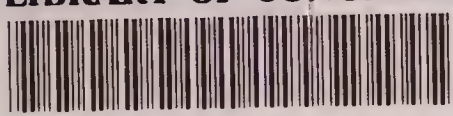


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ON

THE RÂMÂYANA

BY

DR. ALBRECHT WEBER

BERLIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY THE

REV. D. C. BOYD, M.A.

Reprinted from "The Indian Antiquary," Vol. I.



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ON THE RÂMÂYANA.

THE question regarding the composition of the *Râmâyana* has assumed an entirely new phase* since the labours of D'Alwis† have made us acquainted with the Buddhist conception of the Râma-saga, and of one of the legends interwoven with it by Vâlmîki, the *Yajnadattabhadra*. For there are important differences between this Buddhist account and the representation given by Vâlmîki; and the former bears so plainly the impress of a higher antiquity, that it cannot well be doubted that it belongs to an earlier age. This is indeed the conclusion to which D'Alwis himself has been led. Leaving out of view many minor particulars, the main points of difference are these—1, That Râma and his brother Lakshmana are sent by their father into exile during his lifetime, with the sole object of protecting them from the intrigues of their step-mother; 2, that Sîtâ,

* Conf. *Indische Streifen*, II. 383, 384.

† *Attanagaluvaṅsa*, p. 166ff., Colombo 1866, in the *Daśarathajâtaka*, Jât. XI. (46), 7, and in the *Sâmajâtaka*, Jât. XXI. (56), 3. See *Excursus*, at the end.

who is here surnamed *devî*,* is the *sister*, not the wife of Râma, and that she voluntarily joins her two brothers in their banishment; 3, that at the close of his exile, which in this account lasts only twelve years, Râma immediately returns, assumes the reins of government, and only then marries his sister Sîtâ; and consequently, 4, that the rape of Sîtâ by Râvana, and the whole expedition against Lañkâ, are entirely wanting! And, indeed, we are now in a position to point out that the entire narrative, even of the exile itself, has, to a large extent, been anticipated in Buddhist legends. In Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dhammapada* (ed. Fausböll, p. 303), for instance, there is found a legend of king Brahmaddatta in Bârânasî, who in like manner exiles his two sons, prince Mahimsâsaka and prince Chanda (*Chandra*), to secure them against their step-mother, to whom he has granted the fatal permission to choose anything she may wish; and their younger step-brother, prince Suriya (*Sûrya*), on whose account they are sent away, spontaneously joins his fortunes to theirs

* *Devî* seems here to mean simply *Princess*. Conf. Mâdrî *devî* in Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 116ff.; also Fausböll, *Dhammapada*, p. 174, 5; 417, 21 (where, indeed, = *aggamahesi*, first queen). Or are we to see here a reflection of the *divinely* honoured Sîtâ of the *grihya* ritual?

and accompanies them in their exile.* Again, as bearing on our subject, we meet with the simply told, yet truly captivating, legend of the origin of Buddha's ancestors, that is of the Śâkya and the Koliya families, which is found in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Suttanipâta* (II. 13), and has been published by the present writer, with a translation, according to Fausböll's edition of the text.† In this legend the I k s h v â k u

* The conclusion of this legend is, that on the death of the father, the three princes return home; the eldest takes possession of the throne, prince Chandra assumes the *uparâja* dignity, and prince Suriya becomes commander-in-chief. The incident, for the sake of which the legend is narrated, is interesting, among other reasons, because it in some degree recalls an episode of the *Râmâyana*. In the *Yuddhakânda*, as Hanumant is fetching from the mountain Gandhamâdana the plant (*viśalyakaraṇī*) which has the power of bringing to life again, he is attacked by a *grâhî*, which drags every living thing down into the water. Similarly here in Buddhaghosa's *daka-* that is an *uddaka-rakkhasa*, living on Himavanta, has received from Vessavana (Vaiśravaṇa) the power to drag down into his pond all who do not know the divine command; and this fate befalls the two younger princes; but, by information that satisfies the *rakkhasa*, the eldest manages to deliver his brothers out of their difficulty. The full text of this *Jâtaka* has now been published by Fausböll, *Daśaratha-Jâtaka* (Copenhagen, 1871), pp. 38-46.

† See *Monatsberichte der K. Ak. d. W.* 1859, p. 330ff.; *Ind. Stud.* V. 415ff.; *Ind. Streifen*, I. 235 ff.; and Rogers, *Buddhaghosa's Parables*, p. 175. The legend had already been made known by Turnour, Csoma Körösi, and Hardy, if not textually, at all events in substance. See also Emil Schlagintweit, *Die Könige von Tibet* (München, 1866), pp. 13, 32ff.

king, A m b a t t h a r â j a n , to please a young wife, exiles all his elder children, four sons and five daughters. The young princes, when they have reached the forest, intermarry with their sisters, with the view of providing a mutual safeguard against the degeneracy of their race through *mésalliance*; and they instal their eldest sister P i y â in the place of mother. When, after a time, the latter is stricken with leprosy, they remove her to another part of the forest; and there she is found by a king R â m a , who has also been driven by leprosy into the forest but has recovered; and by him she is cured and wedded.* Now, whatever points of difference the legend here presents, the mutual relations of these three forms of the story cannot be mistaken. In the *Daśarathajātaka*, in addition to the reasons for the exile and the intermarriage of the brothers and sisters, we find express mention made of the names D a ś a r a t h a , L a k s h m a ṇ a , B h a r a t a , and S î t â ; and R â m a is spoken of, not as a prince who was unacquainted

* In the *Mahāvanso*, pp. 184, 185, mention is made of a *place* R â m a g â m a on the banks of the Gangâ (with a sacred *stûpa*) as existing in the time of A ś o k a , and as belonging to the Koliya. (Conf. also Bigandet, *Life of Buddha*, p. 346.) Contemporaneously therewith Fa-Hian (Chap. 22, at the end), and later also Hiwen Thsang, mention a land bordering on Kapilavastu called L a n m o ; which Stan. Julien (II. 325), whom Beal here follows (p. 89), translates by R â m a g r â m a .

with the exiled family, but as one of their number and occupying the chief place among them. And the poet of the *Râmâyana*, following the main idea of the story thus presented, has not only represented Râma and Sîtâ as lovers, but, what is most important, has added the rape of Sîtâ and the expedition to Lañkâ. He has also changed the home of the exiles from Vârâṇasî to Ayodhyâ; and, on the other hand, he has shifted the scene of the exile from the Himavânt to the Dekhan (*Daṇḍaka* forest, &c.).

Now, when we consider this question of the *change of locality*, it becomes evident that the removal of the place of the exile to the Dekhan can easily be explained by the poet's intention to describe an expedition to Lañkâ; while the alteration of Vârâṇasî into Ayodhyâ is perhaps connected with that older form of the saga, no doubt current at the time of the *Daśarathajâtaka*, according to which both Brahmadaṭṭa and Ambaṭṭharâjan lived in Vârâṇasî, but the exiled children of the latter, or at least their descendants, the Śâkyâ and Koliyâ, settled in Kapilapura (*Kapilavatthu*) and Koliyapura, on opposite banks of the river Rohiṇî;*

* "By Klaproth said to come from the mountains of Nepal, and after uniting with the Mahânada to fall into the Râpti, near Gorakhpur."—Hardy.

and thus we are brought into the immediate neighbourhood of A y o d h y â .

And now with regard to the *expedition to Lañkâ*. In opposition to the hitherto received view (see Lassen, *Ind. Alt. K.* I. 535, and my *Vorles. über Ind. Lit. G.* p. 181), that the poet intended under this representation to depict the spread of Aryan civilisation toward the south, and especially to Ceylon, Talboys Wheeler* has recently given to the world his opinion that the account of this expedition only gives expression to the hostile feeling entertained toward the Buddhists of Ceylon, who are to be identified with the R â k s h a s a of the poem. This view receives support from the fact that R â v a ṇ a and his brothers are represented as having themselves sprung from the Brahmanical race (as grandchildren of P u l a s t y a , I. 22, 15, 17; IV. 10, 13), and as having by their penances won the favour of B r a h m a , A g n i , and other gods; and in this representation there may lurk an allusion to the *Aryan* origin of the royal race of Ceylon.† And

* In the second volume of his *History of India* (London, 1869), a work which can hardly indeed be said to correspond to its title, but which, notwithstanding its frequent extravagant Euhemerism, is rich in valuable views and suggestions.

† In the *Uttarakānda* it appears pretty certain that in the quite decided separation of the Râkshasa of Lañkâ into the P u l a s t y a and the Ś â l a k a ṭ a m k a ṭ a (? VIII. 23, 24) or

it is at least quite as consistent with the circumstances (if not even more so) that an Indian poet writing about the beginning of the Christian era (and the work of Vâlmîki can hardly date earlier than this, as we shall presently see) should have taken as the subject of his representation the conflicts with the Buddhists, which were already by that time being fiercely waged, and have depicted a conquest of their chief seat in the South—as that he should have selected for his theme an idea so abstract as a picture of the “spread of Aryan civilisation.” The Monkeys of the poem, too, which are undoubtedly to be regarded as the representatives of the aborigines of the Dekhan, appear throughout (with the single exception of Bâlin) as the *allies* of Râma, and therefore as *already* brought completely within the influence of the Aryan culture. This holds true also of king Guha with his Nishâda. And though Wheeler certainly presses his theory too far when, for instance, he talks of the molestations which the sages of Chitrakûta and of the Daṇḍaka forest suffered at the hands of the Râksasas, and to save them from which Râma took them under his protection, and

Sâlaṅkataṅkaṭâ (? IV. 20, 23), still earlier settlers in Laṅkā, we are to recognise the double peopling of Ceylon by aborigines and by Aryans of the Brahmanical stock. Compare also the *Uttara Sâlaṅkaṭâḥ* in the gaṇa Tikakitavâdi (Pân. II. 4, 68).

makes these refer solely to the Buddhists;* yet it must be allowed that Sî t â 's speech in favour of the *ahinsâ* (III. 13, 2 ff.), especially the protest which she raises against the principal attack on the R â k s h a s a as inconsistent with R â m a's character as a devotee,† may be fairly regarded as a reflex from an old Buddhist legend embodying this idea, that a K s h a t r i y a was not justified "in interfering in the disputes between the Brahmans and the Buddhists," so long as, the latter, that is the R â k s h a s a of the poem, did not show towards him any feeling of hostility (Wheeler, vol. II. p. 249, 250, 260, 261). There is nothing, however, in the representation of the town L a ñ k â and its inhabitants that can be regarded as having a *direct* reference to Buddhism; on the contrary, the same gods‡ are invoked alike by R â v a ṇ a and by R â m a, just as is done by the Greeks and the

* While the special description of these Râkshasa, for instance in *Râm.* III. 1, 15 ff., points unmistakably not to the Buddhists, but to hostile aborigines, who were still leading a savage life. See Muir, *Orig. Sans. Texts*, II. 426ff.; Monier Williams, *Ind. Epic Poetry*, p. 10.

† *râkshasânâm vinâ vairam bādho vira na yuyate* ||22||
aparâdhâd rite nâ 'pi hantavyâ râkshasâs tvayâ.

‡ See Muir, IV. 349, ff.; conf. also *Râm.* V. 16, 41, Gorr., where Hanumant in the morning in L a ñ k â :—*s h a ḍ a ṅ g a vedavidushâm k r a t u p r a v a rayâjînam | śuśrâva brahma ghosham . . |*

Trojans in Homer. The *red* turban and the *red* garments of the priests who officiated at Indra-jit's magical sacrifice (VI. 19, 40, 52, 21) recur also in the magic ritual of the *Sāmaveda* (see *Ind. Stud.* I. 51, 52, borrowed no doubt from the *vratina*), and they are consequently not to be connected with the *yellowish-red* garments of the Buddhists (*kāshāya, raktapata*). And finally, the solitary passage in which Buddha is directly referred to, and then indeed only to be likened to a thief (II. 109, 33, ed. Schl.), has been pointed out by Schlegel as being probably a later interpolation. Any one, therefore, who may be disposed, notwithstanding the preceding considerations, to adopt Wheeler's view, must be prepared to draw this further conclusion, from the great caution with which the poet has veiled his intention to depict the struggle with and the conquest of the Buddhists of Ceylon,—that he himself lived under a Buddhist power, and therefore found himself compelled to conceal his real purpose—and that besides, completely to ensure his own safety, he just took an old Buddhist legend, and modified it to suit the object he had in view!

In addition to this tendency, whether it be specially political or having reference to the history of cultivation in general, which unquestionably runs through the *Rāmāyana*, and secures for it its char-

acter as a national epic, it is devoted, in its present form, to still another purpose which may be said to lie on the very surface, namely, to represent R â m a as an incarnation of V i s h n u, and to confirm the supremacy of this god over all the other gods. With respect to this matter, however, it is difficult to decide in how far V â l m î k i himself had this purpose in view, or whether it may not have been introduced in later additions to the poem. On account of the loose connection in which the portions that bring out this idea stand with the general structure of the work, it is well known that the latter view has been most generally adopted (see Lassen, *Ind. A. K.* I. 488, 489; Muir, *Orig. S. Texts*, IV. 142 ff., 377ff.). But if Wheeler's opinion as to the anti-Buddhist tendency of the poet should be positively established, then the view of those who believe that he had himself given this Vaishṇava complexion to his work* would undoubtedly receive no inconsiderable support, inasmuch as this view so completely harmonises with the anti-Buddhist theory. As a matter of fact, at least, the result was that by means of the *Râmâyana*, and especially by means of the Vaishṇava elements in it just referred to, assistance of the most important kind was rendered to the efforts of the Brâhmins, which were directed, by the clothing of their

* Gorresio, vol. X. p. xlvi., is at least undecided.

divinities and of the worship of their gods with new life, to the recovering of the ground which Buddhism had won among the people. And it is at all events a remarkable phenomenon that the old Buddhist saga of the pious prince Râma, which glorified him as an ideal of Buddhist equanimity, should have been cast by the skilful hand of Vâlmîki into a form* which, whether in accordance with his own plan or through the introduction of subsequent elements, has so powerfully contributed to the *suppression* and *overthrow* of Buddhism—the Buddhist elements so favourable and gratifying to the popular spirit being preserved, and merely clothed in a garb subservient to the Brâhmanical pretensions.

In addition to the Buddhist legend, it is beyond question that Vâlmîki must have had access to other materials for his work, which enter into its composition, and which must from the very first have secured it a favourable reception among the people. It is very obvious, for instance, to trace a connection between Râma, the hero of

* This Buddhist germ of Râma's personality is still in fact apparent enough in the *Râmâyana* in its present form; and in opposition to Monier Williams, who supposed that we were to find here later Christian influences, I had already pointed out this fact in my treatise on the *Râma Tâp. Up.* p. 276 (1864), even before D'Alwis had made us acquainted with the contents of the *Daśarathajâtaka*.

his work, and the agricultural demigod of the same name, the Râma Halabhr̥it of the Brâhman̥s. I have already called attention to this elsewhere,* and have laid special stress on this point, that in the versions of the Râma-saga which are found in the *Mahâbhârata*, and some of which are of considerable antiquity,† a special prominence is given almost throughout to the fact that the reign of Râma was a Golden Age, and that *cultivation* and *agriculture* were then vigorously flourishing. The exile of Râma seems intended to represent the *winter-time*, during which the activity of Nature, and especially the operations of agriculture, are at a stand-still. Any other *direct* evidence, however, of such a connection between these two is not in the meantime forthcoming. But on the other hand, as regards Râma's wife Sîtâ, there are two points that are all the more deserving of notice:—namely, first, her mythical character itself; secondly, and specially, her relation to the similarly named goddess of the Vedic ritual, the symbol of the field-furrow (*sîtâ*); and indeed the significance of both these points should be so fully recognised as that

* Conf. *Ind. Stud.* I. 175, 277; II. 392, 410; *Vorles. über Ind. Lit. Gesch.* p. 181; *Râma Tâpan. Upan.* p. 275 (where at the same time I have made mention also of the Râman hvâstra of the Avesta, that genius of the air who, as the friendly genius of taste, but also as a brave hero, is represented as wearing golden armour).

