fed continually. Ascetics were fed and so were wandering mendicants.

9. The aged and the sick were fed and so were the women and children. And although they ate continually, they never felt jaded.

10. "Give! Give food and all kinds of garments." So they were ordered, and so they did again and again.

11. Day after day one could see there, like mountains, heap upon heap of perfectly prepared food.

12. The bulls among brahmans praised it, and Rāghava heard them say, "The food is properly prepared and delicious. Ah, bless you, we have had enough."

13. Richly ornamented serving men waited upon the brahmans, while others, with earrings of sparkling jewels, assisted them.

14. In the intervals between the various rites, learned and eloquent brahmans, desirous of defeating one another, engaged in numerous philosophical debates.

15. Day after day, skilled brahmans, following instructions, performed, in accordance with the ritual texts, all the rites that make up the sacrifice.

16. Every one of the brahmans who officiated for the king was grounded in the six adjunct sciences, practiced penitential vows, was deeply learned, and was skilled in disputation.

17. When the sacrificial posts were erected there were six of *bilva* wood, six of *khadira* wood, and in conjunction with those of *bilva* wood, a like number of *parṇin* wood.

18. There was the prescribed post of *śleṣmātaka* wood and posts of *devadāru* wood. Of the latter, two were prescribed, set so as to be just grasped by the sacrificer with his arms spread wide.

19. Those men, learned in the ritual texts and skilled in sacrifice, had fashioned all of them, and so that the sacrifice would be beautiful, they adorned them with gold.

20. Finely made by artisans, firm, octagonal, and smooth, they were all set in place according to the ritual injunctions.

21. Covered with fine hangings and adorned with flowers and perfume, they were as splendid as the constellation of the seven seers shining in the sky.

22. The bricks were made in the prescribed manner and in accordance with the prescribed measurements. The fire altar was built up by brahmans skilled in the science of ritual calculation.

23. These skilled brahmans built up the fire altar of that lion among kings into the shape of a golden-winged eagle with eighteen layers, three times the usual height.

24. The prescribed victims—snakes, birds, the horse, and aquatic animals—were bound at the place of immolation; each was dedicated to a specific divinity as is set forth in the ritual texts.

25. The priests then bound them all to the posts in the manner set forth in the ritual texts. Three hundred beasts in addition to Daśaratha's jewel of a horse were bound there to the sacrificial posts.

26. Kausalyā walked reverently all around the horse and then with the greatest joy cut it with three knives.

27. Her mind unwavering in her desire for righteousness, Kausalyā passed one night with the horse.

28. The priests—the *hotṛ*, the *adhvaryu*, and the *udgātṛ*—saw to it that the second and the juniormost of the king's wives, as well as his chief queen, were united with the horse.

29. Then the officiating priest, who was extremely adept and held his senses in check, removed the fat of the horse and cooked it in the manner prescribed in the ritual texts.

30. At the proper time and in accordance with the ritual prescriptions, the lord of men then sniffed the fragrance of the smoking fat, thereby freeing himself from sin.



31. Then, acting in unison, the sixteen brahman officiating priests threw the limbs of the horse into the fire, in accordance with the ritual injunctions.

32. In other sacrifices, the oblation is offered upon branches of the *plakṣa* tree, but in the Horse Sacrifice alone the apportionment of the victim is made on a bed of reeds.

33. The Horse Sacrifice is known as the Three-Day Rite; for both the *kalpasūtra* and the *brāhmaṇas* refer to the Horse Sacrifice as a rite lasting for three days. On the first day, the Catuṣṭoma rite is to be performed.

34. On the second day the rite called Ukthya is prescribed, and after that the Atirātra rite. On this occasion, however, they performed many additional rites that are prescribed in the view of some authors of ritual texts.

35. Thus they performed those great rites, the Jyotiṣṭoma and the Āyus rites, as well as two Atirātras—the Abhijit and the Viśvajit—and the Aptoryāma.

36. The king, now enabled to extend his dynasty, gave the East to the *hotṛ*, the West to the *adhvaryu*, and the South to the *brahman*.

37. To the *udgātṛ* he gave the North; for that was the fee set for that great rite, the Horse Sacrifice, ordained by self-existent Brahmā long ago.

38. Then the king, that bull among men and great patron of sacrifices, seeing that the sacrifice had been completed in accordance with the ritual injunctions, gave away the entire earth to the officiating priests.

39. But the officiating priests all said to the king, now cleansed of his sins, "You alone, sire, are capable of protecting the whole earth.

40. "We have no business with the earth, for we are utterly incapable of protecting it. Protector of the earth, we are wholly absorbed in our vedic studies. Sire, please give us some appropriate compensation."

41. So the king gave them a million cows, a hundred million gold pieces, and four times that amount in silver.

42. Then the officiating priests jointly presented these riches to the sage Ṛśyaśṛṅga and wise Vasiṣṭha.

43. Those eminent brahmins made an appropriate division of the fee and greatly delighted, their hearts content, they all indicated their satisfaction to the king.

44. And so the king, content at heart, brought to a close that greatest of sacrifices that, though it cleanses one of sin and leads one to heaven, is difficult to carry through for even a bull among kings.

45. King Daśaratha then spoke to Ṛśyaśṛṅga, “You are true to your vows. Please act so that my line may be extended.”

46. The eminent brahmin replied to the king, “So be it. Your majesty, you shall have four sons to carry on your line.”

The end of the thirteenth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 14*

1. Ṛśyaśṛṅga, who was learned in the *vedas* and gifted with insight, entered a trance for some time. Regaining consciousness, he made this reply to the protector of men:

2. “In order to procure sons for you, I must perform the son-producing sacrifice. It must be done in accordance with the injunctions of the ritual texts and rendered efficacious by potent verses set down in the *Atharva Veda*.”

3. Thus that mighty man commenced the son-producing sacrifice in order to produce sons. He poured the oblation into the fire according to the rite specified in the *vedas*.

4. At that the gods, *gandharvas*, perfected beings, and supreme seers assembled in the proper order to receive their shares of the offering.

5. And when the gods had gathered at the sacrificial enclosure, in the customary order, they spoke grave words to Brahmā, creator of the world.

6. “Lord, a *rākṣasa* named Rāvaṇa who has secured your favor is oppressing us all. Because of his great power, we are unable to chastise him.

7. “Once, long ago, lord, when you were pleased with him, you



granted him a boon. Always respectful of that, we suffer everything that he does.

8. “He is evil-minded and makes the three worlds tremble in fear. He hates anyone greater than himself and wants to overthrow even Śakra, the king of the thirty gods.

9. “Unassailable and infatuated by the gift of the boon, he assaults seers, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, and brahmans.

10. “The sun does not burn him. The wind will not blow near him. Even the ocean, with its garland of restless waves, dares not stir when he appears.

11. “We are terribly afraid of this dreadful-looking *rākṣasa*. Please, lord, devise some means of destroying him.”

12. When Brahmā had been addressed in this fashion by all of the gods, he reflected for a moment and then spoke, “Ah, the means for destroying this wicked creature has already been ordained.

13. “For in asking for his boon he used the following words, ‘May I be invulnerable to *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, gods, *dānavas*, and *rākṣasas*.’ ‘So be it,’ I replied.

14. “In his contempt, that *rākṣasa* neglected to mention men. Therefore he can be killed by a man. No other means of death is possible for him.”

15. When the gods and great seers heard Brahmā’s welcome words, they were all delighted.

16. Just then glorious Viṣṇu arrived, and joining Brahmā, he stood there intent upon the work at hand.

17. All of the gods prostrated themselves and praised him. Then they spoke, “In our desire for the welfare of the worlds, we shall set a task for you, Viṣṇu.

18. “Lord, King Daśaratha, lord of Ayodhyā, is righteous, generous, and equal in power to the great seers. Viṣṇu, you must divide yourself into four parts and be born as the sons of his three wives, who are like Modesty, Majesty, and Fame.

19. “And when you have become a man, Viṣṇu, you must kill Rāvaṇa in battle, that mighty thorn in the side of the world; for he is invulnerable to the gods.

20. “This foolish *rākṣasa*, Rāvaṇa, in the insolence of his power, is oppressing the gods, *gandharvas*, perfected beings, and great seers.

21. "Pluck out this thorn in the side of holy men and ascetics—this haughty Rāvaṇa, swollen with arrogance and might—for he is the bitter enemy of Indra, lord of the thirty gods, a terror to ascetics, and a source of lamentation to the world."

The end of the fourteenth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 15*

1. After the principal gods had set this task for Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, he courteously put a question to them, even though he knew the answer.

2. "O gods, is there some means of slaying the lord of the *rākṣasas* that I might adopt to kill that thorn in the side of the seers?"

3. Addressed in this fashion, all the gods replied to the eternal Viṣṇu, "You must take on human form and kill Rāvaṇa in battle.

4. "For, foe-conquering hero, he once performed severe and prolonged austerities whereby he won the favor of Brahmā, who made the world and whom the world worships.

5. "The lord was so pleased with the *rākṣasa* that he granted him the boon of having nothing to fear from all the various kinds of beings except man.

6. "At the time the boon was granted, he left men out of his reckoning. Therefore, destroyer of foes, we foresee that his death must come at the hands of men."

7. When the self-controlled Viṣṇu had heard these words of the gods, he chose King Daśaratha to be his father.

8. Now at that very moment, that splendid king, destroyer of his enemies, in hopes of getting a son, was performing a sacrifice to produce a son, for he had none.

9. And as he sacrificed, there arose from the sacred fire a great being of incomparable radiance, enormous power, and immense might.

10. He was black and clothed in red. His mouth was red, and his voice was like the sound of a kettledrum. The hair of his body, head, and beard were as glossy as that of a yellow-eyed lion.



11. He bore auspicious marks and was adorned with celestial ornaments. His height was that of a mountain peak, and his gait that of a haughty tiger.

12-13. His appearance was like that of the sun, and he looked like a flame of blazing fire. In his arms he held, as though it were a beloved wife, a broad vessel fashioned of fine gold and covered with a silver lid. It seemed as though it were fashioned directly from creative energy itself, and it was filled with a celestial porridge.

14. Looking straight at King Daśaratha, he said these words: "Your majesty, know that I have come here as a servant of Brahmā, lord of creatures."

15. In response, the king cupped his hands in reverence and said, "You are welcome, lord. What may I do for you?"

16. The servant of the lord of creatures spoke once more: "Your majesty, you have earned this today through your worship of the gods.

17. "Take this porridge, tiger among men. It was prepared by the gods and will bring you offspring, health, and wealth.

18. "Give it to those of your wives who are of your own station and bid them eat of it. They will then bear you the sons for the sake of whom you sacrifice, your majesty."

19. The king was delighted, and bowing his head in token of acceptance, said, "So be it," and took the golden vessel filled with the food of the gods that the gods had given him.

20. He made obeisance to that wonderful being, so pleasing to behold, and in the greatest delight, walked reverently around him.

21. Upon receiving the porridge that the gods had prepared, Daśaratha was as happy as a pauper who has come into money.

22. But that wonderfully radiant and splendid being, having accomplished his mission, vanished on the spot.

23. The apartments of Daśaratha's wives, now lit with beams of joy, seemed like the sky illumined by the rays of the lovely autumn moon.

24. For the king immediately entered the women's quarters and said to Kausalyā, "Eat this porridge; it will give you a son."

25. Then the lord of men gave half the porridge to Kausalyā. To

Sumitrā, the chief of men gave half of a half. For the sake of a son, he gave half of what remained to Kaikeyī.

26. Finally, after giving it some thought, the lord of the earth gave the remaining portion of that ambrosial porridge to Sumitrā.

27. In this fashion did the king apportion the porridge among his wives.

28. The principal wives of the lord of men regarded themselves as having been highly honored in receiving the porridge, and their hearts leaped up with joy.

The end of the fifteenth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 16*

1. When Viṣṇu had gone off in preparation for his birth as the great king's son, Brahmā, the self-existent lord, said this to all the gods:

2. "Create powerful allies able to take on any form at will to aid the hero Viṣṇu, for he is true to his promise and seeks our common good.

3. "Let them be heroes with magic powers, whose swiftness shall rival that of the wind. They must be intelligent, well versed in statecraft, and equal in valor to Viṣṇu himself.

4. "Make them indestructible, well versed in strategy, and gifted with celestial bodies. They must be as skilled in the use of all weapons as are the gods who feed on nectar.

5-6. "You must father sons on the principal *apsarases*, *gandharva* women, the daughters of the *yakṣas* and serpents, female apes and monkeys, and the women of the *vidyādhara*s and *kinnaras*. Let them have the form of monkeys, but be equal to you in valor."

7. When they had been addressed in this fashion by the lord, they promised to carry out his command. Thus they fathered sons in the form of monkeys.

8. The great seers, perfected beings, *vidyādhara*s, serpents, and celestial bards fathered heroic monkey-sons—rangers of the forest.

9. Many thousands of them were born—all valorous heroes, im-



measurably strong, able to take on any form at will, and determined to kill ten-necked Rāvaṇa.

10. Apes, monkeys, and langurs were born instantaneously, and so great was their strength, so enormous their bodies, that they resembled elephants or mountains.

11. Each god's son was born equal to his father in build, beauty, and valor.

12. Some of them, famous for their valor, were born to the female langurs. Other monkeys were born to female apes and *kinnara* women.

13. All of them used stones for weapons and wielded trees in battle. Although they mostly fought with teeth and claws, they were skilled in the use of all weapons.

14. They could shake the greatest mountains and could break down firmly rooted trees. Their strength was such that they could make the ocean, lord of rivers, tremble.

15. They could tear up the earth with their feet and could leap even across the mighty ocean. They could hurl themselves into the sky and even grasp the clouds.

16. They could capture rutting elephants roaming in the forest. With the roaring of their mighty voices, they could cause the birds to fall down from the sky.

17. Ten million such great monkeys were born, leaders of troops who could take on any form at will. In turn, these mighty leaders of troops fathered still more heroic monkeys.

18. Some of them frequented the slopes of Mount Ṛkṣavant, while others inhabited various mountains and forests.

19. But all those monkey lords served the two brothers Sugrīva, son of Sūrya, and Vālin, Śakra's son.

20. In order to assist Rāma, mighty leaders of monkey troops filled the earth, their bodies terrible to behold, like massed clouds or mountains.

The end of the sixteenth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 17*

1. When the great man's Horse Sacrifice was completed, the gods accepted their portions and departed as they had come.
2. The king, his state of ritual consecration now at an end, entered the city accompanied by his host of wives, his servants, troops, and mounts.
3. The lords of the earth, honored by the king according to their rank, went gladdened to their own countries after paying homage to the bull among sages.
4. And when they had departed, the majestic King Daśaratha once more entered the city, preceded by the most eminent of the brahmins.
5. With all due honor, R̥śyaśṛṅga set out with Śāntā, escorted by the wise king and his attendants.
6. Kausalyā gave birth to an illustrious son named Rāma, the delight of the Ikṣvākus. He bore the signs of divinity, for he was one-half of Viṣṇu.
7. An immeasurably resplendent son, he glorified Kausalyā as does Indra, the foremost of the gods and wielder of the thunderbolt, his mother Aditi.
8. Kaikeyī bore a truly valorous son named Bharata, one-quarter of the incarnate Viṣṇu, endowed with every virtue.
9. Sumitrā gave birth to two sons, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna, heroes skilled in all weapons and infused with portions of Viṣṇu.
10. Four great, worthy, and virtuous sons were born to the king, one after the other, equal in beauty to the constellation Proṣṭhapāda.
- 11-12. On the twelfth day after the births, Daśaratha held the naming ceremony. With great delight, Vasiṣṭha pronounced the names. The eldest and greatest was named Rāma, and Kaikeyī's son was called Bharata. One of Sumitrā's sons was called Lakṣmaṇa and the other Śatrughna. He saw to it that all the ceremonies, beginning with the birth ritual, were performed for them.
13. Of all the king's sons it was the eldest, Rāma, who, like a royal pennant, gave his father the greatest joy. For he was the one among the brothers held in most esteem, just as the self-existent Brahmā is most esteemed among all beings.



14-17. All of them were heroes, learned in the *vedas* and devoted to the welfare of the people. All were imbued with knowledge and endowed with virtues, but even among such men as these, it was the mighty Rāma who was accounted truly valorous. From earliest childhood Lakṣmaṇa, bringer of glory, was always especially fond of his eldest brother, Rāma, delight of the world. Performing every service for him, glorious Lakṣmaṇa was like another life breath outside his body, for without him, the best of men could get no sleep. Without him, he would not eat the savory food that was brought to him.

18. Whenever Rāghava went out hunting on horseback, he followed behind, guarding him with his bow.

19. Just so did Bharata love Śatrughna, Lakṣmaṇa's younger brother; more than the breath of life itself, while Śatrughna loved him just as much.

20. Daśaratha took as much joy in his four illustrious and beloved sons as does Brahmā, the Grandfather, in his sons, the gods.

21-22. When the brothers had completed their education, had cultivated all the virtues, were modest, renowned, wise in the ways of the world, and gifted with foresight, then righteous Daśaratha, with his preceptors and kinsmen, began to give thought to their marriage.

23. While the great man was pondering this in the midst of his counsellors, the great and powerful sage Viśvāmitra arrived.

24. Eager to see the king, he said to the gatekeepers, "Announce at once that I, Kauśika, the son of Gādhi, have come."

25. Hearing these words and driven by his command, they all ran to the royal dwelling, their minds in a flurry of agitation.

26. Reaching the palace, they announced to the Ikṣvāku king that the seer Viśvāmitra had come.

27. Upon hearing their words, he was delighted and, dropping all other concerns, he went out with his family priest to receive him, as Vāsava might for Brahmā.

28. When the king saw that ascetic, rigorous in his vows and blazing with an inner radiance, his face grew joyful, and he made the welcome offering.

29. Receiving the king's welcome offering as prescribed in the traditional texts, the sage asked the lord of men about his well-being and prosperity.

30. The bull among sages then embraced Vasiṣṭha and the illustrious seers, and spoke to them as is customary concerning their health.

31. All of them were glad at heart and entered the king's residence where, duly honored, they seated themselves according to their rank.

32. Glad at heart, the noble king spoke to the great sage Viśvāmitra, honoring him:

33. "The acquisition of nectar, rain in the desert, a son born to a childless man by a proper wife, the recovery of something lost, delight in great advancement—your arrival is as welcome to me as all these things. Welcome, great sage.

34. "What great desire of yours may I find joy in granting? Righteous brahman, you are a worthy recipient. What luck for me that you have come! Today my birth has borne fruit, and it is clear that I have lived a good life.

35. "Possessed of blazing splendor, once you were called a royal-seer. But through austerity, you gained a radiant splendor and reached the status of a brahman-seer. Therefore, you are doubly worthy of my homage.

36. "This is wonderful, brahman, and highly sanctifying for me. The sight of you, lord, is like a journey to a holy place of pilgrimage.

37. "Tell me what cherished purpose has brought you here. If you favor me, I would wish only to aid in the attainment of your goals.

38. "You should not hesitate about what you wish done, Kauśika. I will carry it out fully, for you are as a god to me."

39. When the great and virtuous seer, the fame of whose virtues had spread far and wide, heard these words so pleasant both to heart and ear, so modestly spoken by that wise man, he felt the greatest delight.

The end of the seventeenth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



### Sarga 18

1. When the mighty Viśvāmitra heard this wonderful and elaborate speech of the lion among kings, the hair of his body bristled with delight, and he replied:
2. "This is characteristic of you alone, tiger among kings, and of no one else on earth, for you were born in a noble house and are guided by Vasiṣṭha.
3. "Tiger among kings, you must be true to your promise and resolve to act upon the words that I have in mind.
4. "Bull among men, I am engaged in the performance of a ritual in order to accomplish a specific purpose. However, two *rākṣasas* who can take on any form at will are obstructing me.
5. "Now in its final stages, when my sacrifice is all but completed, these *rākṣasas*, Mārīca and Subāhu, who are powerful and well-trained, have been drenching the altar with torrents of flesh and blood.
6. "Since my resolution to carry out this sacrifice has been frustrated in such a fashion, I came away in despair, all my efforts gone for nothing.
7. "Nor do I intend, your majesty, to unleash my wrath upon them. For the ritual is such that I may utter no curse while it is in progress.
8. "Therefore, tiger among kings, you must give me your eldest son, valorous Rāma, who, though he still wears side locks, is nonetheless a hero.
9. "For, under my guardianship, he will be able to kill even those obstructive *rākṣasas* through his own godlike power.
10. "And you may be certain that I shall give him manifold blessings whereby he will attain renown throughout the three worlds.
11. "Those two, confronted by Rāma, will by no means be able to withstand him, while no man other than Rāghava can possibly kill them.
12. "In the arrogance of their strength they have both fallen into the compass of the noose of Kāla, Death. For, tiger among kings, they are no match for the great Rāma.
13. "You need not be concerned for your son, your majesty. I give you my word. You can consider those two *rākṣasas* as already slain.

14. "I know that Rāma is great and truly valorous, and so do the mighty Vasiṣṭha and these other sages, unwavering in their asceticism.

15. "Best of kings, if you wish to acquire merit and great glory that will endure on earth, you must give me Rāma.

16. "If, Kākutstha, all your counsellors, the chief of whom is Vasiṣṭha, give their permission, you must let Rāma go.

17. "You should freely give me your beloved son, lotus-eyed Rāma, for the ten nights of the sacrifice.

18. "It is up to you, Rāghava. Please see to it that the time set for my sacrifice does not slip by. Bless you, do not give your mind over to grief."

19. When the great sage, the righteous and mighty Viśvāmitra, had uttered these words that accorded so well with both righteousness and statecraft, he fell silent.

20. But when the lord of men heard the sage's words, which rent his heart and mind, he was overwhelmed with terror and losing his wits, tottered from his throne.

The end of the eighteenth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 19*

1. When that tiger among kings heard what Viśvāmitra had said, he lost consciousness for a moment. Regaining consciousness, he spoke:

2. "My lotus-eyed Rāma is not yet sixteen years of age. I cannot see how he can be fit to do battle with *rākṣasas*.

3. "But I have here a huge army of which I am the lord and master. With it, I will go myself to fight these rangers of the night.

4. "My men are all brave heroes, skilled in the use of weapons. They are fit to fight with hosts of *rākṣasas*. Please do not take Rāma.

5. "I myself, with bow in hand, shall guard your sacrifices in the front line of battle. I will fight the rangers of the night as long as I have breath in my body.



6. "Your ritual performance will be well protected and free from obstruction. I shall go there myself. Please do not take Rāma.

7. "He is but a boy and not yet finished with his studies. He does not even know a strong foe from a weak one. He is neither strong nor skilled in the use of weapons, and he is not adept at fighting. Surely he is no match for *rākṣasas*, who are known as treacherous fighters.

8. "I cannot live even for a moment apart from Rāma. Please, tiger among sages, do not take Rāma.

9. "Or if you still insist on taking Rāghava, brahman strict in your vows, then take me and all four branches of my army with him.

10. "I am 60,000 years old, Kauśika, and he was fathered only with great difficulty. Please do not take Rāma.

11. "For of all my four sons, he is my greatest delight. Please do not take Rāma, my eldest and most righteous son.

12. "How powerful are these *rākṣasas*? Who are they? And whose sons are they? How big are they? Who are their protectors, bull among sages?

13. "And how, brahman, may Rāma, my troops, or I best oppose these treacherous fighters, the *rākṣasas*?

14. "Tell me all of this, holy man. How am I to stand in battle against these evil creatures? For *rākṣasas* are justly proud of their strength."

15. When Viśvāmitra heard these words, he replied, "There is a *rākṣasa* named Rāvaṇa born in the Paulastya lineage.

16. "Having received a boon from Brahmā, he cruelly oppresses the three worlds. He is strong and mighty and always attended by many *rākṣasas*.

17. "It is said that this mighty lord of the *rākṣasas*, Rāvaṇa, is actually the brother of Vaiśravaṇa and the son of Viśravas.

18. "Whenever this mighty *rākṣasa* is not disrupting sacrifices himself, then two others, the powerful Mārīca and Subāhu, do so at his command."

19. When the king had been addressed in this fashion by the sage, he replied, "Even I cannot stand in battle before that evil creature.

20. “You know what is right, please be gracious to my little son. You are both god and guru to me, an unfortunate man.

21. “Even the gods, *dānavas*, *yakṣas*, great birds, and serpents are unable to withstand Rāvaṇa in battle—what then of men?

22. “This *rākṣasa* takes away the might of the mighty in battle. Best of sages, I am unable to do battle with him or with his troops, even if I am accompanied by my troops or my sons.

23. “Brahman, by no means will I give you my little son, my child, my godlike boy who knows nothing of warfare.

24. “It is the sons of Sunda and Upasunda who are obstructing your sacrifice, and they are like Death himself in battle. No, I will not give you my little son.

25. “Mārīca and Subāhu are mighty and well-trained. With a host of allies, I myself could offer battle to only one of them.”

The end of the nineteenth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 20*

1. When Kauśika heard these words of the lord of the earth, their syllables slurred through tenderness, he was enraged and made this reply:

2. “First you promise something, then you want to take back the promise! This turnabout is unworthy of the House of the Rāghavas.

3. “If you think that this is proper, your majesty, then I will go just as I came, and you, Kākutstha, may rejoice with your kinsmen as one whose word is false.”

4. Now when wise Viśvāmitra was seized with fury in this way, the whole earth shook and fear gripped the gods.

5. Seeing the whole world stricken with terror, the great seer Vasiṣṭha, steadfast and true to his vows, said these words to the lord of men:

6. “You were born in the House of the Ikṣvākus and are true to your vows and majestic, like righteousness incarnate. You must not forsake the path of righteousness.



7. "The Rāghavas are renowned in the three worlds as righteous men. You must follow the tradition of your House and must not resort to unrighteousness.

8. "The sacrifices and good works of a man who promises to do something and fails to do so are wasted. Therefore, you must let Rāma go.

9. "Whether he is skilled in weapons or not, the *rākṣasas* will not be able to withstand him if he is protected by the son of Kuśika, like nectar by the blazing fire.

10. "For Viśvāmitra is righteousness incarnate and the mightiest of men. He is the wisest man in the world and the supreme source of ascetic power.

11-12. "Moreover, he is the master of all magic weapons. No other man in all the three worlds with their fixed and moving contents knows all this, or ever will—not the gods, nor any of the seers, not the *asuras*, the *rākṣasas*, the foremost of the *gandharvas*, the *yakṣas*, the *kinntaras*, nor the great serpents.

13. "For long ago all the magic weapons, Kṛṣṇa's righteous sons, were given to Kauśika when he was still ruling his kingdom.

14. "The sons of Kṛṣṇa are the sons of the daughters of Brahmā, lord of creatures. They have various forms and immense power. They are radiant and bring certain victory.

15. "Jayā and Suprabhā, the fair-waisted daughters of Dakṣa, gave birth to a hundred brightly shining missiles and weapons.

16. "First, for the destruction of the armies of the *asuras*, Jayā bore fifty magnificent, immeasurably powerful sons who could take on any form at will.

17. "Then Suprabhā gave birth to another fifty unconquerable, unassailable, and extremely powerful sons called the Saṃhāras.

18. "Viśvāmitra, the son of Kuśika, knows how to use these magic weapons perfectly. What is more, this man, so learned in the ways of righteousness, can produce new ones.

19. "Such is the power of the great ascetic, mighty Viśvāmitra. Your majesty, you need have no anxiety about Rāma's going."

The end of the twentieth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

## *Sarga 21*

1. When Vasiṣṭha had spoken in this fashion, Daśaratha, with a delighted expression, summoned Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

2-3. His father Daśaratha and his mother blessed his journey. Then, when Vasiṣṭha, the family priest, had intoned auspicious hymns of benediction, King Daśaratha kissed his dear son's head and with a contented heart, gave him into the keeping of the son of Kuśika.

4. Seeing that the lotus-eyed Rāma had been given over to Viśvāmitra, Vāyu, the wind god, blew pleasant to the touch and free from dust.

5. As the great man set out, there was a great shower of blossoms, a beating of the gods' drums, and a great flourish of drums and conches.

6. Viśvāmitra went first, followed by illustrious Rāma, still wearing side locks and armed with a bow. Behind him came Saumitri.

7. Formidable, with their bows in hand, a pair of quivers on their backs, they looked like three-headed cobras. And so, illuminating the ten directions, they followed great Viśvāmitra like the twin Aśvins following Grandfather Brahmā.

8. Radiant, armed with swords, their wrist and finger guards strapped on, they were like twin Kumāras born of the fire following the unimaginable god Sthāṇu.

9. When they had gone a league and a half along the southern bank of the Sarayū, Viśvāmitra called, "Rāma!" and uttered these sweet words:

10. "Come, dear boy, sip this water. Do not let the moment slip by. Accept this set of magic spells called Balā and Atibalā.

11. "You shall suffer neither fever nor fatigue, nor will your beauty ever fade. No evil *rākṣasa* shall ever overcome you, even should you be asleep or off your guard.

12. "You shall have no equal on earth in strength of arms, nor will you have an equal, Rāma, in all the three worlds.

13. "Blameless man, you shall have no equal in the world, in beauty, skill, wisdom, resolve, or ready response.



14. "When you have mastered this pair of spells, you shall be unequaled, for the Balā and Atibalā are the mothers of all wisdom.

15. "Rāma, best of men, if you recite the Balā and Atibalā on the road, you shall experience neither hunger nor thirst. Through mastering this pair of spells, Rāghava, your fame will be unequaled on earth.

16. "For these two potent spells are the daughters of Grandfather Brahmā. Righteous Kākutstha, you are worthy to be given them.

17. "Surely many virtues will accrue to you. Of this there can be no doubt. These spells, which I acquired through austerities, will be of manifold use."

18. Then Rāma purified himself by sipping the water and, with a delighted expression, received the two spells from the great contemplative seer. When he had received the spells, valorous Rāma shone resplendently.

19. Then, after the two brothers had performed for the son of Kuśika all the duties owing to a guru, the three passed the night comfortably on the bank of the Sarayū.

The end of the twenty-first *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

## *Sarga 22*

1. When the night had turned to dawn, the great sage Viśvāmitra spoke to Kākutstha, who was lying on a bed of leaves.

2. "Kausalyā has an excellent child, Rāma. The morning worship is at hand. Get up, tiger among men. We must perform the daily worship of the gods."

3. Hearing the seer's noble words, the king's heroic sons bathed, made the water-offering, and intoned the supreme prayer.

4. After the performance of these daily rites, the two mighty men paid homage to Viśvāmitra, storehouse of asceticism, and well pleased, set out on their journey.

5. The mighty men went on, and there, at its lovely confluence with the Sarayū, they saw the celestial river Ganges, which goes by three paths.

6. There they came upon the site of a holy ashram belonging to

seers of dreadful ascetic power who had been engaged in severe austerities for many thousands of years.

7. When the two Rāghavas saw that holy ashram, they were greatly pleased and spoke to great Viśvāmitra:

8. “Whose holy ashram is this? What man dwells in it? Holy man, we wish to hear about it, for our curiosity is very great.”

9. Hearing their speech, the bull among sages smiled and said, “Rāma, listen to the tale of him whose ashram this once was.

10. “He was the embodied Kandarpa, called Kāma by the wise.

11. “That fool assailed the lord of gods, Sthāṇu, prior to his marriage, who was engaged in austerities here, intent upon his vow. The great god, leaving with the host of Maruts, responded by roaring, ‘Hum!’

12. “And, delight of the Raghus, Kāma was burned up by his terrible eye, so that all the limbs withered from the fool’s body.

13. “When the great god burned him, he destroyed his entire body. In this way Kāma was rendered bodiless by the lord of gods in his wrath.

14. “From that time onward, Rāghava, he has been known as An-aṅga, the disembodied, and this prosperous region is known as Aṅga, for it was here that he lost his *aṅga*, his body.

15. “This is Śiva’s holy ashram, and these sages, for whom the highest goal is righteousness, were once his disciples. Hero, there is no sin among them.

16. “Let us camp here tonight, handsome Rāma, between the two holy rivers; tomorrow we will make the crossing.”

17. Now as they stood conversing there, the sages, recognizing them by means of a perception heightened through asceticism, were delighted and experienced great joy.

18. First, they gave the son of Kuśika the welcome offering, water for his feet, and hospitality, and only then did they perform the rites of hospitality for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

19. Received with such honor, they passed the night there comfortably in Kāma’s ashram, diverting themselves with stories.

The end of the twenty-second *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



### Sarga 23

1. In the clear dawn, the two foe-conquering heroes performed their daily rituals. Then, placing Viśvāmitra before them, they proceeded to the riverbank.
2. There all the great sages, strict in their vows, sent for an excellent boat and spoke to Viśvāmitra.
3. "Please get into the boat, sir, before the king's sons. Go safely on your journey. Let there be no delay."
4. Viśvāmitra said, "So be it," and, doing homage to the seers, set out with the two brothers to cross the river running to the sea.
5. In midstream, Rāma asked the bull among sages, "What is this tumultuous din of clashing waters?"
6. Hearing Rāghava's words, so expressive of his curiosity, the righteous sage explained the cause of that sound.
7. "Rāma, on Mount Kailāsa there is a lake that Brahmā produced from his mind, *manas*. Because of this, tiger among men, it is called Lake Mānasa.
8. "This river flows down from that lake to embrace the city of Ayodhyā. Indeed, it rises from Brahmā's lake, and, since it issues from a lake, *saras*, it is called the holy Sarayū, or lake-born.
9. "It is the river that makes this incomparable roar through the turmoil of her waters as she rushes into the Jāhnavī. Rāma, focus your thoughts and do them homage."
10. And so the two righteous princes did homage to the two rivers and, reaching the southern bank, went on their way with quick steps.
11. But soon they came to a trackless, dreadful-looking forest, and Rāma Aikṣvāka, son of the best of kings, asked the bull among sages:
12. "What a forbidding forest this is! Echoing with swarms of crickets, it swarms with fearsome beasts of prey and harsh-voiced vultures.
13. "It is filled with all sorts of birds, screeching fearsome cries, as well as lions, tigers, boars, and elephants.
14. "It is full of *dhava*, *aśvakarṇa*, *kakubha*, *bilva*, *tinduka*, *pātala*, and *badari* trees. What dreadful forest is this?"

15. The great and power sage Viśvāmitra replied, “Kākutstha, my son, listen as I tell you to whom this dreadful forest belongs.

16. “Best of men, once there were two thriving regions here, Malada and Karuṣa, created through the efforts of the gods.

17. “Long ago, Rāma, when thousand-eyed Indra killed Vṛtra, he was tainted with the sin of brahman-murder and overwhelmed by filth and hunger.

18. “So the gods and the seers, those repositories of ascetic power, bathed Indra. Cleansing him with water jars, they removed that taint.

19. “They then deposited the taint and hunger born of Mahendra’s body here, in these two regions, and so were filled with joy.

20. “And when Lord Indra became pure once more, freed from his taint and hunger, he was well pleased and conferred an unsurpassed blessing on this country:

21. “ ‘These two prosperous regions will achieve fame in the world as Malada, the filthy, and Karuṣa, the famine-ridden, because they bore the taint of my body.’

22. “When the gods saw the honor that wise Śakra had conferred upon the region, they said, ‘Excellent, excellent’ to him, the chastiser of Pāka.

23. “Foe-conquering hero, these two districts, Malada and Karuṣa, were prosperous for a long time, rejoicing in wealth and grain.

24. “Now, once upon a time there was a *yakṣa* woman who possessed the strength of a thousand elephants and who could take on any form at will.

25. “Tātakā they call her, bless you, and she is the wife of wise Sunda. The *rākṣasa* Mārīca, valorous as Śakra, is her son.

26. “It is this wicked Tātakā, Rāghava, who constantly lays waste the twin regions of Malada and Karuṣa.

27. “She lives a league and a half from here, blocking our path, for we must pass through the forest of Tātakā.

28. “You must kill this evil one, relying on the strength of your own arms. At my behest make this region free from thorns once more.



29. "For now, Rāma, no one can come to this region—a land made ruinous by this intolerable and terrifying *yakṣa* woman.

30. "Now I have told you the truth about this dreadful forest, all ruined by the *yakṣa* woman. To this day, she keeps up her depredations."

The end of the twenty-third *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 24*

1. When the tiger among men heard the unfathomable sage's extraordinary speech, he responded in beautiful words:

2. "But how, bull among sages, can a woman of the *yakṣas* possess the strength of a thousand elephants when it is well known that these beings have but little strength?"

3. Viśvāmitra replied, "You shall hear how she came by her extraordinary strength. The strength and power of this woman are the result of a boon.

4. "Long ago there was a great *yakṣa* named Suketu. He was powerful and virtuous, and being childless, he undertook great austerities.

5. "And so, Rāma, Grandfather Brahmā, well-pleased with him, gave the *yakṣa* lord a jewel of a daughter by the name of Tātakā.

6. "Grandfather Brahmā gave her the strength of a thousand elephants, but the glorious god did not give the *yakṣa* a son.

7. "Now when his daughter had grown and reached the height of her youth and beauty, Suketu gave that glorious woman to Sunda, the son of Jambha, to be his wife.

8. "After some time, the *yakṣa* woman gave birth to an invincible son named Mārīca who, through a curse, was transformed into a *rākṣasa*.

9. "After Sunda had been killed, Rāma, Tātakā and her son tried to attack Agastya, greatest of seers.

10. "But Agastya cursed Mārīca, saying, 'May you become a *rākṣasa*!' And in his towering rage, he cursed Tātakā as well:

11. “ ‘You are now a great *yakṣa* woman, but you shall be a repulsive man-eater with a hideous face. May you lose your present form and take on a truly dreadful one.’

12. “Unable to endure this curse, in her mindless rage she ravages this lovely region, for Agastya used to live here.

13. “Therefore, Rāghava, for the sake of cows and brahmans, you must kill this utterly dreadful and wicked *yakṣa* woman whose valor is employed for evil purposes.

14. “No man but you in all the three worlds can kill this accursed creature, delight of the Raghus.

15. “Nor, best of men, should you be soft-hearted about killing a woman. A king’s son must act for the welfare of the four great social orders.

16. “This is the immemorial rule for all men charged with the burden of kingship. Kākutstha, you must kill this unrighteous creature, for there is no righteousness in her.

17. “For it is said, protector of men, that long ago Śakra killed Mantharā, the daughter of Virocana, who wished to destroy the earth.

18. “And long ago, Rāma, the wife of Bhṛgu, Kāvya’s mother, firm in her vows, who wished to rid the world of Indra, was killed by Viṣṇu.

19. “These and many other great and excellent men killed women who were set in the ways of unrighteousness.”

The end of the twenty-fourth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 25*

1. Steadfast in his vows, Rāghava, son of the best of men, heard the sage’s manly speech. Then, cupping his hands in reverence, he spoke:

2-3. “In Ayodhyā, in the presence of my elders, my father, great Daśaratha, gave me this command: ‘You must do as Kauśika tells you without hesitation.’ Because of the respect due a father’s words,



because a father's words are commands, I may not disregard what he said.

4. "Since I heard my father's words and since it is also the command of a man learned in the *vedas*, I shall without question undertake the eminently justifiable action of killing Tātakā.

5. "For the sake of cows and brahmans, to bring happiness to this region, and to please you, unfathomable sage, I stand ready to do as you say."

6. When he had spoken in this fashion, the foe-conquering hero grasped the middle of his bow with his fist and made a piercing noise with the bowstring, filling the four directions with the sound.

7. The sound terrified the inhabitants of Tātakā's forest, enraging and confusing Tātakā herself.

8. When the *rākṣasa* woman heard that sound, she was beside herself with rage. Locating its source, she ran swiftly to the place from which the sound had come.

9. Seeing her in such a rage, looking so hideous with her hideous face and grown to such an extraordinary size, Rāghava said to Lakṣmaṇa:

10. "Lakṣmaṇa, look at the fearsome and dreadful body of this *yakṣa* woman. The hearts of the timid would burst at the very sight of her.

11. "Look at her. She seems unassailable, armed as she is with magic powers. But I shall send her back without her ears and the tip of her nose.

12. "I dare not actually kill her, for, being a woman, she is protected. My intention is merely to deprive her of her strength and her lair."

13. But even as Rāma was speaking in this fashion, Tātakā lifted her arms and charged him, bellowing.

14. As she hurled herself upon him, as swift and powerful as a bolt of lightning, he shot her in the chest with an arrow, so that she fell and died.

15. Seeing the frightful-looking creature slain, the lord of the gods, and the gods as well, honored Kākutstha, crying, "Well done! Well done!"

16. Thousand-eyed Indra, the smasher of citadels, was greatly

pleased. With all the gods, who were similarly delighted, he spoke to Viśvāmitra:

17. “Bless you, Kauśika sage. All of us, Indra, and the hosts of Maruts are gratified by this deed. You should demonstrate your affection for Rāghava.

18. “Brahman, you should confer upon Rāghava the sons of Kṛśāśva, lord of creatures, who are truly valorous and filled with power acquired through austerity.

19. “Since he has been so steadfast in following you, the king’s son is a worthy recipient for your gift, brahman. Moreover, he still has a great deed to do on behalf of the gods.”

20. When the gods had spoken in this fashion, they all did homage to Viśvāmitra and in delight, went off as they had come. Soon twilight came on.

21. Then the foremost of sages, pleased and gratified by the slaying of Tātakā, kissed Rāma on the head and said:

22. “We shall make camp here tonight, handsome Rāma. Tomorrow at dawn we shall go to the site of my ashram.”

The end of the twenty-fifth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

## *Sarga 26*

1. And so the renowned Viśvāmitra, having passed the night, smiled as he spoke these sweet-syllabled words to Rāghava:

2. “Bless you, prince of great renown. I am fully satisfied with you. Since I feel such great affection for you, I shall give you the divine weapons.

3-4. “Bless you, I shall give you all these weapons. With them you shall forcefully subdue your enemies, defeating them in battle even though they be the hosts of the gods and the *asuras* together with the *gandharvas* and the great serpents. Rāghava, I shall give you the great celestial Daṇḍa discus.

5. “Then, hero, I shall give you the Dharma discus and the Kāla discus, also Viṣṇu’s discus, which is very terrible, and the discus of Indra.



6. "Best of men, I shall give you the weapon known as the Vajra and the best of lances, which is Śiva's. Great-armed Rāghava, I shall give you the weapons known as Brahmaśiras and Aiśika, as well as the greatest weapon of all, Brahmā's weapon.

7-8. "In addition, Prince Kākutstha, tiger among men, I shall give you two shining maces called Modakī and Śikharī, I shall give you the noose of Dharma and the noose of Kāla.

9. "And I shall give you Varuṇa's noose, a weapon surpassed by none. I shall also give you two thunderbolts, delight of the Raghus, Śuśka and Ārdra.

10. "And I shall give you Pinākin's weapon, the weapon belonging to Nārāyaṇa, and the favorite weapon of Agni, which is known as Śikhara.

11. "Rāghava, you shall have Vāyu's weapon, which is called Prathama, the weapon called Hayaśiras, and the one called Krauñca.

12. "Blameless Kākutstha, I shall give you two spears, the terrible club called Kaṅkāla, and the weapons known as Kāpāla and Kaṅkaṇa.

13. "All those weapons that the *asuras* bear and the great weapon of the *vidyādharas* called Nandana shall be yours.

14. "Great-armed prince, I shall give you a jewel of a sword, the favorite weapon of the *gandharvas*, which is called Mānava.

15. "Rāghava, I shall give you the weapons called Prasvāpana, Praśamana, Saura, Darpaṇa, Śoṣaṇa, Saṃtāpana, and Vilāpana.

16. "You are the renowned son of a king, a tiger among men. Therefore, accept Kandarpa's favorite weapon, the irresistible Madana, and the favorite weapon of the *piśācas*, which is called Mohana.

17. "Prince and tiger among men, accept also the following weapons: the Tāmasa, the mighty Saumana, the irresistible Saṃvarta, and the Mausala.

18. "Great-armed warrior, accept the Satya weapon, the great Māyādhara, and the terrible weapon called Tejaḥprabhā, which robs enemies of their power.

19. "Finally, you must accept Soma's weapon, the Śīśira, Tvaṣṭṛ's weapon, Sudāmana, Bhaga's Dāruṇa, and Manu's Śīteṣu.

20. "Rāma, great-armed prince, you should accept these weapons at once, for they are very powerful. They can take on any form at will and will bring you all that you desire."

21. The best of sages then purified himself and facing the east, imparted to Rāma with great pleasure the unsurpassed set of master spells.

22. Even as the wise sage Viśvāmitra was intoning the spells, all those precious weapons presented themselves before Rāghava.

23. With great delight they all cupped their hands in reverence and spoke to Rāma, "Here are your servants, noble Rāghava."

24. Kākutstha touched them with his hand in token of acceptance and enjoined them, "You must come to me whenever I call you to mind."

25. Then mighty Rāma was pleased at heart. Respectfully saluting Viśvāmitra, he set out once more on his journey.

The end of the twenty-sixth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 27*

1. As Kākutstha was setting out, after having purified himself and having accepted the weapons, he spoke to Viśvāmitra with an expression of delight on his face.

2. "Since I have accepted these weapons, holy man, I have become invincible even to the gods. But, bull among sages, I still have need of spells for the recovery of the weapons."

3. As Kākutstha was speaking in this fashion, the great sage, pure, steadfast, and true to his word, intoned the spells of recovery.

4-9. "Satyavant, Satyakīrti, Dhṛṣṭa, Rabhasa, Pratihāratara, Parāṇmukha, Avāṇmukha, Lakṣākṣa, Viṣama, Dṛḍhanābha, Sunābhaka, Daśākṣa, Śatavaktra, Daśaśīrṣa, Śatodara, Padmanābha, Mahānābha, Dundunābha, Sunābhaka, Jyotiṣa, Kṛṣana, Nairāśya, Vimāla, Yaugandhara, Haridra, Daitya, Pramathana, Pitrya, Sau-manasa, Vidhūta, Makara, Karavīrakara, Dhana, Dhānya, Kāmārūpa, Kāmaruci, Moha, Āvaraṇa, Jṛmbhaka, Sarvanābha, Santāna, and Varaṇa: these are the radiant sons of Kṛṣāśva, able to take on



forms at will. Please accept them from me, Rāghava; for you are a worthy recipient of them."

10. Kākutstha, his heart delighted, replied, "I will indeed!" Then right before Rāma's eyes, the spells took shape with radiant, celestial bodies, inspiring joy.

11. Cupping their hands in reverence, they spoke sweetly to Rāma, "We have come, tiger among men. Command us. What may we do for you?"

12. The delight of the Raghus said to them, "You may go as you wish for now. But keep yourselves in readiness until I call you to mind. At such times, when there is some deed to be done, you must come to my aid."

13. "So be it," they replied. Then walking reverently around Rāma Kākutstha, they took their leave of him and departed as they had come.

14. As Rāghava walked on after having mastered the spells, he spoke these sweet and agreeable words to the great sage Viśvāmitra:

15. "From here I can see a dense mass of trees like a dark cloud over near that mountain. What is it? I am very curious about it.

16. "It is lovely and quite charming, full of deer and adorned with all kinds of sweet-voiced birds.

17. "I gather from the pleasantness of this region, best of sages, that we have emerged from that terrifying forest.

18. "Tell me all about it, holy one. Whose ashram is located here? Is this the place where we shall find those sinful and wicked killers of brahmans?"

The end of the twenty-seventh *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

## *Sarga 28*

1. Since peerless Rāma was so curious about the forest, the mighty Viśvāmitra began to explain:

2. "This was once the ashram of the great Dwarf. It is known as the Ashram of the Perfected Being, for it was here that that great ascetic attained perfection.

3. "At that time the famous King Bali Vairocana had defeated the hosts of the gods, including Indra and the Marut hosts, and had established his sovereignty throughout the three worlds.

4. "Then, while Bali was engaged in the performance of a sacrifice, the gods themselves, led by Agni, assembled here in this ashram and addressed Viṣṇu.

5. " 'O Viṣṇu, Bali Vairocana is performing a great sacrifice. Our objective must be achieved before he completes this rite.

6. " 'He is giving away virtually everything he has—whatever, wherever, and however much it may be—to anyone who comes to him from anywhere asking for a gift.

7. " 'Through your yogic power of illusion, you must become a dwarf, Viṣṇu, and accomplish a great and auspicious feat for the sake of the gods.

8. " 'When you have accomplished this task, lord of the gods, this place will, by your grace, be called the Ashram of the Perfected Being. Lord, please go forth from here.'

9. "Then mighty Viṣṇu, taking on the form of a dwarf, was born of Aditi and approached Vairocana.

10. "He begged as much land as he could traverse in three paces and accepted it respectfully. Then that supreme divinity of all the world, intent upon the welfare of all beings, traversed the worlds.

11. "Exerting his power, the mighty god bound Bali and gave the three worlds back to the great lord Śakra, making them once more subject to his sway.

12. "Since the Dwarf himself once dwelt here, this ashram allays all weariness. Now, because of my devotion to him, it has become mine.

13. "But of late, *rākṣasas* have been coming to this ashram to interfere with me, and it is here, tiger among men, that you must kill these evildoers.

14. "Let us go now, Rāma, to the unsurpassed Ashram of the Perfected Being. For this ashram is as much yours as mine, my son."

15. Catching sight of Viśvāmitra, all the sages who dwelt in the Ashram of the Perfected Being leaped up at once and did him homage.



16. And when they had done wise Viśvāmitra homage as he deserved, they performed the rites of hospitality for the two princes.

17. Then, when the two foe-conquering princes, delights of the Raghus, had rested for a while, they cupped their hands in reverence and spoke to the tiger among sages.

18. "Bless you, bull among sages, you may enter a state of consecration immediately, if you wish. Let your words be proven true, and the Ashram of the Perfected Being become truly a place of perfection."

19. When he had been addressed in this fashion, the great sage, mighty Viśvāmitra, controlling himself and subduing his senses, entered a state of consecration.

20. But the two princes spent the night intent upon their duty: Arising in the morning, they praised Viśvāmitra.

The end of the twenty-eighth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 29*

1. Mindful of the time and place, the two eloquent and foe-conquering princes then and there addressed Kauśika:

2. "Holy brahman, we want to know when we are supposed to ward off the two rangers of the night, lest we miss the proper moment."

3. As the Kākutstha princes were speaking in this fashion, impatient in their desire to fight, all the sages, delighted, said to them:

4. "You two Rāghavas must stand guard for six nights starting today. The sage is in a state of consecration and so must remain silent."

5. Upon hearing their words, the renowned princes guarded the ascetics' forest for six days and nights, never sleeping.

6. In this way the two foe-conquering heroes attended upon Viśvāmitra, best of sages, wielding their mighty bows and guarding him with unwavering vigilance.

7. Then, when the time had passed and the sixth day had come, Rāma said to Saumitri, "Be alert and vigilant."

8. And just as Rāma was saying this, impatient in his desire to fight, the altar, tended by their preceptor and the officiating priests, suddenly blazed up.

9. And though the sacrifice was proceeding in accordance with the ritual precepts, to the accompaniment of vedic hymns, a loud and terrifying noise was heard in the sky.

10. Suddenly, like clouds in the rainy season, two *rākṣasas*, changing their shapes and blotting out the sky, hurled themselves upon them.

11. Thus did Mārīca, Subāhu, and their ghastly followers appear, pouring down torrents of blood.

12. Seeing them violently rushing on, lotus-eyed Rāma turned to Lakṣmaṇa and said:

13. “Lakṣmaṇa, watch as I scatter these evil, flesh-eating *rākṣasas* with the Mānava weapon as the wind scatters clouds.”

14. Then, in a towering rage, Rāghava fired the noble and radiant Mānava weapon at Mārīca’s breast.

15. Struck by the great Mānava weapon, he was hurled into the ocean’s flood a full hundred leagues away.

16. Seeing Mārīca hurled back, writhing unconscious, and crushed by the force of the Śīteṣu weapon, Rāma spoke to Lakṣmaṇa:

17. “Lakṣmaṇa, observe that, although Manu’s Śīteṣu, a weapon inseparable from righteousness, has stunned him and carried him away, he is not dead.

18. “But I shall kill these other pitiless and vicious *rākṣasas*, for they are set in their wicked ways, obstructing sacrifices, and drinking blood.”

19. The delight of the Raghus then took up the immensely powerful Āgneya weapon and fired it at Subāhu’s breast. Pierced to the heart, he fell to earth.

20. The noble and renowned Rāghava then took up the Vāyavya weapon and with it killed the rest of them, bringing joy to the sages.

21. When the delight of the Raghus had killed all those *rākṣasas* who were obstructing the sacrifice, he was honored by the seers there, just as was Indra long ago on the occasion of his victory.

22. His sacrifice at last completed, Viśvāmitra, seeing that all directions were free from those pests, said this to Kākutstha:



23. "Great-armed warrior, I have accomplished my purpose. You have carried out the orders of your father. Renowned Rāma, you have made this truly an ashram of a perfected being."

The end of the twenty-ninth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 30*

1. The heroes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, delighted to have accomplished their purpose, spent the night there with contentment in their hearts.

2. And when the night had given way to bright dawn, the two of them performed their morning rituals and together approached Viśvāmitra and the other seers.

3. They made obeisance to the eminent sage who was like a blazing fire, and speaking sweetly, they uttered words both noble and sweet:

4. "Here are your servants, tiger among sages, standing before you. Command us as you wish. What order shall we carry out?"

5. When the two princes had spoken in this fashion, all the great seers, led by Viśvāmitra, said these words to Rāma:

6. "Best of men, Janaka, the lord of Mithilā, is about to perform a sacrifice, the highest expression of righteousness, and we are going there.

7. "You should come with us, tiger among men, for you ought to see the wonderful jewel of a bow he has there.

8. "Long ago, at a sacrifice, best of men, the gods presented him, right there in the sacred enclosure, with an awesome, radiant, and immeasurably powerful bow.

9. "Not even the gods, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, and *rākṣasas* are able to string it, much less a man.

10. "Although kings and mighty princes, eager to test the strength of the bow, have tried, none have been able to string it.

11. "There, tiger among men, you shall see this bow of the great lord of Mithilā. Moreover, Kākutstha, you shall witness his sacrifice, a wonder to behold.

12. "Tiger among men, the lord of Mithilā begged that superb bow with its splendid grip from all the gods as a reward for his earlier sacrifice."

13. When the great sage had spoken in this fashion, he set out with the Kākutsthas and the host of seers, first paying his respects to the divinities of the forest:

14. "Farewell to you. Since I have become perfected, I shall leave the Ashram of the Perfected Being for the Himalaya mountains on the northern shore of Jāhnavī, the Ganges."

15. Then, after making an auspicious circuit of the unsurpassed Āshram of the Perfected Being, he set out for the north.

16. As the foremost of sages set forth, a hundred carts full of his followers, all men learned in the *vedas*, followed him in procession.

17. Even the flocks of birds and herds of deer that lived in the Ashram of the Perfected Being followed in the train of the great sage Viśvāmitra.

18. When they had traveled far on the road and the sun was sinking low, the host of sages, their minds composed, made camp on the banks of the River Śoṇā.

19. Once the sun had set, those immeasurably mighty men bathed and made offerings into the fire. Then they seated themselves, following Viśvāmitra's lead.

20. But Rāma and Saumitri first did homage to the sages and only then sat down before wise Viśvāmitra.

21. Then mighty Rāma, filled with curiosity, questioned the great sage Viśvāmitra, tiger among sages.

22. "Holy sage, what region is this so graced with lush forests? I want to know all about it. Please tell me the truth."

23. Prompted by Rāma's words, the great ascetic, true to his vows, related, in the midst of the seers, the entire history of that region.

The end of the thirtieth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



*Sarga 31*

1. "One of the sons of Brahmā was a great ascetic named Kuśa. He, in turn, fathered four worthy sons on a woman of Vidarbha, and their names were Kuśāmba, Kuśanābha, Ādhūrtarajasa, and Vasu.
2. "In his desire to see such radiant, vigorous, righteous, and truthful sons fulfill the duties of the kshatriya class, Kuśa said to them, 'My sons, you must rule kingdoms. For only thus will you fully discharge your duty.'
3. "Then, when those four fine men, honored by all, heard these words of Kuśa, they went forth and founded cities.
4. "Mighty Kuśāmba founded the city of Kauśāmbī, while righteous Kuśanābha established the city of Mahodaya.
5. "King Ādhūrtarajasa founded Dharmāraṇya, Rāma, foremost of cities, and King Vasu founded Girivraja.
6. "Rāma, this rich land belongs to great Vasu. Those five splendid hills surround it.
7. "This lovely river flows toward Magadha and therefore, is known as the Sumāgadhī. It is as beautiful as a garland, nestled among the five splendid hills.
8. "Rāma, this is indeed the river Māgadhī belonging to great Vasu. Garlanded with grain, it flows east through rich farmlands.
9. "But, delight of the Raghus, as for the righteous royal seer Kuśanābha, he fathered a hundred incomparably beautiful daughters on Ghṛtācī.
10. "Youthful, beautiful, and richly ornamented, resembling lightning in the rains, they went one day to a park.
11. "Adorned with the most exquisite ornaments, singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments, they enjoyed themselves immensely, Rāghava.
12. "Their every limb was beautiful, and indeed, there was no one on earth whose loveliness was like theirs. There in the park they looked like stars shining among the clouds.
13. "Vāyu, the wind god, who lives in everyone, seeing that they possessed every virtue, youth, and beauty, addressed them:

14. “ ‘I desire all of you. You shall be my wives. Give up your mortal state and gain eternal life.’

15. “But when the hundred girls heard those words of tireless Vāyu, they replied in tones of mockery:

16. “ ‘Best of gods, you move inside all creatures and know their various powers. How dare you then treat us with disrespect?

17. “ ‘Best of gods, we are the daughters of Kuśanābha. Any of us could send you toppling from your lofty state, god though you be, did we not prefer to keep the power of our austerities.

18. “ ‘Fool! May such a thing never happen! We shall never disregard the wishes of our truthful father and choose a husband for ourselves on our own account!

19. “ ‘For our father is our lord and our supreme divinity. That man alone will be our husband to whom our father gives us.’

20. “Now when the holy lord Vāyu heard those words, he was furiously angry and, entering into every one of their limbs, twisted them.

21. “Twisted by Vāyu, the girls entered the king's residence, and, when the king saw that they were so distorted, he was distraught and cried:

22. “ ‘What is this? Speak, my daughters. Who has dared to so violate the laws of propriety? Who has turned all of you into hunchbacks? Though you all gesticulate wildly, you do not speak.’ ”

The end of the thirty-first *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 32*

1. “When wise Kuśanābha's hundred daughters heard his words, they touched his feet with their heads and replied:

2. “ ‘Your Majesty, Vāyu who lives in all creatures wishes to ruin us by approaching us in an improper manner. He has no regard whatever for what is proper.

3. “ ‘But we told him, “We have a father, thank you, we are not free agents. Go and ask our father if he will give us to you.”



4. “ ‘And even as we were speaking in this fashion, we were all sorely afflicted by Vāyu, who meant us no good and would not heed our words.’
5. “When the righteous and mighty king heard the words of his hundred peerless daughters, he replied:
6. “ ‘Daughters, you have shown extraordinary forbearance, which is the duty of the meek. In your unanimity you have shown your respect for my family.
7. “ ‘Forbearance is an adornment to women as well as men, and such forbearance as yours is hard to achieve, especially in the face of the thirty gods.
8. “ ‘And your forbearance is such, my daughters, that it belongs to all of you equally. Forbearance is charity; forbearance is sacrifice, forbearance is truth, my daughters.
9. “ ‘Forbearance is glory; forbearance is righteousness. The world itself is founded on forbearance.’ And so saying, Kākutstha, the king, equal in valor to the thirty gods, dismissed his daughters.
10. “Skillful in counsel, he conferred with his counsellors about giving them away in marriage. They discussed the proper time and place for giving them and a suitable person to whom to give them.
11. “Now in those days, there lived a great sage named Cūlin. Retaining his semen and pure in his conduct, he had undertaken austerities as enjoined in the *vedas*.
12. “Bless you, a *gandharva* woman named Somadā, the daughter of Ūrmilā, was once attending that seer while he was engaged in his austerities.
13. “This extremely righteous woman dwelt there for some time worshiping him and wholly devoted to his service, so that this guru was pleased with her.
14. “So, delight of the Raghus, at an appropriate moment he spoke to her, saying, ‘Bless you, I am pleased with you. What favor may I do for you?’
15. “When she knew that the sage was pleased, the *gandharva* woman was very happy, and since she knew how to speak well, she addressed him, who was similarly eloquent, in sweet words:
16. “ ‘You are suffused with the splendor of Brahman, a mighty

ascetic who has attained Brahman. Therefore I desire a righteous son who shall be filled with the ascetic power of Brahman.

17. “ ‘Bless you, I have no husband. I am nobody’s wife. So, since I have approached you in the manner prescribed in the *vedas*, please give me a son.’

18. “The brahman seer Cūlin was pleased with her, and so he granted her an unsurpassed son known as Brahmadata, a son born directly from his mind.

19. “And this Brahmadata, who was a king, dwelt in the city of Kāmpilyā in the greatest royal splendor, like the king of the gods in heaven.

20. “It was upon this same Brahmadata that righteous King Kuśanābha decided to bestow his hundred daughters.

21. “So that mighty king, lord of the earth, summoned Brahmadata and with delight in his heart, gave him his hundred daughters.

22. “Thus it came about, delight of the Raghus, that the lord of the earth, Brahmadata, who was like the lord of the gods, took their hands in due order.

23. “And no sooner had he touched their hands than all the hundred maidens became radiant with great beauty, free from crookedness, and free from sorrow.

24. “Seeing that Vāyu had released them, Kuśanābha, lord of the earth, was overjoyed and rejoiced again and again.

25. “The lord of the earth then dismissed the newlywed king and his wives, as well as his host of preceptors.

26. “The *gandharva* woman Somadā, too, was greatly delighted to see this ceremony that was so fitting for her son, and she welcomed her daughters-in-law as custom demanded.”

The end of the thirty-second *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



*Sarga 33*

1. "When Brahmadata had married and departed, Rāghava, Kuśanābha who still had no son performed the son-producing rite for the sake of getting one.
2. "While this sacrifice was going on, Kuśa, the son of Brahmā, highly pleased, spoke to Kuśanābha, lord of the earth:
3. " 'My son, you shall have a worthy and most righteous son who will be called Gādhi, and through him you shall gain enduring fame in the world.'
4. "After speaking in this fashion to Kuśanābha, lord of the earth, Kuśa flew off into the sky and returned to the eternal world of Brahmā.
5. "Some time after this, a most righteous son named Gādhi was born to the wise Kuśanābha.
6. "Righteous Gādhi is my father, Kākutsīha, for I am a Kauśika, delight of the Raghus, born in the house of Kuśa.
7. "I have also an older sister, true to her vows, Rāghava, and known as Satyavatī. She was given in marriage to Ṛcika.
8. "Following her husband, she went to heaven in her earthly body. This noble Kauśika woman was then transformed into a mighty river.
9. "A lovely goddess with holy waters, my sister rises from the Himalayas and flows forth in her desire for the welfare of the world.
10. "Therefore, delight of the Raghus, since I am deeply attached to my sister Kauśikī, I shall dwell happily in the vicinity of the Himalayas with my senses under strict control.
11. "For the holy and illustrious Satyavatī, firmly established in truth and righteousness, and deeply devoted to her husband, is none other than the Kauśikī, foremost of rivers.
12. "It was only for the sake of my sacrifice that I left her, Rāma, and came away. And it is owing to your might alone that I was myself able to become a perfected being in the Ashram of the Perfected Being.
13. "This then, Rāma, is the story of my family and my birth. Also, since you asked me about it, great-armed man, I have related to you the history of this region.

14. "But half the night has passed away, Kākutstha, while I have been telling these stories. Bless you, go to sleep, lest this be a hindrance to our journey.

15. "The trees are perfectly still, delight of the Raghus, all beasts and birds have settled in their nests, and all directions are suffused with the dark of night.

16. "The twilight is slowly fading. The sky, thick with stars and planets, is shining with lights as though it were filled with eyes.

17-18. "And, my lord, the cool-rayed moon is rising, dispelling the darkness of the world and gladdening with his radiance the hearts of all its creatures, while here and there the creatures of the night—dreadful hordes of *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas* hungry for flesh—are roaming."

19. When the great and mighty sage had spoken in this fashion, he paused, and all the sages applauded him, crying, "Excellent! Excellent!"

20. Rāma and Saumitri too were amazed by what they had heard. Praising the tiger among sages, they settled down to sleep.

The end of the thirty-third *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 34*

1. Viśvāmitra passed the remainder of the night with the great seers on the bank of the River Śoṇā. Then, as the night was giving way to bright dawn, he spoke:

2. "Rāma, the night has given way to dawn. It is time for the morning devotions. Arise, bless you, arise! Make ready to leave."

3. Upon hearing these words, Rāma performed his morning rituals, and when he was ready to go, he spoke:

4. "The limpid Śoṇā is shallow and studded with sand bars. Which way shall we cross, brahman?"

5. Questioned by Rāma in this fashion, Viśvāmitra said, "I have already pointed out the path. It is the one by which the great seers are crossing."

6. Later, when half the day had passed and they had traveled a



long way, they came to Jāhnavī, the Ganges, most excellent of rivers and constant resort of sages.

7. When they saw her holy waters, thronged with wild geese and white cranes, all the sages and the two Rāghavas were delighted.

8. They made camp on her bank, bathed, and made offerings of water to the gods and their departed ancestors as is prescribed in the ritual texts. They then made the burnt offering and ate of the oblation that was like nectar.

9. Then, their hearts delighted, they sat down on the holy shore of Jāhnavī, surrounding the great Viśvāmitra on every side.

10. With a glad heart, Rāma spoke to Viśvāmitra, "Holy man, I wish to learn about the Ganges, the river that goes by three paths. How does she traverse the three worlds to come at last to the ocean, lord of rivers and streams?"

11. Prompted by Rāma's words, the great sage Viśvāmitra began to tell of the origin and greatness of the Ganges.

12. "There is a lordly mountain, a vast mine of metals, called Himalaya, Rāma, and he has two daughters whose equals in beauty the earth has not seen.

13. "Their mother, Rāma, Himalaya's lovely and beloved wife, was Menā, fair-waisted daughter of Mount Meru.

14. "The Ganges, eldest daughter of Himalaya, was born to her, Rāghava, after which he had a second daughter named Umā.

15. "In their desire to effect a divine purpose, the gods asked that lord of mountains for his eldest daughter, Ganges, the river that goes by three paths.

16. "In the interests of righteousness and his desire for the welfare of the three worlds, Himalaya gave away the Ganges, his daughter who purifies the worlds and moves freely by any path.

17. "Acting for the good of the world and for the sake of the three worlds, the gods accepted her and, having accomplished their hearts' desire, they took the Ganges and departed.

18. "But, delight of the Raghus, the other daughter of the mountain was an ascetic maiden who undertook a dreadful vow and practiced austerity.

19. "The foremost of mountains gave this daughter, Umā, pos-

sessed of fierce ascetic power and worshiped by the world, in marriage to the incomparable Rudra.

20. "These, then, delight of the Raghus, are the daughters of the mountain king: Ganges, most excellent of rivers, and the goddess Umā. All the world worships them.

21. "Now, my fleet-footed son, I have told you all about how the river that goes by three paths went first by the path of the sky."

The end of the thirty-fourth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 35*

1. When the sage had finished speaking, both heroes, Rāghava and Lakṣmaṇa, applauded his tale and addressed that bull among sages:

2. "This is a wonderful and edifying tale you have told, brahman. You are familiar with these matters in detail; so please tell us the details of the origins, both in heaven and in the world of men, of the eldest daughter of the mountain king.

3. "Why does she who sanctifies the worlds sanctify three paths?

4. "How is it that the Ganges, most excellent of rivers, is known throughout the three worlds as 'she who goes by three paths?' You know the ways of righteousness, please tell us of the great events with which she is associated."

5. When Kākutstha had finished speaking in this fashion, the ascetic Viśvāmitra told the full story in the midst of the seers, omitting nothing.

6. "Long ago, Rāma, when the great ascetic, black-throated Śiva, had gotten married, he looked with desire upon the goddess and began to make love to her.

7. "Thus engaged, the black-throated god passed a hundred years of the gods. But even so, foe-consuming Rāma, the goddess conceived no child.

8. "By that time the gods, led by Grandfather Brahmā, had become alarmed and thought, 'Who will be able to withstand the being who will be born from this union?'



9. "Drawing near, all the gods prostrated themselves and spoke, 'Great god, god of gods, you are devoted to the welfare of this world. Please be gracious to the gods who have fallen at your feet.

10. " 'Best of gods, the worlds cannot contain your semen. You should, instead, perform with the goddess the austerities prescribed in the *vedas*.

11. " 'For the sake of the three worlds, you must retain your semen in your body. You should protect all these worlds, not destroy them.'

12. "When the great lord of all the worlds heard the words of the gods, he said, 'Very well.' Then he spoke to them further:

13. " 'With the help of Umā, I shall retain the semen in my body. Let the thirty gods and the earth rest easy.

14. " 'But tell me this, great gods: who will contain such of my incomparable semen as has already been dislodged from its place?'

15. "Addressed in this fashion, the gods replied to Śiva, whose standard is the bull, 'The Earth will bear the semen that has been dislodged.'

16. "And so, when they had addressed him in this fashion, the lord of gods released his semen upon the Earth, thereby filling it together with its mountains and forests.

17. "Then the gods spoke to Agni, the eater of oblations, 'You and Vāyu must enter Rudra's abundant semen.'

18. "Permeated by Agni, it was transformed into a white mountain on which there was a celestial thicket of white reeds that looked like the sun surrounded by fire. It was there that Kārtikeya came into being, born from fire.

19. "Then the gods and the hosts of seers were delighted at heart and worshiped Umā and Śiva.

20. "But the daughter of the mountain was enraged, Rāma. Her eyes red with anger, she spoke to the gods, cursing them:

21. " 'Since I have been thwarted while making love in the hope of begetting a son, you shall be unable to father children upon your own wives. From this day forward, your wives shall remain childless.'

22. "After addressing all the gods in this fashion, she cursed the Earth as well. 'O Earth, you shall be manifold in form and the wife of many.

23. " 'Moreover, since you did not want my son, you evil-minded creature, you shall never experience a mother's love for a son, defiled as you are by my anger.'

24. "When the lord of gods had seen all the gods thus put to shame, he set out for the west, the direction guarded by Varuṇa.

25. "There the great lord and the goddess undertook austerities on the northern slope of a mountain peak in the Himalayas.

26. "I have told you the story of the mountain's daughter in detail, Rāma. Now, you and Lakṣmaṇa shall hear from me the tale of the origin of the Ganges."

The end of the thirty-fifth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 36*

1. "Long ago, while the god Śiva was engaged in austerities, the gods and hosts of seers, wishing to find a leader for their army, approached Grandfather Brahmā.

2. "Indra and all the gods made Agni, the god of fire, their spokesman, and prostrating themselves, they spoke these eloquent words to the Grandfather, their lord.

3. " 'Lord, he whom you long ago gave us to lead our army has taken to extreme asceticism and is now engaged in austerities with Umā.

4. " 'You know how to arrange things. Arrange something for us to do next in our desire for the welfare of the worlds. You are our last recourse.'

5. "Hearing the gods' words, the grandfather of all the worlds comforted them with soothing words, saying:

6. " 'What the mountain's daughter said, that you will never father children on your wives, is inviolable truth. Let there be no doubt about this.



7. “ ‘But here is the Ganges who moves through the sky. Agni, the eater of oblations, will father on her a son who will be a foe-conquering commander for the army of the gods.

8. “ ‘The eldest daughter of the mountain lord will acknowledge that son. There can be no doubt that Umā will accept this.’

9. “The gods heard Grandfather Brahmā’s words, and having accomplished their purpose, delight of the Raghus, they all bowed low and worshiped him.

10. “Then, all the gods proceeded to Mount Kailāsa, adorned with metallic ores, and charged Agni, the god of fire, with the task of begetting a son.

11. “ ‘You are a god, eater of oblations, and should carry out this task of the gods. Great is your splendor. You must release the semen into the Ganges, the daughter of the mountain.

12. “Agni, the purifier, promised the gods he would do this and so, approaching the Ganges, he said, ‘Bear this embryo, goddess, as a favor to the gods.’

13. “Hearing these words, she assumed her divine form, and he, seeing her extraordinary beauty, scattered the semen all over.

14. “Agni, the purifier, showered it all over the goddess, so that all the channels of the Ganges were filled with it, delight of the Raghus.

15. “Then the Ganges spoke to him, the priest of all the gods. ‘O god, I cannot bear your powerful semen. A fire is burning me, and my mind is confused.’

16. “The eater of all the gods’ oblations replied to the Ganges, ‘Let the embryo be placed at the foot of the Himalayas.’

17. “When the mighty Ganges heard Agni’s words, blameless man, she released the unbearably brilliant embryo from her channels.

18. “Since it had emerged from her, it had the luster of molten gold, and as it touched the earth, it turned to gold and silver, pure and beautiful.

19. “From its acrid quality, copper and iron were produced, while its impurities became tin and lead.

20. “Thus, when it touched the earth, it turned into the various elements.

21. "The moment the embryo was set down, the whole mountain forest was pervaded by its splendor and turned to gold.

22. "And ever since that time, Rāghava, tiger among men, gold, lustrous as Agni, eater of oblations, has been known as Jātarūpa, formed-at-birth.

23. "As soon as the boy was born, Indra and all the Marut hosts engaged the Kṛttikās to provide sufficient milk for him.

24. "They offered him milk as soon as he was born, and came to an excellent arrangement, saying, 'He shall be the son of all of us.'

25. "It was for this reason that all the gods called him Kārtikeya, saying, 'There can be no doubt but that this child will be famous throughout the three worlds.'

26. "When the Kṛttikās heard those words, they bathed the child who had come forth from that outpouring of the embryonic waters shining with the greatest splendor, like fire.

27. "And, Kākutstha, since that illustrious and fiery Kārtikeya had come forth from that outpouring of embryonic waters, the gods called him 'Skanda.'

28. "Then all six Kṛttikās put forth wonderful milk, and he grew six heads to take it as it sprang from their breasts.

29. "After that lord had drunk their milk for but a single day, he conquered the hosts of *daitya* warriors through his own might, though his form was that of a tender boy.

30. "Therefore the hosts of the gods assembled and making Agni, the god of fire, their spokesman, consecrated him whose radiance was unblemished, as commander of the hosts of the gods.

31. "Now, Rāma, I have told you the detailed history of the Ganges and also of the auspicious and holy birth of Kumāra."

The end of the thirty-sixth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



*Sarga 37*

1. When Kauśika finished telling Rāma Kākutstha this sweet-syllabled tale, he addressed him further:
2. “Long ago there was a heroic and righteous king named Sagara, ruler of Ayodhyā. He was childless, although he desired children.
3. “Rāma, the elder wife of Sagara, whose name was Keśinī, was the righteous and truthful daughter of the king of Vidarbha.
4. “Sagara’s second wife was Ariṣṭanemi’s daughter, Sumati. In beauty she had no rival on earth.
5. “Once the king went to the Himalayas, and there he and his two wives performed austerities on Mount Bhṛguprasravaṇa
6. “When a full one hundred years had passed, the sage Bhṛgu, foremost among the truthful, was pleased with Sagara’s austerities and granted him a boon.
7. “ ‘Blameless man,’ he said, ‘you will get huge numbers of children. What is more, bull among men, you will achieve fame unrivaled in this world.
8. “ ‘My son, one of your wives shall give birth to a son who will carry on your dynasty. The other will bear sixty thousand sons.’
9. “The two wives of the king were greatly delighted, and cupping their hands in reverence, they propitiated that tiger among men as he spoke to them, saying:
10. “ ‘Which one of us will have the one son, brahman? Which one will give birth to many? Brahman, we want to know. May your words prove true.’
11. “Hearing these words, the extremely righteous Bhṛgu made this excellent reply, ‘You may arrange it between yourselves.
12. “ ‘One son to carry on the dynasty or many sons mighty, vigorous, and renowned—which of you wants which boon?’
13. “Now when Keśinī heard the sage’s words, Rāma, delight of the Raghus, she chose, right there in the presence of the king, the son who would carry on the dynasty.
14. “But Sumati, Suparṇa’s sister, chose sixty thousand vigorous and renowned sons.

15. "Delight of the Raghus, the king then walked reverently around the seer. Then, bowing his head in homage, he returned to his own city with his wives.

16. "So, after some time had elapsed, Keśinī, the elder, gave birth to Sagara's son, who was called Asamañja.

17. "But as for Sumati, tiger among men, she gave birth to a gourd-like fetal mass. When the gourd was split, sixty thousand sons emerged.

18. "Nurses nurtured them in pots filled with clarified butter, and after a long time, they grew to young manhood.

19. "Indeed, it was a very long time before Sagara's sixty thousand sons grew into their young manhood and beauty.

20. "But, best of men, delight of the Raghus, the eldest son of Sagara took to forcibly seizing children and throwing them into the waters of the Sarayū, laughing as he watched them drown.

21. "Since he was bent on doing such mischief to the people, his father banished him from the city.

22. "But Asamañja had a mighty son named Amśumant, who spoke kindly to everyone and was well liked by all the people.

23. "After some time, best of men, Sagara had an idea and formed a resolution, saying, 'I will perform a sacrifice.'

24. "Then, when the king, learned in the *vedas*, had come to this decision to perform a sacrifice in consultation with his host of preceptors, he began the ritual."

The end of the thirty-seventh *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 38*

1. When Viśvāmitra's story was at an end, Rāma, delight of the Raghus, spoke in delight to the sage who shone like fire.

2. "Bless you, brahman, I would like to hear this story too in great detail. How did my ancestor carry out his sacrifice?"

3. Gently smiling, Viśvāmitra once more addressed Kākutstha, "Rāma, you shall now hear the whole story of great Sagara.



4. "Himavant, greatest of mountains and father-in-law of Śaṅkara, stands confronting the Vindhya range. The two, in fact, directly face each other.
5. "Best of men, tiger among men, the sacrifice took place between these two ranges, for it is said that this is the best region for sacrificial rites.
6. "Kākutstha, my son, Aṁśumant, equipped with a strong bow and a great chariot, acting on Sagara's instructions, guarded the sacrificial horse.
7. "But, even though Sagara himself was the patron of the rite, Indra Vāsava, taking on the form of a *rākṣasa*, carried off the sacrificial horse in an instant.
8. "Now, as the great man's horse was being stolen, Kākutstha, all his hosts of preceptors spoke to him, the patron of the rite.
9. " 'At this very moment, your sacrificial horse is being taken away by force. You must kill the thief, Kākutstha, and bring back the horse.
10. " 'For this is a defect in the sacrifice that will bring disaster to us all. Your majesty, you must see to it that this defect is made good.'
11. "When the king heard the words spoken by his preceptors in the assembly, he addressed these words to his sixty thousand sons:
12. " 'My sons, bulls among men, I do not see how *rākṣasas* could have done this, for this great rite is being carried out by illustrious sages, sanctified by the sacred utterances of the *vedas*.
13. " 'Therefore, my sons, you must go and seek the horse. May good fortune attend you. Follow its trail over all the ocean-garlanded earth.
14. " 'Search carefully, my sons, league by league.
15. " 'In searching for the horse thief, at my command, you must dig up the very earth itself until you find the horse.
16. " 'Bless you. I am in a state of consecration. Therefore, I must wait here with my grandson and my preceptors until the horse is found.'
17. "When they had been addressed in this manner, Rāma, the

king's mighty sons were delighted and roamed the earth carrying out their father's orders.

18. "Tiger among men, with arms as hard as adamant, they each tore up the earth for a league on every side.

19. "Torn up with spears like bolts of lightning and with fearsome plows, the earth cried out, delight of the Raghus.

20. "Rāghava, there was an unbearable outcry of creatures being killed—of *nāgas*, *asuras*, and *rākṣasas*.

21. "Delight of the Raghus, those heroes tore up the earth to a distance of sixty thousand leagues, all the way down to the splendid underworld, Rasātala.

22. "In this fashion, tiger among men, the king's sons roamed everywhere, digging up this mountain-studded continent of Jambudvīpa.

23. "Then all the gods, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, and serpents, their minds reeling, approached Grandfather Brahmā.

24. "Utterly terrified, their faces downcast, they propitiated the great Grandfather, addressing these words to him.

25. " 'O lord, the sons of Sagara are digging up the entire earth. Many great beings, as well as creatures of the waters, are being killed.

26. " 'Crying, "He has carried off the horse! He has ruined our sacrifice!" the sons of Sagara are slaughtering all creatures.' "

The end of the thirty-eighth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 39*

1. "When the holy lord, Grandfather Brahmā, heard the words of the gods, who were terrified and bewildered by the might of those destructive men, he replied to them:

2. " 'Wise Vāsudeva to whom this whole earth belongs has assumed the form of Kapila and ever upholds the earth.

3. " 'This tearing up of the earth was foreseen as necessary. So also was the destruction of Sagara's short-lived sons.'



4. "Hearing the Grandfather's words, the thirty-three foe-conquering gods were greatly delighted and departed as they had come.
5. "Then as Sagara's great sons continued tearing up the earth, there arose a noise like that of an earthquake.
6. "When they had split open the entire earth and walked reverently around the whole of it, all the sons of Sagara together addressed these words to their father:
7. " 'We have gone over the entire earth and have slain many powerful beings, gods, *dānavas*, *rākṣasas*, *piśācas*, serpents, and *kin-naras*.
8. " 'Yet we have found neither the horse nor the horse thief. What shall we do? Bless you, think of a plan.'
9. "Hearing such words from his sons, delight of the Raghus, great King Sagara replied to them in anger:
10. " 'Dig further, bless you. Tear up the earth. Come back when you have accomplished your mission and found the horse thief.'
11. "Acting upon their father's words, the sixty thousand sons of great Sagara rushed back to Rasātala.
12. "Digging down from there, they saw Virūpākṣa, one of the mountainous elephants who support the earth, bearing his burden.
13. "Delight of the Raghus, that great elephant Virūpākṣa supports the entire earth, with its mountains and forests, on his head.
14. "So whenever that great elephant shakes his head for a moment to relieve his weariness, there is an earthquake.
15. "When they had walked reverently around the great elephant, the guardian of the East, and done him honor, they went on tearing up Rasātala.
- 16-17. "After tearing up the East, they went on and tore up the South. In the South, they saw another great elephant, mighty Mahāpadma, who, like a huge mountain, supports the earth on his head. It filled them with the greatest wonder.
18. "But, when the sixty thousand sons of Sagara had walked reverently around him, they tore up the West.
19. "In the West, too, those mighty men saw a great and moun-

tainous elephant, Saumanasa, one of the elephants who support the earth.

20. "They walked around him reverently and inquired about his well-being, then went on digging up the North.

21. "In the North, best of the Raghus, they saw snow-white Bhadra, who supported the earth with his splendid body.

22. "Those sixty thousand sons touched him, and after walking around him reverently, tore up the earth once more.

23. "Finally, all the sons of Sagara went to the famous northeastern quarter and dug up the earth in their fury.

24. "And it was there that they saw the eternal Vāsudeva in the form of Kapila and grazing near the god, the horse.

25. "Thinking him to be the one who had ruined their sacrifice, they were enraged, and they ran toward him, eyes clouded with anger, crying, 'Stop! Stop!'

26. " 'You are the one who stole our sacrificial horse. Fool! Know that we, the sons of Sagara, have come!'

27. "When Kapila heard these words, delight of the Raghus, he was filled with great fury and uttered the syllable '*Hum*.'

28. "Thereupon, Kākutstha, all the sons of Sagara were reduced to a heap of ashes 'by the great and unfathomable Kapila."

The end of the thirty-ninth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 40*

1. "When, delight of the Raghus, King Sagara realized that his sons had been gone for a very long time, he spoke to his grandson, who shone with an inner splendor.

2. " 'You are a hero accomplished in the arts of war and equal to your forefathers in power. Go then and seek out the path of your forefathers, the path by which the horse was taken.

3. " 'The creatures that live underground are huge and powerful, so you must take your bow and a sword to ward them off.



4. “ ‘Pay homage to those who deserve homage and kill those who would obstruct you. Then, when you have accomplished your mission, come back and complete my sacrifice.’
5. “When Aṁśumant had been thus fittingly addressed by the great Sagara, he took his bow and sword and departed, striding swiftly.
6. “At the behest of the king, best of men, he set out on the subterranean path that had been excavated by his great forefathers.
7. “There that mighty man saw one of the elephants who support the earth. It was being worshiped by *daityas*, *dānavas*, *rākṣasas*, *piśācas*, and the great birds and serpents.
8. “After he had walked around it reverently, he inquired as to its well-being, asking also about his forefathers and the horse thief
9. “When the elephant heard Aṁśumant’s words, it replied affectionately, ‘Son of Asamañja, you shall quickly accomplish your mission and return with the horse.’
10. “Hearing these words, he set out to question all the elephants who support the earth, in the proper manner and sequence.
11. “All those guardians of the directions, who understood the subtleties of speech and were themselves eloquent, honored and encouraged him, saying, ‘You shall return with the horse.’
12. “Having heard these words, he strode swiftly to where his forefathers, the sons of Sagara, had been turned to heaps of ash.
13. “Then the son of Asamañja was overcome by grief. Deeply grieved over their death, he cried out in his great sorrow.
14. “Overwhelmed by grief and sorrow, that tiger among men saw the sacrificial horse grazing nearby.
15. “The mighty man wished to perform the funerary libations for the king’s sons, but though he searched for water, he found no pool or stream.
16. “But, casting about his sharp eye, Rāma, he spied his forefathers’ uncle, the king of birds, Suparṇa, rival of the wind.
17. “And the bird, mighty Vainateya, said these words to him, ‘Do not grieve, tiger among men. This slaughter took place for the good of the world.
18. “ ‘And since, wise man, these mighty men were consumed by

none other than unfathomable Kapila, you should not offer them the water of this world.

19. “ ‘Bull among men, the Ganges is the eldest daughter of Himalaya. It is she alone, the purifier of the world, who should purify these men now turned to heaps of ash.

20. “ ‘When their ashes are moistened by the Ganges, beloved of all the world, my son, only then will the sixty thousand princes be carried to heaven.

21. “ ‘Illustrious bull among men, take the horse and go. For, hero, you must complete your grandfather’s sacrifice.’

22. “Hearing Suparṇa’s words, the renowned and mighty Aṁśumant took the horse and returned home swiftly.

23. “He came before the king, delight of the Raghus, who was still in a state of consecration. He told him all that had happened, just as it had taken place, and repeated Suparṇa’s words.

24. “Hearing the dreadful words of Aṁśumant, the king completed his sacrifice in due order, according to the ritual injunctions.

25. “But when the majestic lord of the earth, the king, had completed the sacrifice and returned to his capital, he could think of no plan to bring down the Ganges.

26. “Finally, after a very long time, the great king, who had reigned for thirty thousand years, went to heaven still without having thought of a plan.”

The end of the fortieth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 41*

1. “When Sagara had succumbed to the law of time, Rāma, his ministers made righteous Aṁśumant their king.

2. “Aṁśumant was a very great king, delight of the Raghus, and he had a great son famed as Dilīpa.

3. “Turning the kingdom over to Dilīpa, delight of the Raghus, he performed very severe austerities on a lovely peak in the Himalayas.

4. “After living in an ascetics’ grove for thirty-two thousand years, the renowned ascetic King Aṁśumant at last attained heaven.



5. "Mighty Dilīpa, too, hearing about the slaughter of his grandfathers, found his thoughts so scattered by grief that he also was unable to arrive at a solution.

6. "He brooded about it constantly, wondering, 'How can I bring down the Ganges? How can I perform their funerary libations? How can I save them?'

7. "Thus, the king, celebrated for his righteousness, constantly brooded, and in time, a most righteous son named Bhagīratha was born to him.

8. "Mighty King Dilīpa performed many sacrifices and reigned for thirty thousand years.

9. "Yet, even so, tiger among men, he could think of no way to save his ancestors. At last he took ill and succumbed to the law of time.

10. "After first consecrating his son Bhagīratha as king, that bull among men, the king, went to Indra's world by virtue of the merit he had acquired for himself through his deeds.

11. "Now the righteous and mighty royal seer Bhagīratha had no children, delight of the Raghus. So, lacking an heir, he wished to have one.

12. "For this reason, delight of the Raghus, he undertook protracted austerities on Gokarṇa. Keeping his arms continually raised, eating but once a month, and controlling his senses, he practiced the austerity of the five fires.

13. "After he had practiced such awesome asceticism for a thousand years, Lord Brahmā, supreme lord and master of all creatures, was greatly pleased.

14. "Accompanied by the hosts of gods, Grandfather Brahmā approached great Bhagīratha, still immersed in his austerities, and said:

15. " 'Illustrious Bhagīratha, lord of the people, I am pleased with these austerities you have performed so well. You have been true to your vows and so may choose a boon.'

16. "The illustrious and mighty Bhagīratha stood cupping his hands in reverence and spoke to Brahmā, grandfather of all the worlds:

17. " 'If you are pleased with me, lord, and if I am to have some

reward for my austerities, then let me be the one to offer the funerary libations to all the sons of Sagara.

18. “ ‘Let the ashes of those great men, my great-grandfathers, be moistened by the waters of the Ganges, so that they may reach heaven at last.