† Vide *infra*.

it could hardly be called in question. The accounts in the *Rāmāyana* regarding her being born from a ploughed field,* and regarding her return into the bosom of her Mother Earth†; the name of her sister Ūrmilâ, which can be explained as “waving seed-field;” finally, the surname (first, so far as I have been able to discover, in the *Uttara Rāmacharita*) of her father Janaka:—Sira dhvaja, “bearing a plough on a banner;” are alone decisive of her mythical, symbolical character. Fortunately, besides, for the working out of the conception, there was available the glorified representation of the similarly named spouse of Indra or Parjanya in the *grihya* texts, which picture her appearance (Conf. my *Abh. über Omina und Portenta*, pp. 370, 373) in such plastic youthful beauty that the pencil of the poet needed only to add a few touches here and there.‡ Endowed with these characteristics of the national goddess, the representation of

* *Râm.* I. 66, 14, 15 (27), Schl.: *atha me kṛishataḥ kshetrāṃ lāṅgalād utthitā tataḥ | kshetrāṃ śodhayatā labdhā nāmnā Sīteti vīrutā || bhūtalād utthitā sâ tu vardhamānā mamâ 'tmajā | viryaśulketi me kanyâ sthâpīte 'yamayonijâ || bhūtalād utthitam tām tu.*

† First mentioned indeed in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

‡ ‘*Sriyam tvâ manavo viduḥ*’ are the words used so early as in the *Kaus.* 106, naturally, however, without any reference to the latter position of Śrī as the wife of Viṣṇu, or to the identification of Sītâ, as the wife of Râma, with the latter.

the wife of R â m a must have awakened the widest interest* ; and this conception of her was admirably fitted either for purely poetical uses, or for the purpose of bringing back the hearers to their allegiance to the Brahmanical gods. V â l m î k i has besides introduced an additional element into his representation of Sîtâ, by making her the daughter of the pious V i d e h a - king J a n a k a, highly honoured on account of his relations with Yâjñavalkya in the *Brâhmaṇa* of the White *Yajus*, and in various legends of the *Mahâbhârata*, a circumstance which is no doubt partly due to the desire of giving, by means of this paternity, a decidedly Brahmanical colouring to her descent, and which in fact may easily be understood as in some mea-

* Was it V â l m î k i's finding of the two names, R â m a and Sîtâ, united in the Buddhist legend, that suggested to him the idea of making use of them for his contemplated work, which had for its object the restoration of the national gods? Or may we conjecture that he made such a use of these names with the intention of lowering the estimation in which B u d d h a was held, by glorifying his ancestor R â m a?—a question which it is natural to ask, especially if Wheeler's view be adopted, with reference to the legend regarding the origin of the Ś â k y a race. Whether we are also to maintain, with regard to these Buddhist legends of R â m a, the progenitor of the Ś â k y a, and of R â m a and Sîtâ as children of D a ś a r a t h a, that there is such a connection between them on the one hand, and R â m a H a l a b h r i t and the Sîtâ of the *grihya* ritual on the other, as I have assumed regarding the representations of V â l m î k i :—this seems to me to be at least very questionable.

sure favouring an earlier conjecture of my own (see *Akad. Vorles. über Ind. Lit.* p. 182), namely, that Vâlmîki himself belonged to that part of India which corresponds to the kingdom of Kôśāla, bordering on the region of the Videha, and standing in the closest relations with them—in the chief city of which kingdom, Ayodhya, the scene of his work, is laid. It is also deserving of notice that Aśvapati, the king of the Kekaya,* who appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the brother-in-law of Daśaratha, is mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇa* of the White Yajus (X. 6, 1, 1, *Chând. Up.* VII. 11, see *Ind. Stud.* I. 179, 216, 265) as being nearly contemporary with Janaka.† And the name of Sîtâ herself occurs in a

* The Sopheithes, king of the *Κηκεοι* who waited upon Alexander the Great in person, is evidently only the analogue of Aśvapati—see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 300 n., II. 161. *Καθαια*, the name which his country also bears, I connect (let me say in passing) with *Καθα*, the name of the Vedic Yajus school. The practice of infanticide is mentioned in the *Kâṭhaka*, XXVII. 9 (Conf. *Ts.* VI. 5, X. 3; *Nir.* III. 4; *Ind. Stud.* IX. 481); it was permitted to expose new-born female children, but not males; *tas-mât striyaṃjâtâm parâsyantina pumânsam*. Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* II. 385) mentions, after Cunningham, a coin of an Aśpabati, son of Indapati, and bearing the title of *thatega* (*στρατηγος*)!

† With regard to this special reference to glorified names in the White Yajus, it should be added that Vâlmîki's own name, as is well known, appears among the teachers who are mentioned in the *Taittirîya-Prât.* And indeed it appears in one passage (I. 9, 4) as coming next to that of Āgniveśya (see

Yajus - text (*Taittir. Br.* II. 3, X. 1-3) as even then in use as a proper name; though the bearer of it appears there in a relation quite different from that which is found both in the *grihya* ritual and in the *Râmâyana*, namely, as the daughter of *Savitara*, that is, of *Prajâpati*, and as ena-

Ind. Stud. I. 147), where I have called attention to the fact that a *Râmâyana* is also ascribed to one *Âgniveśa*. It is apparently, to be sure, quite a modern performance (see Aufrecht, *Catal. Codd. MSS. Sanskrit*, 121b), bearing the name *Râmachandracharitrasâram*, and composed in 102 *śârdûlavikrîdita* verses; but the indicating of this name is certainly significant, especially when we consider that *Bhavabhûti Jâtukar-nîputra* (for the form of this name see *Śatap. XIV.* 9, 4, 30), who celebrated *Râma*'s exploits in a dramatic form, belonged to a Brahmanic family which studied the *Taittirîya* (in the *Bhâg. Pur.* IX. 2, 21, ed. Burnouf, p. 191, *Jâtûkarṇa* = *Âgniveśya*); that further there exists a drama called *Mahânâtakam* (vide Taylor, *Catalogue of Or. MSS.* I. 11. Madras, 1857) composed by *Bodhayanachari* (*Baudhâyanâchârya*?) in *śloka* and corresponding to the first six *kânda* of the *Râmâyana*; and that, finally, the names of the sages *Bhara dvâja* and *Attri*, which are so remarkably prominent in *Vâlmîki*'s description of the exile, appear also among the teachers of the *Taitt. Veda*. From all this, then, it appears to be fairly presumable that the *Râma*-saga was very carefully preserved among the followers of the *Yajus*, especially of the *Taitt. Veda*; though this is perhaps to be accounted for only on the ground that *Vâlmîki*, the first who made a poetical use of the saga, was one of themselves, and bore a name peculiar to them. According to the tradition of the *Adhyâtma Râmâyana* II. 6, 64 ff. (see Hall in the *Ind. Streifen* II. 85, and Wheeler, p. 312), *Vâlmîki* was "of low caste"! But neither in his work itself nor in *Bhavabhûti* is there anything to be found that bears out this assertion.

moured of the Moon, who on his part looked with loving eyes on another of the daughters,* Ś r a d d h â (Faith); by the help of her father, however, she succeeds in winning his love.† It seems to me that in this saga, too, we may find an element that has been made use of by V â l m î k i; in so far only, however, as the garland (*sthâgarâ alamkârâ sthâgarâ nâma kaschit sugandhadravyanîshah tam pishṭvâ tatsambandhinam alamkâram mandanaviśesham schol.*) with which her father decks her brows (*sthâgara-pishtena tasyâh Sitâyâh mukhe tilakâdyalamkâram chakâra, schol.*)‡ (accompanying the action with the recitation of various sentences),—and on account of the virtue of which, as

* Conf. *śraddhâ vai sūryasya duhitâ, Śat. XII. 7, 3, 11.*

† This is no doubt only a variation of the older legend, see, for instance, *Sânkh. Br. XVIII.1, Nir. XII. 8*, that S a v i t a r gave his daughter S ū r y â in marriage to the Moon: Conf. also the marriage of S a r a ṇ y u, who bears twins (*dvâ mithunâ*) to her husband, V i v a s v a n t (*Ṛik. X. 17, 1—2, Nir. XII. 10, 11*), just as S î t â does to R â m a.

‡ See Gobh. IV. 2, 20, *patni barhishi śilâm nidhayâ sthagarâm pinashti*; and conf. the similar use of *sthakara* as denoting a love-charm in the *Kauś. 35 (Ind. Stud. V. 262)*. It cannot be precisely identical with *tagara* (*Kauś. 16*), seeing that both words occur in the *Kauś.*; but perhaps the meaning is something similar. In the *Karmapradîpa II. 8, 5, sthagarâm surabhi jneyam chandanâdi vilepanam*, the word *sthagara* is used quite generally as the name for fragrant ointments, such as sandal-oil and the like (*sugandhi vilepanârham chandanâdi dravyam sthagarasamjnakam jnâtavyam | âdîśabdâd agurvâdîni Âśârka*).

a love-charm, the whole legend has been narrated, may probably have served as a direct model for the *aṅgarāga* (philter) which *A n a s ũ y â*, the wife of *A t r i*, pours out in the form of an ointment over the limbs of *S î t â*, (*Râm.* III. 3, 18, *angarāgena divyena raktāngî . . vicharishyasi*, and 19, *adyaprabhrîti bhadrām te mandalam khalu śāśvatam | anulepam cha suchiram gātrān nā'pagamishyati*). A still further parallel is indeed offered here to zealous mythologists. For since *R â m a* is, at a later period, called also *R â m a c h a n d r a*,* and indeed is called also by the name *C h a n d r a* itself (see *Râmatâp.* p. 333), the mildness which is so prominent a feature in his character may perhaps be explained in this way, that originally he was

* First, so far as we yet know, in *Bhavabhûti* (for instance, *Mahāvîrachar.* CXI. 18 (Calc. 1857), also in the *Padmapur. Adhyâtma-Râm.*, in the *Râmatâp.*, *Adbhutottarakāṇḍa*, in the title given to *Â g n i v e ś a*'s work, p. 9, n. &c. Although, according to the accounts in recent Burmese writings, the names *R â m c h a n d r a* and *R â m a s i ñ h a* are found among those of the last princes of *Ś r î k s h e t r a*, which town is said to have been destroyed in the year 94 A.D., yet Lassen, II. 1037, probably goes somewhat *too* far when from this circumstance he infers "with tolerable certainty that subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era, *V i s h ṇ u* was honoured there under the name of *R â m a*." On the contrary, these names, which are evidently understood as having some relation to the *R â m a* of the *Râmâyana*, may be supposed rather to enter a very emphatic protest against the authenticity of these Burmese accounts, and especially against their having any validity with regard to the period in question.

nothing more than a Moon-genius, and that consequently the saga found in the *Taitt. Br.* regarding the love of Sî t â (that is, the field-furrow) for the Moon actually represents the *first* germ out of which the saga of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has grown—that the *aṅgarāga* ointment of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *sthākara alamkāra* of the *Taitt. Br.*, is just the fragrant vapour or the dew which rises out of the furrow, and in which the Moonlight is reflected. This would be indeed genuinely poetical, and perhaps also quite possible, if it were not that the designation of R â m a as R â m a c h a n d r a, or simply as C h a n d r a, is only found for the first time at so late a date that rather the converse assumption is far more probable, namely, that a poetical spirit among the Brâhmans connected R â m a with the Moon just on account of the gentleness of his character;* though by this view a reflex reference by the learned to the Sî t â -saga of the *Br.* is by no means excluded.†

* In *Bharabhûti* l. c. he is addressed *âpannavatsala jagaj. janataikabandho!*

† In the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, for instance, it is well known that many similar *learned* reminiscences can be pointed out. That the disciples of the *Taittirîya-Veda* have, even to the most recent times, bestowed a remarkable amount of attention on the history of R â m a, is (as we have remarked in note † p. 17 referred to above) evident enough. And when, as we find it stated in Wheeler, “the ointment given by A n a s ũ y â to S î t â, which was to render her ever beautiful, is supposed by

We come now to consider the principal question that arises out of the relation in which Vâl-mîki's version of the Râma-saga stands to that which is found in the old Buddhist legend. Seeing that in this latter there is no mention made of the rape of Sîtâ, we naturally ask—where did the poet of the *Râmâyana* get the idea? Is it merely the offspring of his own imagination, taking shape in accordance with his intention to describe the expedition to Lañkâ and the battles fought in front of that city, whether these were really waged with the Aborigines, or with the Buddhists, as Wheeler imagines? or has he borrowed the materials for this part of the poem from some other quarter? Let me say at once that I consider the latter alternative to be the true account of the matter, and that the rape of Helen and the siege of Troy have served as a model for the corresponding incidents in the poem of Vâl-mîki.* I do not indeed imagine that he had himself studied Homer, or even that he must have been aware of the existence of the Homeric poems. Nor am I inclined to go so far as to attach importance, though the

some pandits to mean piety or faith in Râma, which renders all women beautiful," it is probable that we are to look here also for a faint reflection of the saga in the *Taitt.* regarding the love of the Moon for Śradhâ.

* Without questioning the possible anti-Buddhist design in the selection of Lañkâ as the scene of the conflict.

idea is by no means far-fetched (as even Monier Williams admits, *Ind. Ep. Poetry*, p. 46), to the apparent analogies between Agamemnon and Sugriva, Patroklos and Lakshmana, Nestor and Jambavan, Odysseus and Hanuman, Hektor and Indrajit,—analogies which have led Hippolyte Fauche, who has translated the *Râmâyana* into French, to adopt the converse theory, that Homer has borrowed the materials for his work from that of Vâlmîki! I pass over also the coincidences noticed by Monier Williams himself (pp. 74, 82, 86)—the consoling of the forsaken Sîtâ by means of a dream; the surveying and enumerating of the hostile troops from the battlements of Lañkâ; and the appearing of Sîtâ before the army.* Nor do I wish to discuss the still wider and quite general question (see *Ind. Stud.* II. 166), in how far an acquaintance with Greek epic poetry may have exercised an influence on the development of that of India. I content myself rather with the simple assumption that in consequence of the mutual

* As Monier Williams (p. 3) assumes that the greater part of the *Râmâyana*, if not the entire work, dates from a period so early as the fifth century B.C., he regards these details, as well as those which he imagines are borrowed from a Christian source (p. 75), as probably only later embellishments—that is, if he sees in them anything more than purely accidental coincidences.

relations, which Alexander's expedition into India brought about, between the inhabitants of that country and the Greeks (and which, in so far as the Buddhists are concerned, have found remarkable expression, for instance, in the *Milindapañha*),* some kind of knowledge of the substance of the Homeric story found its way to India. And I feel all the more justified in assuming this by the fact that, in addition to the coincidences suggested by the rape of Sî t â and the war before L a ñ k â , two other Homeric incidents are found, not indeed in the *Râmâyana* itself, but in the Pâli texts of Ceylon (see *Ind. Streifen*, II. 216 ; I. 370)—namely, the adventure of Odysseus and his companions on the island of Kirke, in the *Mahāvansa* ; † and the Trojan

* It is greatly to be desired that this important work were given to the public with the least possible delay. It contains the conversations held by the Y a v a n a king of S a g a l a , M i l i n d a (Menandros, conf. *Ind. Skizzen*, p. 83, reigned according to Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 327, and p. xxiv., from 144 B.C.), with the Buddhist priest Nâgasena ; but as yet we have been made acquainted only with extracts from it, in Hardy. Conf. *Ind. Stud.* III. 359.

† Cap. vii. see Turnour, p. 48. I think it advisable to give here the Indian version in detail. When V i j a y a , sent into exile on account of his insolence by his father S î h a b â h u , King of L â l a , landed on L a ñ k â with 700 companions exhausted by the fatigues of the voyage, they immediately fell in with the tutelary divinity of the island, the god U p p a l a v a n n a (Vishnu) who was sitting, in the form of a p a r i b b â j a k a ("devotee," Turnour), at the foot of a tree, for the purpose of receiving them and providing them with a counter-

horse (though certainly transformed into an ele-

charm against enchantment (Conf. *Od.* X. 277, 287; Lane, *Arabian Nights*, III. 299, 307). In reply to their inquiry, he told them the name of the island, then besprinkled them with water out of his pitcher, tied “(charmed) threads on their arms” (*suttam tesam hatthesu laggetvâ*) and vanished. Immediately thereafter there appeared to them a Yaksha female attendant in a canine form. Although the Prince warned him not to do so, yet one of the men followed her, saying to himself, “Where you see dogs, you may look for a village.” And so by-and-bye he found himself in the presence of her mistress, the Yakkhini K u v e n î (“with bad plaited hair” ? or “bad, wickedly plaiting” ?), who (near a tank) was sitting spinning (*Od.* X. 220) under a tree, “in the character of a devotee” (*tâpasî viya*). When he saw this tank and the anchoress sitting beside it, he bathed and drank from it and collected (edible) roots, as well as water with lotus flowers. Thereupon she stood up and said to him, “Thou art my food (prey)!” Then he stood spell-bound; but because the (charmed) thread was tied (on his hand), she could not devour him; and although she begged him to give her the thread he would not. She therefore laid hold of him, and cast him bellowing loudly (*Od.* X. 241) into an underground cave (v. 14 *tam gahetvâ saruñgâ-yam rudantam yakkhinî khipî*). And in like manner the whole 700 companions (of the Prince) were gradually, one by one, caught and shut up in the cave. Seeing that none of them came back, Vijaya became anxious, went after them, and also arrived at the tank. Then he saw that there were no footsteps of any that had come out (*apassi m’uttinnapadam*; *mâ* is probably used here for *na* ? Turnour has “he could perceive footsteps leading *down only* into the tank”; but there is nothing of the sort in the text); but he saw the anchoress, and he thought: “I shouldn’t wonder if she has caught hold of my attendants.” So he asked her: “Now, hast thou not seen my attendants?” She said: “What are thy attendants to me, Prince? Drink and bathe!” Then he perceived—“She is a y a k k h i n î (enchantress)! she knows my rank;” and, resolved in a moment, bending his bow and naming his own name, he

phant) in Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the

sprang on her, caught her by the neck with a *nârâcha*-noose, seized her hair with his left hand, drew his sword with his right (*Od.* X. 294, 321) and said: "Slave, deliver up my attendants, or I will put thee to death." Struck with terror, she begged for her life "Lord, grant me life: I will give thee a kingdom, I will serve thee as thy wife, and do everything that thou may'st wish." In order to avoid the risk of a similar danger being repeated, he made her swear on oath (*Od.* X. 299 343). Forthwith she restored to him his attendants, and, because she saw that they were exhausted (*Od.* X. 463), she set before them rice and other food, and all kinds of ships' stores, once the property of merchants who had formerly fallen a prey to her. The attendants prepared the rice, &c., and they enjoyed, with the Prince, a delicious meal. The *yakkhinî* also received some of it to taste; and she was in consequence so delighted that she changed her form into that of a maiden of sixteen. Having adorned her person with splendid attire, the *Mâra*-wife (*Mârânîgânâ*: Turnour has erroneously: "lovely as *Mârângâ* herself") approached the Prince, and speedily conquered his heart. Under a tree she caused a sumptuous bed to arise, enclosed with curtains as with a wall, and perfumed with the most fragrant odours, and *Vijaya* spent the night with her there (*Od.* X. 347), while his companions slept around him outside. While he was thus with her on the couch, he heard singing and music, and, in reply to his questions, she told him what was the state of affairs, and gave him such directions as would enable him to make himself master of the island; and, by means of her counsel and with her help, he succeeded in this. After a time, however, he put her away again, when the opportunity presented itself of winning "a queen consort of equal rank to himself" in the daughter of the *Pândava* king of *Madhurâ*; and the *yakkhinî* met her death by the hand of one of her *Yakkha* relations, enraged at her on account of her treachery.—With regard to this story, I remark that the word *suruñgâ* (*συριγγή* according to Benfey) used in v. 14 is of itself sufficient to demonstrate, what indeed requires no further proof, the existence of Greek influences in the time at which

Dhammapada.* Just as so many Æsopic fables have found a place in the *Jâtaka* collection, which forms a part of the sacred *Tipitaka*,† so also from

the *Mahāvânso* was composed: Conf. *Ind. Streifen*, II. 395. Though this coincidence cannot indeed be directly made use of for determining the relations that exist between the above legend and that which is found in the *Odyssey*, seeing that the word *συριγξ*, “underground passage,” is not used either in the corresponding portion of the latter work, or elsewhere at all in the poem, still it is certainly a significant circumstance that, in a story which has so many points of resemblance with one in the *Odyssey*, we should find a word which can be easily recognised as Greek, though altered in form through the influence of oral tradition. The difficulties which prevented Turnour (*Introd.* p. xlv.) from recognising in the story told in the *Mahāvânso* an echo of the Homeric saga certainly do not exist for us.

* See Fausböll, p. 158; and in Rogers, *Buddhaghosa's Parables*, p. 39. In the same way, too, may be easily explained those correspondences with the *Odyssey* which Schott has pointed out as existing in the later Mongolian version of the saga of Geser Khân (*Abh. d. K. A. d. W. zu Berlin* for the year 1851, p. 279, or p. 17 of the separate impression): see also Jülg in the *Verhandlungen der Würzburger Philologen Versammlung* (1868), pp. 58-71. (A Tibetan recension of the same has recently come into the possession of E. Schlagintweit [see Schiefner in the *Mélanges Asiatiques* of the Petersb. Acad. V. 47, 1863]—but, so far as I am aware, nothing more nearly relating to this subject has yet been published.) The Indian account, corresponding to the story of the Trojan horse, of the artificial elephant inside of which a number of warriors were secreted for the purpose of effecting the capture of king Udayana, appears to have formed also the subject of a drama, devoted to the fortunes of this king; see *Sâhityadarpana*, §422: *yathâ Udayanacharite kiliñjahastiprayogaḥ*.

† Conf. *Ind. Stud.* III. 356. In *Buddhaghosa* too (Fausböll, *Dhamm.* p. 419) an Æsopic fable is found—that of the flight of the tortoise through the air (conf. *Ind. Stud.* III. 339).

various other sources, Western tales, sagas and other forms of popular thought have found their way into India by means of that direct intercourse with the Greeks to which we have already referred.* The saga of the kidnapping of

* On this subject, compare, for instance, what I have said in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XIV. 269, in the *Monatsberichten der Akademie* for the year 1869, p. 39ff., and in the *Ind. Streifen*, I. 126, II. 368. Perhaps we should class also with these materials the parable quoted by M. Müller in his *Abh. über den buddh. Nihilismus*, p. 19, from Buddhaghosa's *Commentary on the Dhammapada*, of the mother mourning the death of her only son, whom Buddha comforted by bidding her bring him, as a medicine that would procure the boy's restoration to life, a grain of mustard-seed "from a house in which neither a son, nor a father, nor a slave had died." The fruitless search brought home to her the passing nature of all earthly things, and raised her above her individual sorrow. This parable, which Müller calls "a test of true Buddhism," appears in Lucian's *Demonax*, cap. 25 (Paris: 1840, ed. Dindorf, p. 381), identical in substance, but so far changed in form that Demonax, whom Lucian speaks of as his contemporary, promised the philosopher Herodes, in similar circumstances, that his child would be restored to life "if he would only name to him three men who never mourned for any one (as dead)" (εἰ μόνον αὐτῷ τρεῖς τινὰς ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσειε, μηδένα πώποτε πεπενηθικότας). Similarly also the emperor Julian, in his 37th epistle (ed. Heyler, Mainz, 1828, pp. 64, 66, 341), in which he seeks to console his friend Amerios (var. 1. Himerios) on the death of his young wife, tells the same story, in this form, that Demokritos of Abdera promised Darius to restore life to his dead spouse if he should succeed in finding, throughout his wide dominions, three names of persons who had not yet been called to mourn (τριῶν ἀπενθήτων ὀνόματα; *nomina trium quas nemo luerisset*, Heyler translates; but according to the context this is decidedly incorrect). The imperial letter-

Ganymedes appears indeed to have found admission into an *Upanishad* ascribed to the *Rigveda*

writer alludes also to the "herb that banishes sorrow" (*φάρμακον νηπενθές*) in the *Odyssey*, IV. 220-225, which, mixed in the wine of any one, makes him for an entire day forget his mourning for mother, father, brother, and son; and he speaks of his story as being to his friend "probably not strange, though to the most of people, as he believes, unknown" (*ἄνδρος εἶπω σοφοῦ μύθον, εἶτε δὴ λόγον ἀληθῆ, σοὶ μὲν ἴσως οὐ ξένον, τοῖς πλείοσι δέ, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἄγνωστον*). B u d d h a g h o s a wrote about 420 A. D., consequently about 60 years after the emperor Julian (died 363), and some 250 years after Lucian. If therefore any connection is to be looked for here, which can hardly indeed be called in question, the probability of the borrowing having taken place from the West is certainly greater than, or is at all events as great as, that of the converse supposition; and this opinion is not materially affected by the circumstance that, according to Mor. Haupt's kind communication regarding both of these passages, the *Demonax* is really a pseudo-Lucianic work: for the emperor's letter is certainly genuine, and at the same time it appeals to the fact that although the story in question was "to most people unknown," yet it was "probably not new" to the person addressed—an evident proof that it had come down from an earlier time, though, to be sure, the assertion of the connection of the story with Darius or with Demokritos (in whose biography in Diogenes Laertius, according to Heyler, p. 342, nothing of the kind is to be found) has no claim to be received as true. And besides, as M. Müller's account is not taken direct from the *Pāli*-text, but from the Burmese translation of the same, translated into English by Capt. Rogers (see pp. 100, 101 of his book), it is quite natural to expect that an investigation of the original might show that it stands in a still closer relation to the Greek form of the story (the corresponding section is unfortunately not given in Fausböll's extracts from Buddhaghosa's *Commentary*: see *ibid.* p. 289; a legend of similar import, however, is found

(see *Ind. Stud.* IX. 41). And perhaps we can point to certain elements of the same kind even in the *Râmâyana* itself. Here, for instance, seems to be a further example of the occurrence of a directly Homeric element:—in the first book of the *Râmâyana*, (cap. LXVI., LXVII. Schlegel) we are told how J a n a k a, king of Mithilâ, had given out that his daughter S î t â should be the prize of the man who should show the greatest prowess (*vîrya-sulkâ*), and how R â m a won her hand by bending an enormous bow which none of her previous suitors had been able to bend; how these latter, feeling ashamed at their defeat, laid siege to M i t h i l â, and

at pp. 359, 360). In fact we have already seen (p. 27) that B u d d h a g o s a shows an acquaintance with Greek elements from other sources also. At all events, just as “the legends regarding Christ that were current in the ninth or tenth centuries of the Christian era” (*Ind. Streif.* I. 112) have little weight with reference to the time at which Christ lived if they are not supported by evidence from other sources, so these legends of B u d d h a g h o s a ’ s, which occupy, almost throughout, the stand-point of the most credulous superstition, and give evidence of the full development of Buddhist doctrine, have as little claim *eo ipso* to be regarded directly as “parables of Mahinda, if not of Buddha himself” (an opinion toward which M. Müller evidently leans, in his preface to Capt. Rogers’ book, p. xvii.), so long as this conclusion is not supported by other evidence out of the *Tipitaka* itself; though indeed they often enough refer at least to the *sutta*, *jâtaka*, *atthakathâ*, &c. That they contain much legendary matter that is really ancient, and of the highest value, I do not mean for a moment to deny: and in regard to their antiquity Fausböll himself has pointed out that they seem to be borrowed in part from ancient metrical versions (l. c. p. 99).

how J a n a k a succeeded, by the help of the gods, in conquering them and driving them away. Such an incident * naturally reminds us of the bow of Odysseus; and the coincidence gains additional significance from the fact that we are able to bring forward another Indian form of the same saga. This is found, namely, according to Bigandet, in the *Janaka-jātaka*; † and it has already been made use of by Ernest Kuhn (in the *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1869, Oct., p. 1246) as a proof that there are points of agreement between the Buddhist writings and the Odyssey. “In a *Jātaka* quoted by Bigandet,” says Kuhn, “we find an account of one who is shipwrecked being rescued by a sea-goddess. ‡

* In the *Māhabhārata*, too, the same story recurs pretty nearly in the same form:—D r u p a d a offers his daughter as a prize to him who excels in archery (I.6955); no one is able to bend the bow, except K a r ṇ a, whom D r a u p a d ī, however, despises, because he is a *sāta* (7027), and A r j u n a (7052), who has consequently to engage in a severe conflict with the other suitors, in which his brother B h i m a stands faithfully by him.

† *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*, first edition, Rangoon, 1858, p. 228 ff., second edition, *ibid.* 1866, p. 415 ff. In Bigandet: *Dzaneck-Dzat*, which is evidently identical with *Janaka-Jātaka*; though in another passage (pp. 372-4), Bigandet gives Dzanecka as also the equivalent of the name C h â ṇ a k y a.

‡ J a n a k a is the only one rescued out of 700 who were in the ship: he, “seizing the extremity of a log, swam with all his strength” (see *Od.* V. 371). At last a sea-nymph, seeing “his generous and courageous behaviour, took pity on him (*ibid.* V. 336) and came to his assistance. There followed a sort of dialogue.” (*Ibid.* V. 339 ff.) . . .

she carries him to land, into a mango-garden, where he immediately falls asleep. On his awaking he is, in consequence of a divine decision, saluted as king; and he marries the queen of the country, when, by bending an enormous bow, and by other proofs,* he has shown that he is her appointed husband." The rescuing of Odysseus by Leukothea seems here to be combined with the bending of the bow which the other suitors were unable to bend; and while by this combining of the two incidents we are involuntarily reminded of Homer, the second of them at once recalls the incident at the court of Janaka, king of Mithilâ, which, as we have seen, is described in the *Râmâyana*; and with regard to this latter there cannot be the least doubt, for the story in this *Jâtaka*, as quoted by Bigandet, is of a young prince of Mithilâ of the same name as the father of Sîtâ (Janaka), who set out from that country in order to win back the throne of his ancestors, and so met with the adventures described. If these incidents, then, be really capable of being referred to Homer (and the combining of the two hardly leaves any room for doubt on this point), it seems

* "He was to be able to bend and unbend an enormous bow, a feat that the united efforts of a thousand soldiers could scarcely achieve, and find the place where he" (that is, the former king,) "had concealed sixteen golden cups."

to follow that the scene in the *Rāmāyaṇa* may also be assigned to the same source ! It is true that the evidence thus furnished by Bigandet is derived only from a Burmese translation ; but since his testimony regarding other matters has proved to be trustworthy and reliable, there is no ground for suspecting it in reference to this question. There can be no doubt, at the same time, that it would be peculiarly interesting to obtain some acquaintance with the *Pāli*-text of this *Jātaka*.*—The two other Western elements that apparently find a place in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are :—H a n u m a n t ' s commanding the sun, *à la* Joshua, to stand still ; † and

* The *Catalogue of the Copenhagen Pāli MSS.* gives two *Jātakas* of this name :—a *Chūla-Janakajātaka*, I. (VI.) 52, and *Mahā-Janakajātaka*, XXI. (LVI.) 531.

† More strictly, 'not to rise' ; and consequently, it must be allowed, a very different circumstance, so much so as to make it on the whole questionable whether any real connection is here to be looked for. The same prohibition addressed to the sun is also found in *Buddhaghosa*, see Rogers l. c. 22, 23, and compare, in *Hāla*, v. 46, the naïve request of the maiden addressed to the night, that it would not come to a close.—Besides, our only information on this point as regards Hanumant is derived from Wheeler, p. 369 ; did he obtain his from his North-West recension ? Gorresio's edition makes no mention of the incident, in either of the accounts which it furnishes of H a n u m a n t ' s expedition (VI. 53, VI. 83). The Bombay edition, too, which contains altogether (and no doubt correctly) only one such account (VI. 74, 33 ff. ; conf. VI. 92, 24 ff.) is entirely silent on the point, although it several times refers to the *sun's path* :—thus 74, 50 *ādityapatham āsṛitya jagāma sa gataś-*

Râma's satisfying the ritual requirements of the horse-sacrifice regarding chastity by sleeping with the golden statue of Sîtâ, whom he had abandoned in the forest,*—with reference to which Wilson (in the *Hindu Theatre*, I. 337) has called attention to the similar † situation in the *Alkestis*

ramah ; 74, 65 *sa bhâskarâdhvânam anuprapannas tam bhâskarâbham śikharam pragrihya † babhau tadâ bhâskarasamnikâso raveḥ samîpe pratibhâskarâbhaḥ.*|| It is exactly the same also in A (fol. 59a) and in C (fol. 251a).—According to a notice in the *Magazin f. d. Lit. d. Ausl.* 1870, p. 296, the command of Joshua, in precisely analogous circumstances, belongs also to Japan; and the incident is assigned to the year 200 of our era. “Before the battle was decided, the sun was in the act of setting. Then the Princess, the consort of the Mikado Tsin Ai, drew her sword, and waved it toward the sun, which turned back in its course; and once more it became mid-day. . . .”

* First, it must be owned, in the *Uttarakânḍa*, XCVIII. 26, CVI. 8 (see Wheeler, p. 402), which does not indeed belong to the *Râmâyana* proper, but is a later addition; it occurs besides in Bhavabhûti in the *Uttararâmacharita*; and also in the *Jaimini-Bhârata*, XXIX. 47, 48. Attention should, however, be called to the reference to this, so early as in the *Karmapradîpa*, III. 1, 10, *Râmo 'pi kṛitvâ sauvarṇîm Sîtâm patnîm yaśasvinîm îje yajnair bahuvîdhaiḥ saha bhrâtribhir architaḥ.*|| This work bears the name of Kâtyâyana, and is regarded as a *parîśiṣṭa* to the *Sâma Veda*: see *Ind. Stud.* I. 58; *Verz. d. Berl. S. H.* p. 81. (I remark here, in passing, that *architaḥ* is found only in Chambers, 106, and then, too, only *prima manu*; it is changed, on the other hand, *secunda manu*, into *achyutaḥ*. Âsârka reads it thus in his *Commentary*; Chambers, 134 and 370b, explains this word by *V i s h ṇ u ḥ*. This is evidently a hypercritical emendation of the text, in which Râma is regarded only as a man.)

† The incident in Euripides, however, undoubtedly differs in

of Euripides (vv. 341-345).* And in view of what has been adduced regarding Western influences, the supposition that the Sopeithes, king of the *Κηκεοι*, who entered into friendly personal relations with Alexander the Great, may be identified with the *Αśvapati*, king of the *Κεκαया*, who is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the brother-in-law of *Daśaratha*, may not appear, as a mere ques-

important respects from that referred to here. In the anguish caused by the approaching loss of his wife, who is about to die for him, Admetos exclaims—

“Thy beauteous figure by the artist’s hand,
 Skilfully wrought, shall in my bed be laid;
 By that reclining I will clasp it to me,
 And call it by thy name, and think I hold

My dear wife in my arms, though far she dwells.” (*Potter.*)

But he receives her back again alive, through the intervention of Herakles, who rescues her from Thanatos.—As the Greek settlers in the frontier lands of India, for instance in Baktria, seem to have kept up their acquaintance with the Greek drama (conf. the accounts from Plutarch in my translation of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, p. xlv. note 33), it may readily be supposed that the substance of a passage from Euripides might easily find its way into India.

* We might also perhaps have pointed out with Wheeler (p. 331) the similarity to which he calls attention “between the seven-walled city of *Lañkā* and the seven-walled city of *Ec-batana*” (*Herod.* I. 98). But the editions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* contain nothing of the kind; on the contrary, mention is made in the poem of only one great golden *prākāra* (V. 9, 16 Gorr., V. 2, 16, 3, 6 Bomb.), and besides, in general, only of earth walls and trenches (*vapraiḥ śvetachyākāraiḥ parikhābhīś ca*, Gorr. V. 9, 15).

tion of literary history, so absolutely untenable as Lassen is inclined to regard it; though undoubtedly there seems to be greater probability in the view (*vide supra*, p. 17) that Vâlmîki introduced this name into his poem simply because he found it already in use in the *Yajus*-text.

Are we able, then, to fix approximately the *date* at which the work of Vâlmîki was composed? It is known that we have accounts in Greek writers—first in Dio Chrysostom (in the time of Trajan) and then in Ælianus—of an Indian translation of Homer. I have already expressed my opinion elsewhere (*Ind. Stud.* II. 162) that we must not take this statement in too literal a sense, but that we should accept it rather as a testimony that at the time when it was made, the people of India, equally with those of Greece, were in possession of an epic conceived in the style of the Homeric poems. And in the same place I have pointed out that the more detailed statements of Dio Chrysostom—namely, that the people of India were well acquainted with the sorrows of Priam, with the dirges and lamentations of Andromache and Hekabe, and with the bravery of Achilles and Hektor—point to a Greek influence in the *Mahâbhârata*, quite as much as in the *Râmâyana*, and that in fact this may be seen even in larger measure in the former than in the latter; that at the same time, however, the ex-

pedition to the distant Lañkâ and the siege of that city in the *Rámáyana* certainly offer a closer analogy with the expedition to the distant [and similarly transmarine] Troy and the siege thereof, than is presented by the conflict on the open battlefield between the neighbouring Kuru and Pañchâla described in the *Mahâbhârata*; but that on the other hand the absence of any mention in Dio Chrysostom of a similarity so striking (and, I ought to have added, the omission of any reference to the similar origin of the war in the two cases, the *abduction*, namely of the wife of the hero of the one party by the heroes of the other) was a convincing proof that under the title of "the Indian Homer" we were to understand, *not* a poem on the saga of the *Rámáyana*, but a poem on the *Mahâbhârata*. It may no doubt be said, in opposition to this opinion, that as Dio Chrysostom proceeds on the assumption that Homer had actually been *translated* into the language of India, he would take it as a matter of course that the origin and the locality of the conflict were the same, that he would not think it necessary therefore to call special attention to this, and he would content himself with mentioning only what seemed to him to be most suitable for the *rhetorical* purpose which he had in view. In accordance with this theory, it would certainly be *possible* that his account of the matter

was founded on some actual intimation of the existence of the *Râmâyana*. Nor indeed do I mean absolutely to deny such a *possibility*; but on the other hand it evidently does not allow of being used, even remotely, as a proof of that existence, or of being employed as chronological capital for determining the time of the composition of the poem itself.*

And with reference to this part of the subject,

* We are unfortunately unable to determine exactly the time to which the account given in Dio Chrysostom ought to be assigned. My own view, which I have stated in the *Ind. Stud.* I. pp. 164 and 165, and which has received the approval of Benfey (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1852, p. 127), that it should be assigned to the time *after* Pliny, who would hardly have left so important a fact unnoticed, still seems to me preferable to that of Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* II. p. xlix.), namely, that we are indebted to Megasthenes for the report in question. But at least I can no longer support my opinion, as I endeavoured to do there, by the argument that the account given by Dio Chrysostom in the same passage, to the effect that the Great Bear is not visible to the people of India, is to be regarded as a mariners' report brought to Europe (from the *South* of India), also *after* the time of Pliny; for, as Lassen has justly pointed out in the place already referred to, this report is mentioned so far back as by Onesikritos and by Megasthenes. (On this subject, see also *Ind. Stud.* II. 408, 409.) And in any case, the circumstance that Pliny makes no mention of the Indian Homer is at least no proof that up till that time no information on the subject had reached Europe; for he might have omitted to mention this, just in the same way as he left unmentioned the information regarding the Great Bear. It must be admitted at the same time that *both* omissions are remarkable enough in a man like Pliny!