19. “ ‘O god, grant me also children so that our line shall never fail. O god, let this be my second boon on behalf of the House of Ikṣvāku.’

20. “When the king had delivered this speech, the grandfather of all the worlds replied to him in fine words, both sweet and sweetly spoken:

21. “ ‘Bhagīratha of the great chariot, this noble wish of yours shall come true. Bless you, you shall continue the Ikṣvāku line.

22. “ ‘Haimavatī, the Ganges, is the eldest daughter of the Himalaya. Your majesty, Hara shall be charged with checking her fall.

23. “ ‘For, your majesty, the earth would not be able to withstand the force of the Ganges’ fall. Hero, I know of no one other than Śiva, the trident bearer, who could check her fall.’

24. “When the god, creator of the world, had addressed the king in this fashion, he spoke to the Ganges, and then went to heaven with all the Marut hosts.”

The end of the forty-first *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 42*

1. “When the god of gods had gone, Rāma, Bhagīratha stood for a year on the tip of one big toe, worshiping Śiva.

2. “At the end of that year, Śiva, the lord of creatures and husband of Umā, worshiped by all the worlds, said this to the king:

3. “ ‘Best of men, I am pleased with you and will do what you desire. I shall bear the daughter of the mountain king on my head.’

4. “And so, Rāma, the elder Haimavatī, worshiped by all the worlds, then took on an extremely powerful form and plunged from the sky with irresistible force onto Śiva’s gracious head.

5. “But confused by the coils of his matted hair, she could not find



her way out; and so the goddess wandered about in there for a great many years.

6. "Hara was immensely pleased by this, delight of the Raghus, and so he released the Ganges into Lake Bindu.

7. "In this way she came down from the sky onto Śaṅkara's head, and from there to the earth, her waters rushing down with a terrible roar.

8. "And, as she fell to earth from the sky, the gods, seers, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, and hosts of perfected beings looked on.

9. "Even the gods, gathered there in their flying chariots, huge as cities, with their horses and splendid elephants, were awed.

10. "Thus did the hosts of immeasurably powerful gods assemble in their desire to see that greatest of marvels, the mighty fall of the Ganges.

11. "The cloudless sky was shining with the hosts of hastening gods and the splendor of their ornaments, so that it seemed illumined by a hundred suns.

12. "Filled with masses of twisting snakes, crocodiles, and fish, the sky seemed shot with scattered lightning.

13. "Now white with a thousand shreds of flying foam and flocks of snowy geese, the sky seemed suddenly filled with autumn clouds.

14. "At some points the river flowed swiftly, at others slowly. In some places it moved tortuously or broadened out; at others, it narrowed and sank between its banks only to rise again elsewhere.

15. "Here and there the water dashed back upon itself, momentarily hurled up into the air, only to fall to earth once more.

16. "The water fell first upon Śaṅkara's head, and only then to earth. Therefore it shone, for it was pure and able to wash away all sin.

17. "Then thinking, 'Water fallen from Bhava's body is holy,' the *gandharvas* and the hosts of seers bathed there with those who dwelt on earth.

18. "Even those who had fallen to earth from heaven through some curse were freed from all sin by bathing there.

19. "Cleansed of their sins by that shining water, they flew up into the sky again and were restored to their proper worlds.

20. "People were delighted by that shining water and joyfully bathed in the Ganges, freeing themselves from all weariness.

21. "Then, as the royal seer, mighty Bhagīratha, mounted in a celestial chariot, drove on before, the Ganges followed along behind him.

22-23. "Joyously following the Ganges, Rāma, all the gods, the hosts of seers, the *daityas*, *dānavas* and *rākṣasas*, the foremost of the *gandharvas* and *yakṣas*, the *kinnaras*, great serpents, and all the *apsarases* with all the creatures of the waters made a procession behind Bhagīratha's chariot.

24. "Thus did the most excellent of rivers, the Ganges, who washes away all sins, follow in King Bhagīratha's train."

The end of the forty-second *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 43*

1. "Followed by the Ganges, the king proceeded to the ocean and entered that gaping hole in the earth where his ancestors had been turned to ashes.

2. "And, when those ashes were flooded with water, Rāma, Brahmā, the lord of all the worlds, spoke to the king:

3. " 'Tiger among men, the sixty thousand sons of great Sagara have been saved and like gods, have gone to heaven.

4. " 'Your majesty, the sons of Sagara will remain in heaven like gods as long as the waters of the ocean remain in the world.

5. " 'And the Ganges will be your eldest daughter. She too will remain in the world and will be known by a name that you shall give her.

6. " 'For the Ganges, the river of the three paths, will be known as the celestial Bhāgīrathī. And because she sanctifies three courses, she will be known as the river of the three paths.

7. " 'Lord of men, you may perform here the funerary libation for all your forefathers. Fulfill your vow, your majesty.

8. " 'Your majesty, your glorious ancestor Sagara, champion of righteousness, could not fulfill this cherished hope.



9. “ ‘Nor was this vow fulfilled, my son, by Aṁśumant, though his power was unrivaled in this world and he strove to bring the Ganges down.

10-11. “ ‘Then there was your father, the mighty royal seer Dilīpa, whose power was equal to that of a great seer and whose austerity was equal to mine. But, blameless and illustrious man, even he, so steadfast in the duty of a kshatriya, could not, though he too strove to do so, think of a way to bring down the Ganges.

12. “ ‘But you have fulfilled this vow, bull among men. You have won the highest and most coveted glory in the world.

13. “ ‘And, foe-conquering hero, by bringing down the Ganges, you have earned the great abode of righteousness.

14. “ ‘Bathe yourself in these waters, best of men, for bathing here is always purifying. Purify yourself, tiger among men, and now achieve the holy purpose of your quest.

15. “ ‘Make the funerary libations for all your forefathers. Farewell, I shall go to my own world. You may depart, your majesty.’

16. “Having spoken in this fashion, the lord of gods, the glorious grandfather of all worlds, departed for the world of the gods just as he had come.

17. “Then the glorious king and royal seer, Bhagīratha, made magnificent funerary libations to the sons of Sagara in due order and according to the ritual injunctions. At last, once more bathing and purifying himself, he returned to his own city.

18. “Having thus accomplished his purpose, best of men, he once more ruled his kingdom. His people, too, rejoiced, Rāghava. For, in regaining their king, they too had accomplished their goal and were freed from all sorrow and anxiety.

19. “And now I have told you the entire history of the Ganges, Rāma. Bless you and may fortune smile upon you. But see, the time for our evening devotions is slipping away.

20. “The tale I have just told you, ‘The Descent of the Ganges,’ brings one wealth, fame, long life, heaven, and even sons.”

The end of the forty-third *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 44*

1. When Rāghava, seated there with Lakṣmaṇa, heard Viśvāmitra's words, he was amazed and said to him:
2. "Brahman, this excellent tale you have told, the tale of the holy descent of the Ganges and the filling of the ocean, is truly wonderful."
3. And, as he sat with Saumitri in contemplation of Viśvāmitra's marvelous tale, the whole night slipped away.
4. Then, in the clear light of dawn, foe-conquering Rāghava said these words to the great sage Viśvāmitra, who had already performed his daily devotions:
5. "The holy goddess Night has gone and we have heard something well worth hearing. Mighty ascetic, in my careful contemplation of your story, the whole night passed for me as though it were but a moment.
6. "Now let us cross this best of streams, the holy river of the three paths. Here is a boat with comfortable seats that belongs to the seers of holy deeds. Realizing that so holy a man as you had come, they must have sent it in haste."
7. When Viśvāmitra heard great Rāghava's words, he made the crossing with a group of seers and the two Rāghavas.
8. Reaching the northern bank, they paid homage to the host of seers and, once landed on the Ganges' bank, they beheld the city of Viśālā.
9. From there the great sage and the two Rāghavas proceeded at once toward that lovely and celestial city, comparable only to heaven.
10. Wise Rāma cupped his hands in reverence and questioned the great sage Viśvāmitra about the excellent city of Viśālā:
11. "Great sage, what royal family dwells in Viśālā? Bless you, I wish to hear about it, for my curiosity is very great."
12. Hearing Rāma's words, the bull among sages began to relate the ancient history of Viśālā.
13. "Rāma, listen to the marvelous story of Śakra as I tell it. Rāghava, you shall hear what happened in this region just as it took place.



14. “Long ago, Rāma, in the Golden Age, the sons of Diti were very powerful. Now the sons of Aditi were also mighty; but in addition, they were illustrious and extremely righteous.

15. “Once, best of men, a thought occurred to all of those great beings, ‘How may we become immortal—free from old age and sickness?’

16. “As those wise beings were pondering this, an idea occurred to them, ‘If we should churn the ocean of milk, we would obtain from it the elixir of life.’

17. “Their might knew no bounds. So once they had resolved to undertake such a churning, they took the great serpent Vāsuki for their rope and Mount Mandara as their churn and began to churn

18. “The first things to appear were the physician Dhanvantari and the resplendent *apsarases*. Since, best of the sons of Manu, these last, the most resplendent of women, were born of that churning in the waters (*apsu*) from the elixir (*rasa*), they came to be known as *apsarases*.

19. “Six hundred million was the number of these resplendent *apsarases*, Kākutstha, and their maidservants were innumerable.

20. “But neither the gods nor the *dānavas* would accept them. So, because they were not accepted, they are said to belong to everyone.

21. “After this, delight of the Raghus, Varuṇa’s illustrious daughter, Vāruṇī, was born. She, too, wished to be accepted.

22. “Heroic Rāma, the sons of Diti would not accept Surā, the daughter of Varuṇa, but the sons of Aditi did accept her, for she was irreproachable.

23. “Because of this, the *daiteyas* came to be known as the *asuras*, while the sons of Aditi became the *suras*. Having accepted Vāruṇī, the gods were joyful and excited.

24. “Next, best of men, came Uccaiṣravas, foremost of horses, and Kaustubha, most precious of gems, followed by the finest thing of all, the nectar.

25. “For the sake of this nectar, the sons of Aditi slaughtered the sons of Diti, so that her family suffered an enormous loss.

26. “Indeed, Aditi’s heroic sons slew almost all the sons of Diti in that great and terrible war of the *daiteyas* and the *ādityas*.

27. "When Indra, smasher of citadels, had slain the sons of Diti and seized sovereignty, he was delighted and ruled the worlds with their hosts of seers and celestial bards."

The end of the forty-fourth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 45*

1. "Now when Diti's sons were killed, Rāma, she was overwhelmed with grief and spoke to her husband, Mārīca Kāśyapa:

2. " 'Holy one, your mighty sons have slain my sons. Now I desire to get through long austerity a son who shall slay Śakra.

3. " 'I will undertake austerities; but you must give me a child and promise that he will be a son capable of killing Śakra.'

4. "Hearing her words, mighty Mārīca Kāśyapa replied to the grief-stricken Diti:

5. " 'Bless you, ascetic woman. Make yourself pure. For you shall give birth to a son who can slay Śakra in battle.

6. " 'If you remain pure, then, when a full one thousand years have elapsed, you shall through me give birth to a son capable of destroying the three worlds.'

7. "Speaking in this fashion, the mighty man stroked her with his hand. Then, having touched her in this way, he said, 'Farewell,' and went off to practice austerities.

8. "When he had gone, best of men, Diti, now utterly delighted, went to Kuśaplavana, where she performed the most awesome austerities.

9. "But, best of men, while she was practicing these austerities, thousand-eyed Indra served her most virtuously.

10. "For thousand-eyed Indra brought her fire, *kuśa* grass, firewood, water, fruit, roots, and whatever else she desired.

11. "In this way, Śakra served Diti unceasingly, massaging her limbs to lessen her weariness.

12. "And so it was, delight of the Raghus, that when but ten years remained of the thousand, Diti, completely won over by thousand-eyed Indra, said to him:



13. “ ‘Bless you, foremost among the mighty, there are but ten short years remaining of the term of my austerity. Then you shall see your brother.

14. “ ‘He will desire to conquer you, but for your sake I shall appease him. Be free now of anxiety, my son, for you shall share the conquest of the three worlds with him.’

15. “The sun was at its zenith, and even as the goddess Diti was saying this to Śakra, she was suddenly overcome by sleep while her feet were where her head should have been.

16. “Śakra saw that she was in a state of impurity, for she had placed the hair of her head where her feet ought to have been and had put her feet in the place for her head. He was delighted and laughed aloud.

17. “Then Indra, smasher of citadels, entered the opening in her body and, with complete self-possession, smashed her fetus into seven pieces.

18. “Smashed by his hundred-pointed *vajra*, the fetus cried so loudly, Rāma, that Diti awoke.

19. “ ‘Don’t cry! Don’t cry!’ said Śakra to the fetus. Then, though it went on crying, mighty Vāsava smashed it.

20. “ ‘Don’t kill him! Don’t kill him!’ cried Diti, and in deference to a mother’s words, Śakra came forth.

21. “Still holding the *vajra* and cupping his hands in reverence, Śakra addressed Diti, ‘Goddess, you were sleeping with the hair of your head where your feet should have been and were thus impure.

22. “ ‘I seized upon that opportunity to smash him who was to have been born the slayer of Śakra in battle, so that he now lies in seven pieces. Goddess, please forgive me for what I have done.’ ”

The end of the forty-fifth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 46*

1. “When Diti’s fetus was split into seven pieces, she was overwhelmed with great sorrow and spoke humbly to the invincible thousand-eyed Indra:

2. “ ‘It is my own fault that my fetus has been split into seven pieces and rendered useless. Lord of the gods, slayer of Bala, you are not to blame for this.
3. “ ‘But I should like to see some good come of the destruction of my fetus. Let the seven fragments become the guardians of the regions of the seven winds.
4. “ ‘Let the seven sons I have borne be known as the Mārutas, and let them wander freely, in celestial forms, through the regions of the winds in heaven.
5. “ ‘Let one move through Brahmā’s world, and another through the world of Indra, while a third, the illustrious Vāyu, shall move freely through the sky.
6. “ ‘Bless you, best of gods, let my remaining four sons be gods and at your command range freely in all directions. Let them be known as the Mārutas, the very name you gave them.’
7. “Hearing her words, thousand-eyed Indra, the smasher of citadels and slayer of Bala, cupped his hands in reverence and addressed Diti:
8. “ ‘Bless you, everything will be just as you say; you need have no doubt. Your sons shall become gods and range freely.’
9. “And so they reached an agreement there in the ascetics’ forest, Rāma, and, as both mother and son had accomplished their purposes, they departed for heaven, or so I heard it.
10. “Kākutstha, this is the very region where the great lord Indra dwelt while serving Diti, who had become perfect through austerity.
11. “Tiger among men, an extremely righteous son known as Viśāla was once born to Ikṣvāku and Alambuṣā.
12. “It was he who founded the city of Viśālā, here on this site.
13. “The mighty Hemacandra was Viśāla’s son, Rāma. Hemacandra’s immediate successor was called Sucandra.
14. “Sucandra’s son was known as Dhumrāśva, Rāma, and this Dhumrāśva fathered a son named Sṛñjaya.
15. “Sṛñjaya’s son was the majestic and valiant Sahadeva. Sahadeva had a most righteous son named Kuśāśva.
16. “Kuśāśva’s son was the valiant and powerful Somadatta. Somadatta’s son was known as Kākutstha.



17. "It is the latter's mighty son, the godlike and invincible Sumati, who now lives in this city.

18. "Through the grace of Ikṣvāku, all the great kings of Viśāla are long-lived, mighty, and righteous.

19. "We shall spend the night here in comfort, Rāma. Tomorrow morning, best of men, we must see Janaka."

20-21. Now when the mighty and illustrious Sumati, the best of men, heard that Viśvāmitra had arrived, he went forth to welcome him. Accompanied by his kinsmen and counsellors, he accorded him the greatest reverence. Cupping his hands in reverence, he inquired after Viśvāmitra's well-being and said to him:

22. "I am fortunate, sage, indeed I am highly favored, in that you have come not only into my kingdom but into my very presence. Surely, there is no one more fortunate than I."

The end of the forty-sixth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 47*

1. The two men greeted one another, each inquiring as to the well-being of the other. Then, formalities at an end, Sumati said these words to the great sage:

2. "Bless you, these two heroic princes look as valorous as the gods. They look like tigers or bulls and move like lions or elephants.

3. "Armed with swords, quivers, and bows, their eyes as long as lotus petals, in the full bloom of their young manhood, they rival the Aśvins in beauty.

4. "They seem like immortals by some chance come to earth from the world of the gods. How is it, sage, that they come here on foot? What is the purpose of their visit? Whose sons are they?

5. "Identical in form, gesture, and movement, they adorn this land as sun and moon adorn the sky.

6. "Why have these fine men, these heroes, come by this difficult road, bearing such splendid weapons? I wish to hear the truth of this."

7. When Viśvāmitra had heard this speech, he told him, just as it had happened, of their stay at the Ashram of the Perfected Being and the killing of the *rākṣasas*.

8. Upon hearing Viśvāmitra's words, the king was overjoyed and paid due homage to the two mighty sons of Daśaratha; for they were important guests and deserving of great honor.

9. Treated with such respect by Sumati, the two Rāghavas stayed there for one night and then went on to Mithilā.

10. When the sages saw Mithilā, Janaka's glorious city, they praised it, crying, "Wonderful! Wonderful!"

11. But Rāghava, seeing an ancient ashram, lovely and deserted, in a wood near Mithilā, questioned that bull among sages:

12. "This splendid spot appears to be an ashram. Why then is it empty of sages? Holy man, I wish to hear about it. To whom did this ashram once belong?"

13. When he heard the words that Rāghava had spoken, the great sage Viśvāmitra, so skilled in speech, replied:

14. "Ah! Listen Rāghava, and I will tell you exactly whose ashram this was and how it came to be cursed by a great man in anger.

15. "Best of men, this heavenly ashram, which even the gods worship, once belonged to the great Gautama.

16. "And it was here, renowned prince, that he engaged in austerities with Ahalyā for many, many years.

17. "Now one time Śaci's lord, thousand-eyed Indra, learning of the sage's absence, took on his appearance and said these words to Ahalyā:

18. "'Shapely woman, men filled with desire do not wait for a woman's fertile period. Fair-waisted woman, I want to make love to you.'

19. "Now the foolish woman knew that it was thousand-eyed Indra in the guise of the sage, delight of the Raghus, but she consented in her lust for the king of the gods.

20. "When she had accomplished her heart's desire, she said to the best of gods, 'You have accomplished your desire, best of gods. Now you must go quickly. You must always protect yourself and me, lord of the gods, my lover.'



21. "Smiling, Indra said these words to Ahalyā, 'Fair-hipped woman, I am fully satisfied and shall depart as I came.'

22. "Having made love to her in this manner, Rāma, he came out of her leaf hut uneasy about Gautama and hurrying in his fear.

23. "And there he met the great sage Gautama coming in, unsailable by the gods and *dānavas* and filled with the power of his austerities. That bull among sages was still damp with the water of the bathing place, but carrying kindling and *kuśa* grass, he shone like fire.

24. "Seeing him, the lord of gods became frightened, and his face fell.

25. "Now, when the good sage saw the wicked thousand-eyed Indra in his own guise, he spoke in anger:

26. " 'Fool! For taking on my form and doing this thing that is not to be done, you shall lose your testicles.'

27. "No sooner had the great and furious sage Gautama spoken in this fashion than thousand-eyed Indra's testicles fell to the ground.

28. "Having cursed Śakra, he then cursed his wife as well, 'You shall live here for many thousands of years.

29. " 'You shall dwell in this ashram with nothing to eat, air your only food, suffering, lying on ashes, and invisible to all creatures.

30. " 'Only when Rāma, the invincible son of Daśaratha, comes to this dreadful forest, will you be purified.

31. " 'Only through extending hospitality to him, you wicked woman, will you take on your proper body in my presence, free from lust and folly and filled with joy.'

32. "When he had spoken to his ill-behaved wife in this fashion, the mighty Gautama abandoned his ashram. And now the great ascetic performs his austerities in the Himalayas on a lovely peak, frequented by perfected beings and celestial bards."

The end of the forty-seventh *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 48*

1. "Now that Śakra was emasculated, he spoke, his terror showing in his face, to the gods led by Agni, god of fire, and accompanied by celestial bards and hosts of seers:
2. " 'In arousing the anger of great Gautama and in thereby creating an obstacle to his austerities, I have accomplished the work of the gods.
3. " 'For, in his wrath he has emasculated me and repudiated his wife and so, in provoking this great outpouring of curses, I have robbed him of his ascetic's power.
4. " 'Therefore, all of you—great gods, celestial bards, and hosts of seers—should restore my testicles to me, for I have aided the gods.'
5. "When the gods led by Agni heard these words of Indra, god of a hundred sacrifices, they went with all the Marut hosts to see the divine ancestors and said:
6. " 'Śakra has been emasculated. But here is a ram whose testicles are intact. Take the ram's testicles and give them to Śakra at once.
7. " 'The castrated ram will give you the greatest satisfaction, as will those men who offer one for your pleasure.'
8. "When the divine ancestors assembled there heard Agni's words, they tore out the ram's testicles and gave them to thousand-eyed Indra.
9. "And from that time onward, Kākutstha, the assembly of the divine ancestors eats castrated rams, reserving their testicles for Indra.
10. "And so, from that time onward, Rāghava, through the power of the great Gautama's asceticism, Indra has had a ram's testicles.
11. "Come then, mighty man, to the ashram of that holy sage and save illustrious Ahalyā, as lovely as a goddess."
12. Hearing Viśvāmitra's words, Rāghava followed the sage and entered the ashram with Lakṣmaṇa.
13. There he saw that illustrious woman, blazing with an inner splendor through her austerities, yet hidden from the eyes of all who came near, even gods and *asuras*.



14. She was like a goddess, and it seemed as if the Creator himself had wrought her, with great effort, out of pure creative energy. She was like a brilliant flame whose form is obscured by smoke.

15. She was like the light of the full moon, but clouded, or obscured by mist—like the blazing splendor of the sun discerned but dimly through dense clouds.

16. For, through the words of Gautama, she had become invisible to the three worlds until such time as she should see Rāma.

17. The two Rāghavas then grasped her feet, and she welcomed them, remembering Gautama's words.

18. Attentively she provided hospitality, giving them the welcome offering and water for their feet, according to the rites enjoined by tradition, and Kākutstha accepted them.

19. Suddenly there was a great shower of blossoms accompanied by the sound of the gods' drums. And there was a great gathering of *gandharvas* and *apsarases*.

20. "Wonderful! Wonderful!" cried the gods, and they paid homage to Ahalyā, once more submissive to Gautama's control, her body purified through the power of her austerities.

21. Mighty Gautama was overjoyed to be reunited at last with Ahalyā, and the great ascetic did homage to Rāma in the prescribed fashion and, having done so, resumed his austerities.

22. As for Rāma, he received this great homage from the great sage Gautama in the prescribed fashion and proceeded on to Mi-thilā.

The end of the forty-eighth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 49*

1. Following Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Saumitri went on toward the northeast until they came to a sacrificial ground.

2. Then Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa spoke to the tiger among sages, "Wonderful indeed is the magnificence of great Janaka's sacrifice.

3. "Illustrious sage, there are many thousands of brahmins here, residents of many countries, all learned in the *vedas*.

4. "The dwellings of the seers all appear to be crowded with hundreds of carts. Brahman, please arrange for a place for us to stay."
5. Hearing Rāma's speech, the great seer Viśvāmitra made camp in a secluded spot with water near at hand.
- 6-7. Learning that Viśvāmitra had arrived, the king, following his irreproachable family priest Śatānanda and his great sacrificial priests, at once brought the welcome offering and righteously offered it to the best of sages to the accompaniment of vedic hymns.
8. Accepting the homage of the great Janaka, he inquired after the king's health and the smooth progress of the sacrifice.
9. He also inquired after the sages, preceptors, and household priests, embracing them all joyously as is the custom.
10. Then the king, his hands cupped in reverence, addressed the best of sages, "Please be seated with these excellent sages, holy man."
11. Hearing Janaka's words, the great sage sat down, followed by household priests, officiating priests, the king, and his counsellors.
12. Then the king, seeing them seated all around in proper fashion, spoke to Viśvāmitra:
13. "Today the gods have made fruitful the lavishness of my sacrifice. In seeing this holy man, I have already gained the fruit of the sacrifice.
14. "Brahman, bull among sages, how fortunate I am, how grateful that you have come with these sages to my sacrificial ground.
15. "My wise men tell me that twelve days remain of this session, brahman seer. Then, if you please, Kauśika, you may witness the gods seeking their portions."
16. When he had spoken to the tiger among sages in this fashion, the protector of men, with complete self-possession, questioned him further, his face showing his delight, and his hands cupped in reverence:
17. "Bless you, these two heroic princes look as valorous as the gods. They look like tigers or bulls and move like lions or elephants.
18. "Armed with swords, quivers, and bows, their eyes as long as lotus petals, in the full bloom of their young manhood, they rival the Aśvins in beauty.



19. "They seem like immortals by some chance come to earth from the world of the gods. How is it, sage, that they come here on foot? What is the purpose of their visit? Whose sons are they?"

20-21. "Whose sons are they, great sage, that they bear such splendid weapons? Identical in form, gesture, and movement, they adorn this land as sun and moon adorn the sky. I want to know the truth about these two heroes who still wear side locks."

22. When he had heard great Janaka's words, he told him about the two great sons of Daśaratha.

23-24. He told them of their stay at the Ashram of the Perfected Being and the killing of the *rākṣasas*, about their daring journey and their visit to Viśālā, of their meeting with Ahalyā and Gautama, and of how they had come to test the great bow.

25. When he had related all that to great Janaka, the great and mighty sage Viśvāmitra lapsed into silence.

The end of the forty-ninth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 50*

1-2. Upon seeing Rāma and hearing these words of wise Viśvāmitra, the great and powerful ascetic Śatānanda, Gautama's eldest son, who shone brightly through the power of his austerities, was moved to the greatest wonder, and the hairs of his body bristled with delight.

3. Seeing to it that the king's sons were comfortably seated, Śatānanda spoke to Viśvāmitra, best of sages:

4. "Tiger among sages, did you present my renowned mother, who has suffered such prolonged penances, to the king's son?"

5. "Mighty man, did my renowned mother do homage with offerings of forest fruits to Rāma, who is worthy of the homage of all living beings?"

6. "Mighty man, have you told Rāma of what happened to my mother long ago, when the god used her so wickedly?"

7. "Bless you, Kauśika, best of sages, was my mother reunited with my father after seeing Rāma?"

8. "Son of Kuśika, was great and mighty Rāma shown reverence by my father, and did he show him reverence in his turn before coming here?"

9. "Son of Kuśika, did this self-possessed Rāma respectfully salute my father with a tranquil heart before coming here?"

10. When the great sage Viśvāmitra, skilled in speech, heard the eloquent Śatānanda's words, he replied:

11. "Best of sages, I did all that was required within the limits of propriety. The sage and his wife were reunited like Bhārgava and Reṇukā."

12. When mighty Śatānanda heard wise Viśvāmitra's words, he turned to Rāma and said:

13. "Welcome, best of men. How fortunate that you have come, following this great seer, the invincible Viśvāmitra.

14. "Inconceivable in his actions and immeasurable in his splendor, the mighty Viśvāmitra became a brahman seer through his own austerity. Didn't you know that he is the greatest of all?"

15. "There is no one on earth more fortunate than you, Rāma, for your guardian is Kuśika's son, who has performed great austerities.

16. "Please listen, and I will tell you about the great Kauśika. Listen as I recount the history of his mighty deeds, just as it happened.

17. "The righteous man was long a foe-conquering king. He knew the ways of righteousness, had mastered all the sciences, and was devoted to the welfare of his subjects.

18. "Once there was a king named Kuśa, a son of Brahmā, lord of creatures. Kuśa's son was the mighty and righteous Kuśanābha.

19. "Kuśanābha's son was known as Gādhi, and this great sage, mighty Viśvāmitra, is Gādhi's son.

20. "Mighty Viśvāmitra once ruled the earth, reigning as a king for many thousands of years!"

21. "But one time that mighty man assembled his forces and, surrounded by a full army, wandered over the earth.

22-27. "Roaming in turn through cities, countries, rivers, mountains, and ashrams, the king at length came to Vasiṣṭha's ashram, filled with all sorts of flowers, fruits, and trees. Greatest of conquerors, the mighty Viśvāmitra saw Vasiṣṭha's ashram, which was



like a second world of Brahmā. It was filled with herds of all kinds of animals and frequented by perfected beings and celestial bards. It was made lovely by gods, *dānavas*, *gandharvas*, and *kinnaras*. It was filled with tame deer and was the home of flocks of birds. It was filled with hosts of brahman seers and frequented by hosts of divine seers—great men who had perfected themselves through the practice of austerities and who shone like fire. It was splendid and continuously thronged with great men who resembled Brahmā and who lived on water alone, or air, or only withered leaves. It was filled with seers and ascetics—self-controlled men who had conquered their anger and subdued their senses—men who lived only on fruit and roots and who were given over entirely to prayer and sacrifice.”

The end of the fiftieth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 51*

1. “Mighty Viśvāmitra was delighted to see Vasiṣṭha, foremost in vedic recitation, and bowed to him in humility.
2. “Then great Vasiṣṭha spoke to him, saying, ‘You are welcome!’ Holy Vasiṣṭha then indicated that he should be seated.
3. “When wise Viśvāmitra was seated, the eminent sage offered him fruit and roots as custom demanded.
- 4-5. “The eminent king, mighty Viśvāmitra, accepted Vasiṣṭha’s homage and then inquired after the progress of his austerities, his burnt offerings, his disciples, and his grove of great trees. Vasiṣṭha replied that all was well.
6. “Then Vasiṣṭha, son of Brahmā, great ascetic and foremost in vedic recitation, in turn questioned King Viśvāmitra, who sat there at his ease.
7. “‘I trust that all is well with you, your majesty. Your majesty, you are a righteous man; I trust that you are governing your subjects in the manner proper to a king, and that, within the limits of righteousness, you keep them satisfied.
8. “‘Your dependents are, I trust, well taken care of and obedient to your commands. Foe-slaughtering hero, I trust that all your foes are conquered.

9. “ ‘Tiger among men, bane of your foes, I trust all is well with your army, treasury, and allies, and, sinless man, with your sons and grandsons as well.’

10. “The mighty king Viśvāmitra humbly replied to the eminent Vasiṣṭha that everything was well.

11. “The two righteous men then engaged in pleasant conversation for a long time, with the greatest pleasure, so that they became quite fond of one another.

12. “At the end of their conversation, delight of the Raghus, Vasiṣṭha, smiling slightly, said these words to Viśvāmitra:

13. “ ‘Mighty and unfathomable man, I wish to offer my hospitality as befits your rank to you and to your troops. Please accept this from me.

14. “ ‘Please, sire, accept the welcome that I am offering you. For you are the greatest of guests, your majesty, and I must make every effort to do you honor.’

15. “When Vasiṣṭha had addressed him in this fashion, the wise King Viśvāmitra replied, ‘In merely speaking of honoring me, you have already done so.

16-17. “ ‘It is you who are deserving of honor, holy man, and yet you have honored me in every way with the things to be had in your ashram—with fruit and roots, with water for rinsing the feet and mouth, and by permitting me to see you. I shall go now, wise and holy man. Goodbye. Please look kindly upon me.’

18. “But even though the king spoke in this fashion, Vasiṣṭha, who was both noble-minded and righteous, repeatedly pressed his invitation.

19. “At last the son of Gādhi replied to Vasiṣṭha, ‘Very well. Let it be just as you wish, holy and eminent sage.’

20. “On receiving this reply, Vasiṣṭha, foremost in vedic recitation, cleansed of all sin, was pleased and called to his brindled cow.

21. “ ‘Come! Come quickly, Śabalā, and hear my words. I have decided to prepare a hospitable welcome, replete with sumptuous foods, for the royal seer and his troops. See to it for me.

22. “ ‘For my sake, heavenly wish-fulfilling cow, you must pour



forth anything these men desire—as much as they want, using all the six flavors.

23. “ ‘Hurry, Śabalā, for you must make a huge amount of food, including savory rice and beverages, and delicacies to lick and suck.’ ”

The end of the fifty-first *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 52*

1. “Addressed in this way by Vasiṣṭha, foe-slaughtering hero, the wish-fulfilling cow Śabalā produced as much as anyone desired.

2. “She made sugar cane and sweets, parched grain and wines, excellent liquors, costly beverages, and all sorts of food.

3. “She produced mountainous heaps of steaming rice, savory food, soups, and rivers of curds.

4. “There were thousands of silver platters, filled with various delicious confections.

5. “In this way, Rāma, Vasiṣṭha was able to satisfy the hunger of Viśvāmitra’s entire army. Fed to satiation, the army was full of happy and well-fed people.

6. “The royal seer King Viśvāmitra, his womenfolk, brahmans, and household priests were likewise happy and well fed.

7. “The honor shown him and his ministers and counsellors filled him with great joy, and he addressed Vasiṣṭha:

8. “ ‘Brahman, you who are yourself worthy of honor have cordially received me and shown me great honor. But listen, eloquent sage, for I have something to say.

9. “ ‘Please give me Śabalā in exchange for a hundred thousand cows, for, holy man, she is truly a gem, and all gems belong to the king. Therefore, brahman, you must give me Śabalā. By rights she is mine.’

10. “Addressed in this fashion by Viśvāmitra, the eminent, righteous, and holy sage Vasiṣṭha replied to that lord of the earth:

11. “ ‘I would not give you Śabalā, your majesty, for a hundred thousand or even a thousand million cows—not even for masses of silver.

12. “ ‘For she is as inseparable from me as is good repute from a man of self-control. Foe-conquering hero, Śabalā is not deserving of abandonment.

13. “ ‘For upon her depend my offerings to the gods and the offerings to my departed ancestors, as well as our bodily sustenance—so do the burnt offerings, the *bali*, and the *homa* offerings.

14. “ ‘So too, the ritual utterances *svāhā* and *vaṣaṭ*, and the various branches of learning—all this depends upon her, royal seer. Of this there can be no doubt.

15. “ ‘Truly, she is everything to me, always gratifying me. Your majesty, there are many reasons why I cannot give you Śabalā.’

16. “Now being spoken to in this fashion by Vasiṣṭha only made the eloquent Viśvāmitra still more determined, and he said these words:

17. “ ‘I will give you fourteen thousand elephants with golden chains for girth and neck, equipped with goads of gold.

18. “ ‘And I will give you eight hundred golden four-yoked chariots, adorned with bells and drawn by white horses.

19. “ ‘Sage firm in your vows, I will give you, in addition, one thousand and ten powerful horses, foaled in good regions and born of noble stock.

20. “ ‘And to this I will add ten million young cows, each distinguished by a different coloring. Now give me Śabalā.’

21. “Addressed in this fashion by wise Viśvāmitra, the holy man replied, ‘I would not give up Śabalā for anything, your majesty.

22. “ ‘For she alone is my jewel. She alone is my wealth. She alone is everything to me, my very life.

23. “ ‘Your majesty, she alone represents for me the new and full-moon rites, the sacrifices by which I earn my fees. She represents all the various ritual performances.

24. “ ‘There is no doubt, your majesty, that all my ritual performances depend upon her. But what is the use of all this idle chatter? I will not give up the wish-fulfilling cow.’ ”

The end of the fifty-second *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



*Sarga 53*

1. "Now when the sage Vasiṣṭha would not give up Śabalā, the wish-fulfilling cow, Rāma, Viśvāmitra had her dragged away from him by force.
2. "As the great king had Śabalā led away, Rāma, she was overwhelmed with grief and began to think:
3. " 'Has great Vasiṣṭha abandoned me, that the king's servants are taking me away, even though I am despondent and so terribly unhappy?
4. " 'What wrong have I done the great contemplative seer that this righteous man should abandon me, his favorite, when I am innocent and devoted to him?'
5. "Reflecting thus, she sighed repeatedly and then ran quickly to the incomparably powerful Vasiṣṭha.
6. "Shaking off servants by the hundred, foe-slaughtering hero, she ran with the speed of the wind to the great man's feet.
7. "Standing before Vasiṣṭha, Śabalā lowed like thunder. Weeping and crying out, she spoke:
8. " 'Holy son of Brahmā, have you abandoned me, that the king's men are taking me away from you?'
9. "Addressed in this fashion, the brahman seer spoke these words, as though to an unhappy sister whose heart was consumed with grief.
10. " 'I have not abandoned you, Śabalā, nor have you wronged me. This mighty king is taking you from me by force.
11. " 'My power is not equal to the king's, especially today. For he is a mighty kshatriya monarch, the lord of the earth.
12. " 'There is his full army with hosts of horses and chariots, bristling with elephants and banners. By virtue of this, he is stronger than I.'
13. "Addressed in this fashion by Vasiṣṭha and skilled in speech, she humbly spoke these words in reply to the immeasurably splendid brahman seer:
14. " 'They say that a kshatriya has no real power, and that a

brahman is, in fact, more powerful. Brahman, the power of a brahman is divine and much greater than that of the kshatriyas.

15. “ ‘Your power is immeasurable. Viśvāmitra is very powerful, but he is not mightier than you. Your power is unassailable.

16. “ ‘Just give the order, mighty man, and filled with the power of the brahmans, I will crush the might and pride of this wicked man.’

17. “When she addressed him in this fashion, Rāma, the greatly renowned Vasiṣṭha said, ‘Create an army to destroy the armies of my enemy.’

18. “Then, protector of men, she gave a roar, ‘*Humbhā*,’ from which were born hundreds and hundreds of Pahlavas who destroyed Viśvāmitra’s army before his very eyes.

19. “The king was furiously angry, and his eyes wide with rage, he destroyed those Pahlavas with all manner of weapons.

20. “Seeing the Pahlavas struck down in their hundreds by Viśvāmitra, the cow created a new, mixed force of dreadful Śakas and Yavanas.

21. “This mixed force of Śakas and Yavanas covered the earth. Splendid and immensely powerful, they shone like so many golden filaments of flowers.

22. “Carrying long swords and sharp-edged lances and clad in golden garments, they consumed the entire army of the king like blazing fires.

23. “Then mighty Viśvāmitra fired his weapons.”

The end of the fifty-third *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 54*

1. “Seeing her hosts stunned and overwhelmed by Viśvāmitra’s weapons, Vasiṣṭha commanded, ‘Wish-fulfilling cow, create more troops through your yogic power.’

2. “From her bellow, ‘*Humbhā*,’ were produced Kāmbojas bright as the sun, while from her udders came Pahlavas, weapons in hand.



3. "From her vulva came Yavanas, from her anus, Śakas, and from the pores of her skin, Mlecchas, Hāritas, and Kirātas.

4. "Within an instant, delight of the Raghus, Viśvāmitra's entire army was destroyed, with its infantry, elephants, horses, and chariots.

5-6. "Then the hundred sons of Viśvāmitra, seeing that their army had been destroyed by great Vasiṣṭha, the foremost reciter of the *vedas*, took up various weapons and charged him furiously. But the great seer, merely uttering the syllable '*Hum*,' consumed them all.

7. "And so, in a single moment, the sons of Viśvāmitra, horses, chariots, infantry, and all were reduced to ashes by great Vasiṣṭha.

8. "Seeing his sons and his army destroyed, the renowned Viśvāmitra was ashamed and sank into gloomy thought.

9. "Like the ocean becalmed or a snake whose fangs are broken, like the sun in eclipse, he was suddenly deprived of his splendor.

10. "With his sons and army slain, he grew dejected, like a bird whose wings are clipped. His pride demolished, his energy sapped, he grew depressed.

11. "So, making his one surviving son king, he said, 'Rule the earth according to the duty of a kshatriya,' and entered the forest without delay.

12. "He went to the slopes of the Himalayas, frequented by *kinnaras* and serpents, and there that great ascetic performed austerities to gain the favor of the great god Śiva.

13. "After some time, that lord of gods, the granter of boons, whose emblem is the bull, revealed himself to the great sage Viśvāmitra.

14. "He said, 'For what purpose are you practicing austerities, your majesty? Say what you want to say. Name the boon you desire, for I am the granter of boons.'

15. "Addressed in this fashion by the great god Śiva, the great ascetic Viśvāmitra prostrated himself and said these words:

16. " 'If you are satisfied with me, great god without sin, then please teach me the science of arms, with its adjuncts, lesser adjuncts, *upanishads*, and secret spells.

17. " 'God without sin, grant me knowledge of whatever weapons

are known among the gods, *dānavas*, great seers, *gandharvas*, and *yakṣas*.

18. “ ‘Through your grace, god of gods, let what I desire come to pass.’ The lord of gods said, ‘So be it,’ and returned to heaven.

19. “But the mighty royal seer, already proud, was filled with still greater pride upon receiving those weapons.

20. “Swelling with might like the ocean on the full moon day, he reckoned the eminent seer Vasiṣṭha as good as dead.

21. “Returning to the sage’s ashram, the king fired his weapons, whereupon the entire ascetics’ grove was burnt up by their power.

22. “When the sages saw the weapons discharged by wise Viśvāmitra, they were frightened and fled by the hundred in all directions.

23. “Even Vasiṣṭha’s disciples and the beasts and birds were frightened of the danger and fled by the thousand in all directions.

24-25. “In what seemed but a moment, great Vasiṣṭha’s ashram was as empty and silent as a desert, despite Vasiṣṭha’s repeated cries of, ‘Don’t be frightened. I shall destroy the son of Gādhī as the sun destroys the mist.’

26. “When he had spoken in this fashion, the mighty Vasiṣṭha, foremost reciter of the *vedas*, spoke these words in wrath to Viśvāmitra:

27. “ ‘Fool, since your conduct is so depraved that you would wreck an ashram that has so long flourished, you shall die.’

28. “So saying, in a towering rage, he quickly raised his staff like the staff of Kāla, the god of death himself, and stood there like the smokeless fire that ends the world.”

The end of the fifty-fourth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 55*

1. “When Vasiṣṭha spoke to him in this way, mighty Viśvāmitra fired the Āgneya weapon, crying, ‘Stand! Stand!’

2. “Holy Vasiṣṭha then spoke these words in anger:



3. “ ‘Here I am, you kshatriya in name only. Let us see just how mighty you really are. Son of Gādhi, I shall crush your pride in your weapons.

4. “ ‘What comparison is there between your kshatriya power and the immense power of a brahman? You are a disgrace to the kshatriyas and shall now witness my divine brahman's power!’

5. “And so the great and terrible Āgneya weapon, released by Gādhi's son, was quenched by the brahman's staff, like the fierceness of fire by water.

6-10. “Enraged, the son of Gādhi then fired the Vāruṇa, Raudra, Aindra, Pāśupata, Aiśika, Mānava, Mohana, Gāndharva, Svāpana, Jṛmbhaṇa, Mohana, Saṃtāpana, Vilāpana, Śoṣaṇa, Dāraṇa, the irresistible Vajra, Brahmā's noose, Kāla's noose, Varuṇa's noose, the coveted weapon Pināka, the Śuṣka and Ārdra lightning bolts, the Daṇḍa weapon, the Paiśāca and Krauñca weapons, the disc of Dharma, the disc of Kāla, the disc of Viṣṇu, and the Vāyavya, Mathana, and Hayaśiras weapons.

11-13. “Then he hurled a pair of spears, the Kaṅkāla and the Musala, that great weapon, the Vaidyādhara, the dreadful missile of Kāla, the dreadful Trisūla weapon, the Kāpāla, and the Kaṅkaṇa. Indeed, delight of the Raghus, he hurled all these weapons at Vasiṣṭha, the foremost reciter of the *vedas*. But a wondrous thing occurred: the son of Brahmā engulfed them all with his staff.

14-15. “When all these weapons had been rendered harmless, the delight of Gādhi hurled Brahmā's weapon. Seeing that weapon raised, the gods with Agni at their head, the divine seers, *gandharvas*, and great serpents were terrified. And when Brahmā's weapon was released, the three worlds shook with fear.

16. “But, Rāghava, through his brahman's power, Vasiṣṭha swallowed up even Brahmā's great and terrible weapon with his brahman's staff.

17. “And once he had swallowed up Brahmā's weapon, great Vasiṣṭha's appearance became fierce and very dreadful, stupefying the three worlds.

18. “For there sprang, like sparks, from every pore of great Vasiṣṭha's body smoky tongues of flame.

19. “Raised in his hand, like a second staff of Yama, Vasiṣṭha's brahman's staff blazed like the smokeless fire that ends the world.

20. "Then the hosts of sages praised Vasiṣṭha, foremost reciter of the *vedas*, 'Brahman, your might is infallible. Restrain this power with your power.'

21. " 'Brahman, you have defeated the great ascetic Viśvāmitra. Be gracious, foremost reciter of *vedas*. Free the worlds of this fear.'

22. "Addressed in this fashion, the mighty ascetic calmed himself, and Viśvāmitra, humiliated, sighed and said:

23. " 'The power of the kshatriyas is no power at all. Only the power of a brahman's energy is power indeed. All my weapons have been destroyed by a single brahman's staff.

24. " 'Therefore, when I have reflected on this and calmed my mind and senses, I shall undertake great austerities, for this alone will make me a brahman.' "

The end of the fifty-fifth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 56*

1-2. "This then, Rāghava, is the way in which the mighty ascetic Viśvāmitra began his feud with the great Vasiṣṭha. Then, sick at heart, remembering his defeat, and sighing repeatedly, he traveled to the south with his queen. There he engaged in extreme and awesome austerities. Eating fruit and roots and controlling his senses, he engaged in extreme austerities.

3. "In time, several sons were born to him. They were devoted to truth and righteousness, and their names were Haviṣpanda, Madhuṣpanda, Dṛḍhanetra, and Mahāratha.

4. "When a full thousand years had passed in this way, Brahmā, grandfather of the worlds, spoke sweet words to the ascetic Viśvāmitra:

5. " 'Son of Kuśika, your austerities have won for you the worlds to which royal seers aspire. By virtue of your austerity we acknowledge you as a royal seer.'

6. "When he had finished this speech, the powerful supreme lord of all the worlds went first to heaven with the gods and then to the Brahmaloḥa, his own realm.

7. "But Viśvāmitra, hearing that, became dejected. Lowering his face in shame and filled with great sorrow, he said this:



8. “ ‘I have performed the most severe austerities, yet all the gods and hosts of seers regard me as a mere royal seer. I do not consider this a fitting recompense for my austerities.’

9. “Coming to this decision, Kākutstha, that great, supremely self-controlled ascetic once more performed the most extreme austerities.

10. “Now, at that very time, there was a descendant of the Ikṣvāku dynasty known as Triśaṅku. He had conquered his senses and spoke the truth.

11. “Once, Rāghava, he conceived the following plan: ‘I will perform a sacrifice such that I shall rise, in my own body, to the highest realm of the gods.’

12. “He summoned Vasiṣṭha and told him his intention, but the great Vasiṣṭha simply told him, ‘It’s impossible!’

13. “Since Vasiṣṭha had refused him, he went to the south where the sons of Vasiṣṭha, given to prolonged austerities, were practicing austerity.

14. “There mighty Triśaṅku saw Vasiṣṭha’s hundred brilliantly radiant and renowned sons performing their austerities.

15. “Approaching the great sons of his guru with his face somewhat lowered in shame, the mighty king saluted them in due order. Then, cupping his hands in reverence, he addressed them all:

16. “ ‘I have come as a refugee, seeking refuge with you, for you alone can give me refuge. Bless you, I have been refused by the great Vasiṣṭha.

17. “ ‘I wish to perform a great sacrifice. Please permit it. I am bowing before my guru’s sons in order to secure their favor.

18. “ ‘Bowing my head, I beg you brahmans, firm in your austerities. Please, gentlemen, together offer sacrifice for me, so that I may attain, in this body, the world of the gods.

19. “ ‘Since Vasiṣṭha has refused me, ascetics, I can see no other recourse but you, my guru’s sons.

20. “ ‘Our family priest has always been the last resort of all Ikṣvākus. After him, gentlemen, you are my gods.’ ”

The end of the fifty-sixth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 57*

1. "When the hundred sons of the seer heard Triśaṅku's words, Rāma, they were enraged and replied to the king:
2. " 'Fool, you have been refused by your guru, who always speaks the truth. How dare you go beyond him and come to someone else?
3. " 'Your family priest has always been the final resort of all Ikṣvākus. It is impossible to circumvent the word of one who speaks the truth.
4. " 'If the holy seer Vasiṣṭha has told you, "It's impossible," how can we undertake this sacrifice of yours?
5. " 'You are a fool, best of men. Now go back to your city. Your majesty, the holy seer is able to perform such a sacrifice as would give him control over all the three worlds.'
6. "Hearing these words, the syllables of which were slurred with anger, the king addressed them once again, saying:
7. " 'So! I am refused both by my guru and my guru's sons. Very well, then, I shall find some other way. Ascetics, I bid you farewell.'
8. "Now when the sons of the seer heard those words with their horrifying implications, they flew into a towering rage and cursed him, 'You shall become a pariah!' So saying, the great men entered their ashram.
9. "And so, when the night had passed, the king was transformed into a pariah. He became black and coarse, with black garments and unkempt hair. His ornaments were of iron, his garlands and ointment from the cremation ground.
10. "Seeing him in the guise of a pariah, Rāma, the townspeople, even his counsellors and courtiers, abandoned him and ran away together.
11. "The king was all alone, Kākutstha. Supremely self-controlled, but suffering torment day and night, he went to the ascetic Viśvāmitra.
12. "Seeing the ruined king in the guise of a pariah, Rāma, the sage Viśvāmitra was moved to pity.
13. "Bless you, Rāma, it was this compassion that led the powerful



and supremely righteous sage to speak to the dreadful-looking king:

14. “ ‘Why have you come here, mighty prince? Heroic lord of Ayodhyā, it is a curse that has made you a pariah.’

15. “Hearing these words, the eloquent pariah king cupped his hands in reverence and spoke to him who was skilled in speech:

16. “ ‘I have been refused both by my guru and my guru’s sons. I have suffered this calamity without having accomplished my desire.

17. “ ‘ “May I enter heaven in this body!” such was my dream, kind sir. I have performed a hundred sacrifices and gained nothing by it.

18. “ ‘I have never told a lie, nor will I ever, though I have come upon hard times, kind sir. This I swear to you by the honor of a kshatriya.

19. “ ‘I have performed many kinds of sacrifices, ruled my subjects in righteousness, and satisfied my great gurus with my virtuous conduct.

20. “ ‘Yet though I strive continually for righteousness, still among sages, and wish to offer sacrifice, my gurus are not satisfied.

21. “ ‘And so I think that fate alone is supreme and human effort good for nothing. Everything is overcome by fate. Our final recourse is to fate.

22. “ ‘Please show your grace to me, for in my sore affliction I must seek it. My fate has brought all my good works to nothing.

23. “ ‘I shall not seek for any other refuge; there is no other refuge left to me. Please try through human effort to overcome the power of fate.’ ”

The end of the fifty-seventh *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 58*

1. “When the king had spoken in this fashion, Kuśika’s son took pity on him and spoke sweet words directly to him, although his appearance was that of a pariah:

2. “ ‘Welcome, Ikṣvāku, my son. I know you are a righteous man. Have no fear, bull among kings, I shall be your refuge.
3. “ ‘Your majesty, I shall summon all the great seers, holy in their every act, as my assistants in this sacrifice. Then, free from all anxiety, you may perform your sacrifice.
4. “ ‘You shall ascend bodily to heaven and in the very form you now possess, the one created by your gurus’ curse.
5. “ ‘Lord of men, I feel that heaven is already within your grasp, for you have come to me, a Kauśika, for refuge, and I can well provide it.’
6. “ ‘After speaking in this fashion, the mighty man gave instructions to his wise and righteous sons concerning the preparations for the sacrifice.
- 7-8. “ ‘Then he summoned all his disciples and addressed them in these words, ‘My sons, on my authority you are to bring all truly learned men, the foremost of the seers, with their disciples and officiating priests—all those who are friendly to us.
9. “ ‘And should anyone, provoked by the force of my words, say anything in disrespect, you are to report to me the whole of his speech, omitting nothing.’
10. “ ‘Hearing these words and following his instructions, they dispersed in all directions. And so it was that vedic scholars came there from all parts of the country.
11. “ ‘All his disciples then rejoined that blazingly splendid sage and reported to him what all the vedic scholars had said:
12. “ ‘Hearing your proclamation, brahmans are gathering in every part of the country; all of them are coming but Mahodaya.
13. “ ‘But listen, bull among sages, to all the words, their syllables slurred with anger, of Vasiṣṭha’s hundred sons:
14. “ ‘ “How can the gods and seers in a sacrificial assembly partake of the offerings of a man whose sacrificial priest is a kshatriya, especially when he himself is a pariah?
15. “ ‘ “Or is the patronage of this Viśvāmitra sufficient to insure that the great brahmans will go to heaven even after having eaten a pariah’s food?”



16. “ ‘Such were the contemptuous words, tiger among sages, uttered with reddened eyes by Mahodaya and all Vasiṣṭha’s sons.’

17. “ ‘When the bull among sages heard these words, his own eyes grew red with rage, and he spoke in anger:

18. “ ‘Since they revile me, who am not to be reviled, engaged as I am in fierce austerities, these vile creatures will without doubt be reduced to ashes.

19. “ ‘Today Kāla’s noose has led them to the abode of Vaivasvata, lord of death. May they all become keepers of the dead for seven hundred lifetimes.

20. “ ‘May they wander through the world as Muṣṭikas, vile outcasts, hideous to look upon and loathsome in their occupation, their daily food the flesh of dogs.

21. “ ‘The evil-minded Mahodaya, too, reviles me who am not to be reviled. Let him become a tribesman of the Niṣādas, reviled among all peoples.

22. “ ‘Pitiless, intent upon destroying life, for angering me he shall drag out a long and miserable life.’

23. “ ‘Having uttered these words in the midst of the seers, the great sage Viśvāmitra, a mighty ascetic, fell silent.”

The end of the fifty-eighth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 59*

1. “ ‘After mighty Viśvāmitra had ruined Mahodaya and the sons of Vasiṣṭha through the power of his austerity, he spoke in the midst of the seers:

2. “ ‘Here stands Triśaṅku, a pious and generous heir of Ikṣvāku. Because he wishes to enter the world of the gods in this body of his, he has had to seek refuge with me.

3. “ ‘Gentlemen, let us offer a sacrifice such that he may ascend to the world of the gods in his own body.’

4. “ ‘Hearing Viśvāmitra’s words, all the great seers, who knew what was right, assembled and spoke together in keeping with righteousness:

5. “ ‘This sage, the heir of Kuśika, is extremely irritable. There can be no doubt but that we must do whatever he commands and do it properly.

6. “ ‘For the holy man is like fire. If angered, he will surely curse us. So let the sacrifice commence that Ikṣvāku’s heir may go to heaven in his body through Viśvāmitra’s power.’

7. “Then crying, ‘Let the sacrifice commence,’ they all took part in it.

8. “When the great seers had spoken in this fashion, they performed the various ritual acts. But the principal officiant of that sacrifice was the mighty Viśvāmitra himself.

9. “The officiating priests, skilled in vedic recitation, performed every rite to the accompaniment of vedic chants in due order and according to the rules and ritual injunctions.

10. “Then, after a long time, the great ascetic Viśvāmitra summoned the gods to come for their portions.

11. “But although they were summoned to come for their portions, not one of the gods came.

12. “The great sage Viśvāmitra was filled with rage. Angrily raising a sacrificial ladle, he said this to Triśaṅku, ‘Lord of men, behold the power of my slowly garnered austerity.

13. “ ‘Through this immense power, I shall now conduct you bodily to heaven. Rise bodily to heaven, lord of men, hard though it may be.

14. “ ‘For I have garnered for myself some small fruit of my austerity, and through the power of that, your majesty, you shall rise bodily to heaven.’

15. “No sooner had the sage spoken these words, Kākutstha, than the lord of men ascended bodily to heaven before the very eyes of the sages.

16. “Now when Indra, the chastiser of Pāka, saw that Triśaṅku had arrived in the world of the gods, he and all the hosts of gods said this:

17. “ ‘Go back, Triśaṅku. There is no place for you in heaven. Fool, you have been ruined by the curse of your guru. Fall headfirst back to earth!’



18. "Addressed in this fashion by the great lord Indra, Triśaṅku fell back again, crying out to the ascetic Viśvāmitra, 'Save me!'

19. "Kauśika heard him crying out. Displaying his fierce anger, he called out, 'Stop! Stop!'

20-21. "Then, standing among the seers, beside himself with rage, the renowned and mighty sage created a whole new set of constellations in the south like a second Brahmā, lord of creatures, creating another 'Seven Seers' in the southern portion of the sky.

22. "When he had created this new set of constellations, he spoke, choking with rage, 'I will create another Indra, or perhaps the world should be without an Indra.' And in his wrath he began to create even gods.

23. "At this the bulls among gods and the hosts of seers became thoroughly alarmed and spoke soothing words to great Viśvāmitra:

24. " 'Illustrious ascetic, this king has been ruined by his gurus' curse; he is not worthy of bodily entering heaven.'

25. "Now when the bull among sages, Kauśika, heard those words of the gods, he spoke grave words to them in reply:

26. " 'Bless you, I made a solemn promise to King Triśaṅku that he should ascend to heaven bodily; I dare not make it false.

27. " 'Triśaṅku in his bodily form shall remain in heaven forever. And all my constellations shall endure.

28. " 'Yes, all these things that I created shall last as long as the worlds endure. You must all agree to this, o gods.'

29. "Addressed in this fashion, all the gods replied to the bull among sages:

30-31. " 'So be it, bless you. Let all your many constellations remain in the sky outside the circuit of the sun, who shines on all men. And, best of sages, let Triśaṅku, blazing brightly and looking like a god, remain head downwards, one among those shining stars.'

32. "Then, praised by all the gods and seers, the righteous and mighty Viśvāmitra replied, 'Very well.'

33. "And so, best of men, at the end of the sacrifice, the gods and great ascetic sages departed just as they had come."

The end of the fifty-ninth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 60*

1. "When the great Viśvāmitra saw that the seers had departed, tiger among men, he spoke to all the forest dwellers:
2. " 'Since this great obstacle arose here in the southern region, we shall go to some other region and practice our austerities there.
3. " 'Great men, let us go and practice our austerities undisturbed at Puṣkara in the sparsely peopled west. That is the best of all ascetics' forests.'
4. "Having said this, the great and powerful sage performed severe and difficult austerities at Puṣkara, living on roots and fruit.
5. "Now just at that very time, the lord of Ayodhyā, a king known as Ambarīṣa, undertook a sacrifice.
6. "But while he was engaged in sacrifice, Indra carried off the sacrificial victim, and since the victim was lost, the priest said to the king:
7. " 'Your majesty, today, through your carelessness, the sacrificial victim has been stolen. Lord of men, such lapses destroy a king who does not guard against them.
8. " 'Bull among men, there is only one way to expiate this lapse, and it is a very serious one indeed. Quickly, while the rite is still in progress, you must either recover the victim, or replace it with a man.'
9. "Hearing the words of his preceptor, bull among men, the wise king sought to find a victim in exchange for thousands of cows.
- 10-11. "Now it happened, delight of the Raghus, my son, that in searching regions, countries, cities, forests, and holy ashrams, one after the other, the lord of the earth encountered Ṛcīka in Bhr̥gutaṇḍa, seated with his wife and sons.
12. "The mighty and immeasurably splendid royal seer prostrated himself, propitiating the brahman seer Ṛcīka, blazing with ascetic power. Then, after inquiring about his well-being in all respects, he said these words:
13. " 'If, illustrious Bhārgava, you will sell me your son for a hundred thousand cows to be my sacrificial victim, I will have accomplished my purpose.



14. “ ‘For I have wandered over every country and have still not found a victim suitable for sacrifice. So please give me one of your sons for a price.’

15. “Addressed in this fashion, mighty Ṛcīka said these words, ‘Best of men, I would not sell my eldest son for anything.’

16. “Hearing Ṛcīka’s words, the ascetic woman, mother of his great sons, spoke to Ambarīṣa, that tiger among men:

17. “ ‘Your majesty, you must realize that I too have a favorite, Śunaka, my youngest.

18. “ ‘For just as the eldest are usually dearest to their fathers, best of men, so are the youngest to their mothers. Therefore, I shall keep my youngest son.’

19. “Now, when the sage and his wife had spoken, Rāma, Sunaḥśepa, the middle son, spoke for himself:

20. “ ‘My father says that the eldest cannot be sold, and my mother says the same of the youngest. I gather that the middle son is sold. Lead me away, prince.’

21. “And so the lord of men departed, delight of the Raghus, delighted to have gotten Śunahśepa for a hundred thousand cows.

22. “Quickly placing Śunahśepa in his chariot, the renowned and mighty royal seer Ambarīṣa sped away.”

The end of the sixtieth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 61*

1. “Having taken Śunahśepa, delight of the Raghus, best of men, the renowned king stopped to rest at midday in Puṣkara.

2. “While the king was resting, the renowned Śunahśepa wandered over to the splendid Puṣkara lake, where he saw Viśvāmitra.

3. “His face downcast, miserable with thirst and fatigue, he fell into the sage’s lap, Rāma, crying:

4. “ ‘I have no mother and no father, nor kinsmen anywhere on either side. Kind sir, bull among sages, please save me, if it can be done with righteousness.

5-6. “ ‘For you are a saviour, best of sages, and a helper to all. With calm mind, protect me who have no protector, in such a way that the king may accomplish his purpose and I attain the heavenly world after a long and healthy life and the performance of unexcelled austerities. Righteous man, please save me from calamity as a father would a son.’

7. “Upon hearing his words, the great ascetic Viśvāmitra soothed him in various ways, then turned to his own sons and said:

8. “ ‘Fathers, seeking what is good, beget sons for the sake of their own welfare in the next world. The time for the accomplishment of that purpose is now at hand.

9. “ ‘This boy, the son of a sage, is seeking refuge with me. My sons, you must do him a favor at the cost of your lives.

10. “ ‘All of you have done your duties well and have made righteousness your highest goal. Now, as sacrificial victims of the lord of men, you shall glut the sacred fire.

11. “ ‘In this way Śunaḥśepa will have a protector, the sacrifice will be unimpeded, the gods will be satisfied, and my word proved true.’

12. “But, best of men, the sage’s sons, Madhuṣyanda and the rest, hearing his words, replied in arrogance and disrespect:

13. “ ‘How is it, lord, that you would abandon your own sons to save the son of another? We regard this as a forbidden act, like the eating of dog’s flesh.’

14. “When the bull among sages heard what his sons were saying, his eyes grew red with rage and he began to curse them:

15. “ ‘The dreadful and hair-raising words you mouth so brazenly, contradicting what I have said, are utterly to be censured from the standpoint of righteousness.

16. “ ‘You shall all dwell on earth for a full one thousand years as eaters of dog’s flesh, caste-fellows of Vasiṣṭha’s sons.’

17. “Then, when he had cursed his sons, the best of sages addressed afflicted Śunaḥśepa, providing him an infallible means of protection:

18. “ ‘When you are brought to Viṣṇu’s sacrificial post, bound with the sacred cords and adorned with red garlands and ointment, you must invoke Agni, god of fire, with sacred speech.



19. “ ‘Son of a sage, you must chant these two divine stanzas at Ambarīṣa’s sacrifice. Then you shall accomplish your purpose.’

20. “Śunaḥśepa mastered the two stanzas, with deep concentration. Then, hastening, he spoke to Ambarīṣa, lion among kings:

21. “ ‘Mighty lion among kings, let us go quickly to the place of sacrifice. Go back, lord of kings, and enter a state of consecration.’

22. “Upon hearing the words of the seer’s son, the king was filled with joyful anticipation and went swiftly but carefully to the sacrificial ground.

23. “There, with the consent of the officiating priests, the king had his victim marked with the sacred signs and clothed in red. Then he had him bound to the sacrificial post.

24. “But when he was bound, the son of the sage praised the two gods, Indra and Indra’s younger brother Viṣṇu, in the prescribed fashion with those excellent hymns.

25. “Thousand-eyed Indra was pleased and gratified by that secret hymn of praise, Rāghava, and he granted long life to Śunaḥśepa.

26. “As for the king, Rāma, best of men, he obtained manifold fruits from that sacrifice through the grace of thousand-eyed Indra.

27. “At last, best of men, the great ascetic, righteous Viśvāmitra, took up austerity for another thousand years at Puṣkara.”

The end of the sixty-first *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

## *Sarga 62*

1. “When the thousand years had passed and the great sage had bathed upon completion of his vow, all the gods approached him in their desire to grant him the fruit of his austerities.

2. “Mighty Brahmā spoke very pleasing words to him, ‘Bless you, through the holy activities in which you have engaged, you have become a seer.’

3. “Then, having spoken to him in this fashion, the lord of the gods returned to heaven. But mighty Viśvāmitra only plunged himself once more into profound austerity.

4. “Now, after a long time, best of men, Menakā, the most beautiful of the *apsarases*, came to bathe at Puṣkara.

5. "The mighty son of Kuśika saw Menakā there, unrivaled in beauty, like a streak of lightning in a rain cloud.
6. "The moment he saw her, the sage came under the spell of Kandarpa, god of love, and said this, 'Welcome, *apsaras*. Come and live here in my ashram. Bless you, please be gracious to me, for I am infatuated by Madana, the god of love.'
7. "Since he spoke to her in this manner, that exquisite woman made her home there, and in this way a great obstacle to austerities came to Viśvāmitra.
8. "And so ten years passed pleasantly, kind sir, while she was living in Viśvāmitra's ashram.
9. "But when that period had elapsed, the great sage Viśvāmitra was ashamed of himself and became prey to grief and anxiety.
10. "Soon an angry thought crossed the sage's mind, delight of the Raghus, 'All of this, this great theft of my ascetic power, is the work of the gods!
11. " 'Ten years have passed like a single day and night with me a victim of love's infatuation. Truly an obstacle has come to me.'
12. "Sighing, the eminent sage was made miserable by regret.
13. "Still, seeing the frightened *apsaras* trembling, her hands cupped in a gesture of homage, Viśvāmitra, the son of Kuśika, dismissed her with gentle words, Rāma, and went to the northern mountains.
14. "Determined to succeed, that renowned sage made a supreme resolution, and coming to the banks of the Kauśikī River, he engaged in truly dreadful austerities.
15. "After he had been engaged in such dreadful austerity for a thousand years on the northern mountains, the gods became alarmed.
16. "So all the gods and hosts of seers assembled and took counsel together, saying, 'Very well! Let the son of Kuśika receive the title "great seer." '
17. "Hearing those words of the gods, Brahmā, the grandfather of all the worlds, spoke sweet words to the ascetic Viśvāmitra:
18. " 'Hail, great seer. Kauśika, my son, I am pleased by your fierce austerity. I grant you greatness and preeminence among seers.'
19. "But when the ascetic Viśvāmitra heard Grandfather Brahmā's speech, he bowed, cupping his hands in reverence, and replied:



20. “ ‘If, holy one, because of the holy actions I have performed, you had addressed me by the unequaled designation “brahman seer,” then I would have been shown to have truly conquered my senses.’

21. “But Brahmā merely answered, ‘So far you have not conquered your senses. Exert yourself!’ Having said this, he returned to heaven.

22. “Therefore, when the gods had departed, the great sage Viśvāmitra continued his austerities, standing unsupported, his arms raised, his only food the air.

23. “In summer the ascetic kept the five fires, during the rains he lived outdoors, and in the wintertime he stood in water day and night.

24. “In this fashion he practiced the most dreadful austerities for a thousand years.

25. “Now when the great sage Viśvāmitra adopted these austerities, Vāsava and the gods were greatly alarmed.

26. “Śakra and all the Marut hosts spoke to the *apsaras* Rambhā in words to their advantage and to the disadvantage of Kauśika.”

The end of the sixty-second *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyana*.

### *Sarga 63*

1. “ ‘Rambhā, there is an important task you must undertake on behalf of the gods. You must seduce Kauśika by infatuating him with love for you.’

2. “But, Rāma, the *apsaras* was dismayed at being addressed in this fashion by thousand-eyed Indra, wise lord of the gods. Cupping her hands in reverence, she replied:

3. “ ‘Lord of the gods, the great sage Viśvāmitra is terrible. He will unquestionably unleash his dreadful wrath on me. O god, I am afraid. Be merciful.’

4. “But, though she stood there trembling, her hands cupped in reverence, thousand-eyed Indra merely replied, ‘Have no fear, Rambhā. Now please carry out my instructions.’

5. “ ‘For I shall take a cuckoo’s form to captivate his heart. Then, when spring has come and trees are at their loveliest, I’ll stand beside you with Kandarpa, god of love.

6. “ ‘Rambhā, you must put on your most beautiful and radiant form and distract the ascetic seer Kauśika.’

7. “Hearing his words, that seductive woman made herself surpassingly beautiful, and with an enchanting smile, she set out to seduce Viśvāmitra.

8. “He heard the sound of the cuckoo singing sweetly, and his heart was delighted when he saw her.

9. “But the sight of Rambhā and the sound of her incomparable singing aroused suspicion in the sage.

10. “He recognized it all as the work of thousand-eyed Indra and overcome by anger, the son of Kuśika, bull among sages, cursed Rambhā:

11. “ ‘Unfortunate Rambhā, since you would seduce me, who seek to conquer lust and anger, you shall be turned to stone for ten thousand years.

12. “ ‘You have been defiled by my wrath, Rambhā. But you shall be saved by a mighty brahman with great ascetic power.’

13. “But as soon as the great sage, mighty Viśvāmitra, had uttered these words, he regretted it. For he had been unable to control his anger.

14. “Nonetheless, through the force of his dreadful curse, Rambhā turned, then and there, to stone. But Indra and Kandarpa, hearing the great seer’s words, slipped away.

15. “Now that the mighty sage, his senses yet unmastered, had wasted his austerity through anger, Rāma, he found no peace of mind.”

The end of the sixty-third *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.



### *Sarga 64*

1. "After this, Rāma, the great sage abandoned the region of the Himalayas and went to the East, where he performed truly dreadful austerities.
2. "He undertook the unsurpassed vow of a thousand-year silence, Rāma, performing unparalleled and virtually impossible austerities.
3. "And, when the thousand years had passed, the great sage, who had been tested by many distractions, had become just like a piece of wood, and anger could no longer seize him in its grip.
4. "His splendor stupefied the gods, *gandharvas*, serpents, *asuras*, and *rākṣasas*. His ascetic power dimmed their innate luster. In great dejection, they all spoke to Grandfather Brahmā:
5. " 'O god, we have seduced and angered the great sage Viśvāmitra in many ways, yet still he increases in ascetic power.
6. " 'No sin at all, not even a minute one, is to be found in him. If he is not granted what his heart desires, then, with his ascetic power, he will destroy the three worlds with their moving and unmoving contents. Already all directions are clouded and nothing can be seen.
7. " 'All the oceans are agitated and the mountains are crumbling. The earth trembles and the wind blows wildly.
8. " 'O god, we must propitiate that holy sage, blazing with great splendor like a fire, lest he set his mind upon destruction.
9. " 'The three worlds are aflame, just as they were long ago with the fire that ends the world. Grant him whatever he wants, even the kingdom of the gods.'
10. "Then the host of the gods, Grandfather Brahmā at their head, spoke sweet words to great Viśvāmitra:
11. " 'Hail, brahman seer! We are well satisfied with your austerities. Kauśika, through your fierce austerities, you have become a brahman.
12. " 'The Marut hosts and I now grant you long life, brahman. Bless you, attain happiness. You may go now, kind sir, just as you please.'

13. "The great sage was delighted to hear these words of Grandfather Brahmā and all the gods. Prostrating himself, he spoke:

14. " 'If I have really gained the status of a brahman and long life, let the sacred syllables 'om' and 'vaṣaṭ' and the *vedas* be fully revealed to me.

15. " 'And, o gods, Vasiṣṭha, son of Brahmā, foremost among those who know the *vedas* of the kshatriyas and brahmans, must himself address me by this title. If this, my greatest wish, is granted, then, bulls among gods, you may depart.'

16. "And so the gods propitiated Vasiṣṭha, foremost in vedic recitation. Then, saying, 'So be it,' the brahman befriended him.

17. "He told him, 'You are a brahman seer. There can be no doubt of it. Everything has turned out well for you.' Then when he had spoken in this fashion, all the gods departed as they had come.

18. "But righteous Viśvāmitra, having at last attained the unsurpassed status of a brahman, paid homage to Vasiṣṭha, foremost in vedic recitation.

19. "When he had thus accomplished his desire, he wandered over the entire earth, unwavering in his austerities. And that, Rāma, is how this great man attained the status of a brahman.

20. "Rāma, he is the greatest of sages. He is austerity incarnate. He is always the highest authority and the ultimate resort of power."

21. When Janaka had heard Śatānanda's tale there in the presence of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, he cupped his hands in reverence and addressed the son of Kuśika:

22. "I am fortunate and grateful, righteous bull among sages, that you have come to my sacrifice with the Kākutsthas.

23. "I am purified by you, brahman, by the very sight of you, great sage. Just meeting you enriches me with manifold blessings.

24. "Mighty brahman, the great Rāma and I have heard about your great austerities recounted here at length.

25. "The officiants assembled at our sacrificial session, too, have heard about your many virtues.

26. "Your austerity and might are both immeasurable. Truly, son of Kuśika, your virtues are immeasurable forever.



27. "Never would I tire of hearing the wonderful stories about you, lord, but best of sages, the round sun is sinking low, and it is time for the sacrifice to begin.

28. "Please come to see me once again tomorrow morning, mighty man. I bid you welcome, best of ascetics. Now please excuse me."

29. When Vaideha, lord of Mithilā, surrounded by his preceptors and kinsmen, had spoken in this fashion to the best of sages, he quickly circled him in reverence.

30. Then righteous Viśvāmitra, revered by the great seers, went to his own quarters with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

The end of the sixty-fourth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 65*

1. In the clear dawn, Janaka, the lord of men, performed his ritual duties and summoned great Viśvāmitra and the two Rāghavas.

2. The righteous man paid homage to him and the two Rāghavas with rites set down in the traditional texts and then spoke:

3. "Welcome to you, holy one. What can I do for you, sinless man? Command me, sir, for I am yours to command."

4. Addressed in this fashion by great Janaka, the righteous sage, skilled in speech, said these words to that hero:

5. "These two kshatriyas are the world-renowned sons of Daśaratha. They wish to see that best of bows you have in your possession.

6. "Please show it to them, and when they have once attained their desire by seeing the bow, the princes will return home as they please."

7. Addressed in this fashion, Janaka replied to the great sage, "You must first learn the purpose for which the bow is here.

8. "Holy man, there was once a king named Devarāta, sixth in descent from Nimi. Great Śiva left it as a trust in his hands.

9. "Long ago, at the time of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, the mighty Rudra bent this bow, and in his anger, spoke contemptuously to the gods:

10. “ ‘Since you failed to set aside a portion for me who desire a portion, o gods, I shall cut off your precious heads with this bow.’

11. “In despair, bull among sages, the gods all propitiated him, Bhava, the lord of gods, so that at length he was pleased with them.

12. “Filled with pleasure, he gave the bow to all the great gods.

13. “Lord, it was that very jewel of a bow belonging to the great god of gods that was given as a trust to our forebear.

14. “Now one time, as I was plowing a field, a girl sprang up behind my plow. I found her as I was clearing the field, and she is thus known by the name Sītā, furrow.

15. “Sprung from the earth, she has been raised as my daughter, and since she was not born from the womb, my daughter has been set apart as one for whom the only bride-price is great strength.

16. “Many kings have come, bull among sages, and asked for the hand of this girl who sprang from the earth and has been raised as my daughter.

17. “But, holy man, although all the rulers of the earth are asking for this girl, I have not given my daughter in marriage, reflecting that she is one whose bride-price is great strength.

18. “So all the kings assembled, bull among sages, and came to Mithilā eager to test their strength.

19. “Since they wished to test their strength, I offered them the bow. But they could not even grasp it, much less lift it.

20. “Now you must know, great sage, that when I saw these mighty kings had little strength, I rejected them all.

21. “But when the strength of the kings had been called into question, bull among sages, they all laid siege to Mithilā in great anger.

22. “Feeling themselves slighted, bull among sages, they were filled with great fury and harassed the city of Mithilā.

23. “By the time a full year had passed, all my resources were exhausted, best of sages, and I was truly miserable.

24. “Therefore, I propitiated all the hosts of gods with austerities, and since they were pleased with me, the gods gave me an army complete with the four divisions.



25. "Then those wicked kings, whose strength had been called into question, were broken. They fled with their ministers in all directions, stripped of their strength while being slaughtered.

26. "This, then, is the incomparably splendid bow, tiger among sages, firm in your vows. I shall show it to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

27. "And if, sage, Rāma, son of Daśaratha, can string this bow, I will give him my daughter, who was not born from the womb."

The end of the sixty-fifth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 66*

1. When the great sage Viśvāmitra had listened to King Janaka's words, he said to him, "Show Rāma the bow."

2. So King Janaka gave the order to his ministers, "Bring the celestial bow and see that it is perfumed and adorned with garlands."

3. Commanded by Janaka, the ministers entered the city and, placing the bow before them, came forth on the king's orders.

4. Five thousand tall and brawny men were hard-put to drag its eight-wheeled chest.

5. But when they brought the iron chest that held the bow, his counsellors addressed the godlike King Janaka:

6. "Your majesty, best of kings, lord of Mithilā, here is the great bow, worshiped by all the kings. If you wish it, it shall be seen."

7. Hearing their words, the king cupped his hands in reverence and spoke to great Viśvāmitra, Rāma, and Lakṣmaṇa:

8. "Here is the great bow, brahman, that the Janakas worship and the mighty kings were unable to string.

9-10. "All the hosts of gods, *asuras*, *rākṣasas*, and the foremost among the *gandharvas* and *yakṣas*, *kinnaras*, and great serpents are incapable of bending this bow, stringing it, fitting an arrow to it, drawing its string, or even lifting it. What chance is there then for men?

11. "Yes, bull among sages, it is the greatest of bows that has been brought. Illustrious sage, please show it to the two princes."

12. When righteous Viśvāmitra heard what Janaka said, he turned to Rāghava and said, "Rāma, my son, behold the bow."

13. Following the great seer's instructions, Rāma opened the chest in which the bow lay and regarding it closely, he spoke:

14. "Now, brahman, I shall touch this great bow with my hand. I shall attempt to lift and even string it."

15. "Very well," replied both king and sage. So following the sage's instructions, he easily grasped the bow in the middle.

16. Then, as though it were mere play to him, the righteous prince, the delight of the Raghus, strung the bow as thousands watched.

17. The mighty man affixed the bowstring and fitting an arrow to it, drew it back. But, in so doing, the best of men broke the bow in the middle.

18. There was a tremendous noise loud as a thunderclap, and a mighty trembling shook the earth, as if a mountain had been torn asunder.

19. Of all those men, only the great sage, the king, and the two Rāghavas remained standing; the rest fell, stunned by the noise.

20. When the people had come to their senses, the eloquent king, free from his anxiety, cupped his hands in reverence and addressed the bull among sages:

21. "Holy man, I have witnessed the might of Daśaratha's son Rāma. It is marvelous and inconceivable. I had no notion of it.

22. "With Rāma, Daśaratha's son, for her husband, my daughter Sītā will bring glory to the House of the Janakas.

23. "And so, Kauśika, my vow that great strength should be her only bride-price has been proven true. For my daughter Sītā, as dear to me as life itself, shall be given in marriage to Rāma.

24. "Bless you, Kauśika brahman, with your permission, my counsellors shall set out at once for Ayodhyā in swift chariots.

25. "With courteous words they shall bring the king to my city. And they shall tell him all about the betrothal of my daughter, whose only bride-price was strength.

26. "They shall also tell the king that the Kākutsthas are under the sage's protection. The king will be delighted. Now, let them go swiftly and bring him here."



27. "So be it," Kauśika replied. The righteous king then spoke to his counsellors, and when they had received their orders, he dispatched them to Ayodhyā.

The end of the sixty-sixth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 67*

1. Instructed by Janaka, his messengers spent three nights on the road and then entered the city of Ayodhyā, their horses exhausted.

2. In accordance with the orders of their king, the messengers entered the royal dwelling and saw the aged king, godlike Daśa-ratha.

3. Cupping their hands in reverence, restrained yet free from anxiety, they all spoke sweet words to the king:

4-5. "Great king, King Janaka of Mithilā, delight of his people, and his brahmans repeatedly inquire in sweet and affectionate words after the continuing well-being of you, your preceptors, priests, and attendants.

6. "And having thus made inquiry about your continuing well-being, Vaideha, the lord of Mithilā, with Kauśika's permission, addresses these words to you:

7. " 'You know my longstanding vow that my daughter's only bride-price shall be strength. You know, too, that the kings, lacking strength, have been made angry and hostile.

8. " 'Now your majesty, this very same daughter of mine has been won by your heroic son who chanced to come here following Viśvāmitra.

9. " 'For, your majesty, great king, the great Rāma has broken my celestial bow in the middle, before a vast assembly of the people.

10. " 'Therefore, I must give Sītā, whose only bride-price was strength, to this great man. Please permit this, for I wish to make good my vow.

11. " 'Come quickly, great king, with your preceptors, setting your family priest before you. Please come and see the two Rāghavas.

12. “ ‘Please make my happiness complete, lord of kings, for you too shall obtain happiness on account of your two sons.’ ”

13. Such was the sweet speech of the lord of Videha, sanctioned by both Viśvāmitra and Śatānanda.

14. When the king heard the messengers’ words, he was utterly delighted. Addressing Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva, and his other counsellors, he spoke:

15. “The increaser of Kausalyā’s joy is staying in Videha with his brother Lakṣmaṇa, under the protection of the son of Kuśika.

16. “Great Janaka has witnessed Kākutstha’s might, and he wishes to give Rāghava his daughter.

17. “If this news pleases you, then let us quickly go to great Janaka’s city. Let there be no delay.”

18. His counsellors and all the great seers replied, “Excellent.” At this the king was greatly delighted and said to them, “The journey will begin tomorrow.”

19. All the virtuous counsellors of Janaka, lord of men, were delighted. They spent the night there and were shown the greatest honor.

The end of the sixty-seventh *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 68*

1. When the night had passed, King Daśaratha, in great delight, addressed Sumantra in the presence of his preceptors and kinsmen:

2. “Have all the officers of the treasury go on ahead of us today with great wealth, all kinds of jewels, and an adequate guard.

3. “Then see to it that all four branches of the army set forth at once with fine palanquins and carriages the moment they get my orders.

4-5. “Also have the brahmans—Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva, Jābāli, Kāśyapa, long-lived Mārkaṇḍeya, and the seer Kātyāyana—go on ahead. Then have my chariot yoked so that no time will be lost, for the messengers are bidding me to make haste.”



6. So, in accordance with the orders of the lord of men, all four branches of the army followed behind the king, who traveled in the company of the seers.

7. After four days on the road, he reached Videha, and the majestic King Janaka, hearing of this, prepared a welcome.

8. When King Janaka met the aged King Daśaratha, protector of men, he was delighted and experienced great joy. The two most eminent of men conversed together and were filled with delight.

9. "Welcome, great king," said Janaka, "It is my good fortune that you have come, Rāghava. You shall experience great joy, on account of your two sons, for they have won it for you through their great strength."

10. "It is also my good fortune that the holy seer, mighty Vasiṣṭha, has come with all the foremost brahmans, like Indra of the hundred sacrifices with the gods.

11. "Through my good fortune, I have overcome all obstacles; my House has been honored by an alliance with the great Rāghavas, the mightiest of all.

12. "Best of men, lord of great kings, tomorrow morning, at the end of my sacrifice, please have this marriage, already approved by the seers, performed."

13. Hearing his words in the presence of the seers, the lord of men, foremost among the eloquent, replied to the lord of the earth:

14. "Long ago I learned that the receiver is dependent upon the giver. Since you know what is proper, we shall do just as you say."

15. When the lord of Videha heard that truthful man's most righteous and glorious words, he was moved to the highest wonder.

16. Then all the hosts of sages, mingling with one another, in great joy, passed the night happily.

17. And the king, having seen his sons, the two Rāghavas, was overjoyed. Then, well pleased and greatly honored by Janaka, he passed the night.

18. Mighty Janaka, gifted with insight, also passed the night after completing both his sacrifice and the rites for his two daughters, in accordance with traditional law.

The end of the sixty-eighth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 69*

1. In the morning, when eloquent Janaka had completed his ritual duties with the great seers, he spoke to Śatānanda, his household priest:

2-3. "My mighty and righteous younger brother Kuśadhvaṇa dwells in the lovely and sacred city of Sāṃkāśyā. Surrounded by a lofty palisade and washed by the river Ikṣumatī, it resembles the heavenly chariot Puṣpaka.

4. "I wish to see that mighty man, for I regard him as the protector of my sacrifice. He should share this pleasure with me."

5-6. Then, on the instructions of the lord of men, they went with swift horses to bring that tiger among men. And so, at the behest of the lord of men, Kuśadhvaṇa came like Viṣṇu at the behest of Indra.

7. When he had made obeisance to Śatānanda and the righteous king, great Janaka, he took counsel with the king, a lover of righteousness.

8-9. He took his place upon a celestial throne, splendid and worthy of a king, and then the two heroic and immeasurably mighty brothers dispatched Sudāmana, best of counsellors, saying, "Go quickly, lord of counsellors, and bring the invincible and immeasurably splendid Aikṣvāka with his sons and ministers."

10. Proceeding to the royal camp, he saw the dynast of the Raghus and, bowing his head in obeisance, he spoke:

11. "Heroic Lord of Ayodhyā, Vaideha the lord of Mithilā, is ready to see you, your preceptors, and your family priest."

12. When the king heard the words of that best of counsellors, he went with his kinsmen and the host of seers to where Janaka awaited him.

13. The king, the foremost among the eloquent, in the company of his counsellors, his preceptors, and his kinsmen, then addressed Vaideha:

14. "As you know, great king, the holy seer Vasiṣṭha is the divinity of the House of Ikṣvāku. He will speak for us in all matters.

15. "Now, with the permission of Viśvāmitra and in the presence of all the great seers, righteous Vasiṣṭha will recite my lineage in due sequence."



16. Daśaratha then fell silent, and the holy and eloquent seer Vasiṣṭha addressed these words to Vaideha and his family priest:

17. "Brahmā is eternal, everlasting, and imperishable; and his origins are unknowable. From him was born Marīci. Marīci's son was Kaśyapa.

18. "Vivasvant was born of Kaśyapa. And Manu, who was known as Vaivasvata, was, long ago, one of the lords of creatures. Manu's son was Ikṣvāku.

19. "This Ikṣvāku, you must know, was the first king of Ayodhyā. A son, the majestic Vikukṣi, was born to Ikṣvāku.

20. "Vikukṣi's son was the mighty and valorous Bāṇa. Bāṇa's son was the mighty and valorous Anaraṇya.

21. "From Anaraṇya was born Pṛthu. Triśaṅku was Pṛthu's son. Triśaṅku's son was the renowned Dhundhumāra.

22. "After Dhundhumāra came mighty Yuvanāśva, a great chariot warrior. Yuvanāśva's son was the majestic Māndhātṛ, lord of the earth.

23. "A son was born to Māndhātṛ, the majestic Susandhi. Susandhi had two sons, Dhruvasandhi and Prasenajit.

24. "Dhruvasandhi had a renowned son who was known as Bharata. After Bharata was born a mighty man named Asita.

25. "Then Sagara was born with poison. After Sagara came Asamañja and after Asamañja, Aṁśumant.

26. "Dilīpa was Aṁśumant's son, and Dilīpa's was Bhagīratha. After Bhagīratha came Kakutstha, and Kakutstha's son was Raghu.

27. "Raghu's son was mighty Pravṛddha, the man-eater. He came to be known as Kalmāṣapāda, and to him was born Śaṅkhaṇa.

28. "Sudarśana was Śaṅkhaṇa's son. After Sudarśana came Agnivarṇa. Agnivarṇa's son was Śīghraga. Śīghraga's son was Maru.

29. "After Maru came Praśuśruka and after Praśuśruka, Ambarīṣa. Ambarīṣa's son was Nahuṣa, lord of the earth.

30. "Nahuṣa's son was Yayāti. And to Yayāti was born Nabhāga. Nabhāga's son was Aja. To Aja was born Daśaratha, and it is to this Daśaratha that these two brothers, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, were born.

31-32. "Your majesty, the kings of the House of Ikṣvāku are heroic, righteous, truthful, and pure in lineage from their very beginning.

And this is the royal house in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were born. On their behalf I ask you for your two daughters. Best of men, please bestow these two worthy women upon these equally worthy men."

The end of the sixty-ninth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 70*

1. When he had finished speaking in this fashion, Janaka cupped his hands in reverence and replied, "Bless you, now if you please, you shall hear me recount the genealogy of our eminent House.
2. "For, best of sages, on the occasion of his daughter's betrothal, the scion of a noble line should fully recount his genealogy. Please listen, great sage.
3. "There was once a righteous king, the mightiest of men, named Nimi, renowned for his deeds in all three worlds.
4. "His son was named Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka, the first of that name. After Janaka was born Udāvasu.
5. "After Udāvasu was born the righteous Nandivardhana, and Nandivardhana's son was called Suketu.
6. "After Suketu, the righteous and mighty Devarāta was born. The royal-seer Devarāta had a son known as Bṛhadratha.
7. "Bṛhadratha had a son, the valorous hero Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra's son was the steadfast and truly valorous Sudhṛti.
8. "And Sudhṛti's son was the righteous, nay, the very righteous Dhṛṣṭaketu. The royal seer Dhṛṣṭaketu had a son named Haryaśva.
9. "Haryaśva's son was Maru. Maru's son was Pratīndhaka. Pratīndhaka's son was righteous King Kīrtiratha.
10. "Kīrtiratha's son was known as Devamīdha. Devamīdha's son was Vibudha, and Vibudha's was Mahīdhraka.
11. "Mahīdhraka's son was the mighty King Kīrtirāta. Mahāroman was born to the royal seer Kīrtirāta.
12. "Righteous Svarṇaroman was born to Mahāroman. Hrasvaroman was born to the royal seer Svarṇaroman.



13. "Two sons were born to that great man who knew the ways of righteousness. I am the elder, and the younger is my brother, the heroic Kuśadhvaṇa.

14. "My father, the lord of men, consecrated me, the elder, as king and leaving Kuśadhvaṇa in my care, retired to the forest.

15. "Ever since my aged father went to heaven, I have borne this burden in accordance with the ancient law and looked upon my godlike brother Kuśadhvaṇa with affection.

16. "Then, one time, the mighty king Sudhanvan came from Sāṃkāśya and laid siege to Mithilā.

17. "He sent me a message, saying, 'You must give me both Śiva's unsurpassed bow and your daughter, lotus-eyed Sītā.'

18. "Because I did not cede these to him, he engaged me in battle, brahman seer. But I killed the lord of men, Sudhanvan, as he faced me in combat.

19. "And, best of sages, since I had killed Sudhanvan, lord of men, I consecrated my heroic brother Kuśadhvaṇa as ruler of Sāṃkāśya.

20-22. "This is my younger brother, great sage; I am the elder. Now, bull among sages, with great pleasure I give away my two girls, Sītā to Rāma, bless you, and Ūrmilā to Lakṣmaṇa: my daughter Sītā, like a daughter of the gods, whose only bride-price was strength, and Ūrmilā, my second daughter. I say it three times so there can be no doubt. With great pleasure, delight of the Raghus, I give you these two girls.

23. "Your majesty, please have the tonsure ceremony performed for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Then, bless you, you may perform the rites of ancestor worship and the wedding itself.

24. "For it is now Maghā, great-armed lord. Your majesty, you may perform the marriage ceremony on Uttara Phalguni, three days from now. You should distribute gifts on behalf of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to insure their happiness."

The end of the seventieth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 71*

1. When the heroic King Vaideha had finished speaking, the great sage Viśvāmitra, seconded by Vasiṣṭha, responded:

2. "The Houses of the Ikṣvākus and the Videhas are beyond conception and beyond measure, bull among men. There is none to equal them.

3. "Your majesty, this lawful union of Sītā and Ūrmilā with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa is highly appropriate, the more so because of the perfection of their beauty.

4. "But now, best of men, hear the words which I feel bound to utter.

5-6. "Here is your brother King Kuśadhvaṇa, who knows the ways of righteousness. Your majesty, this righteous man has two daughters unrivaled on earth for beauty. Best of men, we ask you for them to be the wives of Prince Bharata and wise Śatrughna. We ask for your two daughters, your majesty, on behalf of these two great men.

7. "For all the sons of Daśaratha are endowed with beauty and youth, like the guardians of the world, and equal the gods in valor.

8. "Lord of kings, holy in your every deed, through this connection with the two of you, let your flawless House be joined to that of Ikṣvāku."

9. When Janaka heard Viśvāmitra's words, which had the approval of Vasiṣṭha, he cupped his hands in reverence and addressed both bulls among sages:

10. "Since you yourselves commend this as a fitting union of Houses, so be it. Bless you, let the inseparable Śatrughna and Bharata take the daughters of Kuśadhvaṇa to be their wives.

11. "Great sage, let all four mighty princes take the hands of the four princesses on the very same day.

12. "Brahman, the wise recommend that marriages take place on the second of the two days of Phalguṇa, when the god Bhaga presides as lord of creatures."

13. When King Janaka had uttered these agreeable words, he rose and cupping his hands in reverence, addressed the two eminent sages:



14. "You have discharged my highest duty for me. I shall be the disciple of both of you forever. Now let both of you, bulls among sages, be seated on these fine thrones.

15. "This city of mine is as much Daśaratha's as is Ayodhyā. Please have no doubts as to his authority here and act accordingly."

16. When Janaka Vaideha had spoken in this fashion, King Daśaratha, delight of the Raghus, was pleased and replied to the lord of the earth:

17. "You two brothers, the lords of Mithilā, have numberless virtues. You do great honor to the seers and the hosts of kings."

18. Then he said, "Bless you, attain happiness. I shall now return to my own quarters to perform all the rites for my departed ancestors."

19. Taking his leave of the lord of men, the renowned King Daśaratha then placed the two lordly sages before him and departed quickly.

20. Proceeding to his own quarters, the king performed the rites for his ancestors in accordance with the ritual injunctions, and rising the next morning, he performed a splendid tonsure ceremony as befitted the occasion.

21. The king, lord of men, in keeping with traditional practice, gave hundreds of thousands of cows to the brahmins on behalf of each of his sons.

22. In this way the bull among men gave away four hundred thousand milch cows with gilded horns, each with a calf and a milking vessel of fine brass.

23. And the delight of the Raghus, devoted to his sons, gave on the occasion of their tonsure ceremony much additional wealth to the brahmins.

24. Standing there surrounded by his sons after their tonsure ceremonies, the lord of men looked like the benevolent Brahmā, lord of creatures, surrounded by the guardians of the world.

The end of the seventy-first *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 72*

1-2. Now it happened that on the very day the king performed that lavish tonsure ceremony, the hero Yudhājit, son of the king of Kekaya and Bharata's maternal uncle, arrived. When he had seen the king and inquired about his well-being, he said this:

3. "The royal lord of Kekaya affectionately inquires after your well-being, adding that, 'Those whose well-being you have at heart are at present in good health.'

4. "Lord of kings, lord of the earth, I would like to see my sister's son. For that purpose, delight of the Raghus, I journeyed to Ayodhyā.

5. "But in Ayodhyā, lord of the earth, I heard that your sons had gone with you to Mithilā to be married. Therefore I came here in haste, eager to see my sister's son."

6. King Daśaratha, seeing that a cherished guest, one worthy of honor, had arrived, honored him with the utmost cordiality.

7. He passed the night in the company of his great sons, and then, placing the seers before him, proceeded to the sacrificial enclosure.

8. At the auspicious juncture called Vijaya, Rāma and his brothers, adorned with every ornament, stood before Vasiṣṭha and the other great seers and underwent the auspicious ceremony of the wedding thread.

9. Holy Vasiṣṭha then went to Vaideha and addressed him:

10. "Foremost of great men, your majesty, King Daśaratha and his sons have performed the auspicious ceremony of the wedding thread and are waiting for you to give away the brides.

11. "For all affairs are best transacted directly between the giver and receiver. Now carry through the splendid wedding ceremony and so fulfill your duty."

12. When great Vasiṣṭha had addressed him in this fashion, that noble and mighty man, knowing full well the ways of righteousness, replied:

13. "Which of my chamberlains is on duty? For whose orders are you waiting? My kingdom is yours! Why hesitate in your own house?

14. "Best of sages, my daughters have undergone the entire cer-



emony of the wedding thread. They have now approached the altar, where they shine like flames of the fire.

15. "I am ready. I am standing by the altar waiting for you. Let the king perform the ceremony without delay. What are we waiting for?"

16. When Daśaratha heard Janaka's words, he had his sons and all the hosts of seers enter the king's dwelling.

17. King Janaka then spoke to Rāma, Kausalyā's delight, "This daughter of mine, Sītā, shall be your lawful companion in life's duties. Accept her, bless you. Take her hand in yours."

18. "Come, Lakṣmaṇa. Bless you. Accept Ūrmilā whom I give you. Take her hand without delay."

19. After speaking in this fashion, Janaka addressed Bharata, saying, "Take Māṇḍavī's hand in yours, delight of the Raghus."

20. Then last, the righteous lord of the Janakas turned to Śatrughna saying, "Great-armed man, take Śrutakīrtī's hand in yours."

21. "All of you Kākutsthas are gentle and true to your vows; now take your wives without delay."

22. Hearing Janaka's words and securing the approval of Vasiṣṭha, the four men took the hands of the four women in their own.

23. Finally, in the company of their wives, the eminent Raghus reverently circled the fire, the altar, the king, and the great seers. Thus did they perform their marriage ceremony in the prescribed fashion according to the ritual injunctions.

24. Suddenly from the sky there fell a great and radiant shower of blossoms accompanied by the thundering of celestial drums and the sounds of singing and musical instruments.

25. Troops of *apsarases* danced at the wedding of the Raghu princes, and *gandharvas* sang sweetly. It was truly miraculous.

26. To music such as this—singing and the sound of blaring horns—those mighty men were wedded to their wives, stepping three times around the sacred fire.

27. At last the princes, delights of the Raghus, returned to their camp with their brides. And the king, with the host of his seers and kinsmen, followed, gazing after them.

The end of the seventy-second *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

*Sarga 73*

1. When the night had passed, the great sage Viśvāmitra took his leave of the two kings and departed for the mountains of the north.

2. Once Viśvāmitra had departed, King Daśaratha took his leave of Vaideha, lord of Mithilā, and quickly made ready to return to his own city.

3-4. But first the king of Videha, lord of Mithilā, gave his daughters lavish gifts, including many hundreds of thousands of cows, the finest blankets, and fine silk garments. He also gave them beautifully adorned and godlike troops, including elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers.

5. The father of the brides also gave them an unsurpassed complement of male and female servants, as well as much silver, gold, pearls, and coral.

6-9. With the greatest delight the king, lord of Mithilā, gave his daughters unsurpassed gifts. Then, having conferred enormous wealth upon them, he took his leave of Daśaratha, lord of the earth, and returned home to Mithilā. The king, lord of Ayodhyā, and his great sons, however, placed all the seers before them and departed with their army and attendants. But, as the tiger among men was proceeding on his way with the Rāghavas and his company of seers, birds shrieked dreadful cries at him from all sides, while all terrestrial beasts circled him reverently.

10. Observing this, the tiger among kings inquired of Vasiṣṭha, "The birds are savage and dreadful, and yet the beasts would seem to augur well. What is this that makes my heart tremble so? My thoughts are filled with misgiving."

11. When the great seer heard King Daśaratha's words, he replied in sweet words, "I shall tell you the meaning of this.

12. "That which has issued from the mouths of the birds in the sky signifies a terrible and imminent danger. But the beasts indicate that this danger will be averted. You need have no anxiety."

13. As they were discussing this, a sudden wind arose, shaking the whole earth and knocking down the lovely trees.

14. The sun was shrouded in darkness, and it was impossible to see in any direction. Everything was covered with ash; the entire army stood stupefied.



15. Only Vasiṣṭha and the other seers, the king, and his sons remained conscious. The rest fell senseless.

16-19. In the dreadful darkness, their whole army covered with ash, they saw a dreadful-looking man as unassailable as Mount Kailāsa and as irresistible as the fire that ends the world. Wearing a coil of matted hair, he was impossible for ordinary people to look upon, for he seemed to be blazing with some extraordinary energy. With his battle-axe slung over one shoulder and a bow—a streak of lightning it seemed—and mighty arrow in his hand, he seemed like Hara, destroyer of Tripura. Seeing this dreadful-looking man, blazing like fire, Vasiṣṭha and the other brahman sages, devoted to prayer and sacrifice, gathered together and discussed the matter among themselves.

20. “Surely he does not intend once more to exterminate the kshatriyas in his rage over his father’s murder. For long ago, when he had slaughtered the kshatriyas, he was freed from his anger and grief. Surely he does not mean to exterminate them again!”

21. When they had taken counsel in this fashion, the seers took welcome offerings and spoke sweet words to the dreadful Bhārgava, calling, “Rāma! Rāma!”

22. The valorous Rāma Jāmadagnya accepted the homage of the seers. Then he turned to Rāma Dāśarathi and spoke.

The end of the seventy-third *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 74*

1. “Mighty Rāma Dāśarathi, I have heard all about your extraordinary might and how you broke the bow.

2. “It is extraordinary, almost inconceivable, that you should have broken that bow; and so, when I heard about it, I came here with yet another splendid bow.

3. “Now show me how mighty you are. Put an arrow to this, Jāmadagni’s great bow, so dreadful to behold.

4. “If I see that you have strength enough to put an arrow to this bow, then I shall challenge you to single combat, which is praised by men of might.”

5. When King Daśaratha heard these words, his face fell. Filled with despair, he cupped his hands in reverence and spoke:

6. “Your wrath against the kshatriyas has now subsided, and you are a brahman of great renown. Please grant safe passage to my sons, for they are mere boys.

7. “You were born in the House of the Bhārgavas, ever engaged in vedic studies and holy vows. Moreover, you made a promise before thousand-eyed Indra and laid your weapons down.

8. “Concerned only with righteousness, you gave the earth to Kāśyapa and retired to the forest to make your home on Mount Mahendra.

9. “Great sage, you have come to destroy everything I have. For if Rāma is killed, none of us will survive.”

10. Despite the fact that Daśaratha was speaking in this fashion, the valiant Jāmadagnya paid no heed to his words, but spoke directly to Rāma:

11. “Viśvakarman, god of craft, skillfully wrought two divine bows—splendid, world famous, indestructible, and powerful.

12. “The one you broke, Kākutstha, best of men, was the bow that destroyed the three cities when the gods gave it to three-eyed Śiva, thirsting for battle.

13. “But, Kākutstha, the foremost of the gods gave this, the second of those invincible bows, as powerful as Rudra’s, to Viṣṇu.

14. “Then all the gods, in their desire to determine the relative strength of Viṣṇu and black-throated Śiva, questioned Grandfather Brahmā.

15. “Understanding the purpose of the gods, Grandfather Brahmā, most truthful of all, provoked a quarrel between the two.

16. “Out of that quarrel arose a great hair-raising battle between Viṣṇu and black-throated Śiva, each of whom desired to defeat the other.

17. “Then, by the syllable ‘*Hum*,’ Śiva’s awesomely powerful bow was unstrung, and the great three-eyed god himself was paralyzed.

18. “The gods who had assembled along with troops of seers and heavenly bards entreated the two greatest of gods so that they made peace.



19. “Seeing that Śiva’s bow had been unstrung by Viṣṇu’s valor, the gods and hosts of seers judged Viṣṇu to be the greater of the two.

20. “But the glorious Rudra was still angry and gave his bow and arrows into the hands of the royal seer Devarāta of Videha.

21. “But this, Rāma, is Viṣṇu’s bow, a conqueror of enemy citadels. Viṣṇu gave it as a sacred trust to the Bhārgava Ṛcīka.

22. “And mighty Ṛcīka gave the divine bow to his son, my father, the great Jamadagni, unrivaled in his deeds.

23. “But when my father had laid his weapons down and was armed only with the might of his austerities, Arjuna, acting on a base thought, brought about his death.

24. “In my rage at learning of the unparalleled and brutal murder of my father, I exterminated the kshatriyas—generation after generation, time and time again.

25-26. “Having thus conquered the whole earth, Rāma, I gave it as a fee to great Kāśyapa, holy in his deeds, at the end of a sacrifice. Then, as I was dwelling on Mount Mahendra, armed only with the might of my austerities, I heard about the breaking of the bow and came here as swiftly as I could.

27. “Rāma, here is Viṣṇu’s great bow, which belonged to my father and my grandfather before him. Now take it and follow the code of the kshatriyas.

28. “This arrow is a conqueror of enemy citadels. Affix it to this best of bows if you can, Kākutstha. Then I shall challenge you to single combat.”

The end of the seventy-fourth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

### *Sarga 75*

1. When Dāśarathi had heard the words of Rāma Jāmadagnya, he replied, tempering his response out of respect for his father:

2. “Bhārgava, I have heard about the feat you accomplished. We respect it, brahman, for you were only discharging your debt to your father.

3. "But Bhārgava, you regard me as if I were some weakling, incapable of discharging the duty of a kshatriya. Now you shall witness my strength and valor for yourself."

4. And so saying, Rāghava, with rapid stride, angrily snatched the superb weapon and the arrow from Bhārgava's hand. Stringing the bow, Rāma fixed the arrow to the string.

5. Then Rāma addressed Rāma Jāmadagnya in wrath:

6. "I owe you reverence both because you are a brahman and for the sake of Viśvāmitra. Therefore, Rāma, I cannot loose this deadly arrow upon you.

7. "However, I shall destroy either your retreat or the incomparable worlds you have won through the power of your austerity. The choice is yours.

8. "For the divine arrow of Viṣṇu, conquering enemy citadels and crushing with its power all pride in strength, never flies in vain."

9. Then the gods and hosts of seers put Grandfather Brahmā at their head and assembled there in their ranks to see Rāma holding that great weapon.

10. The *gandharvas*, *apsarases*, perfected beings, celestial bards, *kin-naras*, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, and great serpents also came to see that great marvel.

11. Then, as the world stood stunned and Rāma held the great bow, Rāma Jāmadagnya, robbed of his strength, stared at Rāma.

12. Jāmadagnya was stunned to feel his strength sapped by the power of lotus-eyed Rāma and spoke to him in a voice grown very faint:

13. "Long ago, when I gave the earth to Kāśyapa, he told me, 'You may not stay in my realm.'

14. "Therefore, Kākutstha, in obedience to my guru Kāśyapa's words, I made him this promise, 'Never again will I spend a night on earth.'

15. "Therefore, heroic Rāghava, please do not destroy my retreat. I shall go there with the speed of thought, to Mahendra, best of mountains.

16. "But with this great arrow, Rāma, you may destroy the incomparable worlds that I have won through my austerities. Let there be no delay.



17. "From the way you handle the bow, I know you to be Viṣṇu, lord of the gods, and imperishable slayer of Madhu. Hail, destroyer of your foes.

18. "All the hosts of gods assembled here bear witness that you are incomparable in your deeds and unrivaled in battle.

19. "And so, Kākutstha, I need not be ashamed of being bested by you, the lord of the three worlds.

20. "Rāma, you are true to your vows; you must loose this incomparable arrow. Once the arrow is released, I shall depart for Mahendra, best of mountains."

21. And so, when Rāma Jāmadagnya had finished speaking, the majestic and valorous Rāma Dāśarathi released the great arrow.

22. At once all the cardinal and intermediate directions were freed from darkness, and Rāma, still holding his weapon aloft, was praised by the gods and hosts of seers.

23. Lord Rāma Jāmadagnya then praised Rāma Dāśarathi and after circling him reverently, went back to his retreat.

The end of the seventy-fifth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyana*.

### *Sarga 76*

1. After Rāma had gone, Rāma Dāśarathi, calm once more, gave the bow and arrow into the hands of immeasurable Varuṇa.

2. Then, Rāma, delight of the Raghus, made obeisance to Vasiṣṭha and the other seers. Turning to his dazed father, he spoke:

3. "Rāma Jāmadagnya is gone. Let the four divisions of the army proceed toward Ayodhyā, under the protection of you, its lord."

4. When King Daśaratha heard Rāma's words, he took his son Rāghava in his arms and kissed him on the head.

5. The king was overjoyed to hear the words "Rāma is gone," and in his delight he urged his army on and soon reached his city.

6-7. It was lovely as the king entered it, adorned with flags and pennants on staffs and echoing with the sound of musical instruments and song. Its royal highways were sprinkled with water, and

it was beautiful with bouquets of flowers scattered everywhere. It was adorned with throngs of people, jammed with townspeople crying out blessings, their faces gladdened at the entrance of the king.

8. Kausalyā, Sumitrā, fair-waisted Kaikeyī, and the king's other wives busied themselves with receiving the brides.

9. The king's wives welcomed illustrious, Sītā, renowned Ūrmilā, and the two daughters of Kuśadhvaja.

10. Clad in silken garments and greeted with blessings, they went at once to worship at the shrines of the gods.

11. Then, once they had made obeisance to everyone worthy of it, all the princesses in great delight made love with their husbands in their private chambers.

12. Having thus acquired wives and divine weapons, those bulls among men, surrounded by wealth and friends, passed their days in the service of their father.

13. But the world-renowned and truly valorous Rāma surpassed them all in virtue, as self-existent Brahmā surpasses all beings.

14. And so Rāma passed many seasons with Sītā, devoted to her and absorbed in her. And she kept him ever in her heart.

15. Sītā was naturally dear to Rāma, for she was the wife his father gave him. Yet because of her virtue and beauty, his love grew greater still.

16. And yet in her heart she cherished her husband twice as much. Even their innermost hearts spoke clearly one to the other.

17. But even so, Maithilī, Janaka's daughter, lovely as a goddess and beautiful even as Śrī, goddess of beauty, knew his innermost heart especially well.

18. In the company of that lovely and noble princess who loved him so dearly, Rāma, son of a royal seer, was as well adorned as is lord Viṣṇu, lord of the immortal gods, by Śrī, goddess of beauty.

The end of the seventy-sixth *sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa*.

The end of the *Bālakāṇḍa*.



# NOTES

## Sarga 1

Virtually all manuscripts, with the notable exception of the vulgate (Dt), have several verses prior to the first verse of the crit. ed. in praise of Rāma, Hanumān, and especially Vālmīki. The verses are of the nature of later Vaiṣṇava *stotras* and certainly do not belong to the oldest stratum of the text. The crit. notes, p. 424, tell us that these have been omitted from the crit. ed. on the grounds that they are "not written by Vālmīki." But many passages of the constituted text, such as the Vaiṣṇava hymn at 6.105, are of this character and are retained on textual grounds, despite the unlikelihood of their having been composed by Vālmīki himself. Indeed, as we have argued in the Introduction, a goal of a critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* cannot be the recovery of the actual text of the poet. Therefore, these initial verses have been rejected on the grounds of higher criticism against the stated principles of scientific textual criticism adopted by the editors, whose spokesman, Bhatt, specifically denounced this sort of criticism during the early stages of preparing the critical edition (see Bhatt 1960, p. xxxiv). Many of the manuscripts have closely related verses that should be included in the crit. ed. The verses in question in all likelihood, belong to an early version of the poem and, judging by their popularity, are seen as an important part of it.

The decision as to just which verses should be accepted is not so easily made. The readings of N and S are divergent here, and the manuscripts within each of these recensions display many variants. Applying the principles of text criticism as set forth in the introduction to the first volume (p. xxxiv), it would seem most likely that verses 3\*, 4\*, 5\*, and 6\* should precede the first verse of our text. This is the most popular and consistent S reading. Verses 20\*, 42\*, 21\*, 22\*, 14\*, and 15\* are also popular S readings but have not been included, since they have inadequate support in the Devanāgarī manuscripts and lack a clear parallel in N. The distribution of 1\* and 2\* in N seems to indicate that these verses are a substituted passage for S's 3\*-6\*. Because of the great variety and divergence among the texts, however, even the southern reading should, in our opinion, be regarded with considerable suspicion. See Peterson 1879, p. 1, who quotes Schlegel's view on these introductory stanzas. It is interesting that the only textual tradition that consistently excises these verses is Dt, or the text of the southern commentators. The commentators of the vulgate know the verses, but use them as invocatory stanzas to their own commentaries rather than to the poem itself. Cr, discussing Vālmīki's patronymic, Prācetasā, in reference to 1.1, remarks that verse 5 (and so, by implication, the others) is *lavakusoktiḥ*, "the words of Lava and Kuśa," indicating, it would seem, that the prefatory stanzas were not regarded as part of Vālmīki's composition, but were thought to form part of the version recited by the rhapsodists. Verses 3\*-6\*, which we find to have the best textual support of this prefatory material, have, with a number of the others, become quite popular in the sectarian tradition and are often recited at the beginning of even vernacular discourses on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Some of them have a considerable charm. Their translation is as follows:

3\*. I praise the cuckoo, Vālmīki, who sits upon the highest branch of the tree of poetry, sweetly warbling the sweet syllables, "Rāma, Rāma."

4\*. For who, upon hearing the droning tale of Rāma told by that bee among sages, Vālmīki, a wanderer in the woodlands of poetry, would not attain the highest bliss?



5\*. Thus I praise that sage, Pracetas' equal in might, who, though he drinks forever the nectar of the tale of Rāma in this world, is never sated with it.

6\*. And I praise the Wind's son, Hanumān, that jewel in the great necklace of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for whom the mighty ocean was a mere puddle and Rāvaṇa himself no greater than a fly.

This first *sarga* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is commonly known as the *Samkṣipta*, or condensed, *Rāmāyaṇa* and discussed at some length in the Introduction.

1. Owing to the great importance attached in the Indian tradition to the beginnings of texts, the first verse of the commentators' text, which is also the first verse of the crit. ed., has been invested with a significance far exceeding that of its apparent content. The sectarian commentators see in each of its words cryptic references to the poem's theological import. They apply their enormous learning and considerable ingenuity to bringing out the sectarian significance in apparently straightforward names and adjectives. Thus, for example, Ct and Cr explain the name of the sage Nārada in terms of an etymology provided in the *Nāradiya Purāṇa*, whereby it is seen as a compound meaning "destroyer of ignorance" (*nāram ajñānam, tad dyati*—Ct, Cr). The significance of this name, according to Cr, is that the sage dispels human nescience by making known the story of the lord of Sāketa (Rāma). Similarly, Cr interprets the term *tapasvādhyāyaniratam*, "devoted to asceticism and vedic study," in various ways. At first he takes the term *tapas* simply to mean knowledge and the word *svādhyāya* to mean the *vedas*, particularly the upaniṣadic texts. Subsequently, however, he analyzes the compound differently, taking it as *tapas* plus *sū* plus *adhyāya*, where *tapas* means the *vedas*, *sū* signifies the source of these texts, or the god Brahmā, and *adhyāya* means longing recollection. In this way the word suggests to the pious longing for Brahmā. By further manipulation of this sort, involving derivation of the same word from various verbal roots, the pious scholiast is able to argue that the compound has been used in order to make us understand the supremacy of the great gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. The commentaries abound in such interpretations, especially in connection with verses thought to have some special significance by virtue of their placement or some other criterion. In general, we regard such exegeses as interesting for the light they shed on the workings of the commentarial mind in traditional India and on the Vaiṣṇava theology of the Rāma cult. They do not, in our opinion, often elucidate the epic text itself. Except for these examples and a few cases (for example, the notes on 1.2.14) where the traditional interpretations are of unusual interest, we have ignored this hermeneutic approach both in the translation and the notes.

Several of the commentators evince considerable interest in the name Vālmīki and the light that it sheds on the poet-sage's origins and family affiliation. They are especially eager to show that there is no contradiction to be found among the three apparently patronymic epithets that the first and seventh books of the epic apply to the sage, Vālmīki, Bhārgava, and Prācetas. For a discussion of the problem of Vālmīki's affiliation, see Goldman 1976, pp. 97-101.

In the N manuscripts, all the adjectives in the verse refer to Vālmīki rather than Nārada. The crit. notes (p. 424) are probably correct in their opinion that this is inappropriate, given the relative status of the two figures, and that the S manuscripts seem to represent the older reading.

For additional discussions of this verse, see crit. notes, pp. 424-25 and Bhandare notes, pp. 1-2.

2. "today" *sāṃpratam*: This is marked in the crit. ed. as a doubtful reading, although the reason is not clear. The N manuscripts read *prathitah*, "famous," but there does not appear to be the irresolvable intrarecensional difference that Bhatt sets down as the justification for the use of the wavy line; see Bhatt 1960, p. xxxiv. The critical reading makes Vālmiki a contemporary of Rāma. N is not, despite Bhatt's note (p. 425), an "improvement" over the reading of S. The case demonstrates the crit. ed.'s recurrent failure to follow the principles upon which it is predicated.

4. After 4 (or 4ab—D2), Ś,Ñ2,V,B,D2,3,5,7,9-13,M4 insert 4 lines [49\*] that extend Vālmiki's question in a similar vein.

8. Rāma: This is the first mention of the name of the epic's hero, and the commentators again comment upon it at length, providing dozens of derivations for the name, ranging from such popular etymologies as the root *ram*, "to take pleasure" ("He who delights all creatures through his virtues" [Cg]), to elaborate discussions, based on the various monosyllabic and disyllabic words that the scholiasts (especially Cr) can find, after the manner of the *Ekākṣarakośa*, in the name and charge with theological significance. The first and most common of these derivations is included in the text of several N manuscripts. See 52\* (misnumbered in the apparatus) after verse 18b.

Compare the catalog of Rāma's virtues with that given at 2.1.

9. "His neck is like a conch shell" *kambugrīvaḥ*: The comparison to the shell is based, according to Cr and Cg, upon the presence of three lines, or, apparently, folds of flesh. See Bhandare 1920, p. 5.

10. "collarbone is set deep in muscle" *gūḍhajatruḥ*: The phrase is awkward in English. The compound reads literally, "whose collarbone is hidden." The commentators generally understand this to mean something like "collarbones hidden because of fleshiness," *gūḍhe māṃsalatvenāprakāśe jatrunī* (Cg), and we have followed them. The idea is that his chest is muscular. See verse 11 below.

11. "Dark is his complexion" *snigdhavarnḥ*: As with so many of the epithets found in the epic, the visual reference of this adjective is unclear. *Snigdha*, literally "oily," can be understood either as "dark" or as "soft, smooth." The commentators, themselves indecisive, mention both. However, since Rāma, like Kṛṣṇa, is traditionally depicted in iconography and paintings as dark-complexioned, it seems reasonable, unless we see this tradition as deriving from a later misreading of the term, that this is the intent here. For a discussion of the complexion of Rāma and its traditional contrast with that of Lakṣmaṇa, see Goldman 1980, pp. 153-54 and note 21.

13. "subsidiary sciences" *vedāṅga*—: This is a collective term for the six areas of learning that were considered necessary for the pronunciation and interpretation of the *vedas* and for the proper employment of the various sacrificial formulae. The six are *śikṣā*, "pronunciation"; *chandas*, "prosody"; *vyākaraṇa*, "grammar"; *nirukta*, "etymology"; *jyotiṣa*, "astronomy"; and *kalpa*, "ritual."

15. "equable in all circumstances" *sarvasamaḥ*: Ct understands this in two ways: "equal in his treatment of all men" or "unmoved by pleasure or pain." We have attempted to preserve the ambiguity.

16. "The delight of his mother Kausalyā" *kausalyānandavardhanaḥ*: The phrase is a stock epithet, "the increaser of the joy of Kausalyā."

17. "as mighty as Viṣṇu" *viṣṇunā sadṛśaḥ*: The fact that Rāma is compared to Viṣṇu in this verse is often cited as proof that the author of this section of the epic did not recognize Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Despite the arguments of Peterson 1879, p. 2, and Bhandare 1920, p. 7, the reference is suggestive rather than decisive.



The Vaiṣṇava commentators discuss this reference at length. See crit. notes, p. 426.

“fire at the end of time” *kālāgni*—: The reference is to the destruction of the universe that occurs at the end of the *kalpa* age (approximately 432 million years). The epic poets frequently use this fire in rhetorical figures to suggest enormous destructive power. Cf. 1.54.28, 1.55.19, and 1.64.9 below.

19. This begins the abbreviated story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. For a discussion of its contents and their significance for our understanding of the textual history of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, see the Introduction. Numbers in square brackets below indicate the passages in the body of the crit. ed. that are alluded to in Nārada’s synopsis of the epic tale.

“wished to appoint . . . Rāma . . . as prince regent” [2.2].

20. “preparations for the consecration” [2.3-6]; “Kaikeyī, who had . . . been granted a boon; [2.9.4-26, 2.10].

21. “Daśaratha was caught in the trap of his own righteousness” [2.12.16]; “had to exile . . . Rāma” [2.16.21-26].

22. “hero entered the forest” [2.35].

23. “Lakṣmaṇa . . . followed him” [2.28].

24. “Sītā . . . followed . . . Rāma” [2.24-27].

“as Rohiṇī does the hare-marked moon” *śaśinam rohiṇī yathā*: Rohiṇī is considered the most favored wife of the moon. In astrology, Rohiṇī is the fourth lunar mansion, which is made up of five stars in the shape of a cart. The spots on the moon are commonly thought to resemble a hare, *śaśa*.

25. “followed far on his way by his father . . . and the people” *paurair anugato dūram pitrā daśarathena ca* [2.35-37]: The word *dūram*, “far,” is strictly applicable only to the populace here. Daśaratha (and Kausalyā) follow Rāma’s chariot only a short way, in one of the most affecting scenes in the epic (2.35.24-38). Cg, noting that the king follows his son only as far as the gates, understands the conjunction *ca* as indicating the inclusion of a lesser or secondary action (*ca śabdo ’nvācaye*).

“he dismissed his charioteer” [2.46.7].

26. “on the instructions of Bharadvāja” [2.47]; “they came to Mount Citrakūṭa” [2.50.11ff.].

27. “There (they) built a . . . dwelling . . . and . . . lived . . . happily” [2.50.13ff.].

28. “Daśaratha . . . went to heaven” [2.53].

29. “brahmans . . . urged Bharata to become king” [2.73]; “the hero (Bharata) went to the forest” [2.76].

30. “(Rāma) gave his sandals as a token” [2.104.20-25]: for “token,” *nyāsam*, cf. note on 1.65.8.

31. “Bharata . . . ruled the kingdom from the village of Nandigrāma” [2.107]: Nandigrāma is the village where Bharata lived during the fourteen-year exile of his elder brother, Rāma. It is usually identified with modern Nandagaon, which is situated two miles from modern Ayodhyā.

32. Daṇḍaka forest: According to *Rām* 7.81, the Daṇḍaka forest was situated between the Vindhya and Śaivala mountains. See crit. notes, p. 427 and Law 1954, p. 280.

At 2.108-109 a different reason is given for the departure of Rāma for the Daṇḍaka forest. There the sages, anxious on account of their harassment at the hands of the *rākṣasas*, urge him to go. This element is mentioned in verse 35.

33. The killing of Virādha and the encounters with the named sages are recounted at 3.2-12. Agastya’s brother, whose hermitage the hero visits on the way to that of

Agastya himself [3.10.45-70], is never named. The commentators are divided as to his actual identity. Ct and Cr think that he is Idhmavāhana, a character identified as Agastya's brother in the *Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. Cg claims that, according to the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*, Agastya's brother is named Sudarśana.

34. Agastya presents the divine weapons to Rāma at 3.11.29-30. This incident may be the inspiration for the much more elaborate conferral of divine weaponry upon the prince at the hands of Viśvāmitra at 1.26-27.

35. "woodland creatures" *vanacaraiḥ saha*: We have so taken the phrase against Cr, who glosses *vanaprasthaiḥ*, "forest-dwelling hermits." The text seems to us to distinguish the *vanacaras*, the wanderers of the forest, from the seers and sages who people the woods. In any case, the term is more commonly used of tribal peoples and forest creatures than of Aryan sages.

"the seers came to see him about killing the *asuras* and *rākṣasas*" [3.1]. See above, note 32.

36. "he disfigured the *rākṣasa* woman Śūrpaṇakhā" [3.16-17].

37-38. "Rāma slew . . . all the *rākṣasas* . . . sent against him" [3.21-29].

39. "Rāvaṇa . . . chose . . . Mārīca to assist him" [3.33-34].

40. "Mārīca tried to dissuade Rāvaṇa" [3.35-37].

41. "Rāvaṇa . . . paid no heed . . . and went . . . to Rāma's ashram" [3.38, 40].

42. "he lured both sons of the king far away" [3.40-43]; "having slain the vulture Jaṭāyus" [3.48-50]; "he carried off Rāma's wife" [3.47, 51ff.].

43. "(Rāghava found) the vulture dying and (heard) that Maithilī had been abducted" [3.63]; "Rāghava was consumed with grief" [3.58-59].

44-45. "he cremated the vulture Jaṭāyus" [3.64]; "he met . . . Kabandha" [3.65]; "(he) killed . . . him" [3.66].

46. "Kabandha . . . told him, . . . 'go to . . . Śabarī'" [3.69]; "(he) came to Śabarī" [3.70].

47. Lake Pampā: B. C. Law identifies Pampā as a tributary of the river Tuṅgabhadrā in western India. According to him it originates in the R̥ṣyamūka hills and is the spot where Hanumān meets Rāma. However, he also acknowledges a lake by this same name, described in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*. In the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary, we follow the tradition in considering Pampā a lake.

"he met the monkey Hanumān" [4.3].

48. "Rāma met Sugrīva and told him all that had happened" [4.5-6].

49. "(Sugrīva) told Rāma the whole story of his feud" [4.8-11].

50. "Rāma vowed to kill Vālin" [4.10.27-29].

51. "Rāghava kicked the great corpse of Dundubhi" [4.11.50].

52. "he pierced seven *sāla* trees" [4.12.1-4].

53. "(Sugrīva) went with Rāma to . . . Kiṣkindhā" [4.12.13ff.]: Although it is called a cave here, the crit. notes (p. 427) identify Kiṣkindhā as a "small hamlet situated on the northern bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā near Anagandī."

54. "(Sugrīva) gave a great roar. . . . Vālin came forth" [4.14].

55. "Rāghava . . . killed Vālin in battle . . . and made Sugrīva king" [4.16-25].

56. "(Sugrīva) sent (the monkeys) out in all directions" [4.36-42].

57. "On the advice of the vulture Sampāti" [4.57-58]: The vulture Sampāti, elder brother of the slain Jaṭāyus, actually advises all the monkeys to continue their search for Sītā. It is the monkey Jāmbavān who exhorts Hanumān to leap over the ocean [4.65].

"Hanumān leaped over the salt sea" [4.66; 5.1].



58. "(Hanumān) saw Sītā" [5.13].

59 "He gave her a token" [5.34]; "he smashed the gate" [5.39].

60. "He killed five generals" [5.41-45]; "he was captured" [5.46].

61. "as they would" *yadyccchayā*: Usually, "by chance," we have followed Cg, Ct, Ck, and Cm, who understand it to mean that he went without resistance. However, Cr takes it to mean that he went in order to see Rāvaṇa "of his own accord." See Bhandare 1920, p. 24.

The verse is awkward since it has no independent verb or participle. Most N manuscripts avoid this, reading instead *mamaṛṣa*, "suffered." Cg construes it with verse 60. The idea of the verse is that, although Hanumān knows that he can escape the bonds, he endures the abuse so that he can be taken to Rāvaṇa. See Bhandare 1920, pp. 23-24, who discusses this verse at length.

"the hero suffered the *rākṣasas* to bind him" [5.46.37ff.].

62. "the . . . monkey . . . burned . . . the city of Laṅkā" [5.52-53]: The location of Laṅkā has been the subject of much controversy and debate. Such locations as Śrī Laṅkā (Ceylon), Amaraṇṭaka, Madagascar, Malaya Island, and Australia have all been suggested. See crit. notes, p. 427 and Introduction above.

"(he) returned" [5.56].

63. "(Hanumān) told him just what had happened" [5.62.38ff.].

"I have seen Sītā" *dr̥ṣṭā sītā*: Although this is a reference to the event described at 5.62.38, the phrasing is evidently borrowed from 5.61.22, where Sugrīva tells Lakṣmaṇa that, on the basis of their behavior in the Madhuvana, the monkeys must have seen Sītā. The commentators are virtually unanimous in their concern with showing that the order of the words here demonstrates Hanumān's worry lest the use of Sītā's name cause Rāma anxiety while he awaited the verb (so Ct, Cr, Cg). But although the phrase or a variant of it occurs in several contexts in the *Sundara* and *Yuddha Kāṇḍas*, neither the commentators' text nor any other reported in the critical apparatus has Hanumān deliver just this phrase to Rāma at their first encounter after the former's successful mission to Laṅkā. A few Devanāgarī manuscripts and the texts of Ct and Cr have a half verse in the context of this encounter in which the phrase *dr̥ṣṭā devī* is quoted as the monkey's direct address [1352\*], but the exact source of our quotation is unclear.

64. "Rāma went . . . to the seashore" [6.4]; "he made the ocean tremble" [6.14].

65. "The ocean . . . revealed himself" [6.14]; "Rāma had Nala build a bridge" [6.15].

66. "(he killed) Rāvaṇa" [6.87-97]; "he consecrated Vibhīṣaṇa" [6.100.8-18]. The crit. ed. is inconsistent in its spelling of the name Vibhīṣaṇa. The name is spelled in this verse with an initial V, but at 1.3.25 and 27 it begins with B. We have adopted the former spelling, as it seems to be the more common and familiar one, used in the vulgate editions and, for the most part, in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the crit. ed. Also the use of the *upasarga* "vi" would seem etymologically apposite. See Apte 1959, s.v. *vibhīṣikā*, an etymologically related word used in the *Rām*. Note, however, that Apte cites the name of the *rākṣasa* as Bibhīṣaṇa.

67. "The three worlds . . . were delighted" [6.105].

Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S (except M4) (after 66ab); D11, 13, M4 (after 66); Ā2, V4, B, D10, 12 (after 68ab); V2, 3 (after 69ab) insert 6 lines [107\*], in which the fire ordeal of Sītā is described. See crit. notes, pp. 427-28 and Bhatt 1960, p. xxxiv. Despite Bhatt's arguments, the omission of this passage is questionable.

68. "All the gods . . . worshiped Rāma" [6.105].

69. "He . . . revived the fallen monkeys" [6.120.8-9].

"He received boons . . . (and) went to Nandigrāma" [6.110-11].

70. "(he) put off the knotted hair of ascetics. Thus did Rāma . . . recover his kingdom" [6.115-16].

73. "Golden Age" *kṛtayuge*: The first and most perfect of traditional India's four cosmic eras that make up the recurrent cycles of time.

74. Horse Sacrifices: See 7.82-83 for the description of the only such sacrifice Rāma is shown to perform in the epic. See the Introduction for a discussion of the significance of the epic's treatment of the Horse Sacrifice.

75. "four social orders" *cāturvarṇyam*: Traditionally Indian society is divided into four classes: brahmans, kshatriyas, *vaiśyas*, and *sūdras*, each with its own preordained duties.

76. This verse has frequently been cited as evidence that Rāma was not originally considered to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. See Introduction and Bhandare 1920, p. 29.

After 76, Ś, Ñ (Ñ1 missing), V, B, D5, 9-13 insert 5 lines [122\*] in which Nārada brings his account to a formal close by recapitulating his premise. Vālmiki then speaks, paraphrasing Nārada's remark and indicating that he understands that all these virtues are indeed to be attributed to Rāma. The effect of this passage is to bring the dialogue between the two sages to a clearly marked close and thus to sharply separate the closing verses of the *sarga* and the *phalaśruti* from the discourse of Nārada.

77. This begins the *phalaśruti* of the *Samkṣiptarāmāyaṇa*. See Introduction.

79. In keeping with Hindu tradition, N does not allow the lowly *sūdras* actually to read or recite (*paṭh*) the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Several N manuscripts substitute *śṛṇvan hi*, "hearing." This prejudice, evidently ignored by the authors of the S passage, is, however, clearly present in the minds of the commentators. Thus Cm glosses the word *paṭhan*, "reading or reciting," which applies to all four social classes, as *brāhmaṇāc chṛṇvan*, "hearing from a brahman," only in the case of the *sūdras*. See crit. notes, p. 428. Cases such as this are interesting not only for the light they shed on the social history of ancient and medieval India, but for the information they provide about the relationship of the two principal recensions of the text. It would appear that the medieval commentators and the transmitters of N alike are struck by what seems to them a social impropriety and seek to rectify it in the light of their own perceptions of what is correct. This is an excellent example of the quasi-commentarial nature of many N readings and tends to confirm the critical editors' judgment that S often retains the older readings. Since the reading of N and the interpretation of Cm are later than that of S, they would tend to confirm our notion that the tradition's conception of the immutability of caste and class function grew more rigid after the period in which the epics were first written.

The closure of this introductory *sarga* is marked by the shift, in verse 79, of the meter from the basic narrative *śloka* of 32 syllables to the 44-syllable *upajāti*.



## Sarga 2

1. "great . . . sage" *mahāmuniḥ*: The crit. ed. marks the nominative ending of *mahāmuniḥ* as uncertain. Dt,6,8, G2,M read *mahāmunim*, the accusative singular, and make the term refer to Nārada rather than, as in the text, Vālmiki. This reading appears in some printed versions of the vulgate and is mentioned as a variant by Cg. It is possible that these texts have adopted the accusative because without it there is no explicit object of Vālmiki's reverence.

2. "he took his leave" *āpr̥stvā*: This is marked as a doubtful reading by the crit. ed. As noted in crit. notes, p. 428, Ś,Ñ2,V1-3,B,Dt,1-3,5-10, M3,4 prefer the more regular *āpr̥cchya*. Cg, however, justifies the irregularity, citing *Pā* 7.1.38. Ct and Cr take the reference to the formalities of leave taking to be illustrative of the formal relationship of master and disciple that has sprung up between the two sages.

3. "after a while" *muhūrtam*: Although the adverb could technically refer to the actions of either sage, Ct,Cr,Cg,Ck, and Cm agree that the term is to be taken as referring to Vālmiki's actions. The idea is that he hesitated for a moment out of respect for Nārada. Additionally, Cr thinks that the term is to be taken technically as referring to a period of two *ghatikās* (a total of 48 minutes) and feels that this delay is suggestive of the profound affection in which Vālmiki holds Nārada. Another possible interpretation is to read *muhūrtam* adverbially with *gate tasmin* to mean that it took but a moment for Nārada to reach the heavenly world.

Jāhnavī: See note on 1.42.24.

Tamasā: A tributary of the Ganges on whose banks Vālmiki is said to have had his ashram.

6. "water jar . . . barkcloth robe" *kalaśam . . . valkalam*: These two standard accoutrements of the forest-dwelling ascetic are mentioned again in the *Bālakāṇḍa* in connection with the recitation of the poem. See 1.4.19, where Lava and Kuśa, the first professional singers of the tale, receive these articles as rewards for their performance.

7. Note the unusual variant Vālmika for Vālmiki.

8. It is interesting that, after having prepared himself for his ablutions, the sage does not actually bathe until verse 19 below, after his encounter with the Niṣāda. Although he is *niyatendriya*, "one whose senses are tightly controlled," he becomes distracted by the beauty of the woodlands and begins to wander about. Many manuscripts (Ś,Ñ2,V,B,D1,2,3,5,7,9,10-13), in full or part, insert two lines [133\*], in which the sage immediately performs his ritual bath with its accompanying rites and recitations, in an apparent attempt to remedy this seeming discontinuity. These manuscripts, naturally, omit verse 19ab of our text.

9. "Nearby" *abhyāśe*: According to Cg, this means "near the *tīrtha*," whereas Ck and Ct understand "near the forest."

"inseparable" *anapāyinam*: Cr and Cg take *anapāyinam* more strongly to mean "unable to endure even a moment's separation." Ck and Ct, however, understand the adjective to mean that the birds are free from any hindrance, danger, or bodily affliction and that it is for this reason that they sing so sweetly.

*krauñcas*: A type of heron or curlew.

10. Niṣāda hunter: Niṣāda, originally the proper name of a tribe, came also to be used as a generic term for any non-aryan tribesman and as such is frequently used to refer to a hunter or fisherman. The term also is applied to outcastes,

especially the offspring of a brahman man and a *śūdra* woman. It is uncertain whether or not the word is used in a restricted or generic sense in this passage, but the term clearly has a pejorative connotation. See crit. notes, p. 428, and Masson 1970.

11. "writhing" *veṣṭamānam*: Several N manuscripts and the vulgate read *ceṣṭamānam*. Burrow 1959, p. 79, in his review of the first fascicle of the crit. ed., argues for the vulgate reading, whereas Bhatt in his notes, p. 429, defends his reading on the grounds that it is the *lectio difficilior* and, he claims, is supported by parallel usages in the *Rām* and *MBh*.

14. Vālmīki's curse of the hapless hunter is one of the most famous and widely known verses in the Sanskrit literature, quoted not only in numerous treatises on poetics and aesthetic theory, but even in great works of literature. See Masson 1969 and Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* 2.5. Its significance lies less in its inherent poetic value than in the text's statement that it is the very first example of true poetry, an idea that is generally accepted by the tradition. Because of its significance to the poem itself and the tradition of Sanskrit poetry and poetics, the verse has provoked an extensive, elaborate, and even absurd kind of exegesis of the same sort as was discussed in connection with 1.1.1. See crit. notes, p. 431.

15. "What is this . . . ?" *kim idam . . .* : Cg, whose interpretation we have followed, takes Vālmīki's wonder to be a reference to the unprecedented nature of the form that he has created. Ct feels that this is more an expression of shock on the sage's part, that he, a tranquil ascetic, should so give way to an anger that must destroy the fruits of his austerities. Ct is also struck by the use of the perfect form *babhūva* to describe the arising of Vālmīki's thought. The point is that, according to the grammarians, this tense is reserved for distant past events not directly witnessed by the narrator (*parokṣabhūtakāle liṭ*). Yet Vālmīki is supposed to be the narrator. Ct offers several possible explanations of this seeming anomaly. First he suggests that the use of the perfect is allowable because, although the verse is Vālmīki's composition, it was intended to be recited by the bards Kuśa and Lava. As an alternative he suggests that the first four *sargas* of the poem, the *upodghāta*, are the product of one or another of the sage's students. This theory is still current, insofar as it is generally agreed by modern scholars that the four introductory *sargas* are very probably a later addition to the *Bālakāṇḍa*. For further discussion of this problem, see the Introduction and the note on the invocatory stanzas that, in most manuscripts, precede 1.1.1. Ct closes his discussion of this problem by noting that other scholars reckon that this is Vālmīki's utterance, but is phrased in such a way as to show that it is a preface to the main poem. All this constitutes an interesting piece of early textual criticism in the traditional manner.

17. *śloka*: Vālmīki names his new creation punningly because of its origin in his grief or *śoka*. This sort of popular etymology, based on accidental phonological similarity, is well known and extremely popular in the brahmanic tradition. The *Bālakāṇḍa* is particularly fond of this type of etymology. For other examples, see 1.23.7,8,17-20; 1.28.18; 1.36.7. The particular play on *śoka* and *śloka*, repeated at verses 28 and 39 below, also makes a theoretical statement, accepted by later tradition, about the origin and nature of aesthetic experience. According to this view, such experience is deeply rooted in the unconscious emotional life of the person. The point is worth consideration even today.

A *śloka* consists of four quarters (*pādas*), each with eight syllables, and is the most



common meter of the epic. For a discussion of this and other epic meters, see Hopkins 1901, pp. 191-362, especially pp. 219-61.

21. "various other matters" *kathās cānyās cakāra*: The commentators differ somewhat in their conceptions of what these "other matters" (literally, "stories") are. Cr, with his unrelenting concern with the Rāma cult, takes these stories as those not connected with Rāma; Vālmīki's meditation is for him concerned with Raghunātha. Cg sees the stories as purāṇic recitations, whereas Ck regards them as conversations conducive to *dharma*, "righteousness."

24. The translation follows Ck and Cg in taking *enam* to refer to Vālmīki. In this case it is necessary, as Ct notes, to read *praṇamya* separately from the pronoun, so as not to have the creator of the universe prostrating before a sage.

"welcome offering" *arghya*—: This is the traditional hospitality offering of brahmanical society. According to a traditional verse, it consists in its full form of eight things: water, milk, the tips of *kuśa* grass, curds, clarified butter, rice, barley, and mustard seed. See Apte 1957, s.v. *arghya*. Not infrequently, however, the offering consisted only of water.

27. The use of the optative form *hanyāt* here is unusual and its sense slightly opaque. The translation follows Ct, who sees it simply as an irregular past. Peterson 1879, p. 5, also accepts this. Ck takes the same position, but sees the usage as having a particular semantic value. He says that the optative is used of a past action that the speaker regards with contempt. Cm and Cg take the usage to be *śaki liñ*, "optative of capacity," and gloss it as *hantum śaknuyāt*, that is, "in that he could kill."

28. "he sang" *jagau*: Cr proposes an optional interpretation of the verse. He suggests that we take the verb *jagau* as a first person singular, thus making this verse a continuation of the direct address represented by the sage's thoughts in 27, that is, "Grieving for the *krauñca* hen, my mind focused within me, I sang this *śloka*, there, before him, for I was overwhelmed by sorrow." He deals with the problem of the first person perfect by taking it as the *vallitprayoga*, the first person perfect that is allowable if the speaker was intoxicated, maddened, or in some other altered state of consciousness at the time of the action referred to by the verb. In keeping with this interpretation, Cr takes the indeclinable *upa*, "near," to refer to the Niṣāda at the time of the utterance of the curse. Ct, whom we have followed, reads the verb as a third person form used by the narrator, and takes *upa* to refer to the proximity of Brahmā. Cg and Cm regard this particle as an *upasarga* or preverb irregularly separated from the verb.

39. For the pun, see notes to 17 above. Cg and Cm, who mention our reading of *śokaḥ*, "grief," as a v.l. of their *ślokaḥ*, "poetry," argue—in our opinion correctly—that it is the repetition of the verse on the part of the sage's students that is responsible for transforming the emotion of sorrow, expressed in Vālmīki's curse, into something subject to aesthetic apprehension. However, the reading accepted by these commentators is not a good one. Ct attempts to demonstrate the technical features of the *karuṇarasa*. See note on 1.4.8.

### Sarga 3

Before this *sarga*, N manuscripts (Ś, Ñ, V, B, D5, 10-13) insert an additional and more detailed list of contents which is given at App. 1, No. 1 (303 lines, pp. 401-10). Gorresio's ed. inserts this added *sarga* after *sarga* 3.

2. “the sage sipped water” *upaspr̥śyodakam*: The purificatory sipping of water is a prerequisite to many ritual acts in the Hindu tradition. According to Ct, the sipping of water suggests purification of the body and the mind. Cf. 1.21.10.

*darbha* grass: A plant with special religious and ceremonial uses.

“through profound meditation” *dharmēṇa*: The term is quite difficult here. The translation takes its cue from Ct’s “arising from yoga and having the form of the grace of Brahmā.” Cg, Cr, and Cm have similar interpretations. The N manuscripts replace *dharmēṇa* with the much clearer and simpler *kāvyasya*. This replacement has the virtue of eliminating the problematic reading while providing an explicit reference for *gatim*, “means of access,” a reference that we felt it appropriate to provide in any case.

“sought . . . the means of access to” *anveṣate gatim*: Although literally this means “sought . . . the path,” we are in agreement with the vulgate commentators, who understand this as a reference to the events of the *Rāmāyaṇa* detailed in the following verses. See *Raghuvamśa* 1.4 for a similar use of the term *gati*.

After 2, Dt,4,6,8,9,14, and S (including the vulgate) insert a well-known passage of 14 lines [154\*] in which additional details of the sage’s vision are given. This passage contains a famous verse on the clarity of the poet’s vision (lines 7-8; vulgate 1.3.6) which translates as follows: “Then, deep in his yogic trance, that knower of righteousness saw all that had taken place before as clearly as an *āmalaka* fruit placed in one’s hand.”

3. “Rāma’s birth” [1.7-17, especially *sarga* 17].

4. “various other marvellous stories” *nānā citrāḥ kathāś cānyāḥ*: This refers to stories that are not directly part of the *Rāmacaritam*, such as the episodes of the origin of the Ganges (1.34), the birth of Kumāra (1.36), the churning of the ocean (1.44), the penances of Diti (1.46), and so on. These stories are, for the most part, recounted in the first and last books of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

“Jānaki’s wedding, and the breaking of the bow” [1.68-72, especially *sarga* 72 for Sītā’s wedding, and 1.66 for the breaking of the bow]. Notice that the order of events is inverted here.

5. “the dispute between the two Rāmas” [1.73-75]; “the virtues of Dāśarathi” [2.2.]; “Rāma’s consecration” [2.3-6]; “Kaikeyī’s wicked nature” [2.7-9].

6. “the interruption of the consecration” [2.10-11]; “the banishment of Rāma” [2.16.21-26]; “the king’s grief and lamentation, and his departure for the next world” [2.57-78].

7. “the dejection of the common people” [2.36, 41]; “their abandonment” [2.41]; “the conversation with the Niṣāda chief” [2.44.9-2.45]; “the return of the charioteer” [2.46.1-45].

“charioteer” *sūta*: The reference here is to Rāma’s own charioteer, Sumantra.

8. “the crossing of the Ganges” [2.46.60-75]; “the meeting with Bharadvāja” [2.47]; “the arrival at Mount Citrakūṭa on the instruction of Bharadvāja” [2.50].

9. “the building of and dwelling in a hut” [2.50.13ff.]; “the coming of Bharata” [2.92]; “the propitiation of Rāma” [2.93]; “the funeral libations for his father” [2.95].

10. “the consecration of the wonderful sandals” [2.104.20-25]; “the dwelling in Nandigrāma” [2.107] (see note on 1.1.31); “the journey to the Daṇḍaka forest” [3.1] (see note on 1.1.32); “the meeting with Sūtīkṣṇa” [3.6-7].

11. “the encounter with Anasūyā.” [2.109-111.16]; “her presentation of the ointment” [2.110.12-21]; “the conversation with Śūrpaṇakhā” [3.16-17].

“encounter” *samasyām*: The usual meaning is “junction, union,” whereas the sense



used here of “meeting, encounter” is unusual in the classical language. Bhatt, however, provides a lengthy note (crit. notes, p. 431) demonstrating that there is ample justification for this latter sense.

After 11ab, Ś,Ñ,V,B,D1-3,5,7,9-13 insert 3 lines (166\*) in which the visit to Śara-bhaṅga’s ashram, the encounter with Vāsava, the visit to Agastya’s ashram, the departure from Agastya, the meeting with Virādha, and the dwelling in the Pañca-vaṭa forest are mentioned.

12. “the slaying of Khara and Triśiras” [3.26-29]; “the setting out of Rāvaṇa” [3.33-34]; “the destruction of Mārīca” [3.42]; “the abduction of Vaidehī” [3.47].

13. “the lamentation of Rāghava” [3.59]; “the death of the vulture king” [3.48-49]; “the encounter with Kabandha” [3.65-69]; “the arrival at Lake Pampā” [3.71] (see note on 1.1.47).

14. “the encounters with Śabarī and Hanumān” [3.70; 4.3]; “the lamentation of great Rāghava” [4.1]; note that the sequence is out of order.

15. “the journey to Ṛṣyamūka” [4.4-5]; “the meeting with Sugrīva” [4.4-5]; “the engendering of confidence” [4.4-5]; “the alliance” [4.4-5]; “the battle between Vālin and Sugrīva” [4.12].

16. “the slaying of Vālin” [4.16; Vālin dies at 4.22.24]; “the installation of Sugrīva” [4.22]; “the lamentation of Tārā, the agreement” [4.19.20-28; 4.20]; “settling in for the rainy season” [4.27].

“the lamentation of Tārā, the agreement” *tārāvilāpasamayam*: The compound is rather awkward. Ā1,B1,4,Dt,4-6,8,11,12,G1, read *vilāpaṃ samayaṃ*, thus breaking the compound into two separate units. The translation follows Cr and Cg, who read as does the crit ed. and take the word as a copulative compound with a neuter singular ending, or a *samāhāradvaya*. *Samaya*, “compact,” could refer to either the agreement to install Sugrīva as king [4.22] or the agreement of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to remain on Mt. Prasravaṇa for the rainy season [4.26]. Ck,Ct,Cr, and Cg all understand it to refer to the latter, which seems most probable.

17. “the anger of the lion of the Rāghavas” [4.30-35]; “the marshaling of the troops” [4.36]; “their being dispatched in all directions, and the description of the earth” [4.39-42].

18. “the giving of the ring” [4.43.10-16]; “the discovery of Ṛkṣa’s cave” [4.49]; “the fast until death” [4.52-54]; “the encounter with Sampāti” [4.55-62].

19. “the ascent of the mountain” [4.66.31ff.]; “the leap over the ocean” [5.1]; “the entry into Laṅkā by night” [5.2.46ff.] (see note on 1.1.62); “the solitary deliberations” [5.2.24-45]. The crit. ed. omits several of the other deeds of Hanumān, noted chiefly in the S manuscripts. See 175\* (1 line), 176\* (1 line), and 177\* (1 line).

20. “the arrival at the drinking ground” [5.9]; “the view of the women’s quarters” [5.7]; “the arrival at the *aśoka* grove” [5.12]; “the meeting with Sītā” [5.13-38].

21. “the giving of the token of recognition” [5.34.1-5]; “Sītā’s speech” [5.35.41-68]; “the threats of the *rākṣasa* women” [5.22]; “the dream-vision of Trijaṭā” [5.25.4-25].

22. “Sītā’s giving of the jewel” [5.36.10ff.]; “the breaking of the trees” [5.39]; “the flight of the *rākṣasa* women” [5.40.1-11]; “the slaughter of the servants” [5.40.31-36].

23. “the capture of Vāyu’s son” [5.46.17ff.]; “the wailing at the burning of Laṅkā” [5.52.1-5]; “the return leap” [5.55]; “the seizure of the mead” [5.59.7-60].

“the wailing at the burning of Laṅkā” *laṅkādhābhigarjanam*: The identity of those

wailing or roaring is unspecified, and the commentators are divided on the issue. Ct and Cr understand Hanumān as the subject, whereas Cg thinks that it is the crying of the *rākṣasas*. Cr understands the compound as optionally a copulative: “the burning of Lañkā and the wailing.”

24. “the consolation of Rāghava” [5.62.25ff.]; “the presentation of the jewel” [5.63]; “the encounter with the ocean” [6.4.65-88]; “the construction of Nala’s bridge” [6.15.8-26].

25. “the crossing of the ocean” [6.15.27-33]; “the siege of Lañkā by night” [6.31-32]; “the alliance with Vibhīṣaṇa” [6.13.1-10].

“his revelation of the means of destruction” *vadhopāyanivedanam*: This is an obscure reference. Cr takes it to refer to Vibhīṣaṇa’s suggestion that they approach Sāgara, the Ocean, for advice [6.13.13-14]. It could, however, refer to many other incidents. Since it follows directly upon the alliance with Vibhīṣaṇa in the list, Cr’s interpretation seems good.

26. “the death of Kumbhakarna” [6.55.77-123]; “the slaying of Meghanāda” [6.75-77]; “the destruction of Rāvaṇa” [6.87-97]; “the recovery of Sītā” [6.101-106].

27. “the consecration of Vibhīṣaṇa” [6.100.8-18]; “the acquisition of the chariot Puṣpaka” [6.109.8ff.]; “the journey to Ayodhyā” [6.110.-111]; “the meeting with Bharata” [6.115].

28. “the celebration of Rāma’s consecration” [6.116.13-76]; “his dismissal of all his troops” [6.116.74-76]; “his pleasing the kingdom” [6.116.80-90]; “his sending away Vaidehī” [7.46]. Note that this is the only reference to events from the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

29. “latter portion of this poem” *uttare kāvye*: Cr and Cg understand this as a reference to the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the last book of the epic, whereas Ct and Ck take the word *uttara* to mean “excellent,” that is, “in this excellent poem.”

## Sarga 4

1. After 1, B2 (after 1.14 of App. 1, No. 2), Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4) and Cr,Cm,Cg,Ct insert 2 lines [196\*] in which the length of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is specified: “The seer recited twenty-four thousand *ślokas* in five hundred *sargas* making up six *kāṇḍas* plus the *Uttara*.” This is, roughly speaking, the extent of the poem in its critical edition. The verse is, as Ck noted centuries ago, and as quoted by Ct, probably a late interpolation and describes the text of the bards who inserted it. It cannot be made the basis of any generalizations about the reconstruction of the “original” poem.

2. “the future and final events” *sabhaviṣyaṃ . . . sahottaram*: The verse suggests Vālmiki’s great and awesome ability to foretell future events through his divine insight. According to Ct, some people consider the future to refer to the events beginning with the abandonment of Sītā, that is, those told in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, whereas others think that it refers to events after she enters the earth, that is, after the Horse Sacrifice of Rāma, at which Lava and Kuśa recite the poem. Cg understands *uttara* to refer to the events following Rāma’s coronation, and *bhaviṣya* to refer to “the events of the future that are later than (*uttara*) the Horse Sacrifice.” This seems plausible as, according to the story, the recitation of the poem at Rāma’s sacrifice marks a turning point in its history. See Bhandare 1920, p. 42.



For verses 2-18, Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1 (for 7-18)-3, 5, 10-13 substitute 47 lines [203\*].

3. "Kuśa and Lava" *kuśilavau*: The original sense of the word seems to be "bards" or "actors." And this is the meaning that the crit. notes, citing *Amarakośa*, appear to accept for this verse. The *PW* (s.v. *kuśilava*) cites various examples of this usage, for example *MBh* 13.90.10 and *ManuSm* 3.155; 8.65, 102; 9.225. The traditional etymology given by the *Śabdakalpadruma* pt. 2, p. 160, derives the word as *kutsitaṃ śīlaṃ yasya saḥ*, "he whose moral character is to be condemned." The text also cites the *Amarakośa*'s gloss of the word as "bard." The use of the word "bard" in this context, however, is inappropriate. The translation follows the interpretation of Cg, Ct, and Cm, who understand the irregular formation *kuśilava* to refer to the two sons of Rāma. Probably the word originally meant a loose-living, wandering rhapsodist, and the naming and characterization of the twins Kuśa and Lava are probably the result of folk etymology (see Macdonell 1901, p. 306). This interpretation implies that the original *Rāmāyaṇa* did not know Rāma's sons. Bhandare 1920, p. 42, however, argues that the term *kuśilava* was generalized from the names of the twin princes. The *Uttarakāṇḍa* provides its own etymology for the names. At 7:58.4-6, Vālmīki, according to the commentators, names the boys after the upper (*kuśa*) and lower (*lava*) parts of the sacrificial grass.

"in the guise of sages" *muniveṣau*: They are dressed as *munis*, although they are, in fact, kshatriya princes. The use of this and other specific adjectives in verses 4-5 further supports the interpretation of *kuśilavau* as proper nouns.

4. For 4cd-6ab, the northern variant, given at 203\* (p. 38), substitutes lines 7-10, in which the sage Vālmīki greets the two boys by sniffing their heads, tells them that this is the *Rāmāyaṇa* poem that he composed and that they should learn it from him.

6. "the tale of Sītā and the slaying of Paulastya" *sītāyāś caritaṃ . . . paulastyavadham*: This verse is provocative. Is it possible that the oldest core of the epic was the tale of the abduction of the princess and her rescue, a ballad that was known as the *Paulastyavadha*, "The Slaying of Paulastya (Rāvaṇa)"? If this is so—and some of the commentators are ready to entertain this conjecture—it might be that the events of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, usually thought to be the oldest stratum of the poem, may have been secondarily elaborated, in keeping with the main thrust of the surviving text of this *Paulastyavadha*, to emphasize the characterization of Rāma as one ready to renounce everything to keep his father's word. Ck and Ct understand *paulastyavadha* to be the proper title of the poem on the analogy of Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*. Cg disagrees, and considers the *Paulastyavadha* to be only a section of the entire work. Bhandare 1920, p. 42, assumes that the reference here to *Paulastyavadha* means that the "original *Rāmāyaṇa* closed with the death of Rāvaṇa." Cg (and Ctś) argues that the killing of Rāvaṇa is the principal and culminating episode of the poem, and that the earlier episodes are subordinate elements that lead up to it or to other secondary episodes. Using the two terms, he then interprets the verse to mean, "through the device of the *paulastyavadha*, he developed the story of Rāma, which is secondary, into the principal story, the story of Sītā. That is, he caused it to be sung in that way." Ctś, in support of this interpretation, goes so far as to propose that the poem's traditional title, *Rāmāyaṇa*, should be interpreted as the career of Rāmā, that is, Lakṣmī, whom the sectarian tradition regards as identical with Sītā.

7. "in three tempos" *pramāṇais tribhiḥ*: The tempos are said to be quick, moderate, and slow (Ct).

"seven notes of the scale" *jātibhiḥ saptabhiḥ*: *Jātis* are apparently an older form of the classical *rāgas*. See Te Nijenhuis 1974, pp. 34-35.

"stringed and percussion instruments" *tantrīlaya*—: According to Cg, *tantrī* here refers to *vīṇās*, "lutes," that have *tantrīs*, "strings." *Layas*, according to him, refer to other instruments, that is, drums, flutes, and so on. For a more detailed account of early Indian music, see Te Nijenhuis 1974 and 1970.

8. "sentiments" *rasaḥ*: The word *rasa* is a technical term used by writers on poetics to refer to the various sentiments expressed in works of poetry or drama. Traditionally there are said to be eight, although some later authorities add a ninth, *śānta*, "the tranquil." Seven of the eight *rasas* are enumerated in the verse. Omitted is *adbhuta*, "the marvellous." The number of *rasas* mentioned and the order given for them varies significantly in the manuscripts. The N manuscripts mention nine *rasas*, including *śāntarasa*. The inclusion of the ninth suggests to the authors of the crit. notes, p. 433, the priority of the southern tradition. This assumption on the part of the crit. ed. is unfounded, in our opinion, as there is no way to determine whether 203\*.16 is from an early stratum of the northern recension or a later interpolation. Although the crit. notes say that the northern tradition "uniformly" reads all nine *rasas*, according to the crit. app., p. 39, at least five manuscripts (Ñ1, B1, 2, D2, 3) omit the ninth. Cg suggests that the word *ādi*, "and the rest," refers to the remaining two *rasas*, and that the intent was to suggest all nine. Cg discusses, at some length, which *rasa* predominates in the text. According to him, some say that the *śokarasa* (that is, *karuṇarasa*), or the piteous sentiment, predominates (because of its association with *śloka*, see 1.2.17), whereas others say that *vīrarasa*, the heroic sentiment, predominates because the title of the work is the *Paulastyaavadha*. Cg himself, however, feels that *śṛṅgārarasa*, the erotic sentiment, is the central one, since the story is primarily concerned with the adventures of Sītā (see note on 6 above). To further strengthen his argument, he alludes to the traditional doctrine that either the heroic or the erotic sentiment should predominate in a serious poetic work. The episode of Vālmīki and the *krauñca* bird (1.2) seems to suggest that the aesthetic experience derives primarily from the emotional experience of sorrow or loss. This notion, although not in the mainstream of Indian writings on aesthetics, is passionately put forward in the context of the Rāma story by the playwright-poet Bhavabhūti at *Uttararāmacarita* 3.47. See Introduction.

9. "gandharvas' musical art" *gandharvatattva*—: *Gandharvas* are the musicians of the gods.

"articulation and modulation" *sthānamūrcchana*—: *Sthāna* is a technical term referring to the organs of articulation. There are three: the chest, throat, and head (Cg). The crit. notes, p. 433, refer to the grammatical tradition of eight points of vocal articulation. *Mūrcchana* is another technical term of Indian music and refers to the cadences of the seven notes. See above note 9, Bhandare 1920, p. 43, and crit. notes, p. 433.

Notice that N manuscripts have no equivalent passage for 9-10ab, and in our opinion, this passage should be treated with suspicion.

10. "Gifted with beauty and auspicious marks" *rūpalakṣaṇasampannau*: The translation here follows Ct, who understands the adjective to refer to the boys' appearance. Cr and Cg, however, interpret *rūpa* to mean *nāṭaka*, that is, skilled in the movements of mime.

"Like twin reflections they seemed, born of the same image, Rāma's body" *bimbād*



*ivoddhṛtau bimbau rāmadehāt tathāparau*: The translation follows the commentators here in rendering the awkward phrase. According to Ct the first occurrence of the word *bimba* is to be taken in the sense of an image, like that of the sun, whereas the second must be understood as “reflection.” The point of the figure is evidently that the two boys are identical both to each other and to their father, Rāma.

11. “learned . . . by heart” *vāco vidheyam . . . kṛtvā*: According to Ct, “fit for recitation without a text.” Cg understands “conformable to speech with much practice.”

Ct, in his commentary on vulgate 1.4.14, quotes the N version (203\* lines 21-22), which demonstrates that he had some familiarity with that tradition.

13. “on one occasion” *kadācit*: Cg and Cm both take this to refer to the time of Rāma’s Horse Sacrifice.

16. “of . . . the poetry” *ślokānām*: Literally, *śloka*s; see note on 1.2.17.

17. “with feeling” *raktam*: The translation follows Cg’s reading, *rāgayukta*, “filled with emotion.”

19. The water jar (*kalaśa*) and the barkcloth mantle (*valkala*) are the same articles that Bharadvāja handed Vālmīki before his discovery of poetry (1.2.6-7)

After 19, Dt,4,6,8,14,T1,2,G1-3,M1,3 insert 10 lines [209\*; GPP 1.4.21cd-26ab] that contain a list of additional brahmanical gifts given to the pair.

20. “great source of inspiration for poets” *param kavīnām ādhāram*: The word *ādhāra* means literally “prop” or “support.” The idea is that the *Rāmāyaṇa* will be the basis for all subsequent poetry. See Bhandare 1920, p. 4, and crit. notes, p. 434.

21. For 21cd-23, Ś,N,V,B,D1-3,5,9-13 substitute 13 lines [215\*], in which the time and place of the recitation is explicitly stated to be Rāma’s Horse Sacrifice.

24. “with their lutes” *vīṇināu*: *Vīṇā* refers to a stringed instrument, either an arched harp or a lute. The reading is marked as doubtful in the crit. ed.

26. It is evident from this verse that Rāma does not know the true identity of the two bards.

The meter has changed to *jagatī* (48 syllables).

27. *mārga*: Traditionally there are two types of recitation. The formal or high style, used only for those works composed in Sanskrit, is called *mārga*. For those works composed in Prākṛit, an informal style called *deśī* is used.

The meter, as in the verse above, is a type of *jagatī*. The sense of this lovely verse appears to be that through his powerful emotional response to the poem, Rāma gradually becomes oblivious to his surroundings and is wholly absorbed in the story. The verse serves as an ingenious transition from the preamble to the epic proper. In it we see the culmination of the tale of the creation of the poem in its performance before its own hero. The power of the work is suggested by the fact that even Rāma, who is renowned for his emotional self-control, is ravished by hearing it. Moreover, in bringing the bards and the audience into the presence of Rāma at the court of Ayodhyā, the poet has set the scene for the heroic narrative to begin in earnest.

## Sarga 5

2. The story of King Sagara and his sixty thousand sons is told in *sargas* 37-40 below.

4. “I will recite” *vartayīṣyāmi*: Who is the subject of the verb? Bhandare 1920, p. 46, thinks that Vālmīki is the speaker. Bhatt (crit. notes, p. 435) and Ct understand

the subject to be Kuśa and Lava, with the singular used in place of the dual, to indicate the closeness of the twins.

“goals of righteousness, profit, and pleasure” *dharmakāmārtha*—: These are the three principal worldly concerns of a man in traditional Hindu society.

“with faith” *anasūyayā*: This literally means “without malice” or “jealousy,” but here Cg’s interpretation has been followed.

5. Sarayū: Apparently this is to be identified with the modern Sarjū. Cf. 1.23.8.

6. Ayodhyā: This is Daśaratha’s capital city and is one of the most famous cities of Indian tradition. Situated between the Sarayū and Tamasā rivers, it was, and still is, considered one of the seven holy cities of India. See Law 1954, pp. 67-68.

7. “leagues” *yojanāni*: The exact distance represented by this unit is uncertain; according to some it is approximately nine miles, whereas others judge it to be only three. In the translation we have decided to interpret it loosely as a league, in the sense of a fairly long distance.

For 7cd-22, Ś,Ñ,V,B,D5,10-13 substitute 35 lines [230\*], a parallel passage that describes Ayodhyā somewhat more elaborately.

8. “loose blossoms” *muktapuṣpa*—: Ct understands this to mean “full-blown blossoms.” Cr takes it to refer to “flowers thrown by the consorts of the gods from their aerial chariots.”

10. “doors and gates” *kapātatorāṇa*—: This could also be read as a *madhyamapa-dalopin* compound, one in which a middle term has been omitted. Thus the reference could be to archways fitted with doors.

11. “hundred-slayers” *śataghñī*—: According to the commentators, these are large iron-spiked defensive weapons placed along ramparts, but cf. *Raghuvamśa* 12.95, where it is an offensive weapon hurled by Rāvaṇa at Rāma.

12. “troops of actresses” *vadhūnātakasaṅghaiḥ*: The meaning of the compound is uncertain. The crit. notes, p. 436, following Ct and Ck, understand “theaters for women.” Bhandare 1920, p. 47, somewhat more freely, translates “sporting places for females.” Cg, on the other hand, understands “hosts of dancing masters for women.” We have followed Cr, but one could also interpret the term as a copulative compound (*dvandva*) and translate it as “hosts of women and actors.”

15. Amarāvati: The heavenly city of Indra, king of the gods.

16. “like a chessboard” *aṣṭāpadākārām*: The term *aṣṭāpada* apparently refers to an eight-rowed gaming board. The word is known to Pāṇini as a technical term (6.3.125). Cr and Cg cite the *Amarakośa*, which glosses the term as *śārīphalam*, a cloth or board for playing chess. Ct gives “gaming board” as the interpretation of some authorities. Others, he says, take the term to refer to gold ornamentation. Bhandare 1920, p. 48, takes this verse to be the earliest reference to chess in the literature.

18. The *duṇḍubhis*, *mṛdaṅgas*, and *paṇavas* are all various types of drums or percussion instruments. See 1.4.24 for “lutes,” *vīṇās*.

20. “in hiding” *śabdavedhyam*: This means literally “to be shot by sound,” that is, to be located and shot on the basis of sound alone. The suggestion, according to the commentators, is that the person shot is in hiding. It is the thoughtless exercise of this skill at archery that is the cause of Daśaratha’s curse and tragic death (2.57, especially verse 8).

22. “great chariot warriors” *mahārathaiḥ*: Cf. 1.6.2 and 1.41.21.

23. “six adjunct sciences” *ṣaḍaṅga*—: See note on 1.1.13.

The meter is *jagatī*, that is, twelve syllables per quarter.



## Sarga 6

2. "master chariot warrior" *atirathaḥ*: Cf. 1.5.22 and 1.41.21.

3. "was the equal of Śakra or Vaiśravaṇa" *śakravaiśravaṇopamaḥ*: Śakra, or Indra, is the king of the gods. Vaiśravaṇa, or Kubera, is the lord of wealth. The inclusion of the former in the comparison is somewhat unusual. Kubera is a standard of comparison for wealth, whereas Indra is usually referred to as an exemplar of martial valor or royal splendor.

5. "True to his vows" *satyābhisamdhena*: This epithet and others to the same effect are especially significant in establishing the trait of truthfulness that will be so critical in the characterization of the hero and in the development of the epic narrative.

"three goals of life" *trivarga*—: See 1.5.4 and note.

Amarāvati: See note to 1.5.15.

6. For verses 6-24, Ś, Ñ, V, B, D5, 10-13 substitute a parallel passage of 48 lines [248\*].

7. "who had not accomplished his goals" *asiddhārthaḥ*: According to Ct, this refers to "both worldly and heavenly desires." Cg and Cr understand the word to refer to the *puruṣārthas* mentioned above at 5.

8. "agnostic" *nāstikaḥ*: According to Cg and Cr, "one who does not believe in the existence of the next world."

12. "mixing of social classes" *nirvṛttasamkaraḥ*: Miscegenation was considered a grave social offense.

16. "of which the foremost . . . makes the fourth" *agryacaturtheṣu*: This statement refers to the traditional division of Indian society, the components of which are enumerated in the next verse. The phrase is unusually worded; normally the brahmins are thought of not as the fourth, but the first among the four social classes.

19. "unyielding" *amarṣiṇām*: We follow the vulgate commentators, who understand "not enduring conquest at the hands of an enemy."

"accomplished in their art" *kṛtavidyānām*: The commentators agree that this means learned in the use of weapons and missiles.

20. "Hari's steed" *harihaya*—: According to Cr, Ct, and Cg, the horse referred to is Ucchaiṣravas, the horse given to Indra at the churning of the ocean. See 1.44.24. The term *harihaya* is potentially confusing. Not only is the name *Hari* a commonly used epithet of Viṣṇu, but *harihaya* is, in its own right, an epithet of Indra, that is, "he of the bay steeds."

Bāhlika: The country of the Bāhlikas seems to have been in northwest India, possibly some region to the north of the Punjab. See Law 1954, p. 133, and Bhandare 1920, p. 51, who identify it with Bactria. The region was famous for its horses.

Kāmboja: One of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* or tribal kingdoms of pre-Magadhan north India. The Kāmboja people are said to have occupied the province around Rajaori (Rājapur) in northwest India, not far from Gāndhāra. See Law 1954, p. 53.

Vanāyu: This country was apparently in northwest India, and like Bāhlika and Kāmboja, was famous for its horses. The crit. notes, p. 437, offer the possibility that the reference is to Arabia.

"the great river" *nadījaiḥ*: Literally, "born near the river." All the commentators agree that the reference is to the region of Sindhu, or the Indus valley, which, like the other areas mentioned, was noted for its fine horses.

21. Vindhya hills: A range of mountains that separates northern Indian from the Deccan peninsula.

22-23. *bhadramandra*, *bhadramṛga*, and *mṛgamandra* breeds: Traditionally there are three pure breeds of elephants, Bhadra, Mandra, and Mṛga. Cr and Ct associate these with the major mountain ranges: the Himalaya, Vindhya, and Sahya, respectively. Cr and Cg describe the elephants according to their physical features: Bhadras have contracted limbs, Mandras are stocky, and Mṛgas are lean and long-limbed. The animals mentioned in the verse are of mixed breeds. See note on 1.38.5 and crit. notes, p. 437.

"even two leagues beyond its gates" *yojane . . . dve bhūyaḥ*: The translation follows Cg. See note on 1.5.7.

24. The meter is the same as that found at 1.5.23, that is, *jagatī*, with twelve syllables per metric quarter.

## Sarga 7

1. "renowned" *yaśasvinaḥ*: The adjective could also apply to "hero," although most commentators do not allude to the ambiguity. Cr, the only vulgate commentator to gloss the term, construes it with "ministers," and all considered, this seems most probable.

Dt,2,4,6-8,14,S (D3,9 insert after 253\*) begin the *sarga* with 2 lines [249\*] that describe the virtues of the king's ministers.

2. The names of the ministers differ in the various manuscripts. This sort of variation is the rule with lists of names in the epic. See crit. app. at 1.

3. "as well as other counsellors" *mantriṇaś . . . āpare*: Ct distinguishes the "ministers" (*amātyāḥ*) of verse 1 from the "counsellors" (*mantriṇaḥ*). The former, according to him, handle affairs of state, and the latter day-to-day concerns. See *KauṭArthŚā* 1.4, 5, and 9 and *ManuSm* 7.54ff.

6. "in their own realm or abroad" *sveṣu . . . pareṣu*: The translation follows Cg's gloss, "events in one's own country and in others." Ct understands *sveṣu* as "friends" and *pareṣu* as "enemies."

10. "the relative gravity of a man's offense" *puruṣasya balābalaṃ*: This reading follows Ct,Cr, and Cg. Ct offers an optional interpretation, "the relative power of the king," but this is difficult to support in the context.

14. "Sensible only of the virtues of their master" *gurau guṇagr̥hītāḥ*: This is a peculiar and difficult phrase. The northern manuscripts substitute 4 lines [267\*] for our verses 13-14, in which the phrase is replaced by the much simpler *svaguṇeṣu parikhyātāḥ*, "famed for their virtues." Eight manuscripts of southern bias (Dt,4,6,8,G1-3,M1) read *guroḥ* in place of *gurau*, whereas T3 reads *guṇaiḥ*. Several other manuscripts, mainly Devanāgarī, also have alternative readings. This suggests that the reading should be regarded as doubtful, even though not marked as such by the crit. ed. The referent of *guru* here is in question. Does it refer to the king or to an actual teacher? Ct, the only commentator who says anything helpful, reads it as referring to both. Bhandare 1920, p. 52, understands "preceptors," which, since he cites Ct, apparently includes the king. It seems likely, given the context, that the referent intended is the king, and the sense is that the ministers only apprehended



the virtues of Daśaratha and not his faults, that is, they refused to hear any evil of their master.

17. The meter is *upajāti*, which has eleven syllables per quarter.

## Sarga 8

1. “suffered” *tapyamānasya*: We follow Ck, Cg, and Cm. Ct and Cr understand the phrase to mean that the king is actually performing penances (*tapas*) for the sake of acquiring an heir. Cg also gives this as an alternative explanation. But the first seems more appropriate for the king, who is brooding over his lack of progeny. Also, if the king were engaged in actual austerities, one would expect some description of them.

2. “Horse Sacrifice” *vājimedhena*: Daśaratha’s choice of this particular rite is peculiar, as it is normally performed for the purpose of extending and defining a king’s area of sovereignty. The normal rite for the acquisition of a son is the Putrakāmeṣṭi, which is not mentioned here. For a discussion of this contradiction and its possible origins and implications, see notes to 1.11.1 and the Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa*. See also *sarga* 13, where the Horse Sacrifice is described in unusual detail, and crit. notes, pp. 437-38, for more elaborate discussion and description of the rite itself.

4-5. After 4, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 14, S (except M4) read for the first time 11\*.5-20 (GPP 1.8.5-24 and 1.12.5c-22), in which Sumantra carries out Daśaratha’s orders and summons the king’s advisors, who approve of the sacrifice. Since this repetition does not occur in the northern versions, Bhatt has concluded that the passage rightfully belongs only to *sarga* 11. This creates an awkward gap in the narrative, however, since Sumantra does not carry out the command, but immediately launches into the tale of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga. Peterson 1879, p. 8, comments that this is “a piece of unskilled joining.” On the other hand, the repeated passage of the S manuscripts only postpones and does not eliminate the discontinuity. For, although the passage follows logically enough from the king’s command, its end provides no coherent juncture with the verse that follows it (1.8.6; GPP 1.9.1). For now it is not clear what it is that Sumantra hears, and his introduction of the tale of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga seems no less abrupt. The problem is undoubtedly to be traced to the relatively late and rather imperfect interpolation of the episode into the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. For further discussion of the history of this portion of the text, see the Introduction.

6. Sanatkumāra is probably the famous seer known from the *ChāndoU* 7.1.1 and 7.26.2. See crit. notes, p. 438.

7. The crit. ed. (crit. notes, p. 438) has adopted everywhere the southern reading of the name R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, even though it is printed in the critical text itself as R̥ṣyaśṛṅga. This southern version of the name is also found in the S manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, and was accepted for the crit. ed. of that text by Sukthankar. The crit. ed. has omitted the majority of textual evidence here and elsewhere for this name.

The R̥ṣyaśṛṅga episode appears also at *MBh* 3.110-13, *PadmP*, Bengali recension, *Pātālakhaṇḍa*, 13 (reprinted in Lüders 1897), *Bhāratamañjarī* 3.758-95, *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* 33, *Avadānakalpalatā* 65, *Alambusā* and *Nalānikā Jātakas*, etc. The episode is clearly of great importance to traditional India, and it is this importance, coupled with the tale’s powerful association with sexuality and especially fertility, that is doubtless responsible for its rather awkward inclusion in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. One is

inclined, on the basis of the palpably ill fit of the episode in our epic and on the clearly inferior version that we have, to believe, with Lüders 1897 and 1901, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* episode is later than that of the *Mahābhārata* version and, possibly, even that of the *Padmapurāṇa*. For a general discussion of the saga, see Lüders 1897; Sukthankar 1942, pp. 1100-101; and crit. notes, pp. 438-39. For a discussion of the role of the episode in the formation of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, see the Introduction.

See also note on 1.11.6 and *MBh* 3.110.12-13, where Ṛṣyaśṛṅga is also identified as a descendant of Kāśyapa.

8. Ct suggests that the thrust of the verse, with its use of *sadā*, “entirely,” and *nityam*, “constant,” is to show the total isolation and innocence of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.

9. “chastity will be destroyed” *dvaividhyam brahmacaryasya*: The phrase is obscure. It means literally “duality or differentiation in his chastity.” The translation follows Cg, who interprets *dvaividhyam* as “a break brought about through the sage’s contact with women.” In the context of the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga legend this makes good sense. On the other hand, Cg offers an alternative explanation to the effect that chastity is of two kinds, that of the celibate and that of the householder who engages in sexual activity only at the times prescribed by the law texts. Cm for the most part follows Cg, whereas Ck and Ct only provide the latter interpretation, stressing that the chastity of a celibate is primary and that of a householder secondary. Cr provides a sectarian interpretation based on a scholastic reading of *dvaividhya*, “intense meditation upon the two, that is, Rāma and Sītā,” thereby making even Ṛṣyaśṛṅga a devotee of Rāma. Here again, as with so many of the obscure if perfectly grammatical readings of S, the N manuscripts tend to serve as a kind of gloss. In place of our phrase they substitute a phrase expressing the sense suggested by Cg, which we have accepted. This phrase varies in the various manuscript traditions insofar as they tend to use different adjectives with the sense of “lost, broken, destroyed.”

11. Romapāda: This is the southern version of the king’s name. The northern manuscripts (Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1, 2, 5, 7, 9-13) consistently read Lomapāda. Notice that the northern manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* version read Lomapāda, whereas the majority of the southern manuscripts of that text read Romapāda.

Aṅgas: The country of Aṅga was located around what is now the district of Bhagalpur in southern Bihar. It was one of the *mahājanapadas* or tribal states of ancient India. Its capital city was known as Campā. See notes on 1.6.20 and 1.12.22. See also Law 1954, pp. 42-43, and crit. notes, p. 439.

12. “Because of some transgression” *vyatikramāt*: The nature of Romapāda’s lapse is nowhere mentioned. The commentators are general in their explanations, saying that it is a lapse of *dharma* or a transgression of his kingly duties.