I think it desirable that we should, in the first place, investigate such data bearing on the time of the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as can be furnished by *internal* evidence, and that we should then collect the external data for the existence of the poem, so far as these are to be found in Indian literature and elsewhere.

The *first* point then which meets us in connection with the internal evidence furnished by the *Rāmāyaṇa* (and it is a very perplexing one) is the great extent of the work, which shows that it cannot have been the composition of one poet only, but that centuries must have contributed to mould it into its present form. The natural result of this has been that the text has been split up into several distinctly separate recensions. Indeed we can say with almost perfect truth that there are as many texts as there are manuscripts or editions!* And a further consequence has been

* With reference to the various recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we are hardly able to say with certainty at present which of them should be considered as most closely corresponding with the original. The so-called Bengal recension has found its keenest opponent in Hall, who speaks of it, in his edition of Wilson's translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (II. 190), as "a modern depravation," and even characterises it as "spurious" *ibid.* III. 317). Guérin, too (*Astronomie Indienne*, p. 239, note), refers to it as a production of the 11th century. Hall justly describes Schlegel's edition as "composite;" and, in his

that even within these individual recensions there have been found numerous contradictions and ob-

opinion, the “genuine *Râmâyana*” is contained only in the editions of Calcutta (which unfortunately I am acquainted with only through Muir’s extracts), and of Bombay. (He has seen in India no fewer than seven commentaries “on the real *Râmâyana* ;” and one of these was a manuscript nearly 500 years old, with accompanying text.)—At the same time, I have made it, I hope, sufficiently clear by the arguments I have adduced from the Berlin MSS.—partly in my *Verzeichniss der Berliner Sanskrit-MSS.*, p. 119 ff., partly in the *Indische Streifen*, II. 240 ff., and partly in the present paper, *passim*,—that these views of Hall’s must undergo considerable modification. These Berlin MSS., written throughout in Devanâgarî, partly correspond to a large extent with Gorresio’s text, and therefore lend it additional authority; and partly they represent, as compared with Gorresio and with the Bombay edition, a perfectly independent text; in other words, they form a recension for themselves. And there is no reason to doubt that the same result will be frequently repeated as further new MSS. are brought to light and compared with one another. In fact, it could hardly be otherwise, considering the manner in which so national and popular a poem must have been originally handed down, beyond a doubt merely by means of oral tradition (in the *Uttarakânda* mention is made continually and exclusively of recitation of the poem: conf. on this the notices about the *Harivaṅśa*, pp. 77): the wonder really is that after all there is so much substantial harmony among the different versions. And this is the more surprising when we consider also that the different provinces of India had each their own peculiar styles (*rîti*), which differed from one another in important respects; and that consequently the work of Vâlmîki, as it gradually spread over the whole of India, would be exposed to modifying influences which such a state of things would naturally exert. For our earliest and at the same time most detailed information regarding this variety of style, we are indebted to the *Kâvyâdarśa* (I. 40—101) of Dandin, who in

vicious additions, which afford sufficient evidence of manifold revisions and interpolations by different hands. (Conf. on this subject, Holtzmann *Über den*

all probability lived as far back as the 6th century; and Paṇḍit Premachandra Tarkavâgîśa, in the commentary with which he has accompanied his edition of this work (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calc. 1863), has made a most admirable collection of what is known on this subject from other sources, namely, from the works of Vâmana, Bhojarâja, Mammata (*Kâvyaprakâśa* IX. 4) and Viśvanâtha (*Sâhityadarpaṇa*, ch. IX. § 624-630). Compare on this subject also the detailed statements from the works of the first two of these authors, namely, the *Kâvyâlamkâra* of Vâmana, and the *Sarasvatîkanṭhâbharana* of Bhojarâja, as found in Aufrecht's *Catalogus*, fol. 207a, 208a; according to 210a *ibid.* the same subject is specially treated also in chap. IX. of the *Alamkâraustubha* of Kaṇapûra. And in this matter it so happens that the Bengalis (Gauḍa) play quite a conspicuous rôle. Daṇḍin recognises only two kinds of style, that of the Bengalis (*Gauḍî*) and that of Vidarbha (*Vaidarbhî*). Vâmana and Mammata mention also the style of the Pañchâla (*Pañchâlî*), Viśvanâtha speaks of the *Lâṭî* style, and Bhojarâja adds to these the *Āvantikâ* and the *Mâgadhî* styles. Instead of *Gauḍa*, Daṇḍin uses also the name *paurastya*, I. 50, 83, or *adâkshinâtya*, I. 80, while he designates the *Vaidarbhi* style as that of the *dâkshinâtya*, I. 60). It is greatly to be wished that some one would work up carefully and thoroughly the details that are furnished in so rich abundance by these passages; I content myself with remarking here that the style of the *Vaidarbha* is described as having the preference on account of its being smooth, simple, and universally intelligible, while that of the *Gauḍa* is characterised as having the opposite qualities. Whether the latter, and especially the further detailed statements in Daṇḍin, &c., are to be understood as having possibly an application to the recension of the *Râmâyana* edited by Gorresio, and by him, following the example of Schlegel (vol. I. p. xxiii.) designated as *Gauḍana*—and if so to what extent—are questions that cannot be answered without

griechischen Ursprung des indischen Thierkreises, p. 34 ff.) So that though this may no doubt be a proof of the great popularity of the work, on the other hand

further special research. The same remark holds good also of the so-called Bengal recension of the *Sakuntalâ*; for the authenticity of which, and especially for its being truer to the original than the so-called *Devanâgarî*-recension, Dr. R. Pischel has recently been contending very earnestly, in what is at all events a very valuable dissertation (Breslau, 1870. *De Kâlidâsae Sâkuntali recensionibus*, p. 67); though, to be sure, Stenzler had expressed his opinion to the same effect a long time ago (see *Hallesche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1844, p. 561 ff.).—Gorresio's recension received the name *Gaudana* on two grounds: 1, Because the MSS. on which it was founded are written for the most part in the Bengali character; 2, Because the statement in Carey and Marshman, vol. I. p. 212, that "the text from this place to the foot of p. 214 [I. 15, 69, 80 in Gorresio] is to be found only in the copies of the *Gaura* Paṇḍits, and not in those of the south or west"—is especially pertinent to this recension (see Gorr. I. 19, 1—10), while the verses in question are wanting in Schlegel (in I. between 18 and 19) and in the Bombay edition (in I. 18, between 6 and 7). They are wanting, however, elsewhere also, as far as v. 8—10 Gorr., namely, in A B C, see the *Verz. der Berl. S. H.* p. 120. The chapter beginning *taṁ tu Râmaḥ* (*Râm.* II. 101 Bomb., II. 73 Ser., A. fol. 82a) is, according to Schlegel (vol. I. p. xxxiv.), noted by a scholiast as being wanting in the *dâkshinâtyapâṭha*. It is wanting also in Gorresio; at least the corresponding chapter there (II. 109) has a different beginning; but it will hardly do on this account to identify, as Gorresio seems inclined to do (vol. I. p. lxxviii.-ix.), the "Gaudana" with this *dâkshinâtyapâṭha*. In that case the connection between the name "Gaudana" and the recensions in question must be given up; for the *Gauḍâ* are themselves *adâkshinâtya*! And besides, the corresponding chapter in Schlegel (II. 101) agrees in this respect with Gorresio's text; it also begins differently— not with *taṁ tu Râmaḥ*.

it seriously complicates the critical questions which arise as to the value of the constituent elements of which the poem is made up. And in addition to the hitherto known recensions,* we have now a new one introduced by Wheeler, which he calls the North-West (!?) Recension, but which is evidently stamped as quite modern by its omissions and its very recent additions (Wheeler, vol. II. pp. LXXXV. 28, 65, 144, 203). It is not so easy to determine, in the other recensions, what should be recognised as original, and what should be regarded as merely the result of later accretion. What are we to say, for instance, regarding the well-known episode of *Viśvâmitra* in the first book (cap. LI.—LXV. in Schlegel)? It wears an unmistakably antique aspect, referring as it does to the elevation of a Kshatriya to the dignity of a Brâhman, —a circumstance which, though it is handled with all possible delicacy as regards the Brâhman, must yet have been unspeakably humiliating to the pride of the Brâhmanical hierarchy. And the same difficulty meets us in the story of the defeat of *Râma Jâmadagnya*, the representative and champion

* See, for instance, Muir, *Original Sansk. Texts*, IV. 148 ff., 378ff., 409, as also my notice of the Bombay edition of the *Râmâyana*, in the *Ind. Streifen*, II. 235ff. We have to add to the statements there made regarding the extent of the work, that from the *Uttarakanda*, CI. 26, according to which it contains 500 sargas with 25,000 ślokas (a round number!).

of the Brâhmanical caste, by his namesake, the hero of the epic (cap. LXXXIV.—LXXXVI. in Schlegel). Looking at the tenor of these episodes, we are not justified, in my opinion, in assuming that they are *later* additions to the poem,* whatever may be their want of connection with the general narrative. They are found, it ought to be observed, in all the existing recensions. But then, in the episode of Viśvâmitra (the substance of which its narrator, Śatânda, the *purohita* of Janaka, describes as having come down from the olden primitive time) there is found, as is well known, that catalogue† of the Pahlava, of the Śaka mingled with the Yavana, of the Yavana-Kamboja—that is, of the Kâamboja, Pahlava, Yavana, Śaka, Varvara, Mlechha‡ Tûshara, Hârîta and Kirâta,§ who were produced, at the command of

* They might rather be regarded as earlier fragments, incorporated by Vâlmîki into his work.

† Regarding the decisive circumstance in the matter (namely, that under the name Yavana we are to understand the Baktrian Greeks, or rather perhaps, by this time their successors) see *Ind. Streifen*, II. 321. The name Yavana passed from the Greeks over to their Indo-Skythian, &c. successors, and finally even to the Arabs.

‡ May we suppose that the words *romakûpeshu mlechhâś cha* Schl. Ser. Bomb. Gorr., *mlechhâś cha* (*mlechhâś tu*, A), *romakûpebhyaḥ* A B C, have possibly a direct reference to the Romans? (Conf. *Acad. Vorles. über Ind. Lit. G.* p. 226 n.)

§ See I. 55, 18—56, 3, Gorr., I. 54, 18-55, 3, Schlegel and Bomb., I. 42, 18—27, Seramp., and the relative passages in A B

Vasishtha, by his cow of plenty, in order to defeat the army of Viśvâmitra. And the introducing of these names in such a connection could evidently be thought of as possible only at a time when, in point of fact, the hosts of Pahlava,

C (by A B C, I mean those manuscripts which are designated by these letters in my *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit-H.* in the Royal Library at Berlin, p. 118 ff.): they show, in the passage under consideration, a very special reference to the *Gauḍa* recension. In BC there is another verse added, which brings in also the *Vâhlika* and *Darada*. [Prof. Weber subjoins here, for purposes of comparison, the different recensions, taking B C as a basis. These, except the text, need not be reproduced.—ED.]

tasyâ hambhâravotsrishiṭâḥ Pahlavâḥ śataśas tadâ |
 anâśayan balaṃ sarvaṃ Viśvâmatrasya paśyataḥ ||
 Yavanâścha sa-Kâmvajâ Vâhlikâ Daradâs tathâ |
 râjâ tu paramâyastâḥ khrodhaparyâkulekshaṇâḥ |
 Pahlavân anayan nâsaṃ śastrair uchchâvachâis tathâ ||
 Viśvâmitrahatân dṛishiṭvâ Pahlavân śataśas tadâ
 bhûya evâ 'srijad ghorân Śakân Yavanamîsritân ||
 tair âsît sambhṛitâ sarvâ Śakair Yavanamîsritaiḥ |
 pradhâvadhbir mahâvîryaiḥ padma-kinjalkaasammibhaiḥ ||
 dîrghâsi-paṭṭîśadharair hemavarnair ivâvritâ |
 śailasthair vikritâkêrair bhîmavegaparâkramaiḥ |
 nirdagdham tad valaṃ sarvaṃ pradîptair iva pâvakaiḥ ||
 athâ 'strâṇi mahâtejâ Viśvâmitro hy avâsrijat |
 teshâm visriyamânânâṃ trasyed api śatakratuḥ ||
 tatas tân vyâkulân dṛishiṭvâ Viśvâmitrâstramohitân |
 Vasishtho nodayâmâsa tvaṃ dheno sṛija yodhinâḥ ||
 tasyâ hambhâravâj jâtâḥ Kâmvajâ ravisammibhâḥ |
 hṛidayâd adhisamjâtâḥ Kâmvajâḥ śastrapâṇayah ||
 yonidesâch cha Yavanâḥ śakṛitsthânâs tathâ Śakâḥ |
 Mlechhas cha romakûpebhyas Tukhârâḥ sa-Kirâtakâḥ ||
 taistu nishûditam sainyaṃ Viśvâmitrasya tatkshaṇât |

The 3rd line above is wanting in A Gorr. Schl. Ser. and Bom., and the 11th in Gorr. Schl. Ser. and Bom.

Śakā, and Yavanā appeared actually almost to swarm up out of the earth and to swoop victoriously down upon the Indian Kshatriya (for they annihilate the army of Viśvāmitra (I. 55, 4, 5, Schl.);— in other words, just at the time when the *Græco-Baktrian* and after them the *Indo-Skythian* kings held sway in the north-west of India.*—And in perfect accord with what has been now stated, we find the following notices that are taken from the fourth book. When Sugrîva sends out his Monkeys to the four quarters of the earth, that they may search for the lost Sîtâ, the various regions are briefly described in their order, and the description is accompanied by an enumeration of the inhabitants. Regarding the west, for instance, we

* It is known that this sway extended for a time pretty far into India; at the time of the *Periplus*, Barygaza was the southern limit of Aryan India (see *Ind. Streifen*, II. 271.) The passage in which Sîtâ says to Râvana, “between thee and Râma there is a difference wide as that between Surâshṭra and Sa uvîra ka” (*Râm.* III. 53, 56, Gorr., conf. *Mahâbh.* III. 16040) perhaps has reference to this subject, and possibly illustrates the hatred felt towards the Sa uvîra (who in the *Mahâbhâr.* also are reckoned among the non-Brâhmanical peoples), and their *Greek* or *Indo-Skythian* government, and specially toward their *Buddhist* proclivities (see *Ind. Stud.* I. 220, where, however, a somewhat different view is taken). But also regarding Surâshṭra as subject to *Greek* influences, see *Ind. Stud.* IV. 269, 270; IX. 380 (! ?). The Greek feeling of nationality, and especially the Greek culture, probably maintained their hold on the people in the parts of India referred to for a considerable time after the overthrow of the Greek kings.

are told that the Monkeys are “to search through the *cities* of the *Yavana*, the dwelling-place of the *Pahlava*, and, in the neighbourhood of the same, the whole *Pañchānada* (*Panjâb*), *Kashmîr* (the *Pârada C*), *Tâkshasilâ*, *Śâkala*, *Pushkalâvatî*, the *Śâlva*, and the mountain *Mañimant* (*Āraṭṭa*, *Kapiśa*, *Vâlhi*, in *A C*), the country of the *Gândhâra*, &c., IV. 43, 20 ff. Gorr;” and with regard to the north they are similarly directed “to explore among the *Gândhâra* and the *Yavana*, the *Śaka*, *Odra*, and *Pârada* (*Chîna*, *Paundra*, *Mâlava*, *A C*), the *Vâlhika*, *Rishîka*, *Paurava*, *Kimkara* (*Râmaṭha*, *A C*), *Chîna*, *Apara-Chîna* (*Parama-Chîna*, *A C*), *Tukhâra*, *Varvara*, *Kâmbôja*, (and *Khasa?* *C*), also the *Darada*, and the *Himavant*” (IV. 44, 13 ff. Gorr.) Here also the texts to which I have had access harmonise in the main;* and it is obvious

* The Bombay edition alone has nothing corresponding to the first passage (in IV. 42, 18, Gorresio's v. 27 comes immediately after his v. 17); and in the second passage (iv. 43, 12), which fully agrees with Gorr. so far as the matter in question is concerned, it reads thus: *Kâmbôja - Yavanânś chaivâ Śakânâṃ pattanânî cha | anvikshya Varadânś* (*Daradânś?*) *chaiva Himavantam vichinvatha (!) ||* [The detailed statements of var. lec. in the MS. *G A C*, taking *G* as a basis, given by the author, need not be given here.—ED.]