“cruel and terrible” *sudāruṇā . . . sughorā*: This is one of those pairs of synonyms or near synonyms, quite common in the Sanskrit epic style, that are virtually impossible to distinguish semantically for the purposes of translation. The commentators often feel impelled to attempt to make some distinction between the two terms and read *sudāruṇā* to indicate the duration of the drought and *sughorā* to suggest its geographical extent, which includes the entire kingdom.

13. “advanced in learning” *śrutavṛddhān*: The N manuscripts substitute *jñānino vipṛāṇ*, “learned brahmans,” thus lending support to this interpretation. See note on verse 14 below.

14. “learned in the ways of righteousness” *śrutadharmāṇaḥ*: This phrase is somewhat obscure, and many variants are found. The vulgate (Ct, Cr only; 1.9.10) reads



*śrutakarmāṇaḥ*, which, according to Ct, should be understood as the rites referred to in the ritual literature about droughts. The Mysore ed. (1.9.10) reads as does the critical text. Most N manuscripts read *śrutidr̥ṣṭāntaiḥ*: “by means of examples provided in the scriptures.” Cr, who reads as does the critical text, understands the phrase to mean “having heard many worldly and vedic things.”

16. “with . . . unwavering mind” *susamāhitāḥ*: This adjective is widely applied to characters in the epic, often with no apparent specific focal reference. Here, however, it may be that there is a reference to some anticipated unwillingness on the part of the king to give his daughter away to some wild ascetic. Such hesitation is seen elsewhere in the epic in the marriage of R̥cika and Satyavatī (*MBh* 3.115.9-18) and hinted at in the story of Cyavana and Sukanyā (*MBh* 3.122). See 1.47.18 and 1.48.18, where the word *susamāhitāḥ* also occurs.

Śāntā is said in some texts to be Daśaratha’s daughter adopted by R(L)omapāda. See *BhāgP* 9.23.8 and *UttarāC* 1.4. See crit. notes on 1.10.3 (p. 440) and Cr on GPP 1.11.3, who, against the other commentators, thinks that Śāntā was the real daughter of Daśaratha. A. Chatterjee 1957 has shown that the tradition that Śāntā is the daughter of Daśaratha belongs to N. See note on verse 22 and 1.10.3 below.

20. “difficulty” *doṣaḥ*: An ambiguous term that has many meanings, such as “fault,” “defect,” “censure,” “offense,” and so on. We have translated it here as “difficulty” because it seems that the ministers, having seen a means by which the sage may be brought safely, are reassuring the king that neither he nor they will suffer retribution at the hands of the ascetic. The commentators give various, often alternative, explanations. Ck thinks that no ill consequences will befall them, since they will be using the prostitutes as intermediaries. Ct offers this and another explanation, whereby *doṣa* refers to a diminution of the sage’s chastity. Cg gives these two alternatives and expands upon the second, saying that his chastity will not be compromised because they plan to bring him in such a way that he will never have actual sexual contact with the prostitutes. This last interpretation is at odds with most other versions of the legend and merely points up the bowdlerized nature of the *Rāmāyaṇa* version. Cg adds yet a third alternative according to which the *doṣa* is the drought itself. Cm gives the last two alternatives only. Cr takes the term to refer to dereliction on the part of the king’s ministers.

21. “god will cause rain” *avarṣayad devaḥ*: The god in question is Parjanya (Indra). Burrow’s suggestion (1959, p. 79) to read *devam* for *devaḥ* attempts to deal with the problem of the causative, but although the crit. notes, p. 439, evaluate this as “not unlikely” and Ck urges this reading as “an improvement,” we are not convinced. Such a reading is improbable on the basis of the textual evidence. Only five manuscripts have the accusative here, and even the N version [289\*.3] has the nominative. It seems to us preferable to read *avarṣayat* as a *svārthe* *ñijanta*, a causative form with the sense of the simplex.

For verses 21-22 the N manuscripts substitute 12 lines [289\*] that provide much the same information with additional detail and greater clarity.

22. “son-in-law” *jāmātā*: The verse does not specify whose relation R̥śyaśṛṅga is thought to be. Ct and Cr, whom we follow, understand that the sage is to be Daśaratha’s son-in-law. Ct thinks that this is so because Daśaratha is a close friend of R(L)ompāda, who is the real father-in-law of R̥śyaśṛṅga. Cg says that R̥śyaśṛṅga is the son-in-law of either Daśaratha or R(L)omapāda, since the former had given his daughter to the latter. See note on verse 16 above, where the familial affiliation

of Śāntā is discussed. Notice that in N's passage [289\*.8-9] it is said explicitly that the sage becomes the son-in-law of King Lomapāda and produces sons for King Daśaratha.

## Sarga 9

For *sarga* 9, Ñ,V,B,D1,10,13,M4 substitute 103 lines [309\*].

3. "austerity and study" *tapahsvādhyāyane*: See note on 1.1.1.

"with women and with the pleasures of the senses" *nārīnām viṣayānām sukhasya ca*: The syntax of the genitives is awkward and obscure. The translation follows Cg, who reads "women" separately from "senses" in a somewhat objective sense. Ck construes both genitives as partitive, whereas Ct, evidently following him, interprets the phrase to mean "unacquainted with the pleasure associated with the sensual experience of women."

5. "prostitutes" *gaṇikāḥ*: See crit. notes, p. 439.

"He will receive them with honor" *satkṛtāḥ*: The agent of this honor to the prostitutes is not made clear by the text. The translation follows Cr and one alternative of Cg in making the agent the sage. There is no way of ignoring the interpretation of Ck and Ct, however, who say that the prostitutes will be honored with gifts of various garments, ornaments, food, and drink, and thus suggest that it is the king who must first pay off the women. Cg, unable to make up his mind, says it means "greatly honored by us or by R̥śyaśṛṅga."

7. "stayed near the ashram" *āśramasyāvidure 'smin*: The sequence is awkward, especially the word *asmin*. Many versions, including the northern [309\*.20], omit the word altogether and avoid the difficulty. Ck,Ct,Cr, and Cg understand it, probably correctly, to refer elliptically to the forest. Cm, on the other hand, construes it with *darśane*, "glimpse," rationalizing that the demonstrative *asmin* is used because the sight of R̥śyaśṛṅga is present "in their minds." Notice that the northern manuscripts [309\*.20] have *tadā*, which seems to us a more straightforward reading. The reading is marked as doubtful in the crit. ed.

The crit. notes, p. 439, revise the numbering of the verses. Verse 7 includes 8ab, whereas 8cd stands alone.

The northern version after its variant to 7ef (new numbering), that is, 309\*.21, adds several verses to the story in which the wives of the courtesans are more fully described.

"Wholly content . . .": This verse should be considered at best a doubtful reading in the critical text, although it is not noted as such. The verse has no variant known to the entire northern version and is not crucial to the context. See note on 1.19.15.

9. "or any other creature of the city or the countryside" *anyat sattvaṃ nagararāṣṭrajam*: Ck,Ct, and Cg all suggest that the city creatures would be horses, elephants, and so on, whereas those of the countryside are pigs, fowl, and so on. The point of the verse is probably not to suggest that the boy-sage has never seen any living thing other than his father, but that he is entirely innocent of any sort of social environment. There seems to be no serious reference, as is suggested in the crit. notes, p. 439, to political divisions of the country.

12. The prostitutes appear to ask three questions in the verse, although the last is not explicitly marked as such. Ck,Ct,Cg,Cr, and Cm all agree that the last line is



an additional question. The commentators differ among themselves as to the exact significance of the second question, *kim vartate*. The translation is, more or less, in accordance with the interpretations of Ct and Cr, who see the question specifically directed to the sage's occupation. But Cg and Cm understand, "Why are you here?" and Ck, "What is your name?" The reading of N provides the third interrogative, *kasmāt*, "why" [309\*.48].

14. *Ṛśyaśṛṅga*: The name means "having deer antlers," and Cg and Cr provide brief versions of the well-known story of the sage's birth from a doe who had accidentally imbibed some of Vibhāṇḍaka's semen. They describe the tale as purāṇic. See *MBh* 3.110.11-16, where the story of the doe is told. Cr, however, remarks that "others" reject this story and explain the name differently. The sage's mother is referred to as deer only metaphorically in that she has the eyes and so on of a gazelle. Moreover, according to this argument, *śṛṅga* means not antlers, but mountain peaks, the peaks on which deer (*ṛśya*) delight. Thus the name means "he who inhabits deer-filled mountains."

"occupation" *karma*: *Ṛśyaśṛṅga*'s occupation according to Ct, Cg, and Cm is ascetic practice. Burrow's suggestion (1959, p. 79) of an emendation in the critical reading to *nāmakarma* (from *nāma karma*) is not a good one, as is correctly noted in the crit. notes, p. 440.

15. "Our ashram is nearby" *ihāśramapado 'smākaṃ samīpe*: The use of the masculine gender, instead of the expected neuter, for *pada* is unusual. The reading is marked as doubtful, since a few S manuscripts (T3, G1, 3) and NW manuscripts (Ś, D2, 7) read the locative, *pade*. But Burrow's harsh comment (1959, p. 78) about "the use of barbarous Sanskrit" is uncalled for and prescriptive rather than descriptive. The crit. notes, p. 440, have defended their choice of the reading adequately and, we feel, correctly.

17. "welcoming offering" *arghyam*: See note on 1.2.24.

18. "were filled with longing, they were fearful of the seer" *samutsukāḥ . . . ṛṣer bhītāḥ*: In this verse Ct has been followed. He understands *samutsuka* to suggest the prostitutes' eagerness to lead *Ṛśyaśṛṅga* away from the ashram. It seems that the intent is to show that both this eagerness and their fear lead them to terminate the first encounter so quickly. Cr takes *samutsuka* simply to mean "greatly delighted," whereas Cg and Ck interpret it as "desirous of (long [Ck]) conversation with him." In these cases one would translate "eager but fearful." The sage of whom they are frightened is Vibhāṇḍaka. Perhaps in keeping with the generally prudish stance of the *Rām* and its commentaries, the commentators avoid the common sense of the term, "sexually excited, longing for sexual contact."

20. "joyfully" *harṣasamanvitāḥ*: Ck and Ct note that there are two reasons for the prostitutes' joy. The first is their pleasurable embrace of a boy celibate, and the second is that this contact is favorable to their plans.

21. "mighty" *tejasvī*: A stock epithet of brahmins and other important personages. Ct, reading closely and playing on the various meanings of *tejas*, that is, "power, luster, semen," and so on, remarks that the epithet means "one whose *tejas* is not diminished," and applies it to the sage because he has not shed his semen in spite of his contact with the prostitutes and because he knows the absolute (*brahman*).

"living always" *nityanivāsinā*: For the change in the critical reading, see crit. notes, p. 440.

23. After this verse, Ś, D5, 12 insert 9 lines [302\*] in which Vibhāṇḍaka returns to the ashram that evening to find his son so sad that he asks who has been there.

Ṛśyaśṛṅga replies that he has been visited by elderly, pure, and splendid sages, who have embraced him in affection. After 309\*.80, N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,11) insert 17 lines [314\*] that have a similar content. This incident, well developed in the *Mahābhārata* version (3.111.22ff.), is, as the evidence shows, popular only in the northern manuscripts and is likely to have had a source influenced by the *MBh* version.

26. “welcome ceremony” *vidhiḥ*: Literally this means “rite,” but here most commentators (Ck,Ct,Cg,Cm, and Cr) see the prostitutes as stressing the sumptuous nature of the foods that they will give Ṛśyaśṛṅga. This appears to be in keeping with Ṛśyaśṛṅga’s interest in the prostitutes’ confections in verses 20-21. This in turn parallels a more elaborate reference to Ṛśyaśṛṅga’s fascination with the delicacies and intoxicating beverages used in his seduction in the *Mahābhārata* version (3.11.13; 112.14-15). What is of particular note, however, is that in this highly bowdlerized retelling of the legend, the gastronomic delights have entirely replaced the sexual seduction of the sage in the *Mahābhārata*, where the delicacies serve merely as an adjunct. Despite the use of prostitutes, the *Rāmāyaṇa* admits of no sexual contact with the sage, and would have it that he abandons his father and the ascetic life principally upon the urging of his sweet tooth. Compare *MBh* 3.112, especially verse 12.

28. “there” *tatra*: That is, Aṅga; see note on 1.8.11.

“the god” *devaḥ*: That is, Parjanya; see note on 1.8.21.

30. “welcoming offering” *arghyam*: See note on 1.2.24.

“Please do not be angry, brahman” *mā vipraṃ manyur āviśet*: The commentators see this as a highly formal use of the third for the second person, but Ct,Cr, and Cg, additionally or alternatively, see this as a reference to the anticipated anger of Vibhāṇḍaka. They are doubtless thinking of the elaborate diffusion of the elder sage’s wrath detailed at *MBh* 3.113.11-21. It is, of course, possible that our phrase is a very terse reference to that. Once again the northern manuscripts insert a passage—15 lines [315\*]—that details the sage’s wrath upon his return to the empty ashram, his search for his son, and his ultimate acceptance of his son’s defection. This passage is very similar to that found at *MBh* 3.113.14-20. So similar, in fact, are the two that it seems as if the northern manuscripts were very familiar with the *Mahābhārata*’s version. Appendix I, No. 4, discussed at the beginning of the notes on *sarga* 17, tells of the ultimate reconciliation of Vibhāṇḍaka and his son.

## Sarga 10

1. “descendant of the gods” *devapravarah*: Sanatkumāra, see note on 1.8.6. See Bhandare 1920, p. 56, who translates, “the eldest of the gods.” Sumantra continues his recitation of Sanatkumāra’s tale.

3. “the (king of Aṅga)” (*aṅgarājena*) . . . *asya*: The pronoun refers to Romapāda, according to all commentators except Cr, who says it refers to Daśaratha. The issue, of course, revolves around the question of Śāntā’s parentage. Most of the commentators do not accept the tradition of Śāntā’s adoption, and Ck goes so far as to provide a refutation. Bhandare, on the other hand, thinks that it must refer to King Daśaratha (1920, p. 56). See also crit. notes, pp. 440-41, on this verse as well as verse 1.10.17, and notes on 1.8.16 and 22.



4. "The king of Aṅga" *aṅgasya rājñah*: Here the reference is not to Romapāda but his father.

The verse seems to mark a regression in the narrative. The identification of Romapāda and his daughter was already established at *sarga* 8 (verses 11, 16). Perhaps this reintroduction of the two characters should be seen as evidence marking the previous two *sargas* as interpolations. See crit. notes, p. 440.

For 4-7, Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 5, 7, 9-13, M4 substitute 10 lines [322\*]. In this passage it is explicitly stated that Śāntā is Daśaratha's real daughter and was given by him to R(L)omapāda, who was childless.

6. "who can give him sons" *putravantam*: The translation follows Cv's "having as a motive the production of sons" and Cg's first reading, "able to give sons." Ct and Cr cite the injunction "*jātaputra . . .*" and so on, which according to them shows that the verse intends to suggest that since Ṛśyaśṛṅga kindled the sacred fires, he is authorized to be the officiating priest for Daśaratha's sacrifice.

15. "Arriving there, he . . . saw" *āsādyā tam . . . dadarśa*: The syntax of the verse is awkward. The translation follows the commentators, who take *taṁ* to refer to *deśam*, "country," of 14c, but this may be otiose. If, however, one takes it in apposition to *dvijaśreṣṭham*, "best of brahmans," the sentence becomes cumbersome with one subject, two verbs, and one object.

16. The names of the kings are not specified in the text but have been supplied in the translation for the sake of clarity. According to the commentators, *rājā* refers to King Romapāda, and *rājñah* refers to King Daśaratha. Compare the northern variant 330\* (2 lines), where the name Daśaratha is explicitly mentioned, avoiding the confusion of the southern version.

17. "kinship" *sambandhakam*: See note above on verse 3 for a discussion of the complex and uncertain relationship among Daśaratha, Romapāda, Ṛśyaśṛṅga, and Śāntā.

The northern manuscripts (including Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 5, 7, 9-13) and M4 insert and/or substitute completely or partially 8 lines [331\*] in which the story is modified to include the northern version's acceptance of the genetic relationship between Daśaratha and Śāntā.

18. Again the proper names have been supplied in the translation to avoid confusion. *Rājā* refers to Daśaratha, and *rājānam* refers to Romapāda.

26. "whose deeds were like those of Indra" *indrakarmanā*: The translation follows Cg's reading of the compound. Ck, Ct, and Cr, however, understand the phrase as "whose deeds assist Indra."

28. "because of their love for her" *prītyā*—: Cg says that the women who had known her only as a maiden rejoiced to see her with a husband. Thus he evidently accepts the legend of Śāntā's having grown up in the household of Daśaratha.

## *Sarga 11*

1. "ravishing the heart" *sumanohare*: Ct, Cg, and Cr agree that the implication is that the time is auspicious and free from ill omens, and so on. The time here, according to the commentators, is when the full moon is standing in the constellation of Citra, that is, March-April.

2. Note that the use of the Aśvamedha, or Horse Sacrifice, to acquire sons is unusual

(see note on 1.8.2). Cg provides an extensive note on the appropriateness of its employment in this circumstance, remarking that the Aśvamedha is prescribed to eliminate any behavioral lapses, religious or otherwise, on Daśaratha's behalf. Cf. Kane 1962-1975, vol. IV, pp. 91-92, who states "that all persons guilty of any of the mahāpātakas [the cardinal sins], are purified by the performance of the Aśvamedha or by going to all the *tīrthas* on the earth," a citation taken by him from the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* (ch. 35, last verse). Compare crit. notes on 1.8.2 (p. 437), where it is said that the Aśvamedha can be used for the acquisition of a son, and on 1.14 (p. 446), where the Aśvamedha is said only to remove sins. See Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa*, where this discrepancy is discussed further.

Several manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D7,10,13,M4) substitute 3 lines [343\*]. The variant's distribution may be traced to its explicit use of the name Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, which avoids the confusion of our reading.

5. Southern manuscripts (Dt,4,6,8,14,S [except M4]) read verses 5-21 for the first time following 1.8.4. The crit. ed. has taken both versions into account. The wisdom of this, in our opinion, is doubtful.

6. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga is known as a Kāśyapa, the son of Kāśyapa Vibhāṇḍaka, see *MBh* 3.110.12-13 and *Rām* 1.8.7.

7. "words in keeping with both righteousness and sound policy" *idaṃ dharmārthasahitaṃ*: This is corrected in the crit. notes (p. 441) to read *dharmārthasahitaṃ yuktaṃ*.

8. "For that reason" *tadartham*: Many S manuscripts (Dt,4,6,8,T3,G1,3,M2—all second time) read *putrārtha*, "for the sake of a son."

9. "prescribed in the ritual texts" *śāstradr̥ṣṭena*: This is doubtful reading; variants include *hayamedhena*, *vājimedhena*, *hayapūrveṇa*, and *vidhipūrveṇa*.

11. "Making Ṛṣyaśṛṅga their spokesman" *ṛṣyaśṛṅgapurogāḥ*: Cf. 10c, *vasiṣṭha-pramukhāḥ*. Now Ṛṣyaśṛṅga is the first, whereas Vasiṣṭha was in the previous verse. This adds to the confusion in the passage caused by the substitution of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga for Vasiṣṭha as principal officiant in the sacrifice. See 1.12.34 and 1.13.2 and Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa*.

14. "release the horse . . . attended by our preceptor" *aśvaḥ sopādhyāyo vimucyatām*: Peterson's point is well taken (1879, notes p. 10). Schlegel was wrong in taking *upādhyāya* to mean "groom." The idea is that the priest as an officiant must be present at the ceremony. See *ŚatBr* 13.4.2.5-17, especially 5 and 15, and Keith 1925, pp. 343-44.

15. "propitiatory rites" *śāntayah*: *Śāntis* are propitiatory rites used for averting a god's anger, a calamity, or an unlucky event. See Kane 1962-1975, vol. V, pp. 719ff.

"in due order and according to the ritual injunctions" *yathākālpaṃ yathāvidhi*: We follow Cg, who glosses the former term as *yathākramam* and the latter as *yathāśāstram*.

Sarayū: See note on 1.5.5.

17. "brahman-rākṣasas" *brahmarākṣasāḥ*: This refers to a specific type of ghost, that is, the ghost of a brahman who during his life had a disdainful attitude, made love to others' wives, and stole the property of brahmans. See *ManuSm* 12.60, crit. notes, p. 441, Bhandare 1920, p. 57, and Hopkins 1915b, p. 44.

"without following all the injunctions" *vidhihīnasya*: This is marked as a doubtful reading. Variant readings include *vighnitasya calhi*, "obstructed," *vihatasya ca*, *nihatasya calhi*, and so forth.

18. "preliminary rites" *vidhānam*: These may include the *śāntis* of verse 15.



## Sarga 12

1-2. "as you said you would" *yathoktam*: This interpretation is against Ct, Cr, and Cg, who read the expression as referring to the sacrificial injunctions, that is, "according to prescription." It is interesting to note that many N manuscripts read for 2cd 367\*, where the word *yathāśāstram* occurs rather than *yathoktam*, the same interpretation as the commentators provide, Cf. 1.72.23.

4. "begun" *udyataḥ*: Ck and Ct interpret the term to mean that the approximate time for the sacrifice has arrived, since the released horse has once again been captured. Cr glosses *udyataḥ* as *prāpta*, "arrived," or perhaps here "begun." Cg understands the word in the sense of *upakrānta*, "commenced, begun." It is this gloss that the crit. notes, p. 442, render, somewhat infelicitously, as "shouldered."

5-7. "requested" *samarthitam*: Usually this means "maintained, considered, judged, decided." The vulgate commentators, however, agree that the meaning is "(properly) requested," *samyakprārthitam*, and this is contextually appropriate.

"experienced" *vrddhān*: Although it literally means "old," Cr glosses *vrddhān* as *bahujñān*, "knowledgeable." The translation follows Śrīnivāsaśāstrī's suggestion. See also verse 6 for the use of *vrddha* in a similar sense.

"art of construction" *sthāpatye*: Ct and Ck understand this to mean "chariot or car making," while Cr, Cg, and Cm understand it to refer to sacrificial architecture. Peterson 1879, notes p. 10, takes it to mean "in charge of carpentry."

"reliable" *karmāntikān*: The commentators take this to mean servants or workmen, *bhrtyān*. Rather than introducing a new noun, it seems that it can just as well be construed with *śilpakārān*, "artisans."

"artisans" *śilpakārān*: The commentators are divided as to the exact distinction between *śilpakāras* and *śilpins*. Ck and Ct take *śilpam*, as in *śilpakāra*, to mean *citrādi*, "painting and so on." Therefore they understand the first term in the sense of artists. On the other hand, Ck and Ct take *śilpinah* as *carmakārādayaḥ*, "tanners and so on," in other words, artisans. In direct opposition to this, Cr and Cg take *śilpinah* as *citrādikāraḥ* "makers of paintings, and so on," and *śilpakārān* as *īṣṭakādinirmātrṇ*, "makers of bricks, and so on." Cr and Cg have been followed in the translation, but there is no way to decide the issue.

"astrologers" *ganakān*: Here following Ct and Cr, who gloss *jyotirvidaḥ* (*jyotiśśāstra-nipunān*). Cg and Cm interpret the term to mean *lekhakān*, "scribes." See *Amarakośa* 1495, where Ct and Cr's interpretation is supported.

8. "begin" *samīhantām*: Cg thinks that this instruction applies only to the *ṛtvij*s, the officiating priests, and that it is the following order that is directed to the artisans. If he is right, *yajñakarma*, which we take to mean "work for the sacrifice," may refer to the ritual performance itself. Ct, on the other hand, says that *yajñakarma* is not the object of *samīhantām*. He argues that the word *nirvartayitum*, "in order to accomplish," should be supplied, and that *yajñakarma* should be taken as its object. Thus, "busy yourselves for the furtherance of the sacrificial rites."

*iti*: This marker of direct quotation construes according to Cg with *abravīt* of 5c. We agree, but it is a complex construction. Cm gives the option of construing it with *abruvan* of verse 15. Note that many N manuscripts (Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 5, 7, 9-13) avoid this difficulty by substituting the word *dvijān*, "brahmans," for *iti*.

9. "with all amenities" *bahugunānvitāḥ*: Ct, Cr, and Ck understand this to mean "supplied with food and drink," whereas Cg takes it to describe the physical aspect of the buildings, that is, they are high-ceilinged and roomy.

10. “every sort of food and drink” *bhaksyānnapānaiḥ*: Cg glosses this with *kathinaṃ phalādi*, “sweetmeats, fruits, and so on,” which implies that the refreshments are special treats rather than just ordinary fare.

After verse 10, the vulgate and D6,8 insert 3 lines [369\*], which continue to describe the types of furnishings to be provided. These specifically refer to the buildings for housing royal guests and armies.

13-15. “your hearts softened by love” *prīṭisnigdhenā cetasā*: Although *snigdha* literally signifies “unctuous,” it idiomatically means “affectionate.” But this seems awkward in the compound. The vulgate, following Ct and Cr, reads more clearly, *prīṭiyuktenā cetasā*, “hearts filled with love.” Cr glosses *snigdhenā* with *ārdrenā*, “wet, moist,” so here, “moist with affection.”

17. brahmans, kshatriyas, *vaiśyas*, and *sūdras*: These are the four *varṇas*, “social orders.” See notes on 1.1.75 and 1.6.16-17.

- 18-19. “ancient kinsman” *pūrvasambandhinam*: The meaning of *pūrva* is obscure. Ct and Ck take *pūrva* in the sense of “brought first.” Ct further clarifies this by telling us that Daśaratha, through his yogic powers, is able to foretell the future relation between Rāma and Sītā and therefore summons him (Janaka) first. Cg and Cm, on the other hand, seem to imply a longstanding and ancient tie. Both families originate from Manu and are called Aikṣvākas, but a complete and unambiguous genealogy of the clans is difficult to trace, and it is hard to identify a common ancestor.

20. Kāśi: Benares (Varanasi).

21. “king of the Kekayas” *kekayarājānam*: Note the irregular ending. Daśaratha’s father-in-law, Kaikeya, stands, it seems, third in precedence after Janaka and Kāśi-rāja.

“his son” *saputram*: The king of the Kekayas’ son is Yudhājit. See note on 1.72.1.

22. Aṅga: See note on 1.8.11.

After verse 22, Dt,6,8 insert 4 lines [373\*], which mention the countries of Magadha and Kosala. The country of Aṅga with its capital city of Campā lay to the east of Magadha.

23. “eastern” *prācīnān*: Bhatt in the crit. notes, p. 443, takes this as a reference to the regions named in the verse. He therefore assumes that, since these lay to the west and not the east of Ayodhyā, there is an error in the text. It is not necessary, however, to interpret *prācīna* in this manner. We have taken the term separately from the named countries as a reference to the lands east of Ayodhyā. We thus understand the verse to refer to three directions in all: the west, the east, and the south. The alternative interpretation of *prācīna* as “old” that Bhatt, p. 443, puts forward makes little sense here.

Note that none of the famous kings of the lunar dynasty, the central royal house of the *MBh*, are mentioned. This tends to support the notion that even the later strata of the *Rām* are ignorant of the longer epic. For a discussion of this issue, see the Introduction.

33. “on the advice of both Vasiṣṭha and Ṛṣyaśṛṅga” *vasiṣṭhavacanād ṛṣyaśṛṅgasya cobhayoh*: The construction is awkward but not ambiguous.

34. Note again the persistent ambiguity concerning the order of precedence of Vasiṣṭha and Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.



## Sarga 13

This *sarga* describes the Aśvamedha or Horse Sacrifice. Its importance from a text-historical point of view has been commented upon by various scholars. Schlegel and Lassen both felt that the detail apparent in the southern recension, which they call the recension of the commentators, and which Gorresio calls the northern recension, indicates that this recension is the older and belongs to a period in which these rites were in vogue. Gorresio refutes this and is one of the first to attribute this difference to recensional divergence, the theory most generally held today. Jacobi, too, comments upon the importance of this episode from a text-historical point of view, using his arguments to demonstrate the posteriority of the *Bālakāṇḍa* (see Schlegel 1829, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; Gorresio 1843, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix; Bulcke 1952/1953, pp. 330ff.; and Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa* above). For a brief description of the sacrifice, see Keith 1925, pp. 343-47, and Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 1228-39.

1. "full year" *saṃvatsare pūrṇe*: This paraphrases the reference at 1.12.1 and does not imply that a second year has elapsed. It is the same year as that of the horse's peregrinations. Cg mentions certain rites that have occurred during the year up to the recapture of the sacrificial horse and the entering of the sacrificial grounds. Ck observes that the following description of the sacrifice is poetic rather than an attempt at ritual accuracy.

2. "Led by Rśyaśṛṅga" *rśyaśṛṅgaṃ puraskṛtya*: The commentators agree that this indicates that Rśyaśṛṅga is preeminent among those brahmans gathered. This again draws attention to the strange and persistent overlapping of the authority of Rśyaśṛṅga and Vasiṣṭha. Many N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,13) substitute 384\* for 2ab. The sense of the substitute passage is much the same, and the place of honor is still given to Rśyaśṛṅga.

3. "according to the ritual injunctions" *vidhivat*: Following Cg, the term has been understood in a general sense. The next three terms—*yathāvidhi*, *yathānyāyam*, and *śāstrataḥ*—are, however, used more specifically.

"Following the vedic prescriptions" *yathāvidhi*: The commentators interpret this variously. Ck and Ct take it to refer specifically to the *kalpasūtras*, or texts describing the rituals. Cr understands it as "not overstepping the rules, or injunctions (*vidhi*)."  
Cg understands it "as prescribed in the *veda*," whereas Cm takes it more generally to mean "following the rules of scriptural texts." The author of the crit. notes, p. 444, follows Cg.

"in the correct manner" *yathānyāyam*: All the commentators take this to mean following the strictures laid down by the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophy.

"according to the ritual texts" *śāstrataḥ*: Ct and Ck interpret this as "not forgetting the time and order of each proper action enjoined by the *śāstras*," whereas Cr takes it as "connected with learning," perhaps a reference to the *vedāṅgas* (see note on 1.1.13). Cg and Cm take *śāstrataḥ* to be a reference to the *kalpasūtras*. The crit. notes follow them.

"undertook it" *parikrāṃanti*: The crit. notes say "commenced." Peterson 1879, p. 11, quotes Ck and Ct's interpretation, and claims that this refers to the solemn procession around the *mahāvīra* pot, which was one of the initial ceremonies of the Pravargya rite. See Keith 1925, pp. 328, 333, and verse 4 below.

4. Pravargya and Upasad are names of rites performed at the beginning of the Soma sacrifice. The Pravargya rite, it is generally accepted, should be performed

twice a day on each of three Upasad days (six times in all). The Upasad rite consists of offerings made before and after noon with reference to iron, silver, and gold (in the form of Agni). See Keith 1925, p. 327. The Pravargya rite consists primarily in the offering of hot milk to the Aśvins in the morning and evening (Keith 1925, p. 332).

“additional rites” *adhikam karma*: Bhandare 1920, p. 60, interprets Ck and Ct to mean “additional rites to be performed on account of the extended application of the precepts of ritual pertaining to the main sacrifice.” The reference here is most likely to the fact that Daśaratha is undertaking this rite—a rite normally performed to sanction political hegemony—to acquire offspring. Cg understands it to mean “extended or added from the instructional texts.” The idea is that nothing pertaining to the rite was lacking.

5. “Completing their preliminary worship” *abhipūjya*: Worship is made to the presiding divinity of the sacrifice.

“Morning Pressing” *prātaḥsavana*—: According to Cg, the term here refers to all three libations—morning, midday, and evening (cf. Keith 1925, pp. 326ff.).

Dt,D4,6,8,14,S (except M4) insert, after 5, 4 lines [386\*] that further detail the *savanas*. Most commentators, however, do not mention the *savanas*.

Dt,6,8,G3,M4 (after 400\*), Ct continue, whereas Ñ,V,B,D10-13 insert, after 14, 4 lines [387\*] that further expand the description of the ritual.

6. “improperly offered” *ahutam*: The translation follows Ct, who glosses “offer a (sacrifice) wrongly or improperly.”

“they performed them perfectly” *kṣemayuktam*: According to Ct and Ck, the meaning is “without transgression of rules of injunctions,” or according to Ct,Cg, and Cm, “without obstacles.” Cm’s interpretation is “replete with *mantras* that destroy *rākṣasas* and remove obstacles.”

7. “fatigued” *śrāntaḥ*: Ck and Ct read this as “incapable of their respective (Ck: one’s own) priestly functions,” whereas Cr and Cg understand it to mean “thirsty,” to provide a better semantic parallel with *kṣuditaḥ*, “hungry.”

“attendants” *anucaraḥ*: The crit. notes, p. 444, following Cg’s interpretation, take this as a reference to the pupils attendant upon a brahman.

Verse 7 is repeated after 390\* in Ñ,V,B,D10,12,13. After the first occurrence of 7ab, these manuscripts insert 4 lines [389\*] that elaborate upon the above description. After the first occurrence of 7cd, these manuscripts insert 8 lines [390\*] that contain still more elaboration upon the theme of the lavishness of Daśaratha’s sacrifice.

8. “dependents” *nāthavantaḥ*: Ck,Ct,Cg, and Cm interpret as *dāsaḥ*, “slave” or “servant.” Cr, on the other hand, takes the term to refer to the three lesser classes of Aryan society—the kshatriyas, *vaiśyas*, and *sūdras*—who have the brahmans as their masters (*nātha*); see note on 1.1.75.

“Ascetics” *tāpasāḥ*: Ck and Ct take this to mean *sūdras* who are of the Śaiva sect. Cr disagrees, taking the term as a reference to celibates, and the like. The interpretation of Ct and Ck is probably based on a Vaiṣṇava prejudice against lowborn Śaivite mendicants. For the famous episode of the consequences of asceticism performed by *sūdras*, see the Śambūka episode in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (7.64-67). Cg and Cm do not gloss the term *tāpasāḥ* and must, therefore, have taken it, as do we, in its most general sense.

“wandering mendicants” *śramaṇāḥ*: See crit. notes, p. 444. Ck sees them as “*sūdras*



who wear red clothing and who have abandoned *saṃsāra*, 'worldly life, sons, and so on.' " Ct says they are Buddhists and *sannyāsins* (or Buddhist *sannyāsins*). Cr views them as ordinary (presumably Hindu) *sannyāsins*. Cg, citing the *Nighaṇṭu*, regards them as *digambaras*, "naked ascetics," or, optionally, men who have reached the fourth *āśrama*, "stage of life." This second interpretation is the same as Cr's, and Cm follows it. The presence of Buddhist mendicants at a vedic sacrifice is not as unthinkable as Bhatt suggests (crit. notes, p. 444). These ceremonies continued to be performed throughout the period during which Buddhism flourished in India and were (and still are) often major public events that attracted large crowds of people of all persuasions. Although, it is, as we have argued in the Introduction, extremely unlikely that there could have been any Buddhist mendicants at the time of the composition of the bulk even of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. The lateness of this passage does not rule out the view of Ct.

9. "they never felt jaded" *na tṛptir upalabhyate*: This is a somewhat awkward phrase to translate. *Tṛptiḥ* normally means "satisfaction, contentment"; however, it seems unlikely that the poet meant that the people did not get enough to eat. In fact, in verse 12 the brahmins answer *aho tṛptāḥ sma*, "we are satisfied." The phrase has puzzled commentators and scholars. Peterson's variant (1879, p. 39, line 2) and N,V,B,D10,13 read *nātrptir upalabhyate*, "they found no insufficiency (though they ate continually)." Peterson refers to the reading of the Bombay ed. (which is the same as the critical reading) as an "odd variant" (notes, p. 11). According to Peterson, "with one the reference is to the abundance of the food, with the other to the excellence." In keeping with this sense, some NW manuscripts (Ś,D5,11,12) have replaced the negative *na* with the prefix *su-*, "very," that is, "very satisfied." The commentators interpret our reading in two ways: a) the excellence of the food was such that even though they filled their bellies, their minds craved more (so Ck,Ct,Cr,Cg, and Cm); b) the king (Daśaratha), who was the *yajamāna*, "patron of the sacrifice" and the donor of the food, got no satisfaction in hearing the words "enough." Cm follows this latter interpretation, and says, "Daśaratha was not satisfied with the food (or the amount of food) and so said, 'Give.' " With the first interpretation, one can compare the English expression "couldn't get enough of" in the sense of expressing praise. Even so, this interpretation seems to conflict with verse 12 below. Perhaps the variant is to be preferred.

11. "perfectly prepared food" *annakutāś . . . siddhasya vidhivat*: *Anna-* (for *annasya*) is to be construed with *siddhasya*. The compound is irregular. *Siddha*, "prepared" or even "cooked," is qualified by *vidhivat*, "perfectly" (literally, "according to the rules"). According to Ct and Ck, this refers to the rules of food preparation known from the *pākaśāstras*. This is to say that the food is perfectly prepared as it must be for consumption by a brahman.

12. This *śloka* might also be interpreted as follows: "The bulls among brahmins praised the properly prepared and delicious food: 'Ah, bless you! We have had enough.' This is what Rāghava heard." Here the words *aho tṛptāḥ sma bhadraṃ te* are taken as constituting the entire quotation. Ct and Cr give both options. Cg notes that verses 7-12a (vulgate 1.14.11-17a) are not the words of the poet himself, but rather part of the brahmins' eulogy of the food.

13. "them" *tān*: The commentators agree in taking this to refer back to the men, *puruṣāḥ*, who were waiting on the brahmins. The pronoun could also refer to the brahmins themselves.

For 13, Ñ,V,B,D10,13 substitute 401\* (D11 only 13ab). This is an interesting passage. Here, the kings, invited as guests themselves, wait on the brahmins like servants (*bhṛtyavat*).

14. “learned” *dhīrāḥ*: This word has numerous meanings, such as “calm, prudent, steadfast,” and so on. Cr here takes it to mean *sāvadhānāḥ*, “careful,” whereas Cg, whom we follow, glosses *dhīmantaḥ*, “wise.” Bhandare 1920, p. 61, understands “sedate,” that is, “not carried away in the heat of discussion.” This is not a bad attempt to make the usual sense of the term fit the context.

“philosophical debates” *hetuvādān*: Cf. *MBh* 14.85.27. According to Cg, these are *brahmodyas*, stylized arguments concerning points of ritual that take place at specific points during the sacrifice between the *brahman* and *hotṛ* priests. Cr, on the other hand, takes this to mean “(philosophical) arguments concerning the cause of the world.” This interpretation is adopted by Bhandare 1920, p. 61, who cites Schlegel: “This public disputation in the assembly of Brahmins, and the almost fraternal connection between theology and philosophy, deserves some notice; whereas priests of some religions are generally but little inclined to show favour to philosophers, nay, sometimes they persecute them with the most rancorous hatred, as we are taught both by history and experience. This *śloka* is found in MSS. of different recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and we have therefore the most trustworthy testimony to the antiquity of philosophy among the Indians.” For a discussion of the kind of *brahmodya* employed during the Horse Sacrifice, see Keith 1925, pp. 344-45.

15. “make up the sacrifice” *saṁstare*: Ck,Cr,Ct, and Cm read *saṁstare* as *yajñe*, “sacrifice” (*Amarakośa* 2658). Cg reads *āstīṇabarhiṣi*, “on strewn *barhiṣ* grass.” Bhandare 1920, p. 61, disagrees with Cg. He says that since not all the rites are performed on *barhiṣ* grass, Cg’s interpretation is inaccurate. See crit. notes (p. 444). Cf. *MBh* 14.90.24 and 37 (crit. app.).

16. “the six adjunct sciences” *ṣaḍaṅga*—: See note on 1.1.13.

17. See crit. notes, p. 444. There are twenty-one *yūpas* or sacrificial posts in all, including those enumerated in verse 18. This is the usual number prescribed for this rite. Cf. Keith 1925, p. 344.

18. The construction of the *śloka* is odd. The implication appears to be that there is one post of *devadāru* wood and one of *śleṣmātaka* wood. But the commentators agree, in keeping with the virtually unanimous tradition of the ritual texts, that there are three posts, one of *śleṣmātaka* (or *rajjudāra*) and two of *devadāru*. We agree that this is the intention of the verse. See note on verse 17 and Bhandare 1920, p. 61.

19. “learned in the ritual texts” *śāstrajñaiḥ*: Ct and Ck understand the reference to be to the texts on ritual measurement and construction.

Ś,Ñ,V,B,D1-3,5,7,10,11,12,13 omit verse 19; M4 omits 19ab. This is to say that the verse is omitted by the entire N recension (D9, a W manuscript, retains it), yet it is admitted to the critical text. See Bhatt 1960, p. xxxiv, no. 3. In contrast to this it is interesting that 406\*, with virtually the same textual support, is quite correctly rejected by the critical edition.

21. “seven seers” *saptarṣayaḥ*: The seven mind-born sons of Brahmā. The actual list of seers differs somewhat in different sources. Cf. *MBh* 1.114.41, 13.94.3-4, etc., and *VāmaP* 23.9. The seven seers are identified with the constellation Ursa Major. According to the commentators, the quality that the sacrificial posts and the seven seers have in common is brilliance. Cg, however, refers to a numerical similarity



between the two groups as an optional point of comparison. Presumably he is referring to the fact that the twenty-one *yūpas* are ordered in three groups of seven.

22. See crit. notes for change of verse numbers.

23. "golden-winged eagle" *garuḍo rukmapakṣaḥ*: This verse refers to another rite known as the Agnicayana, one of the principal features of which is the ritual construction of a huge brick altar in the shape of an eagle. According to Kane (1962-1975, vol. II, p. 1249), the altar has five layers. The commentators, however, choose to follow the general rules laid down by the *VājaS* where the *cayana* is said to be built up in six layers, a number that is to be trebled in the special case of the *Aśvamedha*. Bhandare 1920, p. 62, interprets this to refer not to the layers of the altar, but rather to the number of altars themselves. He thus understands the sacrifice to require eighteen altars. This seems unlikely, and is not supported elsewhere. See Peterson 1879, p. 10. It is interesting to note that the text seems most familiar with the ritual tradition of the *VājaS*.

24. "place of immolation" *śāmitre*: According to Ct and Ck the term refers to the act of cutting up the dead victim, rather than the place at which this is done. Cg understands "at the time of immolation." The crit. notes tell us that it is "the place fixed for killing the animal to be offered in a sacrifice, to the north of the Uttaravedi, near the seats of Agnīdhra and the Adhvaryu priests" (p. 445). For information on the immolation of victims and an enumeration of the types of victims, cf. Eggeling 1966, vol. 2, p. 309 note 2 and *ŚatBr* 13.2.5.2; 5.1.13-15. See also Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 1108ff., especially p. 1119, on *paśubandhas*.

25. *Ñ, V, B, D10, 13, M4* omit 25ab. For 25c-30, these same manuscripts substitute 11 lines [413\*]. Here Kausalyā sleeps with the horse for one night, and the association of this action with the wish for a son is made clear (line 5). No mention is made of the other wives (see notes to verse 30).

"in addition to Daśaratha's jewel of a horse" *aśvaratnottaram*: Rather than *-uttamam*, "best, superior," the reading chosen by the critical editors, we have adopted the reading *uttaram*. The basis for the choice is mainly textual, although it is felt that contextually this reading is also preferable. The compound only occurs in the S manuscripts. N either replaces 25ef with 413\*, where the word *aśvaratnam* is used, but not in connection with *uttama/uttara*, or it substitutes 25e with the phrase, *sa yajño vavṛdhe*. Among the S manuscripts, ten manuscripts read *uttara*, whereas five manuscripts, including most commentators, provide support for the critical reading. The reason for the choice of this inadequately supported reading on the part of the critical editors is not clear. The statistically better supported and contextually preferable reading has therefore been adopted. This reading, *uttara*, has been glossed by Cm as *adhikam*, "more," which can then be construed as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with *trīsatam* in *pāda* c. This suggestion is followed in the translation.

26. See crit. notes, p. 445. This verse seems to go against all evidence of the traditional rites enjoined by the brahmanic tradition regarding the *Aśvamedha*. Normally, the chief queen neither performs purificatory rites nor kills the horse with the three knives. *ŚatBr* 13.2.8.1-5 provides a description of the role of the wives at this point in the *Aśvamedha* ceremony. At 13.2.8.1 we learn that after the horse is "quieted" (*saṃjñāpaya*), that is, strangled, the *adhvaryu* priest offers three oblations, says the words "Amba," and so on (13.2.8.3), and then leads the four wives up to the dead horse. Furthermore, at *ŚatBr* 13.2.10, the wives of the sacrificer prepare the "knife paths." This refers apparently to three lines drawn in the earth with the knife by the chief queen.

27. “with the horse” *patatrinā*: *Patatrin*, literally “possessing wings.” Peterson and Apte specify that this is a word used especially in the *Aśvamedha* to mean “horse.” Bhandare 1920, p. 63, gives the etymology of the word as “one who draws carts,” that is, a horse. See also *Amarakośa*, 1053. The commentators assume the existence of flying horses.

According to the text available to us, it seems that the queen does not spend the entire night with the horse. Typically she lies down with the horse and is covered with an upper cloth; at this time she is symbolically said to unite with the horse. Some words suggestive of copulation and fertility are spoken over her and the dead horse.

28. The *hotṛ*, the *adhvaryu*, and the *udgātṛ* are three of the four priests who carry out the rites of the sacrifice. The fourth is the *brahman* priest.

“second and . . . juniormost” *parivṛtṭyā . . . vāvātām*: This is a difficult verse. As with the verse above, the events described are not in keeping with the tradition of the *Aśvamedha* as we know it from the *brāhmaṇa* and *sūtra* literature. The *ŚatBr* tells us that the *adhvaryu* priest leads the four principal queens up to the horse and has them circumambulate it, but only the chief queen is said to unite with it (13.2.8.4, also see Eggeling’s note [1966, vol. 2, p. 321]). The difficulties are enhanced in this verse by the obscure terms used for the two junior queens. There is no agreement as to the sense of these technical terms, and in spite of all manuscript evidence, the crit. ed. emends *parivṛtṭi* (see crit. notes, p. 445). The reference in the verse is to the sexual union between the chief queen and the sacrificial horse. See Peterson’s circumlocutory remark on Schlegel’s bowdlerized translation, “led to the horse” (1879, pp. 12-13).

“chief queen” *mahiṣī*: Cr and Cg understand this to refer to the consecrated queen, whereas Ck understands “the king’s favorite, beloved.” Dutt translates it as “kshatriya wife,” an interpretation borrowed from Ct.

“second (queen)” *parivṛtṭi* and “juniormost (queen)” *vāvātā*: A *parivṛtṭi* is a *vaiśya* wife, according to Dutt, but Ct quotes *ĀśvaŚS*, where it says that the *parivṛtṭi* is from the *sūdra* class, whereas the *vāvātā* wife is from the *vaiśya* class. According to some, *parivṛtṭi* means a wife alienated from the king’s affection; Ck says it means a servant so alienated, whereas Ct and Cr read it as a reference to a neglected wife. The crit. notes (p. 445) take the term to refer to a former favorite who is now neglected or, according to some, who has borne no son, cf. 1.15.18. Bhatt wishes to emend the word *parivṛtṭi*, found in most manuscripts, to *parivṛktī*, and argues that the technical term ceased to be understood at an early age. Cf. *ŚatBr* 13.4.1.8 and 13.5.2.7. See also Rau 1957, p. 106.

A *vāvātā* as opposed to a *parivṛtṭi* is, according to Dutt, a *vaiśya* wife, whereas Ck calls her a servant or a slave, and Ct a beloved servant. Ct furthermore quotes the *Nārayaṇavṛtṭi*, where it says that a *vāvātā* is the second wife.

*Aparā* literally means “other,” but according to crit. notes (p. 445) and others, there are only three wives, an opinion we share despite the mention of four in the ritual texts (cf. *ŚatBr* 13.2.8.3). Ck reads *apare*, that is, other priests, but this is not supported in the crit. app. Cr and Cg hold that the term refers to a servant girl. On the titles of the wives, see *TaiBr* 1.7.3.3, 4 and Rau 1957, p. 106.

As the above synopsis of commentarial and scholarly opinion shows, there are several problems here. How many wives are, in fact, mentioned—three or four? Are the wives to be distinguished by order of precedence, social class, function, or state of current favor with the king? Do we have here merely a repetition of the



vedic formula or can we distinguish the wives? Are not Kausalyā and Kaikeyī clearly kshatriya women? What of Sumitrā? Is she in fact some kind of servant, as suggested by the subservient roles of her sons, Śatrughna and Lakṣmaṇa? Is there perhaps a hidden fourth wife? On the whole, in the context of the *Rām*, especially in the light of the later events in Ayodhyā, when Rāma is exiled from the kingdom because of the king's love for Kausalyā, a junior wife, it seems best to interpret the terms for the wives in this verse as based on seniority (cf. notes on 1.15.25-26).

29. "officiating priest" *ṛtvik*: Here the priest in question is the *adhvaryu*.

"extremely adept" *paramasampannaḥ*: The commentators say, endowed with great skill in the sacrificial usages.

"fat" *vapām*: Cg and Ck note that this is the omentum, but as horses do not have an omentum, it seems unlikely. See crit. notes, p. 445.

32. See crit. notes, p. 445, but cf. *ŚatBr* 13.2.8.1 and Eggeling 1966-1975, vol. 5, p. 320. The commentators note that the horse is sacrificed on reeds because it is traditionally thought that horses are born from water.

33-35. These verses list some of the additional rites that Daśaratha performed in conjunction with and as part of the Aśvamedha. Technically the Aśvamedha is not a Soma sacrifice. Within the context of the Aśvamedha, however, a Soma sacrifice was performed. There are, according to most authorities, seven types of Soma sacrifice, namely, Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra, and Aptoryāma. The Agniṣṭoma is a one-day sacrifice, and it is an integral part of the Jyotiṣṭoma. As a result, the two are often identified. *ĀpaŚS* 14.1.1 and Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, p. 1204 say that the Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atirātra, and Aptoryāma are modifications of the Agniṣṭoma, and within the context of our passage must be taken so. In the version told in the *Rām*, there are three Soma rites offered; the first is the Agniṣṭoma, the second is the Ukthya, and the third is the Atirātra. In this passage the Catuṣṭoma is included as a part of the Agniṣṭoma. The Āyusṭoma, a rite performed to secure long life, is usually associated with the Jyotiṣṭoma, and is incorporated into other larger sacrifices (see Eggeling 1966, vol. 2, p. 403 note). The Abhijit and the Viśvajit are additionally names of smaller rites included in and/or identified with the Atirātra sacrifice (see *ManuSm* 11.74). For further information on these rites and their position within the context of the sacrificial tradition see Keith 1925, pp. 256-332, and Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 1133-1205.

36. "extend his dynasty" *svakulavardhanaḥ*: Cg says, "fit to give much *dakṣiṇā* for the Ikṣvākus." But in light of the purport of the sacrifice, to produce heirs, the epithet is evidently proleptic.

37. "self-existent" *svayambhu*—: The commentators say that this refers to Prajāpati, as "Prajāpati instituted the Aśvamedha." Cf. *ŚatBr* 13.4.1.1.

38. "patron of sacrifices" *kratuvardhanaḥ*: The vulgate, D6,8,M3 read *kulavardhanaḥ*, "extending his lineage," which is perhaps better. In all, thirteen S manuscripts and the entire N recension do not support the critical reading.

Cg says that, as it is forbidden to give the whole earth, we should understand the gift as land grants, but this is clearly contradictory to what follows. The verse is a recapitulation of verses 36-37, so *tadā*, literally "then," can be understood loosely in the sense of "thus" rather than as a temporal adverb introducing new action. The vulgate and most N manuscripts have a variant of the verse.

39. "cleansed of his sins" *gatakalmaṣam*: The epithet is pregnant here in that the purpose of the sacrifice was, evidently, to rid Daśaratha of the sin that was preventing him from becoming a father. Cf. *Rām* 1.8.2 and 1.11.1.

41. Presumably the payment was in coinage, at least according to the crit. notes, p. 446. But should this date the reference, or is it the value of cows in metals? Coinage seems to be implied. See Kosambi 1966, pp. 102-11, and 1970, pp. 124ff. for a discussion of the issue of coinage in early Indian historiography.

43. "all indicated their satisfaction" *suprītamanasaḥ sarve pratyūcuḥ*: The construction seems to lack any formal closure to the direct address implied by the verb *pratyūcuḥ*. Closure is normally indicated by *iti*. The commentators (Cg and Cm) supply this marker and tell us that we are to understand an expression of satisfaction on the part of the priest.

After 43ab, Ś,B2,D1-3,5,7,9,11,12 insert 4 lines [430\*] consisting of a list of those who apparently shared in the priests' gains. The list is interesting in that it names the wretched, blind, poor, old, needy, handicapped, and so on.

After 43, S (except M4), Dt,4,6,8,9,14 insert 8 lines [433\*] in which Daśaratha gives his own arm ornament (*hastābharaṇam uttamam*) to the poor brahmans.

44. "leads one to heaven" *svarnayanam*: A son is traditionally the means by which one obtains heaven (see Cg), for it is a son alone who performs the funerary rites that enable a man to find sustenance in the next world.

## Sarga 14

1. "for some time" *kimcit*: We agree with Ck,Ct, and Cr that the word *kālam*, "time," should be supplied. Cg suggests a slightly different addition, *kṣaṇam*, "moment."

"Regaining consciousness" *labdhasamjñāḥ*: The commentators vary in their interpretation of this phrase. According to Ck and Ct, it means "arisen from meditation (*samādhivṛutthitaḥ*)." Cm, on the other hand, takes the compound to mean, "having come to a decision." Cg understands *prāptasmṛti*, which we interpret as in the translation.

2. "in the *Atharva Veda*" *atharvaśirasi*: Bhandare 1920, p. 66, agrees with the commentators that this is a reference to the *Atharva Veda*. Apte (s.v.) and Peterson 1879, p. 13, take the term to be the name of an *upaniṣad*.

3. "according to the rite specified in the *vedas*" *mantradṛṣṭena karmaṇā*: We follow Cr and Cg, who gloss the first word as *vedabodhitena* and *vedāvagatena*, respectively. Compare Ck and Ct, who read *mantrapūrvakatayā kalpasutre dṛṣṭena*, "specified in the ritual texts as being performed to the accompaniment of vedic hymns."

4. After 4 most N manuscripts (Ś,Ñ,V,B, D1-3,5,7,9-13) insert 5 lines [444\*]. These lines name additional personages who joined the assembled group detailed in verse 4. Specifically mentioned are Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, the four Lokapālas (world protectors, that is, Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, and Kubera [see note on 1.71.7]), and Indra and the Maruts. Ś,D1-3,5,7,9,11,12 continue with 7 lines [445\*]. Here Vasiṣṭha asks the gods to grant Daśaratha the boon of four sons since he has practiced austerities for this very purpose for such a long time. Ñ,V,B,D10,13 and M4 (after 443\*) then continue after 444\* with 446\* (8 lines). Here Vasiṣṭha speaks to the gods on Daśaratha's behalf. Unlike the above variant, the text says that, in his desire for a son, Daśaratha is prepared to undertake yet another sacrifice for this purpose. This appears to be the only explicit textual reference to the problem of the redundancy of the two offerings. Perhaps these N manuscripts are attempting to deal with an issue that is left unsettled in S. For a discussion of this point, see the



Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa*. After 445\* or 446\*, respectively, all the above-mentioned manuscripts insert 8 lines [447\*]. Here the gods agree to grant Daśaratha the four sons that Vasiṣṭha has requested and depart for heaven.

“in the proper order” *yathāvidhi*: Literally, “according to rule,” but the translation follows Cg’s interpretation of *yathākramam*, “in due order,” which is contextually better. Compare verse 5 below, *yathānyāyam*, where Cg also glosses *yathākramam*, Cf. 1.40.24.

5. Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 5, 7, 9-13, and M4 omit 5ab. As the textual evidence is weak and the verse is not crucial to the context, according to the critical principles it should be relegated to the crit. app.

7. After 7ab, N manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D10-12) and M4 insert one line [449\*] in which the terms of the boon are specified. This is not done in S until verse 13. Cf. *Uttarakāṇḍa* 10, where the story of the boon is related in greater detail. See 7.10.16-18 for the exact conditions of Rāvaṇa’s boon.

8. “greater than himself” *ucchritān*: Can the adjective modify *lokān*, “worlds,” as Cr suggests? Cg says *unnatān lokapālān*, “the great guardians of the world,” which is better, but here the term seems to be used more generally. Ct thinks that this is a foreshadowing of the later episode in which Indrajit (Meghanāda), Rāvaṇa’s son, conquers Indra and binds him (7.29-30).

14. A number of N and Devanāgarī manuscripts replace the logical subject, the ablative *mānuṣāt*, “from a man,” with the more regular instrumental form.

16. See crit. notes, p. 446. This is the first reference to Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in the *Bālakāṇḍa*. For a discussion of the question of the divinity of Rāma and its implications for the textual history of the poem, see the Introduction. See, too, the Introduction to the translation of the *Aranyakāṇḍa* (forthcoming).

“intent upon the work at hand” *samāhitah*: The commentators interpret this in different ways. Cr reads “(Viṣṇu) who was filled with his own *tejas*, ‘splendor,’ even in the company of Brahmā and the rest (of the gods).” Ct takes this to mean “intent upon the gods’ work.” Cg understands the phrase similarly.

The versions of S and N differ considerably from this verse to the end of the *sarga*. Only differences that have a significant bearing on our understanding of the text, its contents, or its history have been adduced in the notes. For a discussion of the major variants, see notes to verse 18 below. Many of the additional passages, especially in the vulgate (cf. 457\*, 458\*), are sectarian in nature, providing lists of the familiar attributes of Viṣṇu. The late and sectarian nature of the passage doubtless accounts for the high degree of variation, although it should be kept in mind that such passages (e.g., 6.105) sometimes show remarkable uniformity over the recensions.

Govindarāja (Cg) and the author of the *Tanīśloki*, Ātreya Ahobala, provide a detailed and elaborate Vaiṣṇava analysis of 457\* and 16cd (which they construe together as one verse).

18. “Modesty, Majesty, and Fame” *hrīśrīkīrti*—: Ct suggests that these indicate the suitability of Daśaratha’s three wives to be the mothers of the incarnation of god. Cg says that Hrī, Śrī, and Kīrti are three daughters of Dakṣa, who is one of the ten mind-born sons of Brahmā.

The northern recension begins to diverge significantly from the crit. ed. after 16ab. For 16cd-18 most N manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D10, 13) and M4 substitute 11 lines [462\*] plus 461\*.7 after 461\*, for a total of twelve lines. The crit. app. is somewhat confusing here. The order of the verses should be *iṣṭavān*\* [462\*8], *dharmasīla*\*

[461\*.7], *asmin niyogāt\** [462\*.9]. After this, these same manuscripts continue with 6 lines [463\*] and then substitute, for 19-20, 10 lines [464\*] and continue with 8 lines [466\*]. Thus, 16cd-20 of the crit. ed. are replaced by 36 lines in the N manuscripts. Gorresio's edition, representing the Bengali recension of N, clearly shows this sequence (G 1.14.24-end).

In this passage, Viṣṇu is summoned mentally by Brahmā, in order to bring about Rāvaṇa's destruction. In their affliction, Brahmā and the gods beg Viṣṇu for refuge. Viṣṇu asks them what they require, and the gods reply that there is a virtuous and austere king named Daśaratha who is performing an Aśvamedha in his desire for a son. In order to carry out the business of the gods, Viṣṇu is asked to take quadripartite birth as the king's son, by his three queens, women who are like Śrī [462\*]. Viṣṇu asks the gods why they are afraid, and they explain that they are afraid of Rāvaṇa [463\*]. The gods go on to describe Rāvaṇa and the boon of invulnerability that was given to him by Brahmā in recompense for his fierce austerities [464\*]. The description of Rāvaṇa is continued, and he is called a destroyer of sacrifices, a hater and killer of brahmans, a man-eater, and so on. Once again it is stated that his destruction can be effected only at the hands of a human being [466\*].

It is interesting to note Schlegel's version of this episode (1829, 1.14.24ff.). As Peterson suggests (1879, p. 14), he seems to have combined, quite unsuccessfully, the N and S traditions (see verse 20 for the latter).

20. The S recension, with which the crit. ed. agrees to a large extent until the end of verse 20, inserts in most manuscripts 20 lines [467\*] following verse 20 (GPP 15.13cd-31). This passage enlarges upon the villainy of Rāvaṇa, who is said to harm seers, *gandharvas*, and *apsarases* and oppress the inhabitants of the three worlds. These various beings approach Viṣṇu for refuge and seek his aid in the destruction of this enemy of gods and men. Viṣṇu agrees to help the gods and kill Rāvaṇa along with his family, advisors, friends, and relatives. Viṣṇu tells them that as Rāma he will rule for eleven thousand years among men (compare 1.1.76). Then, after having given this promise, the god directs his thoughts toward the place of his birth among men. He divides his soul into four parts and chooses King Daśaratha to be his father. All the gods, etc. praise him with hymns.

21. The verse is in the *jagatī* meter, which has twelve syllables per quarter.

"holy men" *sādhu*—: The crit. ed. reads this as part of the compound *sādhutapa-svikaṇṭakam*, "a thorn in the side of holy men and ascetics." The vulgate reads *sādhu* as separate from the compound. Cr, following this, understands it to mean "so that it will be all right," whereas Cg takes it in the sense of "completely." Most N manuscripts substitute, for *sādhu*-, *sarva*-, "all," so that the compound would read "a thorn to all ascetics."

## Sarga 15

1. "Viṣṇu" *viṣṇuḥ*: The word is marked as a doubtful reading in the crit. ed. N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13) (and D11 partially) omit verses 1-6. But parallels to these verses can be found at 463\*.1 (15.1ab), 463\*.5 (15.3ab), 464\*.1 (15.3cd), 464\*.4-5 (15.4cd-5ab), 464\*.6 (15.5cd), and 466\*.7-8 (15.6) in *sarga* 14. A common southern variant is *deva*, "god." The northern reading has the common variant *prabhuh* (see 463\*.1).

"even though he knew the answer" *jānann api*: The idea is that since he is the



supreme lord, he knows the way to destroy Rāvaṇa. Ct says he asks in any case so as to avert a sense of shame on the part of the gods for having been so bold as to approach him. Note that the N versions show no parallel for this expression (cf. 463\*).

4. “foe-conquering hero” *arimḍama*: The vocative ending is marked as doubtful by the crit. ed. The alternative reading is a nominative singular, which then would construe with *saḥ*, “he” (Rāvaṇa).

6. “At the time the boon was granted” *varadānena*: Literally, “by the gift of the boon.” The instrumental of the critical reading makes little sense. D6,8,14, the vulgate (GPP), Cm, and Ck all read *varadāne*, which is understood by the commentators to mean “at the time of the granting of the boon.” For the sake of comprehensibility, we have followed this reading against the critical text, despite its rather weak textual evidence. Compare the northern manuscripts (466\*.7, 8). Note, however, that Ś,D1-3,5,7,12 substitute 469\* for 6ab.

After 6, D4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4) insert 2 lines [470\*]: “When he had received that boon from Grandfather Brahmā, he grew arrogant, wreaking havoc upon the three worlds and even abducting women.”

7. “chose” *rocayām āsa*: Literally, “desired,” cf. 467\*.18.

This verse introduces the *sarga* in most N manuscripts. Many of them (Ñ,V,B,D10,13) read for 7ab: “Lord Viṣṇu, grandfather of the worlds, was addressed by the gods in this manner.” Compare 462\*.7.

8. After this verse Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4),Cg,Ck,Ct insert the following 2 lines [471\*]: “Having made this resolution, Viṣṇu took his leave of Grandfather Brahmā and, praised by the gods and great seers, he vanished.”

9. “enormous power, and immense might” *mahāvīryam mahābalaṃ*: Cr says that the former is strength of body and the latter strength of the organs of sense.

10. “The hair of his body, head, and beard were as glossy as that of a yellow-eyed lion” *snigdhaḥaryakṣatanujaśmaśrupravaramūrdhajam*: The compound can be interpreted in a number of ways. Cg,Ck,Ct, and Bhandare 1920, p. 68, read the compound as is translated. Cr construes *pravara* with *mūrdhaja*, that is, “long hair.” The compound can also be read as “having glossy lion’s body-hair, beard, and long hair.” Here the adjective *snigdha* construes only with the first member of the compound. Some N manuscripts read *harisnigdheḥṣaṇam ramyam*, “charming with yellow shining eyes,” for 10c, whereas D9 substitutes *nayana*, “eyes,” for *tanuja*, “hair,” to read: “with shining eyes like a lion’s.”

12-13. “fine gold and covered with a silver lid” *laptajāmbūnadamayīm rājatānta-paricchadām*: The gold of the cup is traditionally for the gods, and the silver of the lid is for the *pitṛs*, the departed ancestors. The implication is that both are propitiated.

“creative energy itself” *māyāmayīm iva*: Ck and Ct take *iva*, “like,” in the sense of the emphatic particle *eva*, to read, “actually consisting of the creative energy of the lord” (Ct) or “manifested by the inconceivable power of the lord Hiraṇyagarbha” (Ck). Cr reads “as though made of creative energy because of its wonderful nature.” Cg understands *māyāmayī* as “causing wonder because of its being inconceivable.” For additional uses of the word *māyā* in the *Bālakāṇḍa*, see 1.28.7 and 1.29.10.

“celestial porridge” *divyapāyasa*—: The traditional recipe for *pāyasa* is as follows: “Washed, uncooked rice mixed with ghee and cooked with sugared milk makes *pāyasa*” (Apte, s.v. *pāyasa*).

Note that many N manuscripts replace 13cd with 475\* and invert the order. If

S is accepted as representing an earlier form of the text, then here again N appears to be a rephrasing of the S version. Particularly note here the substitution of *adbhutoṣamām* for *māyāmayīm*.

14. "servant of Brahmā, lord of creatures" *prājāpatyam*: The commentators agree that the meaning is, "an agent or servant of the god Prajāpati." Ck glosses the word as "son of Prajāpati" or (so also Cr and Cg) "sent by Prajāpati." Ct understands, "sent by Prajāpati, that is, sprung from Prajāpati, that is, Viṣṇu, the protector of the people"—a sectarian interpretation. The N manuscripts show an interesting variation, in which the messenger addresses Ṛṣyaśṛṅga rather than Daśaratha (476\*, 477\*). Note, too, the similarity between 477\*.2 and 14cd.

At this point most N manuscripts (Ś1, Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 5, 7, 10-13) insert (or continue from 477\*) 8 lines [478\*] in which the messenger of Brahmā, lord of creatures, addresses the sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and urges him to give the pot to the king. The sage complies. Most of these same manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D10, 13) then continue with 4 lines [479\*] that are considered as a substitute for verses 15-16 by the crit. ed.: "Upon accepting (this pot) the king, with his head bent down, spoke to that being who was the messenger of Brahmā, lord of creatures, 'Lord, blessed one, what should I do with this?' Then (the messenger) spoke to the king, 'I bring you the fruit of your excellent sacrifices.' "

15. Compare 15cd with 479\*.2.

"In response" *tataḥ param*: Literally, "after that." The reading is marked as doubtful in the crit. ed. The N manuscripts generally replace the verse with 479\*.1-2 (see above note on verse 14). Ct, Cr, and Cg agree that it means "after that," in reference to the speech of the messenger, and then construe it relatively with *tadā*, "then." Cr says that *param* can be taken adverbially as a reference to the king's response, that is, "answered very well."

18. "of your wives who are of your own station" *bhāryāṇām anurūpāṇām*: The genitive is used here in the sense of the dative (*sambandhasāmānye śaṣṭhī*). According to Ck the adjective *anurūpāṇām* means, "favorable to you, that is, fit to eat the porridge." Likewise, Ct says, "suitable because of their reputation, conduct, excellent virtues, and so on, and because they are chief queens." Cg, on the other hand, glosses the term with *savarṇāṇām*, "of the same social class." Similarly, Cr understands, "born in equal families," that is, families of the same social status (as the king). If Cr and Cg are correct, and we believe that they are, this would undermine the interpretation, suggested by Ct and Ck and adopted by Dutt, according to which the three wives of Daśaratha belonged to different social classes. See notes to 1.13.28 (GPP 1.14.35).

The issue is avoided in many of the N manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D10, 13 and M4), which substitute 2 lines [481\*] for verse 18. The verse reads, "Lord of men, give this to your lawful wives (*dharmapatnībhyah*) and tell them to eat it. You will obtain that desired thing for the sake of which you have gone to all this effort." Note here that the irregular genitive construction *bhāryāṇām anurūpāṇām* is replaced by the regular dative.

19. "bowing his head in token of acceptance" *śirasā pratigṛhya*: Literally, this means "accepted with his head." The gesture referred to is a typically Indian one of respectful acceptance whereby the gift is placed, literally or symbolically, on the recipient's head. Cf. *Kumārasambhava* 3.2, where a command is accepted with the head.

25-27. The exact fractional distribution of the divinely charged porridge among



the three wives of Daśaratha is not perfectly clear. Whether or not Vālmīki intended the divisions to be specific fractions or just general portions cannot be determined. However, as the division of the impregnating food is traditionally understood to be reflected in the respective proportion of the divine essence represented by each of the brothers, an accurate understanding of these lines is extremely important to the Vaiṣṇava tradition.

The issue hangs upon the interpretation of the various occurrences of the word *ardha* in the passage. Although this word generally means “one half,” it is not uncommonly taken in the masculine gender in the nonspecific sense of “portion, part” (*bhittam śakalakhaṇḍe vā pumsy ardho 'rdham same 'mśake—AmaK 176*). Playing upon this ambiguity, the commentators offer many elaborate and ingenious interpretations of the passage.

The general view (Ct,Cg,Cm), and the one followed in the translation, is that Daśaratha gives Kausalyā, his eldest and most senior queen, one-half of the *pāyasa*. He then gives Sumitrā, generally considered by the commentators to be his middle wife, one-quarter of the remaining portion. (A later tradition, and one apparently supported in the N recension, holds that Sumitrā is the younger and least important wife. See, for example, *Uttararāmacarita* 1.21,1.) To Kaikeyī, his youngest but most beloved wife, he gives half of the remainder (*avaśiṣṭhasya ardham*), that is, one-eighth of the whole. He then gives Sumitrā the remaining portion (*avaśiṣṭham ardham*), which is the final one-eighth of the *pāyasa*. Thus *ardha* is interpreted as both “one-half” and “portion,” and the compound *avaśiṣṭhārdham* is taken in the first case as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* and in the second instance as an adjectival *kārmadhāraya*.

Another often cited interpretation, defended in particular by Ck, is that Kausalyā and Kaikeyī each receive a portion of the *pāyasa* and then, respectively, give Sumitrā some of their own shares. Ck would have Kausalyā and Kaikeyī each receive one-half of the *pāyasa*. Each woman then would give one-eighth of her portion to Sumitrā. This means that Kausalyā and Kaikeyī each get three-eighths of the *pāyasa*, and Sumitrā has two one-eighth portions, or one-quarter of the total.

A popular but generally late interpretation has Kausalyā and Kaikeyī each give Sumitrā one-half of her own portion of *pāyasa*. This is a particularly interesting solution, because it means that Sumitrā receives one-half of the *pāyasa*. Since her portion is divided between her twin sons, in this version all the four brothers are equally endowed with Viṣṇu's essence. Cf. Cm; *RaghuVa* 10.54-6; *AdhyāRā* (*Bālakāṇḍa*) 3.10-12; and *PadmP* 6.269.57-60. Cr has a similar interpretation according to which Kausalyā and Kaikeyī each give a portion of their *pāyasa* to Sumitrā, but, according to him, the two original portions are not equal. Kausalyā is given five-eighths and Kaikeyī is given three-eighths. Each then gives Sumitrā three-sixteenths of the whole, so that Kausalyā finally receives seven-sixteenths and Kaikeyī three-sixteenths of the whole. Sumitrā thus gets two portions, each consisting of three-sixteenths of the undivided porridge.

According to N it is Kaikeyī and not Sumitrā (25d) who receives the “half of the half.” This, with the lengthy explanations and rationalizations of the commentators, shows that the tradition was uncomfortable with Bharata's mother receiving a smaller portion than the mother of the younger brothers, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna. Further complications arise for the tradition from an apparent inconsistency in the text of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. At 17.8, Bharata is said to represent one-quarter of the incarnate (*sākṣāt*) Viṣṇu. The commentators generally offer two explanations: 1. that the word

*caturbhāga*, “fourth part,” in the verse really means “a portion”; and 2. that Bharata is one-quarter of the “manifest” (*sākṣāt*) Viṣṇu, who is, in fact, Rāma (half of Viṣṇu), and is thus the product of only one-eighth of the *pāyasa*. For a further discussion of this curious question of the division of the *pāyasa*, see Ramaswami Sastri 1944, pp. 54ff., and notes on 1.17.6-8 below.

The motif of oral impregnation, particularly through the ingestion of a substance infused with some sort of divine essence, is a common one in Indian mythology. Compare *MBh* 12.49.1ff., where specially charged porridge (*caru*) is ingested by the wife and mother-in-law of Ṛcika, which results in the births of Viśvāmitra and Paraśurāma.

The numbering of the verses has been changed in the crit. ed. 27ab should be changed to 26ef and 27cd to 27ab. This should be noted in respect to the crit. app.

27ab (revised numbering) should, according to the critical principles, be omitted from the critical text. Ñ,V,B,D10,13, and M4 omit it, and it is not necessary to the context of the passage.

Note that there is an error in the crit. app. on p. 115. After the insert on 487\*, the crit. app. reads, “Then all (except D11) read App. I (No. 3).” This should be disregarded, as App. I (No. 3) occurs in different manuscripts after 489\* or 514\*. See pp. 116, 124, and 411.

D11 continues (from 487\*), whereas Ñ,V,B,D10,13 substitute for 28, and Dt,4,6,8,14,S (M4 substitutes),Cg,Ck,Ct insert 8 lines in the *jagatī* meter [488\*]. The textual issue here is complicated. On the basis of the textual evidence and following the critical principles outlined in the introduction, one would expect these verses to be included in the crit. ed., whereas verse 28, which has far less textual support, should be relegated to the crit. app. as a southern interpolation. It appears that the editors of the text have considered the four lines substituted by Ś,D1-3,5,7,9,11,12 [487\*] and the change in meter seen in 488\* as sufficient cause to regard verse 28 as the older reading. Neither of these reasons is adequate, to our minds, and considering the evidence, we feel the more critically appropriate reading to be 488\*: “After that his excellent wives, having eaten the offering, joyfully presented by the king himself, according to precedence gave birth to beautiful infants, resplendent like the sun and fire.\* Then the king, having gathered about him his delighted wives with their newborn infants, was satisfied just like a good man upon seeing heaven through the power acquired through yoga.”

\* “resplendent like the sun and fire” *hutāśanādityasamāna*—: This could, in fact, modify either the wives, here somewhat freely translated from the original *strīyaḥ*, “women,” or the infants, *garbhān*, as in the translation. Ct construes it with both, Cr only with the wives. Compare 1.35.18.

## Sarga 16

The N and S recensions present rather different versions starting at *sarga* 16. In keeping with its stated principles, the crit. ed. follows S. N begins here with 52 lines [514\*]. For a summary of this passage, see notes to *sarga* 17. 514\* is similar in content to and, in fact, is often identical to 17.1-21. Following 514\*, N has our *sarga* 16. This, in turn, is followed by a new *sarga* that begins with our 17.22.

3. “magic powers” *māyā*—: Here Ck,Ct, and Cr take *māyā* to refer to special divine



magical powers that can be used against the similar powers of the demons in battle. Cg glosses *māyā* only as “wondrous power.”

4. “skilled in the use of all weapons” *sarvāstraguṇasampannān*: The commentators interpret this variously: Ck, “like the gods, invulnerable to all weapons”; Cg, “endowed with the power (*guṇa*) of every weapon”; and Ct, “possessing qualities (skills) in the form of the ability to ward off all weapons”; or optionally (so too Cr and Cm), “qualities, that is, the ability to use and ward off (weapons).”

5-6. “equal to you in valor” *tulyaparākramān*: Ct, Ck, and Cr read the compound as “each one having strength equal to that of his respective (father).” Ck elucidates this interpretation by quoting the maxim, “As is the seed, so is the sprout.” Cr understands here, “similar to one’s respective parent.” Cr also admits as a possible interpretation that the sons will be of equal strength compared to one another. This is unappealing in the context and fails to suggest the great power of the monkeys. The idea is that they have the strength of the gods. Ck, Ct, and Cg call to mind the *Uttarakāṇḍa* passage where Rāvaṇa is cursed by Nandī to be destroyed by monkeys (7.16.15) in retribution for having laughed at him when he had the form of a monkey.

After 6, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S, Cm, Cg, Ck, Ct insert 2 lines [490\*; GPP 1.17.6]. Here Viṣṇu notes that previously Jāmbavān, the great ape, was born from his mouth as he yawned.

8. After 8, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S, insert 15 lines [491\*; GPP 1.17.10-17.b]. These seven-and-a-half verses list the names of the principal monkeys generated by each god. Indra fathered Vālin; Tapanā (the sun god) fathered Sugrīva; Brhaspati fathered Tāra; Dhanada (Kubera) fathered Gandhamādana; Viśvakarman fathered Nala; Pāvaka (the fire god) fathered Nīla; the Aśvins fathered the twins Mainda and Dvidida; Varuṇa fathered Suśeṇa; Parjanya fathered Śarabha; and Māruta (the wind god) fathered Hanumān.

9. “determined to kill” *vadhodyatāḥ*: *Udyata* is marked as a doubtful reading in the crit. ed. Variants include *īpsubhiḥ*, “with a desire to obtain (the destruction of),” *uddhatāḥ*, “eager,” and *ratāḥ*, “devoted to, or intent upon (the destruction of).”

10. “Apes, monkeys, and langurs” *ṛkṣavānaragopucchāḥ*: The epic has a fairly large number of names, epithets, and kennings to refer to the hosts of primates that are Rāma’s companions and chief allies in the search for Sītā and the battle at Lañkā. Most of these, terms such as *kapi*, *hari*, *plavaṅga(ma)*, *śākhamṛga*, and so on, are general terms for “monkey,” but it would appear that in the present context there is a clear intention to distinguish species. The first term, *ṛkṣa*, is interesting, and its misunderstanding on the part of the poets, commentators, theologians, and general audiences of the post-epic period has given rise to one of the most charming traditions of the Rāma legend: the tradition that the hero is befriended not only by monkeys, but also by bears. It is true that the term means “bear,” and that this meaning comes to be the only one in the classical literature. On the other hand, the standard lexicons (cf. *PW*, *Apte*) are aware of the epic use of the word in the sense of monkey. Moreover, a close study of the portions of the epic that are closely concerned with these creatures, that is, Books Four to Six, reveals to us not one reference that can be shown to refer specifically to the appearance or habits of bears. On the other hand, even the characters that the tradition specifically regards as bears, figures such as Jāmbavān, are nowhere distinguished from the other monkeys and are consistently grouped together with them under the terms for

monkey mentioned above. If the poet had had bears in mind, he would doubtless have had occasion to use some of the synonyms for bear that are part of the epic lexicon. Yet none of these terms seems to occur in connection with Rāma's allies, and it seems certain to us that Vālmiki had only monkeys in mind when he used the word *ṛkṣa*. We therefore must differ with the commentators who gloss this term with the word *bhallūka*, "bear" (Cg,Cr), and can only see the literary, folkloric, and iconographic tradition that surrounds Rāma with both bears and monkeys as deriving from the fact that the term *ṛkṣa*, originally disemic, lost its principal epic connotation of "monkey" by the end of the epic period. This problem was noted by the late Professor van Buitenen in his notes to his translation of the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*. Although he translated the phrase *ṛkṣiṣu vānarīṣu ca* (MBh 3.260.7) as "bears and monkeys" (1975, p. 731), he remarks in his note to the passage (erroneously keyed to verse 3.260.5) that, "while mention is made on occasion of bears (*ṛkṣa*) the classification of monkeys is so preponderant that one might wonder whether these 'bears' are not really a kind of monkey" (p. 835). A problem for the translation is that English is not nearly as rich in general terms for monkeys as Sanskrit. We have, therefore, in passages that contrast different types, used the term "ape" in a non-technical sense. (The only true ape now found in the Indian subcontinent is the white-browed gibbon [*Hylobates hoolock*], whose range is far removed from the areas known to the *Rām* poets.) The term *gopuccha*, literally "cow-tailed," is, in our opinion, used to refer to the ubiquitous common langur (*Semnopithecus entellus*) which, incidentally, is known in various of the Indian vernaculars as the Hanumān monkey. When the general term *vānara* is contrasted with *gopuccha* or *golāṅgula*, we feel that it is probably a reference to the widely distributed and very common Rhesus macaque (*Macaca mulatta*). We translate this as "monkey."

"enormous their bodies" *vapuṣmantah*: Cr reads as "having very large bodies," whereas Cg considers the monkeys' bodies to be "hard." Apte, on the other hand (s.v. *vapuṣmant*), says "beautiful (of body)."

"resembled elephants or mountains" *gajācalasamkāśāḥ*: Optionally this could be read as "like elephants and mountains." Cr and Cg understand "resembling the mountains Meru and Mandara."

11. "build, beauty" *rūpaṃ veśaḥ*: The distinction between *rūpa* and *veśa* is small. Ck takes *rūpa* to refer to color, as does Ct, who is more specific and uses the word *varṇa*. Cr and Cg understand *rūpa* as "beauty." Ck then glosses *veśa* with "appearance, symmetry, etc.," whereas Ct and Cg read it as "form." For the latter term Cr suggests *avayavasanniveśa*, "arrangement of limbs," that is, build. This last interpretation is followed in the translation. Many northern manuscripts substitute *vīrya*, "might," for *rūpa*, which perhaps indicates that the tradition, even at an early time, was uncomfortable with the juxtaposition of the two words.

12. "famous for their valor" *saṃmatavikramāḥ*: Here *saṃmata* is interpreted as "famous" (Cg) or "respected" (Ct). Note that Ct reads *unnata* "great, eminent," as do D6 and 8. Ñ,V,B,D10,13 read *adbhuta*, "wonderful."

After 12, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S,M4 (after 491\*) insert the following 8 lines [495\*]: "The many illustrious gods, great seers, *gandharvas*, snakes, great birds, *yakṣas*, and *kim-puruṣas*, perfected beings, *vidyādhara*s, and great serpents were overjoyed, and they engendered by the thousands all those huge monkeys, roamers of the forest, on the principal *apsarases*, *vidyādhara* women, daughters of the serpents, and *gandharva* women. These monkeys were endowed with strength, could take on any form and



could wander freely where they would. In their strength and pride they were like lions and tigers."

16. "With the roaring of their mighty voices" *nardamānās ca nādena*: The crit. ed. reads the accusative *nardamānān*. On the basis of textual and contextual evidence, we propose emending in favor of the nominative, the reading of D9,14,T2,3,G,M1,3. According to the critical principles, on the basis of this split reading in the S manuscripts, the reading should have been marked as doubtful (cf. 1.17.4, *punaḥ* and its variant readings). Additional support for this emendation is given by the N manuscripts, which provide an alternative reading that tends to support the reading of D9,14,T2,3,G,M1,3. Ñ,V,B,D10,13, and M4 replace 16cd with *patamgān api vegena pātayeyur nabhastalāt*, "with their impetuous speed they could cause even the birds to fall from the sky" (or a variant thereof), whereas Ś,D1-3,5,7,11,12 read 16c as *nadanto 'pi tathā vyomni*, "(the monkeys) roaring in the sky (could cause the birds to fall)." Thus it seems that the majority of manuscripts intend the monkeys to roar, rather than, as in the critical text, the birds. The critical text as it stands means, "With their roars they could cause the twittering birds to fall from the sky," a clearly inferior reading. This is a case in which, in addition to following the critical principles, a little higher criticism would have been well advised.

18. Rkṣavant is the name of a mountain in the eastern part of the Vindhya range. The name means "Abounding in Monkeys." See notes to verse 10 above.

20. The meter is *upajāti*, consisting of eleven syllables per quarter.

## Sarga 17

N manuscripts (Ś,Ñ,V,B,D1-3,5,7,10-13) and M4 have a passage of 52 lines [514\*] before *sarga* 16 (see notes, *sarga* 15). 514\* is given at p. 124 of the crit. ed. Many lines found in this passage closely resemble lines from *sarga* 17.1-21. The crit. app. provides the correspondences between the two. The order is somewhat different (*vide* 3, 8ab,20ab,cd), and after 5cd there are eleven lines unknown to S. These lines describe Daśaratha and his three wives and tell us that his three wives gave birth to four sons: Rāma, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, and Śatrughna.

Ñ,V,B1,D10, and M4 omit lines 12-15 of 514\*. After line 11 of 514\*, Ś,Ñ,V,B,D1-3,5,7,9-13, insert Appendix I, No. 4 (pp. 411ff.). This consists of 127 lines normally divided into three sections, the last of which ends with the end of 514\* (G's edition XVII, XVIII). The contents of this passage is summarized as follows: After Daśaratha's sacrifice has been completed, R̥śyaśṛṅga and Śāntā, his wife, return to L(R)omapāda's court. At Campā, L(R)omapāda's capital city, the king welcomes the sage and his wife. He sends his courtiers out to inform Vibhāṇḍaka of his son's arrival and of the news of Daśaratha's sacrifice. Vibhāṇḍaka leaves the forest and joins his son and L(R)omapāda at court, where he tells the king not to be afraid, for he is pleased with all that has happened. He then welcomes his son home with a sniff on his head and embraces his daughter-in-law. This is doubtless a late attempt to complete the episode of R̥śyaśṛṅga (1.8-10) by bringing about a reconciliation among king, father, and son. See 1.10.30, note and *MBh* 3.113.11-21, where the anger of Vibhāṇḍaka is described.

2. "entered" *praviveśa*: In the light of verse 4 it appears that the king, having gone out of the city to escort his guests, turns back but does not actually re-enter the city.

“host of wives” *patnīgaṇa*—: Daśaratha has many wives, not just the three principal consorts who give birth to the epic’s heroes. At 2.31.10 he is said to have 350.

3. “bull among sages” *munipuṃgavam*: The issue here is the referent of the epithet. Ck and Cg take it as a reference to Vasiṣṭha, Ct thinks it refers to Vasiṣṭha and Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, whereas Cr thinks it means Vasiṣṭha, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, and Vāmadeva. Cm follows Ck and Cg in assuming that it refers only to Vasiṣṭha; cf. 514\*.3, 4.

The S recension seems to read (according to Cr) that Daśaratha honored the kings, and the kings in turn honored the sage(s), whereas the N recension has the king acting as the subject of both clauses. By taking the gerund, *pranāmya*, in a passive sense with Daśaratha as its subject, this interpretation is also possible with our text.

4. “once more” *punaḥ*: The word is marked in the crit. ed. as doubtful. Variant readings include *tadā*, “then,” and *tathā*, “in this manner.” Note that the N recension (506\*.6, 7) reads only *tadā* or *tathā* (cf. 1.16.16).

The issue revolves around a question of protocol: How many times does Daśaratha enter Ayodhyā? Ck, who reads *tadā*, avoids the apparent redundancy of this verse after verse 2 by taking the latter’s *praviveśa* to mean “began to enter.” Cr, however, explains the term *punaḥ* in the light of royal protocol, “The repetition of ‘entry’ suggests that having previously entered the city, he (Daśaratha) went out again to see off the kings.”

5. “king” *rājñā*: Cr and Ct take the king to be Daśaratha, who is then accompanying Ṛṣyaśṛṅga a little way as a sign of respect. The often very perceptive Cg thinks that the king is R(L)omapāda, Daśaratha’s old friend, who is leaving Ayodhyā in the company of his adopted daughter and son-in-law (but compare the northern recension’s interpolation at App. I, No. 4, summarized above).

After verse 5, many S manuscripts (Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S [except M4], D10 partially) insert a well-known passage of 7 lines [506\*; GPP 1.18.7-10b] that provides the astrological data for Rāma’s birth. The passage, an interpolation, mentions a lapse of one year since the completion of the sacrifice and thus provides a transition to verse 6, which is lacking in the critical text. The astrological data—which are of great interest to the Indian audience (and were doubtless interpolated for that reason)—are as follows: Rāma was born on the ninth day of the lunar month Caitra under the influence of the lunar asterism whose presiding deity is Aditi (this is the constellation called Punarvasū—see Cg on GPP 1.18.9). The five *grahas*, “planetary bodies” (that is, Ravi, the Sun; Maṅgala, Mars; Guru, Jupiter; Śukra, Venus; and Śani, Saturn) were at their highest and, therefore, most auspicious points, and Jupiter and the moon were in Karkāṭa (Cancer). This conjunction is considered a highly auspicious one, and the commentators, especially Cg, describe at some length the many virtues of a person born under its influence. See B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar 1921, pp. 73-75, who says that the horoscope in the *Bālakāṇḍa* cannot be earlier than the fifth century A.D.

6. The division of Viṣṇu’s essence among the four sons of Daśaratha as described here in verses 6-9 does not seem to accord with that given at 1.15.25-26, where the division of the divine *pāyasa* is described. The problem concerns the portion represented by Bharata. At 1.15.25, Kaikeyī seems to have received only one-eighth of the divinely infused porridge, yet here, in verse 8, her son is said to be *sākṣāt viṣṇor caturbhāgaḥ*, “one-quarter of the incarnate Viṣṇu.” The discrepancy has disturbed the commentators. Thus, for example, Cg tries at GPP 1.18.13, by several alternative explanations, such as taking Viṣṇu here to mean Rāma, to demonstrate



that the verse really means that Bharata represents only one-eighth of the god's essence. The problem of the portions represented by Sumitrā's two sons is resolved if, as we have done, one follows the commentators in reading *ardha* in verse 9 to mean any fraction or portion. This issue of fractional arithmetic is of considerable interest to the Vaiṣṇava tradition and is dealt with at great length and with enormous ingenuity by the commentators at 1.15.25-26. See notes on 1.15.25-26 for a detailed discussion of the passages.

8. See notes on 1.15.25 and verse 6 above; cf. 514\*.31 and 521\*.

9. After 9, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4), insert 2 lines [508\*; GPP 1.18.15] that provide the astrological signs governing the births of Bharata, Śatrughna, and Lakṣmaṇa.

10. Proṣṭhapada: Literally this means "ox-foot." This is the name applied collectively to two *nakṣatras*, "lunar asterisms," that are known as Pūrvabhādrapada and Uttarabhādrapada. Each of these asterisms consists of a pair of stars. Thus the basis for the simile is that the four lustrous boys are grouped into two shining pairs. The basis for the pairing is not, however, the twin births of Sumitrā's sons, but rather the natural affinity between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, on the one hand, and Bharata and Śatrughna, on the other. This is made clear in verses 15-19. See Goldman 1980, p. 153.

After 10, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S(except M4), insert 8 lines [509\*GPP 1.18.17-20] that describe the rejoicing in heaven and in Ayodhyā and the generosity of the king on the occasion of the births.

11-12. "On the twelfth day" *atityaikādaśāham*: Literally, "when the period of eleven days had passed." The reference is to the period of *sūtaka* or ritual impurity that prevails in a household after a birth. It is only when this period has elapsed that the auspicious *saṃskāras* or life-stage ceremonies can be carried out. The mention of eleven days is interesting here because, as several commentators hasten to note, the prescriptive texts agree that the period of *sūtaka* lasts twelve days in the case of a kshatriya (so Ct and Cg on GPP 1.18.21), and that the naming ceremony should be performed, in a royal house, on the thirteenth day. The commentators offer various ingenious but unconvincing explanations for the discrepancy.

he: The subject of the finite verb *akārayat*, "saw to it that . . . were performed," is unspecified. The reference could be to either the king or to Vasiṣṭha. Ct and Cr take Vasiṣṭha as the subject, which seems most probable.

"beginning with the birth ritual" *janmakriyādīni*: This refers to the twelve traditional *saṃskāras*, or "rites of passage prescribed for upper class Hindus." See Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 188ff.

After 12cd, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S(except M4), Cg,Ck,Ct insert 2 lines [510\*; GPP 1.18.23], which tell further of the generosity of Daśaratha to the brahmins and citizens.

13. "like a royal pennant" *ketur iva*: According to Cg, "like a flag or pennant heralding his line."

13cd "just as the self-existent Brahmā . . ." *babhūva bhūyo bhūtānām svayaṃbhūr iva sammataḥ*: It is impossible to duplicate the effect of the alliteration in the original.

15. Can 15ab stand alone like this? Both "mighty" and "valorous" seem to be descriptive rather than predicative adjectives. There appears to be no syntactical link with either the preceding or following verse. The GPP reads 15ab as *pāda* cd of GPP 1.18.26 (crit. ed. 14cd,15ab). But note 514\*.42 where a variant stands in similar isolation with no apparent syntactical link with its neighboring verses. As it stands in the constituted text, 15ab has the appearance of a verse fragment.

Following 15ab S manuscripts and Devanāgarī manuscripts following the southern recension read 3 lines [511\*] that further describe Rāma's attributes.

"Lakṣmaṇa, bringer of glory" (verse 15) *lakṣmaṇo lakṣmivardhanaḥ*, and "glorious Lakṣmaṇa" (verse 17) *lakṣmaṇo lakṣmisampannaḥ*: These two epithets of Lakṣmaṇa, which recur in a formulaic pattern many times in the epic, are used more for their alliterative effect than for any particular association of the hero with Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune or prosperity. This is also the case with the epithets *lokābhirāma*, "delight of the world," used frequently of Rāma, and *lokarāvaṇa*, "thorn in the side of the world," used of Rāvaṇa, although in these cases the appropriateness of the epithets is clear.

16. "outside his body" *śarīrataḥ*: This is a difficult passage to construe with certainty, and it has occasioned much thought on the part of traditional commentators and modern scholars alike. There are several possible ways to construe *śarīrataḥ*, all of which have been put forth as alternatives by Cg at GPP 1.18.29. The point of the verse seems to be that Lakṣmaṇa is so devoted to his brother that, despite the fact that he too is a prince, he serves Rāma in the capacity of a personal valet or body servant. See Goldman 1980, p. 154. Cg's suggestions are: 1. Take the word simply as an adverb in the sense of "bodily." The intention then is that Lakṣmaṇa served Rāma personally. 2. Take *śarīrataḥ* as equivalent to the ablative *śarīrāt* and construe it with *api*, that is, Rāma was dearer to Lakṣmaṇa than his own body, which he neglected in his devotion. This interpretation is also given by Ck and was thought to be "probably right" by Peterson (1879, p. 18). 3. Take *śarīrataḥ* with *bahiḥ* so that Lakṣmaṇa is then described as being like a second life breath outside the body. This interpretation was accepted by Schlegel, and we have followed it in the translation. Peterson felt that "there is something to be said for it" (1879, p. 18). This interpretation can be supported by a verse from the *Aranyakāṇḍa* (32.13) in which Lakṣmaṇa is described as Rāma's right arm, a breath always moving outside. Cg, however, cites this verse in support of yet another interpretation, viz., 3. Take *śarīra* in the sense of Rāma's body so that, since Lakṣmaṇa serves as Rāma's right arm, and thus a principal feature of that body, the adverb *śarīrataḥ* may mean bodily, in the place of a body.

17. "best of men" *puruṣottamaḥ*: This also means the Supreme Puruṣa, a common epithet of Viṣṇu. Interestingly, the Vaiṣṇava commentators appear to take no notice of this. Cg remarks that this epithet here signifies that since Rāma is the object of universal love, Lakṣmaṇa cannot live without him even for a moment.

21-22. "were modest" *hrīmantāḥ*: Cr glosses this as "ashamed of (that is, careful to avoid) worldly censure." This is, in all likelihood, an attempt on his part at foreshadowing the later events of the epic, especially those of the final book, where Rāma repudiates Sītā for fear of censure. Cg here reads, "ashamed, that is, lest they even think of improper acts committed through laxity."

"gifted with foresight" *dīrghadarśinaḥ*: Here Cr understands, "perceiving the future," whereas Cg glosses, "always seeing the future."

The juxtaposition of verses 21 and 22 in the crit. ed. presents a serious problem of construction. The particle *atha*, "now," that begins verse 22 is not normally used as a correlative to relative adverbs such as *yadā*, "when," of verse 21; instead it normally marks the beginning of a new narrative or section of narrative. The S manuscripts (except M4), including the Devanāgarī manuscripts that follow S, insert 4 lines [513\*; GPP 1.18.35c-37b] which better complement the syntax of verse 21. Cg explains that these verses, which describe the additional accomplishments of



Daśaratha's sons, contain an implicit adverb, *tadā*, "then," which would be the expected correlative of *yadā*. The idea of the sequence proposed by Cg is that when the princes had acquired all the enumerated virtues, the old king was delighted. The discussion of the princes' education completed, the narrative takes up a new topic, the king's thoughts about the boys' marriages. The new section is introduced with the *atha* of verse 22. In keeping with this handling of the transition in S, the western and northwestern manuscripts, including Ś,D1-3,5,7,9,11,13 begin a new *sarga* at verse 22, further strengthening the argument that the *atha* of verse 22 was not originally intended to be the correlative of *yadā*, a role more or less forced upon it by the text of the crit. ed. The remainder of the N manuscripts (N, V2-4, B1,2,4,D10) and M4 replace verses 22-23 with 8 lines [536\*] (see below). What we see here is an interesting and potentially instructive textual manipulation in which manuscript traditions in isolation present grammatically and syntactically acceptable constructions, but the crit. ed., through adherence to its governing principles, has provided an ungrammatical and difficult construction, a reading, moreover, to be found in no known manuscript.

22-23. For 22-23, W and NW add and N substitutes 8 lines [536\*], which tell the reason for Viśvāmitra's arrival, that is, the obstruction of his sacrifice by the demons (cf. 1.18.4-7).

25. "their minds in a flurry of agitation" *saṃbhrāntamanasaḥ*: Ck and Ct gloss the term as "having agitated thoughts." Cr remarks that the gatekeepers' minds are filled with respect or awe of their great visitor and that their running suggests their extreme joy. This, in turn, he notes, makes clear the king's great love for the sage. Given the awe in which the great seers, especially men such as Viśvāmitra, are held in the epics, it is as likely that the agitation of the gatekeepers is caused by dread.

27. "dropping all other concerns" *samāhitah*: Ct, Cr, and Cm have been followed here in taking this adjective to indicate that the king has focussed all his attention upon the arrival of the sage and has, by implication, dropped all his other concerns for the moment.

"Brahmā" *brahmāṇam*: Citing the vedic tradition, *brhaspatir devānām brahmā*, "Brhaspati is the brahman of the gods," Ck, Ct, and Cr argue that this is not the proper name of the great creator-divinity, but a reference to the god Brhaspati, the traditional *purohita*, "family priest," of the gods. The reason for this is doubtless to intensify the parallelism suggested by Viśvāmitra's traditional role as an advisor to the Ikṣvāku kings. This is not, however, convincing, and Cg (and Cr optionally) takes this, no doubt correctly, as a reference to the god Brahmā.

28. "welcome offering" *arghyam*: See note on 1.2.24.

29. "prescribed in the traditional texts" *śāstradṛṣṭena karmaṇā*: Cg and Cr construe this with *arghyam*, that is, "welcoming offerings which were offered with proper rites." Cg says that *samarpitam*, "offered," is to be added to complete the sense.

"prosperity" *avyayam*: Ct glosses this with *vṛddhim*, "prosperity," as does Apte, who cites the verse. But Cg and Cr take this as an adjective modifying *kuśalam*, "welfare," that is, "perfect (indestructible) welfare."

30. Ct appears to be alone in seeing, in this straightforward description of the encounter between the two famous sages, an allusion to the story of their rivalry that will play so important a role later in the *Bālakāṇḍa*. He feels that in greeting the king before the eminent Vasiṣṭha, who would normally be granted precedence, Viśvāmitra is slightly affronting the senior brahman. Ct quotes a verse that he says

is found in some manuscripts (cf. crit. app. on verse 30, especially the northern variants and 541\*) to the effect that Vasiṣṭha in turn welcomes his former rival with a smile. The commentator takes the smile to express Vasiṣṭha's unspoken thought, "So, you used to be my rival and now you come to see my king!"

33. "in great advancement" *mahodaye*: Ck, Ct, and Cg analyze the compound as a *tatpuruṣa* compound in the sense of "the advent (*udaya*) of a festival (*mahāḥ*)." In the translation it is read as a *karmadhāraya* compound in the sense of "great good luck" or "advancement," on the grounds that this translation seems to preserve the parallelism with the other subjects of comparison (*upamānas*) in this multiple simile (*māloṣamā*), all of which compare Viśvāmitra's arrival with some unexpected or un hoped for good fortune. This could hardly be appropriate for a festival. Compare the N manuscript variants *iṣṭasyāgamanam yathā* and 544\*.

"Welcome" *svāgatam*: Ck, Cr, and Ct understand this as in the translation, while Cg takes the term as modifying *āgamanam*, "coming," that is, "your arrival is an unexpected event."

35. "once you were called a royal-seer" *rājarṣiśabdena*: Ck and Ct take this as an adjective modifying *tapasā*, "austerities." Thus they see the phrase as meaning "penances that had as their object the acquisition of the title 'royal-seer'." The translation follows Cr, Cg, and Cm in supplying some term (*bodhita*, *lakṣita*, or *sahita* respectively) to indicate that Viśvāmitra was formerly known by the title "royal-seer" and that subsequently, through further penances, he acquired the status of a brahman-seer. The story to which allusion is made is told below at great length in *sargas* 50-64.

36. "like a journey to a holy place of pilgrimage" *śubhakṣetragataḥ*: Here again Cr has been followed. Cr, Cg, and Cm understand the phrase to indicate that Daśaratha regards his own city as having now become like a pilgrimage spot (by virtue of the sage's visit). Ck and Ct take *kṣetra* in the sense of the body as it is used at *Bhagavadgītā* 13.1, etc. Thus, they see the king as saying that through the sight of Viśvāmitra, he has attained a body free from sin and possessed of all merit and so on.

37. "you" *tubhyam*: The dative is awkward and hard to construe here. The translation follows Cg, who takes the dative in the sense of the instrumental.

39. The meter here is *Puṣpitāgrā*, which has 12 syllables per quarter-verse.

## Sarga 18

Ñ, V, B, D10, and 13 substitute 566\* for *sarga* 18. The passage is largely parallel to *sarga* 18, and the critical editors have provided the correspondences to the critical readings. Note that many passages of Ś, D1-3, 5, 6, 9, and 11 follow 566\* rather than the critical readings. The variants for these manuscripts are given by the critical editors in the appropriate section (see Bhatt 1960, p. 137).

1. "wonderful and elaborate" *adbhutavistaram*: This is read as a *dvandva* compound, in disagreement with most of the commentators. Ck, Ct, and Cm read it as a *bahuvrīhi* compound in the sense of "of wonderful extent." But here Daśaratha is only moderately long-winded by epic standards. Cg's *bahuvrīhi*, "in which there is an elaboration of wonder," is somewhat more convincing. Cr's *adbhutatvasamānddhikarāṇa-vistaratvaviśiṣṭam*, "the term 'extent' is not grammatically subordinated to the term 'wonder,'" seems best.



4. "performance of a ritual" *niyamam*: This is taken in the general sense of a self-imposed religious or ritual observance. As the context will later make clear, some sort of sacrifice is intended. The commentators almost unanimously understand this to mean the state of *dīkṣā*, or consecration incumbent upon the sacrificer.

"in order to accomplish a specific purpose" *siddhyartham*: This is understood generally in the sense of any desired end or accomplishment. Ck reads, with a few Devanāgarī manuscripts, *vidhyartham*, that is, for the sake of a sacrifice. It is unlikely that the technical sense of the term *siddhi*, "supernatural power," is intended here. Compare the NE reading (566\*.5), *yajñasiddhikaram kimcid āsthito 'smi mahad vratam*, where *mahad vratam*, "great religious observance," takes the place of *niyamam*, and *yajñasiddhi*, "accomplishment of a sacrifice," that of *siddhyartha*. Cf. note on 1.17.22-23 [536\*].

5. *Mārīca*: This demon, whom Rāma refrains from killing (1.29.14-17), will reappear much later in the epic, where he will play a crucial role in the abduction of Sītā (3.33-43).

6. "my efforts gone for nothing" *kṛtaśramah*: Normally, "one who has made efforts." Context and commentators agree, however, that we must understand it as "one who has exerted himself for nothing."

8. "side locks" *kākapakṣa*—: Literally, this means "crow's wings." These are side locks of hair characteristic of young boys, particularly kshatriyas in ancient India. The use of this term emphasizes the tender age of Rāma and thus increases the pathos of Daśaratha's reaction.

12. "fallen into the compass of the noose of Kāla, Death" *kālapāśavaśam gatau*: Kāla, or Time, is a common name for Mṛtyu, or Yama, the Hindu god of death. His typical attribute is a noose, with which he is thought to lasso and draw out the thumb-sized souls of his victims. Thus "to come under the power of Time's noose" is commonly used in the epics of a character who is about to be killed.

13. "concerned for your son" *putrakṛtam sneham*: Normally "paternal affection for a son." Here the use is evidently in the sense of anxiety born of affection. Ct has a sectarian explanation. He takes the phrase to mean that the king should not show paternal affection since Rāma, being divine, is not, in fact, his son.

14. "I know" *vedmi*: Here again the commentators insist on sectarian interpretations of straightforward matter. They refer to Viśvāmitra's supernormal perceptions and see him as stating that he knows Rāma to be *parabrahma*, the supreme spirit, and so on. Some, like Cg, then use this as an occasion for a theological digression.

15. "acquire merit" *dharmalābham*: Glosses such as Cg's *dharmavṛddhim*, "increase of *dharma*" tend to obscure the issue, at least for the translator. The translation follows the suggestion of Śrīnivāsaśāstrī, who glosses *punya*, "merit," for *dharma*.

17. "beloved" *abhipretam*: The commentators take this as "whom I require," which is also a possibility.

"freely" *asamsaktam*: We have followed Cg and Cm in taking this adverbially in the sense of "freely" or "without deliberation." Ck, Ct, and Cr take it as an adjective in the sense of "independent." They feel that it signifies that Rāma, having come of age, is not really dependent upon his father.

Note that 566\* has no equivalent for 17ab, and following the principles set down by the critical editors, the latter should not be included in the critical text. At best, it should be considered a doubtful reading. Note, too, that some NW manuscripts (Ś,D5,11, and 12) replace *abhipretam* with *mahābāhum*.

19. After verse 19, Dt,4,6,8,9, and 14 insert 3 lines [564\*] that tell how Daśaratha is overcome with grief at Viśvāmitra's words. He faints and, regaining consciousness, he sinks down filled with fear.

20. The meter is, as Cg puts it, a variety of *upajāti*.

"He was overwhelmed with terror" *agamad bhayaṃ mahat*: The reading is marked as uncertain by the critical editors. Most N manuscripts read *abhavat tato mahātmā*, "then the great one became." Many other manuscripts, including the vulgate, replace *tataḥ* with *mahān* (great).

Compare 1.19.1.

## Sarga 19

2. "not yet sixteen years of age" *ūnaśodaśavarṣaḥ*: The question of Rāma's actual age has been discussed at length by the commentators because of various, apparently discrepant, references in the epic. Several of these passages bear on the duration of Rāma's stay in Ayodhyā between the time of his marriage and that of his exile. These will be discussed in later notes (2.17.26, 3.36.6, 3.45.10, etc.). The problem here derives from a verse in the *Aranyakāṇḍa* (3.36.6), which in the southern manuscripts and in the versions of many of the commentators (GPP 3.38.6) indicates that Rāma was twelve or even younger at the time of Viśvāmitra's arrival at his father's court. The reading *dvādaśa*, "twelve," has been rejected by the crit. ed. in favor of *ūnaśodaśa*, "less than sixteen," partly on the basis of the verse under discussion (see crit. notes to *Aranyakāṇḍa* 36). Cg and Cm understand Rāma to be twelve. Cr and Ct understand him to be fifteen, the age at which (according to Ct quoting Ck) the *śāstras* prescribe the putting on of armor by a kshatriya youth. Ck feels that Rāma is fifteen or so on the grounds that the word *ūna-* properly means "reduced by one or two." He understands, quite rightly, that the real point here for Daśaratha is that his son is underage for combat, and he accordingly pokes fun at the commentator (Cg) who wastes time trying to make out the exact age: "Therefore a certain scholar, in wondering whether, at the time of Viśvāmitra's arrival, Rāma was twelve or fifteen is exerting himself greatly in an investigation on the subject of crows' teeth." The crit. ed. has not been consistent in its interpretation of Rāma's age. Based on Sheldon Pollock's careful analysis of the available textual material, we have agreed that Rāma's age at the time of his exile was twenty-five, and that the duration of his residence in Ayodhyā was seventeen years. This would make Rāma approximately twelve at the time of his marriage at the end of this book, and still be consistent with the phrase here that he is "not yet sixteen." It is our feeling that this was idiomatic for expressing the idea that someone had not yet attained the age of majority, just as we might say in English that someone was not yet twenty-one, without thereby specifying his or her exact age. That the age at which a youth was considered a man was sixteen in traditional India is further supported by the traditional verse, "For the first five years indulge a son in anything, for the next ten beat him constantly, when he attains his sixteenth year you can treat him as a friend." For additional discussion of this point, see note on 2.17.26.

3. "huge army" *akṣauhiṇī pūrṇā*: Literally, "a full *akṣauhiṇī*." The grand army of epic India consisted of four divisions traditionally enumerated as follows: 21,870 chariots, 21,870 elephants, 65,610 horses, and 109,350 infantry. Cf. *MBh* 1.2.15-24 and note to 1.50.21 below.



5. “shall guard your sacrifices” *goptā*: We follow Cr, Ct, and Cg, who all agree that “sacrifice” should be supplied as the object of *goptā*, “protector.”

7. “not yet finished with his studies” *akṛtavidyaḥ*: Cg takes “studies,” *vidyā*, here in the specific sense of the *dhanurveda*, “the science of arms.” Neither Ct nor Cr is so specific about the nature of the studies. Cr stresses Rāma’s uncompleted studentship (*na kṛtā gurūpadeśaprāptyā prakāṣitā vidyā*) rather than his deficiency in knowledge. Ct brings up the possibility that this verse might contradict 1.17.14, where the offspring of Daśaratha are described as *sarve vedavidah sūrāḥ*: “all the heroes were learned in the *vedas*.” He alone adduces this verse in the context of Daśaratha’s paternal anxiety.

“He is neither strong nor skilled in the use of weapons” *na cāstrabalaśamyuktaḥ*: This could optionally be read as “he does not command the power of weapons,” or possibly even “he has neither army (*bala*) nor weapons.”

10. “I am 60,000 years old” *ṣaṣṭir varṣasahasrāṇi jātasya mama*: This number crops up elsewhere in connection with the legendary Ikṣvākus. Thus, for example, this is the number of sons of the earlier dynast, Sagara (1.37.8ff.). It is striking that Daśaratha lives so much longer than his great son, who dies after a reign of a mere 11,000 years. It is likely that this huge number is purely conventional, to indicate a large number. Thus the king’s statement may be taken as an idiomatic expression in the sense of, “I am an old, old man.”

11. “most righteous” *dharmapradhānam*: The refrain *na rāmaṃ netum arhasi*, “please don’t take Rāma,” occurs five times in this *sarga* (verses 4,6,8,10,11). It is only here that a word outside of a verse-final *pāda* construes with this phrase. A few other versions apparently attempt to remove this variation by changing the reading to the locative singular, *dharmapradhāne*, which is then construed with *pāda* c (see GPP 1.20.12, also D6, 8). A number of N manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D10, 13) read *pādas* cd as *jyeṣṭhaṃ putraṃ na me rāmaṃ (bālaṃ) bhagavan netum arhasi* (“Please, holy one, do not take my eldest son Rāma”).

Compare 575\* and note to verse 10.

15. This is the first mention in the central epic story of the great demon king. From what follows it is clear that the nature and history of the villain are well known to Daśaratha. Yet, after the abduction of Sītā, it will appear that the monster is virtually unknown to everyone. For a discussion of this seeming anomaly see Goldman and Masson 1970. Note also that although the northern manuscripts all know of the demon, they make no mention of his boons here.

The entire N recension (Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 5, 7, 10-13) and M4 partially or completely omit 14cd-16 and 18c-19ab, and provide a significant substitute for 17cd [577\*]—a direct reference to Rāvaṇa and his half-brother Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa). This means that Viśvāmitra’s reply to Daśaratha is unknown to these versions, and instead Daśaratha in his uninterrupted speech makes mention of the terrible demon Rāvaṇa. This again demonstrates the strong partiality of the editors for S; for here, what must be considered a southern interpolation is admitted to the critical text.

17. Vaiśravaṇa, or “descendant of Viśravas,” is a reference to Kubera. Rāvaṇa, Kubera’s half-brother, is also frequently given this patronymic epithet.

18-19. Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 5, 7, 10-13, M4 omit 18c-19b. See above, note 15.

20. “to me, an unfortunate man” *alpabhāgyasya*: Cg, Ck, Ct, and Cm all read this as “unlucky on account of not being able to carry out your orders,” whereas Cr understands “who has enjoyed good fortune (*bhāgya*), in the form of this son, only for a short (*alpa*) time.”

22. After 22, N manuscripts (Ś,Ñ,B,V,D1-3,5,7,10-13) and M4 insert one curious line [586\*]: “Or perhaps it is Lavaṇa, the son of Madhu, who is ruining your sacrifice.” This is hardly apposite contextually, but is nonetheless an interesting line in that it refers to an episode in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* in which Rāma sends his brother Śatrughna to slay the demon Lavaṇa and arms him with a weapon too powerful to use against Rāvaṇa. This is traditionally interpreted by the commentators to suggest that Lavaṇa is more powerful than even the awesome villain of the central epic (7.55.13-14). This episode, which provides a legendary account of the founding of the kingdom of Mathurā, belongs to one of the later strata of the epic. It would follow that the reading of N here is still later.

24. “Sunda and Upasunda” *sundopasundayoḥ*: According to the legend recounted at *MBh* 1.201-204, these two invincible demons were tricked into destroying each other.

25. After 25ab, N manuscripts (Ñ,Ś,V,B,D1-3,5,7,10-13) insert 2 lines [589\*] and substitute for 25cd either 590\* (Ś,D2,11,12) or 591\* (Ñ,V,B,D1,3,5,7,10,13). In 590\*, Daśaratha says that he will fight along with his son, whereas 591\* has no mention of anyone accompanying the king into battle.

After this all the above manuscripts (Ś,Ñ,V,B,D1-3,5,7,10-13) and Dt,6,8,M3,4 insert 1 line [592\*]. Then Dt,5,6,8,11,M3,4 continue, whereas D4,9,14,T,G,M1,2, and Cg,Cm, and Ct insert 2 lines [593\*] after 25, in *jagatī* meter: “At that rambling speech of the lord of men, a furious rage seized the great brahman, the son of Kuśika, so that that fiery great seer flared up like a sacrificial fire into which the proper oblations have been offered when it is sprinkled with melted butter.”

## Sarga 20

5. “stricken with terror” *trastarūpam*: Literally, “having a terrified form,” the translation follows Ct,Cg, and Cm, who gloss the phrase as *atiśayena trastam*, “extremely frightened.”

Note that the N manuscripts tend to rephrase *pāda* a with either *krodhābhibhūtam tam jñātvā*, “realizing that he was overcome with anger,” or *kauśikam kupitam dṛṣtvā*, “having seen that Kauśika was angry.” The same manuscripts make appropriate substitutions for *pāda* b. For example, Ś, Ñ,V1,4,B2-3,D5,10,12,13,M4 read *jagan-maitraḥ* or *jaganmitraḥ*, “friend of the world,” for *jagat sarvam*, “the whole world.”

7. “tradition of your House” *svadharmam*: Literally, “proper duty.” The proper duty of Daśaratha and all of his lineage is, as the commentators stress, scrupulous adherence to his given word. The term is thus used differently here than in the *MBh*, especially the *BhagGī*, where it refers to the duty of any person to carry out the preordained tasks of his social class. This emphasis on the old king’s customary truthfulness to his vows (*satyapratijñātvā*) in this passage is surely intended to establish firmly this concept in the mind of the audience and to foreshadow its even more significant role in the next book. There it is Daśaratha’s compulsive adherence to old promises that sets in motion the major events of the epic and brings about his own destruction. It is this that explains the frequent occurrence of the term *dharma* in its various senses in this passage.

After 7ab Ś,B2,D1-3,5,7,11,12 (D2 missing 7ab and 596\*.1) insert 4 lines [596\*] in which the term *dharma* is used in the same sense that it is used in the *MBh* passage mentioned above.



8. "sacrifices and good works . . . are wasted" *iṣṭāpūrtavadhaḥ*: The commentators are in general agreement that the *āpūrta*, "good works," are public works such as the construction of wells, tanks, and so on.

9. "by the son of Kuśika" *kuśikaputreṇa*: Viśvāmitra is, in reality, the son of Gādhi and descended in the eponymously named family of the Kauśikas. Actually, the *Rām* in its genealogy of Viśvāmitra appears to know of no king named Kuśika. His antecedents as given at 1.50.18-19 are Prajāpati, Kuśa, Kuśanābha, and Gādhi. According to a version at *MBh* 13.56, Gādhi's father is called Kuśika, but as argued elsewhere, the genealogy has been tampered with for reasons unrelated to the present context. See Goldman 1977, pp. 104-11.

"like nectar by the blazing fire" *jvalanenāmṛtaṃ yathā*: The reference is to the legend in which the mythic bird Garuḍa, having conquered the gods, steals the *amṛta*, the nectar or *soma*, which is guarded, in part, by a ring of fire. Cf. *MBh* 1.28.22-23.

10. "He" *eṣaḥ*: Cr, Cg, and Ck agree that *eṣaḥ* here refers to the sage Viśvāmitra. Ct takes it to refer to both Rāma and the sage. See Cm for a sectarian discussion, that takes Rāma as referent.

11. "in all the three worlds with their fixed and moving contents" *trailokye saca-rācare*: Cr construes this with *pāda* a: "he knows all the different weapons in the three worlds among things fixed and moving." Cf. 600\*.1, 2.

Ñ, V, B, D10, M4 substitute 600\* for verses 11-13: "The son of Kuśika knows the divine weapons without exception, weapons which neither the gods, nor other mortals on earth know. Without exception, all of these divine weapons were given to him long ago by Kṛṣṇaśva, who was pleased with him for protecting the earth." See note on verse 13.

13. "Kṛṣṇaśva's . . . sons" *kṛṣṇaśvasya putrāḥ*: The notes to the crit. ed., which often attempt to rationalize the more fanciful notions of the epic bards, find it difficult to accept the fact that a set of weapons could be anyone's sons. They explain as follows: "all the missiles were given by (Kṛṣṇaśva) to Kuśika when he was ruling" (p. 447). Aside from making the syntax of the verse very awkward, this attempt leaves unanswered the question of why these sons are suddenly mentioned. The reading of the verse is quite clear, and the commentaries, translators, and Bhandare have no problem with it. Indeed, the tradition as seen at 1.26.22-24 and *Uttararāmacarita* 1.14:7-15 clearly supports the notion that the divine missiles are personified. In an epic where monkeys talk and one's sister may be a river (1.33.7-8), scholars should not balk at such trifles. Cf. verse 14.

Some commentators (Ct, Cm, and Cr on GPP 1.21.13) read *dattā śivena iti śeṣaḥ*, "the words 'given by Śiva' are to be added." Thus they see Śiva rather than Kṛṣṇaśva as the donor of the weapons. This is in keeping with the legend as told at 1.54.12-19 where Śiva gives the weapons to Viśvāmitra as a reward for his penances.

"when he was still ruling" *praśāsati*: When who was ruling? Is it Kṛṣṇaśva, Kṛṣṇaśva's sons, or Viśvāmitra? *Praśāsati* is plural, but the commentators read it as the singular *praśāsti*. The commentators agree, too, that here the referent is Viśvāmitra and the reference is to the days when he was a great kshatriya king. The N recension (600\*.3, 4) makes clear reference to Viśvāmitra.

14. "the daughters of Brahmā, lord of creatures" *prajāpatisutāḥ*: The commentators are unanimous in taking these as Dakṣa's famous daughters. See verse 15.

Most N manuscripts omit verse 14, and according to the critical principles, the verse should not be admitted to the critical text.

15. For 15cd some N manuscripts substitute 601\*. Here the weapons are said to have been produced from the “splendor (might/seed) of Viṣṇu” (*viṣṇutejasā*). This is interesting, especially when compared to the remarks of the commentators who, despite their Vaiṣṇava bias, understand that Śiva originally gave the weapons (note on 13 above).

17. “called the Saṃhāras” *saṃhārān nāma*: Ck,Cr,Ct, and Cg all agree that this name expresses the function of the weapons in that they are for the destruction (*saṃhāra*) of the demons. Bhandare, however, argues convincingly that *saṃhāra* means “withholding” and refers to the spells for the recovery of magical missiles once they have been discharged. Citing *Raghuvamśa* 5.57, he suggests that half of the spells, the sons of Jayā, are for *prayoga* or *vikṣepa*, the discharge of the weapons, and the other half, the sons of Suprabhā, are for *saṃhāra*, their retrieval.

18. After 18, Dt,4,6,8,T3,G2,3,M1,3 insert 2 lines [606\*] where Viśvāmitra is described as omniscient.

19. Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4), Cg,Cm,Ck, and Ct insert 607\* (2 verses; GPP 1.21.21-22; one in *śloka* and one in a mixed meter called *puspitāgrā*): “‘The descendant of Kuśika is able to control them by himself. It is for the sake of your son’s welfare that he has approached and asked this of you.’ His mind calmed by these words of the sage, the resplendent bull of the Raghus was delighted. The world-renowned king then looked favorably in his mind upon Rāghava’s going with the descendant of Kuśika.”

## Sarga 21

2. “blessed his journey” *kṛtasvastayayanam*: The *svastyayana* was a ceremony for insuring good fortune that commonly involved the chanting or uttering of magic formulas. Cf. 609\* (see below).

For verse 2, Ñ,V,B,D10,13 substitute 2 lines [609\*]. Note that the reference is to Rāma’s mothers in the plural (cf. 1.17.2), and how Vasiṣṭha, rather than reciting auspicious formulas, performs the same *svastyayana* rite as the mothers.

5. “the great man” *mahātmani*: It is difficult to say whether Viśvāmitra or Rāma is meant. Cr hedges the issue by saying that it refers to both.

“flourish of drums and conches” *śaṅkhaḍundubhinirghoṣaḥ*: Ck,Ct, and Cg take the drumming to be that in the city. Cm and Cg remark that the gods beat their drums in celebration of the beginning of the mission of the Rāmāvatāra.

6. “side locks” *kākapakṣa*—: See note on 1.18.8.

7. “looked like three-headed cobras” *triśiṣṭāv iva pannagau*: The commentators have several, sometimes alternative, explanations of the simile. Ck,Cm, and Cr suggest that it refers to the fact that each of the heroes has a quiver on either side of his head giving the appearance of three hoods. Ct feels that the three are represented by head, bow, and quiver.

For 7ef, Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13,M4 substitute 614\*, in which the sage is compared to the god Indra.

8. “their wrist and finger guards strapped on” *baddhagodhāṅgulitrāṇau*: The translation follows Cm’s reading of the compound. This is against Ck,Ct,Cr, and Cg. Although some of these commentators note Cm’s opinion, they prefer to read the compound as “having put on finger guards made of *godhā* (a kind of lizard) skin.” Ct remarks that the position enunciated by Cm is dubious because of what he sees



as the problem of redundancy between “hand guards” and “finger guards.” Yet, if we understand *godhā* as wrist guard and *aṅgulitrāṇa* as finger guard, there is no redundancy, and the description seems then to accord with the normal requirements of archery.

“like twin Kumāras” *kumārāv iva pāvakī*: Cr, Ct, Cg, and Cm all understand the two fire-born *kumāras* to be Skanda and Viśākha. Cg quotes *MBh* 9.43.37, however, where these are but two of the four forms taken by Kārttikeya to satisfy simultaneously the four divinities who have parental claims upon him. Moreover, Cg’s passage tells us that only Skanda approached the great god while Viśākha went to Pārvatī. The other two *kumāras*, Śāka and Naigameṣa, approach Agni and Gaṅgā, respectively. Thus the story is somewhat problematic as a basis for the simile. Ck reads the figure as an *abhūtopamā*, that is, one in which the object of comparison does not, in fact, exist. Thus he reads *kumāra* as referring to an imaginary duplication of the same individual, the war god Subrahmaṇya. This seems to us to make better sense.

Sthāṇu, “Pillar,” is an epithet of Śiva.

After 8ab, most S manuscripts, including the Devanāgarī manuscripts that follow S (Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14), Ck, and Ct, insert 2 lines [616\*] in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are further described.

9. “a league and a half” *adhyardhayojanam*: Cg takes the poet’s reference to the distance traveled to suggest that Viśvāmitra, wishing to forestall hunger and fatigue on the part of the young boys who had come such a long way, decides to impart to them the two secret mantras that (verse 11) have the power to stave off bodily discomfort.

“these sweet words” *madhurām vāṇīm*: Cg thinks that the utterance consists of Rāma’s name, and says that it is sweet because the name is pronounced with devotion, *bhakti*, and because hearing it engenders bliss. If he is correct in this sectarian interpretation, then this would be the first place in the epic, and therefore in the literature, where any special virtue is attached to the *Rāmanāma*, which has such great significance in later devotional Hinduism. It seems more probable that, despite the placement of the *iti*, the sweet speech of Viśvāmitra is meant to include the text of verses 10-17.

Sarayū: See notes on 1.5.5 and 1.23.8.

10. “sip this water” *gṛhāṇa . . . salilam*: This, as the commentators agree, is a ritual of purification preparatory to accepting the mantras, cf. 620\*. See note on 1.3.2.

“Balā and Atibalā” *balām atibalām tathā*: Ct, who understands *tathā* as the conjunction joining the two mantras, has been followed in the translation. Ct also disputes the argument that these spells include those governing the *astras* mentioned in the previous chapter, for, as he states, the gift of these latter mantras will come only later. Peterson, however, in his notes (1879, p. 21) rejects this view.

11. “*rākṣasas*” *nairṛtāḥ*: This means literally “sons of destruction.”

13. “in beauty” *saubhāgye*: This means literally “good luck,” but here, following Cg, *saubhāgya* is used especially in regard to “the ability to inspire devotion and love in a mate.” Apte cites *Kumārasambhava* 5.1 and *Meghadūta* 29, as well as Mallinātha’s commentary on both, for the use of the word in this meaning.

“ready response” *uttare pratipattavye*: The idea is that Rāma will be able to respond in an intelligent, respectful, and confident manner. Many S manuscripts read *prativaktave*, “response,” which is perhaps redundant.

17. “acquired through austerities” *tapasā sambhṛte*: Ct and Cr read “gained by me (Viśvāmitra) through penance” or, optionally according to Ct, “maintained by you (Rāma) through austerities.”

“manifold use” *bahurūpe*: This means literally “multiform,” that is, all-purpose. Here the commentators understand the word differently. Ct says, “yielding fruits even greater than those described in the *śāstras*.” Cr, on the other hand, says, “greater for having been taught to you,” whereas Cg says, “having manifold use in the world.” Some N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,13) replace 17 with 2 lines [627\*]. Like many of the N readings, this appears to be a gloss of the reading adopted by the crit. ed.: “You are already possessed of innate divine virtues that are desirable and unequaled. But these two spells will provide you with still more virtues.”

19. After verse 19, Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4), and all commentators insert 2 lines [631\*; GPP 1.22.24]. The meter has 12 syllables per quarter verse, and is thus a type of *jagatī*. “The two excellent sons of King Daśaratha were delighted by the words of the son of Kuśika, so that even though they lay on beds of grass that hardly suited their station, it seemed to them that the night was a pleasant one.”

## Sarga 22

1. “Kākutstha” *kākutstham*: The accusative singular ending here is marked as a doubtful reading. S almost unanimously reads the accusative dual in its place, thereby indicating both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. The use of the wavy line runs contrary to the general principles set down by the editor in that, in this case, the readings of S and N do differ (cf. Bhatt 1961, p. xxxiv).

2. “Kausalyā has an excellent child, Rāma” *kausalyā suprajā rāma*: Ck reads the phrase as one word, *kausalyāsuprajārāma*, and Ck takes it as an appositional *karmadhāraya*, the former member of which is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* (Rāma, excellent son of Kausalyā). Cr follows this interpretation. This is acceptable, but the majority of printed editions, excepting the Mysore, separate the words in print. This seemingly innocuous formula of politeness that the sage uses to rouse the prince has provoked Cg to offer a dozen or so elaborate explanations. See also Ct. Note that the N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,13) and M4 read *kausalyāmātar uttiṣṭha* for *pāda* a: “Rāma, whose mother is Kausalyā, get up!” (cf. Gorresio’s edition 1.26). These same manuscripts substitute 632\* for 2cd.

“morning worship” *sandhyā*: Literally, “twilight,” but here it refers to the prayers offered every morning and evening. This offering traditionally consists, among other things, of the offering of water to the sun and the uttering of the *japa* or the *Gāyatrī mantra* (see below verse 3). See Kane 1966-1975, vol. II, pp. 312ff.

3. “made the water-offering” *kṛtodakau*: See above, verse 2.

“supreme prayer” *param japam*: The *Gāyatrī mantra* (RV 3.62.3) is considered the highest prayer and its recitation each morning is enjoined upon all brahmans. Cg quotes a maxim to the effect that there is no superior prayer to the *Gāyatrī*. See above, note 2.

4. “paid homage” *abhivādya*: *Abhivādana* is a formal ceremony of greeting, obeisance, and salutation to a distinguished personage. It consists of three parts, *pratyutthāna*, rising from one’s seat, *pādopasaṃgrahaṇa*, grasping the feet of the respected



person, and *abhivādana*, the formal salutation itself. The rules are set down at *ManuSm* 2.120-2. See also Kane 1966-1975, vol. II, pp. 334ff.

5. "Ganges which goes by three paths" *tripathagām nādim*: The story of how the river comes to have three courses is narrated below at 1.41-43.

10. Kāma: The personification and divinity of love and sexual passion. The story of how he attempted to incite Śiva's lust is very popular. It is told in detail at *Kumārasambhava* 3 and in various *purāṇas* (*VāmaP* 6.24-107; *ŚivaP*, *Rudrasaṃhitā* 3.19, etc.)

11. "prior to his marriage" *kṛtodvāham*: The translation follows the first alternative offered by Cm for this term, that is, *karīṣyamāṇodvāham*, "whose marriage is yet to be performed." This accords best with the story as we know it from its other sources. In all versions known to us, the destruction of Kāma occurs prior to Śiva's marriage to Pārvatī. Cg takes this as an adverb indicating that the marriage had already taken place. Other commentators, including Ck, Ct, and Cv, understand the term to mean "having arisen from a trance," whereas Cmu takes it to mean "having held in his breath." This is a reference to the word *kṛtodvāha*'s second meaning, a posture for meditation in which one stands with arms outstretched. Śrīnivāsaśāstri has suggested that, like Cg, we should take the term adverbially, but in the sense of "as though he were a married man." The crit. notes (p. 448) support Cm's (and so our) interpretation.

Some N manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D10, 13) and M4 substitute 5 lines [636\*] for 11-12. Here the same story of Kāma's destruction at the hands of the enraged Śiva is told. As is frequently the case with the N variants, the text is clearer and the story is more in keeping with the form known from the later versions mentioned above. This version, however, like the critical reading, has the difficult term *kṛtodvāha*.

12. "terrible eye" *raudreṇa cakṣuṣā*: The word *raudreṇa* here can be taken in two senses, either as "belonging to Rudra (Śiva)" or "terrible." The reference is to Śiva's powerful and destructive third eye.

15. "Śiva's" *tasya*: The word "Śiva's" does not appear in the text. The pronoun *tasya*, "his," has no clear antecedent, although in all likelihood it refers to Śiva. Cg says that it can also refer to Kāma, but despite the title of the place, Kāma never had an ashram there, nor, one would imagine, anywhere else. At verse 19 (GPP 1.23.21), Cg says that it was called *kāmāśramapada* because Kāma was burnt there.

Ñ, V, B, D10, 13, M4 substitute, whereas D11 inserts, 2 lines [640\*] after 15, which contain a more elaborate description of the students of Śiva. Compare 639\*.4 with 15cd.

16. After 16, all manuscripts, except for D2, 3, 7, M2, insert 3 lines [641\*]: "All of us are pure; let us enter the holy ashram. It will be an excellent place for us to stay. When we have bathed, said our prayers, and made our sacred offerings, best of men, we shall pass the night comfortably here." With the exception of 641\*.3 (which most of N omits), the dropping of these lines from the critical edition is, in our opinion, questionable. All manuscripts except four partially or completely include the passage. Cf. Bhatt 1960, p. xxxiv.

18. "welcome offering" *arghyam*: See note on 1.2.24.

19. "they passed" *nyavasān*: The translation is in agreement with Cm in taking Viśvāmitra, Rāma, and Lakṣmaṇa as the subject of the verse. Ct and Cg take the ashramites as the subject. Cr takes everyone.

See critical app. 643\* (2 lines) and 644\* (2 lines) for additional verses added by

the S manuscripts (GPP 1.23.21-22). Here Viśvāmitra tells more stories to amuse the princes. Notice particularly the repeated use of the syllable *ram* as a play on Rāma's name in 644\*.

## Sarga 23

1. "riverbank" *nadyās tīram*: According to the commentators, this refers to the Ganges.

3. "before the king's sons" *rājaputrapuraskṛtaḥ*: According to Ct, this should read as an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound, "honored by the king's sons." Cg glosses *puraskṛtaḥ* with *pūjitaḥ*, "honored." Peterson 1879, p. 22, remarks that Ct's reading is in order to avoid any disrespect to the sage; but this is not good. In the translation, *puraskṛtaḥ* has been interpreted literally, "placed before them by the sons of the king." Note that Peterson 1879, p. 3, earlier identifies a similar compound incorrectly.

"safely" *ariṣṭam*: The commentators, who have been followed in the translation, take this adverbially in the sense of *śubham*, "with good fortune, safely." See *Ama-ra-kośa* 2406.

4. "set out . . . to cross" *talāra*: As is often the case in the *Rām*, we must read the perfect form (*lit*) to indicate an action undertaken but not yet completed. Cr understands *taritum ārebhe*, "began to cross," whereas Cg has a similar gloss. Can this usage illuminate somehow the process of expansion of the text? Let us suppose, for example, that originally the story only mentioned the crossing, but later additional material, perhaps Rāma's question about the "tumultuous din of clashing waters" (verse 5) was incorporated into the text. What may have been an originally truly perfective meaning of *talāra*, "he crossed," would no longer be suitable. Cf. 1.17.2.

After 4, S manuscripts (Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S [except M4]) insert 3 lines [645\*; GPP1.24.5-6b] in which Rāma, along with his brother, hearing a sound in the midst of the river, wants to know the cause.

6. "cause" *niścayam*: Here, the translation follows Cr and Ct, who understand *niścayam* in the sense of *kāraṇam*, "cause, reason." Notice that most N manuscripts (Ñ,V1-3,B,D10,11,13) read *vistaram*, "entire (story)."

7. The verse involves a pun on the word *manas*, "mind." Since the lake was created from Brahmā's mind (*manas*) it is called *mānasa*, "mental."

8. As in the preceding verse, there is a pun here. This one is based on a word for lake, *saras*, and the name of the Sārayū river. Both Sārayū and *saras* are derived from the verb *sr*, "to go, move, flow." Cf. Cg, who provides the traditional etymology—*saraso yautīti sārāyūḥ*, "coming from the lake, that is, the Sārayū." The lake referred to is, of course, Lake Mānasa, a fact made explicit in many N manuscripts [646\*].

11. "trackless" *aviprahatam*: Cg glosses *akṣuṇṇam*, "untrodden," or *janasaṃcārara-hitam*, "untraveled by men." Ct similarly says, "without the comings and goings of caravans," and Cr follows Ct. See Apte s.v. and Bhandare 1920, p. 93.

Many N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13) and M4 replace verse 11 with 3 lines [651\*]. Their content is similar to that of 11, but note that the verb is in the dual, and the question is made explicit by the introduction in line 3 of *kasya*, "whose?"



12. "with . . . vultures" *śakuntaiḥ*: Cr, citing *Amarakośa* 2450 (*pakṣitārksyau garut-mantau śakuntau bhāsapakṣīṇau*), takes *śakunta* as a bird of prey.

13. Ś,D1-3,5,7,12 omit verses 13-14.

16. Malada and Karūṣa: According to Law 1954, pp. 225-26, Karūṣa seems to have been located in southern Bihar between the Śoṇa and Karmanāsa rivers. Cf. Chaudhuri 1955, pp. 37-38; Law 1943, pp. 87-89; and *MBh* 6.10.39, 48. See note on 1.31.7.

"created through the efforts of the gods" *devanirmāṇanirmitau*: Ck understands this to mean "named by the gods," whereas Cg understands, somewhat differently, "fashioned with effort *like* that of the gods." Ct,Cr, and Cm, whose interpretation has been followed in the translation, read "fashioned by the gods' efforts."

17-20. What we apparently have here is a folk etymology of the two place names Malada and Karūṣa. The word for "taint," *mala*, is the basis for the derivation of the first. The etymology of the second, however, is obscure. Somehow the word Karūṣa is intended, it seems, to be related to the word for "hunger" (*kṣud*) in the verse. However, it is very difficult to rationalize this interpretation, as it is impossible to find any meaningful word connected with the name Karūṣa. The commentators, who are frequently ingenious when it comes to this type of interpretation, are at a loss. They agree that the intent of the word *karūṣa* here must be "hunger," although it is not a word known to their language. Like us they make the connection on the basis of context (*sthānapramāṇāt*), an unusually unimaginative explanation for the commentators. Apte, s.v. *kārūṣa*, on the basis of this passage alone, understands the term to mean "hunger." Manuscript evidence is not helpful, as there are no significant variants. Therefore, although we must assume that a pun is intended in this verse, the basis for that pun, that is, the relationship between Karūṣa and *kṣud*, must remain unclear. See Bhandare 1920, p. 93.

27. It is not clear how to construe *yataḥ*, "since." The commentators are of differing opinions. Ck and Ct construe the *yataḥ* with 27cd, and the *ataḥ*, its natural correlative, with 28ab, that is, "since we must go to Tātakā's forest (therefore) Rāma, having recourse to the strength of your own arms, slay her." Cg and Cm, however, read *yataḥ* as *yasmin*, "where, on which," that is, "we must travel by means of that path on which Tātakā's forest is located." Cr, who is followed in the translation, construes the *yataḥ* with 27ab, that is, "since she lives a league and a half from here, therefore we must go to Tātakā's forest."

30. "To this day, she keeps up her depredations" *adyāpi na nivartate*: The problem in this verse is in identifying a subject for the verb *nivartate*. Here Cr,Ck, and Cg, who take *yakṣī* to be the unspecified subject, are followed in the translation. Bhandare 1920, p. 94, also follows this interpretation. Ct and Cm provide an interesting, but as Bhandare notes, farfetched solution. According to these commentators, the words *atra pūrvasthito janah*, "the people who used to live here," are to be added. Thus the verse would read, "The people who used to live here do not return." Peterson 1879, p. 23, reads *vanam*, "forest," as the subject, that is, "has to this day not returned to its former state."

## Sarga 24

3. As the critical edition stands, this verse seems stylistically awkward, for it is unusual to have a phrase such as is found in *pāda* a, that is, *viśvāmitro 'bravīd vākyaṃ*, at the beginning of a verse. Normally this type of phrase is preceded by a clause that contains a gerund, such as is found at 663\*.1. In support of this more usual syntactical construction, we see 11 S manuscripts (Dt,4,6,8,14,T3,G2,3,M1,3 inserting 2 lines [663\*]) that provide a more typical syntactic transition (cf. especially D4,14,T3,G2,3,M1, which omit 663\*.2). Furthermore, 12 N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,13) have a stylistically acceptable variant: "*viśvāmitras tato rāmaṃ śrutvetaṃ punar abravīt*." Eight other manuscripts (Ś,D1-3,5,7,12) substitute 2 lines for verse 3 [664\*] that again provide a construction more in keeping with the usual epic style: "*etac chrutvā vacas tasya viśvāmitro 'bhyabhāṣata*." Cf. notes on 1.17.21-22 and 1.19.15.

*Pāda* b plays on the terms *bala*, "strength," and *abalā*, "woman," literally, "weak, frail."

"extraordinary strength" *balottarā*: Here Bhandare's suggestion (1920, p. 94), which follows Cg's reading of the compound, has been adopted, that is, *balena uttarā*, "great through strength."

4. "austerities" *tapah*: The austerities are, of course, in order to secure progeny. Cf. 1.8.1.

5. "by the name of Tātakā" *tātakāṃ nāma nāmataḥ*: *Nāma*, "named," and *nāmataḥ*, "by name," are, or appear to be, redundant. Cg reads *nāma* as *prasiddha*, "known, famed as," whereas Cr glosses *nāmataḥ* as *prasiddha*, that is, "this well-known (person), Tātakā by name." The idiomatic repetition of the two virtually identical words is a stylistic convention of the *Rām* and is common to all manuscripts.

6. Ct and Cr remark that if Brahmā had actually granted Suketu a son, that son would have oppressed the world. Therefore, acting upon this consideration, they gave him only a daughter.

7. Jambha: The name of Sunda's father is marked as a doubtful reading in the crit. ed. The choice of Jambha over the other variants is hard to defend. N manuscripts (including Devanāgarī manuscripts that follow N) read Dhuṃdhu (Ñ2,V3,B3,4,D10) or other names that are for the most part akin to it. [Dhuṃdu—Ñ1,B2; Dhūnu—V1; Dhuṃdoḥ—V2, 4; Dhaṃdhu—B1; but Kuṃbha Ś, D5,11-13; and Ruru—D1,3,7,9]. S manuscripts (except T3,M4) and D14 read Jharjha, whereas Ck reads Khañjoḥ. This means that only five manuscripts (Dt,4,6,8,T3—D2 omits—D4 reads *vasa*—) have the reading given in the text. The choice of the critical editors was perhaps influenced by the use of this name in the *Rāmopākhyāna* (3.269.2), and it is significant that the northern manuscripts, which often seem to be familiar with *MBh* characters and even tend to substitute names from that epic (see note on verse 17 below), do not read Jambha here. We feel that a reading of Jharjha, following the stronger S reading, although no doubt still doubtful, would have been a better choice.

This Sunda is evidently not the same as the famous brother of Upasunda known to the *MBh* (1.201ff.) and the purāṇic texts.

9. "After Sunda had been killed" *sunde tu nihate*: Who killed Sunda and why? Ct,Cg, and Cr agree that he was destroyed through a curse pronounced upon him by the sage Agastya. Bhandare 1920, p. 95, notes, too, that Agastya's slaying of



Sunda must be inferred on the strength of Tāṭakā's desire for revenge. Elsewhere the sage Agastya is associated with the destruction of demons. He is said to have caused the downfall of the great *dānava* king, Ilvala, by eating that demon's brother Vātāpi, who had been turned into a goat (*MBh* 3.97). He is also said to have drunk up the entire ocean to rid the earth of the Kāleya *asuras* (*MBh* 3.101-103, especially 103.10). See Holtzman 1880, pp. 589-96.

We see in this verse an example of the *Bālakāṇḍa*'s tendency to follow a purāṇic style. This style is often typified by loose constructions and vague antecedents, and its presence in the epic's first and last books has been commented upon by scholars; see Lesny 1913, pp. 497-500, and Bulcke 1952-1953, p. 328. But we think that there is more behind the vagueness of this particular passage than style. In the light of parallel legends of the encounters of sages and beautiful women, encounters that are numerous in the epic, it seems more than likely that the lack of detail here is the result of a desire on the part of the poet to conceal the underlying sexual nature of Tāṭakā's "attack" and Agastya's response. Manuscripts of S including those of the commentators add a passage of 3 (in the vulgate 2) lines [667\*; GPP 1.25.1-1], in which it is stated that the *yakṣī* attacked the sage in order to devour him. This is odd, since she is not yet a man-eating *rākṣasī*. If she were already a cannibal, that fact would make the sage's curse otiose. Only M4, a strange and interesting misch-codex from the south that shares a number of interesting northern readings and has some readings unique to itself, preserves (or reconstructs), in our opinion, the essential nature of Tāṭakā's assault. This manuscript inserts the following passage of four lines [668\*] after 667\*.1: "When she drew closer to the sage with her son and saw how handsome he was, she was completely overpowered by the god of love. Smitten by swarms of the love-god's arrows, the young woman took off all her clothes and, wildly eager to make love to him, she ran toward him singing." The suppression of erotic material in inherited legends is a characteristic of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that has been remarked upon above. See note to 1.9.26.

11. "You are now a great *yakṣa* woman, but you shall be a repulsive man-eater with a hideous face" *puruṣādī mahāyakṣī virūpā vikṛtānanā*: The commentators agree that the second person imperative singular form of the verb to be, *bhava*, "become," is implicit in the verse. The N manuscripts support this reading, as they include the personal pronoun *tvam* in their text. One manuscript (D11) actually includes the verbal form. Ct tells us that Tāṭakā is hideous because of her anger.

15. "soft-hearted" *ghṛṇā*: The word can be understood in two senses. Cr, whom we follow, glosses *ghṛṇā* as *dayālutā*, "compassion" or "pity." Cg, however, understands the term to mean *jugupsā*, "disgust." See Bhandare 1920, p. 97, and Mallinātha's commentary on *Raghuvamśa* 11.17.

"killing a woman" *strīvadha*—: The slaying of a woman is considered an *upapātaka* or "lesser sin" according to traditional law. It is listed among those *upapātakas* cited by Manu (11.59-66, especially verse 66). See Kane 1962-1975, vol. IV, pp. 33, 96. One should note here the opportunism of the passage, especially in light of the subsequent developments of the epic plot. Rāma, who later abandons the kingship of Kosala over the relatively minor ethical dilemma of obeying to the letter his father's orders, here is convinced to slay a woman, traditionally considered a serious infraction of the law. Later in the epic he will commit similar questionable acts, particularly the shooting of Vālin from ambush.

After 15, N2,D10,11, after 16, B2-4,Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4) insert 2 lines

[670\*; GPP 1.25.18]. This is an interesting verse, for not only does it enhance the episode's tone of pragmatic cynicism, it hints at the future developments of the relationship between Rāma and Sītā: "Any cruelty or kindness, any sin or crime, may be performed by a ruler for the sake of protecting his subjects." Note that this is a popular verse and is omitted by only a relatively small number of manuscripts. Cf. note on 1.22.16.

17. "protector of men" *nrpa*: The term is normally used only of a reigning king, but here Rāma is at least rhetorically a king insofar as he is to carry out the protective function of a monarch.

Mantharā: As the daughter of Virocana, Mantharā (literally, "Stirring-up") is known apparently only to this passage. The use of the name in this context is interesting, as it turns up later in the epic as the name of Kaikeyī's maid (see Introduction and *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 7-8). Significant too, are the facts that the commentators take little note of her here and, more importantly, that the name is not accepted by all the manuscripts. In fact, most N manuscripts replace the name of Mantharā with Dīrghajīhvā, "Long-tongued"; see 671\*. Dīrghajīhvā is a *rākṣasa* woman known to the *MBh* (3.276.4). There she is said to be slain by Indra. Here we see a case in which a name used in the *MBh* is seen as a N reading, in place of an obscure S reading. Cf. 1.24.7.

18. The story is told at *Matsyapurāṇa* 47.61-110 and *Padmapurāṇa* 5.13.202ff. For a translation and discussion of the story, see Goldman 1971, pp. 39-41, and 1977, pp. 88-89.

19. "These" *etaiḥ*: Here the referents seem only to be Viṣṇu and Indra (Śakra), and yet the plural and not the dual is used. Compare the N reading [672\*], where the word *etaiḥ* is omitted. Peterson 1879, p. 23, suggests that *etaiḥ* may well "be explained as having a latent reference to the numerous other instances the speaker has in view." But this seems rather farfetched and redundant in relation to *anyaiḥ*, which means "others." More likely what we see here is the epic use of the plural for the dual, a possibility noted by Ct. But Ct and Cg prefer to read *etaiḥ* as *etādr̥śaiḥ*, "such as these." See too Bhandare 1920, p. 96. Cf. notes to 1.5.4 and 1.67.8.

## Sarga 25

4. "eminently justifiable action" *uttamam*: Literally, "best, excellent," but Ck and Ct understand *uttamam* in the sense of "*dharma*, '(social) responsibility, duty'" (Ck *uttamam dharmam*, "highest duty"; Ct *utkr̥ṣṭadharmam*, "consisting of the highest *dharma*"). Thus, although it is traditionally a sin to kill a woman, an *uttama* or "higher duty" is served by Tātakā's destruction, since she is such an evil being. The translation attempts to convey Rāma's concern lest he be regarded as committing a violation of the code of *dharma*. Cf. the N variant 675\*.3, 4 where Rāma says, "I will destroy the terrible *yakṣa* woman, Tātakā, sage." This avoids the difficulties presented in the critical reading by omitting the word *uttamam*.

8. "Locating its source" *abhinidhyāya*: The translation follows Cr's *śabdadeśam nūcitya*.

Notice that many N manuscripts have replaced 8ab with 677\*: "enraged and loudly bellowing, that hideous woman with a hideous face. . . ." The latter half of 677\* is almost identical with 9ab.



10. "of the timid" *bhīrūṇām*: Ck,Ct, and Cm read *abhīrūṇām*, "of the brave."

For verse 10, some manuscripts (Ś,D1,2,5,11,12) read 680\*. Here the word *kātarasya*, "coward," is used rather than *bhīrūṇām*. Ñ,V,B,D10,13 read for cd, "*atipramāṇam kruddhāyā rūpaṃ cātibhayāvaham*."

11. "magic powers" *māyābala*—: This could optionally be understood as a *dvandva* compound, meaning "magical power and strength." Cr reads "magical powers such as invisibility, etc." Cg assumes that it is only the power of invisibility, that is, the power of illusion.

"without her ears and the tip of her nose" *hṛtakarṇāgranāsikām*: The compound seems best taken as made up of the words *karṇā* and *agranāsikāyāḥ*, following Bhandare 1920, p. 97. He suggests that there is no "special propriety" in construing *agra* with *karṇa*. He dissolves the compound as *nāsikāyāḥ agram*, citing Rāghava-bhaṭṭa's commentary on *Śākuntalam* 4.1:15-16, where the word *agrahasta*, "fingertips," is discussed.

11cd is, in our opinion, suspect. See note to verse 13 below.

12. "lair" *gaṭiḥ*: This means literally "path" or "way." The word *gaṭiḥ* as used in this context presents some difficulty. Ct reads "moving/going about in the sky, etc." Cm says "movement of the body, etc." It is important to note that later, in another of Rāma's conflicts, the word *gaṭiḥ* appears in a similar context. Rather than killing the powerful Bhārgava, Paraśurāma, Rāma offers that warrior-sage the choice of either losing his *gaṭiḥ*, "his (mountain) resort," or the worlds gained through his austerities (1.75.7-16). Bhārgava Rāma chooses the latter, but the employment of the word *gaṭiḥ* in the sense of *sthānam*, "residence," is relevant to this context. Could *gaṭiḥ* refer here to Tāṭakā's forest? After all, to rid the forest of the demoness is one of the main reasons for the combat. Although the commentators do not mention this option here, we feel that this is probably the intended meaning of the word in this passage and have translated it accordingly. It is also interesting to note that the commentators almost unanimously agree that the deprivation of the demoness's "strength and mobility" is to be accomplished by means of severing her hands and feet, a notion not supported by the critical text (see Ck,Cg, and Ct). Note too that the N manuscripts (see 628\*) make no mention of *gaṭiḥ*.

13. After 13, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,T,G,M1-3 insert Appendix I, No. 5 (23 lines; GPP 1.26.14-26b). In this passage the battle between Tāṭakā and Rāma is vividly described. The passage is interesting because in it Rāma's promise to cut off the monster's ears and nose (and hands and feet) is actually fulfilled (GPP 17ab; App. I, No. 5, 7-10). This vow is neither fulfilled nor mentioned again in the critical text. The single reference to the severing of the nose and ears in the critical edition is suspect. Its presence is only supported by the S manuscripts, the very same manuscripts that read App. I, No. 5. All N manuscripts omit this reference (Ś,D1-3,5,7,11,12 substitute 681\*, whereas Ñ,V,B,D10-13 substitute 682\*.1). Thus it would seem that 11cd, like App. I, No. 5, must be considered an interpolation (see also principles of the critical edition, p. xxxiv, no. 3).

In the interpolated passage, the combat continues and Tāṭakā assumes many forms, becomes invisible, and finally looses upon the heroes a shower of stones. Viśvāmitra requests that the heroes end the combat before nightfall, since *rākṣasas* are known to gain strength at night (GPP 17.22-23; App. I, No. 5, 14-16).

14. Like the S recension, many N manuscripts elaborate on the battle between Rāma and the demoness. Although neither as lengthy nor as detailed as the S

passage, these versions (Ñ,B,V,D10,D11 and 13 [partially]) insert 4 lines [684\* and 685\*]. Here the description of Tātakā's attack on Rāma is somewhat elaborated, as is Rāma's slaying of the demoness with an arrow that looks "like a thunderbolt" (*vajrarūpeṇa*).

18. See 1.20.13.

22. After 22, S manuscripts and Dt,4,6,8,9,14 insert 6 lines [690\*]—4 in *śloka* and 2 in the longer *upajāti* meter: "Upon hearing Viśvāmitra's words, Daśaratha's son was delighted and passed the night pleasantly in Tātakā's forest. Released from its curse, the forest turned lovely that same day, as lovely as the Caitraratha forest. Rāma, having destroyed the daughter of the *yakṣa*, camped there along with that sage honored by the hosts of gods and perfected beings, and was awakened at dawn."

## Sarga 26

Ñ,V,B,D10,13 read a different version [700\*—51 lines] for *sarga* 26, which is provided in the crit. ed. after 26.25 (p. 172ff.). Where appropriate, the lines of 700\* are numbered to correspond to the verses in *sarga* 26.

2. "fully" *sarvaśaḥ*: The translation goes against the commentators, who gloss *sarvāṇi* (*astrāṇi*), "all weapons," and the northern reading, which is in agreement with the commentators (700\*.4). Several other, mainly western or northwestern manuscripts (Ś,D1-3,5,7,9,11,12) follow the northern reading.

"weapons" *astrāṇi*: *Astras*, "divine weapons," are often presented to a character as a reward for some great feat of valor or austerity. The names generally refer to the shape or function of the weapon, or to the fact that they belong originally to specific divinities or other supernatural beings.

See *sarga* 29, where Rāma actually employs some of Viśvāmitra's weapons in the battle with Mārīca. For the remainder of the epic, the divine weapons Rāma uses are provided from other sources. See, too, note on verse 19 below. See Peterson 1879, p. 26; Bhandare 1920, p. 101; and crit. notes, p. 448, which have, incorrectly, Bhārgava for Bharadvāja as Droṇa's father.

3. The N manuscripts [700\*] do not know any verses that parallel 3-4ab. Therefore, these verses should be regarded as questionable, especially in light of the fact that the manuscripts noted in 2 above follow 700\*. Here again is an example of the crit. ed. admitting a southern passage in its entirety without considering possible interpolations within that passage. See van Daalen 1980, pp. 19ff. and pp. 40-41.

6. known as the Vajra: The *vajra* is a thunderbolt. As a weapon it is known from the earliest literature and is connected frequently with the god Indra. Cf. 700\*.13.

See crit. notes, p. 449, for the correct numbering of the verses.

8. According to Ct, 8ab should be read understanding *pāśa*, "noose," and *astra*, "weapon," as two distinct entities, both modifying *vāruṇa*, that is, "Vāruṇa's noose and unsurpassed weapon."

The textual evidence for 8ab, like that for 3-4ab, is weak, and should at best be considered suspicious. See 700\*.

9. Śuṣka and Ārdra: Literally "the Dry and the Wet."

10. See note below on verse 19.

11. Prathama: Literally, "the First." This name is marked in the crit. ed. as doubt-



ful. V.l. include *pramatham*, *pradhanam*, *mathanam*, etc. Cf. 700.\*23 and see note below on verse 19 and note on 1.29.20.

12. "two spears" *śaktidvayam*: According to Cr and Cg, one of the spears belongs to Viṣṇu and the other to Śiva.

13. For 13, the vulgate (GPP 1.27.13) reads slightly differently: "For the destruction of the *rākṣasas*, I shall give you that great weapon of the *vidyādhara*s called Nandana."

The N variant given at 700\* has no parallel to verse 13. On this basis alone, the acceptability of the verse in the crit. ed. should be questioned (see notes above on 3-4ab and 8ab). Additionally, here the inclusion of an unspecified number of weapons is not in keeping with the remainder of the passage and makes the verse contextually awkward.

14. "Mānava" is marked as a doubtful reading in the crit. ed. The main variant, Mohana, is also read in the N manuscripts (700\*.3). Cf. verse 16.

17. The Mausala, according to the commentators, is "a special type of *musala*, club."

17ab, like 3-4ab and 13, may possibly be considered an interpolation belonging to the S tradition. See notes on 3-4ab and 13 above and 700\*. Here the context, style, and remaining manuscript evidence are of no aid in determining whether or not the line is added.

19. Śīteṣu: The Mānava Śīteṣu, Āgneya Śikhara (verse 10), and the Vāyavya Pramatha (verse 11) are used later in the *Bālakāṇḍa* by Rāma against the demons Mārīca and Subāhu (1.29.13-17, 19, and 20). There, although Subāhu and other demons are slain, Mārīca is merely stunned—a fact that will prove significant in the development of the epic story (see *Aranyakāṇḍa* 3.33-43). Cf. 1.55.1, where Viśvāmitra is said to fire the *Āgneya* weapon.

20. Bhandare counts fifty weapons (1920, p. 102) and fifty *saṃhāras*, "recovery spells" (see *sarga* 27). The crit. ed. has fifty weapons, too, excluding the indefinite number referred to at verse 13. For a more detailed discussion of the number of weapons and recovery spells, see note below on 1.27.2.

21. Ct and Ck question whether or not this verse is redundant in respect to the granting of the Balā and Atibalā mantras (1.21.10). Both say no, since in that context the sage merely utters the words, "accept (these) (*grhāṇa*)," but does not actually give the mantras. Here, however, Rāma is not only addressed with the very same command, *grhāṇa* (verse 20), but he is actually presented with the mantras (*dadau rāmāya . . .*). The mantras, or master spells, control the weapons.

After 21, Dt,4,6,8,11,14,S (except M4) insert 695\* (2 lines; GPP 1.27.23). Here Viśvāmitra instructs Rāma in those weapons that are difficult to obtain even by the gods. This is an excellent example of the crit. ed., correctly in our opinion, rejecting a verse that is obviously a southern interpolation. It provides a counter-example to 3-4ab, 8ab, 13ab, and 17ab, although the manuscript evidence in all cases is quite similar.

## Sarga 27

2. "spells for the recovery of the weapons" *saṃhāram*: See note on 1.26.20.

4-9. The name Jṛmbhaka (verse 8) is used by Bhavabhūti at the close of the first act of his *Uttararāmacarita* (1.14:7) as a generic term for all the magic weapons at Rāma's command. The northern texts at 712\*.3 read *jambhaka*, which is also used generically. Cf. 708\*.11, where *jambhaka* is again used, but this time apparently as the name of a specific weapon.

At 1.20.15-17 reference is made to fifty *astras* and fifty *saṃhāras* that are collectively said to be the sons of Kṛṣāśva. In *sargas* 26 and 27, Viśvāmitra bestows what must be these very weapons and spells upon Rāma as reward for killing Tātakā. In fact, at 27.9, the *saṃhāras* listed are called Kṛṣāśva's sons. In light of this, we would expect there to be fifty each of the *astras* and *saṃhāras*. As noted above, à propos 1.26.20, excluding the indefinite reference made at 26.13ab, some fifty weapons are listed in *sarga* 26. It is all but impossible to verify this number textually. The text in *sarga* 26 is filled with adjectives and epithets of the various weapons, which can be (and often are by other translators) easily read as additional names. Moreover, many of the names included in the critical text are marked as doubtful. No other edition available to us (GPP, Kumbhakona, Mysore, Veṅkateśvara, Lahore, Gorresio, Schlegel) yields a count of exactly fifty. Bhandare 1920, pp. 100, 102, counts fifty, but he reads *dhanadhānya* as a singular rather than a dual, a reading that cannot be supported by any available manuscript evidence. On the other hand, the crit. ed. yields a count of forty-two *saṃhāras*. Unlike the *astras*, the listing of the *saṃhāras* is straightforward and not obscured by epithets and modifiers. With these names, too, no edition reads exactly fifty. Moreover, the commentators do not take cognizance of or apparent interest in the count. That they could not have been aware of the passage at 1.20.9 seems unlikely, as it is known to all manuscripts. We are willing to accept the fact that there were originally intended to be fifty weapons and fifty recovery spells, but due to corruption in the textual transmission of the proper names, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct with any certainty an "original" list consisting of one hundred *astras* and *saṃhāras*. Compare these lists with those found in *Aranyakāṇḍa* 12.29-34 and *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 87.7ff. Cf. 1.26.4-9.

After 9ab, N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13) and M4 insert 2 lines [710\*] in which there is a more elaborate description of the weapons. After this, all the above manuscripts except D11 (see crit. app.) follow with 4 lines [712\*]. These lines replace 9c-10 of the critical text.

10. After 10, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4) insert 2 lines [713\*; GPP 1.28.12]: "Their hands cupped in reverence, some resembled glowing coals, others were like smoke, while others resembled the moon's rays."

12. "keep yourselves in readiness until I call you to mind" *mānasā*: Compare 26.24, *mānasā me bhaviṣyadhvam*. The two passages have been understood to have the same intent. Ś,D1-3,5,7,11,12 substitute 715\* for 12cd: *manasā me . . . bhaviṣyatha* (cf. 26.24). The remaining N manuscripts substitute 2 lines [716\*] for verse 12: "Rāma said to them, 'Welcome! You may go, but you must attend upon me when I have need of you. Come to me when I call you to mind.'"

16. "deer" *mṛga*—: Optionally *mṛga* can be understood here to be a generic term, that is, "forest animal."



18. *Pādas* c and d ("Is this the place where we shall find those sinful and wicked killers of brahmans?") seem elliptical. The reading is unique to the critical text. For *pāda* d, N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,13) substitute *yajñavighnakarau*, "where those two evil ones obstructed your sacrifice?" (Additional grammatical changes from the plural to the dual, of course, are made where appropriate.) Ś,D1-3,5,7,11,12 finish the line with 719\*: "(They) who were struck down formerly by your anger, am I to kill them?" Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S insert 5 lines [720\*]. 720\*.1 completes 18cd: "those evil (killers of brahmans who have come—*samprāptāḥ*) to destroy your sacrifice, great sage?" Here the editors of the text have left us with an awkward and fragmentary verse. The manuscript evidence supports the inclusion of some kind of resolution to the final clause, and even though the textual evidence is inconclusive and any reading would have to be regarded as doubtful, such an inclusion would be, we feel, more true to the epic style. Compare 1.17.21-22 and 1.24.3.

## Sarga 28

1. After 1, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (M4 substitutes for verse 2) insert 3 lines [721\*]: "Here, great armed Rāma, the lord Viṣṇu foremost among the gods and a great ascetic, dwelt for many eons, innumerable years, in order to practice austerity and yoga."

2. "the great Dwarf" *vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ*: One of the principal *avatāras* or incarnations of Viṣṇu, the Dwarf is a popular figure whose story is often told in the mythological literature. For other versions see *MBh* 3, App. 1, No. 27.66ff. (Kumbhakonam ed. 3.273); *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8.15-23; *Padmapurāṇa* 5.25; 6.267; *Agni-purāṇa* 4.5-11; and *Harivaṃśa* 31. For some antecedents in the earlier literature see *AitBr* 6.15 and *ŚatBr* 1.2.5.1ff.

3. Bali Vairocana is the son of Virocana and grandson of Prahlāda. His own son was the demon Bāṇa. He is one of the oldest and most famous of the *asura* kings known to the literature. In the typical version of the *Vāmanāvatara*, he is a generous and unsuspecting demon-king who gives away as much territory as can be covered by the three steps of the Dwarf, who is, of course, Viṣṇu.

5. Ck and Ct discuss at some length the propriety of *asuras* offering sacrifices. The problem for both commentators centers around the apparent absurdity of the demons offering sacrifice to their enemies, the gods. In order to explain this paradox, they provide several explanations: 1. Ck concludes that the divinities have many forms through their power of divine sovereignty and can, therefore, be present at all sacrifices. 2. Ck next argues that the gods are divided into two categories: *somapas*, "drinkers of soma," and Prajāpati. *Asomapas*, "non-drinkers of soma," are considered a subgroup (*upāṅga*) of *somapas*. Prajāpati is the supreme god and is identified with the sacrifice itself. 3. The last argument is also discussed by Ct. Here the gods are divided, as above, into two groups. The division is between *karmadevatās*, "gods by virtue of their actions," and *ājānadevatās*, "gods by virtue of their birth." The latter are the elder, and it is to these that both the *karmadevatās* and the *asuras* sacrifice. See also Cg, who presents the first argument, but then goes on to say that Viṣṇu is the source of all devotion.

"before he completes this rite" *asamāpte kratau*: Note the importance of destroying the sacrifice before it is completed. Compare this with Indrajit's sacrifice in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (6.71.13-71 and especially 6.71.14), where we are told that unless he is stopped before the completion of the sacrifice, he will be invincible.

6. "however much" *yathāvat*: We have followed Cm, who interprets *yathāvat* as *yāvat*, "to whatever extent." This seems appropriate in the context of the verse where the other two relative adverbs suggest the extent of the demon's largesse. Ck,Cg, and Ct explain the term as *satkārapūrva(ka)*, "with honor." Cr understands the word in its more usual sense as *samyak*, "properly."

7. "Through your yogic power of illusion" *māyāyogam upāsritaḥ*: The commentators, who are in agreement in taking *yoga* here to mean *sambandha*, "association," have not been followed in the translation. See 1.29.10.

After verse 7, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S insert 16 lines [App. 1, No. 6; GPP 1.29.10-17] in which Kaśyapa, accompanied by Aditi, performs severe austerities for one thousand years, whereby he pleases Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu). Flattered further by the sage, the god grants him a boon. Kaśyapa asks Viṣṇu to incarnate himself as his son, through Aditi, and to become the younger brother of Indra in order to help the afflicted gods. See 1.61.24.

8. "When you have accomplished this task" *siddhe karmaṇi*: Following Cm's interpretation, *siddhe karmaṇi* has been construed with *pādas* a and b. Cr suggests that Viṣṇu should arise for the work of the gods, thus taking the construction in a dative sense. Ck,Ct, and Cm all understand the phrase to mean "when the austerities are finished." But whose austerities are intended? Cg, following the story outlined above (App. 1, No. 6), thinks that they are Kaśyapa's, whereas Ct's interpretation is ambiguous as to whether the austerities are Viṣṇu's or Kaśyapa's. Compare the N reading [Gorresio 1.32.11; 727\*.1]. See note 9 below.

For 8c-11, Ñ,V,B,D10 (partially),11,13 substitute 10 lines [727\*].

9. Cf. App. 1, No. 6.2-6; 12,14 (GPP 1.29.10cd-11cd; 15cd,16cd) and 727\*.

With the sole exception of B2, neither Aditi nor Kaśyapa appears in this episode in N. On the other hand, the version of S has both figures. The critical reading, however, mentions only Aditi, wholly omitting reference to her husband. In this way, as in the case of the story of the killing of Tātakā (see note to 1.25.13 above), the critical editors have created a version known only to their text. Yet the textual evidence is virtually identical for the omitted App. 1, No. 6 and for the included 9(a)b, where Viṣṇu was said to be born from Aditi (Dt,4,8,8,9,14,S). (The remaining manuscripts (Ś,D1-3,5,7,12) replace *pāda* d with *praviśya raghunandana*.) Based on the textual evidence, it would seem that 9ab properly belongs to the southern interpolation (see, too, note on 1.37.20).

10. Cf. 727\*.7-8, where it is said that with the first step the Dwarf took over the earth, with the second the sky, and with the third the heavens.

14. After 14, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S insert 3 lines [729\*; GPP 1.29.25] in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa enter the ashram like the moon in conjunction with Punarvasu (the seventh lunar constellation).

18. "a place of perfection" *siddhaḥ*: *Siddha* in this verse is used to play on the name of the ashram, *siddhāśrama*. Cf. 1.23.7,8,17-20.

## Sarga 29

For *sarga* 29, Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13 read a somewhat different version of 51 lines [742\*].

2. "we are supposed to ward off" *saṃrakṣaṇīyau*: The term would normally mean "to be protected," but this is hardly apposite here. Ct,Ck, and Cg who are followed



in the translation understand “to be warded off (for the protection of the sacrifice—Ct,Ck).” Cg explains this irregular meaning by: 1. the fact that there is a multiplicity of root meanings; 2. the use of *viparīṭalakṣaṇa*, that is, mentioning a thing ironically in the opposite sense; and 3. the use of *rakṣaṇa* in the sense of turning back what is not desired. Cr who is quite ingenious in his interpretation says that the gerundive is used in the ablative sense, that is, “from whom the sacrifice is to be protected.” Moreover, he argues, the demons themselves are to be protected from falling into hell. Cf. 742\*.3-4.

“the two rangers of the night” *niśācarau*: Cf. 28.13 and 728\*, and 742\*.3-4, where the crit. ed. (28.13) has the plural. The N passages, too, mention only two *rākṣasas*.

3. The sages speak for Viśvāmitra who, in his state of consecration for the ritual, is observing a vow of silence. Cf. *Uttarakāṇḍa* 25.6ff. where Uśanas Kāvya speaks for Indrajit, who must remain silent until the completion of his sacrifice.

6. This verse has no equivalent in N (742\*) and, Ś,D1-3,5,7,12 omit it; therefore its inclusion in the critical text seems poorly justified.

8. “suddenly blazed up” *prajajvāla*: According to the majority of commentators, the blazing up of the fire is a sign of the advent of the *rākṣasas*.

Based on textual evidence that is identical to 6, 8ab must likewise be regarded as a doubtful line.

10. “changing their shapes” *māyā*: So we render the term here as an application of its general sense of “illusion.” See 1.28.7.

The encounter is reported in greater detail to Rāvaṇa by Mārīca at *Aranyakāṇḍa* 36ff. The version there, however, omits mention of Mārīca’s companion, Subāhu. See Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa* for a discussion of the text-historical significance of these two versions.

13. Mānava (Śīteṣu): See note on 1.26.19. Compare 3.36.16, where a “whetted arrow” (*śiṭaḥ bāṇaḥ*) is mentioned in place of the *astra*.

Several manuscripts, including the vulgate (Ś,Dt,4,6,8,T3), insert 2 lines [737\*; GPP 1.30.16]. The commentators construe *karisyāmi*, “I will do” of 737\*.1 with verse 13: “‘Surely I will drive them away. I can’t bear to kill such as these.’ Speaking in this fashion, he swiftly strung his bow.” The reluctance of Rāma in the vulgate passage to slay Mārīca is reminiscent of his initial hesitation to kill Tātakā. See 1.24.15-19, 1.25.11-12, and notes to 1.24.15.

15. “into the ocean’s flood” *sāgarasamplave*: Cg’s interpretation has been adopted. Cr and Ct understand *samudramadhye*, “into the middle of the ocean.” The expression “one hundred *yojanas* is used in the epic for a great but unspecified distance. The crit. notes suggest (p. 449) that the ocean is the Bay of Bengal.

17. “inseparable from righteousness” *dharmasamhitam*: The translation follows Cr who, along with Cg, has the same reading as the critical text. Cr glosses “righteous.” Cg offers no comment. The texts of Ct and Ck, like several other manuscripts, read *manusamhitam*, which is read by Ct and Ck to mean “used by Manu,” whereas Dutt translates the vulgate reading as “first used by Manu.” Bhandare 1920, p. 108, and Peterson 1879, p. 25, both read *mantrasamhita*, “accompanied by the recitation of sacred formulas.” This reading is not recorded in the crit. app. Compare 742\*.36 and its variant readings.

19. Āgneya weapon: According to 1.26.10, this is called the Śikhara. See note on 26.19.

20. Vāyavya weapon: According to 26.11 this is called the Prathama. See notes on 26.11 and 19.

21. According to the commentators, the reference is to the gods' victory over the *asuras*.

22. See crit. notes, p. 449.

"free from those pests" *nirīlikāḥ*: According to the crit. notes, p. 450, this refers to "public calamities." These calamities, traditionally numbered at six, are: excessive rain, droughts, locusts, rats, parrots (eating and destroying grain), and foreign invasion. The commentators' interpretation, which has been used for the translation, is "free from molestation." The crit. notes refer also to the *Bharatavākya* of *Māla-vikāgnimitra* 5.20 and to *Raghuvamśa* 1.36 for uses of this term.

23. "orders of your father" *guruvacāḥ*: Cg interprets *guru* in this phrase to mean *pitṛ* "father," a common usage. See Goldman 1978, p. 328, and especially note 22 (p. 368).

## Sarga 30

6. "the highest expression of righteousness" *paramadharmīṣṭhaḥ*: Ct provides two interpretations for this phrase: "exceedingly righteous," or optionally, he reads *parama* as a separate word in the vocative singular modifying Rāma, "O highest one." *Dharmīṣṭha*, "righteous," then modifies *yajña*, "sacrifice." Cr and Cg more or less agree with Ct's first interpretation, reading "productive of immense righteousness."

8. Ct and Cr tell us that the bow was obtained from Śiva through his grace by the gods at the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice. Later it was given to Devarāta, an ancestor of Janaka. See 1.65.8-13, where this history of the bow is given, and cf. 1.74.1-21, where the history of the bow is slightly different. See also the version given in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (2.110.38). For Dakṣa's sacrifice, see note on 1.65.9.

12. "splendid grip" *sunābham*: This means literally "having a good middle." Here the commentators understand *nābha* to refer to the point where the hand grips the bow.

"all the gods" *sarvadevataiḥ*: The instrumental is difficult to construe here and has given rise to speculation on the part of translators and commentators alike. Some commentators interpret the instrumental as a dative, "begged from the gods" (Cg, Cm). Cr, who has a far more elaborate interpretation, understands "begged from the gods and given by the gods," by supplying an indirect object for the participle *yācitam*, "begged," and a second participle, *dattam*, "given," to construe with the instrumental of the text. The crit. notes, p. 450, argue that the instrumental has been used here in place of a dative for metrical reasons. Peterson 1879, notes p. 25, considers the reading an impossible one and suggests that *sarvadevataiḥ* be construed with *maithilena*, that is, "the gods and the king of Mithilā joined in the request." Bhandare 1920, p. 111, disagrees and remarks that this interpretation of Peterson's is "unsatisfactory." He himself suggests that Cr's interpretation be followed.

After 12, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, T, G1, M1-3, all the vulgate commentators, and all printed editions insert 2 lines [750\*; GPP 1.31.13]. Here the bow is described as *āyāgabhūtam*, which Monier-Williams 1899, p. 148, takes to mean "a gift given at a sacrifice." It is worshiped in the king's house with various kinds of incense scented with *agaru* wood. The meaning of the word *āyāgabhūta* is uncertain and has been the subject of much discussion on the part of commentators and translators. See Bhandare 1920, p. 111.



16. "a hundred carts full" *śakaṭīśatamātram*: Cr and Ct understand this to mean one hundred carts filled with sacrificial requisites. Cg, on the other hand, thinks it means one hundred carts of followers. See too Bhandare 1920, p. 111-12, who follows Cg.

17. Dt,4,6,8,T1,2,G2-4,M1-3, have an additional line following 17 [755\*; GPP 1.31.17ab] in which the sage sends the birds and deer back.

## Sarga 31

1. See crit. notes, p. 450.

4. According to Law 1954, p. 57, Kauśāmbī has been identified by Dayaram Sahni 1928, pp. 689-98, with the village of Kosam in Allahabad District. See also Sita Ram 1928 and crit. notes, p. 450.

5. Girivraja or Rājagṛha is the earliest known capital of Magadha. See Law 1954; p. 44.

7. Sumāgadhī or Māgadhī (verse 8) seems to be another name for the Soṇā (Śoṇā) river, the longest and largest tributary of the Ganges. See Law 1954, p. 128.

8. "flows east" *pūrvābhicarītā*: So Ck,Ct, and Cr. Cg and Cm, however, understand flowing from the eastern lands to the west. Bhandare 1920, p. 112, notes that the Soṇā (Śoṇā) first runs north and then east. Cg's interpretation is incorrect, suggesting that he was unfamiliar with the geography of the Magadhan region. Śrīnivāsaśāstri of Deccan College suggests that a *nadaḥ*, or river with a masculine name, must flow west, whereas a *nadī*, or river with a feminine name, flows east.

9. Ghṛtācī is most probably the *apsaras*, or nymph, of that name known to the mythological literature. She is one of the six principal *apsarases* (MBh 1.68.67), and is best known as the wife of the Bhārgava sage Pramati and the mother of Ruru (MBh 1.5.7, 9.47.57, etc.). Cg provides two ingenious explanations of the etymology of the name Ghṛtācī: "When she sees a man, she drips like butter (*ghṛta*) and comes running (*añcati*)," and "turning a man to butter (*ghṛta*), she approaches him (*añcati*)."

14. "mortal state" *mānuṣaḥ . . . bhāvaḥ*: Cg and Cr both understand the phrase to refer to affection for mortal men rather than mortality itself. We have followed Ct. Cf. 3.47.12.

After 14, Dt,D4,6,8,9,14,S insert 2 lines [762\*; GPP 1.32.17]: "Youth is always fleeting, especially in the case of mortals. But you shall attain eternal youth and become immortal."

16. Vāyu is viewed here in his aspect of *prāṇa*, "life-breath." The implication, according to the commentators, especially Cr, seems to be that Vāyu, who moves freely within all creatures, should therefore know that the girls would not accept his proposal. According to Cr, there is some unexpressed impropriety involved. The girls view the proposal as an insult. See 763\* (note to 18 below) and 1.32.1ff.