In Gorresio, vol. IV. p. 526, we find the following various reading of the verse IV. 43, 20, represented as occurring in *Cod. G*:—

Strîlokâ(h) Pahlavasthânâṃ Daṇḍâmitrâṃ Arundhatîṃ |
Purânś chaiva vanânâṃ cha vichinudhvânî vânavukasah||

that such notices * could belong *only* to a time in

And here perhaps we may find a still further *direct* trace of the Greek dominion. In case the reading *D a ṇ ḍ â m i t r â* which occurs here, and which is certainly very doubtful [see the *Varietas lectionis* given by Prof. Weber—ED.], should need to be confirmed from other sources, we might very fairly cite (see *Ind. Stud.* V. 150) the name of the city *D â t t â m i t r î* in the Schol. on *Pân.* IV. 2, 76, which there appears to have been founded by the *S a u v î r a*-king *D a t t â m i t r a*, who is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* as the contemporary and the opponent of Arjuna, but regarding whom Lassen (see *Ind. Alterth.* I. 657 n.) seems not disinclined, following Tod's example, to believe that we are to find in him a trace of the Baktrian King Demetrios (the son of Euthydemus), who reigned (according to Lassen, II. 293-308, xxiv.) from about 205 to 165 B.C. With reference to a conjecture which certainly receives considerable support from the data that have just been quoted regarding the city *D â t t â m i t r i*, since there is mention made also of Demetrios—to the effect that a city, in Arachosia however, bore his name (Demetrias), and was probably founded by him, see Lassen, II. 300. It should be added that inscriptions attest with regard to the city *D â t t â m i t r i* that it numbered *Yavanâs*, *i.e.* Greeks, among its inhabitants. This has been confirmed by the mention of a *D â t â m i t î y a k a Y o ṇ a k a*: see *Journal Bombay Branch R. As. S.* vol. V. p. 54, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 37, 82. An inhabitant of this *D â t t â m i t r i* is called *D â t t â m i t r î y a* in the Schol. on *Pân.* IV. 2, 123. Unfortunately both the *sûtra*, according to the statements in the Calcutta edition, are “not explained in the *bhâshya*”! It may be easily supposed, however, that both these examples of the Schol. rest in fact upon ancient tradition. Is it possible that even *P â ṇ i n i* himself could have had the word *D â t t â m i t r î* already in his eye, when he composed his rule: *strîshu S a u v î r a*-*Salva*-*Prâkshu*? This would throw an admirable side-light on his mention of the *Yavana*-writing. Unfortunately we cannot be sure of this point! [Conf. the author's *Übers. des Mâlavikâgnimitram*, Pref. p. 47; and *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 145.—ED.]

* A similar use has already been made of these notices by the Abbé Guérin in a note on the *Râmâyana* embodied (pp.

which the *Yavana* (that is, the Greeks), the *Pahlava*, *Śaka*, &c. were settled in the *north-west* of India, and were consequently neighbours, as specified, of the *Kamboja*, *Bâlhika*, *Darada*, *Gândhâra*, &c. In another passage, in the second book (II. 2, 10, Gorr.), the *Yavana* at least appear in the immediate neighbourhood of the *Śaka*; this occurs, however, in addition to *Gorresio* only in *A*, while the other texts show a variety of readings.*

A *second* point that calls for examination here is one that has already been largely discussed, namely, the *horoscope* of the birth of *Râma* and his brothers: more specifically, the names given to the *zodiacal* figures (I. 19, 2, 8; II. 15, 3, Schlegel) *karkata* (with *kulîna*) and *mina*. It is well known that A. W. von Schlegel looked on the mention of these names as a proof not only of the high antiquity, but even of the Indian origin, of the Zodiac.† But since the appearance of Holtzmann's admirable memoir *Ueber den griechischen Ursprung des*

237—240) in his curious book *Astronomie Indienne* (Paris, 1847).

* *Mlechhâś cha Yavanâś chaiva Śakâḥ śailântavâsinah*, Gorr. A (C unfortunately wants Book II.); against this: *mlechhâś châr yâś cha ye chârnye vanaśailântavâsinah*, Schl. (II. 3. 24), Ser. (II. 2, 25), Bomb. (II. 3, 25). The reading of Gorr. A appears to me to be the older.

† See *Z. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* I. 354ff.; III. 369ff.

Indischen Thierkreises (Karlsruhe, 1841), it is hardly possible for any one longer to doubt that the truth is quite the other way, and that the converse position is the correct one. The notices in question, to use my own words on a former occasion (see *Indische Stud.* II. 240, 241. 1852), “furnish only an additional proof of what has been made sufficiently clear from other sources, namely, the *late date* of the composition of the *Râmâyana* itself, though certainly only of that *recension*,” in which these notices occur. For as the Zodiac, in the particular form in which it is found among the people of India (see *Indische Stud.* II. 414, 415. 1853), “was completed by the Greeks only in the first century B.C., it could not possibly have found its way into India earlier than this, nor, we may be pretty sure, until several decades later; and a considerable time must have elapsed before this new conception could have so become, as it were, the possession of the people as that the poet could refer to it as something perfectly well known.” (See my Preface to the translation of *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, pp. xxxiv.–v. 1856.) And although the horoscope is certainly wanting* in the Bengal recension and also in A, B, C, † yet it is found without any material variations in the Se-

* See Kern, *Vorrede zu Varâhamihira's Brihatsamhitâ*, p. 40.

† All three manuscripts agree here also; and indeed the

rampur, in Schlegel's, and in the Bombay editions. It is certainly remarkable, however, that throughout the remainder of the work,² so far at least as I can at present remember, although astronomical facts are frequently mentioned, there is no further reference to the Zodiac.* And therefore the suspicion naturally suggests itself that the particulars regarding the horoscope of the nativity were introduced at a later period by zealous astrologers, who were anxious both to obtain and to impart exact information regarding an event of so great importance.† But even if we refrain,

first two verses of the chapter in question, quoted in the *Verzeichniss der Berl. Sansk. Handschr.*, p. 120, follow the closing verse of Chapter 18 in Gorresio.—Conf. the verses following Gorr. 19. 8, in MSS. A, B, and C:—

tisro mahishyo râjarsher babhûvus tasya dhîmitah |
gunavatyo 'nurûpas cha châruproshthapadopamâh ||
sadrîsî tatra Kausalyâ Kaikeyî châ 'bhavachhubhâ |
Sumitrâ Vâmadevasya babhûva karanîsutâ ||
tato 'sya jajnire putrâs chatvâro 'mitavikramâh |
Râma-Lakshmana Satrughnâ Bharatâs cha mahâbalaḥ ||
teshâm jyeshtham mahāvâhum vîram apratimaujasam |
Kausalyâ 'janayad Râmam Vishṇutulyaparâkramam ||
Kausalyâ śusubhe tena putreṇâ 'mitatejasâ |
Aditir devarâjena yathâ Balanigkâtinâ ||

* Even in the second passage, although one of the zodiacal signs is mentioned in Schlegel's edition, and with reference to the nativity (II. 15, 3, *lagne karkâtake prâpte janma* [sic!] *Râmasya cha sthite*), yet the Bengal recension has nothing corresponding, but merely (II. 12, 3) *tasminn ahani pushyena some yogam upâgate*.

† It is perfectly evident that we have to do here with a

on account of this uncertainty, from insisting on the validity of the inferences which might otherwise be legitimately drawn from the mention of the Zodiacal signs, and do not therefore press their bearing on the question as to the time at which the *Râmâyana* was composed, yet the notices in the poem of other astronomical matters furnish also at least some support to the opinion already indicated. For, besides the mention of the nakshatras,* there are also frequent references to the planets,† and we know that the Indian astronomers acquired their knowledge of the planets at a comparatively late period—considerably subsequent, at least, to

purely arbitrary guessing at the time, and not with an actual date. See my *Abh. über die Naksh.* I. 288. Bentley, among others, has also attempted to calculate from Râma's horoscope the year in which he was born, the result being the year 940 B. C.—and for the time of the composition of the *Râmâyana* the year 295 A. D. (*Hindu Astronomy*, London, 1825, p. 14 ff.). Guerin, in his *Astronomie Indienne*, p. 238, fixes the latter event more exactly as having taken place in 105 A. D. The notices regarding the horoscope do indeed furnish a certain groundwork for calculations regarding the latter event; but they can hardly be used for this purpose *ad amussim*, so as to determine exactly the precise year in question (compare what is said, *e. g.* in the *Ind. Stud.* X. 233 ff., regarding what is essentially the same calculation). Besides, the notices referred to have, after all, a bearing only on those texts (that is, manuscripts) in which they occur—and not on the time at which the *Râmâyana* itself was composed.

* See, *e. g.* I. 71, 24. 72, 13; II. 4, 20, 21, Schl.; V. 55, 1, 2, 73, 15, 56 ff., Gorr.

† *Verz. der Berl. S. H.* p. 80.

the dates hitherto assigned to the *Rāmāyaṇa*—the first mention of them, according to our present knowledge, occurring in the *Atharvaparīśiṣṭa* and in Yājñavalkya, I. 294 ff.* And the peculiar relations which exist, just in those *oldest* passages in which the planets are mentioned, between Mars and War, between Mercury and Commerce, between Jupiter and Sacrificial Ritual (see *Ind. Stud.* VIII. 413, X. 319) appear to point with certainty to the fact that the Indian astronomers were indebted to the *Greeks* for their knowledge of the planets; for neither their Indian names, nor the deities associated with them, afford the smallest explanation of such relations.

Reverting now to what I have said under the first head, regarding the politico-geographical aspect of the question, as to the time when the poem was composed, I beg in the *third* place to call attention to the fact that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ceylon (see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 200-201; Gorresio, *Introd.* to vol. I. p. c.) is never called T â m r a p a r ṇ â or

* Conf. however Manu, I. 24, VII. 121. Regarding the late period at which mention is made of the planets in Indian writers see *Ind. Stud.* II. 240, 242; IX. 363; X. 240, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 339, 340; *Jyotisha*, p. 10. Regarding the recent origin of the verse in the *Yajus*-recension of the *Jyotisha*, in which the Zodiac and Jupiter are mentioned, see my Treatise on that work, pp. 11, 22; and on a passage ascribed to B a u d h â y a n a, see my *Abh. über die Naksh.* II. 358.

Siñhala (or—though it is true that this was hardly to be looked for—Pālisîmanta),* by which names alone the island was known to the Greeks (Taprobane in the earliest times, Palaesimundu at the time of the *Periplus*, Salike or Sielediba in the time of Ptolemy and of Kosmas Indicopleustes),—but that throughout the poem it is designated *only* by the name Lañkâ, which was unknown to the Greeks, and which we meet with (except in the *Mahāvanso*—p. 47, for instance) for the first time in an *Atharvaparîśiṣṭa* (in the *kûrmavibhāga*); and indeed in the form Lañkâpurî associated with Siñhalâs (see *Verz. der S. H. der Berl. Bibl.*, p. 93), and next in *Aryabhaṭa*, *Varâhamihira*, &c.—The *geographical* horizon of the *Rāmāyana* (which may also be referred to here) is naturally more extensive than that of the *Mahābhārata*, inasmuch as the original story of the latter confines itself to the description of a battle in Hindustan, while the *Rāmāyana* carries us as far south as to Ceylon. But it has already been remarked by others that the *Rāmāyana* shows by no means an exact acquaintance with the geography of the Dekhan.† It is evident, on

* The name of the *rākshasî Siñhikâ*, on the island between Ceylon and the mainland, IV. 41, 38, V. 8, 1 Gorr., appears at least to contain a play upon the name Siñhala.

† An excellent opportunity offered itself for showing such an acquaintance in the description of the regions to be visited by

the other hand, from passages here and there, that the poet possessed a special acquaintance with the North-West of India. This appears, for instance, in the episode of Viśvâmitra (vide supra), in Bharata's return journey from his uncle, and in the journey of the messengers who were sent to fetch him (I, 55, 18 ff., II. 70, 6, 11—19, 73, 2 ff. Gorr.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 523.) In Râvaṇa's palace in Laṅkā, Hanumant sees (V. 12, 36) noble horses from the North-West: *Āratṭājānś cha Kāmbojān Vālhikān śubhalakṣhaṇān, śukānanānś chà turagān . . .*; and the powerful hounds which Bharata takes home with him as a present from Aśvapati (II. 72, 24) re-appear in the accounts of the Greeks regarding the country of the Κηκεοι (Alexander receives from Sopeithes as a present 150 of such hunting-dogs; see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 161).

I remark further, in the *fourth* place, that although the word *sanskṛita* is applied in the *Râmâyana* (see *Ind. Streifen*, II. 53) in a manner which

the messengers sent out by Sugrîva (IV. 40, 17 ff. Gorr.).—This *digvijaya* of the *Râmâyana* deserves to receive special treatment (conf. Hall's Edition of Wilson's *Vishṇupurāna*, II. 146 ff.). Gorresio's text and the Bombay edition differ materially in this matter; A C follow Gorr., in the main; in this respect, for instance, that instead of *Yavadvîpa*, the island of Java, IV. 40, 30 (conf. Kern, *Introd. to the Brihatsamhita*, p. 40), they read *Jaladvîpa* (A, owing to a clerical error, has only *Jadvîpa*).

shows that it had not yet come to be used in its technical meaning as the name of the "Sanskrit"* language, yet it is evident that the use of the latter name was just about to come into existence. And accordingly we find frequent reference made to a literature already very widely developed, and designated by names that are comparatively modern (*śāstra*, for instance, used throughout as the name for a treatise both standing alone (e. g. I. 12, 19; II. 109, 30, 63), and as the second part of compound words, as shown in the examples given below). Thus, in addition to the *veda*, † and the *vedāṅga*, consisting of six *aṅga* (e. g. I. 5, 20. 6, 1, 71. 6, 13, 21. 80, 4; V, 16, 41. 32, 9), specially the *śikshā*, I. 13, 18 (*mantraiḥ śikshāksharasamanvitaiḥ*) in addition to the *sūtra* and *bhāshya*, I. 11, 6, *sūtra* and *kalpa*, I. 13, 21, *kalpasūtra*, (I. 13, 3), the following are also mentioned by name: the *dhanurveda* with *aṅga*, *upāṅga*, *upanishad* and *rahasya*, I. 56, 16. 79, 20. 80, 27; V. 32, 9, the *gandharvavidyā*, I. 79, 21. 80, 4, astronomy, I. 80, 29 (*jyotirgatishu nishñātaḥ ganakāḥ*, I. 12, 7), writing and reckoning (*lekhyā-saṁkhyā*-) I. 80, 2, 29, the *arthaśāstra*, I. 80, 28; V. 1, 82, ‡ and all kinds of arts (*śilpa*,

* As distinguished from the *desabhāshā*; I. 51, 3, Gorr.

† The *praushtapada* is the month for the *svādhyāya* of the *Sāmaga* IV. 27, 10.

‡ In this class also, e. g. *hastīśikshā* and *rathāśikshā*,—

I. 80, 4, and *kalá*, I. 79, 22), the *nāṭaka*, II. 71, 4,* but especially the *dharmaśāstram*, I. 79, 20, the *nīṭśāstram*,† I. 79, 20. 80, 3, 27, the *nyāyaśāstram*, I. 80, 4. (conf. *naiyāyika*, II. 116, 1, and the *ānvīkshikī buddhiḥ*, II. 109, 30, in the *Kachchit Sarga* however). In this place also may be noticed the frequent references to the heretical views of the materialists and the unbelievers, *laukāyatika* (II. 109, 29, also in the *Kachchit Sarga*) and *nāstika*, I. 5, 12, *nāstikyam* II. 109, 64 (ibid.) 114, 40 of Jāvāli! III. 69, 5; IV. 41, 42. In addition to these are direct quotations: e.g. the *Hastibhir gātāḥ ślokāḥ* V. 88, 6 (regarding enmity among relatives), *Kaṇḍunā gāthāś chirodgātāḥ*, VI. 91, 7 (regarding those that pray for help), *ṣaurāṇi gāthā*, VI. 110, 2, *imam purāṇam dharmasamhātam . . . Riksheṇa gīto yaḥ ślokaḥ*, VI. 98, 32. Finally, we may also refer here to the mention of *Dhanvanti* as king of the phy-

treatises (? or merely: Information ?) regarding the management of elephants, and the preparation (guiding ? see I. 79, 21) of war-chariots; conf. *Kādambarī*, I. 67; Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, I. 14.

* *Nāṭakāny apare chakrur* (*prāhur*, Schl. II. 69, 4) *hāsyāni vividhāni cha*; conf. *nāṭa* in combination with *nar-taka*, I. 12, 7 (Schl. and Gorr.), II. 67, 12 (Schl., not in Gorr. II. 69).

† Conf. the reference to the *kākatālīyam vairam*, III. 45, 17.

sicians (I. 46, 30) and father of S u s h e n a (I. 66, 22), as also to the representing of J a i m i n i (II. 82, 10), K â t y â y a n a (I. 71, 4; VI, 112, 73), J â v â l i and M â r k a ṇ ḍ e y a as among the royal counsellors,* in Ayodhyâ.—Although these literary data, which I have taken, for the sake of unity, exclusively from the *Gauḍa* recension, † by no means enable us to determine the precise time at which the poem was composed, yet they certainly furnish, on the other hand, decisive evidence

* Similarly the old Vedic ṛishis Vāśiṣṭha, Vāmadeva, Gotama or Gautama, Maudgalya, Kāsyapa, Bhṛigu (I. 71, 4), and other names that have merely an etymological significance, such as Suyajna, Sumantra, Vijaya—are mentioned among the royal guru or counsellors; the former evidently only *in majorem gloriam!* Sumitrâ, the third wife of Daśaratha, is even spoken of as the daughter of Vāmadeva (by a *karāṇi*) I. 19, 9.—The passages regarding Vālmîki's being contemporary with Râma are wanting in the *Gauḍa* recension, and are found besides only in some MSS. It is only when we come to the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (and *Bhavabhūti*) that the MSS. agree in recording (49, 47, 51, 1 f.) that Sitâ came into his hermitage and there gave birth to her two sons, whom he afterwards taught to repeat the *Râmâyana*. Vālmîki thus appears to be a *new* acquaintance of Sitâ; so that those passages in the previous books, which speak of an earlier meeting having taken place between them, must evidently have been added at a later period.—In the peculiar position which Jâvâli occupies in the *Râm.*, I am inclined to recognise a slight trace of the *pique* which probably animated our poet, a follower of the black *Yâjus* (vide supra, pp. 17-18, n. †) against the Jâvâla-school of the white *Yâjus*.