18. The verse is problematic, and various ingenious devices have been employed by commentators and translators in an effort to make sense of it. Thus, Ct,Cr, Peterson, and Bhandare read *nāvamanya svadharmena* for *nāvamanyasva dharmena*. In this way, the verse can be read as follows: "Let the time never come when, disregarding our father, we choose of our own will our husband." Cg reads *kāla*, "time," as *mṛtyu*, "death," and *svayaṃvara*, "self-choice," as *svayaṃ varam*, "own husband." This breaking up of the latter term is approved by the crit. notes, p. 450. See also Bhandare 1920, p. 115, and Peterson 1879, p. 26.

Note that for 18cd, most N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D1-3,7,10,11,13) and M4 substitute the following line [763\*]: “(Let that time never come) when we would (from our own desire) transgress our (father’s wishes) and choose a husband for ourselves.” This N version clearly suggests that the offense or insult noted in verse 17 involves the imputation to the girls of the inclination to place their own desires before those of their father. As is so common with the poem, the reading of N is more lucid than that of S and serves to explicate the text.

21. After 21ab, Dt, D4, 6,8,9,13,14, S (except M4) and commentators insert the following 2 lines [766\*; GPP 1.32.24c-25b]: “Agitated, ashamed, their eyes full of tears, they fell to the ground. And he (seeing) his beautiful and beloved daughters so dejected . . .”

22. “gesticulate wildly” *veṣṭantyaḥ*: The crit. notes, p. 450, understand this to mean “reeling,” and refer to the usage of the term at 1.2.11b and *MBh* 5.47.42 (*saṃveṣṭante*). Compare the usage at 7.47.16, where it is used of Sītā’s agitation upon her abandonment. See too Bhandare 1920, p. 116.

## Sarga 32

For this *sarga*, N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D1-3,7,10,11,13) and M4 replace most verses with variants. The syntax, vocabulary, and grammar of the substitute passages differ somewhat from the critical text, but the story for the most part is the same.

6. See Bhandare 1920, p. 116, and Peterson 1879, pp. 25-26, for a discussion of the verse. According to both authors, Schlegel reads *kṣāntam kṣamāvatām putryaḥ kartavyam* separately, and understands it to mean “My daughters, patience becomes the meek” (Peterson, p. 26). Carey and Marshman, according to Peterson, p. 26, understand, “The patient are worthy of abundant forbearance.” Ct and Cr understand the forbearance, “*kṣāntam*” to refer to the anger of the girls against Vāyu’s evil act. Cr remarks that such conquest over the sexual and aggressive drives is very difficult. Apte, s.v. *kṣamāvat*, cites this verse and gives as its meaning “knowing what is right and proper,” rather than “meek.”

“shown your respect,” *avekṣitam*: An alternative would be “protected, guarded.” Cr glosses, “regard which is proper for the family,” and Cg says, “you have done a deed appropriate to our family.” See also Bhandare 1920, p. 116.

7. “especially in the face of the thirty gods” *tridaśeṣu viśeṣataḥ*: Ct understands *kṣāntam* here, as he did in verse 6, as *kāmavegasahanam*, “resistance to the force of lust.” This, he adds, is especially difficult in the case of gods because of their great excess of desirable qualities such as good looks, and so on. Cr believes that such restraint is difficult even for gods because it is so hard to overcome the power of *vāsanā* or inherited emotive substrates. The crux of the problem is to determine whether the king is referring to the girls’ restraint in resisting the sexual desires aroused by the god or to their withholding of their righteous anger. If Cr is right, then the verse is simply contrasting Vāyu’s unrestrained behavior with that of the girls. Peterson 1879, p. 26, understands “especially in the case of the Thirty Gods” to mean that restraint is especially difficult when it is a god who has done the injury. This is not convincing. See also Bhandare 1920, p. 116.

10. Ñ,V,B,D1-3,7,10,11,13,M4 insert after 774\* [7 line replacement for 7c-10b]; Ś,D5,9,12 insert after 773\*, 2 lines [775\*] that provide an etymology for the name



Kanyākujba: "Since long ago those girls (*kanyāḥ*) were deformed (*kubjīkṛtāḥ*) there, that town has from then on been known as Kanyākubja."

11. Cūlin: The name is wavy-lined in the crit. ed. Variant readings include *cūḍiḥ*, *cūḍī*, *culī*, *vṛṣī*, *śulī*, *halī*, *cūliḥ*, *cullī*, and so on.

"austerities as enjoined in the *vedas*" *brāhmaṇ tapah*: Ct understands this to refer to austerities that have Brahman or the universal absolute principle as their object. Cg takes the term *brāhma* to mean "vedic," and so sees the phrase as referring to austerities prescribed in the *vedas*. Cr shares this view, and it appears to us to be the most plausible interpretation.

16. The repetition of the term Brahman, "the absolute principle," emphasizes the spiritual elevation and power of the sage Cūlin. The commentators have provided various interpretations. See also Bhandare 1920, p. 117.

"splendor of Brahman" *lakṣmyā . . . brāhmyā*: We have followed Cg and Ct, who understand, "having Brahman-luster." *Lakṣmī* is glossed by Cg as *varcaḥ*, "luster." See crit. app. 779\* for reading of N, *dīpyase brāhmyā lakṣmyā*, "you shine with the splendor of Brahman." Compare crit. app. 778\*.

"attained Brahman" *brahmabhūtaḥ*: For this, Ct understands that one attains Brahman through meditation on the Brahman-Ātman, whereas Cr merely glosses, "attained the state of Brahman." Cg understands "an ascetic who is equal to Brahman." The major problem in arriving at a sense that one has understood exactly what the poet intends here derives from the ambiguity of the repeated term *brahman*. It can refer (and probably does in this passage) to the universal absolute of the upaniṣadic philosophers, the status of a brahman or member of the priestly class, or as some of the commentators argue, the *vedas*.

"ascetic power of Brahman" *brāhmeṇa tapasā*: Here we have followed Cg, who understands, "possessed of the powers of Brahman." Ct takes the phrase to mean either single-minded concentration on the absolute or vedic study. Cr takes the meaning to be "prescribed in the *vedas*" (*bodhitah*). Compare note on 1.35.10.

17. According to Ct, Cr, and Cg, the word *brāhmeṇa*, "as prescribed in the *vedas*," implies that the sage Cūlin is to produce a son mentally by the means of his identification with Brahman. The concept of immaculate conception is contrasted by the poet with the word *upagatāyāḥ*, "(Since I have) approached," which frequently has sexual connotations. See Bhandare 1920, pp. 117-18.

Many N manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D10, 11, 13) and M4 substitute 2 lines [781\*] for 17, whereas Ś, D1-3, 5, 7, 12 (NW) insert this after 17ab. Here Somadā announces that she has never had a man.

18. Here is the culmination of the repetitive use of the word *brahman* and its derivatives. This repetition serves to explain the name of the son of Somadā and Cūlin.

19. See crit. notes, p. 450. Cf. *MBh* 1.128.15, where Kāmpilyā is identified as Drupada's capital. See Law 1954, pp. 91-93.

26. to see: Cg and Cr supply *dr̥ṣṭvā*, "having seen." The translation follows Cg, who then takes *kriyām*, "ceremony," as the object of "see."

S manuscripts (Dt, D4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S [except M4], and Ck, Ct) insert 1 line [789\*; GPP 1.33.26e-f]: "(Somadā) having repeatedly embraced the girls, praised Kuśanābha."

For 26, Ñ, V1, 2, 4, B, D1-3, 7, 10, 11, 13, and M4 substitute 2 lines [788\*]. As usual, the N reading is similar in content but phrased differently. The rephrasing here is noteworthy in that it explicitly uses *dr̥ṣṭvā*, the word that is supplied by the commentators on the text of S.

## Sarga 33

1. Compare 1.14.2-3. See notes on 1.8.2 and 1.11.1. See also Introduction for a discussion of the “son-producing” rite and its importance to the *Bālakāṇḍa*.

3. Gādhī is elsewhere (*MBh* 13.4.6 and crit. app. on 1.165.3) said to be the son of Kuśika, not Kuśanābha. He is, however, generally known (compare *MBh* 1.164.3; 5.117.4) as the king of Kanyākubja (Kanyakubja). Kuśanābha is apparently not known to the *MBh*. According to the longer epic, Viśvāmitra is the son of Gādhī, and Satyavatī is the latter’s daughter who marries the Bhārgava sage Ṛcika (see verse 7). Cf. 791\*, the N recension (Ñ1,V1-3,B1-3,D1,2,10,11, and M4) reading for 3cd, where the name Kauśika is explicitly mentioned. See note on 1.50.19.

6. The *MBh* knows Viśvāmitra as the son of Gādhī. Instead of the proper name Kauśika, N reads the patronymic Gādhija, but cf. 791\* and note 3 above. The passage is interesting as an example of the pervasive Kauśika influence on the *Bālakāṇḍa*. The connection with Rāma’s original question at 1.30.22 is tenuous, as the region they are in appears to be Vasu’s and not Kuśanābha’s. This is a type of digression more commonly seen in the *MBh*.

8. By ascending to heaven in her earthly body, Satyavatī shows her great spiritual power as well as her devotion to her husband. Ct understands Kauśikī as the name of the river. However, the *MBh* does not apparently identify the two figures, Satyavatī and the river Kauśikī, nor does that text seem to know of Satyavatī’s transformation into a river. On the other hand, Viśvāmitra is associated with the Kauśikī river, as he is said to have created it, to have given it its other name—the Pārā—and to have performed austerities there (*MBh* 1.65.30-32; 3.82.124; 3.85.9, etc.).

9. “flows forth” *pravṛttā*: Compare 8d, where the word has been translated as “transformed.” Cg, whom we have partially followed, understands here that in the form of a river, Kauśikī flows from heaven to the Himalaya mountains. See crit. app. for this verse, where some manuscripts read *svargāt*, “from heaven.”

12. “I was myself able to become a perfected being” *siddho 'smi*: Cf. 1.28.2ff., especially verse 8.

16. “thick with stars and planets” *nakṣatratārāgahanam*: Compare Cg, who understands *nakṣatras* to be constellations and *tārās* to be individual stars.

For 16-18, N manuscripts (Ś,Ñ2,V,B,D1-3,5,7,10-13) and M4 substitute 6 lines [796\*] equally poetic in their description.

17-18. Compare with this Hanumān’s description of moonrise over Laṅkā at 5.4.1-6, especially verse 2. It seems probable that the authors of the *Bālakāṇḍa* passage and its N variant were familiar with the powerful and highly wrought description of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*.

“hungry for flesh” *piśitāśanāḥ*: Or, according to Cg, “blood-drinking.” Flesh-eating here refers to raw or human flesh. This is a common epithet of demons and demonlike figures and is not a reference to nonvegetarian as opposed to vegetarian dietary habits.

After 19, the Dt(vulgate),D4,6,7,9,14, S, and Cg,Cm,Ck, and Ct insert 6 lines [797\*; GPP 1.34.20-22]. Here the sages praise Viśvāmitra, Kauśikī, and the Kauśika lineage in general. Praised in this fashion, Viśvāmitra retires for the night, like the setting sun.



## Sarga 34

2. "It is time for the morning devotions" *pūrvā samdhyā*: This can refer to dawn itself, but more commonly the rites thereof are intended. See note on 1.22.2 for a description of the morning devotions.

For 2ab N manuscripts (Ñ2,V,B,D1-3,7,10,11,13) and M4 substitute (D2,3,7 substitute for verse 2) 1 line [798\*], *kausalyāmātar uttiṣṭha suprabhātā nīṣā tava*. Compare this with 1.22.2, especially the northern variants found in the crit. app. for *kausalyāmātar*.

7. Many N manuscripts (Ś,Ñ,V,B,D1-3,5,7,9-13) and M4 insert partially or completely 11 lines [800\*] after 7ab, in which, in response to Rāma's question, Viśvāmitra describes the Ganges ford and the path to it in somewhat greater detail.

"wild geese and white cranes" *hamsasārasa*—: Convention holds that the *hamsa*, "wild goose," is the god Brahmā's vehicle. These birds are said to fly toward Lake Mānasa when the rains approach and to have the ability to separate milk from water. Because of this latter convention the birds are frequently used as metaphors for the discriminating intelligence. The *sārasa* is probably the white sarus crane. Although Ct comments that it is merely a type of bird, Cg tells us that it is a subspecies of *hamsa*.

8. "ate of the oblation" *prāśya . . . haviḥ*: According to Cg and Ct, the reference is to the food left over from the sacrifice. Ct further suggests that the *havis*, "oblation," may be the water of the Ganges.

The four dependent clauses that constitute the verse are not resolved until the finite verb of 9a, but to avoid the awkward string of gerunds, the verse has been translated as if it were self-sufficient.

10. The following episode, the descent of the Ganges, is also related at *MBh* 3.107ff., *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 5.17 and 9.9, etc. Although all manuscripts know this story, Bhatt considered the passage a late interpolation, reasoning that the episode has "no direct bearing on the Rāma story" (crit. notes, p. 450). In all likelihood the passage is late, but not for the reason advanced by Bhatt. The purāṇic character and sectarian tone of the episode mark it as late (see Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa*). The fact that the passage is known to all manuscripts argues against commonality as a sign of antiquity. For a similar case of a late devotional passage included by all the manuscripts, see *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 105.

13. "lovely . . . Menā" *menā manojñā vai*: The crit. ed. marks this phrase as a doubtful reading. Ś,Ñ2,V,B,D1-3,5,7,9-13,T1,3,G2,M1-3 read *manoramā devī*, "ravishing lady," whereas D4,G1,3 have *ca menakā rāma*, and M4 has *meneti yā rāma*.

14. Umā: For a traditional derivation of the name, cf. Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* 1.26: "Her relatives called her, who was beloved of her kin, by the patronymic name Pārvatī; later, that lovely-faced woman went by the name Umā, as she was prevented from undertaking austerities by her mother with the words 'O don't' (*u mā*)."

15. "goes by three paths" *tripathagām*: According to Ct, the paths are heaven, earth, and hell.

For 15-16b, some manuscripts (Ñ2,V,B,D1-3,7,10,11,13, and M4) substitute 3 lines [802\*]: "The gods, desirous of effecting their own purposes, asked for Himālaya's eldest daughter, Ganges. And, in the interests of righteousness, he gave her, who purifies the three worlds, to them."

16. "In the interests of righteousness" *dharmēṇa*: The idea is that, since the gods

are appropriate suitors for the hand of his daughter, Himalaya's giving her away is in keeping with the rules of proper conduct.

"moves freely by any path" *svacchandapathagām*: Ct, Cg, Cr, and Cm understand this to mean "limited only by one's desires" (*svecchāmātreṇa*), and we agree that this is the basic sense.

17. According to Ct, "for the sake of the three worlds" (*trilokahitakāriṇaḥ*) refers to a mythic episode told in the *Vāmanapurāṇa*, according to which Agni once drank Śiva's semen, and its power deprived him of strength. Having sought the aid of the gods, he went to Brahmāloka (heaven). On his way he encountered Kuṭilā (Ganges) and gave her the seed. She carried it for 5,000 years, but it caused her much discomfort, and so she went to the god Brahmā, who advised her to abandon it on a bed of reeds. From that seed, the god Kārttikeya (Skanda) was born in order to overpower the demon Tāraka. See *Vāmanapurāṇa* 31.2-56. Compare with this Kālidāsa's famous rendition of the story, *Kumārasambhava*, especially 5.1-30, and the versions of the tale that follow in this *sarga* and the next.

21. "fleet-footed" *gatimatām vara*: This could also be taken more literally, following Cg's gloss, *sundaragatimatām*, "possessing a beautiful gait."

*Pādas* cd play upon the words *gati*, "path, way, gait," and *gatā*, "went," which are both derivatives of the verbal root *gam*, "to go."

For 21, the majority of the N manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 10, 11, 13) substitute 2 lines [803\*]: "There, in order to purify the three worlds by her own splendor, the Ganges flows forth, Rāma, devoted to the welfare of all beings."

After 21, Dt, D4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S (except M4), Cm, Cg insert 2 lines [804\*; GPP 1.35.22]: "Then that torrent of water, the lovely river of the gods and sinless daughter of the mountain lord, ascended to the world of the gods."

## Sarga 35

The tale of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī and the birth of the god Kārttikeya is an extremely popular and widely distributed one. Some variants are found at *Śivapurāṇa* (*Rudrasaṃhitā*) 4.1-2, *MBh* 3.213-216, *Matsyapurāṇa* 146, *Vāmanapurāṇa* 28, *Varāhapurāṇa* 25, *Kumārasambhava* 9-11, etc.

1. Cg says that now two of the Ganges' paths have been mentioned, that is, the one through the sky (*antarikṣa*) and the one through heaven (*svarga*). Compare note on 1.34.15. But this only seems plausible in light of 804\* (see note on 34.21), where her actual ascent to heaven is mentioned.

For 1-4, Ñ2 (Ñ1 missing), V, B, D1-3, 7, 10, 11, 13 substitute (whereas Ś, D5, 9, 12, and M4 partially substitute and/or insert [see crit. app.]) 8 lines [806\*].

6. "had gotten married" *kṛtodvāhaḥ*: Cg's explanation here is that Śiva (*Śitikanṭha*), although he was a great ascetic, "having observed the marriage ceremonies of others with desire, was struck by the arrow of Kāma, the god of love, and desired marriage." See also note to 1.22.11, where this term is again used of Śiva in a similar connection, but through the force of the context is rendered as "prior to his marriage."

7. To complete the sense of 7ab, Ct supplies *gatam kṛdayā*, "passed in dalliance." The vulgate (Dt) and a few S manuscripts have added a line [808\*] to complete the sense. Compare the N version, which construes a variant of 6cd with 7ab (Gorresio 1.XXXVIII.7). The verse division of the crit. ed. is unique among texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and as it stands, is difficult to construe.



"a hundred years of the gods" *divyaṃ varṣaśatam*: A year of the gods equals 360 years of men.

8. The retention of semen is equated in the Hindu tradition with the possession of great mental and physical power, whereas its loss is associated with a corresponding diminution of these powers. See Carstairs 1967, pp. 83-84, etc.; and Sutherland 1979, pp. 65-66, 137-38.

10. "the austerities prescribed in the *vedas*" *brāhmaṇa tapasā*: See 1.32.16, where the identical phrase is used. Ct and Ck take the phrase here to mean austerities focused upon the upaniṣadic absolute, *brahman*. Cr and Cg, whom we have followed in the translation, understand "prescribed" or "understood" in the *vedas*. Note the northern variant at 813\*.10, *brahmacaryeṇa*.

For verses 10-12, Ñ2 (Ñ1 omits), V, B, D1-3, 7, 10, 13, and M4 substitute 14 lines [813\*], where the contents of our 2 verses are reported with some additional elaboration.

11. "your semen in your body" *tejas tejasi*: The vulgate commentators understand "in your own body" or "in your body that consists of radiance (*tejas*)."  
(*Ātmanī*—Ct; *tejomayasva* [*nija*—Cg] *śarīre*—Cr, Cg) for *tejasi*.

13. "with the help of Umā," *sahomayā*: Cg and Cm say that the goddess will help by retaining her own *tejas*, which consists of her (menstrual) blood.

"rest easy" *nirvāṇam adhigacchatu*: The commentators agree and gloss the first word as *sukham*, "ease [of mind]." Cr elaborates, saying, "ease born of freedom from fear," *bhayatyāgajanitasukham*. See crit. notes, pp. 450-51, where Bhatt attempts—inappropriately, in our opinion—to demonstrate the pre-Buddhistic age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the basis of the term *nirvāṇam* here. The bulk of the epic is, in our judgment, pre-Buddhist, but the nontechnical use of this term has no bearing on the issue. For a discussion of the date of the poem relative to the rise of Buddhism, see Introduction.

17. Ck and Ct understand the word *punaḥ*, "again," here as a pleonasm (*vākya-lamkāra*) used for purposes of style, and we concur. Cg understands the word to have its usual sense and feels that having the gods make their request more than once suggests the fear of Agni, the god of fire, at the thought of entering the dreadful semen of the great god.

18. "like the sun surrounded by fire" *pāvakādityasaṃnibham*: This has been translated closely following Cr, who regards the figure as a *paryavasannābhūtopamā*, a simile in which the object of comparison is nonexistent. He then reads the figure as "resembling the sun in a fire." In this context, keep in mind the brilliance of the semen itself in the fire. The unnatural and incomparable brilliance of the semen is, of course, the focus of the figure.

21. "From this day forward, your wives shall remain childless" *adya prabhṛti yu-ṣmākam aprajāḥ santu patnayaḥ*: Although it has been admitted to the critical text, this line (21ef) must be regarded as doubtful. It is omitted by eleven manuscripts (mostly N) and is somewhat redundant with 21cd.

22. "manifold in form" *naikarūpā*: The commentators are split as to the significance of this adjective, whose literal sense is "nonuniform." Ct understands it to mean that the earth will have manifold forms on account of the ability of a single field to grow many different kinds of seed. This is not convincing. Cr and Cg both understand—more correctly, we believe—that manifold forms implies areas "impregnated with salt, etc." The idea is that the earth will have productive as well as

nonproductive areas. Compare Cr and Cg with 820\*, a northern variant: "O earth, you shall be scattered with barren deserts of salt."

"wife of many" *bahubhāryā*: The commentators generally agree: "the wife of many kings." To be the wife of more than one man is traditionally a degrading position, and is considered an insult to an Indian woman. The earth is traditionally looked upon as the first wife of a king.

23. Umā feels that the earth, by not bearing Śiva's semen, has rejected her son, and it is this insult that motivates her to pronounce the curse. This curse of the earth does not appear to be part of other popular versions of the myth found in the *purāṇas*.

25. "mountain peak in the Himalayas" *himavatprabhava śrṅge*: Ct and Cr read *himavatprabhava* as the name of the mountain, but Cg, whom we have followed, does not. Peterson (1879, p. 27) reads, "on the peak of a snowy range."

## Sarga 36

6. N (Ñ2,V,B,D1,2,10,11,13) and M4 partially or completely substitute 12 lines [827\*] for 6-11.

13. "scattered" *avakīryata* (v.l. *avaśīryata*): We have followed Cg, who understands, "seeing her excessive beauty, he (Agni) shed the semen from every limb," and cites the following saying, "a woman is like glowing coal and a man is like a pot of ghee," that is, the latter spills over at the sight of the former. Compare note at 31.9.

For 13-17, Ñ2,V,B,D1-3,7,10,11,13 substitute 10 lines [828\*].

15. "priest" *purohitam*: This is marked as a doubtful reading in the crit. ed.; the main variant is *purogamam*, "placed first (among the gods)."

"powerful" *samuddhatam*: Here we follow Ct, who glosses, *atyagram*, "fierce."

On the basis of textual evidence available in the crit. app., it is doubtful whether 15ef should be admitted to the critical text. The line, unlike 15ab and 15cd, has no northern variant (see 828\*, where lines 1-2 equal 15ab,cd, and 3-4 equal 16ab,cd). Compare 828\*.6, which appears to be the textual evidence used for the admission of this line. See note on 1.37.20.

17. "mighty" *mahātejāḥ*: This modifies the river Ganges, but Cg apparently reads the vocative, *mahātejāḥ*, which then would refer to Rāma. Support for Cg's vocative reading, however, is seen only in the crit. ed. The GPP and the VSP both read *mahātejāḥ*.

18. "silver" *hiranyam*: Usually *hiranyam* means gold, but here, in a rare usage, it must be understood as silver. The commentators support this, as do the crit. notes, p. 451. See 1.73.5, where this usage is repeated.

19. Ct (on GPP 1.37.20) provides an interesting interpretation of this passage that provides a traditional scientific explanation of the relationship among these elements. According to him, gold is permeated through contact(?) with that which is pure and contains the acrid quality, base elements, and smell; silver is permeated only by smell; copper and iron only by the acrid quality; and tin by the base elements alone.

20. Ñ2,V,B,D3,7,10,13, and M4 omit verse 20. That so many manuscripts omit the verse is suspicious, and its inclusion on the basis of textual evidence runs counter to the principles set forth by the critical editors (see Bhatt 1960, p. xxiv no.4). Notice



that in general the critical editors only include verses with such weak textual evidence when they are part of longer southern passages (see, for example, 1.18.17ab; 1.19.14cd-16, 18c-19b; 1.35.15ef).

21. "mountain forest" *parvatasamṇaddham . . . vanam*: Literally *samṇaddha* means "tied, bound together," or "ready, prepared." Here it is used in the sense of *avayava*, "part of" (Cr), or *sambaddha*, "connected with" (Ct). Cg understands the compound to mean "a reed forest along with the previously mentioned white mountain."

22. *Jātarūpa*, "gold," is explained etymologically as a collocation of *jāta*, "born," and *rūpa*, "(beautiful) form." Ct understands, "born with a beautiful or excellent form." This is yet another example of the folk etymology for names in which the *Rām*, like other Indic mythological texts, abounds. For other examples see 1.23.7, 8, 17-20, and 28.18.

After 22, *Ñ2*, B, V, D1-3, 7, 10, 11, 13, and M4 insert the following 2 lines [830\*]: "There, that prince (*kumāra*), as brilliant as the newly risen sun, and born from Agni's seed, was released from the womb of the Ganges."

D4, 9, 14, S (except M4) insert the following line [831\*]: "grass, trees, creepers, and thickets all turned to gold."

23. "all" *saha*—: The word *saha* here literally means "with," but Cg, who has been followed in the translation, understands *saha* in the sense of *yugapad*, "all together."

"sufficient milk" *kṣīrasambhāvana*—: The use of the word *sambhāvana* in the sense of "obtaining" is rare. Apte (s.v. *sambhāvanam*, -ā) cites the word in connection with this verse. Ct understands the entire compound to mean "in order to bring about the necessity of (his) drinking milk." Cr, who interprets *sambhāvana* in this context, as does Apte, glosses, "to obtain sufficient milk." Cg reads the compound as "for employment in the nurturing (of the prince) with milk."

The *Kṛttikās* are the constellation known in the West as the Pleiades.

24. D1-3, 7, and M4 substitute 7 lines [833\*] for verses 24-27. *Ñ2*, V, B, D10, 11, 13 substitute 833\*.1-2 for 22: "Then they gave milk to that god at the proper time. 'Let this son be known by our name,' Rāghava" (833\*.1-2).

26. "outpouring of the embryonic waters" *garbhāparisrava*: This implies a normal birth procedure that is not in keeping with this version of the episode. Other versions tell of the seed being deposited in the womb of the six women (see *Śivapurāṇa*, *Rudrasaṃhitā* 4.2.47ff.). Compare the *MBh* version, where Śivā, the wife of Aṅgiras, assumed the forms, one after another, of six of the seven sages' wives and made love to Agni, the god of fire. She then took the semen in her hand and tossed it into a mountain crevice. From this semen Skanda was generated (*MBh* 3.214). Cr resolves this by interpreting *garbhāparisrava* as the flowing waters of the river Ganges.

27. The name Skanda is derived from the verbal root *skand*, here rendered as "come forth." This root, repeated in verse 26, is in a participial form the basis of the etymology offered here for the name. See 1.23.7, 8, 17-20, etc., for other similar derivations.

31. "birth of Kumāra" *kumārasambhavaḥ*: This is also the name of Kālidāsa's famous poem that tells of the events that culminate with this episode.

After 31, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S (except M4) insert 2 lines [838\*; GPP 1.37.32] that function as a *phalaśruti* for the episode: "Whatever man on earth, Kākutstha, is a devotee of Kārtikeya, will be long lived and go, along with his sons and grandsons, to the same world that Skanda inhabits."

## Sarga 37

This *sarga* tells the story of the birth of Sagara's sixty thousand sons, which is mentioned again at *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 32.12-20. For a discussion of this episode, see Jacobi 1893, pp. 27ff., especially note, p. 28; Lesny 1913, pp. 497-500; and Kirfel 1947, pp. 113-28. For a comparison of the different purāṇic versions, see Kirfel 1927. See also crit. notes, p. 451 and Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa*. The story of the sons of Sagara is a popular one in the epic-purāṇic tradition and is also told at *MBh* 3.104-108; 12.29.122-28; *Harivaṃśa* 10.28ff.; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 4.3-4; *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 9.8ff., etc.

3. Vidarbha is modern Berar in central India. It is known to Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya* 1.41). The *MBh* knows it as the kingdom of Bhīma, the father of Damayantī (*MBh* 3.50.5, etc.). See Law 1954, p. 341.

4. Ariṣṭanemi ("of unimpeded wheel-rims"): The commentators agree that this is another name for Kaśyapa. See below (verse 14), where Sumatī is called Suparṇa's (Garuḍa's) sister.

14. Suparṇa, also called Garuḍa, is the son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā. The *MBh* tells the story of his birth (1.14ff.) and how he seeks the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*) in order to free both himself and his mother from bondage by the snakes (1.23). He defeats the gods and steals the *soma* (nectar) (1.28). At *MBh* 1.29, Garuḍa forms a friendship with Viṣṇu and becomes the god's mount, a role he assumes throughout the Vaiṣṇava tradition. Compare *MBh* 1.14.5ff., where the story of the birth of Vinatā's and Kadrū's sons is told.

17. The motif of two wives giving birth to vastly disparate numbers of children is a recurrent one in the Sanskrit epics. Thus, in connection with the tale of Garuḍa, Kaśyapa's wives, Vinatā and Kadrū, each choose a boon. Kadrū chooses to have one thousand sons, and Vinatā chooses two sons who are superior in strength to those of her sister. Compare also *MBh* 1.107ff., where a similar set of circumstances surrounds the births of the heroes of the epic and their rivals.

16. Asamañja: The name means "bad" or "wicked."

17. "gourdlike fetal mass" *garbhatumbam*: Here the commentators (Ct, Cg, Cr, and Cm) understand, "a fetal mass in the shape of a *tumba* fruit." Ck, on the other hand, takes *tumba*, which is a type of gourd, to be the fetal covering, that is, the amniotic membrane.

The simultaneous multiple birth of children from undifferentiated masses is known elsewhere in the epic literature. See *MBh* 1.107ff., where Gāndhārī, the wife of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, gives birth to a ball of flesh that is cut into pieces to be incubated in pots of ghee. Compare too *MBh* 1.14, where the birth of Vinatā's two sons is related, and *MBh* 1.154.1-10, where the story of Droṇa's birth from a pot is told.

"When the gourd was split" *tumbabhedāt*: According to Cg, this is not the same as in the case of Gāndhārī. Gāndhārī aborted her fetus and then sprinkled it with water. It then divided itself into one thousand pieces that were put into pots of ghee. From that her sons developed. Here, the division occurs at the time of separation from the womb and not later.

20. Ñ2 (Ñ1 missing), V, B1, 3, 4, D1-3, 7, 10, 12, 13, and M4 omit 20cd,ef (B2, D11 substitute and read after 21) 844\* (2 lines): "(he) used to forcibly seize children, etc." The crit. notes, p. 451, call our attention to the fact that neither the *Harivaṃśa* nor



*Viṣṇupurāṇa* version knows the account of Asamañja. This is also the case for N. It seems that here again we see a southern interpolation admitted to the critical text. Compare 1.18.17ab; 1.19.14cd-16, 18c-19b; 1.36.15,20, etc.

After 20, Ś,Dt,D6,8,9,14,S (except M4), and Cm,Cg,Ck,Ct insert the following line [845\*]: "Evil in his conduct, he harassed decent people."

## Sarga 38

4. The point of the verse is the absence of high mountains across the plains of northern India that divide these two ranges. See note on 1.6.21.

5. "this . . . region" *sa . . . deśaḥ*: The area referred to is the region bounded in the north by the Himalayas and in the south by the Vindhya Mountains. To the east and west it has as its boundaries the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, respectively. Traditionally this area is called the *Āryāvarta* (see *ManuSm* 2.22) and is considered virtually the only suitable region in which to perform a sacrifice; see Cr,Cg, and Ct.

6. The sacrifice undertaken is the *Aśvamedha* or Horse Sacrifice. See *sarga* 13 and notes for a description and discussion of this sacrifice. Also see the Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa* for a discussion of the significance of the *Aśvamedha* to our understanding of the textual history of the *Bālakāṇḍa* and the epic as a whole.

7. "an instant" *parvaṇi*: The commentators of the vulgate take the term to refer to the day on which the *Ukthya* rite is performed. See note on 1.13.33-35.

For 7-9, Ñ,V,B,D1-3,7,10,11,13, and M4 substitute 6 lines [851\*] in which a *nāga* in the form of the great serpent *Ananta* is responsible for the theft of the horse.

12. *Sagara* doubts that a *rākṣasa* could do this, as these creatures are usually regarded as petty nuisances rather than serious threats to a major state ritual. This is interesting in the light of the exaltation of *Rāvaṇa*, especially in the first and last books of the poem. See Goldman and Masson 1969. Ct offers an alternative explanation: "If *rākṣasas* can penetrate a sacrifice performed by such holy men, then I see no hope (*gati*) for myself."

For 12, Ñ,V,B,D10,13, and M4 substitute 2 lines [852\*]. D1,2,3,7,11 substitute in whole or part and follow with 3 lines [853\*]. In these passages the king remarks that neither *rākṣasas* nor *nāgas* could have accomplished the theft and that it must have been a god.

18. "for a league on every side" *yojanāyāmaṣṭaram*: Here the commentators who understand "a *yojana* in length and breadth" have been followed. Bhandare 1920, p. 127, on the other hand, reads, "extending to the length of one *yojana*," and construes it as an adjective of *dharaṇītala*, "the earth's surface."

19. Note that in the crit. app., Dt, an important manuscript that represents the vulgate and contains Ct, is said to omit 38.19-39.6. Nonetheless, the GPP not only knows the verses, but cites Ct on 1.38.25-26 and 1.39.1 (GPP 1.39.26 and 1.40.1).

21. "Rasātala" is one of the nether worlds, or "seven hells." The seven are traditionally listed as *Atala*, *Vitala*, *Sutala*, *Rasātala*, *Talātala*, *Mahātala*, and *Pātāla*. The commentators understand, "as though to search (dig) down to *Rasātala*," that is, very deep. According to Cr, the particle *tu* here carries the meaning of *iva*, "like." Compare 861\*.3, but see, too, 1.39.11, where the sons are said to return to *Rasātala*.

24. "they propitiated" *āsādya*: This means literally "having approached," but here

Cg, whom we follow, understands, “having praised” (*stutvā*). Compare with this the northern reading, *abhivādya*, “respectfully greeting.”

25. “Many great beings, as well as creatures of the waters” *mahātmānaḥ* . . . *jalacāriṇaḥ*: The commentators generally understand two distinct groups of creatures to be mentioned. It is also possible to translate *mahātmānaḥ* as an adjective of *jalacāriṇaḥ*, “great aquatic creatures.” Ct understands *mahātmānaḥ* to refer to *siddhas* (perfected beings), *gandharvas*, and the like, whereas Cg, who reads *talavāsinaḥ* for *jalacāriṇaḥ*, takes the reference to be to the inhabitants of the above-mentioned Rasātala. Notice that 25cd, the line in question, has a variant reading in the N. N̄2,V,B,D1,3,7,10,13, and M4 substitute 1 line [863\*] that reads *mahāsattva-*, “noble beings, large animals,” for *mahātmānaḥ*.

## Sarga 39

1. “bewildered by the might of those destructive men” *kṛtāntabalamohitān*: All the vulgate commentators take the compound to refer to the strength of Sagara’s sons who had caused the destruction. *Antaḥ*, “end,” is glossed as *nāśaḥ*, “destruction.” This interpretation is supported by Apte, s.v. *antaḥ*. Bhandare 1920, p. 128, understands, “the power of death.” Cm understands *daivabala*, that is, deluded by the power of fate.

2. Kapila is the name of a great sage who is often identified with Viṣṇu through his epithet, Vāsudeva. He is traditionally regarded as the founder of the philosophical system known as Sāṅkhya.

After 2, D4,6,9,14,S (except M4) insert the following line [867\*; GPP 1.40.3.bc]: “The king’s sons will be burnt by the fire of his (Kapila’s) anger.”

3. “short-lived” *adīrghajīvinām*: The vulgate (following Ct) reads instead *dīrghadarśinām*, “gifted with foresight.” The idea is that there should be no surprise or anxiety.

4. “thirty-three” *trayastrīṃśat*: This is the traditional enumeration of the gods. It is broken down as follows: eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and two Aśvins or Indra and Prajāpati. See crit. notes, p. 452.

5. “a noise” *nisvanaḥ*: See crit. notes, p. 452, for correction in reading. The noise is a herald of calamity and not just the sound of their digging.

“earthquake” *nirghāta*—: Cg glosses this as “a kind of calamity,” and he claims that it is used to stress the portentous nature of the noise. Compare the N variant, 868\* (1 line).

7. “powerful beings” *sattvavantaḥ*: All the commentators understand this to mean powerful creatures, *balavantaḥ*. Compare 1.38.25, where the word used to refer to these creatures was *mahātmānaḥ*. See also 863\*, where *mahāsattva* is used in a similar context.

11. See 1.38.21.

12. “from there” *tataḥ*: See Bhandare 1920, pp. 128-29.

“elephants who support the earth” *disāgajam*: The reference is to the eight elephants who are traditionally stationed in each of the eight cardinal and intermediate points of the compass and are said to support the earth (cf. note on 1.71.7). Compare Jacobi 1893, pp. 6ff. Only the four elephants of the cardinal points are mentioned in this passage: Virūpākṣa, the guardian of the East (verses 13,15); Mahāpadma,



the guardian of the South (verses 16-17); Saumanasa, the guardian of the West (verse 19); and Bhadra, the guardian of the North (verse 20). These names do not agree with the ones listed at *Amarakośa* 151, which has Airāvata, Puṇḍarīka, Vāmana, Kumuda, Añjana, Puṣpadanta, Sarvabhauma, and Supratīka. The commentators do not discuss the divergence in names. See Bhandare 1920, p. 129. Cf. note on 1.6.22.

13. For 13-14, Ñ2,V,B,D,1,3,7,9,10,13, and M4 substitute 4 lines [870\*].

14. "earthquake" *bhūmikampah*: Cr is more explicit. He says that when the elephants' heads tire, they hold the earth with their trunks and shake their heads.

15. "guardian of the East" *diśāpālam*: Literally, "guardian of the quarter," but in this case the quarter is the East.

16-17. "supports the earth" *dhārayantam gām*: Here the vulgate reading *gām* has been adopted to replace the crit. ed.'s reading *te*, "they." As the verse stands in the crit. ed., the transitive verbal participle *dhārayantam*, "supporting," has no object and is therefore difficult to construe. Even though the critical editors have followed their principles and taken the southern reading, textual evidence is inconclusive and the reading should be considered doubtful, especially in light of the grammatical difficulty in construing the southern reading. The majority of N manuscripts replace 17c with *taṁ ca dr̥ṣtvā mahākāyam*, "and having seen that huge-bodied creature," whereas Ś, the majority of Devanāgarī manuscripts (except 4, 10, and 13, which read a N variant), and G4 read *gām*. Therefore, only D14,T (T1 damaged),G2,3 (G1 omits), and M read *te*, "they."

20. "the North" *diśam somavatīm*: This means literally "the direction which is possessed of soma." The derivation of *somavatī* is not wholly clear. The most plausible explanation, although one not mentioned by the commentators or other annotators, seems to rely on the notion that the *soma* plant comes from the northern mountains. From as early as the *R̥gveda* (10.34.1), *soma* is said to grow on Mount Mūjavat (Muñjavat). See Geldner on 10.34.1 (1923, vol. 3, p. 183). See too *VājaS* 3.61 and commentary, *ĀpaŚS* 12.5.11, and *MBh* 14.8.1. This mountain is located in the Himalayan range in northern India (Law 1954, p. 112). Note the v.l. *haimavatīm* and Ct's gloss, *udicīm*, "northern direction." Cf. *AitBr* 1.14, where *soma* is king of the northeastern quarter. This is not the interpretation offered by Bhandare 1920, p. 129, or Monier-Williams (s.v.) who both understand *soma* in its other classical meaning, "moon," and translate, "presided over by the moon." But no evidence to support a relation between the north and the moon is given. The crit. notes identify *soma* as a name for Kubera, the god of wealth. This is better, since Kubera is said to live on Mt. Muñjavat.

21. "splendid body" *bhadreṇa vapuṣā*: *Bhadra*, "splendid," is employed as a play on the elephant's name.

23. "famous northeastern quarter" *prāguttaram . . . prathitām diśam*: The northeastern direction is traditionally held in high regard as a region of great sanctity. Bhandare 1920, p. 129, and Peterson 1879, p. 29, both refer to an *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* passage (1.17) in which the northeastern quarter is the only one where the *asuras* were not victorious. Therefore it is the "unconquered" (*aparājītā*) direction. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also has a passage (9.2.34.29) that presupposes this story. Ct notes that this direction is famous because of its "suitability for all undertakings." Cg and Ck understand this to be the direction of the Lord Śiva. They take the word *prathita* to mean that the northeast is the appropriate direction for the horse to go.

24. "near the god" *devasya*: In other words, near Kapila Vāsudeva.

26-27. These verses are not found in N except in the margin of Ś1. It is not clear why Bhatt included them. Compare 1.18.17ab; 1.19.14cd-16, 18c-19b; 1.36.15,20; 1.37.20, etc.

27. “Hum” *humkāram*: This destructive and powerful syllable is used elsewhere in the epic to annihilate a host of enemies. See 1.54.5-6 and cf. 1.74.17.

## Sarga 40

1. “grandson,” that is, Aṁsumant.

2. “forefathers” *pitṛṇām*: The term *pitṛ*, “father,” is often used in Sanskrit to mean male relatives of an older generation or even elders in general. Here the reference is to Aṁsumant’s paternal uncles.

“taken” *apahāritaḥ*: The reading is marked as doubtful. N reads *apavāhitaḥ*, “carried off.”

After 2ab, Ñ,B2-4, D10,13 insert the following line [879\*]: “You must return quickly so that my religious duty is not compromised.”

9. “affectionately” *prītyā*: The reading must be regarded as doubtful, considering the textual evidence. N manuscripts (N2,V,B,D1-3,10,13) and M4 read *prcchato*—; Ś,D5,11,12 read *saumyam*; S manuscripts Dt(vulgate),6,8 replace the entire *pāda* and read *pratyuvāca mahāmatih*; and S manuscripts D4,9,T3,G1,3,4,M (Cg,Ck, and Cr) read *pratyāhā*—. Ñ1,D7,T1 omit this verse. Only M2,3, D14,T2,G2 read as does the critical text.

11. “understood the subtleties of speech” *vākyajñaiḥ*: Cr and Cg (alternative reading), who understand, “knowing the intent/meaning of others’ words,” are followed in the translation. Ct and Cg (first reading) understand instead, “knowing what is proper to say.”

“eloquent” *vākyakovidaiḥ*: Cr and Cg (alternative reading), who understand, “clever in speech (literally, skilled in the use of speech),” again are followed in the translation. Ct and Cg (first reading) understand, “knowing the proper time and place for speech.”

15. “funerary libations” *jalakriyām*: This is glossed by Cg as *tarpaṇa*, and refers to the daily ritual offering of water to deceased ancestors. See Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 668-69; 689-95.

16. See 1.37.14.

17. “good of the world” *lokasammataḥ*: Ck,Ct, and Cg, whom we follow in the translation, understand this to mean *lokaḥitaḥ*, “for the benefit of the worlds.” Cr, on the other hand, understands, “approved by the beings of the three worlds—upper, lower, and middle.” The idea, according to Cr, is that the destruction of the sons of Sagara will ultimately lead to the descent of the Ganges.

19. Most S manuscripts (Ś,Dt[vulgate],4,6,8,14, T1,2,G,M1-3) insert the following line [889\* GPP 1.41.19cd]: “Great-armed man, you must perform the funerary water offerings for your forefathers in her.”

24. “in due order” *yathākālpam*: This means usually “according to rule.” It is difficult, however, to distinguish this term from the following, *yathāvidhi*, “according to the rules of ritual performance.” Cr reads this alternatively as “according to ability,” or “not transgressing the prescriptions.” The translation follows Cg. Cf note on 1.14.5.



## Sarga 41

1. "law of time" *kāladharmam*: This is a frequent epic euphemism for death.

"ministers" *prakṛtījanāḥ*: The term here refers just to the ministers of state, despite the remarks in the crit. notes, p. 452, on elective monarchy and the suggestion that this refers to the six limbs of state (kings, ministers, territory, forts, treasury, armies, and allies). Cf. *Meghadūta* 6, where *prakṛtipuruṣa*, "minister, officer," is used. As we see in the attempted consecration of Bharata at *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 61.1ff., it was the brahman ministers who chose the successor to a king when the heir was dead or otherwise disqualified. We see no evidence for the concept of popular election. Daśaratha's consultation with his people and allies on the succession of Rāma (*Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 2.1ff.) seems to us to have been purely *pro forma*. See Bhandare 1920, p. 131.

7. "celebrated for his righteousness" *dharmena viditātmanah*: Ct and Cr, who are followed in the translation, understand the phrase to mean *prasiddha*, "famed," or *prākhyāta*, "well-known."

Note that N2,V3,B1,D10,13 omit this verse, whereas T1 and N1 are missing it, and B3 reads it in the margin.

12. Gokarṇa: The exact location of Gokarṇa is uncertain. Bhatt 1961, p. 452, seems to believe that it is modern Gomukhī, which is "two miles beyond Gaṅgotrī." There is also a town in northern Mysore called Gokarṇa that is mentioned in several texts as a pilgrimage site (cf. *MBh* 3.83.22; 3.86.12, etc.). See Law 1954, pp. 79,153. The commentators generally understand a specific spot in the Himalayas. Ct optionally identifies it as a southern town. Compare Bhandare 1920, pp. 131-32, and *Raghuvamśa* 8.33.

"practiced the austerity of the five fires" *pañcatapāḥ*: The *bahuvrīhi* compound is based on a variety of *madhyamaṣadalopin*, or compound in which one or more of the middle terms are missing. Here the word *agni*, "fire," is missing. Thus the underlying reference of the compound is to "austerities performed in the midst of five fires." This is a frequently mentioned type of austerity, in which a person is surrounded by four fires, with the sun constituting the fifth.

After 12, N adds 2 lines [898\*] that further describe Bhagīratha's penances.

19. "second" *paraḥ*: Here the translation follows the commentators. Peterson 1879, p. 30, understands *paraḥ* to mean "highest," for he feels that there is only one boon. But Bhandare disagrees, noting that there are in fact two boons (1920, p. 132).

21. The semi-technical term "of the great chariot," *mahāratha*, is used here to echo the final element of the name Bhagīratha. The word chosen for "wish," *manoratha*, further enhances this effect. Cf. 1.5.22 and 1.6.2.

24. "spoke to the Ganges" *gaṅgām . . . ābhāṣya*: This is to say that he told her about her forthcoming descent. Cr says that he explained what she had to do in order to accomplish Bhagīratha's request. 911\*, the northern variant for 24cd, makes this quite clear: "After telling her to go to the earth, he went to heaven."

## Sarga 42

1. "stood for a year on the tip of one big toe, worshiping Śiva" *aṅguṣṭhāgranipīḍitām . . . kṛtvā vasumatīm . . . samvatsaram upāsata*: This means literally "causing the earth to be pressed by his big toe for a year, he worshiped." Cr understands the reference to be to the left big toe. This is evidently considered to be an intense form of self-mortification, for it is sustained for only a year compared with the thousand years of the *pañcatapaḥ* of 1.41.12. Cg and Ct supply Śiva as the unexpressed object of *upāsata*, "worship," as has been done in the translation. The verb is irregular in form.

After 1, Ś,Ñ2 (Ñ1 missing), V,B,D10,11,12,13,14,T1,2,G,M insert 2 lines [913\*] in which further details about the austerities are given. Notice here the relatively unusual situation in which the N and S evidence is strong, but the Devanāgarī manuscripts for the most part omit the verse.

3. After 3, Ñ,V,B,D10,13,M4 (Ś,D1-3,5,7,9,11,12 after 4ab) insert 4 lines [914\*] in which Śiva goes to the peak of the Himalaya and requests the heavenly Ganges to descend.

For 4-7 Ś,Ñ2 (Ñ1 missing),V,B,D1-3,5,7,9-13,M4 (Ś,D1-3,5,7,9,11,12 for 4c-6) substitute a passage of 11 lines [921\*], in which the Ganges falls on Śiva's head but is not released and wanders about for a full year. Bhagīratha again propitiates Mahādeva in order to obtain the Ganges' release. On account of Bhagīratha's words the god releases the river.

After 4, Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4) insert a well-known passage of 7 lines [916\*] that describes the Ganges' plan to carry Śiva to Pātāla (hell), and Śiva's anger at her impudence. Śiva devises a plan to make her disappear into the depths of the coils of his topknot, so that she will not be able to descend on earth. Compare 921\*.

It is difficult to determine on what evidence the critical editors chose to retain verses 4c-6 as part of the critical text and to exclude 916\*,918\*.2, and 919\*. The textual evidence for the passages is identical. The parts of S that have been omitted appear to have northern parallels (918\*.2, 921\*.6-7) that should support inclusion. On the other hand, with the possible exceptions of 4ef (921\*.1-2), 5cd (921\*.4) and 6cd (921\*.8), there seems inadequate support for the critical reading, especially of 4cd,5ab, and 6ab. The case for inclusion is particularly strong for 918\*.2, where Bhagīratha undertakes austerities for a second time. Reference is made to this action in the northern manuscripts (921\*.6-7), which means that although there are no verses or lines that can be considered true variants, both traditions know the episode, and it should, on these grounds, be considered as part of the original story. Compare 1.25.13, 1.28.9, 1.37.20, etc. The reading in the critical text of *anena*, which is very difficult to interpret as it stands, becomes clear within the context of 918\*.2. Evidence for the remaining lines and verses is neither as convincing nor as obvious, but it remains clear that the passage has been edited in an eclectic manner and that at least the passage of Bhagīratha's renewed austerities should be considered part of the reconstituted text.

5. "wandered about" *ababhramat*: The form is a reduplicated aorist, with irregular reduplication (the expected form is *abibhramat*). Cg and Cm, who read *abambhramat* (VSP 1.43.9), identify the form as an imperfect intensive (*yañluganta*). (See crit. notes, p. 453.)



After 5, Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4) insert 918\*. 2. See above note 4. Here Bhagīratha resumes his austerities in order to bring the Ganges down from Śiva's head. Compare 921\*.6-7.

6. "by this" *anena*: See above note 4. The commentators understand, "by this penance," *anena tapasā*.

Lake Bindu: According to the crit. notes, this is a pool near Gaṅgotrī in the Rudra Himalaya, but see 1.41.12. Law 1954, p. 134, gives the name as Vindusarovara. See Dey 1927, p. 38, and Bhandare 1920, p. 133.

After 6, Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4) insert 8 lines [919\*; GPP 1.3.11c-15b] that tell of the seven streams of the Ganges, of which three went east, three went west, and one followed Bhagīratha's chariot. Cf. 921\*.9-11. See also note 4 above for a discussion of the textual problems of this passage.

7. After 7, Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4) insert (D1-3,7,9,11 insert after 5 of 921\*) 2 lines [924\*; GPP 1.43.16c-17b] that describe the earth shining with various aquatic animals.

9. "awed" *pāriplavagatāḥ*: Here, following Cr, *pāriplava* has been interpreted as *sambhramah*, "amazement, agitation." Ct and Cg, who read *pāriplavagataiḥ*, understand *pāriplava* to be a type of vehicle, probably a palanquin. Thus they take the compound to mean "mounted in palanquins." See crit. app. at verse 9 for variants. Cf. Apte s.v. *pāriplava*, who cites this verse. Bhandare 1920, p. 134, thinks that both options are equally good.

13. "snowy geese" *haṃsasamplavaiḥ*: At issue in this verse is what is actually in the sky. Cg and Ct, who have been followed in the translation, understand that both the foam and the geese are in the sky and that they are respectively compared with the white autumn clouds. This makes sense, as both the foam and the geese are logically connected with a river. On the other hand, Cr understands that only the foam is actually in the sky and that it is compared to both the geese and the clouds. He would read, "the sky seemed suddenly filled with autumn clouds and snowy geese." See Bhandare 1920, p. 134.

14. "at others, it narrowed and sank between its banks" *vinatam kvacid*: *Vinata* here is taken by the commentators as "shrunk or low because of its depth." Bhandare 1920, p. 134, understands *vinata* as "descending" in opposition to *udbhūta*, "ascending." For clarity, *vinata* has been translated rather generally.

16. "able to wash away all sin" *gatakalmaṣam*: This means literally "free from taint or dirt," but Ct and Cg, whom the translation has followed, understand that the waters wash away the sins of those who bathe in it. Cg evidently regards Śiva and the Earth as impure, "clean even though fallen from Śiva's head." Obviously this interpretation derives from his Vaiṣṇava commitment.

17. "fallen from Bhava's body" *bhavāṅgapatitam*: Cg goes to great lengths to explain away the purifying effect of Śiva's body. One of his more ingenious explanations is that the Ganges is no longer as extremely pure as it was, since it had fallen from Śiva's body. Therefore the gods just touch it rather than bathe in it. Another ingenious rationale is that even though "fallen from Bhava's body, the Ganges is pure, since she originates from Viṣṇu's toe!" Cr, in a more ecumenical spirit, disagrees with Cg and says that people who desire the best should shun the notion that the Ganges loses its extreme purity from contact with Śiva's body, and they "should respect the notion that the Ganges obtained purity from contact with Śiva."

"bathed there" *pasprśuḥ*: Here Ct has been followed. Both Cr and Cg understand, "touched," as noted above.

24. After 24, Ś, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S (except M4) insert a very well-known passage of 16 lines [934\*; GPP 1.43.34c-41] in which the Ganges floods the sacrificial hall of the sage Jahnu. He is angered and drinks her up, to the amazement of all. Praised and propitiated, he releases her through his ears. Hence she is called Jāhnavī, for she is now regarded as his daughter. She follows Bhagīratha's chariot again, this time to Rasātala, where Bhagīratha sees his ancestors and they are flooded and purified by the Ganges. The sons of Sagara finally reach heaven. Peterson 1879, p. 31, regards the story as an invention to explain the common epithet Jāhnavī, but this sort of argument can be made with respect to all these stories. The actual release of Sagara's sons is otiose here, as it occurs in the next *sarga*.

### Sarga 43

1. "gaping hole" *talam*: *Talam* literally means the surface (of the earth). Cg and Ct think that here it refers to Pātāla. Cf. 939\*.1.

4. Compare the northern recension's (Ñ, V, B, D10, 13, and M4) reading 941\*.

5. "by a name that you shall give her" *tvatkṛteṇa . . . nāmnā*: Cr interprets the word *kṛta*, "fashioned," nominally in the sense of "deed, effort." Thus he takes the phrase to mean "by a name that originates in your effort, which has now become the subject of knowledge."

6. For 6cd, Ś, Ñ, V, B, D1-3, 5, 6, 9-13, and M4 substitute 2 lines [944\*]. These same manuscripts have 8 additional lines [945\*]. In this passage, the etymological derivations of the river's three names—Tripathagā, Ganges, and Bhāgīrathī—are given. Cr reads four names, adding Divyā to the list; see Cr on 6 (GPP 1.44.6). The last two lines of the passage promise indestructible fame throughout the worlds for Bhagīratha, so long as the Ganges remains a great river.

10-11. "could not . . . think of a way" *na śaṅkitā*: Although *śaṅkitā* literally means "doubted," both Cg and Ct understand it here in the sense of "determined" or "resolved." A great many manuscripts and commentators (Ś, Dt, 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 14, Ñ2, V1, 4, B1, 2, 4, G1, 3, 4, M3, 4) have instead a form of the verb *śak*, "be able," that is, "was not able to bring her down."

13. "great abode of righteousness" *dharmasyāyatanam*: According to Ct, this is the place that is to be obtained through *dharma*, that is, Brahmaloka. Cr suggests that the intent of the phrase is the highest home of *dharma*, and implies that one who obtains it has completed the *puruṣārthas*, or four principal goals in life (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*).

18. "freed from . . . anxiety" *vigatajvaraḥ*: This means literally "free from fever." We follow the interpretation of Ct; Cg and Cr both interpret the compound more literally, glossing it as "free from illness" and "free from fever," respectively.

19. "time for our evening devotions" *saṃdhyākālah*: Peterson, disagreeing with Schlegel, understands this to mean the morning devotions and that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa spent the night referred to at 44.3-5 listening to the story. It seems to us, however, that Ck is right and that the narration of the story concludes in the evening and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa spend the night reflecting on the story.

20. The crit. notes, p. 453, say that this *phalaśruti* shows that the episode is interpolated, but this is too facile an argument. See Introduction.

The southern manuscripts (Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S [except M4]) insert 2 lines [949\*; GPP 1.44.21c-22b] after 20ab. After 20cd, these same manuscripts continue with 2 lines



[950\*; GPP 1.44.23]: "The departed ancestors and gods are pleased with him who recites this among brahmans and kshatriyas (949\*). Whoever hears it gains all desires, all his sins are destroyed, and his life and fame are increased" (950\*).

## Sarga 44

2. "filling of the ocean" *sāgarasya . . . pūraṇam*: This refers to the story that the Ganges filled the hole dug by the sons of Sagara and in so doing, created the ocean. See 1.43.1.

After 2, Ś,Ñ,V,B,Dt,1-3,5-13,G1-3, M1,3,4 read 5c-f (Mighty ascetic . . . but a moment). Textual evidence strongly suggests that the ordering should read 2;5c-f;3;4;5ab;6ab;6c-f. Cf. the northern recension, which replaces 6cd with 956\*.

5. "holy goddess Night" *bhagavatī rātriḥ*: It is the telling of the story of the descent of the Ganges that, according to Ct and Cg, makes the night worthy of reverence. See above, note 2.

8. Viśālā is, apparently, the capital city of the Licchavis, a powerful tribe of eastern India around 600 B.C. The city is known from the Buddhist period as Vaiśālī. This city is, it seems, different from the city of the same name mentioned in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (1.31, cf. 1.37) and identified with Ujjain. See crit. notes, p. 453, Law 1954, pp. 265-67; Kale 1969, pp. 56-58; Wilson 1864, vol. 3, p. 246.

13. "as I tell it" *kathayataḥ*: Only Ct seems to construe *kathayataḥ* with *śakrasya*, that is, "story of Śakra, who related it." Cg and Cr understand Viśvāmitra as its subject.

14. Golden Age: See note on 1.1.73.

Sons of Diti . . . sons of Aditi: The sons of Diti are demons and the sons of Aditi are the gods. Aditi is known as the mother of the gods. Diti, known from the earliest literature, is called the mother of the demons in the *Atharvaveda* (7.7.1). See Keith 1925, vol. 2, pp. 215-18.

16. "wise beings" *vipaścitām*: This is marked as a doubtful reading in the critical text. Variant readings include *vinīścitām*, *sunīścitām*, and *mahātmanām*.

"the elixir of life" *rasaḥ*: Here *rasaḥ* refers to the *amṛtaḥ* or nectar of immortality. See crit. notes, p. 453.

For other versions of this famous story, see MBh 1.15ff., *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8.6-9, *Matsyapurāṇa* 249.51, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 1.9, etc. See also Bedekar 1967, pp. 7-61; S. A. Dange 1969, pp. 239-80.

17. In the traditional Indian method of churning butter, which serves as the model for the churning of the ocean, the churning stick is twirled by means of a rope rather than agitated directly by hand.

After 17, Dt,4,6,8,T3,M3 insert a well-known passage of 25 lines given at App. I, No. 8 (GPP 1.45.17-31b): "After one thousand years, the heads of the snake (Vāsuki), who was the churning rope, bit the rocks with their fangs, vomiting forth a horrible poison. Thus was the great Hālāhala poison produced, which began to burn all the worlds—gods, demons, and mortals included. The gods, seeking refuge, approached the Great God, Rudra Śaṅkara, lord of creatures, crying, 'Save us, save us!' Then they spoke to the lord, lord of Kubera, the god of gods. Thereupon Hari, bearer of the conch and discus, appeared and, smiling, addressed the bearer of the trident, Rudra. 'That which was brought up first as the gods churn belongs to you, best of gods, for you are first among the gods. Since you are deserving of first

worship, lord, you should accept this poison.' Having spoken in this manner, the best of gods (Viṣṇu) disappeared on the spot. But the bowman, Śiva, hearing these words and seeing the gods' fear, accepted the terrible Hālāhala poison as if it were nectar. Then, dismissing the gods, the blessed Hara, lord of gods, departed. Then, delight of the Raghus, all the gods and demons began to churn once more. This time, however, the great mountain that served as their churning stick sank down to Pātāla. Therefore the gods and *gandharvas* praised Viṣṇu, the slayer of Madhu, saying, 'You are the recourse for all beings, especially for the gods who reside in heaven. Protect us, great-armed one, please raise up this mountain.' Upon hearing this, Hari, lord of the senses, assumed the form of a tortoise and, placing the mountain on his back, lay there in the ocean. Then the great Primal Man, Keśava, soul of the world, took the peak of the mountain in his hand and standing in the midst of the gods, began to churn." See crit. app., p. 255, for Ck and Cg's criticism of the passage. Ck says, "we don't see this version in the oldest and purest manuscripts." See Ck and Ct on the last verse of the *sarga* (GPP 1.45.45), where they argue that the passage is interpolated.

Following App. I, No. 8, the southern manuscripts read 2 lines, marked "f" in the crit. app. to App. I, No. 8. Based on the textual evidence, these lines (GPP 1.41.31cd-32ab) properly belong to the appendix itself.

18. Dhanvantari is the physician of the gods and the legendary founder of Ayurvedic medicine.

18ab is a highly suspect line. As it stands, the line is awkward and the reference to Dhanvantari is incomplete. The textual evidence for its inclusion is weak, as all the N manuscripts and M4 omit it. Furthermore, it construes grammatically with a line found in the crit. app. to the appendix (line 2 of "f," p. 419; see note to 17 above).

The word *apsaras* is here fancifully derived as a sort of portmanteau word made up of *apsu*, "in the waters," and *rasa*, "elixir." The commentators understand *rasa* to be the essence produced by the churning. See Bhandare 1920, p. 138, who derives the term from the word *ap*, "water," and the verbal root *sr*, "to move." For other derivations of this type, see 1.23.7,8,17-20; 28.18, etc.

20. "belong to everyone" *sādhāraṇāḥ*: The idea is that they belong to no one party. This is supposed to account for the *apsarases'* legendary promiscuity.

21. Vāruṇī, a goddess also known as Surā, is the personification of intoxicating drink.

23. This verse gives a popular etymology for the common terms *sura*, "god," and *asura*, "demon." Those that possessed Surā became known as "*suras*," whereas those that did not became known as "*a-suras*," which is then represented as meaning, "having no wine." Bhandare 1920, p. 138, presents two other popular and somewhat more plausible etymologies.

24. The horse Uccaiṣravas was given to Indra, and the gem Kaustubha to Viṣṇu.

"finest thing of all" *uttamam*: According to Cg, this refers to the last, rather than the finest, thing produced.

After 24, some S manuscripts (G1-3, M1-3) insert 12 lines [966\*] in which the beautiful goddess Śrī is produced from the churning, and chooses Viṣṇu. Compare *MBh* 1.16.35-37.

For 24c-25, Ñ2 (Ñ1 missing), V, B, D10, 13 substitute, whereas Ś, D1-3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, and M4 partially substitute or insert, 8 lines [967\*]. Here the nectar appears, fol-



lowed by Dhanvantari. In this version it is only now that the poison appears, and it is taken not by Śiva but by the great serpents, the *nāgas*. The gods and *asuras* then fight to gain possession of the nectar. Compare 967\*.2-3 with *MBh* 1.16.37.

25. After 25, Ś,Dt,4,6,8,14,S insert 6 lines [969\*; GPP 1.45.41-43], in which the *asuras* join forces with the *rākṣasa* and continue the fight. After great destruction, Viṣṇu takes the form of the seductress Mohinī, steals the *amṛta*, and crushes all who come to face him/her. See *MBh* 1.16.38ff.

## Sarga 45

For a discussion of this *sarga* in light of Kirfel's remarks about its relationship to the *Vāyupurāṇa*, see crit. notes, p. 453.

1. Mārīca Kāśyapa is the husband of both Diti and Aditi; therefore both the gods and the demons are his sons. See 1.44.14.

8. Kuśaplavana is, according to the commentators, a penance grove to the east of Viśālā (see note on 1.44.8). It is mentioned at *MBh* 3.83.33.

9. "most virtuously" *guṇasampadā*: According to the commentators, this implies humility, discipline, and other appropriate virtues. Attendance upon an ascetic is a common motif in the literature. This particular case is somewhat unusual in that normally it is a woman who waits upon a male. See, for example, *Matsyapurāṇa* 47.61-126, *MBh* 1.71ff., etc.

12. After 12, D4,9,14,S (except M4) insert, whereas Ś,Dt,6,8 insert after 14, 2 lines [975\*; GPP 1.46.15] in which Diti tells Indra that Kāśyapa has granted her a son.

14. "for your sake" *tvatkṛte*: Ct and Cr understand "for your (Indra's) destruction." It seems, and the commentators agree, that, pleased by Indra's service, Diti has had a genuine change of heart, though Bhandare 1920, p. 140, disagrees. In any case, her new prediction is the one that comes true, for she gives birth to the Māruts, who are Indra's helpers.

15. This is a cause of impurity, as is also sleeping during the day (*sūryābhyuditam*). Ct says that the head should be to the north or east and the feet to the south or west. See Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 800ff.

19. "Don't cry! Don't cry!" *mā rudo mā rudaḥ*: This phrase will serve as the folk etymology of the name Māruta mentioned below at 1.46.4-6.

## Sarga 46

3. "some good" *priyam tu kṛtam*: *Tu* and *kṛtam* are both marked as doubtful readings by the critical text. The GPP reads *tvatkṛtam*, "for your sake." Cf. 983\*. It appears that some manuscript evidence has been omitted from the apparatus; for according to the GPP edition (1.47.3), Cg and Cr both read *tu kartum*, and yet the apparatus makes no mention of this reading (cf. 983\*.1).

See Bhandare 1920, p. 141, who says that *marutām* refers to the regions of the wind.

4. The name Māruta is derived from "marut," "wind," or, as in verse 3, "regions of the wind." At verse 6 another derivation is given.

“regions of the winds” *vātaskandhāḥ*: Cr understands, *vātabhedāḥ*, “varieties of wind,” whereas Cg glosses, *vātaskandhābhīmānidevatāḥ*, “divinities who proudly style themselves the Vātaskandhas.” See Bhandare 1920, p. 141.

6. Mārutas: The name is a pun based on a verse from the last *sarga* (1.45.20), where Indra tells the fetus *mā rudah*, “don’t cry.”

12. See 1.44.8.

16. Kākutstha is a patronymic epithet frequently applied to Ikṣvāku princes, most notably Rāma himself.

## Sarga 47

1. “formalities” *kathānte*: *Kathā*, usually “story,” seems here to mean the formal exchange of greetings, as opposed to the substantive matter that follows. See Cr and Cg.

2. “tigers or bulls . . . lions or elephants” *śārdūlavṛṣabha— . . . gajasimha—*: Cg, who understands each brother to have the attributes of all four animals, has been followed in the translation. He provides an explanation of the appropriate times at which the different gaits are applicable. Cr, on the other hand, reads the phrases distributively; thus Lakṣmaṇa’s gait is like an elephant’s, whereas Rāma’s is like that of a lion. One could also read the compound *gajasimhagatī* as “those whose gaits were like that of a lion among (best of) elephants.”

Verses 2-7 are repeated virtually verbatim at *sarga* 49, although the order of the *pādas* differs somewhat. The correspondences are as follows: 47.2—49.17; 47.3—49.18; 47.4—49.19; 47.5ab—49.20cd; 47.5cd—49.21ab; 47.6cd—49.20ab; 47.7a—49.22a; 47.7cd—49.23ab.

Many N manuscripts (Ñ2,V,B,D1,10,13) omit 8ef, and it should, perhaps, be removed from the text altogether, or at least, be considered a doubtful reading.

10. “praised” *samapūjayan*: The vulgate commentators understand the verb, which normally indicates “worship,” in the sense of praise, and understand the praise itself, that is, *sādhu sādhu*, “excellent, excellent,” as a type of worship.

14. “Ah!” *hanta*: This particle frequently expresses joy, but here it seems to carry no definite meaning. See Bhandare 1920, p. 142.

15. The crit. notes, p. 453, provide a list of variants and references to the story of Ahalyā and Indra.

The *Uttarakāṇḍa* version (7.16ff.) marks the only repetition in the poem of a story peripheral to the epic narrative. The style and content of the two versions are quite distinct.

18. “Shapely woman” *susamāhite*: This term usually refers to a controlled or concentrated state of mind. Ct, Cg, and Cm, however, take it here to mean “beautiful.” Ck construes it in yet a different manner, as a modifier of *kāla*, “time,” thus, “at the proper time.” Cr reads the phrase more in keeping with its usual interpretation, “of concentrated mind.” The use of this word seems to be intentional in that it evokes both sexual and contemplative associations, thus intensifying the sexual and ascetic conflict of the episode. See 1.48.18, where the word is translated as “attentively.”

“fertile period” *ṛtukālam*: This is the time traditionally prescribed for love-making, in order to insure offspring (see Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 201-206), although



sex is not absolutely forbidden at other times, except during the menses (see Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, p. 801).

20. "my lover" *mānada*: Literally, "building esteem," this is a stock epithet for a paramour.

20ef is omitted by Ñ, V2-4, B1, 3, 4, D1, 10, 13, M4. As a southern reading with no solid northern support, it should be omitted from the critical text, or at least marked as doubtful.

29. "suffering" *tapantī*: Ct and Cr agree that this refers to Ahalyā's remorse at the memory of her own misconduct.

## Sarga 48

2-3. The idea is that Gautama, like any zealous ascetic, might threaten the gods with his power. This is a common theme in the epic literature. Verse 3 elaborates the idea of verse 2. Although the theme is not uncommon, in this case there is none of the usual preparation for such a scene, that is, there is no indication that Gautama has actually frightened the gods or that they have deputed Indra to subvert his austerities.

5. "divine ancestors" *pitṛdevān*: Here the intent seems to be literal—"the gods in the form of ancestors"—following Bhandare 1920, p. 143. The commentators read the compound as copulative and gloss, "Agni and the bearers of the funerary offerings, etc." But Agni is also a spokesman of the gods, unless the commentators understand a different form of Agni.

7. This verse is somewhat obscure, especially the second half. GPP reads an additional line (1018\*; GPP 1.49.7ef) that resolves it. The N manuscripts replace 7cd with 1016\*, which also resolves the verse ("with your use of his great testicles"). However, the idea of the critical reading seems to be that Agni is reassuring the *pitṛs* that the loss of the ram's testicles does not impair its value as a sacrificial victim. See Bhandare 1920, p. 143, and Peterson 1879, p. 33.

9. Peterson 1879, p. 33, understands this as a mythical explanation of a sacrificial practice.

"reserving their testicles for Indra" *phalais teṣām ayojayan*: This last quarter of the verse is very obscure and evidently depends on an elided *phalam*, "fruit." The idea, according to Cg and Cr, appears to be that they make the benefits (*phalam*) of offering a castrated and an uncastrated ram the same. Ct, whom we follow, understands more simply, "since they had given over (to Indra) their testicles" (supplying "since" to complete the meaning). See Bhandare 1920, p. 144. Cm offers some additional interpretations.

13. "even" *api*: In the translation, *api* is construed with *surāsuraiḥ*, "by the gods and *asuras*," following Cr and Cg. Ct understands the *api* differently, that is, "even though they came near." See Peterson 1920, p. 33, and Bhandare 1879, p. 144, who both accept Ct's interpretation.

14. Cf. *Kumārasambhava* 1.49 for a similar description of Umā.

15. "discerned but dimly" *durādharṣām*: The adjective normally means "unassailable," and Ct reads it separately from the simile, rendering it as "untouchable." We believe, however, that it is not likely that the poet would have broken up the rhe-

torical figure in this way and follow Cm in taking the term to refer to the obscurity of Ahalyā's appearance.

18. "Attentively" *susamāhitā*: Compare the usage here with that at 1.47.18.

20. The commentators note that Gautama, aware of Rāma's arrival through his yogic power, has returned for the event.

## Sarga 49

6-7. "the best of sages" *muniśreṣṭham*: This is marked as an uncertain reading in the critical text. Variant readings include *munim prāptam* and *ṛṣim prāptam* for the N manuscripts, and *anuprāptam* for eight S manuscripts, including the vulgate.

"welcome offering" *arghyam*: See note on 1.2.24.

Lines 7ab and cd of the critical text are slightly difficult to construe together because the subject of the plural verb *daduḥ*, "gave," appears to agree with the singular subject *nṛpatiḥ*, "king." Given the critical reading, one may accept this irregularity as the result of the inclusion of the priests in the king's action. The various recensions avoid this problem. The S manuscripts (D4,9,14,S [except M4],Cg,Ck [after 6], Dt,6,8 [after 7ab]) insert 1 line [1033\*], "went there quickly with humility," which makes the passage read much better. The northern reading is similar to the critical, substituting 1034\* for 7ab. It is grammatically no clearer than the critical reading. The passage wants a verb, which the S manuscripts have provided.

9. "embracing" *samāgacchat*: The translation follows Cg's interpretation, "embraced," rather than giving the usual meaning, "come together." See Bhandare 1920, p. 145.

"them all" *sarvaiḥ*: This is marked as a doubtful reading in the critical text. Variant readings include *ṛṣiḥ*, *munīḥ*, *munivaraḥ*, etc. The vulgate reads *yathārham ṛṣibhiḥ sarvaiḥ* for *pāda* c. N manuscripts have no direct equivalent, but read *sarvān* as the object of *samāgacchat*, indicating here that the instrumental is to be irregularly understood as the object.

17. Verses 17-21 are almost a verbatim repetition of 1.47.2-7cd. See note on 1.47.2.

21. "side locks" *kākapakṣa*—: See note on 1.18.8.

25. See Peterson 1879, p. 34, and Bhandare 1920, p. 145, for a summary of the journey from Ayodhyā to Mithilā.

## Sarga 50

4. Śatānanda's mother is Ahalyā.

5. "Mighty man" *mahātejah*: The vocative ending is marked as doubtful in the critical text. Many S manuscripts read a nominative singular. The N manuscripts avoid this phrase with the substitution of 1 line [1045\*].

7. "after seeing Rāma" *rāmasaṃdarśanād itaḥ*: Cg reads this phrase as either *rāmasaṃdarśanād itaḥ*, which is the interpretation followed in the translation, or as



*rāmasaṃdarśanāditah*, “with the sight of Rāma, etc.,” taking the suffix *-tah* in the sense of the instrumental.

8. “show him reverence” *pūjitaḥ*: Here, according to the commentators, the reverence takes the form of the restoration of his wife Ahalyā.

11. The Bhārgava sage, Jamadagni, ordered his son Rāma to behead his wife Reṇukā. As a result of the sage’s boon to his son, Rāma, the slain woman was restored to life and the couple was reunited. See *MBh* 3.115-117, especially 3.116.1-19, for the oldest surviving version of this tale.

The allusion to the Bhārgava legend is of interest here at the beginning of the Viśvāmitra episode in that it shows that the author of this passage at least knew the *MBh*. This is one of the few Bhārgava references in the epic. See also 1.24.18, 1.37.6.11, 1.60.10-11, and notes on 1.60.10-11 and 1.69.24. See Goldman 1976 and 1977.

16. “his mighty deeds” *yathābalam*: We have followed the commentators, who understand this to be a reference to Viśvāmitra’s powerful austerities. A possible alternative would be to read the term adverbially with the participle *nigadataḥ*, “as I recount,” in the sense of “to the best of my ability.”

For a discussion of the Viśvāmitra episode and its special connection with the *Rām*, see Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa* and Jacobi 1893, pp. 26ff.

19. Viśvāmitra’s lineage has already been given at *sarga* 33 (see especially verses 1-3). Note that here, again, there is no mention of Kuśika. This is of interest in light of the fact that the *MBh* seems to know only the name Kuśika and not Kuśanābha. The two must be regarded as identical, as both are known primarily as Gādhi’s father. See notes to 33.3 and 33.6. Cf. also notes to 33.8.

22-27. “home of flocks of birds” *dvijasamghaniveṣitam*: One could optionally read the compound as “the home of communities of brahmins.”

## Sarga 51

4-5. “burnt offerings” *agnihotra*—: This is an oblation consisting mainly of cow’s milk, but which may include gruel (*yavāgū*), cooked rice, curds, and/or clarified butter. See *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 2.3.1-2.

7. “your majesty” *rājan*: The second occurrence of the vocative in this verse is replaced in the N manuscripts with the adverb *nityam*, “constantly.” It is marked as a doubtful reading in the crit. ed.

“manner proper to a king” *rājavṛttena*: The vulgate commentators cite a verse that describes the fourfold *rājavṛtta*: 1. lawful acquisition, 2. increase of wealth, 3. protection, and 4. respect for those worthy of it.

10. “eminent” *vasiṣṭham*: The proper noun Vasiṣṭha is, according to Cr and Ct, modified by the noun *vasiṣṭha*, “best.” Cg understands the adjective *vasiṣṭha* to mean righteous (*dhārmika*) instead. Cf. 1.67.4-5, where the name Janaka is, in a similar manner, used in conjunction with the adjective *janaka*.

11. “pleasant” *śubhāḥ*: This is marked as a doubtful reading in the critical text. Many S manuscripts and most N manuscripts read *tadā* or *tathā*.

12. “smiling slightly” *prahasann iva*: What is the significance of the smile? Cm, Ck, and Ct understand it to signify the sage’s pleasure in having such an august guest. Cr and Cg take the phrase simply to mean that the sage has a pleasant expression

on his face. It is tempting to suggest that the old sage is smiling in his knowledge of what is to come.

20. "cleansed of all sin" *dhūtakalmaṣaḥ*: The vulgate commentators (except Cg) and many other manuscripts, both northern and southern, read *dhūtakalmaṣām*, which then modifies *kalmāṣim*, "brindled cow."

22. "the six flavors" *ṣaḍraseṣu*: These are traditionally said to be astringent, sweet, salty, sour, bitter, and acrid. See *Amarakośa* 245-46 and Bhandare 1920, p. 149.

## Sarga 52

The story of Vasiṣṭha's cow and the hostilities she engenders between the sage and Viśvāmitra is also told in the *Mahābhārata* (1.164-165). There are striking and significant parallels between the two passages. Not only is there a marked similarity of vocabulary (cf. *Rām* 1.51.23ab and *MBh* 1.165.11cd), but several lines are so close in content and structure—a few are virtually identical—as to leave no doubt that the passages are in some manner related. The *MBh* evidence is found mainly in the critical apparatus. After *MBh* 1.165.9, the S manuscripts insert six lines (1.1753\*). Similar lines are found in the critical text of the *Rām*. Some northern *Rām* versions are virtually identical with the southern *MBh* passage. Based on other observations, such as the fact that the Kauśika elements in both texts are late, it appears that the northern version of the *Rām* knew the *MBh* episode. (For other cases of close affinity between the northern recension of the *Rām* and the *MBh*, compare *Rām* 1.52.2ab, especially N variant 1063\*, and *MBh* 1.1753\*.5; *Rām* 1.52.2cd and *MBh* 1.1753\*.6; *Rām* 1.52.3ab, especially Ś,V,D1-3,5,7,12,13, and *MBh* 1.1753\*.1; *Rām* 1.52.3cd, especially T1, G2, and *MBh* 1.1753\*.2.)

2. "sweets" *madhūn*: Literally, "honeys," but here Cr has been followed in interpreting the term more generally. Note the irregular masculine.

4. "silver" *gaudāni*: Ck adduces a lexical citation, *rajaṭam guḍaḥ*, which gives *guḍaḥ*, as a synonym of *rajaṭam*, "silver." He thus takes the term to be an adjective, "silver," referring to the serving vessels. Ct cites him and accepts this interpretation, whereas Cr cites Ct's reference to Ck, and offers this as an alternative explanation. The issue hinges mainly on the crit. ed.'s (and Cg's) reading of *bhājanāni*, "vessels." Several manuscripts and most of the vulgate commentators read *bhojanāni*, "foods." This reading makes easier the interpretation of the adjective *gauda* in its more usual sense of "consisting of molasses or unrefined sugar." This is the interpretation offered first by Cr, who curiously takes *bhojana* in the sense of platters filled with such (sweetened) food. Cg, who reads *bhājanāni*, still tries to apply the adjective to the food. All considered, it seems that Ck's interpretation is most in keeping with the syntax. See Bhandare 1920, p. 149, who accepts Cg's reading of "consisting of molasses."

13. The idea behind the verse is that all the rites named require the milk and ghee produced by the cow for oblation.

"burnt offerings" *agnihotram*: See note on 1.51.4.

"*bali*": This is the daily offering of a portion of rice, grain, clarified butter, etc. to all creatures. It is one of the five daily rites that are to be performed by a brahman. See Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 741-48.

"*homa* offerings": This is the offering of *ājya*, "clarified butter," to the gods. It.



too, is one of the five daily rites enjoined upon brahmans. See Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 208ff.

14. “*svāhā* and *vaṣaṭ*”: These are utterances intoned at the time of offering an oblation and/or at the end of a sacrifice in conjunction with the god’s name to whom the sacrifice is offered. The *svāhā* is associated with the *homa* of the *gṛhya* rites, whereas the *vaṣaṭ* is used at the *yajñas* and *upayajñas* of the *śrauta* ceremonies. Compare Kane 1962-1975, vol. II, pp. 208, 1058-59. See 1.64.14.

“various branches of learning” *vidyāḥ*: Here the six *vedāṅgas*, “auxiliary vedic sciences,” are meant. See note on 1.1.13.

16. “still more determined” *saṃrabdhatarāṃ*: Normally this means “more agitated,” but here the translation follows the commentators.

19. “foaled in good regions” *deśajātānām*: The commentators mention Kāmboja (Kamboja) and Bāhlika (Vāhlika) as two regions famed for horses. See note on 1.6.20.

“born of noble stock” *kulajānām*: The commentators mention the Gandharva line as an excellent breed, and cite the *purāṇas* to this effect.

20. “young” *vayaḥsthānām*: Cr and Ct cite Amarakośa 1157, *bālas tu syān mānavako vayaḥsthas taruṇo yuvā*, to show that the word means “young.” Bhandare 1920, p. 151, however, understands, “mature, full-grown.”

After verse 20, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S insert 2 lines [1069\*; GPP 1.53.21], where Viśvāmitra says: “I will give you as many gems or as much gold as you want, best of brahmans. Give me Śabalā.”

23. “new and full moon rites” *darśaś ca pūrṇamāsaś ca*: The new and full moon rites are obligatory *śrauta* ceremonies. See crit. notes, p. 454; Keith 1925, pp. 319-21; and Kane 1965, vol. II pt. ii, pp. 1009ff.

## Sarga 53

4. “contemplative” *bhāvitātmanah*: This can also be understood in the sense of pure, holy, or “one who has meditated upon and realized the Ātman.”

7. “lowed like thunder” *meghadundubhirāviṇī*: This means literally, “with a bellow like the kettledrums of the clouds.” Compare with this the GPP (1.54.7) reading, *meghaniḥsavanā*, “noise like (rumbling) clouds.” The N manuscripts read as a variant *hamb(h)āra(ā)va*, “lowing ‘Hambhā.’”

11. “especially today” *adya viśeṣataḥ*: Ct notes, no doubt correctly, that Viśvāmitra, who as a king would in any case be inviolate, is especially so for Vasiṣṭha, in that the latter has received the former as his guest.

12. “with hosts of horses and chariots” *savājirathasamkulā*: The first two members of the compound are marked as a doubtful reading in the critical text. Most N manuscripts, the vulgate, and some S manuscripts read the most common variant, *gajavājirathākulā*, “with hosts of elephants, horses, and chariots.”

18. “*Humbhā*”: This is an onomatopoeic word for the lowing of cattle. It is the Indian equivalent of the English “moo.” See above, note 7.

Pahlavas are a tribe of foreign invaders usually identified as the Parthians, who invaded India in the first or second century B.C., although the word may just as well be understood here more generally to refer to any non-aryan tribal or barbarian warriors. The exact spelling of this term is marked as uncertain in the crit. ed. The

references to these various invaders here must be understood as late and therefore as having no real significance in the dating of the core of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. See Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa*.

20. Śakas and Yavanas are not infrequently associated and mentioned in connection with the Pahlavas. The Yavanas, or Ionians, are presumably Greek invaders from Bactria, and the Śakas the Scythians. These groups are all associated with the northwestern border areas of the Indian subcontinent. The epic literature is not precise in its use of any of these names and, as noted above in conjunction with the Pahlavas, the terms are often employed only to mean non-aryan tribals or barbarians.

23. The verse is uncharacteristically abrupt. The various versions resolve it with 1079\*, 1080\*, or 1081\*. As no version reads the line in isolation, and as it is somewhat awkward contextually, we feel that the critical text should, in keeping with its principles, have completed the verse. Ś1 (in margin), Dt, D4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S add after 23 1081\*: "(Viśvāmitra . . . fired his weapons) by which the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, and Pahlavas (Pahlavas) were routed." This verse [1081\*] is, unfortunately, contextually weak, as the Kāmbojas are not produced until 1.54.2 and are not mentioned in any relevant Devanāgarī or S manuscripts prior to this. Furthermore, there are no significant variants among the S manuscripts themselves. N, V, B, D10, 11 add after verse 23 1079\*, whereas Ś1 (after 1081), V4, D1-3, 5, 7, 11-13 add after verse 23 1080\*. Either of these would be suitable, but although they are contextually apposite, their textual support is weak. As credible arguments can be made for either the major N variant (1079\*) or the S variant (1081\*), no definitive resolution is possible.

## Sarga 54

1. "through your yogic power" *yogataḥ*: This is the reading of all the vulgate commentators and Bhandare 1920, p. 152, but compare Peterson 1879, p. 36, who understands, "with all your might," which may be a more appropriate interpretation. Peterson is evidently disturbed by the notion of an animal practicing yoga, or possessing yogic powers. This, however, merely seeks to impose a veneer of rationality on a sea of fantasy. If the beast can produce soldiers, surely we ought not quibble over the exact means of their production. Interestingly, Cg appears to be bothered by something of the same scruple that afflicts Peterson, for he remarks, by way of explanation, "even though she is only an animal, still, through the grace of Brahmā she has yogic power. This is what we are to understand."

2. See note on 1.52.19 and 1.53.23, and see Chaudhuri 1955, p. 133.

3. Mlecchas are barbarians or non-aryans in general. Derived from the root *mlecch* (1P), the word refers to those who speak confusedly or indistinctly. Thus, one who does not speak the aryan tongue is a *mleccha*. In this verse, however, the commentators understand *mleccha* to refer to a particular tribe rather than to barbarians generally.

The Kirātas are a tribe of aboriginal hill peoples from northern India. They are known from the *Atharvaveda* (10.4.14), but in time this term, too, assumed a generic sense and refers commonly in the literature to any tribal hill peoples.

The Hārītas were also, it seems, a tribal group. According to the commentators, they are a type of Kirāta. The name is not as well attested as the others. The manuscripts are not uniform in their reading of Hārīta, and the crit. app. offers



such variants as *tuṣārāḥ*, the Sanskritic form of *tukhāra*, that is, the peoples of Turkistan. In the northern manuscripts we find variants such as *savarā sa*, *tathā rāma*, and *khurājjātāḥ* (see Chaudhuri 1955, p. 105ff.).

5-6. "uttering the syllable 'Hum' " *humkāreṇa*: This is the same syllable with which Kapila destroys all the sixty thousand sons of Sagara. See 1.39.27 and 1.74.17.

13. "great sage" *mahāmuniḥ*: This is marked as a doubtful reading in the critical text; variants include *abhāṣata* (from the main northern variant, which reads: *āgatya varado vīraṃ viśvāmitram abhāṣata*) *mahābalaḥ*, and *tapodhanaḥ*.

16. Peterson notes that Schlegel observed a play here on the word *veda*: "There is a play here upon the words *Veda* and *Dhanurveda* as if the latter, the science of using the bow, consisted of the same parts and required the same helps as the Veda itself" (Schlegel as quoted by Peterson 1879, p. 37). We are to understand that Viśvāmitra wishes to learn the science of weaponry in its totality. Bhandare 1920, pp. 152-53, citing Kullūka on *Manusmṛti* 2.140 and 165 argues that the terms *rahasya* and *upaniṣad* are redundant. It is possible, however, to take *rahasya* either with Cmr and Cg as the means of understanding the teaching, or preferably in our opinion, with Ck, Ct, and Cr, as the special secret knowledge for the application of these weapons, knowledge that can be had only from the mouth of a guru.

19. "already proud, was filled with still greater pride" *darpeṇa mahatā yukto darpa-pūrṇo 'bhavat*: The translation follows Ct, Ck, Cm, and Cg, who say that Viśvāmitra was originally proud on account of his being a kshatriya and that his pride was increased by his acquisition of the divine weapons. Cr offers an interesting alternative. He reads *mahatā ayuktaḥ*, that is, "he who was without great pride became prideful." This could be supported on the basis of verse 10 above, where the king's pride was described as having been demolished (*hatadarpaḥ*).

27. This is one of the very few brahmanical curses in the literature that prove false. Strangely, no mention is made of this in the text or in any commentaries that we have seen.

## Sarga 55

1. "Āgneya weapon" *āgneyāstram*: See note to 1.26.19. The Āgneya weapon belongs originally to the god of fire, Agni. This weapon can perhaps be identified with one of the *astras* taught by Viśvāmitra to Rāma at 1.26. The weapon in question is mentioned at 1.26.10, where it is called the Āgneya Śikhara. See below, note 6. The Āgneya weapon is well known elsewhere in epic literature. For example, at *MBh* 1.158.54, Arjuna gives the weapon to Citraratha, and at *MBh* 1.216.21, the god of fire, Agni (Pāvaka), gives the weapon to Kṛṣṇa. Cf. 1.29.19, where Rāma uses it against Subāhu.

After 1, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 14, S (except M4) add the following line [1085\*]: "raising his brahman's staff, which was like a second staff of Death . . . ."

6-10. These verses enumerate for the most part the weapons that Viśvāmitra bestowed upon Rāma following his slaying of the *rākṣasa* woman Tātakā at 1.26. No attempt is made in the text or commentaries to correlate the two lists.

Mānava . . . Gāndharva: At 1.26.14, the Gāndharva weapon is called the Mānava Gāndharva, whereas here, two separate weapons seem to be intended.

Mohana: The repetition of the name is found in the critical text. *Mohana* has

many variants, particularly in the northern manuscripts; for example, *vāruṇam*, *mānasam*, *mānavam caiva*, etc. Cg and the VSP edition read *madanam*, a variant unrecorded in the critical text. The Paiśāca weapon is also called *mohana* (1.26.16). Perhaps the two *mohanas* are meant to be understood adjectivally in the sense of “bewildering.”

Vāyavya, Mathana: Cf. 1.26.11, where the name is Prathama. Compare the variant readings in the crit. app. at 1.26.11.

11-13. “at Vasiṣṭha” *vasiṣṭhe*: Here Ct, who understands the locative to express the locus of the action of the verb *cikṣepa*, “loosed,” has been followed. Cg, however, understands the locative as the locus of *adbhūta*, “wonder,” that is, “something quite extraordinary happened to Vasiṣṭha.” The idea, according to Cg, is that it was extraordinary because Vasiṣṭha felt no effect from the onslaught and absorption of Viśvāmitra’s terrifying weaponry.

14-15. “Brahmā’s weapon” *brahmāstram*: This is regarded as the ultimate weapon, capable of destroying the universe. This explains the reaction of the gods and other supernatural beings. Cf. verse 8 and 1.26.6.

18. “like sparks” *marīcya iva*: The vulgate commentators gloss *marīcyaḥ*, which generally means “rays of light,” with *viṣphuliṅgāḥ*, “sparks.” See Apte s.v. *marīciḥ*, who cites this verse.

## Sarga 56

3. Madhuṣpanda: Variants include *mahiṣyanda*, *madhuṣyaṃda*, *mahiṣpanda*, and *madhucchanda*. Similar variations may be seen with the other names. This sort of instability in the case of proper nouns is common across the recensions of the Sanskrit epics. Madhuṣyanda, although not named first, here appears at 1.60.12 to be the foremost of Viśvāmitra’s sons. Cf. *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* 7.18, where Madhucchandās is the middlemost of Viśvāmitra’s 101 sons.

6. “first to heaven . . . and then to the Brahmāloka, his own realm” *triviṣṭapam brahmālokaṃ*: The translation follows Cr and Ct, who understand that Brahmā went first with the gods to heaven, *triviṣṭapam*, and then he continued on alone to the Brahmāloka. Cg, however, understands that Brahmā and the gods separated immediately and went to their respective worlds.

7. “dejected” *samanyuḥ*: Normally this would mean “angry,” but Cg and Ct gloss, *sadainyaḥ*, “dejected, miserable,” which seems more appropriate to the context.

8. “I do not consider this a fitting recompense for my austerities” *nāsti manye tapahphalam*: Literally, “I think that austerities bear no fruit,” or “It seems to me that nothing is gained through austerity.” Viśvāmitra is being ironic.

12. Vasiṣṭha’s position as *purohita* or family priest of the Ikṣvākus extends many generations back in time from the days of Rāma and Daśaratha.

13. After 13ab, Ś,Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4) insert the following line [1099\*]: “Then, in order to accomplish this feat, the king approached his (Vasiṣṭha’s) sons.” N,V,B,D10,11,13,M4, on the other hand, substitute the following line [1100\*] for 13cd: “where the hundred sons of Vasiṣṭha were practicing austerities.”

14. Cf. 1101\*, which N substitutes for verse 14.

15-16. The reconstruction of these two verses in the crit. ed. is suspect, but not crucial to the interpretation of the text.



## Sarga 57

For additional references to the Triṣaṅku episode, see crit. notes, p. 455.

2. "someone else" *śākhāntaram*: This literally means, "another branch," which can be taken metaphorically to refer to a different vedic school. But Peterson 1879, p. 38, following Muir 1873, vol. 1, p. 401, notes that Vasiṣṭha's sons would hardly belong to a school other than that of their father. Cr and Cg understand, "another refuge" (*āśrayāntaram*), whereas Ct understands, "another protector" (*rakṣakāntaram*). Cf. Bhandare 1920, pp. 155-56.

5. "a sacrifice . . . over all the three worlds" *yājane . . . trailokasya*: Ct, whom we have followed here, supplies *siddhyartham*, and thus understands, "to gain complete mastery over the three worlds."

Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S (except M4) all insert 1 line [1108\*; GPP 1.58.6ab]. This line, "How would we dare show him disrespect?" provides a somewhat better transition between our verse 5 and verse 6.

Ñ2, V, B, D10, 13 have a different line that is grammatically less awkward, as do Ś, D1-3, 5, 7, 12. Again we see a situation in which the context was not taken carefully into consideration in the critical editing. Bhandare 1920, p. 156, comments on the ellipsis. He takes this to suggest that if Vasiṣṭha says the sacrifice cannot be done, then it cannot be otherwise. See notes on 1.27.18, 1.28.9, 1.53.23, etc.

8. "with their horrifying implications" *ghorābhisamhitam*: Cg and Ct agree that the "horrifying implications" here are the transgression of a guru's order and the attempt to find another guru.

"pariah" *caṇḍāla*—: A *caṇḍāla* is the child of a *śūdra* man and a woman of one of the three higher *varṇas*. As in the case of the barbarians mentioned at 1.53-54, the name was probably originally that of a specific tribal group but has become generalized to mean any highly polluting untouchable. In the traditional literature, the *caṇḍāla* is regarded as the most degraded of humans. Cf. *Manusmṛti* 10.12, *caṇḍālas cādhamo nṛṇām*, "The *caṇḍāla* is the lowest of men." See Bhandare 1920, p. 156. On the propriety of such a curse of social degradation as punishment for an insult to one's guru, see Goldman 1978, note 171, p. 384.

9. "unkempt hair" *dhvastamūrdhajaḥ*: *Dhvasta* literally means, "fallen" or "destroyed." Cg and Cr understand, "short hair." We follow Ct.

"garlands and ointment from the cremation ground" *cityamālyānulepaḥ*: As Cg notes, the king is adorned with a garland of funerary flowers and a paste of human ash. See Bhandare 1920, p. 156, who reads the vulgate *aṅgarāgaḥ*, "unguent," for *anulepaḥ*.

Most N manuscripts (Ñ, V, B, D10, 11, 13) and M4 substitute 5 lines [1110\*] for 9, whereas Ś, D1-3, 5, 7, 12 substitute 1110\*.3 for 9cd. Here the description of the *caṇḍāla* is more elaborate.

12. "ruined" *viphalikṛtam*: This means literally "fruitless." Here Cr understands, "having the pleasure of both worlds destroyed on account of the curse and the refusal of his sacrifice." Ct and Cg offer similar explanations.

17. "gained nothing" *nāvāpyate phalam*: The vulgate commentators understand the *phala*, "fruit," to be a reference to his ascension to heaven. Since, however, the sacrifice that was to have effected Triṣaṅku's embodied ascent to heaven has not yet been performed, this seems to be an embittered reference to his previous sac-

rifices. It is possible that the hundred sacrifices (*kratuśatam*) are an ironic allusion to Indra's epithet Śatakratu, "patron of a hundred sacrifices."

19. "my virtuous conduct" *śīlavṛttena*: The compound could be read optionally as copulative, that is, "by my good qualities (*śīla*) and behavior (*vṛtta*)." See Bhandare 1920, p. 157.

21. For 21cd, many N manuscripts (Ñ, V4, B, 1, 3, 4, D10, 11, 13) substitute, whereas V1, B2 insert after 21, the following line [1113\*], which appears to mean, "In my opinion men randomly acquire good and bad fruits."

22. "good works" *karmanah*: The word could also be taken more specifically as a reference to Triśaṅku's sacrifices.

## Śarga 58

1. "directly" *sākṣāt*: Cr says that the word is used in order to emphasize the non-*caṇḍāla* birth of the king, since a brahman would ordinarily not speak "directly" to a real *caṇḍāla*. On the other hand, the idea may be to call attention to the *kṛpā*, "pity," evinced by Viśvāmitra.

9. "anyone" *anyaḥ*: Here Cg understands "anyone at all who was (invited)." Cr understands *anyaḥ* to refer to those who were originally not invited, whereas Ct takes it to refer both to those who were invited and to those who were not. Bhandare 1920, p. 157, follows Cg.

"in disrespect" *anādr̥tam*: Both Peterson 1879, p. 39, and Bhandare 1920, pp. 157-58, take the word adverbially with *ākheyam*, "you are to tell it to me (without regard)." The vulgate commentators take it as an adjective modifying *uktam*, that is, "whatever disrespectful (or offensive) speech . . ."

12. Mahodaya: The identification of Mahodaya is uncertain. The commentators take Mahodaya to be the name of a *ṛṣi*, as does the crit. ed. (see crit. notes, p. 455). Schlegel thinks Mahodaya is Vasiṣṭha, but Peterson disagrees, since "Vasiṣṭha does not seem to be involved in the destruction of his hundred sons and Mahodaya" (1879, p. 39). He means that Vasiṣṭha does not appear to suffer the effects of Viśvāmitra's curse of Mahodaya at verse 21. Peterson seems to like the suggestion of Böhtlingk and Roth that Mahodaya is one of Vasiṣṭha's sons. The only sons of Vasiṣṭha named in the literature, however, are Śakti(n), known to the Kalmāṣapāda episode of the *MBh* (1.166.4ff.; 12.337.6), and Suyajña, mentioned at *Rām* 2.28-29. Bhandare 1920, p. 158, follows the commentators and makes no effort to further identify the figure.

15. "is the patronage of this Viśvāmitra sufficient to insure" *viśvāmitrena pālitaḥ*: This means literally "protected by Viśvāmitra" and refers to the brahmans. The commentators regard the utterance as contemptuous.

19. "keepers of the dead" *mṛtapāḥ*: The term refers to scavengers and cemetery workers. The commentators understand the word somewhat more graphically: Ct reads, "those who take the clothes of the dead, etc.," Cr reads, "cookers of dog flesh," and Cg, Cm, and Ck, "corpse-eaters." Each of these, within the Indian tradition, represents an unspeakably foul occupation. See Bhandare 1920, p. 158.

20. "vile" *nirghṛṇāḥ*: This literally means "cruel," but Cr understands, "having no sense of shame," which makes better sense, in our opinion, in the context of dog eating and so on.



"Muṣṭika" is another term for an outcaste group. These people are evidently not to be distinguished from the *mṛtapas* of verse 19. Cr understands the term to designate a type of *caṇḍāla*, whereas Cg remarks that it refers to some kind of low caste. Ct identifies them with the *ḍombas*. Cf. Bhandare 1920, p. 158.

"loathsome in their occupation" *vikṛtāḥ*: The commentators understand *vikṛta* to mean "perverse actions" (Cg: speech, etc.), whereas they take *virūpa* to refer to physical appearance.

## Sarga 59

2. After 2, most N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B1,D10,11,13) insert 1 line [1126\*]: "All of you sages must consent to this."

3. This verse is omitted by most N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D1-3,5,7,10-13), and M4 omits 3ab; it should therefore be regarded as suspect.

4. "in keeping with righteousness" *dharmasaṃhitam*: The translation follows the interpretation of Ct, who reads the compound adverbially. Cr, on the other hand, takes *saṃhita* in the sense of *sahita*, "accompanied by," and reads the compound as an adjective modifying an unexpressed noun meaning "speech" (*vacanam*), that is, *dharmasaṃhitam vacanam ūcuḥ*, "they spoke words that were expressive of righteousness."

In place of cd, most N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13) offer a somewhat more lucid variant: "having heard Viśvāmitra's speech, all the great seers consulted with one another, overcome with fear of Viśvāmitra."

5. The somewhat conventionalized nature of the term *dharmasaṃhitam* in the preceding verse can be deduced by the fact that the speech of the sages is governed not so much by respect for law, tradition, or propriety—in short, for *dharma*—as by their terror of arousing Viśvāmitra's wrath. The northern manuscripts make this point explicit. See above note on verse 4.

N (Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13) substitutes the following line [1129\*] for 5cd. These same manuscripts also read *pāda* ab somewhat differently: "This ascetic seer is extremely irritable. Mere mortals like us cannot contend with him."

8. 8ab is omitted by most N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D1-3,5,7,10-13) and M4. This makes its inclusion in the critical text questionable, especially as it is not necessary to the context. Most of these same manuscripts (with the exception of D1-3,5,7,12) read *adhvaryuḥ* for *yājakaḥ*, "principal officiant," in *pāda* c.

9. "according to the rules and ritual injunctions" *yathākalpam yathāvidhi*: That is, those injunctions found in the *kalpasūtra* and rules of the *vedas*. See note to 1.13.3.

20-21. "Seven Seers" *saptarṣīn*: See note on 1.13.21. Gorresio (pt. 1, translation; p. 446 note 203) notes Schlegel's opinion that these were constellations unknown to the Aryans as long as they were restricted to the Gangetic plain, but which became known to them once they began to colonize the south. See Bhandare 1920, p. 160, and Peterson 1879, p. 39.

22. "without an Indra" *anindrakaḥ*: The word can be taken to mean that the existing world will be without an Indra. In other words, Viśvāmitra is proposing to destroy Indra. Cg, however, says that this is not a suitable explanation. Another way of understanding *anindrakaḥ* is that the new world that Viśvāmitra intends to create will have no Indra. Ct and Cg agree with the latter interpretation, but they

understand it to mean that Triśaṅku will be the ruler of the new world in place of Indra. See Peterson 1879, p. 39, and Bhandare 1920, p. 160. Compare the northern reading (1134\*.3), where the whole issue is avoided.

29. N manuscripts Ñ,V,B,D10,13 substitute 8 lines [1140\*] for verses 29-33. Note that at 1140\*.1, the gods' fear, like that of the sages, motivates their consent.

30-31. "constellations" *nakṣatrāṇi*: We construe the term with *pādas* c and d of verse 30. The division of the *śloka*s should be somewhat different, as 30cd and 31ab, it seems, should be read together. See GPP 1.60.3.

"outside the circuit of the sun" *vaiśvānarapathād bahiḥ*: The idea is that they will not be in the true zodiac.

## Sarga 60

Variants of the Śunaḥśepa episode are found at *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7.13-18 and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 9.7. Mention is made of him at *MBh* 13.3.6. See crit. notes, p. 455, for additional references.

2. "here in the southern region" *dakṣiṇām . . . diśam*: Viśvāmitra feels that because the Triśaṅku affair and its consequent disruption of his austerities took place in the south, that region is compromised as a location for further asceticism.

3. Puṣkara: According to the crit. notes, p. 455, Puṣkara is "a sacred place near Ajmer in Rājasthan." Law 1954, p. 41, says that according to the *Devīpurāṇa*, Puṣkara is one of the nine sacred forests. The commentators take Puṣkara to be a *tīrtha* on the banks of Puṣkara, which (according to Cg, Cr) is in the west and has extensive penance groves. See Bhandare 1920, p. 161, who notes that the plural is probably used to show that there were many small *tīrthas* called Puṣkara.

"sparsely peopled" *viśālāyām*: the word normally means "wide, broad." Here the translation follows Cm's gloss *asambādhāyām*, "uncrowded." Bhandare 1920, p. 161, takes *viśālā* as the name of a river, distinct from the city of the same name; cf. 1.44.8.

6. "priest" *vipraḥ*: Although this usually means "brahman," here the commentators agree in taking it to refer to the king's *purohita*, "household priest."

10-11. Ṛcika is a Bhārgava brahman known to the *MBh* (3.115). He is said to marry Satyavatī, and is the father of Jamadagni. Thus, according to the *MBh* tradition, at least, he is Viśvāmitra's brother-in-law; see 1.74.21.

Bhṛgutunda: This literally means "Bhṛgu's belly" or "Bhṛgu's navel." *Tunda* is marked as a doubtful reading in the text; the most common variant is *bhṛgutūṅga*. The commentators agree that this is a place, but they interpret it somewhat differently. According to Ct, it refers to the specific peak of a mountain called Bhṛgutūṅga. Cr, on the other hand, thinks that is a "place associated with Bhṛgu." Cg, who has the same reading as the critical text, understands, "on the inside—the belly (*tunda*)—of the slope of Bhṛgu's mountain."

The influence of the Bhārgava clan and the proliferation of its legends are far greater in the *MBh* than in the *Rām*. For a discussion of the references to Bhārgavas in the *Rām* and their significance, see Sukthankar 1944, Goldman 1976 and 1977, and Sutherland 1979. See note on 1.69.24. It is particularly noteworthy that in the *Rām* version of this legend, Śunaḥśepa is the son of a Bhārgava.

13. For 13, Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13 read 5 lines [1145\*]. Note that the vocative *bhārgava*



is replaced by *kāśyapa*. Does this suggest that Ṛcika was considered to be a Kāśyapa rather than a Bhārgava by the transmitters of N? Not only do the N manuscripts omit the word Bhārgava, they also lack the reference to Bhṛgutunda. The *MBh* knows both Ṛcika and Śunaḥśepa as Bhārgavas. Cf. 1147\*, where again the N manuscripts read Kāśyapa for Bhārgava. It is likely that this discrepancy reflects certain aspects of the historical relation of the two texts, especially those centered around the Bhārgava and Kāśyapa families.

16. After 16, Ś, Ñ, V, B, D (except 4, 9), T1, 2, G4, M4 insert the following line [1147\*], which construes with verse 17: "Holy Kāśyapa said that an eldest son may not be sold."

17. After 17, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S (except M4) insert the following line [1148\*]: "Therefore I will not give you my youngest son, your majesty."

## Sarga 61

2. "splendid" *śreṣṭham*: This is marked as a doubtful reading in the crit. ed. The most popular variant is, strangely enough, the contextually meaningless *jyeṣṭham*, "eldest," which is read by no fewer than sixteen manuscripts.

After 2, Dt, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, S (except M4) insert the following line [1153\*; GPP 1.62.3ab; VSP 1.62.2ef]: "In great distress (he saw) his maternal uncle engaged in austerities with the seers."

4. "nor kinsmen anywhere on either side" *jñātayo bāndhavāḥ kutaḥ*: *Jñāti* refers to a paternal relation and *bāndhava* to a maternal kinsman. Viśvāmitra is actually a maternal uncle of Śunaḥśepa, since his sister, Satyavatī, is married to Ṛcika.

5-6. "helper" *bhāvanah*: Literally, "creator," but here the word *bhāvana* has been translated following Cr's gloss, which reads, "you who are the subject of everyone's recollection in times of distress." Cg and Cm read *bhāvana* to mean, "bringer of well-being," whereas Ct understands, "the means to the accomplishment of all desires for those who come seeking refuge." Ck, staying closest, perhaps, to the root meaning of this somewhat obscure term, says, "A *bhāvana* is something that causes something to exist (*bhāvayatīti bhāvanah*); that is to say, the means to the accomplishment of anything."

Ñ, V, B1, 2 (3 reads in margin), D10, 11, 13, M4 omit 5ab, and the line should probably be omitted by the critical text.

9. "at the cost of your lives" *jīvitamātreṇa*: This means literally "to the extent of your lives." The N manuscripts read *jīvitadānena*, "by giving your own lives," which makes explicit the intent of the critical reading. See Peterson 1879, p. 40, who reads, "his life alone."

12. Madhuṣyanda: The syllable *ṣya* is marked as doubtful. The variant readings here consist only of Madhucchanda, Madhusyanda, and the hypermetric Madhusyandana. The name Madhuṣpanda found at 1.56.3 is attested by no manuscripts.

13. "like the eating of dog's flesh" *śvamāṃsam iva bhojane*: The construction is grammatically awkward. In N's variant, *śvamāṃsasyeva bhakṣaṇam* (1158\*), the grammar is unexceptionable. The N manuscripts also read *śva-*, "one's own," for *śva-*, "dogs'," that is, "like eating one's own flesh." We regard this as a distinctly inferior reading from the standpoint of the sense of the passage, although the grammar,

as noted, is superior. A passage like this seems to suggest the priority of the S reading. Compare Peterson 1879, p. 41, who prefers *sva*, with Bhandare 1920, p. 162, who reads *sva*, but prefers *śva*. Cr explains that the idea is "passing up good food to eat dogs' flesh."

Northern manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13) substitute the following line [1158\*] for 13cd: "Blessed sir, such an action on your part would be like eating your own flesh!"

18. Viṣṇu is the presiding deity (*devatā*) of the sacrificial post. See crit. notes, p. 455.

"with sacred speech" *vāgbhiḥ*: This refers to mantras, or sacred formulae, addressed to Agni, the god of fire. Cg explains, "facing the fire praise Indra and Viṣṇu."

22. "carefully" *atandritaḥ*: The adjective suggests that the king is taking no chances of a repetition of the loss of his victim.

24. "Indra's younger brother" *indrānujam*: Viṣṇu is so called because, in his incarnation as the Dwarf (*Vāmanāvatāra*), he is the son of Aditi, whereas Indra is traditionally regarded as her firstborn. See note on 1.28.7. This relationship is an old one, known from the earliest literature. See *RV* 1.155.2; 4.18.11; 6.20.2; 8.12.27, etc.

25. "secret hymn of praise" *rahasyastuti*—: The intent of *rahasya*, "secret," in his verse is unclear. The commentators do little to illuminate the usage, providing only the gloss, "the secret hymn of praise as taught by Viśvāmitra." The apparent possibilities are: 1. that the Gāthā was secret, that is, unknown to other people; 2. that it was taught in secret by Viśvāmitra; or 3. that it was recited in secret. Perhaps, in the context of the first possibility, the point may be that the Gāthās were non-vedic hymns esoteric in either meaning or language. See Bhandare 1920, p. 163, who says, "i.e., the Gāthā is 'secret' because it was not known to others." Note that the N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13) and M4 replace the entire *pāda* with "he (Indra) gave (him) what he desired," whereas Ś,D1-3,5,7,12 omit the word *rahasya*.

## Sarga 62

For *sarga* 62, Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13,M4 substitute a chapter of 66 lines [1173\*].

1. "had bathed upon completion of his vow" *vratsnātam*: Here Cg,Ct, and Cm have been followed.

2. "seer" *ṛṣiḥ*: According to the vulgate commentators, the use of this term without the prefixion of *rājan*, "royal" (cf. 1.56.5), means that Viśvāmitra has ceased to be a kshatriya. According to Bhandare 1920, p. 164, "he has ceased to be a Kshatriya, without becoming a Brāhmaṇa."

3. Viśvāmitra's goal is to become a *brahmarṣi*, "brahman-sage," and not a mere *ṛṣi*; therefore he is disappointed and undertakes further austerities.

4. For the story of Menakā and Viśvāmitra as told in the *MBh*, see 1.65-66. The story there differs significantly from our episode.

7. Verse 7 is known only to S, which makes it a suspect reading. Here is another case in which the crit. ed. has taken a passage as a complete unit with no apparent regard for the possibility of interpolations within that passage. Cf. the notes on 1.26.3-4ab and 1.28.9; also cf. 1.26.13, 17ab.



9. "ashamed" *savriḍa iva*: The force of the *iva* is not wholly clear. We have followed Cg in taking it as a pleonasm (*vākyālaṃkāra*). Cr thinks that it should have the force of the emphatic particle *eva*, so that the phrase could be translated as "deeply ashamed."

14. "Determined to succeed" *jetukāmaḥ*: This literally means "desiring to conquer." The object is interpreted variously by the commentators. According to Cr and Ct, he wishes to overcome his *kāma*, "lust," but Cg understands more generally that he wants to overcome his organs of sense.

"supreme resolution" *naiṣṭhikīm buddhim*: *Naiṣṭhikī* (*naiṣṭhika* -m, n) is understood in this context as "highest or supreme," and is a derivative adjective from *niṣṭhā*, "position, condition, or state." Ct understands, probably correctly, "a very firm decision to practice chastity." Cr glosses *naiṣṭhika* as "exceedingly firm," and Cg and Cm understand a decision that is effective "until the end of his vow." See Bhandare 1920, p. 166, who translates, "setting about with a determination to accomplish his object (of becoming a *brahmarṣi*)."

Kauṣikī: Cf. *MBh* 1.65.30.

16. "great seer" *maharṣi*—: Cf. verse 2 above and 1.56.5.

18. "preeminence among seers" *ṛṣimukhyatvam*: Compare with this the northern reading found at 1173\*.46 of *ṛṣimukhyānām*, "(greatness) among the preeminent seers."

20. The sequence of the clauses seems to be reversed. One expects, "if I had conquered my senses, then you would have said . . ." Compare the northern reading (1173\*.49-50), where this is the case. Evidently Brahmā is the sole judge of the sage's level of spiritual advancement.

Some manuscripts, including the vulgate (only Ct), read *nāhā*, "does not say," rather than *āhā*, "says." This has led to some confusion. Bhandare 1920, p. 165, and Peterson 1879, p. 41, both understand the negative as ironic, but such irony would be ridiculous. Ct reads *yadi*, "if," as *yataḥ*, "since," that is, "since you did not say . . . then I am . . ."

23. "five fires" *pañcatapāḥ*: See note on 1.41.12.

## Sarga 63

2. "dismayed" *vriḍitā*: Although the literal meaning is "ashamed," Cg explains that it was "shame caused by these words (that bade her undertake) an impossible task."

5. "cuckoo" *kokilaḥ*: The song of the Indian cuckoo or koil is traditionally thought to arouse the erotic and romantic sensibilities of those who hear it.

"when spring has come and trees are at their loveliest" *mādhava ruciradrume*: The translation follows Cg, who understands this phrase as a locative absolute.

6. "beautiful" *bahugunam*: Literally, it means "having many excellent qualities"; Cg, however, who understands *rūpam*, "form," in the sense of "beauty," glosses the term as an adjective in the sense of "having many virtues that take the form of erotic gestures."

7. "set out to seduce" *lobhāyām āsa*: For similar inceptive/imperfective uses of the perfect, see 1.17.2; 1.23.4.

8. "sweetly" *valgu*: Here *valgu* is taken adverbially, against the commentators, who construe it with *svanam*, "sound." See Bhandare 1920, p. 165.

9. "her": Ct,Cr,Cm,Cg, and Ck agree that here it is Rambhā's singing and not the bird's.

"suspicion" *saṃdeham āgataḥ*: This is to say that the sage doubted whether she had come by chance or had been sent by Indra (so Ct,Cg).

12. "mighty brahman" *brāhmaṇaḥ sumahātejāḥ*: According to Ck (quoted by Ct and Cg), the reference is to Vasiṣṭha.

14. Indra is not actually named, but he is, of course, the referent of the pronoun *sah*.

15. "senses yet unmastered" *indriyair ajitaiḥ*: This might optionally be construed as a cause for the loss of Viśvāmitra's ascetic power, that is, he lost his ascetic's power through anger *and* unconquered libido. Cf. 1181\*.25-26.

After verse 15, Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4) insert the following 11 lines [1183\*; GPP 1.64.17-20]. (For other manuscripts' treatment of the passage see crit. app. 1183\*. Lines 1 and 11 are omitted by most manuscripts.) "[Upon seeing Rambhā, cursed and turned to stone, he began to brood over the waste of his austerities (1).] 'I will not be moved to anger, nor will I say anything at all. Perhaps I will not even breathe for hundreds of years. I will conquer my senses and wither my body. Until I have gained brahmanhood through my austerities, I shall remain motionless for endless years, neither breathing nor eating. For while I am meditating my limbs will suffer no decay.' In this manner that bull among sages undertook a vow, unequalled in the world, of initiation for one thousand years,\* delight of the Raghus. [He became as a post, standing unsupported, free from envy and anger (11).]"

\*Cg: promise with regard to initiation; Bhandare: made a promise and undertook initiation.

## Sarga 64

3. "like a piece of wood" *kāṣṭhabhūtam*: In what sense has Viśvāmitra "become a piece of wood?" Bhandare 1920, p. 166, says that this "signifies that all the fat and flesh is gone from his body." Cr understands, "enduring offenses, etc.," and Cg and Cm read, "standing like a log."

After verse 3, Ś,Dt,1-9,11,12,14,S (except M4), Cm,Cg,Ck,Ct insert 1185\*(GPP 1.65.4-9b; VSP 1.65.5-9). In this passage, after one thousand years, his vow completed, Viśvāmitra desires to eat some rice. Indra appears in the guise of a brahman and begs it from him. Viśvāmitra gives the rice to Indra without a word and then holds his breath for one thousand years, after which smoke comes from his head and the three worlds become terrified.

Compare this with the *MBh* passage in which Viśvāmitra keeps a plate of rice hot on his head for one thousand years and is then granted brahmanhood by Brahmā who is testing him (*MBh* 5.104.8-19).

4. "His splendor stupefied . . . His ascetic power dimmed their innate luster" *mohitās tejasā . . . tapasā mandaraśmayah*: The commentators read this somewhat differently, construing *tapasā* and *tejasā* together so that the two mean, in the words of Cg (whose reading is slightly different), "by the fire consisting of his asceticism."



7. Ñ,V1-3,B1,2,M4 omit this verse, and as such, it should probably be omitted from the critical text or considered a doubtful reading.

After 7, Ś,V4,Dt,1-9,11,12,14,S (except M4) and all commentators insert the following 2 lines [1188\*; GPP 1.65.15]: “Brahmā, we know of no alternative (so commentators for *na pratijānīmaḥ*). People are becoming atheists. The inhabitants of the three worlds, their minds agitated, stand as though stupefied.” Here following Cr and Ct, but compare Bhandare 1920, p. 166, who follows Carey and Marshman, “We cannot vouch that mankind will not become atheist.”

After 1188\* Dt,6,8,14,T,G4,M3 continue with the following line [1189\*]: “The sun itself is lusterless on account of that seer’s power.”

9. “with the fire that ends the world” *kālāgninā*: See note on 1.1.17.

“Grant him whatever he wants, even the kingdom of the gods.” Ct offers as an alternative interpretation given by others, “If what he wants is not given, then he will want the kingship of the gods. Since he has set his mind on brahmanhood, give him that.”

11. See 1.62.18.

12. For 12-17 Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13,M4(12-14) substitute 17 lines [1190\*], in which the list of boons given to Viśvāmitra by Brahmā is greatly expanded.

14. “the sacred syllables ‘om’ and ‘vaṣaṭ’ and the *vedas*” *omkāro . . . vaṣaṭkāro vedāś ca*: The uttering of the sacred syllable “om” indicates “the means of knowing Brahma,” while the uttering of the syllable “vaṣaṭ” usually indicates the conclusion of the sacrifice (see note on 1.52.14). The *vedas*, according to Ct, refers in this verse to the main and subsidiary traditions (*vedāṅgas*, see note on 1.1.13). All three are requisite of a “true” brahman. See Bhandare 1920, p. 167, and crit. notes, p. 456. Compare also the northern variant, 1190\*.7.

15. “the *vedas* of the kshatriyas” *kṣatrayeda*—: Ct and Cr say that this is the *dhanurveda* or science of arms, whereas Cg glosses it as the *Atharvaveda*, which has as its function “prosperity, peace, and the like.” The verse reminds us of Viśvāmitra’s original defeat at the hands of Vasiṣṭha. Viśvāmitra’s final and most coveted victory is not his attainment of brahmanhood, but his old enemy’s recognition of his elevated status. See Bhandare 1920, p. 167.

26. “forever” *nityam*: Optionally this could construe distributively with austerity, might, and virtues.

## Sarga 65

8. Nimi is the legendary founder of Janaka’s lineage.

“as a trust” *nyāsaḥ*: Ct and Cr are unhappy with the reading *nyāsaḥ* and raise the objection that the manner in which Janaka deals with the bow (that is, allowing it to be broken) would violate the trust. To reconcile their objections, these commentators devise some ingenious etymologies for the word *nyāsa*. See Bhandare 1920, p. 168.

Compare this version of the bow’s history with those given at 1.30.7-12, 1.74.1-21, and 2.110.38.

9. The story of Dakṣa’s sacrifice has many versions in the epic and purāṇic literature. Generally, the story tells how Dakṣa, the mind-born son of Brahmā, performs a sacrifice to which all the gods except Śiva, his own son-in-law, are invited.

Śiva, who either possesses or makes a bow, is displeased at being left out and begins to destroy the sacrifice and all those connected with it. In order to appease him, Brahmā approaches and begs him to desist, offering him a share of the sacrificial offerings. Cf. *MBh* 12.274.

11. Bhava is a common epithet of Śiva.

For 11-27 N manuscripts (Ñ,V,B,10,11,13) and M4 substitute 31 lines [1212\*].

13. An isolated yet fascinating insert of 5 lines [1208\*] follows 13ab in D1 (a western manuscript). Here Janaka, upon seeing the *apsaras* Menakā flying through the air, spills his semen. From this spilled seed Sītā is born.

14. "plowing a field" *ksetram śodhayatā*: Literally, "cleaning or purifying a field." According to the commentators and to tradition, Janaka was plowing the field for the laying of the fire of the sacrifice. Cr understands the phrase to refer specifically to the removal of the grass, etc., from a field.

Sītā literally means "furrow."

14 ab and possibly 14c and 15b, although not marked as such by the crit. ed., must be considered suspect. They are, however, vastly popular and well known to the tradition, which perhaps accounts for their inclusion in the text. Compare *MBh* 3.258.9, where the account of Sītā's birth is rather different.

18. "strength" *vīryam*: According to Cr, this "strength" is the price one must pay for Janaka's daughter. Normally the bride-price is money, *dhanaśulka*. See Bhandare 1920, p. 168. Cg and Ct read *vīryam* as a reference to the bow, that is, "eager to test the strength of the bow." Cf 1.30.10-11.

21. "strength . . . had been called into question" *vīryasaṁdeham āgatāḥ*: According to Ct they "became subject to doubt by others with respect to the question of strength with reference to the lifting of the bow," whereas Cg thinks the phrase suggests "a slackening of (their) strength." Bhandare 1920, p. 169, translates the compound as "having come to doubt their own strength," following Cr, or even more preferable in his opinion, "the doubtfulness of whose strength was proved." Compare with this the northern variant 1212\*.16-20.

23. "resources" *sāadhanāni*: This means literally "means, expedients." Bhandare 1920, p. 169, translates it as "army."

25. "strength . . . had been called into question" *vīryasaṁdigdhāḥ*: See note on verse 21 above.

## Sarga 66

The story of the breaking of the bow and Sītā's marriage to Rāma is recounted by Sītā to Anasūyā in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (2.110.26-52). See Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa* for a discussion of the textual relationship between the two passages.

4. "tall and brawny" *vyāyatānām mahātmanām*: The commentators are in agreement about the word *vyāyata* and understand it to mean "tall." Following Ct's interpretation, "whose bodies were sturdy and well nourished" (*hṛṣṭapuṣṭasārīrāḥ*), *mahātman* has been understood as a physical description, against Cr, who takes it to mean, "whose efforts are praiseworthy." Bhandare 1920, p. 169, translates, "broad bodied" and "robust."

6. "If you wish it, it shall be seen." *darśanīyaṁ yadicchasi*: According to the vulgate commentators, *darśanīya* can be read either as descriptive, or as a predicative ad-



jective. Cr and Ct interpret it as the latter, that is, "if you wish (it to be seen—Ct) then show it (to Rāghava—Cr)," whereas Cg reads it as the former, that is, "we have brought the bow you want to see."

14. Ct and Cr take both statements as questions, that is, "shall I?" This evidently is because of the *bādham*, "very well," of verse 15.

17. "bowstring" *maurvīm*: This is marked as a doubtful reading in the critical text.

20. "free from his anxiety" *vigatasādhvasaḥ*: The anxiety, according to the commentators, is that Rāma may fail and Sītā would therefore remain unmarried; or as expressed by Cg, that Janaka may not get Rāma as his son-in-law. See the northern reading, which replaces this with *vismayam āgataḥ*, "amazed."

22. "glory" *kīrtim*: The glory refers to the obtaining of an eligible husband. Cg supplies an entertaining analysis of the various "glories" the family members anticipate from the prospective bridegroom. Mothers, according to him, desire wealth, daughters want good looks, and the maternal relatives look for good family connections. Through the acquisition of these qualities in a bridegroom, the bride will obtain the glory desired by the family.

23. "strength . . . her only bride-price": See note on 1.65.18.

27. "when they had received their orders" *kṛtasāsanān*: Cg and Ct take *sāsana*, "order, instruction," in a restricted sense to mean a letter in which an auspicious message is given. See Bhandare 1920, p. 170.

## Sarga 67

4-5. "delight of his people" *janakaḥ*: The verses should be construed together (so Cg and Cr), but this results in the repetition of the word *janaka*. Cg says that the repetition is to prevent the reader from forgetting the referent, not a happy solution given the normal style of the epic. For the lack of a better alternative, Cr's interpretation has been hesitantly adopted in the translation. He ingeniously resolves the repetition by analyzing the second *janaka* as *janānām kaṃ sukham*, "the delight of his people." Cf. 1.51.10 above, where the repetition of the name Vasiṣṭha is similarly handled by taking one of the occurrences as a descriptive epithet.

7. "hostile" *vimukhīkṛtāḥ*: This means literally "with face averted," that is, adverse, opposed.

8. "your heroic son" *vīryaputrakaiḥ*: The plural is used for the singular (or dual; so Cr), to show deference, a usage not uncommon in Sanskrit, but rarely, if ever, found elsewhere in the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Cm remarks that since it was only one who won Sītā, the singular should be used, but that since Lakṣmaṇa, through his constant accompaniment of and loyal service to Rāma, thereby participates in this feat, the dual is appropriate. However, as he remarks, in spite of this the plural is used. He offers a sectarian interpretation to the effect that the hearing and internalization of the enormous affection (of Rāma) that is being continually sung throughout the world leads to the loss of a sense of distinction from him, and so what is done by one is done by all. Or, he suggests, the plural is expressive of respect for Rāma, who has performed so many superhuman deeds like the breaking of the bow, and so on. Compare 1.24.19, where the plural is used for the dual.

12. "you too shall obtain happiness on account of your two sons" *putrayor ubhayor eva prītiṃ tvam api lapsyate*: According to Cr and Cg, the pleasure is the result of the

marriage. This, however, does not agree with 1.68.9, where it is the strength of his two sons that brings joy to Daśaratha.

Note that Ś,V1,D2,3,5,7,12 omit 12ab.

## Sarga 68

2. “adequate guard” *suvihitāḥ*: Although this literally means “well-furnished,” Cr,Ct, and Cm, who gloss *suvihita* as *surakṣita*, “well-protected,” have been followed.

3. “palanquins and carriages” *yānayugyam*: The distinction most probably intended, as Bhandare 1920, p. 171, notes, is between conveyances that are carried by men and those that are drawn by animals. The commentators agree with this interpretation.

8. The northern manuscripts (Ñ,V1,2,4,B,D3,7,10,11,13) and M4 substitute 2 lines [1247\*] for 8c-f. This passage lacks the cumbersome repetition of the crit. ed.

9. See note on 1.67.12.

13. For 13c-14, Ñ,V,B,D3,7,10,11,13, and M4 substitute 3 lines [1251\*]. This northern reading, unlike the critical text, clearly identifies the two speakers, Daśaratha and Janaka.

14. This is a formula of politeness. Daśaratha means to say that if one is willing and gracious enough to give, that the matter is settled. In other words, one does not refuse a gift. Bhandare 1920, p. 171, notes that it is a donor that is difficult to find.

15. “he was moved to the highest wonder” *param viśmayam āgataḥ*: Cg and Ct say that Janaka’s wonder is caused by the humility of the great king, Daśaratha.

18. “gifted with insight” *tattvavit*: This is evidently a reference to Janaka’s legendary status as a sage-king. See Eggeling 1966, vol. 1, pp. xxxi, xliiff.; and *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 4.3.20; 6.2.1ff.; 6.3.1; 11.3.1.2; 11.4.3.20; 11.6.2.1ff.; 11.6.3.1, etc.

“after completing . . . the rites for his two daughters” *kriyā(h) . . . sūtābhyām kṛtvā*: Bhandare 1920, p. 172, understands *kṛtvā* in a causative sense, that is, “caused his two daughters . . . to perform.” Cg and Cr, on the other hand, think that this refers to the performance of the rites that accompany or precede the wedding.

## Sarga 69

See crit. notes, p. 456, for a brief discussion of Daśaratha’s genealogy.

2-3. “Surrounded by a lofty palisade” *vāryāphalakaparyantām*: These walls are, according to Cr and Ct, “suitable for turning back the onslaught of enemies (Cr)” and “repelling an opposing army (Ct).” Cg divides the compound somewhat differently and understands “spears (*śaktis*) set (lit. dug) in water (*vāri*) for the purpose of protection.” See Bhandare 1920, p. 172.

*Saṃkāśyā* has been identified with modern Sankisa, a village in Uttar Pradesh. In the Pāli texts it is known as Saṃkassa. See Law 1954, p. 120. The critical edition here reads the name in the feminine, whereas at 1.70.16 the name is in the masculine.

*Puṣpaka* is the flying chariot that Rāvaṇa took from his half brother Kubera, the lord of wealth. After Rāvaṇa’s defeat, it is confiscated for Rāma’s use. For Rāvaṇa’s



seizure of the Puṣpaka, see 7.15.29-31, and for Rāma's receiving it from Vibhīṣana, see 6.109.9-26.

Ikṣumatī is the name of a river known in more recent times as the Kālī or the Kālīnadī. It is a tributary of the Ganges and the confluence of the two occurs just above Kanyākubja.

4. "protector of my sacrifice" *yajñagoptā*: The commentators say that this is so because Kuśadhvaja supplies the sacrificial requisites from Sāṃkāśyā.

5-6. "like Viṣṇu at the behest of Indra" *viṣṇum indrājñayā yathā*: The simile is based on the tradition that Viṣṇu is *upendra*, "Indra's younger brother." See notes on 1.28.7 and 1.61.24.

15. lineage: The word lineage (*vaṃśa*) must be supplied as the object of *vakṣyati*, "he will recite." This is a formality of the marriage ceremony.

17. "his origins are unknowable" *avyaktaprabhavaḥ*: This reading follows the gloss of Cr and Cg, "of undetermined origin." See Bhandare 1920, p. 173. Ct, on the other hand, understands, "sprung from Brahmā," whereas Cm says that it means that "which is beyond the scope of direct perception and other means of knowledge; that is, Viṣṇu."

18. Vaivasvata, the son of Vivasvat—the sun god—is an epithet of Yama, the god of death.

For 18ab, Ñ,V,B1,3,4,D10,11,12 substitute the following line [1266\*]: "Mārīca's son was Aṅgiras and his (Aṅgiras') son was Pracetas."

19. Southern manuscripts (Dt,4,6,8,14,S) and B2 add 1 line [1267\*] after 19c, in which Kukṣi is added as the son of Ikṣvāku and the father of Vikukṣi.

24. Following 24, S manuscripts (Dt,1 [continues from 1273\*],4,6,8,9,14,S) insert 17 lines [1274\*] that contain the interpolated story of Asita. Asita is conquered and deposed by the Haihayas (Haiheyas) and travels with his two wives to the Himalayas. There he dies, leaving both his wives pregnant. One wife gives the other poison (*gara*) in order to destroy her fetus. The Bhārgava sage Cyavana intervenes and grants the poisoned wife a boon that she will have an excellent and mighty son, despite the fact that she has swallowed poison. Her son will be known as Sa-gara (literally "with poison"). As mentioned earlier (see note on 1.60.10-11), the *Rām* has not, as a whole, been subjected to the Bhārgava influence that is seen in the *MBh*. Only the first and last books have any significant Bhārgava legends, and even here they are few in comparison to the Bhṛguid episodes of the *MBh*. The Bhārgava influence in the *Rām* seems to be greater in S. The story has a variant (1272\*—9 lines) in some N manuscripts (V3,4,B2,D11). In this story there is only one wife, and upon her defeated husband's demise, she resolves to kill herself. But the yet unborn child implores her not to, since he is to be a universal monarch.

After 24, all manuscripts except D2,5,12,13 insert 1277\*.1, and all manuscripts except Ñ,V1,2,B,D1,2,3,4,7,9,11,12,13 read 1277\*.2: "The queen, who was afflicted with grief for her husband, had conceived a son by him (1). She was given poison by her co-wife, who wanted her to lose the fetus (2)." See note on verse 25 below.

25. This is an explanation of Sagara's name, but as it stands in the crit. ed. it appears awkward, and the verse is poorly set in context. On the basis of the textual evidence, it seems that 1277\*.1 (and perhaps 1277\*.2) should be admitted to the critical text. This would create at least as great a discontinuity as already exists in the pattern of the telling of the genealogy. But the interruption is already in the critical text and as it stands, the reference to poison is obscure. Of the two choices, given the manuscript evidence, it would seem preferable to include 1277\*.1.

27. Kalmāṣapāda: According to the *MBh* 1.166, Kalmāṣapāda refused to allow precedence to the eldest son of Vasiṣṭha, Śakti, when meeting him on a forest path, and for his rudeness and violence, Śakti cursed him to become a man-eating *rākṣasa*. According to Ct, Vasiṣṭha cursed Kalmāṣapāda. See too Bhandare 1920, p. 174.

31-32. "pure in lineage from their very beginning" *ādivaṃsaviśuddhānām*: The translation follows Cg and Ct, but compare Cr, who understands the compound to mean that the solar race is senior to the lunar line.

"worthy . . . equally worthy" *sadṛśābhyām* . . . *sadṛśe*: Normally the adjective means "similar," but not infrequently, in contexts of social class and marriageability, it has the sense of "equal in station." See Bhandare 1920, p. 174.

## Sarga 70

2. "the scion of a noble line" *kulajātena*: The translation follows Ct and Cr, who gloss *sukulena*, "of good family." Cf. 1.52.19, where the word *kulaja* is used to refer to thoroughbred horses.

4. "Mithi's son was Janaka" *janako mithiputrakah*: This is marked as a doubtful reading in the critical text. Variant readings include *babhūvānupamadyutiḥ*, "he was of unequalled splendor" (most N manuscripts); *janito nemiparvate*, "he was born on Mt. Nemi" (W and NW manuscripts); *janito nimiputrakah*, "a son of Nimi's was born" (D14,T1,G,M1,2); and *mithilā yena nirmitā*, "by whom Mithilā was built" (T2,M3). Note that N manuscripts (Ś,Ñ,V,B,D10,11,13) and M4 replace the somewhat awkward and possibly redundant *prathama* of *pāda* c with *tasyāpi*. D1,2,9,T2,M3 read in place of *prathama mites tu*.

14. "leaving Kuśadhvaṣa in my care" *kuśadhvaṣam samāveśya bhāraṃ mayi*: Cr and Ck (Cm and Ct optionally) consider the responsibility, *bhāra*, to be twofold: the kingdom and Kuśadhvaṣa. The other reading of Cm and Ct admits responsibility only in respect to Kuśadhvaṣa.

15. "burden" *dhuram*: Ct understands the term to refer specifically to the kingdom, as opposed to the burden of caring for his brother as in 14.

16. Sāṃkāśya: see note on 1.69.3. The textual evidence here strongly supports the masculine reading of the name.

20-22. "I say it three times" *trir vadāmi*: This is part of the *vāgdāna* or *vāgniścaya*, "verbal wedding agreement," that occurs during the wedding ceremony and serves to solemnize the arrangement between the two kings. See Kane 1962-1975, vol. 11, p. 534, and *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* 1.6.5-6. One is reminded of Lewis Carroll's "What I tell you three times must be true."

23. "tonsure ceremony" *godānam*: This ceremony is also called *keśānta*, "hair-ends." This *samśkāra* rite is usually prescribed in the sixteenth year, the traditional age of majority, or at the time of marriage. It consists of shaving the hair of all parts of the body. See Kane 1962-1975, vol. 11, pp. 402-405; Bhandare 1920, p. 174; and note on 1.17.12.

"ancestor worship" *pitṛkāryam*: This refers to the *nāndīśrāddha* or *nāndimukhaśrāddha*, "the *śrāddha* rites for the ancestors (manes)." This *śrāddha* is a prerequisite to any festive occasion, such as a marriage. See Bhandare 1920, p. 147.

24. Maghā . . . Uttara Phalguni: Maghā and Uttara Phalguni are the names of the tenth and twelfth lunar mansions, respectively. These are traditionally auspicious times for weddings. See *RV* 10.85.13 (Aghā = Maghā) and *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*



3.1-2. For a discussion of traditional concepts of choosing an auspicious marriage date, see Kane 1962-1975, vol. 11, pp. 511-15, and Bhandare 1920, p. 175. See note on 1.71.12.

## Sarga 71

3. The syntax of this verse is awkward, making it difficult to construe. The awkwardness stems particularly from the word *Sītā* (feminine nominative singular). Some manuscripts (G2,M1,Ct—variant reading) change the nominative singular to the instrumental *sītayā* so that it forms a parallel construction with *ūrmilayā*. The northern reading, which simplifies the construction, also has this modification (1292\*.4). The translation has followed Ct's gloss of the verse, but Cg offers a plausible alternative by supplying the word *sadṛśī*, which construes with *Sītā*. With his suggestion we could construe as follows: "Since *Sītā* and *Ūrmilā* are suitable for *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa*, the relation is suitable."

7. "guardians of the world" *lokapāla*—: There are traditionally said to be eight "world-protectors," one for each of the cardinal and intermediary directions. *Indra* is the lord of the east, *Yama* the lord of the south, *Kubera* the lord of the north, and *Varuṇa* the lord of the west. *Agni* is said to be lord of the southeast, *Sūrya* (the sun) lord of the southwest, *Vāyu* (the wind) lord of the northwest, and *Soma* lord of the northeast. See 1295\*.3 and note on 1.14.4; cf. 1.39.12.

10. "inseparable" *sahitau*: The vulgate commentators gloss *sahita* in this verse as *sadā saha carau*, "always together." The northern manuscripts and M4 read the line somewhat differently and avoid the use of *sahita* altogether: *dadāni (\*āmi) bharatā-yaikāṃ śatrughnāya tathāparām*, "I shall give one to *Bharata* and the other to *Śatrughna*."

12. See note on 70.24. The temporal sequence is *Maghā*, *Pūrva Phalguni*, and *Uttara Phalguni*. *Bhaga* is considered by some, according to Ct (on 70.24), to be the presiding deity (that is, the *Prajāpati*) of *Pūrva Phalguni*, and *Aryamān* that of *Uttara Phalguni*. For Ct this creates a textual problem, since here *Bhaga* is said to be the *Prajāpati* of *Uttara Phalguni*. In order to explain away this difficulty, he interprets the *uttare* of 70.24 as *śreṣṭhe*, "best." As pointed out by Bhandare 1920, p. 175, Ct's concern is unnecessary, since tradition confuses the two *Prajāpatis* and assigns *Bhaga* to *Uttara Phalguni* and *Aryamān* to *Pūrva Phalguni*. Ct apparently contradicts himself. In his commentary here we read that, in spite of the earlier interpretation, *uttare* should be understood as the second day of *Phalguni*. Bhandare, in his notes on this verse (p. 175), appears only to take cognizance of the discussion at 70.24, since he tells us that in this verse Ct takes *Phalguni* to be *Pūrva Phalguni*. This is clearly not the case. Cr is the only commentator who attempts to clarify the issue, saying, "where *Bhaga* and *Aryamān* are both *Prajāpatis*. . . ." *Bhaga* is primarily a southern reading.

The word *Prajāpati* is taken by Ck,Ct, and Cg (Ct quotes Ck) as a pun on the procreative function of marriage.

Cg provides a hair-splitting discussion of the propriety of the simultaneous marriage of the brothers—in particular of *Śatrughna* and *Lakṣmaṇa* (as sons of the same mother)—suggesting that at least one part of the commentarial tradition was ill at ease with multiple marriages on the same day.

14. "highest duty" *paro dharmah*: The "highest duty" is the successful marriage of his daughters.

15. The syntax of *pādas* a and b is awkward. The translation follows Cr. Cg and Ct, however, interpret the line somewhat differently by implying mutual benefit, that is, "As this city is Daśaratha's, so Ayodhyā is mine." Compare with this the northern reading at 1302\*, where Janaka offers Daśaratha all his wordly goods, and at 1303\*, where Daśaratha responds in a similar manner.

20. "tonsure ceremony" *godāna*: See note on 1.70.23.

"as befitted the occasion" *kālyam*: We have followed the commentators, who read *kālyam* as *kālakartavyam*, "appropriate to the time." Bhandare 1920, p. 176, disagrees with the commentators and construes *kālyam* with *prabhāte . . . utthāya*, "having gotten up early in the morning." The northern manuscripts avoid the term, substituting for *pāda* c: "Fond of his sons, (he performed) for the sake of his sons. . . ."

24. "guardians of the world": See note 7 above.

## Sarga 72

1-2. Yudhājit: Yudhājit is Kaikeyī's brother and Bharata's maternal uncle.

According to Cg, the word *sākṣāt* in verse 2 indicates that Yudhājit, the son of the king of the Kaikeyas, has a different mother from Kaikeyī. But Cr merely regards it as emphatic.

8. "underwent the auspicious ceremony of the wedding thread" *kṛtakautukamaṅgalah*: The *kautuka* is a thread tied onto the wrist before marriage, and the *maṅgala* is the auspicious ceremony for tying it on. See Bhandare 1920, p. 177.

10. "for you to give away the brides" *dātāram*: Here the translation follows Cg's "you as bestower." Cr glosses as *kanyādānakartāram*, "making a gift of a daughter."

11. "your duty" *svadharmam*: Here his duty, as Cg notes, is that of one who has made a promise.

14. "entire ceremony of the wedding thread" *kṛtakautukasarvasvāh*: This is to say that they have performed all the preliminary rites. See note on 8 above. Optionally, the compound can be read as a *dvandva* compound in the sense of "the ceremony of the wedding thread and all the preliminary rites."

16. "the king's dwelling": The verse does not actually say what they enter. Cr, who is followed in the translation, supplies *janakagṛhe*, "Janaka's house."

After 16, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,T,G,M1,2,3 add 16 lines [1324\*; GPP 1.73.18-25] in which Vasiṣṭha, with Viśvāmitra and Śatānanda, prepare the altar with various items, and Janaka fetches Sītā. Cg goes on at some length in his commentary on 1324\*. 13-16 (GPP 1.73.24-25) concerning the marriage ceremony itself.

17. After 17, Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4) insert 6 lines [1327\*; GPP 1.73.27c-30b], in which Janaka goes on to say that Sītā will be a devoted wife and follow Rāma like a shadow. Then, to the inevitable accompaniment of the gods' drums and showers of heavenly blossoms, he gives away his daughter, sprinkling her with sanctified water.

18. Cg,Cm, and Ck all remark upon the seemingly strange circumstance of the marriage of Lakṣmaṇa taking place before that of his elder brother Bharata. They find no fault in this, however, since the two have different mothers.



23. "the king" *rājānam*: Ct and Cg understand, probably correctly, that the king in question is Janaka.

"in the prescribed fashion according to the ritual injunctions" *yathoktena* . . . *vidhipūrvakam*: Here *yathoktena* is understood as specified by the *śāstras*. See 1.12.4, where the term is used similarly.

26. "To music such as this" *tūryodghuṣṭaninādite*: The translation follows, for the most part, Ct's interpretation at 1.76.6, "resounding with the sound of musical instruments." See note on 1.76.6 and Bhandare 1920, p. 178.

## Sarga 73

2. "made ready to return" *jagāma*: Here the translation follows Ct's interpretation, *gantum udyato 'bhūt*. See 1.17.2, 1.23.4, and 1.63.7 for other examples of this use of the perfect.

3-4. "gave his daughters lavish gifts" *dadau kanyāadhanam bahu*: *Kanyāadhanam*, frequently referred to in the law texts as *strīdhana*, is a form of dowry.

"fine silk garments" *kṣaumakoṭyambarāṇi*: Cg reads the compound in three different ways. First he understands it as a *dvandva*, that is, "silks and tens of millions of (cotton) cloths." Second, he reads, "tens of millions of silk cloths." His final suggestion, which we have followed, is "excellent silk clothes." In this last interpretation, *koṭi*, normally "ten million," is understood to mean *utkrṣṭa*, "excellent."

5. "silver" *hiranyam*: See note on 1.36.18.

According to Cr, the genitives of *pādas* c and d are irregular and should be treated as accusatives. Cg, whose interpretation has influenced the translation, suggests that the word *śatam*, "hundred," be supplied to complete the meaning. See Bhandare 1920, p. 179.

12. "in the sky" *divyam*: This normally means "heavenly, divine." We follow the explanation of Ct and Cr, which better fits the context.

16-19. The syntax and semantics of verse 16 are awkward and make it difficult to construe. Technically *camūḥ*, "army," should be construed with *dadarśa*, "saw." But the army is *sammūḍha*, "as if stupefied" (verse 14), and *vicetanam*, "unconscious" (verse 15). The northern manuscripts (1346\*.7) resolve this by having the army regain consciousness (*labdhacetasaḥ*). However, as the crit. ed. stands, the unconscious army is the subject of the verb "to see." As this is clearly incongruous with the collective stupor already posited, the plural subject expressed in verse 19, Vasiṣṭha and the brahmans (*vasiṣṭhapramukhā viprāḥ*), has been represented by the pronoun "they."

Another textual difficulty of the critical text is that the intruder, Rāma Jāmadagnya, is not clearly identified until verses 21-22. The S manuscripts and Devanāgarī manuscripts following S insert the following line after verse 16 [1348\*], thereby avoiding this uncharacteristic suspension of the audience's knowledge: "(The king saw) the Bhārgava Jāmadagnya, the slaughterer of kings among kings." See Bhandare 1920, p. 179, who argues correctly that here *rājarāja* does not refer to Kubera. The northern manuscripts also identify the sage at this point in the text. Most N manuscripts and M4 substitute 7 lines [1394\*] for 17-19b. 1394\*.6 identifies the Bhārgava at his first appearance. Only Ś and the W and NW Devanāgarī manuscripts refrain from identifying the sage at this point.

For the text-historical importance of the encounter between the two Rāmas, see the Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa*. See also Sukthankar 1944, Goldman 1976, 1977, and 1981, and Gail 1977. For an interpolated version of the encounter of the two Rāma's in the *MBh*, see *MBh Āraṇyakaparvan*, App. I, No.14. This curious story, known to a little more than one-half of the manuscripts of the N recension of the *MBh*, is almost certainly drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The figure of the warrior-brahman is doubtless borrowed by the author of this late portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the *Mahābhārata*. See the Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa* and Sukthankar 1944, p. 295.

"a streak of lightning it seemed" *vidyudgaṇopamam*: The syllable *ga* is marked with a wavy line in the crit. ed., and a reasonable sampling of both N and S manuscripts have in its place the syllable *gu*. The reading of the critical text can only be translated as "like a mass or cluster of lightning," an extremely awkward image. The variant *vidyudgaṇopamam*, where *gaṇa* can be taken as "line, string, streak," seems far preferable, and we have emended the crit. ed. accordingly. Most N manuscripts (N2,V,B,D10,11,13,M4) avoid the problem, substituting the phrase *indrāyudhaprabham*, "like the weapon of Indra." See 1349\*.3. The word *gaṇa* is also often used in the specific sense of "bowstring," and could then give to the compound a sense of something like, "as though its bowstring were lightning." This, however, seems a forced and unnatural construction.

Kailāsa is the name of a Himalayan mountain peak, the home of Śiva, his wife Pārvatī, and Kubera, the lord of wealth.

Hara, destroyer of Tripura: Tripura is the "triple" city of the *asuras* that was built by Viśvakarman. See *MBh* 8.24.1-124.

21. Rāma! Rāma!: This refers to the Bhārgava Rāma.

## Sarga 74

1. "extraordinary might" *vīryam . . . adbhutam*: Ct,Cg, and Cm understand this to refer to Rāma Dāśarathi's feats prior to the bow incident, that is, the slaying of Tātakā, and the like.

2. Cf. 1.30.7ff., 1.65.9ff. This is the twin bow to that of Śiva. It was given to Viṣṇu, and was thought to be superior to Śiva's. See Bhandare 1920, p. 180.

7. Cf. *MBh* 3.117.14.

11. Viśvakarman is the architect of the gods. He designed and created the city of Tripura. See note to 1.73.16-19.

"indestructible" *dr̥dhe*: This literally means "firm," "fixed," or even "difficult to be strung." The translation follows Cr's interpretation, "without fear of destruction."

The divergent histories of the bow's transmission are curious and yet appear relevant to an analysis of the textual history of the various passages in which they occur. At 1.30.8-12, Viśvāmitra tells Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa that Janaka received the bow from all the gods as a reward for his sacrifice. At 1.65.8-13, on the other hand, Janaka himself says that Śiva left the bow in trust with his forebear, Devarāta. After destroying Dakṣa's sacrifice, Śiva was propitiated by the gods and gave the bow to them. The gods in turn gave it to Devarāta. At 1.74, Viśvakarman made two identical bows; one was used by Śiva to destroy Tripura. Viṣṇu and Śiva quarreled and fought. During the battle Viṣṇu unstrung Śiva's bow. Defeated, Śiva gave the bow to De



varāta. Finally, at 2.110, Sītā tells Anasūyā of her marriage. She says that Varuṇa presented her father with the bow. Cg and Cm rationalize that Varuṇa is, in this case, the representative of all the gods (see note on 1.76.1).

Each of the variants is well supported by manuscript evidence. The present episode (1.74-75) is evidently a late addition, drawing on the *MBh* for many of its references to the Bhārgava Rāma. Furthermore, it is clearly a Vaiṣṇava interpolation. The episode at 1.65 seems to be an expansion of that at 1.30, especially as it incorporates the purāṇic episode of Dakṣa's sacrifice. A further sign of expansion at 1.65 is the incongruity between verses 8 and 13. In the former, Janaka says Śiva gave Devarāta the bow, whereas in the latter he says Śiva gave it to the gods, who gave it Devarāta. One would not expect such inconsistency in the original. The interrelation of the *Bālakāṇḍa* passages with the passage found in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* is the most difficult to understand clearly. The use of the name Varuṇa both at 1.76.1 and at 1.10.38 is unquestionably significant and yet, isolated as it is, cannot be used as a definitive point for text comparison. See note on 1.76.1, where Rāma gives Viṣṇu's bow to Varuṇa.

17. "by the syllable 'Hum' " *humkāreṇa*: See notes on 1.39.27 and 1.54.6.

Ñ2,V1-3,D10,M4 omit 17-18 (D10 omits 17ab, B3 reads in margin). As a result, it should probably be omitted from the critical text, or at least be considered a suspect reading and marked as such.

20. See note on 11 above. See Cm for a long discussion of the discrepancy in the histories of the bow.

21. Ṛcika is Jāmadagnya's paternal grandfather. See note on 1.60.10-11.

23. Note the obscurity here as to how Jamadagni died. In the *MBh* version, Arjuna Kārtavīrya steals Jamadagni's calf. In retaliation Rāma kills him. Seeking revenge for their father's death, Arjuna's sons slay Jamadagni (*MBh* 3.116.20-26). The *Śānti-parvan's* version (12.49.30-33) describes Kārtavīrya as a benign prince, and his sons are said to have stolen the calf (12.49.40). See Goldman 1970, pp. 161-73.

24. According to the tradition of the *MBh*, Rāma exterminated the kshatriyas twenty-one times. See Sukthankar 1944, pp. 283-84, 288, 292-97, 309-11, 314-17, 319-20, 328, etc.; and Goldman 1977, pp. 155-56, note 41.

27. "follow" *puraskṛtya*: This literally means "placing first." The translation follows Cr's reading.

## Sarga 75

For *sarga* 75, N manuscripts (Ñ2,V,B,D10,11,13—completely; M4—partially) substitute 46 lines [1379\*].

3. "my strength and valor" *tejah . . . parākramam*: Here, following the commentators, the conjunction *ca*, "and," has been supplied.

6. Viśvāmitra is Rāma Jāmadagnya's maternal granduncle. See note on 1.60.10-11.

7. "retreat" *gatiḥ*: This means literally "path" or "way," and is taken by Ct and Cr to mean the sage's power to move through the air. Here, however, it seems that it must refer to Paraśurāma's mountain retreat. This is even more probable in light of 13-15 and 23. The northern variant (1379\*.46) supports this notion where, in

place of *ātmagatim* (23), it reads *svam āśramam*, "his own ashram." Cf. 1379\*.17 and 31. See note on 1.25.12, where the word *gatiḥ* is translated as "lair" in the Tātakā episode, partially on the basis of this passage. Śukrācārya, another famous Bhārgava sage, is said to lose his *gati* (*MBh* 12.278.32).

11. "robbed of his strength" *nirvīryaḥ*: Both Ct and Cg cite a passage taken from the *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa* in order to explain the loss in strength: "Then the power of Viṣṇu passed from the body of Paraśurāma, right before the eyes of all the gods, and entered Rāma." Note that the northern manuscripts replace this with 1379\*.24-25: "And having realized through his yogic meditation that Rāma was born as a portion of Nārāyaṇa, Jāmadagnya, whose strength and might had been crushed by Rāma, then spoke."

17. This is the first reference to Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu since 1.17.6.

21. After 21, Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4) insert 2 lines [1377\*; GPP 1.76.22]: "Jāmadagnya, having seen his own worlds that had been earned by austerities destroyed, went quickly to Mt. Mahendra, best of mountains."

## Sarga 76

1. In epic mythology Varuṇa is the lord of the ocean and one of the "world guardians" (see 1.71.18). A connection between the Bhārgava Rāma's bow and Varuṇa is not seen at 1.74, where the bow is introduced, nor is such a connection seen in other epic literature (compare 2.110.38). The weapon as described at *sarga* 74 seems to have been derived from three related bows (the Vijaya, Śārṅga, and Gāṇḍīva) known to the *MBh* (cf. 1.26.2; 8.22.37; 13.14.137). The Gāṇḍīva bow and Varuṇa are frequently associated in the *Mahābhārata*, which is, in all probability, the source for the identification of Varuṇa with the bow here (*MBh* 1.216.25 and 17.1.41).

5. After 5ab, Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4) insert the following line [1383\*]: "Then he thought of his son as well as himself as reborn."

6-7. "pennants on staffs" *patākādhvajinīm*: Or, according to Ct, who understands a *dvandva* compound, "big and small," or "pennants and flags."

"echoing with the sound of musical instruments" *tūryodghuṣṭannāditām*: See note on 1.72.26. Here again the translation follows Ct's "resounding with the sound of musical instruments." But compare Bhandare 1920, p. 179, who translates, "noises and sounds of musical instruments."

After 7, Ś,Dt,4,6,8,9,14,S (except M4) insert 4 lines [1386\*; GPP 8c-10b] that describe the joyful homecoming of Daśaratha.

8. "king's other wives" *anyā rājayoṣitaḥ*: Daśaratha has many other wives in his harem; traditionally they are numbered at 350 (2.31.10).

11. The crit. notes, p. 459, give a lengthy note here saying that this verse suggests that Sītā was not a child bride at the time of her marriage. Cf. note on 1.19.2.

12. N2,V,B,M4 omit 12, making it, at best, a suspect verse, although it is not noted as such in the critical text.

After 12, Ś,Dt,4,6,8,14,S (except M4) read 2.1.1-5, 11-14 (GPP 15b-24c). These verses tell of the departure of Bharata and Śatrughna with Yudhaji, the dutiful and excellent conduct of Rāma, and how all were pleased by Rāma's actions.



13. Cf. 2.1.10. Ñ2,V,B,M4 omit 13; see above, note 12.

14. "many seasons" *bahūn ṛtūn*: Ct understands this to mean twelve years. See note 11 above and note on 1.19.2.

For 14-17, Ñ2,V,B,D11,13,M4 substitute 8 lines [1394\*]. Bhavabhūti quotes 1394\*.3-4, 5-6 in his *Uttararāmacarita* (6.31, 32). See crit. notes, p. 457.

15. Cf. 1394\*.3-4 and note above.

16. Cf. 1394\*.5-6 and note on 17.

"she cherished her husband twice as much" *dviguṇam . . . tasyāḥ bhartā parivartate*: Cr understands *dviguṇa* to mean *rūpaguṇāt*, "because of virtues and beauty," whereas Cg, who is followed in the translation, understands *dviguṇa* to imply that Sītā loved Rāma twice as much as he loved her.

17. Cf. 1394\*.1-2. For a discussion of the Vaiṣṇava importance of this and the following verse, see the Introduction to *Bālakāṇḍa*.

18. "dearly" *atikāmayā*: Ct, who is followed in the translation, understands, "excessive devotion or love for Rāma." See also Bhandare 1920, p. 183, who understands, "with her love increasing (every day)."

# Glossary of Important Proper Nouns and Epithets

- Aditi: daughter of Dakṣa, wife of Kāśyapa, and mother of the gods  
Agastya: famous sage, son of Mitra-Varuṇa and Urvaśī  
Agni: god of fire  
Ahalyā: wife of Gautama, cursed by her husband after she was seduced by the god Indra  
Aikṣvāka: descendant of Ikṣvāku, used mainly of Daśaratha and Rāma  
Amarāvātī: the city of the god Indra  
Ambarīṣa: Early king of Ayodhyā and ancestor of Rāma. He buys Śunaḥśepa, son of Ṛcika, to replace his sacrificial victim  
Amśumant: Asamañja's son, king of Ayodhyā after Sagara  
Anaṅga: "bodiless," an epithet of Kāma, god of love  
Anasūyā: wife of the sage Atri, famous for her devotion and chastity  
Aṅga: country where Romapāda ruled  
Aṅgada: son of Vālin and general in Sugrīva's army  
*apsarases*: celestial maidens or nymphs, known for their beauty; frequently seen in the service of superior gods, especially Indra  
Asamañja: Sagara's eldest son  
Aśoka grove: site of Sītā's confinement in the city of Laṅkā  
Aśvins: twin deities of the vedic pantheon renowned for their beauty  
*asuras*: a class of demons, the elder brothers of the gods  
Ayodhyā: capital city of the Ikṣvākus  
Bala: demon slain by Indra. "Slayer of Bala" is a common epithet of Indra  
Bali: Bali Vairocana, king of the *asuras*  
Bhagīratha: son of Dilipa and great-great-grandson of Sagara  
Bhāgīrathī: epithet of the Ganges  
Bharata: Daśaratha's second son by Kaikeyī  
Bharadvāja: a sage who tells Rāma how to reach Mt. Citrakūṭa  
Bharadvāja: a young disciple of Vālmiki  
Bhārgava: name of a powerful brahman family descended from the sage Bhr̥gu. As a patronymic, it can refer to any descendant of that family  
Bhava: epithet of Śiva  
Bhr̥gu: a great brahman sage, patriarch of the Bhārgava family  
Bibhīṣaṇa: a variant of the name Vibhīṣaṇa  
Bindu: lake into which Śiva released the river Ganges  
Brahma(n): a name for the Indian religio-philosophical concept of the impersonal and attributeless absolute principle underlying existence  
Brahmā: the creator divinity of the Hindu "trinity" who is regarded as the "Grandfather" of all living creatures  
Brahmadatta: a king, son of Cūlin, who marries the daughters of Kusanābha  
Citrakūṭa: mountain where Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa first live during their exile  
Cūlin: a sage, father of Brahmadatta



- daityas*: a class of demons descended from Diti  
 Dakṣa: one of the ten mind-born sons of Brahmā; he is said to have had many daughters  
*dānavas*: a class of demons descended from Dānu  
 Daṇḍaka forest: the forest where Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa spend part of their exile  
 Daśaratha: Rāma's father and king of Ayodhyā  
 Dāśarathi: any descendant of Daśaratha, used of Daśaratha's four sons, especially Rāma  
 Diti: name of a goddess, mother of the demons known as *daityas*  
 Dundubhi: name of a demon slain by Vālin. Rāma kicks the corpse of Dundubhi to demonstrate his strength to Sugrīva  
 Dūṣaṇa: a general in Khara's army in Janasthāna  
 Gādhi: son of Kuśanābha and father of Viśvāmitra and his elder sister Satyavatī  
*gandharvas*: a class of semi-divine beings known for their musical abilities. *Gandharva* women are noted for their beauty  
 Ganges: a famous and important river of ancient and modern India, which is personified as the daughter of Mt. Himalaya. She is the sister of Pārvatī  
 Garuḍa: name of the king of the birds. Brother of Sumati, Sagara's younger wife. Viṣṇu's mount  
 Gautama: a sage, husband of Ahalyā and father of Śatānanda  
 Ghṛtācī: an *apsaras* who is the mother of Kuśanābha's one hundred daughters  
 Guha: king of the Niṣādas and lord of Śṛṅgavera; an ally of Rāma, who assists him during his exile  
 Haimavatī: daughter of Himavant (Himalaya), epithet of Umā or her sister, the river Ganges  
 Hanumān: Rāma's monkey companion who aids in the finding of Sītā and the destruction of the demon king Rāvaṇa  
 Hara: epithet of Śiva  
 Himalaya: name of a mountain range and king of the mountains. He has two daughters: Umā, the wife of Śiva, and the river Ganges  
 Himavant: variant of Himalaya  
 Ikṣvāku: family name of the royal house of Ayodhyā  
 Indra: king of the gods who leads their hosts into battle against the *asuras*; in the postvedic tradition he is particularly noted for his incontinence and adultery  
 Indrajit: epithet of Meghanāda, son of Rāvaṇa  
 Jāhnavī: epithet of the Ganges  
 Jāmadagnya: see Rāma Jāmadagnya  
 Jambudvīpa: the Indian subcontinent  
 Janaka: lord of Mithilā and the father of Sītā  
 Jānakī: epithet of Sītā, daughter of Janaka and wife of Rāma  
 Janasthāna: part of the Daṇḍaka forest and residence of Śūrpaṇakhā, sister of Rāvaṇa, and her brother Khara  
 Jaṭāyus: a vulture, friend of Daśaratha  
 Jayā: daughter of Dakṣa, wife of Brahmā, and mother of the divine weapons  
 Kabandha: name of a *rākṣasa* slain by Rāma  
 Kaikeyī: younger wife of Daśaratha and mother of Bharata  
 Kailāsa: mountain peak in the Himalayas where Śiva and Pārvatī are traditionally said to reside. Kubera, the lord of wealth, is also said to reside there

- Kākutstha: descendant of Kakutstha, a common epithet of princes of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, especially Rāma and his brothers
- Kāla: time incarnate, name of the god of death
- Kāma: god of love
- Kandarpa: epithet of Kāma
- Kapila: a sage who burns the sixty thousand sons of Sagara for disturbing his penances
- Kārtikeya: son born from Śiva's semen; his step-mothers were the Kṛttikās, the Pleiades
- Kāśyapa: Mārīca Kāśyapa, name of a famous sage, husband of Diti and Aditi
- Kāśyapa: father of Vibhāṇḍaka, grandfather of Ṛśyaśṛṅga
- Kausalyā: senior wife of Daśaratha, mother of Rāma
- Kauśika: any descendant of Kuśa, generally used in reference to Viśvāmitra
- Kaustubha: precious gem produced from the churning of the ocean
- Kāvya: son of Bhṛgu, usually called Uśanas Kāvya or Śukra, preceptor of the *asuras* and other demons
- Kāvya's mother: the wife of Bhṛgu, who is said to have had her head severed by Viṣṇu
- Keśinī: elder wife of Sagara
- Khara: brother of Rāvaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā. He was slain by Rāma in the Daṇḍaka forest
- kinaras*: mythical creatures with the head of a horse and a human body; the *kinara* women are famed for their beauty
- Kiṣkindhā: a city (sometimes a cave) inhabited by the monkeys
- Kosala: name of the kingdom of the Ikṣvākus
- Kṛśāśva's sons: the personified weapons Viśvāmitra gives Rāma
- Kṛttikās: the Pleiades, step-mothers of Kārtikeya
- Kubera: god of wealth, son of Viśravaś and step-brother of Rāvaṇa. Kubera is the king of the *yakṣas* and the *kinaras*
- Kumāra: name of Śiva's son. *See* Kārtikeya
- Kumbhakarṇa: brother of Rāvaṇa, known for his great size
- Kuśa: a great sage, the mind-born son of Brahmā; his great-grandson is Viśvāmitra
- Kuśa: Rāma's son, twin brother Lava. Together they recite the *Rāmāyaṇa*
- Kuśadhvaṇa: Janaka's younger brother and ruler of Sāṃkāśva. His two daughters, Māṇḍavī and Śrutakīrtī, marry Bharata and Śatrughna, respectively
- Kuśanābha: son of Kuśa, fathers one hundred daughters on the *asparas* Ghṛtācī, and is the father of Gādhi
- Lakṣmaṇa: son of Daśaratha by Sumitrā. He is Rāma's constant companion
- Laṅkā: Rāvaṇa's capital city, location of Sītā's confinement
- Lomapāda: variant form of Romapāda
- Madana: epithet of Kāma, the god of love
- Maithila: epithet of Janaka
- Maithilī: woman of Mithilā, epithet of Sītā, daughter of Janaka, wife of Rāma
- Mānasa: lake on Mt. Kailāsa created by Brahmā; the Saravū river flows from it
- Mandara: mountain used as the churning rod in the churning of the ocean
- Māṇḍavī: elder daughter of Janaka's brother, Kuśadhvaṇa, and wife of Bharata
- Mantharā: daughter of Virocana, said to have been killed by Indra
- Manu: traditionally considered the father of the human race and first man; he is the legendary founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty



- Mārīca Kāśyapa: *see* Kāśyapa
- Mārīca: a *rākṣasa*, son of Sunda and the *yakṣa* woman Tātakā. He becomes Rāvaṇa's ally and aids in the abduction of Sītā
- Maruts: sons of Diti, companions of Indra
- Meghanāda: son of Rāvaṇa, also called Indrajit
- Menā: wife of Himalaya, mother of Ganges and Umā
- Menakā: an *apsaras* sent by Indra to seduce Viśvāmitra
- Mithilā: Janaka's capital city
- Nala: name of a monkey who builds the bridge to Laṅkā for Rāma and his army, son of Viśvakarman
- Nandigrāma: the village where Bharata lives during Rāma's fourteen-year exile
- Nārada: the divine messenger who reveals the *Rāmāyaṇa* story to the sage Vālmiki
- Nārāyaṇa: epithet of Viṣṇu
- Niṣāda hunter: a tribal hunter who slays the male of a pair of mating *krauñca* birds, thus inspiring Vālmiki to compose the first *śloka* or verse of poetry. The Niṣādas are the people of Guha
- Pāka: a demon slain by Indra; the deed gives rise to the common epithet of the great god, Pākaśāsana, "Chastiser of Pāka"
- Pampā: lake where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa first encounter Hanumān and Sugrīva
- Pārvatī: epithet of Umā
- Paulastya: a descendant of Pulastya, a common epithet of Rāvaṇa
- piśācas*: a class of demons of a particularly low order
- Rāghava: any descendant of Raghu, used especially of Rāma and his brothers
- Raghu: son of Kakutstha and ancestor of Rāma
- rākṣasas*: a class of violent and bloodthirsty demons regarded as the implacable enemies of brahmanical culture and civilization. Their king is the ten-headed Rāvaṇa who rules from the splendid island-fortress of Laṅkā
- Rāma Dāśarathi: eldest son of Daśaratha by Kausalyā and hero of the story
- Rāma Jāmadagnya: known also as Bhārgava Rāma or Paraśurāma. He is the son of the sage Jamadagni
- Rambhā: an *apsaras* who attempts to seduce Viśvāmitra, but is cursed by him
- Rasātala: name of a hell
- Rāvaṇa: main antagonist of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *rākṣasas*' ten-headed overlord who abducts Sītā
- Ṛcīka: a Bhārgava sage, husband of Satyavatī and brother-in-law of Viśvāmitra
- Rohiṇī: daughter of Dakṣa and favorite consort of the moon
- Romapāda: king of Aṅga and friend of Daśaratha. He is the father of Śāntā and the father-in-law of Ṛśyaśṛṅga
- Ṛśyamūka: the mountain where Rāma meets the monkey Sugrīva
- Ṛśyaśṛṅga: the innocent boy-sage, son of Vibhāṇḍaka and husband of Śāntā
- Rudra: epithet of Śiva
- Śabalā: Vasiṣṭha's wish-fulfilling cow
- Śabarī: hermit woman who aids Rāma in his search for Sītā
- Śacī's lord: a common epithet of Indra. Śacī is Indra's wife
- Sagara: an Ikṣvāku king, ancestor of Rāma, who has two wives, Keśinī and Sumati, and sixty thousand and one sons
- Śakra: a common epithet of Indra
- Sampātī: vulture brother of Jaṭāyus who aids the monkeys in their search for Sītā

- Sanatkumāra: name of a seer who tells the Ṛśyaśṛṅga story
- Śaṅkara: epithet of Śiva
- Śāntā: Romapāda's daughter and Ṛśyaśṛṅga's wife
- Śarabhaṅga: an ascetic whom Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa seek out after their encounter with the *rākṣasa* Virādha
- Sarayū: name of a river that flows through the kingdom of Kosala
- Śatānanda: son of Gautama and Ahalyā, preceptor of Janaka. He narrates the story of the conflict between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha
- Śatrughna: youngest son of Daśaratha by Sumitrā. He is Bharata's friend and constant companion
- Satyavatī: wife of Ṛcika and sister of Viśvāmitra; she follows her husband to heaven and becomes the divine river Kauśikī
- Saumitri: son of Sumitrā, matronymic name of Lakṣmaṇa
- Śiva: one of the three main god (the "trinity") of the Hindu pantheon, along with Brahmā and Viṣṇu. He is famed for his asceticism and is the husband of Umā (Pārvatī)
- Somadā: *gandharva* woman who attends Cūlin while he is practicing austerities, mother of Brahmadata
- Śṛṅgavera: a city on the Ganges river ruled by the Niṣāda king, Guha
- Śrutakīrtī: Kuśadhvaṇya's youngest daughter and wife of Śatrughna
- Sthāṇu: epithet of Śiva
- Subāhu: a *rākṣasa* companion of Mārīca. He is slain by Rāma
- Sugrīva: king of the monkeys, friend and ally of Rāma
- Suketu: a *yakṣa* the father of Tātakā
- Sumantra: charioteer and advisor to King Daśaratha
- Sumati: younger wife of Sagara, daughter of Ariṣṭanemi
- Sumati: descendant of Viśālā and king of Viśālā
- Sumitrā: youngest wife of Daśaratha and mother of Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna
- Śunaḥśepa: middle son of Ṛcika, a Bhārgava sage, who was sold by his parents to the Ikṣvāku king Ambarīṣa as a replacement for his sacrificial victim
- Suparna: epithet of Garuḍa
- Suprabhā: daughter of Dakṣa, wife of Brahmā, and mother of the Saṃhāras
- Śūrpaṇakhā: the sister of Rāvaṇa; she attempts to seduce Rāma in the Pāncavati forest
- Sūrya: sun god, father of Sugrīva
- Sutikṣṇa: a sage whom Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa visit during their exile
- Tamasā: river near the Ganges on whose banks Vālmiki is said to have his ashram
- Tārā: wife of Vālin
- Tātakā: a *yakṣa* woman who is cursed to become a *rākṣasa*. She is the mother of the *rākṣasa* Mārīca. At Viśvāmitra's behest, Rāma kills her
- Trijaṭā: a *rākṣasa* woman who comforts Sītā during her captivity
- Tripura: name of the city of the demons, destroyed by Śiva
- Triśaṅku: an Ikṣvāku king and ancestor of Rāma, who desires to obtain heaven in his mortal form
- Triśiras: a *rākṣasa* slain by Rāma
- Tvaṣṭṛ: divine craftsman of the Indian pantheon
- Uccaiḥśravas: divine horse produced during the churning of the ocean, given to Indra



- Umā: wife of Śiva, daughter of the mountain Himalaya  
 Ūrmilā: daughter of Janaka and wife of Lakṣmaṇa  
 Vaideha: epithet of Janaka  
 Vaidehī: epithet of Sītā  
 Vainateya: a matronymic name of Garuḍa  
 Vairocana: *see* Bali  
 Vaiśravaṇa: descendant of Viśravas, either Kubera, god of wealth, or Rāvaṇa, king of the *rākṣasas*  
 Vālin: king of the monkeys, husband of Tārā, and son of Indra. He is the elder brother of Sugrīva  
 Vālmīki: sage and composer of the the *Rāmāyaṇa*  
 Varuṇa: god of the ocean  
 Vāruṇī: Varuṇa's daughter, produced during the churning of the ocean. She is the personification of wine  
 Vāsava: epithet of Indra  
 Vasiṣṭha: Daśaratha's family preceptor, rival of Viśvāmitra  
 Vāsudeva: epithet of Viṣṇu, he assumes the form of the sage Kapila  
 Vāsuki: the great serpent used as the rope in the churning of the ocean  
 Vāyu: god of wind, who seduces the daughters of Kuśanābha  
 Vibhāṇḍaka: son of Kāśyapa and father of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga  
 Vibhīṣaṇa: a *rākṣasa*, brother of Rāvaṇa. He joins Rāma's army and, after the defeat of the demon troops and the death of his brother, is installed by Rāma as king of Laṅkā  
 Videha: epithet of Janaka  
 vidyādhara: class of semi-divine beings. The women are famed for their beauty  
 Virādha: a *rākṣasa*, who, having attempted to abduct Sītā, is slain by Rāma  
 Virocana: *asura* king and ancestor of Bali whose daughter, Mantharā, is slain by Indra  
 Viśāla: son of Ikṣvāku and Alambuṣā, founder of Viśālā  
 Viśālā: famous city through which Rāma passes on his journey to Mithilā  
 Viśvakarman: god of craft, architect of the gods  
 Viṣṇu: one of the three main gods of the Hindu "trinity," along with Brahmā and Śiva. He is said to be incarnated on earth in the form of Rāma in order to kill the demon Rāvaṇa  
 Viśvāmitra: an important sage in the *Bālakāṇḍa*. He serves as teacher and friend to Rāma, bestowing upon the young prince divine weapons. Originally a kshatriya, he becomes a brahman through his severe austerities  
 Vṛtra: a demon slain by Indra  
 yakṣas: semi-divine beings associated with Kubera. The women are known for their beauty  
 Yudhājit: son of the king of the Kekayas. Sister of Kaikeyī and maternal uncle of Bharata

# Bibliography of Works Consulted

## TEXTS OF THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

- Ramayana*. (1928-1947). 7 vols. Lahore: D.A.V. College. Northwestern recension critically edited for the first time from original manuscripts by Vishva Bandhu. D.A.V. College Sanskrit Series, nos. 7, 12, 14, 17-20.
- Ramayana id es carmen epicum de Ramae rebus gestis poetae antiquissimi Valmici opus*. (1829-1838). 3 vols. Bonn: Typis regiis. Edited and translated by August Wilhelm von Schlegel. Volumes numbered 1.1, 1.2 (text); 2.1 (translation).
- Ramayana, poema indiano di Valmici*. (1843). Paris: Stamperia Reale. Vol. 1, Introduzione e Testo sanscrito. Edited by Gaspare Gorresio.
- Rāmāyan of Vālmiki*. (1914-1920). 7 vols. Bombay: Gujarati Printing Press. With three commentaries called Tilaka, Shiromani, and Bhooshana.
- The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki*. (1930). 4th rev. ed. Bombay: Nirṇayasāgar Press. With the commentary (Tilaka) of Rāma. Edited by Wāsudeva Laxmaṇ Śāstrī Paṇṣīkar.
- The Ramayana with Notes for the Use of Schools*. (1879). Bombay: Government Central Book Depot. Book the first. Edited and translated by Peter Peterson.
- Śrīmadvālmikirāmāyaṇam*. (1911-1913). 7 vols. Bombay: Nirṇayasāgar Press. Also called the Kumbakonam Edition. Edited by T. R. Krishnacharya and T. R. Vyasacharya.
- Śrīmadvālmikirāmāyaṇam*. (1935). 3 vols. Bombay: Lakṣmīveṅkateśvara Mudraṇālaya. Edited by Gaṅgāviṣṇu Śrīkrṣṇadāsa. With the commentaries of Govindarāja, Rāmanuja, and Maheśvaratīrtha and the commentary known as Taṇiśloki.
- Śrīmadvālmikirāmāyaṇam*. (1960-). Mysore: University of Mysore, Oriental Research Institute. With Amṛtakataka of Mādhavayogi. Edited by K. S. Varadacharya et al.
- Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa*. (1920). Bombay: Standard Publishing Co. Edited by M. S. Bhandare.
- The Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa: Critical Edition*. (1960-1975). 7 vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute. General editors: G. H. Bhatt and U. P. Shah.