† Regarding the mention of Buddha, in II. 104, 33 (ed. Schlegel), vide supra, p. 11.

against *so high* an antiquity as has hitherto been assigned to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Nor, *fifthly*, do the data relating to the history of religion, which are furnished by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, give any certain evidence that a *high* antiquity should be assigned to the poem. Specially noticeable in this connection is the absence of any reference to Kṛishṇa or the Kṛishṇa-worship (see Gorresio: *Introd.* to vol. I. 1843, p. xciii.), though of course the only legitimate inference to be drawn from this silence is that we must not push the date of the work *too far back*.* The same remark applies to the absence of any mention of the Dâkinî and (if I do not mistake) of the Vidyâdhara. The Vedic gods, however—for instance, Indra, Vâyu, Agni, Rudra—are repeatedly mentioned, and frequently as taking part in the action of the poem; but alongside of them, and decidedly ranking as the principal deities, we find Brahma, Vishṇu (Nârâyaṇa), and Śiva; and one of the chief tendencies of the poem, in its *present* form at least, is a distinctly implied desire to exalt Vishṇu above the other gods. Whether the legends that specially

* It ought also to be said that this silence is capable of explanation by the rivalry of these two incarnations of Vishṇu, or rather by that of their respective followers. Râma undoubtedly represents an *earlier* stage of Vaishṇavism; but it is certainly possible that his becoming the deity of a sect is due to some *previous* development of the Kṛishṇa-worship.

serve to favour this and other aims, regarding the pious Śavarî, and regarding Śarabhañga, Kabandha, and Virâdha, are to be ascribed to a Christian origin (as Monier Williams thinks) or to a Buddhist one (which is my own opinion—*Râm. Tâp. Up.* p. 276), is a question which must probably be left in the meantime undecided (Śavarî, indeed, recalls the “woman of Samaria”): but, in any case, completely to strike them all out of the original text, and to regard them only as latter additions, would certainly be attended with considerable difficulties. (In connection with this part of the subject we may refer also to Śambuka in the *Raghvañsa* and in *Bhavabhûti*; differently in the *Uttarakâṇḍa* 82, 3.)

I refer, in the *sixth* and last place, to the *diction* of the work, as exhibiting on the whole decidedly less of a tendency to take liberties with the grammar than is shown in the earlier parts of the *Mahâbhârata*. There is an important difference also in the *form* of the composition in the two works, and in this the *Râmâyana* is at a disadvantage, as in it the concluding verses of the chapters (and the remark holds true of all the recensions) are constructed in various metres, more artificial than the single epic śloka-measure. From this it is quite evident that a more artistically correct kâvya-form was aimed at; and accordingly the

Rāmāyaṇa is frequently designated as mahākāvya (see my *Acad. Vorl. über Ind. Lit. G.* pp. 180, 181). The title of the chapters, sarga (not adhyāya), probably furnishes additional evidence in the same direction.

If the preceding considerations have made it sufficiently clear that there is nothing either in the *substance* or in the *form* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* distinctly inconsistent with the idea that it was composed at a time when Greece had already exercised a considerable influence on India, that on the contrary it is necessary to strike out of the poem important passages* which clearly indicate such an influence,—the *external* testimonies to the existence of the work, which we are able to produce from the rest of Indian literature, are in complete harmony with this result. If, indeed, Gorresio is right in supposing that the passage in the *Rāja-Tarangīnī*, I. 116, according to which king Dâmodara was condemned to wear the form of a serpent “until he should have heard the whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in one day,” decides in favour of at least the “remota antiquita del poema” (Introd. to vol. I. pp. xcvi-viii.), inasmuch as king Dâmodara II. lived about the beginning of the 14th century B.C.,—then, of course, nothing further need be said! But

* Which would be a work of some difficulty with regard to the numerous passages in which the planets are mentioned.

it is well known that the *Râja-Tarangîṇî* itself dates only from the beginning of the twelfth century of our era (composed about 1125, see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 473, II. 13); and we should certainly hesitate to ascribe such a “remota antiquita” to this epic, merely on the ground that in it the *Râmâyana* is brought into connection with the bewitchment of a king who is presumed to have reigned 2400 years before the date of the poem! And besides, the Dâmodara of the *Râja-Tarangîṇî* has nothing whatever to do with the fourteenth century before Christ. On the contrary, he is spoken of in the poem as having sprung from the race of Aśoka!* (I. 153): the *Indo-Skythian* (Turushka) kings Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka† are mentioned as his immediate suc-

* If—let me say in passing—the notices regarding Aśoka’s son Jaloka in the *Râja-Tarangîṇî* (I. 108 ff.) did not so directly characterise him as an enemy of the Mlechha, a friend of the Śiva-worship, &c., it would be very reasonable to recognise in his name just a misunderstood reminiscence of the name of Seleukos. And indeed I find it difficult, in spite of these notices, to refrain from looking for the Indian name in the Greek one. [Conf. *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 145.]

† It is singular that among *their* successors the following names reappear (I. 192 ff.) immediately after one another:—(Gonarda III.) Vibhishana, Indrajit, Ravana, Vibhishana; see Lassen, vol. II. p. xxi.; and this circumstance, taken in connection with the Buddhist persuasion (partial as it was) of these kings of Kashmir, furnishes a curious incidental

cessors; and consequently he must have reigned (see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 275, 408) “after the overthrow of the Greek *râj*, some time in the beginning of the first century B. C.” But however little importance we may attach to this notice in the *Râja-Tarangînî* as determining the question at issue, it is certainly a singular circumstance that the *earliest* time to which the *Râmâyana* is referred, and then it would seem as a work that had not yet been completed, is just a period that lies exactly in the middle between the *râj* of the *Yavana* and that of the *Śaka*—both, with their victorious hosts, well known in the *Râmâyana* (vide supra, p. 44).

If we take the testimonies to the existence of a *Râmâyana* in their chronological order, the *first* that I have as yet met with is the mention of a poem of this name in the *Anuyogadvârasûtra* of the Jains (see my Treatise on the *Bhagavatî*, I. 373, 374, II. 248); in which it takes its place with (though after) the *Bhârata* at the summit of *profane* literature. This *sûtra* is indeed considerably later than the *Bhagvatîsûtra* itself: it is not reckoned

support to Wheeler’s theory, according to which these names occurring in the *Râmâyana* are to be considered as indicating the Buddhist princes of Ceylon. Regarding *Gonarda* III., indeed, it is stated that he persecuted the *bhikshu* (I. 186); but regarding his son *Vibhîshana* I. we have nothing of the kind. *Râvana* worshipped *Vaṭeśvara* (Śiva?).

among the twelve sacred añgas of the Jains, though it undoubtedly belongs to their earlier texts, standing somewhat on the same footing with the *Sûryaprajñapti*; and it is beyond all question considerably older than the *Kalpāsûtra*, composed in the beginning of the seventh century. We cannot, it is true, assign to the work any definite date. We are unable therefore to determine with certainty whether it would not be more correct to give it the *second* place in our list, the first place belonging rather to the *Bhârata* referred to, in conjunction with the *Râmâyana*, in this sûtra—to the various episodes namely, and allusions to the *Râmâyana* which are found in the *Mahâbhârata*, and specially to the history of Râma as that is treated in the *Râmâyana*. The difficulty in determining this question lies in this, that it cannot be ascertained whether that text of the *Bhârata* which existed at the time of the *Anuyogadvârasûtra* really contained these episodes and allusions.

At the head of the testimonies to be taken from the *Mahâbhârata*, we have to name the *Râmopâkhyânam*, that lengthy episode introduced near the end of the third book (15872-16601), in which the story of Râma is told almost precisely in the way that Vâlmîki represents it, but at the same time without his *name* being mentioned, or even the

remotest allusion being made to the *existence* of a *Râmâyana*. The entire episode is placed rather in the mouth of Mârkandeya, who, after the happy restoration of Kṛishṇâ (Draupadî) whom Jayadratha had carried away, narrates it by way of consolation to Yudhishtira as an example taken from the olden time to show that his was not a singular experience. The substantial agreement, however in the course of the narrative, frequently even in the form of expression, is so very marked that we are involuntarily led to regard it as a kind of epitome of the work of Vâlmiki. On the other hand it must be admitted that there are also striking points of difference, partly arising from the fact that various passages which are contained in our present text of the *Râmâyana* are altogether wanting in this episode, partly on account of numerous actual deviations, some of them very important, from the story as told by Vâlmiki. Thus the narrative begins with the circumstances that *preceded* the incarnation of Vishṇu; and it treats with much fulness of detail of what is mentioned in the *Râmâyana* first in the *Uttarakânda* only, though with material variations from the representations there given,—namely, the *early* history of Râvana and his brothers. The sacrifice of Dâśaratha, the education of Râma, his winning of Sîtâ as his bride, and indeed the entire contents

of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, are left altogether unnoticed. The narrative really begins, after the mention of Rāma's birth and a few brief words regarding his youth (15947-50), with the wish of Daśa-ratha to inaugurate him as heir-apparent to the throne. Even the *Ayodhyākāṇḍam* and a great part of the *Āraṇyakāṇḍam* are dispatched in a few verses (15950-90). The more detailed account begins, in accordance with the purpose for which the story is told, with the appearance before Rāvaṇa of the mutilated Śūrpaṇakhā (= *Rām.* III. 36, Gorresio); but from this point onward the various incidents of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are related in essentially the same order as in that poem, although with many variations in details. The putting of Kabandha to death is told without the alleviating balm of his restoration to life (*Rām.* III. 75, 33). The story of Śavarî is wanting. Equally so is the account of the dream sent by Brahma to comfort Sîtâ. The dream of Trijâtâ (*Rām.* V. 21) and Rāvaṇa's visit to Sîtâ (*Rām.* V. 27) are inserted between the installation of Sugrîva (*Rām.* IV. 26) and the subsequent summons addressed to him four months afterwards to come forth and take part in the battle (*Rām.* IV. 32); inserted here, no doubt, because the discovery of Sîtâ by Hanuman, in connection with which these incidents are narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is

only slightly touched on in this episode, and indeed merely in the brief report of it which Hanuman himself gives to Rāma.* The god of the Ocean consents here at once to the building of a bridge under Nala's direction (16300), without waiting, as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 93, to have that consent forced from him by the arrow of Rāma. Vibhishana comes over as a deserter only after the bridge is finished (16314), not before (*Rām.* V. 92). Kumbhakarna is killed by Lakshmana (16426), not by the arrow of Rāma. The twice-performed sacrifice of Indrajit in Nikumbhilā (*Rām.* VI. 19, 39; 52, 18) is wanting. The striking down of Rāma and Lakshmana by the *śarabhandha* (arrow-charm) of Indrajit occurs only once (16466), not twice, as in the *Rām.* VI. 19, 76; 52, 51; and consequently their revival is necessary only once, not twice (*Rām.* VI. 24, 2; 53, 2ff.). The herb that has the power of healing wounds is not fetched even once (much less twice, *Rām.* VI. 53 and 83)† by Hanuman from

* It is worth of notice that a portion of this report recalls the story of Ikaros—that, namely, which tells that the vulture Sampāti singed his wings when, in a race with his brother Jatāyus, he flew too near the sun (16246). Conf. *Rām.* VII. 38, 79.

† In the Bombay edition the fetching of the herb occurs only once (VI. 74, 33ff.); while, on the second occasion of its being used, Sushena immediately applies the herb, which

Gandhamâdana, but is found in the hand of Sugrîva (16470). Sîtâ does not pass through any fire ordeal, but the gods summoned by her as witnesses, Vâyû, Agni, Varuṇa, Brahma, all come of their own accord, and bear testimony to her chastity. Without doubt, then, this narrative in the *Mahâbhârata* is in many respects *more primitive* than that of the *Râmâyana*; * and in fact

is already by this time in his possession (VI. 92, 24ff.). And so it is also in A (fol. 58a and 75a) and in C (fol. 250b and 287b).

* Thus, the circumstance that Râma is satisfied with the oath of Sîtâ and the testimony of the gods to her innocence especially appears to me to be *more ancient* than the representation in the *Râmâyana*, where she is not purified until she has first passed through the ordeal of fire (VI. 111, 25ff.). It is singular enough that in the *Uttarakânda* also, twice over (48, 67; 104, 3), Râma speaks only of the oath of Sîtâ and the testimony of the gods to her purity, not at all of the ordeal; so that the latter could hardly have existed in the *Râmâyana* at the time when the *Uttarakânda* was composed! In the course of time, even the ordeal was felt to be no longer satisfying; and the constantly growing feeling of fastidiousness and scrupulosity on the part of the people with reference to this matter sought to satisfy itself by supplementing the story with the repudiation of Sîtâ, as we find this related in the *Uttarakânda*, in the *Raghuvansâ*, in the *Uttararâmacharita*, &c. But if they went unquestionably a great deal too far in their punctiliousness, yet it must be allowed that in this respect they show throughout a higher moral tone than we find among the Greeks, in whose epic Menelaos without any hesitation takes back the beautiful Helen as the wife of his bosom, after she has spent years with her paramour, Paris!—In the *Mahâbhârata* the Pândavas do not make Draupadî herself suffer on ac-

we are now and then tempted to ask whether, instead of an epitome of the latter work, we may not rather have before us the *original* out of which the *Râmâyana* has been developed.* Or ought we to assume only that the *Mahâbhârata* contains the epitome of an *earlier* recension of our text of the *Râmâyana*? an assumption, however, which would imply, with regard to the latter, an alteration so serious in the interval, that we could no longer speak with any propriety of the identity of the work; as there would in that case be rather *two* distinct texts treating of the same subject, and agreeing substantially in the main, but with important variations in detail. Or, thirdly, should these differences be perhaps regarded as merely *emendations* which were to be found in the epitomiser's text of the *Râmâyana*, and which he selected

count of her being disgraced by D u h ś â s a n a, or of her being carried away by J a y a d r a t h a, as she was quite innocent in the matter (just as S î t â was): but they vent their fury exclusively upon the offender; and in this respect the *Mahâbhârata* unquestionably occupies a *more primitive* and more chivalrous stand-point, even as compared with what is contained in this episode.

* Though of course this would not hold good for the entire narrative in the *Râmâyana*, but only from III. 36 onward, as the preceding incidents in R â m a ' s history, which were of no importance so far as the purpose was concerned for which the episode was introduced into the *Mahâbhârata*, are accordingly almost entirely wanting in that poem.

by way of preference? *—this consideration only being opposed to such an idea, that a large proportion of these variations bear the impress of a greater simplicity and antiquity. † Or lastly, as a fourth possibility that may be advanced, should both texts, the *Râmopâkhyâna* and the *Râmâyana*, be regarded as resting alike upon a common groundwork, but each occupying an independent stand-point, ‡ and therefore representing the incidents of the story in accordance with different purposes? I am unable at present to commit myself to any decision. One thing is certain: with all the admitted difference, there yet remains on the other hand a mutual connection so evident that we are justified in regarding this episode of the *Mahâbhârata* as at all events furnishing a proof of the existence at that time of some form of the *Râmâyana*. It is true that we have not succeeded in gaining here a chronological datum, as we do not know when this episode be-

* Compare, for instance, the considerable alterations which the histories of *Kâdambârî*, *Daśakumâracharita*, &c. have undergone in the *Kathâsaritsâgara*!

† We can hardly be expected to recognise as *original* all the useless repetitions and re-touchings, which he has judiciously avoided (the space at his command of course was more limited!), and which served only to increase unreasonably the extent of the *Râmâyana*.

‡ It is noteworthy that the *Râmopâkhyâna* assumes as its starting-point the incarnation of *Vishṇu* in *Râma*, but yet treats the latter throughout as a merely human hero.

came a part of the *Mahābhārata*; this only we can say, that whether or not we strike out, with Muir (*Orig. Sansk. Texts*, IV. 412-3), the Vaishṇava introduction, the admission of the episode undoubtedly belongs to a time in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* was made use of for Vaishṇava—in other words, for anti-Buddhist—purposes.

Nor is the testimony of the *Mahābhārata* to the existence of poetical representations of Rāma's history restricted merely to this one episode: other passages also of the same work furnish similar testimony.* Thus in an earlier portion of this same *third* book, a description is given of a meeting between Bhîma and the Monkey Hanuman, in which the latter is directly mentioned (11177) as: '*Rāmāyaṇe 'tivilkhyātaḥ,*' and in which he himself gives (11197-11219) a brief sketch of that portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which follows the rape of Sîtâ.†

* We remark, however, in passing, that such testimony affords no materials for deciding the question which of the two epics is the earlier; for none of these passages belong to the substance of the *Mahābhārata* proper, but they are all found in the overgrowth of episodes with which the original body of the work (8800 *ślokas*, according to I. 81) is enveloped. Compare on this point my *Vorles. über Ind. L.G.* p. 181, and *Indische Skizzen*, p. 38.

† It is worthy of notice that here, as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmopākhyāna*, the history of Rāma closes with his return to Ayodhyā (where he enjoyed a prosperous reign of 11000 years), and that no mention is made of the putting

Regarding Râma it is said in the same place that he *Vishṇur mânusharûpeṇa chachâra vasudhâ-talam*; he is thus regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu (compare on this point *Mahâbhârata* XII. 12949, 12968, where he appears as the eighth of the ten *avatâras* of Vishṇu).—In the *seventh* book also (2224-46, amplified from XII. 944-955) the story of Râma is given as one of sixteen proofs* taken from the olden time that even the noblest are overcome by death, his contest with Râvaṇa for the ravished Sîtâ being briefly told, the chief stress being at the same time laid on the wonderful happiness of the people under his reign. The *earlier* recension of this episode, contained in the twelfth book, is perfectly silent regarding Sîtâ and Râvaṇa, and describes only the happiness enjoyed during the time of Râma's reign, and indeed represents it in the liveliest colours as a truly Golden Age. *This Brahmanical representation* of the Râma-saga is therefore that which comes *nearest* to the version found in the *Da-*

away of Sîtâ (on account of the suspicion of the citizens of Ayodhyâ), which is not found even in the *Râmâyana* until we come to the *Uttarakânḍa*.

* These are sometimes very interesting: see *Ind. Stud.* I. 276-77. The putting to death by covetous robbers of the prince *Suvarṇashthîvin*, who was continually dropping gold about, recalls the hen or the goose that laid golden eggs, of our nursery tales, and their similar fate.