## SANSKRIT TEXTS

- Abhijñānaśākuntalam of Kālidāsa*. (1973). Bombay: Lakṣmīveṅkateśvara Press. With commentaries of Śrīnivāsācārya and Rāghavabhaṭṭa.
- Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa*. (1884). Calcutta: Valmiki Press. With commentary of Ramavarman. Edited by Pandit Jibananda Vidyasagara.
- Agnipurāṇam*. (1900). Poona: Ānandāśrama Press. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 41. Reprint 1957.
- Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*. (1931). Poona: Ānandāśrama Press. With the commentary of Śrīmatsāyaṇācārya. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 32.
- The Amarakośa*. (1940). 11th ed. Bombay: Nirṇayasāgar Press. Edited by W. I. Śāstrī Paṇṣīkar.
- Amarakośa*. (1971). Madras: Adyar Library and Research Center. With the unpublished South Indian commentaries *Amarapadavṛtti* of Liṅgavasūrin and the



- Amarapadapārijāta* of Mallinātha, critically edited with Introduction by A. A. Ramanathan.
- Āpastambaśrautasūtra*. (1955, 1963). 2 vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute. With *Dhūrtasvāmibhāṣya*. Edited by Paṇḍita A. Chinnaswāmī Śāstrī.
- Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*. (1919). Mysore: Bibliotheca Sanskrita. Edited by R. S. Shastri. Government Oriental Library Series, no. 54.
- Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. (1891). 2 vols. Allahabad: Pāṇini Office. Reprint New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962. Edited and translated by Śrīśa Chandra Vasu.
- Āśvalāyanagrhyamantravyākhyā*. (1938). Trivandrum: Superintendent, Government Press. Edited by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, no. 138.
- Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtram*. (1938). Poona: Ānandāśrama Press. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 105.
- Atharva Veda Sanhita*. (1855-1856). Berlin: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung. Edited by R. Roth and W. D. Whitney. 2nd ed., edited by Dr. Max Lindenau, 1924.
- The Bhagavad-Gīta*. (1935). Bombay: Gujarati Printing Press. With eleven commentaries. Edited by Shastri Gajānana Shambhu Sadhale.
- Bhāgavatapurāṇam*. (1965). Nadiyad: Kṛṣṇa Śāṅkar Śāstrī et al. With thirteen commentaries. Edited by Kṛṣṇa Śāṅkar Śāstrī.
- Bhāratamañjarī of Kṣemendra*. (1898). Bombay: Nirṇayasāgar Press. Edited by Paṇḍit Śivadatta and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang.
- Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*. (1973). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. Edited by J. L. Shastri.
- Brahmapurāṇam*. (1895). Poona: Ānandāśrama Press. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 28.
- The Brahmasūtra-Śāṅkarbhāṣyam by Śrī Śāṅkarāchārya*. (1929, 1931). 2 vols. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Office. With the Ratnaprabhā commentary by Śrī Govindānanda. Edited by Pandit Dhundhirāj Śāstrī. Kashi Sanskrit Series [Haridās Sanskrit Granthamālā].
- Brahmavaivartapurāṇam*. (1935). Poona. Ānandāśrama Press. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 102.
- Bṛhat Saṃhitā by Varāhamihirācārya*. (1968). Varanasi: Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishva-vidyalaya. With the commentary of Bhaṭṭopala. Edited by Avadha Vihārī Tri-pāthī. Sarasvatī Bhavan Granthamālā, vols. xx, 97.
- The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*. (1936). Lahore: Motilal Banarsidass. Reprint Delhi, 1972. Complete Sanskrit Text with English Translation [Cantos I to XIV translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version together with an introduction and notes]. Edited by E. H. Johnston.
- Dharmakutam by Tryambakaraya Makhi*. (1915-). 7 vols. Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press.
- Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads*. (1958). 2 vols. Poona: Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala. Edited by V. P. Limaye and R. D. Vadekar.
- Jaiminiya Brahmana of the Samaveda*. (1954). Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture. Complete text, critically edited by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra. Sarasvatī-vihara Series, vol. 31.
- Jātakas with Commentary*. (1877-1897). 7 vols. London: Trübner and Co. Edited by V. Fausbøll. Reprint London: Pali Text Society, 1962-1965.
- Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya*. (1969). 2 vols. Hyderabad: Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University. Edited by Aryendra Sharma and Sri Khanderao Deshpande. Sanskrit Academy Series, no. 17.

- The Kauṣītaka Gr̥hyasūtras*. (1944). Madras: Anand Press. With the commentary of Bhavatrāta. Edited by T. R. Chintamani. Madras University Sanskrit Series, no. 15.
- Kṛṣṇayajurvedīya Taittirīyasamhitā*. (1961). Poona: Ānandāśrama Press. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 42.
- The Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa*. (1886). Bombay: Nirṇayasāgar Press. With the commentary (the *Sanjīvinī*) of Mallinātha (1-8 sargas) and of Sītārāma (8-17 sargas). Edited by Nārāyaṇa Bhatta Parvaṇīkara and Kashīnātha Pāṇḍuranga Paraba.
- Kūrmapurāṇam*. (1971). Varanasi: All India Kashiraj Trust. Edited by Anand Swarup Gupta.
- Mahābhārata: Critical Edition*. (1933-1970). 24 vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. With *Harivaṃśa*. Critically edited by V. S. Sukthankar et al.
- Mahābhārata*. (1929). 6 vols. Poona: Chitrashala Press. With the commentary of Nilakaṇṭha.
- Mahābhārata—Part VII, Harivanshaparvan*. (1936). Poona: Chitrashala Press. With the Bhārata Bhāwadeepa by Neelakantha. Edited by Pandit Rāmachandra-shāstri Kinjawadekar.
- Mahāvīracaritam of Bhavabhūti*. (1969). Assam: Publication Board. Edited by Anundoram Borooah. First published in 1887.
- Mālatī-Mādhava of Bhavabhūti*. (1970). 3rd ed. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. With the commentary of Jagaddhara. Edited by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, no. XV.
- Mānava-Śrauta-Śūtra*. (1900). St. Petersburg: L'Académie Impériale des Sciences. Edited by Friedrich Knauer.
- The Manusmṛti*. (1946). 10th ed. Bombay: Nirṇayasāgar Press. With commentary *Manvarthamuktāvalī* of Kullūka. Edited by N. R. Acharya.
- Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam*. (1967). UP, India: Saṃskṛti-Saṃsthāna. Edited by Śrīrāma Śarmā Ācārya.
- Matsyapurāṇam*. (1907). Poona. Ānandāśrama Press. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 54.
- The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa*. (1969). 7th ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. With the commentary (*Sanjīvinī*) of Mallinātha. Edited with introduction, English translation, critical notes by M. R. Kale.
- The Nāṭya Śāstra ascribed to Bharata Muni*. (1967). Vol. I (Ch. 1-27). Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya Private. Translated by M. Ghosh.
- The Nāṭya Śāstra ascribed to Bharata Muni*. (1961). Vol. II (Ch. 28-36). Calcutta: Asiatic Society. Translated by M. Ghosh.
- Padmapurāṇam*. (1893-1894). 4 vols. Poona: Ānandāśrama Press. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, nos. 4, 9, 7, 12.
- Panchatantra*. (1869). Vol. I. Bombay: Oriental Press. Edited by F. Kielhorn. Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 4.
- . (1868). Vols. II, III. Bombay: Indu-Prakash Press. Edited by G. Bühler. Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 3.
- . (1868). Vols. IV, V. Bombay: Oriental Press. Edited by G. Bühler. Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 1.
- Paumacariya of Vimalasūri*. (1962). Varanasi: Prakrit Text Society. Edited by H. Jacobi and Puṇyavijaya Muni with Hindi translation by S. M. Vora.



- Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa*. (1948). Bombay: Nirṇayasāgar Press. With commentary *Sanjivini* of Mallinātha; extracts from the commentaries of Vallabhadeva, Hemādri, Dinkara Misra Charitavardhan, Sumativyaya Raghuvamśasāra; critical and explanatory notes, various readings, and indexes. With an introduction by H. D. Velankar.
- Raghuvamśadarpaṇa by Hemādri*. (1973). Patna: Kashiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute. Edited by R. P. Dwivedī. Classical Sanskrit Works Series.
- Rāmacaritmānas of Tulsi Dās*. Gorakhpur: Gītā Press. With the commentary of Hanumānprasāda Poddār and Hindi translation.
- Ṛgveda-Samhitā*. (1933). 5 vols. Poona: Vaidic Samśhodhan Mandal. With the commentary of Sāyaṇāchārya.
- Śabdakalpādrumaha by Deva Raja Radhakanta*. (1967). 5 vols. 3rd ed. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, no. 93.
- Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtram: The Oldest Treatise on Folklore in Ancient India*. (1960). Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal. Edited by S. R. Sehgal.
- Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. (1940). 5 vols. Bombay: Laxmi Venkateshwar Steam Press. With Sāyaṇa's commentary.
- The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda*. (1903-1910). Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal. With the commentary of Sāyaṇa Ācārya. Edited by Ācārya Satyavrata Sāmaśramī. Bibliotheca Indica, no. 145.1-7. [Fasc. #961, 973, 984, 988, 996, 1016, 1038, 1131-33, 1158, 1159, 1169-70, 1174-75, 1201-1202, 1213, 1237, 1255.]
- Shatapath Brāhmaṇam Brihadaranyakopaniṣat*. (1862). Bombay: Laxmi Venkateshwar Steam Press. With Vasudevaprakasika commentary by Shri Vasudeva Brahman Bhagavat. Edited by "several learned persons."
- Śivapurāṇam*. (1906). Bombay: Veṅkaṭeśvara Press.
- Śrautakośa*. (1958). 2 vols. Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala. Encyclopedia of vedic ritual comprising the two complementary sections, namely, the Sanskrit section and the English section.
- The Śrauta Sūtra of Āśvalāyana*. (1874). Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal. With the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa. Edited by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna.
- The Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana*. (1859). Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung. With extracts from the commentaries of Karka and Yajñikadeva. Edited by Albrecht Weber. [Part II of *The White Yajurveda*.]
- Taittirīyabrāhmaṇam*. (1898). Poona. Ānandāśrama Press. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 37.
- Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra*. (1954). Varanasi: n.p. Sanskrit text edited with Hindi translation by Pannalal Jain.
- Uttararāmacaritam of Bhavabhūti*. (1918). Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Edited by S. K. Belvalkar. Harvard Oriental Series, no. 22.
- The Vājasaneyi-Samhitā*. (1852). Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung. In the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva-Śākha with the commentary of Mahīdhara. Edited by Albrecht Weber. [Part I in *The White Yajurveda*.]
- Vāmanapurāṇam*. (1968). Varanasi: All India Kashiraj Trust. Edited by Anand Swarup Gupta.
- Varāhapurāṇam*. (1973). 2 vols. UP, India: Saṁskṛti-Saṁsthāna. Edited by V. Gautama.

- Vāyupurāṇam*. (1959). 2 vols. Calcutta: Gurumandal Press. Gurumandal Series, no. 19.
- Viṣṇupurāṇa with the Commentary of Śrīdhara*. (1972). Calcutta: n.p. Edited by Sītā-rāmadāson Kāranātha.
- Viṣṇu Smṛti*. (1962). Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office. Together with the Sanskrit commentary of Nanda Paṇḍit called Vijayanti. Edited by J. Jolly. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, no. 95.
- The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣyam of Patañjali*. (1962). 2 vols. 3rd ed. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Edited by F. Kielhorn.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- Acharya, Prasanna Kumar. (1946). *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*. London: Oxford University Press. Treating Sanskrit architectural terms with illustrative quotations from *Śilpaśāstras*, general literature and archaeological records.
- Agrawala, V. S. (1962). "An Architectural Passage in the Yoga Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 12, pp. 833-86.
- , and Rai Krishnadasa. (1962). "Review of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Critical Edition, Vol. 1, Bālakāṇḍa, fascicles 1, 2, 3." *JAOS* 82, pp. 577-78.
- Aiyar, B. V. Kamesvara. (1921). "Solar Signs in Indian Literature." *QJMS* 7, no. 1, pp. 67-89.
- Apte, V. S. (1957). *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. 3 vols. Poona: Prasad Prakashan.
- Arnold, Matthew. (1905). *On Translating Homer*. London: John Murray. New edition with introduction and notes by W.H.D. Rouse.
- Auerbach, Erich. (1946). *Mimesis: dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur*. Bern: A. Francke. Translated by Willard R. Trask as *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.
- Aufrecht, Theodor. (1891-1903). *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. An alphabetical register of Sanskrit works and authors.
- Baumgartner, Alexander. (1894). *Das Rāmāyaṇa und die Rāma-Literatur der Inder*. Strassburg: n.p.
- Bedekar, V. M. (1967). "The Legend of the Churning of the Ocean in the Epics and Purāṇas." *Purāṇam* 9, no. 1, pp. 7-61.
- Belvalkar, Shripad Krishna, ed. and trans. (1915, 1918). *Rāma's Later History, or Uttara-Rama-Carita*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 21, 22.
- Bhandare, M. S. (1920). *The Bālakāṇḍa of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. Bombay: Standard Publishing Co. With introduction, notes, translation, and summary.
- Bhandarkar, Ramakrishna Gopal. (1873). "Bhavabhūti's Quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa." *IA* 2, pp. 123-24.
- . (1913). *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*. Strassburg: K. J. Trübner. Reprint Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1965.
- Bhatt, G. H. (1955). "The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 5, no. 1, pp. 106-107. Review of Christian Hooykaas.



- Bhatt, G. H., ed. (1960). *The Bālakāṇḍa: The First Book of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa: The National Epic of India*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- . (1963). *Introduction to the Aranyakāṇḍa: The Third Book of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa: The National Epic of India*. Baroda: Oriental Institute. Critically edited by P. C. Divanji.
- . (1964). "Rāmāyaṇa Commentaries." *JOIB* 14, pp. 350-61. Reprinted in part in vol. 7, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, of *The Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 655-56.
- Bhawe, S. (1939). *Die Yajus des Aśvamedha*. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer.
- Bloch, Alfred. (1964). "Vālmiki und die Ikṣvākuiden." *IJ* 7, nos. 2-3, pp. 81-123.
- Bodewitz, H. W. (1973). *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa I, 1-65*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. Translation and commentary with a study of the Agnihotra and Prāṇāgnihotra. *Orientalia Rheno-traiectina*, vol. 17.
- Böhtlingk, Otto. (1887). "Bemerkenswerthes aus Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Bombay Adhyj. [sic.] I-IV." *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich-sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philol-hist.*, vol. 39, pp. 213-27.
- . (1889). "Zur Kritik des Rāmāyaṇa." *ZDMG* 43, pp. 53-68.
- , and Rudolph Roth. (1855-1875). *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Brockington, J. L. (1969a). "A Note on Mrs. Sen's Article about the Rāmāyaṇa." *JAOS* 89, pp. 412-14.
- . (1969b). "The Verbal System of the Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 19, pp. 1-34.
- . (1970). "The Nominal System of the Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 19, pp. 369-415.
- Buck, William. (1976). *Ramayana*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Bulcke, Camille. (1949). "The Three Recensions of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa." *JORM* 17, pp. 1-32.
- . (1950). *Ramkathā*. Allahabad: n.p. In Hindi.
- . (1951). "The Three Recensions of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa—Addenda and Corrigenda." *JORM* 18, p. 191.
- . (1952/1953). "The Genesis of the Bālakāṇḍa." *JOIB* 2, pp. 327-31.
- . (1955). "The Genesis of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa Recensions." *JOIB* 5, no. 1, pp. 66-94.
- . (1958). "About Vālmiki." *JOIB* 8, no. 2, pp. 121-31.
- . (1959). "More about Vālmiki." *JOIB* 8, no. 4, pp. 346-48.
- . (1960). "The Rāmāyaṇa; Its History and Character." *PO* 25, pp. 36-60.
- Burrow, T. (1959). "The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa, Vol. I, Bālakāṇḍa." *JRAS*, pp. 77-79. Review.
- Caland, W., trans. (1953). *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*. Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Carey, William, and Joshua Marshman, eds. and trans. (1806-1810). *The Ramayana of Valmeeki*. 3 vols. Serampore: Baptist Mission Press (?). "Translated from the original Sungskrit with explanatory notes." Reprint Serampore, 1823.
- Carstairs, G. Morris. (1961). *The Twice-Born: A Study of High-Caste Hindus*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Chadwick, H. Munro, and N. K. Chadwick. (1932). *The Growth of Literature*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chatterjee, Asoke. (1954). "The Problem of Śāntā's Parentage as Affecting the Text of the Rāmāyaṇa." *Our Heritage* 2, no. 2, pp. 353-74.
- . (1957). "Śāntā's Parentage." *IHQ* 33, pp. 146-51.

- Chatterjee, B. J. (1956). "The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata in South-east Asia." *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. 2, pp. 119-31. Edited by S. K. Chatterji. Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. First ed. 1937; second revised ed. 1953-1978.
- Chaudhuri, Sashi Bhushan. (1955). *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*. Calcutta: General Printers and Publishers.
- Citrāv, Siddheśvaraśāstri. (1964). *Prācīna Caritrakośa*. Poona: Bhāratiya Caritrakośa Mandal. In Hindi.
- Dange, S. A. (1969). *Legends in the Mahābhārata*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Devereux, George. (1951). "The Oedipal Structure and Its Consequences in the Epics of Ancient India." *Samikṣa, Journal of the Indian Psychoanalytic Society* 5, no. 1, pp. 5-13.
- Dey, Nindo Lal. (1927). *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*. London: Luzac and Co.
- Dutt, M. N., trans. (1891-1894). *The Ramayana*. 7 vols. Calcutta: Girish Candra Chackravarti.
- Edgerton, Franklin, ed. (1944). *The Sabhāparvan*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Institute. Vol. 2 of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata.
- Eggeling, Julius, trans. (1882, 1894, 1885, 1897, 1900). *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Sacred Books of the East, vols. 12, 26, 41, 43, 44. Reprint Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966.
- Emeneau, Murray B. (1962). "Barkcloth in India—Sanskrit *valkala*." *JAOS* 82, pp. 167-70.
- Fitzgerald, Robert. (1974). *The Iliad*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- Gail, Adalbert. (1977). *Paraśurāma Brahmane und Krieger*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Gandhi, Mohandas K. (1960). *Gandhi's Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Washington, D.C: Public Affairs Press. Translated from the Hindi edition (1948) by Mahadev Desai.
- Gawroński, Andrzej. (1914-1915). "Gleanings from Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita." *RO*, pp. 1-42.
- . (1928). *Szkice językoznawcze*. Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff.
- Gehrts, Heino von. (1977). *Rāmāyaṇa: Brüder und Braut im Märchen-Epos*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grindmann.
- Geldner, Karl F., and Richard Pischel. (1889). *Vedische Studien*. 3 vols. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- Ghosh, Manomohan, ed. and trans. (1961). *The Nāṭyaśāstra: Ascribed to Bharata-muni*. Vol. II, chs. 28-36. Calcutta: Asiatic Society.
- , ed. and trans. (1967). *The Nāṭyaśāstra: Ascribed to Bharata-muni*. Vol. I, chs. 1-27. Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya Private.
- Glasenapp, Helmuth von. (1929). *Die Literaturen Indiens*. Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion.
- Goldman, Robert P. (1970). "Akṛtavraṇa vs. Śrīkṛṣṇa as Narrators of the Legend of Bhārgava Rāma à propos Some Observations of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar." *ABORI* 18, no. 4, pp. 161-73.
- . (1971). "Myth and Literature: A Translation of Matsya Purāṇa 47." *Mahfil* 7, pp. 45-62.
- . (1976). "Vālmīki and the Bhṛgu Connection." *JAOS* 96, pp. 97-101.



- Goldman, Robert P. (1977). *Gods, Priests, and Warriors: The Bhṛguś of the Mahābhārata*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . (1978). "Fathers, Sons, and Gurus: Oedipal Conflict in the Sanskrit Epics." *JIP* 6, pp. 325-92.
- . (1980). "Rāmaḥ Sahalakṣmaṇaḥ: Psychological and Literary Aspects of the Composite Hero of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa." *JIP* 8, pp. 149-89.
- . (1982). "Vālmiki's Sanskrit." *JAS* 42, pp. 209-10. Review of van Daalen.
- , and J. M. Masson. (1969). "Who Knows Rāvaṇa: A Narrative Difficulty in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa." *ABORI* 50, pp. 95-100.
- , and S. J. Sutherland. (1980). *Devavāṇīpraveśikā: An Introduction to the Sanskrit Language*. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies.
- Gorresio, Gaspare. (1843-1858). *Ramayana, poema indiano di Valmici*. Paris: Stamperia Reale. Vol. 1, Introduction and Sanskrit text (1843); vol. 6, Italian translation with notes, vol. 1 of the translation (1847).
- Griffith, Ralph Thomas Hotchkin, trans. (1870-1874). *The Ramayana: Translated into English verse*. 4 vols. London: Trübner & Co.
- Grintser, P. A. (1974). *Drevneindiiskii Ėpos: Genezis i Tipologiā*. Moscow: Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoi Literatury.
- Guruge, Ananda. (1960). *The Society of the Ramayana*. Ceylon: Saman Press.
- Hillebrandt, Alfred. (1897). "Ritual-literatur Vedische Opfer und Zauber." *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* 3, no. 2. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Holtzmann, Adolf (1810-1870). (1841). *Ueber den griechischen Ursprung des indischen Thierkreises*. Karlsruhe: Georg Holtzmann.
- Holtzmann, Adolf (1838-1914). (1880). "Der heilige Agastya nach den Erzählungen des Mahābhārata." *ZDMG* 34, pp. 589-96.
- . (1892). *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata*. Kiel: C. F. Haeseler.
- Hooykaas, Christian. (1955). *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff. With special reference to the problem of interpolation on Kakawins.
- Hopkins, Edward Washburn. (1889). "The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India, as Represented in the Sanskrit Epic; with an Appendix on the Status of Women." *JAOS* 13, pp. 56-372. Reprint Varanasi: Bharat-Bharati Oriental Publishers and Booksellers, 1972.
- . (1898a). "Parallel Features in the Two Sanskrit Epics." *AJP* 19, pp. 138-51.
- . (1898b). "The Bhārata and the Great Bhārata." *AJP* 19, pp. 1-24.
- . (1899). "Proverbs and Tales Common to the Two Sanskrit Epics." *AJP* 20, pp. 22-39.
- . (1901). *The Great Epic of India: Its Character and Origin*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Reprint Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1969.
- . (1915a). "The Fountain of Youth." *JAOS* 26, no. 1, pp. 1-67.
- . (1915b). *Epic Mythology*. Strassburg: Trübner.
- . (1926). "The Original Rāmāyaṇa." *JAOS* 46, pp. 202-19.
- . (1930). "Allusions to the Rāma-story in the Mahābhārata." *JAOS* 50, pp. 85-103.
- Ingalls, Daniel H. H. (1965). *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry: Vidyākara's Subhāṣitaratnaḥ*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 44.
- . (1967). "The Harivaṃśa as a Mahākāvya." *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, vol. 28. Paris: L'Institut de Civilisation Indienne.

- Iyer, P. R. Chidambara. (1941). "Rāvaṇa: A Study in the Light of the New Psychology." *ABORI* 22, pp. 45-68.
- Jacobi, Hermann. (1893). *Das Rāmāyaṇa: Geschichte und Inhalt, nebst Concordanz der Gedruckten Recensionen*. Bonn: Friedrich Cohen.
- Jhala, G. C., ed. (1966). *The Sundarakāṇḍa: The Fifth Book of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: The National Epic of India*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- . (1968). "The Nala Episode and the Rāmāyaṇa." *ABORI* 48-49, pp. 295-98.
- Johnston, E. H. (1933). "The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: Bālakāṇḍa (North-Western Recension)." *JRAS*, pp. 181-83. Review.
- , ed. and trans. (1936). *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. Complete Sanskrit text with English translation (Cantos I to XIV translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version together with an introduction and notes). Reprint Delhi, 1972.
- Kale, M. R., ed. and trans. (1969). *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa with the Commentary (Samjīvanī) of Mallinātha*, 7th ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. Edited with introduction, English translation, critical notes.
- Kane, P. V. (1962-1975). *History of Dharmaśāstra*. 8 vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Vol. I, i (1968); vol. I, ii, 2nd ed. (1975); vol. II, i, 2nd ed. (1974); vol. II, ii, 2nd ed. (1974); vol. III, 2nd ed. (1973); vol. IV, 2nd ed. (1973); vol. V, i, 2nd ed. (1974); vol. V, ii (1962).
- . (1966). "The Two Epics." *ABORI* 47, pp. 11-58.
- Kapadia, Hiralal R. (1952). "The Rāmāyaṇa and the Jaina Writers." *JOIB* 1, pp. 115-18.
- Keith, A. B., trans. (1914). *The Veda of the Black Yajus School Entitled Taittiriya Sanhita*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 18, 19. Reprint Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967.
- . (1915). "The Date of the Rāmāyaṇa." *JRAS*, pp. 318-28.
- , trans. (1920). *The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rīgveda*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 25. Reprint Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971.
- . (1925). *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 31, 32.
- Khan, Benjamin. (1965). *The Concept of Dharma in Valmiki Ramayana*. Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal.
- Kibe, M. V. (1914). "Ravana's Lanka Discovered." *IR* 15, pp. 617-23.
- . (1928). "Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā Located in Central India." *IHQ* 4, pp. 694-702.
- . (1941a). *Cultural Descendants of Rāvaṇa (The Ruler of Laṅkā)*. Poona: Oriental Book Agency. Poona Oriental Series, no. 75: *A Volume of Studies in Indology*, pp. 264-66.
- . (1941b). "Is the Uttara Kanda of Valmiki Ramayana Un-Historical?" *JIH* 20, pp. 28-34.
- . (1947). *Location of Laṅkā*. Poona: Manohar Granthamala.
- Kirfel, Willibald. (1927). *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Kosambi, D. D. (1966). "Scientific Numismatics." *Scientific American* 214, no. 2, pp. 102-11.
- . (1970). *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.



- Kulkarni, V. M. (1959). "The Origin and Development of the Rāma-story in Jaina Literature." *JOIB* 9, pp. 189-204, 284-304.
- Lassen, Christian. (1858-1874). *Indische Alterthumskunde*. 4 vols. Leipzig: Kittler, etc. Vol. I (1867); vol. II (1874); vol. III (1858); vol. IV (1861).
- Law, Bimala Churn. (1943). "Tribes in Ancient India." *Bhandarkar Oriental Series*, no. 4. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- . (1951). "North India in the Sixth Century B.C." *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, pp. 1-18. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. *Age of Imperial Unity*, edited by R. C. Majumdar, 4th ed., 1968.
- . (1954). *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Paris: Société Asiatique de Paris. Preface by L. Renou.
- Lesny, V. (1913). "Ueber das Purāṇa-artige Gepraeg des Bālakāṇḍa." *ZDMG* 67, pp. 497-500.
- Lévi, Sylvain. (1918). "Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa." *JA* 11, no. 11, pp. 5-160.
- Lin, Li-kouang. (1947). *L'Aide Mémoire de la Vraie Loi*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Lord, A. B. (1960). *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lüders, Heinrich. (1897). "Die Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga." *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. Histo. Kl.*, pp. 87-135.
- . (1901). "Zur Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga." *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. Histo. Kl.*, pp. 28-56.
- . (1904). "Die Jātakas und die Epik." *ZDMG* 58, pp. 687-714.
- Lüdwig, A. (1894). *Ueber das Rāmāyaṇa*. Prague: n.p.
- Macdonell, Arthur Anthony. (1900). *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. London: W. Heinemann. New York: D. Appelton.
- . (1919). "'Ramaism' and 'Ramayana.'" *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Edited by James Hastings. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, 1919. Vol. 10, pp. 566-67, 574-78.
- Mankad, D. R., ed. (1965). *The Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa: The Fourth Book of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa: The National Epic of India*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- Masson, J. L. (J. Moussaieff Masson). (1969). "Who Killed Cock Krauṇca? Abhinavagupta's Reflections on the Origin of Aesthetic Experience." *JOIB* 18, pp. 207-24.
- . (1970). "Abhinavagupta as a Poet." *JOIB* 19, pp. 247-51.
- . (1975). "Fratricide among the Monkeys: Psychoanalytic Observations on an Episode in the Vālmikirāmāyaṇa." *JAOS* 95, pp. 672-78.
- . (1976). "The Psychology of the Ascetic." *JAS* 35, pp. 611-25.
- . (1980). *The Oceanic Feeling: The Origins of Religious Sentiment in Ancient India*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel. *Studies of Classical India*, vol. 3.
- . (1981). "Hanumān as an Imaginary Companion." *JAOS*, pp. 355-60.
- Mehta, C. N. (1941). *Sundara Kāṇḍam or The Flight of Hanuman to Lanka via Sunda Islands*. Bombay: Maganbhai Chhotabhai Desai.
- Menen, Aubrey. (1954). *The Ramayana*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Meyer, Johann Jakob. (1930). *Sexual Life in Ancient India; A Study in the Comparative History of Indian Culture*. 2 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Reprint in 1 vol., 1952. Translated from the German.
- Michelson, Truman. (1904). "Linguistic Archaisms of the Rāmāyaṇa." *JAOS* 25, pp. 89-145.
- Mittal, Jagdish. (1969). *Andhra Paintings of the Rāmāyaṇa*. Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Lalit Kala Akademi.

- Mookerji, R. K. (1951). "Rise of Maghadan Imperialism." *The History and Culture of the Indian People*. Vol. 2, *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 18-38. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. 4th ed., 1968.
- Muir, J. (1873). *Original Sanskrit Texts*. 5 vols. London: Trübner and Co. Reprint Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967.
- Narain, Dharendra (1957). *Hindu Character: A Few Glimpses*. Bombay: University of Bombay.
- Narasimhachar, D. L. (1939). "Jaina Rāmāyaṇas." *IHQ* 15, pp. 575-94.
- Narayan, R. K. (1972). *The Ramayana*. New York: Viking Press. A shortened modern prose version of the Indian epic (suggested by the Tamil version of Kamban).
- Nathan, Leonard, trans. (1976). *The Transport of Love, the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Panoly, V. (1961). *The Voice of Vālmiki (Rāma)*. Kozhi Kode (Kerala): Soudamini Panoly.
- Pargiter, Fredrick Eden. (1894). "The Geography of Rāma's Exile." *JRAS*, pp. 231-64.
- . (1910). "Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology." *JRAS*, pp. 1-56.
- . (1913). *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. New York: H. Milford.
- . (1922). *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. London: Oxford University Press. Reprint Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962.
- Peterson, Peter. (1879). *The Ramayana with Notes for the Use of Schools*. Book I. Bombay: Govt. Central Book Depot.
- Pollock, Sheldon. (1979). "Text Critical Observations on Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa." *Sternbach Festschrift*, vol. 1, pp. 317-24. Lucknow: Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad.
- Raghavan, V. (1950). "Uḍali's Commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa." *AOR*, pp. 1-8.
- . (1961). *Some Old Lost Rāma Plays*. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University. Lectures delivered at Annamalai University.
- , ed. (1968). *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. Madras: Oriental Research Institute.
- . (1973). *The Greater Ramayana*. Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust. Foreword by Vibhuti Narain Singh.
- . (1975). *The Ramayana in Greater India*. Surat: South Gujarat University. The Rao Bahadur Kamalashankar Pranshankar Trivedi Memorial Lectures.
- Raghu Vira, and Chikyo Yamamoto. (1938). *Rāmāyaṇa in China*. Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture. Sarasvati-Vihara Series No. 8.
- Ramadas, G. (1925a). "The Aboriginal Tribes in the Rāmāyaṇa." *Man in India* 5, pp. 28-55.
- . (1925b). "Aboriginal Names in the Ramayana." *JBORS* 11, pp. 41-53.
- . (1928). "Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā." *IHQ* 4, pp. 339-46.
- . (1929). "Rāvaṇa and His Tribes." *IHQ* 5, pp. 281-99.
- . (1930). "Rāvaṇa and His Tribes (cont.)." *IHQ* 6, pp. 284-98, 544-48.
- Ramaswami-Sastri, K. S. (1944). *Riddles of the Ramayana*. Baroda: Baroda State Department of Education. Kirti Mandi Lecture Series, no. 9.
- Rau, Wilhelm. (1957). *Staat und Gesellschaft im Alten Indien (nach den Brāhmaṇa-texten dargestellt)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Raychaudhuri, Hemachandra C. (1923). *Political History of Ancient India*. Calcutta: n.p.
- Renou, L. (1946-1947). "Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki." *JA* 235, pp. 137-39.
- . (1963). "Review of Valmiki Ramayana, Critical Edition, Vol. II, Ayodhya-kanda." *JA* 251, pp. 283-84.



- Renou, L., and Jean Filliozat. (1947). *L'Inde classique; manuel des études indiennes*. 2 vols. Paris: Payot.
- Rhys-Davids, T. W. (1903). *Buddhist India*. London: T. Fisher Unwin. New York: Putnam.
- Roussel, Alfred, trans. (1903-1909). *Le Rāmāyaṇa de Vālmiki*. 3 vols. Paris: Librairie orientale et américaine.
- . (1910). "Les anomalies du Rāmāyaṇa." *JA* 10, no. 15, pp. 5-69.
- . (1910-1912). *Rāmāyaṇa; études philologiques (Extrait du Muséon)*. Louvain: J.-B. Ista. Vol. 11, pp. 89-120, 217-237; vol. 12, pp. 25-74; vol. 13, pp. 27-52.
- Ruben, Walter. (1936). *Studien zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyaṇa*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- . (1965). "The Minister Jābāli in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa." *Indian Studies Past and Present*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 443-66.
- Sahai, Sachchidanand. (1976). *The Rāmāyaṇa in Laos: A Study in the Gvāy Dvōrahbī*. Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation.
- Sahni, Daya Ram. (1927). "Kauśāmbī." *JRAS*, pp. 689-98.
- Sankalia, H. D. (1973). *Ramayana: Myth or Reality?* New Delhi: People's Publishing House.
- Sarma, L. P. Pandeya. (1927). "The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki Mentions Two Kośalas." *IHQ* 3, pp. 68-72.
- Schlegel, August Wilhelm von, ed. and trans. (1829-1838). *Ramayana id es carmen epicum de Ramae rebus gestis poetae antiquissimi Valmicis opus*. 3 vols. Bonn: Typis regiis. Volumes numbered 1.1, 1.2, 2.1.
- Schroeder, L. V. von. (1887). *Indiens Literatur und Kultur in historischer Entwicklung*. Leipzig: n.p.
- Sen, Dineshcandra. (1920). *The Bengali Rāmāyaṇas*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- Sen, Nabaneeta. (1966). "Comparative Studies in Oral Epic Poetry and the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa: A Report on the Bālakāṇḍa." *JAOS* 86, pp. 397-409.
- Sen, Nilmadhav (= Nilmadhab). (1949). "The Secondary Conjugations in the Rāmāyaṇa." *PO* 14, pp. 89-106.
- . (1950). "Un-Pāṇinian Sandhi in the Rāmāyaṇa." *JASB(L)* 16, pp. 13-39.
- . (1951a). "Un-Pāṇinian Perfect forms in the Rāmāyaṇa." *Vāk* 1, pp. 11-18.
- . (1951b). "Some Phonetical Characteristics of the Rāmāyaṇa." *JASB(L)* 17, pp. 225-39.
- . (1951c). "The Future-System of the Rāmāyaṇa." *IL* 12, pp. 1-11.
- . (1951d). "The Aorist-System of the Rāmāyaṇa." *Vāk* 1, pp. 61-64.
- . (1951e). "Un-Pāṇinian Infinitive Forms in the Rāmāyaṇa." *IL* 12, pp. 21-24.
- . (1951f). "The Vocabulary of the Rāmāyaṇa." *Vāk* 1, pp. 53-60.
- . (1952a). "The Vocabulary of the Rāmāyaṇa." *Vāk* 2, pp. 26-30.
- . (1952b). "Syntax of Tenses in the Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 1, no. 4, pp. 301-307.
- . (1952c). "A Comparative Study in Some Linguistic Aspects of the Different Recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 1, pp. 119-29.
- . (1953). "A Note on the 'Rāmāyaṇa and Its Influence upon Ballāla Sena and Raghunandana.'" *JOIB* 2, pp. 232-35.
- . (1952/53). "On the Syntax of the Cases in the Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 2, pp. 118-27, 311-26.

- . (1953/54). "Some Epic Verbal Forms in the Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 3, pp. 152-63.
- . (1955). "Un-Pāṇinian Nominal Declensions in the Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 5, no. 2, pp. 2-4.
- . (1956a). "Un-Pāṇinian Pronouns and Numerals in the Rāmāyaṇa." *JOIB* 5, no. 3, pp. 266-71.
- . (1956b). "The Influence of the Epics on Indian Life and Literature." *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. 2. Edited by S. K. Chatterji. Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. First ed. 1937; second revised ed. 1953-1978.
- . (1957). "The Vocabulary of the Rāmāyaṇa (Long Compounds)." *Vāk* 5, pp. 142-46.
- Shah, U. P., ed. (1975). *The Uttarakāṇḍa: The Seventh Book of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: The National Epic of India*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- . (1976). "The Sālakatañkaṭas and Laṅkā." *JAOS* 96, pp. 109-13.
- Sharma, Ramashraya. (1971). *A Socio-Political Study of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Shastri, Vishvabhandu, ed. (1940). "Vālmīkiya-Rāmāyaṇam (Sundaram-Kāṇḍam)." *D.A.V. College Sanskrit Series*, vol. 5. Lahore: Research Dept. D.A.V. College. North-western recension, critically edited for the first time from original mss.
- Shende, N. J. (1943). "The Authorship of the Rāmāyaṇa." *JUB (Bombay)* 12, no. 2, pp. 19-24.
- Sircar, D. C. (1976). "The Rāmāyaṇa and the Daśaratha-Jātaka." *JOIB* 26, pp. 50-55.
- Sita Ram. (1928). "Kauśāmbī." *JRAS*, p. 400.
- Śluszkiewicz, Eugeniusz. (1938). *Przyczynki do badań nad dziejami redakcyj Rāmāyaṇy*. Kraków: Komisja orientalistyczna. With French abstract.
- Smith, R. Morton. (1973). *Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India*. Edited by J. L. Shastri. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Sukthankar, V. S., ed. (1933). *The Ādiparvan, Being the First Book of the Mahābhārata*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Institute.
- . (1937). "The Bhṛguś and the Bharata: A Text-Historical Study." *ABORI* 18, pp. 1-76. Reprinted in *V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition*, vol. I., pp. 278-337.
- . (1939). "The Nala Episode and the Rāmāyaṇa." *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Professor F. W. Thomas, C.I.E. on his 72nd Birth-day*. Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House. Edited by S. M. Katre. Reprinted in *V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition*, vol. I, pp. 406-15.
- . (1941). "The Rāma Episode (Rāmopākhyāna) and the Rāmāyaṇa." *A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. on his 61st Birthday*, pp. 472-87. Poona: Oriental Book Agency. Edited by P. K. Gode; Poona Oriental Series, vol. 75. Reprinted in *V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition*, vol. I, pp. 387-405.
- . (1944). *V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. I (Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata)*. Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House. Edited by P. K. Gode.
- Sutherland, Sally J. Martindale. (1979). *Sukrācārya the Demons' Priest: Aspects of Character Development in Sanskrit Mythological Literature*. Berkeley: University of California. Dissertation.
- Sweeney, P. L. Amin. (1972). *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow Play*. Kuala Lum-



- pur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (The National University of Malaysia Press).
- Te Nijenhuis, Emmie. (1970). *Dattilam: A Compendium of Ancient Indian Music*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. Introduction, translation, and commentary.
- . (1974). *Indian Music: History and Structure*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. Handbuch der Orientalistik, edited by J. Gonda, no. 2:6.
- Thapar, Romila. (1978). *Exile and the Kingdom: Some Thoughts on the Rāmāyaṇa*. Bangalore: The Mythic Society.
- . (1979). "The Historian and the Epic." *ABORI* 60, pp. 199-213.
- Thomas, E. J. (1927). *The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History*. London: Routledge & Kegan. Reprint 1952.
- Thompson, Stith. (1932-1936). *Motif-Index of Folk-literature*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Indiana University Studies vols. 19/20, 20/21, 22, 23. Reprinted in 6 vols., Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1955-1958.
- Tiwari, Arya Ramachandra. (1952/1953). "Time of Bālakāṇḍa." *JOIB* 2, pp. 9-17.
- Vaidya, P. L., ed. (1971). *The Yuddhakāṇḍa: The Sixth Book of the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa: The National Epic of India*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- van Buitenen, J.A.B., ed. and trans. (1973-1978). *The Mahābhārata*. 3 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Vol. I, 1973; vol. II, 1975; vol. III, 1978.
- van Daalen, L. A. (1980). *Vālmiki's Sanskrit*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Vrat, Satya. (1958). "The Concept of Fate in the Rāmāyaṇa." *PO* 23, no. 1-2, pp. 61-66.
- . (1964). *The Rāmāyaṇa: A Linguistic Study*. Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal.
- Vyas, S. N. (1967). *India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age*. Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons.
- Weber, Albrecht. (1870). *Ueber das Rāmāyaṇa*. Berlin: F. R. Dümmler. Printed in *Akademie der Wissenschaften* (pp. 1-88). (*Philologische & historische Abhandlungen*), vol. 55. Berlin: Abhandlungen Berlin, 1870. Translated by D. C. Boyd, "On the Rāmāyaṇa" by Albrecht Weber," *IA* vol. 1, 1872. (pp. 120-27, 172-82, 239-53).
- . (1876). *Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte*. Berlin: n.p. Translated by John Mann and Theodor Zachariae as *The History of Indian Literature*. London: Trübner and Co., 1882.
- . (1891). "Episches im vedischen Ritual." *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, p. 818.
- West, M. L. (1973). *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*. Stuttgart: B. G. Trübner.
- Wheeler, James Talboys. (1867-1881). *The History of India from the Earliest Ages*. 4 vols. London: N. Trübner and Co. Vol. 2, *The Rāmāyaṇa and the Brahmanic period*. 1869.
- Wilson, H. H. (1864). *The Vishṇu Purāṇa, a System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition*. 5 vols. London: Trübner and Co. Edited by Fitzedward Hall.
- Winternitz, Moriz. (1904-1920). *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*. 3 vols. Leipzig: n.p. English translation: *A History of Indian Literature*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1927-1963.
- Wirtz, H. (1894). *Die Westliche Rezension des Rāmāyaṇa*. Bonn: n.p. Dissertation.

# Index

abduction of Sītā, 9, 130

Ādhūrtarajasa (founder of Dharmāraṇya), 184

ādikāvi, 30, 71

Ādikāvya, 97

Agastya, 123; brother of, 123; curses Mārīca and Tātakā, 172-173

age: of *Rām*, 29; of Rāma, 325

Agni: drinks Śiva's semen, 192, 351; releases Śiva's semen, 353; role in Skanda's birth, 192-193

Ahalyā: curse of, 36, 78; performs austerities, 215; seduction by Indra, 215-218

Akṣa: crushed by Hanumān, 125

Ambarīṣa: sacrifice of, 239

*Amṛtakataka* of Mādhvayogin (Mādhava Yogīndra), 84, 115

Amśumant, 197-203; searches for Sagara's horse, 201-203; unable to bring Ganges to earth, 208

Anasūyā, 64, 130

Aṅga, 75, 76; location of, 293

Aṅgada, 10

annotation, 96, 113-114

*Aranyakāṇḍa*, 8, 9, 25, 64

*Āranyakaparvan*, 34

archetype of *Rām*, 20, 23

Arjuna, 51, 52

Arnold, Matthew, 98

Āryāvarta as region for sacrifice, 356

Asamañja, 197

ascetic power, 169, 171; of Gautama, 217; of Umā, 191

asceticism of Śiva, 193

ascetics, 9; aided by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, 180

Asita, 388

aśoka trees, 11

aśvamedha, *see* Horse Sacrifice

*Atharvaveda*, 373

Atibalā (magic spell), 167-168

Auerbach, Eric, 98, 105

austerities: of Bhagīratha, 204; of the five fires, 360; of Gautama, 216; of Kuśanābha's daughters, 184; practiced by Suketu, 172; prescribed in the *vedas*, 192, 352; of Rāvaṇa, 311; of Śiva and Umā, 193; of Umā, 190; of Viśvāmitra, 228-246, 383

authorship of *Rām*, 14, 29

*avatāra*, 45, 46, 68

Avindhya, 36, 37

Ayodhyā, 7, 8, 18-23, 25, 41, 52, 77, 134-136, 170, 289; built by Manu, 134; capital of Kosala, 22, 73; Janaka sends messengers to, 251-252; populace: follow Rāma, 13, grief-stricken at Rāma's exile, 8, spread rumors about Sītā, 13; Rāma's return to, 131; ruled by Sagara, 196; called Sāketa, 22

Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 8, 25; discontinuity with what follows, 48; historicity of, 25, 28

Balā (magic spell), 167-168

Bālakāṇḍa, 6, 7, 21, 42; compared with *Mbh*, 12; date of, 22, 61-63; earlier than *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 15; genealogical elements in, 78; geographical elements in, 78; influenced by *Mbh* and *purāṇas*, 63; Kauśika influence on, 349; later addition, 15, 22, 58, 60; legend of Viśvāmitra in, 78-79, 370; mythology, 77; older portions, 23, 61; purāṇic: quality of, 60, 78, stories in, 77; and *Rāmopākhyāna*, 36; relation to *Rām*, 63-67; textual history, 44, 62-81, 344, 373, 393; sacrificial element in, 77; secondary manipulation of text, 77; Vaiṣṇava: element of, 77, influence on, 396

Bali Vairocana, 179

ballads, 31, 32

banishment of Rāma, 130



- Bansidhara Śivasahāya, *see* Śivasahāya  
 Vamśīdhara  
 bards: in Ayodhyā, 134; reciting the  
*Rām* at Horse Sacrifice, 13  
 battles: at Lañkā, 2; reality of, 104  
 bears, 316-317  
 Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*, 40  
*Bhagavadgītā*, 45, 47, 50  
 Bhagīratha, 204-208; leads Ganges to  
 Rasātala, 363  
 Bhāgīrathī, *see* Ganges  
*bhakti*, 44, 45  
 Bhānumant, 21  
 Bharadvāja (a sage), 123, 127; as disci-  
 ple of Vālmiki, 128; instructions to  
 Rāma, 130; Rāma's meeting with,  
 130  
 Bharata, 7, 8, 51, 52, 53, 122, 123,  
 131; birth of, 159; hears recitation  
 of the *Rām*, 132; love of Śatrughna,  
 160; meeting with Rāma, 130; re-  
 ceives bride, 259; wedding of, 262  
 Bhārata war, 21  
 Bhārgava influence: on *Mbh*, 379-380,  
 388; on *Rām*, 379-380, 388  
 Bhārgava legends in *Rām* and *Mbh*,  
 379-380  
 Bhārgava Rāma, *see* Rāma Jāmadagnya  
 Bhārgava redactors, 79, 80  
 Bhatt, G. H., 74, 273  
 Bhava, *see* Śiva  
 Bhavabhūti, 66, 72  
 Bhīṣma, 50, 52; as hero, 55; story of,  
 53  
 Bhṛgu grants boon to Sagara, 196  
 boon: of Bhṛgu to Sagara, 196; of  
 Brahmā: to Bhagīratha, 204-205,  
 360, to Rāvaṇa, 7, 154, 164, 310-  
 311; of Daśaratha to Kaikeyī, 8; of  
 Jamadagni to his son, Rāma Jāma-  
 dagni, 370; of Suketu to Tātakā,  
 172; of Śiva to Viśvāmitra, 228-229  
 bow, 7; breaking of Śiva's bow, 58,  
 130, 251; history of Śiva's bow, 79;  
 of Indra, 123; of Janaka, 182; of  
 Śiva, 45, 57, 58, 79, 130, 248-251,  
 345, 385, 393-394; of Viṣṇu, 266  
 Brahmā, 72, 125, 126, 168, 191; as  
 ancestor of the Ikṣvākus, 134; com-  
 mands the composition of the *Rām*,  
 129; grants boon: to Bhagīratha,  
 204-205, to Rāvaṇa, 155, 164; grants  
 brahmanhood to Viśvāmitra, 246;  
 grants Suketu a daughter, 172; and  
 Vālmiki, 128-129; petitioned by  
 gods, 76, 193, 198; inspires Vālmiki,  
 82; world of, 126; orders the gods to  
 incarnate, 157; and Lake Mānasa,  
 170; son of, 184; pronounces Viś-  
 vāmitra a royal seer, 231; questioned  
 by the gods, 265  
 Brahmadatta, 187  
 brahmans, 24, 137, 138, 140, 146-148,  
 235, 247; feeding of during Horse  
 Sacrifice, 150; more powerful than  
 kshatriyas, 227, 231  
*brāhmaṇas*, *see* brahmans  
 bridge to Lañkā, 12  
 Buddha, 21, 22  
 Buddhism, 20, 21; and the date of the  
*Rām*, 352  
 Buddhist: adaption of Rāma story, 40;  
 attitude on Rāma's divinity, 43;  
 brahmanical hostility toward, 32; lit-  
 erature, 22; mendicants, 304; move-  
 ment, 20  
 Bulcke, Camille, 32, 34, 40, 61-64, 66,  
 69-70, 74; on date of *Bālakāṇḍa*, 60-  
 61; on superficiality of *putrīyeṣṭi*, 74  
  
*caṇḍāla*, 376  
 Carey, William, 3  
 Ceylon, 28  
 characterization, 49  
 child marriage, 19  
 China, 40  
 churning of the ocean, *see* ocean  
 Citrakūṭa, *see* Mount Citrakūṭa  
 commentary, *see* Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa*,  
 commentaries on  
 commentators, 85, 114; contributions  
 of, 114; Vaiṣṇava bias of, 116  
 composite character sets, 54  
 consecration of Rāma interrupted, 130  
 cows: as gift, 152; taken in exchange  
 for Śunaḥśepha, 240; Vasiṣṭha's  
 wishing cow, 223, 371  
 critical edition, principles of, 273, 275,

322. *See also Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, crit. ed.
- crow, encounter with Sītā, 38
- Cūlin, 186
- cult: of Viṣṇu, 23; of Rāma, 3, 46, 47
- cultural data of *Rām*, 18, 20
- curse: of the earth by Umā, 352; false curse made by Vasiṣṭha, 375; freedom from through bathing, 206; of the gods and the earth by Umā, 192; of Indra and Ahalyā, 78, 216; of Mahodaya, 236; of Mārīca, 172; of social degradation, 376; of Tātakā, 172; of Triśaṅku, 233; of Vasiṣṭha's sons, 236; of Viśvāmitra's sons, 241
- Dakṣa: sacrifice of, 345, 384
- Dāmodara, 22
- Daṇḍaka forest, 8, 9, 123; journey to, 130; location of, 276
- Daśaratha, 7, 21, 73, 122, 134, 143, 159; father of Rāma, 155; Horse Sacrifice of, 60; journeys to Mithilā, 254-255; name, 24; prophecy that Rśyaśṛṅga would produce sons for, 76; story of, 77; sons of, 7
- Dasaratha Jātaka*, 32, 33, 43
- date of *Rāmāyaṇa*, 14; of oldest parts, 23; problems in dating, 14; relative to *Mbh*, 20; relative to the rise of Buddhism, 352; scholarship on, 14
- deer, 9
- deference, 66
- demons, 26; as aboriginals, 27
- derivations, 365
- Devarāta, 266
- devotionalism, 44; in South India, 116
- dharma, 53
- Dharma, Rāma his equal in truthfulness, 122
- Dharmākūṭam* of Tryambaka Makhin, 115
- Dharmāraṇya, 21; founded by Ādhūrtarajasa, 184
- digging of ocean, *see* ocean
- Dilīpa, 203-204; unable to bring Ganges to earth, 209
- Diomedes, 101
- discontinuity, 48
- Diti: sons of, 210; fetus smashed by Indra, 212
- divine weapons, *see* magic
- divinity of hero, 43-45, 69
- Drona, 52
- duel of Rāma and Kumbhakarna, 101
- Dundubhi, 124
- Dūṣaṇa, 124
- dwarf as incarnation of Viṣṇu, 178, 342
- dynastic lists, 22, 24
- earth, 13; curse of, 353
- elixir of life, 210, 364
- enchantment, 4, 9, 10, 25, 41, 80
- epic: Greek, 32; heroes, 49-59; nucleus, 30; poetry, 109
- epithets, 104-105; ending in *ātman*, 107; Homer's use of, 105; treatment in translation, 107-108; Vālmiki's use of, 104-105
- equanimity, 52
- ethnology, 28
- etymology, *see* folk etymology
- exile, 8, 41
- fairy tale, 10, 13, 40, 41, 42, 54
- fantasy, 27
- filial piety, 55
- flying monkeys, 25
- folk etymology, 354, 365, 366
- folk literature, 41; as source for *Rām*, 42
- folklore, 40
- formulaic discourse, 98
- Gādhi, 188; father of Viśvāmitra, 221
- Ganges, 27, 69, 123, 127, 130, 168, 183, 190, 204; descent of, 78, 205; forms the ocean, 364; origin of, 78; presence on earth, 205; released into Lake Bindu by Śiva, 206; role in Skanda's birth, 194; swallowed and released by Jahnu, 363; termed Bhāgīrathī, 207; trapped in Śiva's hair, 205, 361
- Garuḍa, 355
- Gautama, 215-218; curses Indra and Ahalyā, 216



- genealogical elements, 78  
 genealogical lists, 24  
 genealogy: of the Ikṣvākus, 25; of Janaka, 257-258; of Kauśika, 349; of Rāma, 256-257; of Viśvāmitra, 221, 328  
 geographical data, 20, 23  
 geographical elements, 78  
 geography of South India, 28  
 Girivraja, 21; founded by Vasu, 184  
*Gītā*, 47  
 glossing, 85  
 Golden Age, 126, 210, 279  
 Goldman, Robert, 51, 53, 54  
 Gorresio, Gaspare: annotations of, 113; on central conflict of *Rām*, 26; on date of *Rām*, 14; on recensional divergence, 302  
 Govindarāja (author of *Rāmāyaṇabhūṣaṇa*), 84, 115, 117  
 Griffith, Ralph T., 106  
  
 Hālāhala poison, 364; drunk by Śiva, 365  
 Hanumān, 10, 11, 38, 39; captured by *rākṣasas*, 11, 131; concern of, 278; as fantasy figure, 104; legend in *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 79; in *Mbh*, 39; meeting with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, 10, 124, 130; receives advice from Sampāti, 125; wreaks havoc in Laṅkā, 11  
 Hara, *see* Śiva  
 Hāritas, 373; produced from wishing cow, 228  
*Harivaṃśa*, 45-47; later than *Rām*, 45; relationship to *Rām*, 46  
 Hastinapura, 20  
 hero, *see* epic, heroes  
 Himalayas, 188, 190, 194, 196, 198, 203, 246; as place of austerity for Viśvāmitra, 228  
 Himavant, *see* Himalayas  
 Himavatī, *see* Ganges  
 Hinduism, 19, 23  
 historical reality, 26, 48  
 historicity, 15, 23-25, 28, 48  
 history, 15  
 Holtzmann, Adolf, on contradictions in *Bālakāṇḍa*, 60  
  
 Homer, 98, 99; Arnold's essay on, 98; compared with Vālmiki, 99-105; epics contrasted with *Rām*, 50; use of epithets, 105; use of hyperbole, 103-104  
 Horse Sacrifice, 13, 21, 60, 74, 126, 145-153, 159, 279, 292, 298-299, 302-309; of Daśaratha, 60; for obtaining a son, 139; relationship with Putrīyā Iṣṭi, 77; of Sagara, 198, 356; setting for, 76  
 hyperbole, 103, 104  
  
 Ikṣvāku, 214  
 Ikṣvākus, 20, 22, 73, 121, 136, 159, 165; continuance of, 205; descendants of Brahmā, 134; dynastic lists of, 24; genealogy, 25; kings who performed Horse Sacrifice, 74; saga of forebears, 78; treatment of in *Rām*, 134  
*Iliad*, 50, 94, 98  
 immolation of widows, 18  
 Indra, 155, 195, 290; carries off horse from Sagara's sacrifice, 198; casts Triśaṅku from heaven, 237; cursed by Gautama, 216; defeated by Bali Vairocana, 179; disguised as *rākṣasa*, 198; grants Diti's request, 213; and the killing of Mantharā, 173; and the killing of Vṛtra, 171; pleased by Rāma's killing of Tātakā, 174; seduction of Ahalyā, 215-217; sends Rambhā to tempt Viśvāmitra, 244-245; slays sons of Diti, 211; spares Śunaḥśepa, 242; steals Ambarīṣa's sacrificial victim, 239; story of told by Viśvāmitra, 209-213; tests Viśvāmitra, 383  
 Indrajit, *see* Meghanāda  
 Ingalls, D.H.H., 45, 46  
 interpolations of *Rām*, 11, 15, 18, 91  
 interpretation, *see* Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa*: interpretation  
*itihāsa*, 16, 35  
  
 Jacobi, Herman, 10, 15, 21, 48, 63; on Ayodhyā as capital of Kosala, 22; on

- date of *Rāmāyaṇa*, 20, 32, 33, 60; on importance of the Horse Sacrifice in *Bālakāṇḍa*, 302; on interpolated passages, 11; on the marriage of Lakṣmaṇa, 65; mythological interpretation of *Rāmāyaṇa*, 48; polishing theory of, 84; on sources of *Rāmāyaṇa*, 34; theory of *Rāmopākhyāna*, 36, 38, 39; theory attacked by van Buitenen, 37, 38
- Jāhnavī, *see* Ganges
- Jahnu releases Ganges, 363
- Jain *Rāmāyaṇas*, 40, 42
- Jains, 40; reject Rāma's divinity, 43
- Janaka, 7, 9, 24, 57, 218-220, 247-248; attendance at Horse Sacrifice, 148; breaks siege of Mithilā, 250; kills Sudhanvan, 258; name, 24; sacrifice of, 182, 218-219; spills his semen, 385
- Janakī, *see* Sītā
- janapada*, 21-23
- Janasthāna, 123
- jātakas*, 32, 40
- Jaṭāyus, 10; killed by Rāvaṇa, 124
- Java, 40
- Jhala, 34
- Johnston, E. H.: on text-critical principles, 92
- Kabandha, 124; Rāma's encounter with, 130
- Kaikeyī, 8, 53, 54, 122; eats divine porridge, 157; gives birth to Bharata, 159; receives new brides, 269; wicked nature of, 130
- Kalmāṣapāda, 256, 389
- Kāma, 78, 169
- Kamban, 40
- Kāmbojas, 373; produced from wishing cow, 227
- Kapila, 357
- Kārtikeya, *see* Skanda
- Kāśyapa, 139
- Kataka Mādhava Yogīndra (Mādhava-yogin) (author of *Amṛtakataka*), 84, 115
- Kauravas, 21
- Kausalyā, 54, 122; and the divine porridge, 156; gives birth to Rāma, 159; receives new brides, 269; role in the Horse Sacrifice, 151
- Kauśāmbī, 21; founded by Kuśāmba, 184
- Kauśika, influence on *Bālakāṇḍa*, 349
- Kauśika clan, 79
- Kauśikī river, 78
- kāvya*, 16, 35, 97
- Khara, 9; slain by Rāma, 124, 130
- Kirātas, 373; produced from wishing cow, 228
- Kiṣkindhā, 10, 26; Rāma goes to, 125; location of, 277
- Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, 10
- Kosala, 5, 6, 20, 41, 70, 134; capital of, 22, 73; governed by Rāma's sons, 21
- krauñca* bird, 127, 128
- Kṛṣṇa, 45, 46; breaking Kaṁsa's bow, 46; career drawn from *Rām*, 46; cowherd god, 46; in *Bhagavadgītā*, 51
- Kṛttikās provide milk for Skanda, 195
- kshatriyas, 126, 137, 138, 148, 184, 247; code of, 266; inferior to brahmins, 226, 231
- Kubera, Rāma the equal of, 122
- Kumāra, *see* Skanda
- Kumbhakarna, 37, 131
- Kurujāṅgala, 20
- Kurukṣetra, 20, 53
- Kuśa: as head of Viśvāmitra's lineage, 221; legendary king, 78; son of Brahmā, 184, 188. *See also* sons of Rāma
- Kuśa and Lava (*kuśilava*), significance of term, 73, 273, 286. *See also* sons of Rāma
- Kuśadhvaja, 255
- Kuśāmba, 184
- Kuśanābha, 78, 184-188, 221; daughters of, 184-187; founder of Mahodaya, 184
- Kuśāvatī, 21
- kuśilava*, *see* Kuśa and Lava
- Lake Mānasa, 170
- Lake Pampā, 9, 124; location of, 277; Rāma's arrival at, 130
- Lakṣmaṇa: birth of, 159; deference to



**Lakṣmaṇa (cont.)**

elder brother, 66; exile, 51; follows Rāma to forest, 122; hears recitation of the *Rām*, 133; kills Kumbhakarna in *Rāmopākhyāna*, 37; marriage to Ūrmilā, 64, 65; mutilation of demon-ess, 9; qualities of, 160; receives Ūrmilā from Janaka, 258; suppression of emotional life, 66; wedding of, 262

language of the Sanskrit epics, 16

Laṅkā, 9, 10, 11, 28, 125; battle at, 11, 28; bridge to, 12; Hanumān's leap to, 131; location of, 28; *rākṣasas* of, 26; set on fire by Hanumān, 11

Laos, 40

Lassen, Christian, 302

Lava, *see* sons of Rāma

Lesny, V., on date of *Bālakāṇḍa*, 61

levirate, 19, 77

linguistic evidence, 20

Lomapāda, *see* Romapāda

Macdonell, A. A., 3; on composite nature of the *Rām*, 25; on epic warfare, 28; on "two distinct parts," 26; on Vālmiki's battle scenes, 104

Mādhava Yogindra (Mādhavayogin), *see* Kataka

Magadha, 20, 22, 78, 184; hegemony, 21

Māgadhi (= Śoṇa), 21, 183-184, 189

magic, 41; spells, 7, 167, 168, 177-178; power, 42; weapons, 7, 175-177, 228-229, 329

*Mahābhārata*: appendix to, 46; and *Bhagavadgītā*, 45; Bhārgava legends in, 379-380; Bhārgava redactors of, 79; compared with *Bāla* and *Uttarakāṇḍas*, 12; compared with *Rām*, 4, 15-16, 18, 19, 28, 33, 41, 46, 77, 80, 82, 84; and crit. ed. of *Rām*, 39; and date of *Rām*, 15, 33, 80, 371; encyclopedic quality of, 77; epic core of, 30; fairy tales and legends in, 42; heroes contrasted with Rāma, 50; heroes in, 55; as *itihāsa*, 16; immolation of widows in, 18; influence on *Rām*, 63; legendary author of, 29;

levirate in, 18, 77; mention of Hanumān, 39; poets of, compared with Vālmiki, 99; psychological reality of, 53; *Rām*'s knowledge of, 58; realism of, 28; recensions of, 84; on single authorship of *Rām*, 29; source of *Rām*'s story of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, 79; status of Bhārgava Rāma in, 45; stylistic differences from *Rām*, 17; text-critical principles as model for *Rām* text, 91; warfare in, 28

*Mahābhārata/purāṇa* tradition: importance of Horse Sacrifice in, 75

Maheśvaratīrtha, 84; author of the *Tattvadīpikā*, 115

Mahodaya, 21, 236, 237

Malaysia, 401

Māṇḍavī, 262

Manu, 134

manuscripts, 5, 14, 82, 83

Mārīca, 9, 165; assists Rāvaṇa, 124; attempts to dissuade Rāvaṇa, 64, 124; commanded by Rāvaṇa, 164; destruction of, 130; obstructs Viśvāmitra's sacrifice, 162, 181; son of Tāṭakā, 171, 172; transformed into *rākṣasa* by Agastya's curse, 172

Mārīca Kāśyapa, 211

marriage: of Bharata and Māṇḍavī, 259-262; of Lakṣmaṇa and Ūrmilā, 259-262; of Rāma and Sītā, 79, 259-262; of Śatrughna and Śrutakīrti, 259-262

Mārutas, 213

Maruts, 78

Mathurā, 46; founded by Śatrughna, 47

Meghanāda, 131

Menā (daughter of Mount Meru), 190

Menakā, 242; infatuates Viśvāmitra, 243

metrical formulae in *Rām*, 17; variation in, 100

Mithilā, 7, 21, 77, 78, 215; besieged by angry kings, 249; Janaka as lord of, 182

Mlecchas, 373; produced from wishing cow, 228

monkeys, 10, 157-158, 316-317; build

- bridge to Lañkā, 12; as tribesmen, 27; befriend Rāma, 42; as sons of gods, 76; sent in search of Sītā, 125  
 Mount Citrakūṭa, 38, 52, 123, 130  
 Munibhāva author of *Prakāśikā*, 115  
 mythology, 48; in *Bālakāṇḍa*, 77
- Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (author of *Tilaka*), 115  
 Nala, 125, 131  
 Nalopākhyāna, 34  
 Nandigrāma, 123, 126, 130, 276  
 Nārada, 31, 43, 44, 70, 121-122; and Vālmiki, 42, 68, 70, 82, 121-122, 127, 129; his synopsis of the epic story, 68, 72, 121-126  
 Narain, Dharendra, 49  
 Nārāyaṇa, 43  
 Niśādas, 127, 236; chief of, 130; significance of term, 280  
*niyojana*, 18, 77  
 northern recension, *see* recensions
- ocean: churning of, 78, 210; digging of, 78, 198-201, 207  
 oral-formulaic epic, 16; poetry, 99; poets, 98; transmission, 14, 83, 88
- Pahlavas: foreign invaders, 372; produced from wishing cow, 227  
 painting, 40  
 Pali: *Dasaratha Jātaka*, 32; *Tipiṭaka*, 32  
 Pampā, *see* Lake Pampā  
 Pañcavatī, 9  
*Pāṇḍava Purāṇa*, 55  
 Pāṇḍavas, 30, 50  
 Pāṇini, 16  
 Paradise Lost, 94  
 Pargiter, Frederick, 24  
 pariah, 376  
 Pārvatī, *see* Umā  
 Pāṭaliputra, 21, 22  
 patronymics, in translation, 112  
*Paumacariya*, 40  
*pāyasa*, *see* porridge  
 Peterson, Peter, 115  
*phalaśruti*, 44, 69, 354, 363  
 poetic diction, 99  
 poetic sentiments, *see* *rasa*  
 poetry, 39, 40, 132; invention of, 71-72, 128; kinesthetic effect of Sanskrit poetry, 109  
 polishing theory, 84  
 political data in *Rām*, 20  
 Pollock, Sheldon: on divinity of Rāma, 44; on age of Rāma, 325  
 popular etymology, *see* folk etymology  
 porridge (*pāyasa*), 156, 313-315  
 Prasenajit, 22  
 preamble (*upodghāta*), 6  
 proper nouns, in translation, 112  
 prose: as medium of translation, 97; formulae, 17  
 prostitutes, 141  
 psychology of *Rām*, 55, 80  
 puppet theater, 40  
*purāṇas*, 17, 22, 24, 25, 29, 42; influence on *Rām*, 63; Vaiṣṇava, 45  
 purāṇic quality of *Bālakāṇḍa*, 60  
 Pūru, 53; as hero, 55  
 Puṣkara, 239, 379  
 Puṣpaka, 12, 126, 131, 387  
*putrakāmeṣṭi*, *see* Putriyā Iṣṭi  
 Putriyā Iṣṭi, 60, 74; relationship with Horse Sacrifice, 77; setting for, 76
- Rabelais, 103  
 Raghavan, V., 34, 36, 37, 40  
 Raghu, 25  
 Rājagṛha, 8  
 Rājatarāṅginī, 22  
*rākṣasas*, 7, 9, 26, 129, 164; capture Hanumān, 125; disrupters: of ashram, 179, of sacrifices, 146, 162, 181, 356; Indra disguised as, 198; transformation into by curse, 172; women, 67, 131. *See also* Avindhya; Dūṣaṇa; Mārīca; Rāvaṇa; Subāhu; Vibhīṣaṇa; Virādha  
 Rāma: abuses Sītā, 12; age in *Bālakāṇḍa*, 325; attitude toward Sītā, 56; banishes Sītā, 13; battle with Kumbhakarna, 101; birth of, 159; born in House of Ikṣvāku, 121; breaks Śiva's bow, 46, 251, 385; characterization of, 49, 80; complexion of, 275; consecrated prince regent, 8; consecration interrupted, 130; conversation with Niśāda chief, 130;



**Rāma (cont.)**

coronation of, 12; crossing of Ganges, 130; death, 13; defeats Rāma Jāmadagnya, 264-268; deference, 53; descendant of Raghu, 25; dispute with Rāma Jāmadagnya, 7, 130; divides kingdom, 13, 132; divinity of, 43-45, 59, 69, 116; equanimity of, 52; exile of, 8, 51, 130; expert in science of arms, 122; fortitude, 8; gains boons, 57; hears *Rām*, 71; identified with Viṣṇu, 46, 159, 268, 310; installs Vibhīṣaṇa, 12; kills Rāvaṇa, 12; love for Sītā, 269; marriage of, 79, 259-262; meeting with Bharadvāja, 130; name, 24, 275; performs Horse Sacrifice, 13; power of Viṣṇu passes to him from Rāma Jāmadagnya, 395; receives magic weapons, 57, 175-177; receives Viṣṇu's bow, 266; regent, 8; repudiation of Sītā, 56; returns to Ayodhyā, 12; returns to heaven, 13; self-control of, 50; self-denial of, 50, 52, 53; mighty as Viṣṇu, 122; well versed in the *vedas*, 122; wields Viṣṇu's bow, 267. *See also* sons of Rāma  
 Rāma cult, 3, 46, 47  
 Rāma episode, *see Rāmopākhyāna*  
 Rāma Jāmadagnya, 7, 45; beheads mother, 55-56, 370; birth of, 76; boons received from killing mother, 56; encounter with Rāma, 79, 130, 264-268, 395; exterminates kshatriyas, 264, 266, 394; as figure from *Mbh*, 80; as hero, 55; receives boon from father, 370; story of, 53  
*Rāmabhaktas*, 47  
 Rāmānuja, 47; *Rāmānujīya* attributed to, 115  
*Rāmāyaṇa*, 25, 31; Bengali version, 40; Bulcke on genesis and history of, 61-62, 66, 69-70, 74; composite nature, 48; its fate, 39; influenced by folk literature, 42; inspiration for artistic creations, 40; Jain versions, 40, 43; Kamban's Tamil version, 40; in Malaysia, Java, Laos, and China, 40;

place in Sanskrit literature, 39; Tulsi Das's version, 40; use by Buddhists and Jains, 40  
*Rāmāyaṇabhūṣaṇa* of Govindarāja, 115  
*Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi* of Vamśīdhara Śivasahāya, 115  
*Rāmāyaṇatilaka* of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, 115  
 Rambhā, 244-245  
*Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsi Das, 40  
*Rāmopākhyāna*, 32-35, 43; *Bālakāṇḍa* condensed in, 36; condensed form of Vālmiki's *Rām*, 37; knowledge of *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 38; no mention of Viśvāmitra, 36; presupposition of crit. ed. passage, 39  
*rasa*: contained in *Rām*, 132; school of Indian poetics, 72; significance of term, 287  
 Rasātala, 124, 199, 200, 356, 363  
 Rāvaṇa: abducts Sītā, 130; austerities of, 311; boon of, 7, 154, 164, 310-311; in central epic story, 326; contrasted with Vibhīṣaṇa, 54; destruction of, 131; early career, 12; as enemy of Indra, 155; exaltation of, 356; lineage of, 164; might in battle, 165; oppresses the gods, 76; rage at Rāma, 124; as ruler of Laṅka, 125; rumors of sexual relationship with Sītā, 13; sets out to find Rāma, 130  
 R̥cika, 188, 239, 266, 379; sells his son, 240  
 recensions, 5, 6, 15, 83-91; divergence of, 84-85; northern recension: as oldest commentary, 86, text critical value of, 89-91, relationship to southern, 88; oral transmission of, 88; polishing of, 84; southern recension: as basis for crit. ed., 89, corruptions in, 89, glossing by northern, 85, preserves older state of text, 86, relationship to northern, 88, as vulgate, 91  
 recitation of *Rām*, 13, 14  
 Reṇukā, 57  
 renunciation, 55, 57  
*R̥g-veda*, 26  
 rhetorical figures in *Rām*, 102

- Rkṣa, 131  
 Romapāda, 75, 140, 143, 144, 148  
 Rṣyamūka, 130  
 Rṣyaśṛṅga, 7, 296, 318; duplication of roles, 60, 299, 301, 302; lack of original connection with Rāma story, 75; legend of, 67; as sacrificial officiant, 74; produces sons for Daśaratha, 76; his seduction, 77, 139-159  
 Rudra, *see* Śiva  
  
 Śabalā, 223  
 Śabarī, 124, 130  
 sacrifice, 162, 302-309; *agnihotra*, 371; of Ambariṣa, 239; Āryāvarta as suitable region for, 356; *bali*, 371; of Dakṣa, 345, 384; *homa*, 371; horse, *see* Horse Sacrifice; of Janaka, 182; new and full moon rites, 372; of Sagara of Triśaṅku, 232-237; of Viśvāmitra, 181  
 sacrificial element of *Bālakāṇḍa*, 77  
 Sagara, 134; boon of, 196; Horse Sacrifice of, 198, 356; sons of, 78, 196-207, 355; story of, 196-203; unable to bring Ganges to earth, 207  
 Śakas, 63, 373; produced from wishing cow, 227  
 Sāketa, *see* Ayodhyā  
 Śakra, *see* Indra  
 Sāṃkāśya (Sāṃkāśyā), 255, 387  
 Saṃkṣiptarāmāyaṇa, 44, 68, 70  
 Saṃhāras, 166  
 Sampāti, 10, 131; and Hanumān, 125  
 Sanatkumāra, 75, 76, 139  
 Śaṅkara, *see* Śiva  
 Sanskrit epic poetry: kinesthetic effect of, 109; problems in translation of, 109-113  
 Śāntā, 75, 140, 143, 145; adoption of, 297; as daughter of Daśaratha, 294, 298  
 Śarabhaṅga, 123  
 Sarayū, 13, 134, 146, 149, 167, 168, 197, 289; name, 170  
 Sarvajñanārāyaṇa (commentator on *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*), 115  
 Śatānanda, 219  
 Śatrughna, 7, 133; birth of, 159; connection with Bharata, 160; as founder of Mathurā, 47; receives bride, 259; wedding of, 262  
 Satyatīrtha (commentator on *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*), 115  
 Satyavatī, 188; becomes river, 78  
 Schlegel, August Wilhelm, 3, 302  
 science of arms, 122  
 sculpture, 40  
 self-denial, 50; as a virtue, 50, 52, 53  
 semen: eaten and released by Agni, 192-193; porridge (*pāyasa*) as, 156, 313-315; retention of, 186, 352; of Śiva, 192, 351, 353, 354; spilled by Janaka, 385  
 sexuality: in Rṣyaśṛṅga story, 141; in story of Tātakā, 80; and Vyāsa, 77  
 signet ring, 11  
 significance of *Rām*, 48  
 simile, 102, 103  
 singing of *Rām*, 132  
 Śiromaṇi, *see* Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi  
 Sītā: abduction of, 9, 130; abused by Rāma, 12; age at marriage, 19; banishment, 13; born from a furrow, 249; born from Janaka's spilled semen, 385; bride-price, 249; captivity of, 11; chastity doubted, 13; describes her own birth and marriage, 64; encounter with crow, 38; enters earth, 13; follows Rāma to forest, 123; her love for Rāma, 269; name, 24; ordeal by fire, 12, 13; origin of, 79; repudiation of, 56; rumors of infidelity, 13; search for, 10; seen by Hanumān, 125; sheltered by Vālmiki, 13; wedding of, 130, 262; welcomed by Daśaratha's wives, 269  
 Śiva: asceticism of, 193; austerity of, 193; bow of, 57, 58, 79, 130, 248-251, 345, 385, 393-394; checks fall of Ganges, 205; destroys Dakṣa's sacrifice, 384; and destruction of Kāma, 169; drinks Hālāhala poison, 365; gives bow to Devarāta, 248; gives magic weapons to Viśvāmitra, 228-229, 328; grants boon to Viśvāmitra,



Śiva (*cont.*)

- 228-229; holy quality of water from his body, 206; marriage to Umā, 191, 351; paralyzed by Viṣṇu, 265; releases Ganges into Lake Bindu, 206; regarded as impure, 362; semen of, 192, 351; traps Ganges in his hair, 361
- Śivasahāya Vamśīdhara (author of *Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi*), 84, 115
- Skanda, 78, 192-195, 351, 354
- Śloka, 128
- Somadā, 186
- Soṇā, *see* Māgadhī
- sons of Rāma, 13, 14; as composers of prefatory stanzas, 273; disciples of Vālmiki, 71, 132; divide Kosala, 21; learn *Rām* from Vālmiki, 73; praised for singing *Rām*, 133; recite *Rām* to Rāma, 71
- soteriological aspects of *Rām*, 44
- sources of *Rām*, 29
- Southeast Asia, *Rāmāyaṇa*'s popularity in, 3, 40
- southern recension, *see* recensions
- spells, *see* magic
- śrauta rituals, 23
- Śrāvastī (Śrāvati), 21, 22
- Sri Lanka (Ceylon), 28
- Śrīnivāsa Śāstri (Śrīnivāsaśāstri), 106, 300, 324, 332, 346
- Śṛṅgavera, 123
- Śrutakīrti, 262
- style, 16; inferiority of *Bāla* and *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 18; divergence between *Mbh* and *Rām*, 17
- Subāhu, 165; commanded by Rāvaṇa, 164; obstructs Viśvāmitra's sacrifice, 162, 181
- subrecension, *see* Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa*, subrecensions
- Sudhanvan, 258
- sūdras, 126, 137
- Sugrīva, 9, 10, 158; meets with Rāma, 124, 130; and Vālin, 125, 131
- Suketu, 172
- Sukthankar, V. S., 34
- Sumantra, 75, 139, 145, 148, 152

Sumati, 214-215

Sumitrā: eats divine porridge, 157; gives birth to two sons, 159; receives new brides, 269

Śunaḥśepa, 79; legend of, 240-242; variant episodes of, 379

Sunda islands, 11

*sundara*, 10*Sundarakāṇḍa*, 10

Suparṇa: as mount of Viṣṇu, 355; in Sagara story, 202-203

Śūrpaṇakhā, 9, 66; disfigurement by Rāma, 123, 130; reports on Rāma, 124

Sutikṣṇa, 123; meeting with Rāma, 130

synonymity in translation, 111

Tamasā, 127, 280

Tamil, 40

Tārā, lamentation of, 131

Tātakā, 57, 79-80, 171; battle with Rāma, 174, 338; daughter of Suketu, 172; Rāma's killing of, 174

*Tattvadīpikā* of Maheśvaratīrtha, 115

technical terms, in translation, 112

text, 15

textual history, 18, 80, 82, 344

theological narrative, 47

*Tilaka*, *see* *Rāmāyaṇatilaka*

Tiwari, A. R., on date of *Bālakāṇḍa*, 61, 63

translation: consistency in, 110-111; difficulties of, 94; previous translations of *Rām*, 96; prose medium for *Rām*, 97; supported by annotation, 113; synonymity in, 111; treatment of proper nouns, patronymics, technical terms, 112

Tretā Yuga, 14, 22, 25

Trijaṭā, 36; prophetic dream of, 37, 131

Triśaṅku, 79; legend of his rise to heaven, 232-238

Triśiras, 124; slaying of, 130

Tryambaka Makhin (Tryambakaraya Makhi, author of *Dharmākūṭam*), 115

Tulsi Das (author of *Rāmacaritamānasa*), 40

Tvaṣṭr, 36

Uḍāli, Varadarāja, *see* Varadarāja  
Uḍāli

Umā: as ascetic maiden, 190, 191; austerity of, 190; curses: the earth, 193, the gods, 192; daughter of Himalaya, 190; helps Śiva retain semen, 192

*upanishads*, 24

*upodghāta*, 62, 70, 71; familiarity with *rasa* theory, 73; on Vālmīki's composition, 82

urbanization, 18

Ūrmilā, 65, 66; given to Lakṣmaṇa by Janaka, 258; welcomed by Daśaratha's wives, 269

*Uttarakāṇḍa*, 12, 32, 42; compared with *Mbh*, 12; and devotionism, 44; knowledge of Rāma as *avatāra*, 68; inclusion of the legends of Sītā, Rāvaṇa, and Hanumān, 79; later addition to epic core, 15; later than *Bālakāṇḍa*, 15; and performance of the Horse Sacrifice, 74; purāṇic stories in, 77; and *Rāmopākhyāna*, 38, 70; reference: to Rāma's divinity, 68, 116, to Śrāvastī, 21

*Uttararāmacarita*, 66, 72

Vaideha, *see* Janaka

Vaidehī, *see* Sītā

Vaidya, P. L., on *Rāmopākhyāna*, 34-37

Vainateya, *see* Suparṇa

Vaiśālī, 21

Vaiṣṇava, 44, 45, 69; hermeneutic, 47; influence on *Bālakāṇḍa*, 396; interpolations, 394; element of *Bālakāṇḍa*, 77; *purāṇas*, 45; *stotras*, 273; theology, 274

*vaiśyas*, 126, 137, 148

Vālin, 10, 124, 158; killed by Rāma, 10, 67, 125, 131; and Sugrīva, 125, 131

Vālmīki: as Ādikāvi, 30, 71; author of *Rām*, 14, 35; Bharadvāja as disciple of, 128; as brahman sage, 29; characterization of Rāma, 49; commis-

sioned by Brahmā to compose *Rām*, 72, 128; as contemporary of Rāma, 14, 29; contrasted: with Homer, 98-105, with poets of *Mbh*, 99; family affiliation of, 274; historicity of, 31; invents poetry, 71-72, 128; and Nārada, 42, 68, 70, 82, 121; as poet of Vyāsa's eminence, 46; poetic: composition of Rāma story, 130-132, style of, 98-112; psychological insight of, 54; gives shelter to Sītā and her sons, 13; with sons of Rāma as disciples, 70; his sources for the *Rām*, 29, 30; teaches *Rām* to sons of Rāma, 73; unknown to central books of *Rām*, 68; use of epithets, 104-105  
*Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*: age of, 29; alternate titles, 132, 286; archetype, 6; attitudes toward women in, 56; audience of, 41; author of, 3, 14, 29; Bhārgava: influence on, 379-380, 388, references in, 370, 379-380; Buddhist origins of story, 32; commentaries on, 85, 114-117; compared with *Mbh*, 4, 15-16, 18, 19, 28, 33, 41, 46, 77, 80, 82, 84, 371; contrasted with Homeric epics, 50; crit. ed., 39, 82-93; date of, 14, 32, 80, 352; destiny in India, 38, 52; differences from *Rāmopākhyāna*, 36, 37; as earliest surviving version of Rāma legend, 39; encyclopedic quality of, 77; endurance of, 129; equated with the *vedas*, 44; epic nucleus of, 15, 30; as exemplary tale, 42; as fantasy or fairy tale, 27, 28, 41, 42; as first work of true poetry, 39; geopolitical issues on, 23; in Hindu society, 47; historicity of, 14, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29; immolation of widows not found, 18; influence of, 4; interpretation, 47-49; interpolations in, 11, 15, 18, 91; *kāṇḍas*, 5; as *kāvya*, 16; language of, 16; length of, 285; linguistic investigations, 15; manuscripts of, 5, 14, 82, 83; meaning of, 41; as model for human behavior, 42; as musical composition, 132-134; as myth, 48;



*Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa (cont.)*

- oral transmission of, 83; origins of story, 29; popularity of, 3, 47, 49, 59; psychological aspects of, 80; relationship with *HariVam*, 46-47; rewards gained from reading, 126; significance, 48; stylistic differences from *Mbh*, 17; stylistic studies of, 16; sources of, 29, 31; subrecensions, 5, 6, 66; text-critical principles, 91; textual history and prehistory, 6, 80, 82; theological element and significance, 47, 116; translation and annotation, 96-117; western scholarship on, 3. *See also* *Rāmāyaṇa*; recensions
- Vaṁśīdhara Śivasahāya, *see* Śivasahāya
- Vaṁśīdhara
- vānaras as tribesmen, 27
- van Buitenen, J.A.B., 34, 36-38
- van Daalen, L. A., 15, 16, 45
- Varadarāja Uḍāli, author of *Vivekaloka*, 115
- Varuṇa, 268, 395
- Vasiṣṭha: befriends Viśvāmitra, 247; comes to Mithilā, 253-254; conflict with Viśvāmitra, 79, 221-247, 322-323, 371; as Daśaratha's family priest, 138, 144, 146, 147, 159, 255, 375; duplication of roles with R̥śyaśṛṅga, 60, 299, 301, 302; false curse of, 375; interprets omen, 263; name, 24; rebuffs Triśaṅku, 232; role in Horse Sacrifice, 144-149; urges Bharata to become king, 123; wishing cow of, 223
- Vasu (founder of Girivraja), 184
- Vāsudeva, *see* Viṣṇu
- Vasumatī, 21
- Vāyu: birth of, 213; ordered to enter Śiva's semen, 192; as *prāṇa*, 184, 346
- vedas*, 23, 24, 29, 42, 44, 48, 83, 135, 140, 145, 148, 160, 174, 183, 186, 197, 198, 218, 228, 229, 231, 247, 384; austerities prescribed by, 192, 352; behavior prescribed in, 187; story of Rāma the equal of, 126; Rāma's sons well grounded in, 132; Rāma well versed in, 122
- vedic chants, 237
- vedic literature, 24
- Vibhāṇḍaka, 139
- Vibhīṣaṇa, 11; alliance with Rāma, 131; contrasted to Rāvaṇa, 54; installed on throne in Laṅkā, 125
- Videha, 7
- Virādha, 9, 123
- Viśāla, 21, 78, 209, 213, 364
- Viṣṇu, 7, 23, 46, 173; associated with Garuḍa, 355; becomes tortoise, 365; bow of, 58, 266; chosen by Śrī, 365; chooses Daśaratha as father, 155; churns ocean, 365; cult of, 23; in dwarf incarnation, 178-179, 342; essence divided among Daśaratha's sons, 159, 313-315, 319-320; given Kaustubha gem, 365; identified with Kapila, 357; as Mohinī, 366; petitioned by gods, 76, 154, 179; prepares to incarnate, 157; his power passes from Rāma Jāmadagnya to Rāma, 395; as presiding diety of sacrificial post, 381; Rāma's identification with, 43, 45, 68, 159, 268, 275, 310; Rāma mighty as, 122; role of in Sagara story, 199-201; as source of divine weapons, 329
- Viśvāmitra, 7, 9, 21, 160; austerity of, 228-246; becomes a brahman, 246-247, 323; becomes "great seer," 243; befriended by Vasiṣṭha, 247; conflict with Vasiṣṭha, 79, 221-247, 322-323, 371; curses: Mahodaya and all Vasiṣṭha's sons, 236, own sons, 241, Rambhā, 245; creates new constellations, 238; departs from Mithilā, 263; genealogy of, 221, 328; gives magic weapons to Rāma, 175-177; his journey with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, 77, 130; infatuated by Menakā, 243; legend of his career, 78-79, 221-247; made a royal seer by Brahmā, 231; name, 24; not mentioned in *Rāmopākhyāna*, 36; as Rā-

- ma's surrogate father, 80; receives magic weapons from Śiva, 228-229, 328; retells purāṇic legends, 67, 78; sacrifice of, 181, 324; and sons, 241-242; and Śunaḥśepa, 241; tempted by Rambhā, 244-245; tested by Indra, 383; and Triśaṅku, 233-238
- Vivekatilaka*, 115
- vulture king: death of, 130
- vultures, 9, 10
- Vyāsa, 29, 30, 46; historicity of, 31; sexuality of, 77
- warfare in *Rām*, 28
- weapons, *see* magic
- Weber, A., 32; on source of *Rām*, 33
- Winternitz, M., 10, 63, 66
- women in *Rām*, 56
- yakṣa* women (*yakṣīs*), 80, 171-173
- Yavanas, 63, 373; produced from wishing cow, 227
- Yuddhakāṇḍa*, 11, 34; devotionism in, 43
- Yudhājī, 261, 391



*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Vālmiki.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.

(Princeton Library of Asian translations)

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

Contents: v. 1. Bālakāṇḍa.

I. Goldman, Robert P., 1942- . II. Sutherland, Sally. III. Title. IV. Series.

BL1139.22.E54 1985 294.5'922 82-61364

ISBN 0-691-06561-6



"His name is Rāma and he was born in the House of Ikṣvāku. All men know of him, for he is self-controlled, mighty, radiant, steadfast, and masterful. . . . Eloquent and majestic, he annihilates his enemies. His shoulders are broad and his arms mighty. . . . His brow is noble and his gait full of grace. His proportions are perfect and his limbs well-formed and symmetrical. Dark is his complexion, and he is valorous. . . . He is renowned, learned, pure, disciplined, and contemplative . . . the protector of all living things and the guardian of righteousness. . . . He is the constant resort of good men, as is the ocean of rivers. . . . The delight of his mother Kausalyā, he is gifted with every virtue. For he is as deep as the ocean and as unyielding as the Himalayas. . . . Moved by affection for him, Daśaratha, lord of the earth, wished to appoint this Rāma, his beloved eldest son, as prince regent. . . ."

Ram 1.8-13, 15-16, 18-19