śaratha-Jâtaka. Since, however, it is also perfectly silent regarding the *exile* of Râma, we should certainly be in error if we were to employ it as a proof that, at the time when it was composed, the version of Vâlmîki was not yet in existence. It is evidently not at all intended to give a detailed account of the incidents of Râma's life, but *only* to describe the splendour of his brilliant reign; and in point of fact it does this (as does also the enlarged form in Book VII) in essential, partly even in verbal agreement with the *Râmâyana*, I. 1; VI. 113. And besides, there is *nothing* said in either of the versions of this episode (either in Book XII or in Book VII) regarding Râma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu.—In the *twelfth* book there is quoted also a śloka (2086) regarding the indispensableness of royalty, which reads thus: *purâgîto Bhârgaveṇa mahâtmanâ | âkhyâne Râmacharite*. And this is evidently a *direct* reference to the work of Vâlmîki, who in the *Uttarakâṇḍa*, CI. 26, is expressly designated as Bhârgava* (compare also *Verz. der Berl. S. H.* p. 121). The verse is as follows:—

râjânam prathamam vindet tato bhâryâm tato dhanam |

râjany asati lokasya kuto bhâryâ kuto dhanam ||

* Vâlmîki is usually designated as Prâchetasa; see

and it occurs, if not in these exact words, yet with identically the same sense, in the Serampore edition, II. 52, 9, and also in the Bombay one, II. 67, 11 (after II. 67, 9b Schlegel), as follows :—

arâjake dhanam ná 'sti ná 'sti bhâryâ 'py arâjake|| while the corresponding sections in Schlegel (II. 67), in Gorresio (II. 69), and in A (fol. 56b) present nothing directly answering to this. (This identical verse recurs also in the *Hitopadeśa*, I. 194, see Böhlingk, *Sprüche*, 2616.)

And in this connection we may subjoin the following. In the *seventh* book, vv. 6019–20, there occurs, placed in the mouth of S â t y a k i, a direct quotation from a work of V â l m î k i. In that passage we find these words :—

api chā 'yam purā gītaḥ śloko V ā l m î k i n ā bhūvi :

Râm. Introduction, v. 5, Schl.; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, C. 19, CII. 12; *Raghuvansā*, XV. 63; *Prâchetasa* is a surname of V ar u ṇ a, father of B h ṛ i g u. In the *Bhâgavata Purāna*, VI. 18, 4, V â l m î k i appears as a son of V ar u ṇ a by a *valmika* (? *Charshanî Varunasyâsîd yasyâm jâto B h ṛ i g u h punaḥ | Vâlmîkîś cha mahâyogî valmîkâd abhavat purâ*). In the *Saṁskâra Kaustubha*, 183b, V â l m î k i is represented as belonging (with P â ṇ i n i, but after him) to the race of the B h ṛ i g a v a s (in an account which purports, as it would seem, to be borrowed from B a u d h â y a n a). In the passage from the *Mahâbhârata* quoted above, the designation of V â l m î k i as B h â r g a v a is perhaps selected also because immediately afterwards, in v. 2089, a verse is quoted from the *Manu Prâchetasa*. Perhaps it was thought that the quoting of two *Prâchetasas*, one after the other, might cause some misunderstanding.

and then follow three hemistichs—

*na hantavyāḥ striya iti yad bravīski p l a v a m -
g a m a ॥ 19 ॥*

(thus I answer thee) *sarvakālam manushyena vya-
vasāyavatā sadā ॥*

*pīḍākaram amitraṇām yat syāt kartavyam eva tat
॥ 20 ॥*

I cannot indeed recall any passage in the *Rāmāyana* similar to this, nor can I remember any situation in which such words addressed to a Monkey would have been appropriate (the affair with T â ḍ a k â , I. 27, 28, has of course nothing to do with what is here quoted); but yet the passage seems to afford sufficient evidence of the existence at that time, and indeed for a long time previous (purâ), of a work composed by V â l m î k i, in which Monkeys played a part, and in all probability this was just a *Rāmāyana*! In addition to this, V â l m î k i is also frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, and invariably with great honour, as belonging to the old m a h a r s h i, but yet without any further reference to his being the author of a poetical work, so that it remains doubtful whether these passages refer to the author of the *Rāmāyana*, to the grammarian of the *Taittirīya-Prâtisākhya* (vide supra, p. 17 n.), or to some other sage of the same name. Thus (in I. 2110), his skill is extolled to J a n a m e j a y a :—‘ V â l -

mîkiv at te nibhritam svavîryam'; he belongs to the suite of the *sabhâ* of Śakra (II. 297), as Nârada informs Yudhishtira (Vâlmikiś cha mahâtapâh), but also to the worshippers of Kṛishṇa, XII. 7521 (*Asito Devalas tâta Bâlmîkiś cha mahâtapâh | Mârkaṇḍeyaś cha Govinde kathayaty adbhutam mahat*) and V. 2946, where he is called Vâlmîka* (*Śukra-Nârada-Vâlmîka marutaḥ Kuśiko Bhṛiguḥ | devâ brahmarshayaś chaiva Kṛishṇam Yadusukhâvaham | pradakshinam avaranta sahitâ Vâsavânujam* ||).

Lastly, there are some passages that refer to the *Râmâyana* to be found also in the *Harivaṅśa*, which is regarded as a supplement (*khila*) to the *Mahâbhârata*. The authority of this work has recently gained increased importance† from the circumstance that it has been ascertained that Subandhu, the author of the *Vâsavadattâ*, who in all probability lived about the beginning of the seventh century, was even then in possession of a recension of it, which actually contained at least a portion of the work as we now have it (see *Ind. Streifen*, I.

* Under this form of the name he appears in a modern work among the sons of Chitrâgupta; see Aufrecht, *Catal.* 341b. In the *Mahâbhârata* itself (V. 3596) Vâlmîki is also found among the names of the sons of Garuḍa; see the *Petersburger S. Wörterbuch*, s. v.

† The Kavi translation of the work appears to be of modern origin; see *Ind. Stud.* II. 143.

380); and the same may be said also with regard to the mention made of this work in the *Kādambarī* of Bâṇa, who is to be assigned to a date not long after that of Subandhu; see, for instance, *Kādambarī*, I. 45, 80.* In the first passage, then, of the *Harivaṅśa* that bears on our subject (2324-59), mention is made, along with the other nine avatāras of Viṣṇu, of his incarnation also as Rāma, and of this hero's childhood, exile, contest with Rāvaṇa, &c., (exactly as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*); and then, after the return from Ceylon, the splendour of his reign is described (from v. 2343 onwards) in essentially the same fashion as in the episode of the sixteen ancient kings in the *Mahābhārata*, Books VII. and XII., and consequently in similar harmony with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 1, and VI. 113. The author states that he relies for his materials upon "ancient ballads" which treated of his subject (2352, *gāthās cha 'py atra gāyanti ye purāṇavidō janāḥ | Rāme nibaddhāḥ . . .*). A very special testimony to the existence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is borne also by the second passage (8672-4), in which direct mention is made of a dramatic treatment (*nāṭakīkṛitam*) of the *rāmāyaṇam mahā-*

* *Harivaṅśa kaṭhevā 'nekavālakrīdāramanīya*, p. 45,—
yaduvāṅśam iva kulakramāgataśūrabhīmapurushottama-
mabalaparipālitam, p. 80 (or, is what is spoken of here not the
 work, but the *vaṅśa* itself?).

*kāvya*m, without indeed connecting therewith the name of Vâlmîki, but with statements so definite as clearly to show that, so far as regards its main elements, our *present* text of the *Rāmāyana* existed even at that time, and already in its Vaishṇava form. We are informed, namely, that the renowned actor to the eulogising of whom the passage in question is devoted,* represents in a drama “the birth of the immeasurable Viṣṇu for the purpose of fulfilling his wish to put to death the prince of the Râkshasas. Lomapâda (and) Dâsaratha (in the drama) caused the great *muni* Riṣyaśriṅga to be fetched, by means of Sântâ and the courtesans. Râma, Lakshmana and Śatrughna, Bharata Riṣyaśriṅga and Śântâ were personated by actors characteristically dressed” (read *kritâh* instead of *kritaih*).—A third passage occurs at the close (16232), where, among the verses that extol the sublimity of the Mahâbhârata, we read : “In the Veda, in the pure *Rāmāyana* in the *Bhârata*, Hari’s (praise) is everywhere sung, in the beginning, at the end, and in the middle ;”

* The entire narrative in the passage in question is deeply interesting in its bearing upon the history of dramatic art in India. The same frenzied enthusiasm which celebrated actors awaken in our own day appears, from the narrative, to have been common in India also, with all its seductive allurements and effects on the female portion of the audience, &c.

the attributive *punya* shows the high estimation in which the work was held at the time when this concluding section was composed, though it may no doubt have been only a later addition.—Eulogistic mention of *Vâl m î k i*, associated with *V y â s a*, and therefore most probably as the author of the *Râmâyana*, occurs also in v. 5 :—*tal labhyate Vyâsavachah pramâṇam gîtam cha Vâlmâkimaharshinâ cha*; and in v. 2285 :—“Thou (O Árya!) art: *sarasvatî cha Bâlmîke(h!) smritir Dvaipâyane tathâ.*”

The Vaishṇava complexion of the greater part of these passages from the *Mahâbhârata* affords unmistakable evidence that they belong to a time in which the banner of the national gods had been raised in opposition to Buddhism. But whether they reach so far back as to the *beginning* of this period is, to say the least, doubtful; or rather we may say that there is no manner of doubt that it cannot have been the case with regard to those passages in which a fixed system of *ten avatâras* is assumed. Nor does the circumstance that the existence of a *Harivaṅśa* in the sixth century seems to have been ascertained furnish any proof that the whole of what we at present find in the poem (which extends, as is well known, to 16374 ślokas) actually belonged to it at that time.

We descend now from the region of the Epic,

which has always been regarded as sacred (*punya*), into that of *profane* literature. The *earliest* text of this nature in which the story of Râma is referred to in such a manner as to furnish certain evidence of the existence of a *Râmâyana* is, so far as yet known,* the *M̄ricchakatikâ*, purporting to be the work of a king Śûdraka. It is true that the date of this work is also by no means definitely fixed;† but so much at least is certain,

* No help in this direction is to be got from Pânini (see *Ind. Stud.* I. 147-148); but what about the *Mahâbhâshya*? I have been able to find nothing bearing on our subject in the portion of this work published by Ballantyne.

† For there were several kings who bore the name Śûdraka: conf. *Râja-Taraṅginî*, III. 345, and the notices in Bâna, Daṇḍin, Somaḍeva (*Ind. Streifen*, I. 354), Lassen, II. 509. In Iśvarachandra Vidyâsâgara's essay on the "*Marriage of Hindoo Widows*," Calc. 1856, there is a passage (p. 63) quoted from the "chapter of prophecies in the *Skanda Purâna*," according to which king Śûdraka reigned 3290 years after the beginning of the Kali (3101 B. C.; corresponding therefore with 189 A.D.) twenty years *before* the Nandas (3310 Kali; therefore 209 A.D.!) whom Chanakya wished to destroy; while in the same passage Vikramâditya is assigned to the year 4000 Kali, corresponding to 899 A.D.!

trishu varshasahasreshu Kaleryâteshu pârthiva |
trîsate cha daśanyûne hy asyâm bhuvi bhavishyati ||
Śûdrako nâma vîrâṇâm adhipaḥ siddhasattamaḥ |
nṛipân sarvân pâparûpân vardhitân yo hanishyati ||
Charvitâyâm (?) samârâdhya (worshipping the divinity
at Charvita," Iśvarachandra) lapsyate bhûbharâpahaḥ |
tatas trishu sahasreshu daśâdhikaśatatraye ||
bhavishyâṁ Nandârâjyâṁ cha Châṇakya yân ha-
nishyati |

that it was composed at a time in which Buddhism was flourishing in full vigour, and Râma-worship or Kṛishṇa-worship had not yet come into existence.—I have not been able to find any similar reference to the *Râmâyana* in the dramas of Kâlidâsa,* but allusions to it occur in his *Meghadûta* (vv. 1. 99) and in the *Raghuvansâ*, in which latter work direct reference is made to the ‘*Prâcheta-sopajnam Râmâyanam*,’ that is, to *Vâlmîki* (XV. 63, 64). Unfortunately, however, we are met here also by the difficulty that arises partly from the uncertainty that still exists regarding the date we should assign to Kâlidâsa (third or sixth century of our era : see my *Abh. über Krishna’s Geburtsfest*, p. 319 ; *Z. D. M. G.* XXII.

*Śuklatîrthe sarvapâpanirmuktin̄ yo ’bhilapsyate ||
tatas trishu sahasreshu sahasrâbhyadhikeshu cha |*

bhavishyo Vikramâdityorâjyam̄ so ’trapralapsyate ||

The same passage had previously been quoted in the *Asiatic Researches*, IX. 107, from the *Kumârikakhâṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purâna* ; but it is remarked there that some MSS. read Śûraka instead of Śûdraka .

* In the *Vikramorvaśi*, the subject of which is also the carrying off of a beautiful woman by a demon, there would have been an excellent opportunity, especially in Act IV. (see LIV. 5, 13 ; LV. 1) for alluding to the rape of Sîtâ. The words *Tisankû via antarâle chitṭha*, *Śâkuntala* XXIX. 22, ed. Böhlingk (XLII. 13, ed. Premachandra), refer also indeed to the saga which is found in the *Râmâyana*, I. 60, 31 (Schlegel) ; but the reference is not necessarily just to this version of it in the *Râmâyana*.

726ff.), partly with reference to the *Raghuvânśa*, about which there exists at least some amount of doubt whether we are right in ascribing it to the author of the dramas and of the *Meghadûta*.* We have to mention besides, in this place, still another work which undeniably assumes, as its very groundwork, the existence of a *Râmâyana*, and which at least in recent times (see Höfer, *Z. für die W. der Spr.* II. 500 ff., *Verz. der Berl. S. H.* pp. 156, 369), has been ascribed to Kâlîdâsa; namely, the *Setubandha*; for the more recent editors and scholiasts have endorsed the statement that Kâlîdâsa composed this work by the command of king Vikramâditya for a king Pravarasena, that it had been begun by the

* Compare also *Z. D. M. G.* XXII. 710; *Ind. Streifen*, I. 312; II. 373. According to the notices in the *Pandit*, No. X. p. 141, the work has twenty-six sargas in the *Dhârânagarani-vâsi-Kâlîdâsavânśi*, not merely nineteen. Is this local difference to be regarded as due to influences that at least date far back, and as favouring the idea that the work should be ascribed to Kâlîdâsa, who lived at the court of the Dhârâking, Bhoja? It is greatly to be desired that Shankar Pandit, whose edition of the *Raghuvânśa* (Bombay, 1869, Cantos I.—VI.; containing, besides the text and Mallinâtha's Commentary, 54 pages of notes and 8 pages of various readings taken from MSS. and from the Commentaries of Vallabha and Dinakara) we have to welcome as the first really critical work of this kind for which we are indebted to a native of the country,—would furnish us with some further and fuller information regarding this point.

latter himself, and that the ambiguous words ‘*abhinavarâradhâ** . . *metti vva . . nivvodhumî hoi dukharamî kavvakahâ*’ in v. 9 of the introduction refer to this *beginning* of the work by the “new king,” Pravarasena. † In accordance with this latter statement, Bâṇa (in all probability at the beginning of the seventh century), in the opening of the *Harshacharita*, ascribes the composition of the *setu* to Pravarasena: ‡ (see Hall, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 13, 14, 54, and my *Ind. Streifen*, I. 357.) There is a strong temptation to identify this royal author with the renowned Kashmir king Pravarasena II., who appears in the *Râja-Taraṅginî*, III. 109, 123, 293 ff., as a contemporary of two Ujjayinî kings—Harsha surnamed Vikramâditya, and Pratâpasîla surnamed Śîlâditya, and as successor of the poet Mâtrigupta, § whom Harsha placed on the throne

* *abhinavarâjâradhâ* or *abhinavarâgâradhâ*.

† *Bhojadeva itî kechit* says the scholiast.

‡ At least it is stated there “that by means of the *setu* the fame of Pravarasena had extended to the further shore of the sea.” And as the words:—“*or who* would not be charmed with the admirable...language of Kâlîdâsa,” do not immediately follow, but are separated by a verse from, the foregoing, they can *not* be understood as containing the groundwork of Pravarasena’s fame.

§ Mâtrigupta reigned only five years (*Râja-Taraṅginî* III. 268), during which Bhartṛimēṭha (placed by Rajasekhara between Vâlmîki and Bhavabhûti; see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, 140 a) composed the *Hayagrîvabadha*,

in Kashmir. And according to this supposition, if this king really reigned, as Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* II. [402] 770, 910 ff., xxiv.) holds, from 241-266 of our era, the composition of the *Setubandha* would in fact date as far back as the *third* century! Since, however, B h â u D â j î has directed attention, in the *Journ. Bombay Branch R. A. S.* VII. 208 ff. (1861. Jan.), 223 ff., VIII. 248-51 (1864, Aug., published in 1868), to the relations that probably existed between P r a v a r a s e n a and Hiwen Thsang, and especially to the contemporaneousness of H a r s h a v a r d h a n a, Ś i l â d i t y a, and Hiwen Thsang,* it certainly seems

and presented it to the king (*ib.* 264-268). He abdicated the throne on hearing of the death of his patron, H a r s h a, retired to V â r â ñ a s î, and, in consistency with the gentleness of his disposition (see *ib.* 259-260), became a Buddhist ascetic (*kṛitakâshâyasamgrahaḥ . . yatih*, *ib.* 332; see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 907-909). Nothing is known regarding M â t r i g u p t a's poetical works (B h â u D â j î's identification of him with K â l i d â s a does not rest on any reasonable foundation); on the other hand, the scholiasts occasionally quote passages from a rhetorical work in ślokas bearing his name.

* When B h â u D â j î, in the same essay, connects the *Setubandha* with the building of a bridge of-boats which P r a v a r a s e n a, according to the *Râja Tarāṅginî*, III. 356 (Lassen, II. 915), threw across the V i t a s t â, and accordingly asserts (p. 223) "that the construction of this very bridge is the subject of the *Setu Kāvya*," he falls into serious error. That circumstance, however, whether the poem is to be attributed to the king himself (as B â ñ a has it) or to his K â l i d â s a (as the tradition goes; see also B h â u D â j î's reference *l.c.* to

more reasonable to regard king Pravarasena II. * as contemporary with, or perhaps as the immediate predecessor of, the Chinese pilgrim, and therefore as belonging to the beginning of the seventh or the second half of the sixth century. † Besides, we do not need this identification in order to make good that the *Setubandha* belongs at the latest to this period, seeing that, besides being referred to by Bâna, it is expressly mentioned also

Râmâśrama's commentary on the *Vârânasîdarpaṇa* of Sundara), might well have furnished an opportunity for celebrating by song the corresponding bridge-building by Râma, especially as the *Râja Tarāṅgiṇî* expressly mentions (III. 358) that the king had direct relations with Ceylon.—From inscriptions, unfortunately undated, which have been found in Seoni, in the upper Narma-dâ valley, we learn that there were, besides, two other kings called Pravarasena who reigned there over a region that bore the name Vâkâṭaka: see Prinsep, *Journ. As. S. B.* 1836, p. 727 ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 653-4. Pravarasena II. appears in these inscriptions as the grandson, by his mother's side, of a Mahârâjâdhirâja Devagupta, whom Lassen places at about 380-400. The seal impressed upon the corresponding copper-plate grant bears the inscription (in *śloka*):—

Vâkâṭakalâlâmasya kramaprâptanripaśriyaḥ |
râjnaḥ Pravarasenasya śâsanani ripuśâsanam ||

* The grandfather of the same name, Pravarasena I, died, according to the *Râja Tarāṅgiṇî*, thirty-six years before the king mentioned in the text ascended the throne.

† In Bâna's *Harshacharita*, Pratâpâśîla appears as the father of Harshavardhana; and the king who, according to Hiwen Thsang, corresponds with the latter, himself bears the name Śîlâditya; see Hall, *Vâsavadattâ*, pp. 17, 51; *Ind. Streifen*, I. 354-5.

in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarsa*, I. 34; and the date of Daṇḍin's works ought no doubt also to be assigned to the *sixth* century (see *Ind. Streifen*, I. 312 ff.).

Now, for this period the testimonies to the existence of the *Râmâyana* flow in upon us in great abundance. Passing over the mention of Râma as a demigod in Varâhamihira (505-587), which takes for granted at least that he was at that time especially honoured (see my *Abh. über die Râma Tâp. Up.* p. 279), we instance the following as referring to the poem itself:—the *Bhâttikâvya*, written* in Valabhi under king Śrîdharsena (530-545 according to Lassen); the *Satruñjaya-Mâhâtmya*, written in the same place under king Śîlâditya, about 598 †; the *Vâsavadattâ* of Subandhu, written about the beginning of the seventh century, ‡ in which, among other evidence, express mention is made of the *Sundarakânda* as even then known as a section of the *Râmâyana*; and lastly the *Kâdambarî* of Bâna, which dates from about the same time, or rather a little later, § and in which also repeated reference is made to

* See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 512.

† See my *Abh. über das Satruñjaya-Mâhâtmya*, pp. 8, 12, 29, 30.

‡ See *Ind. Streifen*, I. 373, 380.

§ See *Ind. Streifen*, I. 354 ff.

the *Rāmāyaṇa* (see I. 36, 45, 81). The *Saptaśataka* of Hāla (see v. 35, 316) may perhaps be also mentioned in the same connection (see my Treatise on the same, p. 6 ff.).—And in the last place—last, not least—we have to mention here also the name of Bhavabhūti, whose date appears to be fixed by the *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*, IV. 145, as belonging to the reign of Yaśovarman, the contemporary of Lalitāditya, and therefore, according to Lassen, 695–733.* It is well known that he has taken for the subject of two of his dramas the story of Rāma with special reference to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (see my *Abh. über die Rāma Tāp. Up.* p. 279). And indeed one of these, the *Uttararāma-charita*, possesses in this respect a deep and special interest, from the circumstance that it quotes some verses directly from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and thus provides a means of critically verifying the then existing text of the work. There are three passages in which this test can be applied. The first of these occurs in the second Act (ed. Calc. 1831, p. 27; ed. Cowell, Calc. 1862, p. 26), where the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 2, 18 (Schl., Ser., 17 Gorr., 15 Bomb. also in ABC), is quoted word for word, and as being (just as in that passage) the verse which

* It is not clear what reason Hall has for placing Bhavabhūti before Subandhu (Introd. to the *Vāsavadattā*, pp. 27, 37); see *Ind. Streifen*, I. 355.

prompted Vâlmîki to enter upon the composition of the entire work :—

mâ nishâda pratishthâm tvam agamaḥ śâsvatîḥ samâḥ |

*yat * krauñchamithunád ekam abadhâḥ kâmamohitam ||*

The other two passages occur in the sixth Act (pp. 115, 116; Cowell, pp. 157, 158), the one closely following the other. The first consists of two verses which, according to the statement there given, should be found—*bâlacharitusyâ'nte* (*ntyē?*) '*dhyâye*' (*sic!* not *sarge!*)—consequently, at the close of the *Bâlakânda*; they read thus :—

prakṛityaiva priyâ Sîtâ Râmasyâ 'sin mahâtmanah |

priyabhâvaḥ sa tu tayâ svaguṇair eva vardhitḥ||

tathaiiva Râmaḥ Sîtâyaḥ prâṇebhyo 'pi priyo 'bhavat |

hṛidayam tv eva jânâti prâtiyogam parasparam ||

And corresponding herewith, the last chapter of the *Bâlakânda* in B C, in Schlegel's and in the Bombay editions, and the last chapter but one in Serampore edition, contain respectively two verses (LXXXVII. 26, 27, Schl. LXIII. 72, 73, Ser., LXXVII. 26-28, Bombay), which are the same in substance at least, and correspond to some extent also in expression; they read as follows :—

* *yaḥ* B (fol. 6b).

priyâ tu Sîtâ Râmasya dârâḥ pitrikritâ† iti |
gunâd rūpagunâch châ 'pi prâtir‡ bhûyo vyavar-
dhata§ ||*

*tasyâs cha bhartâ dviguṇam || hridaye parivar-
tate¶ |*

*antargatam** api vyaktam âkhyâti†† hridayam
hriḍâ ‡‡ ||*

In Gorresio there is nothing at all corresponding (see I. 79, 45-48); and the chapter in which the two verses now quoted occur in Schlegel, &c. is not in Gorresio the last, but (as in the Serampore edition) the one before the last of the *Bâlakânda*. There is, on the other hand, one text at least, namely A, that gives the two verses quite identically with B h a v a b h û t i ' s text, with only these trifling variations: " *abhivardhitaḥ, hy eva, °yogam purâtanam*"; and in fact they appear in this text also immediately before the close of the *Bâlakânda*: after them there follow, just as in B C Schl., only two other verses, the second of which likewise closes the book in B C Schl. §§

* *svayan* B C. † *pratikritâ* C, *priyakritâ* B. ‡ *gunâ rūpagunâs châ 'pi punar* B C. § *'piti dhikâḥ (!)* C, *pi vardhatâḥ (!)* B, *'bhivardhate*, Ser. Bomb.

¶ *punar vahugunam Râman* C. ¶¶ *punar bhûyo hridi sthitaḥ* B C. ** *anâkhyâtam* B C. †† *vyâkhyâti* B C. ‡‡ *hridi* B C.

§§ These read as follows :

Sîtayâ tu tayâ Râmaḥ priyayâ saha saṅgataḥ | ,

The second of the two passages from the sixth Act (being the third we cite from the *Uttararâma-charita*) reads thus :—

*tvadartham iva vinyastah śilâpâdo 'yam agratah |
yasyâ 'yam abhitaḥ pushpaiḥ pravṛishṭa iva ke-
śarah ||*

The corresponding verse, however, reads thus in Schlegel (II. 96, 6), in Carey-Marshman (Ser., II. 70, 5), and in the Bombay edition (II. 96, 5, 6) :—

*tvadartham iha vinyastâ tv iyaṃ ślakshṇasamâ
śilâ |
yasyâḥ pārśve* taruḥ pushpaiḥ pravrishṭa† iva
keśarah‡ ||*

in Gorresio (II. 105, 6) on the other hand :—

*tvadartham iha vinyastah śilâpatto 'yam agratah |
asya pārśve taruḥ pushpaiḥ pravṛishṭa iva ke-
śarah ||.*

priyo 'dhikataras tasyâ vijahârâ 'maropamaḥ ||

*tayâ sa râjarshisuto 'nurûpayâ, (1) samâyivân (2) uttama-
râjakanyayâ |*

*atîva Râmaḥ śuśubhe sukântayâ, (3) yuktaḥ śriyâ Vish-
ṇur ivâ 'parâjitaḥ (4)*

1 'bhikâmayâ C Schl.—2 smeyivân B C Schl.—3 'bhirâmâyâ B C mudânvito Schl.—4. vibhuḥ śriyâ Vish-
ṇur iva 'mareśvaraḥ Schl., śasîva pûrṇaḥ sahitaḥ,
svakântayâ C, śasîva pûrṇo divi Dakshakanyayâ, B.

* pārśva, Ser. † pravishṭa, Ser. Bomb. ‡ keśaraiḥ, Ser. kesaraiḥ, Bomb.

and in A, fol. 78b (unfortunately the second book exists here only in one MS.) :—

*tvadartham iha vinyastah śilâyām sukhasam-
starah |*

*yasyâh pārśve taruḥ pushpai(r) vibhrashṭa iva
kesaraiḥ ||.*

If, then, we are to draw any conclusion regarding the rest of the text from the differences in these three examples, it must be allowed that the result, as regards its authenticity, in the form in which we possess it, will be very far from encouraging. But with respect to this matter we are entitled to ask, whether, as matter of fact, B h a v a b h ũ t i made his quotations with such accuracy as that they really represent the text then in existence? And when we remember the extremely unreliable way in which Indian authors are accustomed to make their quotations, we are fully justified in asking such a question. But it ought to be considered, on the other hand, that the quotations here in question were made from a work that was universally known and esteemed; that any considerable deviations from it would therefore have certainly been noticed by the public before whom the drama was represented, even though they might not have been possessed of any great critical acumen; and that consequently the poet would not be likely to lay himself open to the charge of misquot-

ing.* It must, however, in my opinion, be allowed that the diversity in the above quotations does not on the one hand permit us, by reason of their limited range, to pronounce any decisive verdict on the question at issue, and that on the other hand it is not, after all, so very serious—not in any great degree exceeding the difficulties which we have already encountered, namely, the variations in the different recensions, the notices in the scholia regarding interpolations, and the contradictions and repetitions within individual texts. These quotations in *Bhāvabhūti*, in fact, furnish rather a most valuable guarantee that the *Rāmāyana*, taking it *as a whole*, really existed at that time in essentially the *same* form as that in which we at present possess it.—And indeed this further

* And we learn from the beginning of the *Mālatīmādhava* that *Bhāvabhūti* had some bitter antagonists to face, probably from among the circle of his own Brâhmanical relations, who reproached him, the Brâhman, for not having given himself “to the study of the *Vedas*, and to acquiring a knowledge of the *Upanishads*, of the *Sâṅkhya* and *Yoga*,” and for turning his attention instead to the dramatic art. He treats these opponents of his with lofty disdain, and appeals from their judgment to the verdict of futurity and to the world at large:—“Those who are here seeking everywhere to depreciate us, do they really know anything? This work of mine is not for them.”|| “There will arise, yes, even now there lives, many a one like-minded with myself (who is able to appreciate me)! | for time is boundless and the world is wide.” || Bold words reminding us of Ovid: *quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris. . . ?*

conclusion may be drawn from what we find in the *Uttararâmacharita*, that at that time the stories also which are contained in the *Uttarakânda* were already thoroughly established, in so far at least as they refer to the repudiation of Sî t â by R â m a after his return; to the birth of her two sons, K u s â and L a v a, in the hermitage of V â l m î k i; to the latter's educating of the two boys in an acquaintance with the *Râmâyana* which he had himself composed; and to the re-uniting of R â m a and Sî t â.* The same remark holds good for the *Raghuvaṅśa*. But in the telling of these stories B. h a v a b h ũ t i deviates in some degree from the version of them given in the *Uttarakânda* (as also from that of the *Raghuvaṅśa*). He cannot find it in his heart, for instance, immediately to separate again the newly re-united pair, but leaves them in their state of restored union;† while in the

* Neither the *Râmâyana* itself, the *Râmopâkhyâna*, the notices in the third, seventh, and twelfth books of the *Mahâbhârata*, nor those in the *Harivaṅśa* (*vide supra*, p. 71 ff.) make any mention of these incidents; on the other hand, they are all unanimous in relating that R â m a, after his return, *daśâ 'svamedhân âjahre jârûthyân sa nirargalân* (*Râmopâkhyâna*, *Mahâbhârata* XII. 952. *Harivaṅśa*; *bhûridakshinân*, *Râmâyana*); or, as we find it in an amplified form in *Mahâbh.* VII. 2232:—*âjahâra . . | nirargalanî sajârûthyam aśvamedhasatam vibhuh.*

† Just as in the recension of the *Râmâyana* followed by Wheeler (p. 403), and in the *Jaimini Bhârata*, xxxvi. 87.

Uttarakânda, CIV. 11 ; *Raghuvansa*, XV. 82 (and in the *Adhyâtmaramâyana*, according to Wheeler), Sîtâ is obliged to adduce this further proof of her innocence, that in answer to her prayer the ground opens, the Earth-goddess ascends out of the chasm, and takes Sîtâ down with her into the R a s â t a l a . * And then, further, the first meeting of R â m a with his two sons, which

* Very different therefore both from our version of her "wishing to sink into the earth *with shame*," and from the versions of the Buddhists. For in a Buddhist legend (Fausböll, *Dhammapada*, p. 340), the earth opens, the flames of A v î c h î (the hell under the earth) burst forth, and the *slanderess sinks down* into them ; and in Rogers (p. 158) several other instances are given of falsehood being similarly punished. Compare also Fausböll, *l. c.* p. 418, Wilson, *Select Works*, I. 69, and Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama* (1866), p. 231, according to which S u p r a b u d d h a , the father-in-law of B u d d h a , seven days after he had calumniated the latter, sank down through the earth into hell, as a punishment for his offence. A similar fate befell D e v a d a t t a , Fausböll, *l. c.* p. 148, Bigandet, p. 252. According to Bigandet, p. 83, it was a universal custom among the Buddhists to call upon the Earth as a witness "of the good works they have done or are about doing ;" and this custom is said to have arisen from the circumstance that B u d d h a himself, in his contest with M â r a , appealed to the Earth to bear witness in his favour.

Our "wishing to sink into the earth with shame" occurs in *Śākuntalā*, LXXI. 17, ed. Böhtlingk, where Ś ā k u n t a l ā , repudiated by the king, cries out in her despair:—*bhaavadi vasuhe ! dehi me vivaram ! (bhaavadi vasundhare ! dehi me antaram*, ed. Premachandra, p. 109, 1). So also in B h a v a b h ū t i ' s *Mahāvīracharita*, p. 54, where J â m a d a g n y a (P a r a ś u r â m a) , after being defeated by R â m a , cries out:—*bhagavati vasundhare prasīda randhradānena*.

in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, C. 1 ff., *Raghvaṅśa*, XV. 63 ff. (and *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*) follows only upon their chanting, at Râma's sacrifice, of the *Râmāyaṇa* which Vâlîmîki had taught them, is much more poetically introduced in *Bhāvabhūti*, namely, by Lava's defeating of the army sent out for the protection of the sacrificial horse: * the prowess of the son proves his legitimacy, and confirms the innocence of his mother. Whether these variations in *Bhāvabhūti* are to be credited to himself, or whether the responsibility of making them rests on some other recension† of the *Uttara-*

* This idea is still more fully developed in the *Jaimini Bhârata* (chap. xxx—xxxvi); and the recension of the *Râmāyaṇa* followed by Wheeler (p. 402) also agrees with this version of the story. In the *Jaimini Bhârata* Kûśa is victorious over his three uncles, and even over Râma himself, after Lava has been taken prisoner by Śatrughna: the story is somewhat differently told in Wheeler.

† From the *Sâhityadarpaṇa*, § 304 (p. 136; see also p. 233), it appears that the rules of rhetoric not only permitted the dramatic poets, but even required them, both to omit anything objectionable in the traditional legends which they made use of, and to select such variations in the stories as good taste might seem to demand. Thus we are told that Râma's slaying of Vâlî by means of a stratagem, in the *Râmāyaṇa*, is not mentioned at all in the drama *Udâtta-Râghava*, and that in the *Sugrîva-Vîracharita* the incident is modified to this extent, that Vâlî goes forth to kill Râma, and then is killed by Râma. This last reference is probably to *Bhāvabhūti's Mahāvîracharita* (pp. 76-82, Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, II. 330-331), which among other deviations from the version given in

kāṇḍa less precise, and possibly more wanting in reverence for the poet of the *Râmâyana*, must in the meantime be left an open question. The circumstance that the version given by Wheeler, equally with that in the *Jaimini-Bhârata*, harmonises in part with that of *Bhava bhûti*, certainly tells against the theory that these variations owe their origin to the latter; but yet it wants the force of direct evidence, inasmuch as *both* of these versions may really bear a later date than his, a supposition which is in fact decidedly favoured by the exaggerations which they exhibit (see p. 95, n. *). — With reference to this matter, I remark, in passing, that the whole of this later story about *Kuśa* and *Lava* as sons of *Râma* seems to me to have been invented merely by the bards and minstrels, *kuśîlava*, in order to avert from themselves the odium attached to the name *ku-śîlava* (see my *Acad. Vorles. über Ind. Lit. G.* and the *St. Petersburg Lexicon*, s. v.), and to obtain, on the other hand, the highest possible consideration for their order.

And, as bearing upon this part of our subject, I now draw attention to the additional fact that, according to the account given by *Friederich* in his treatise *Ueber die Sanskrit und Kavi-Literatur*

the *Râmâyana*, contains, as a matter of fact, also the one here mentioned.

auf der Insel Bali (see my notice of this work in the *Ind. Stud.* II. 133-136), the *Uttarakāṇḍa* represented too as having been composed by V â l m î k i, appears also among the Sanskrit words translated into the K a v i language; and likewise that the *Arjunavijaya*, an independent K a v i poem (see *ibid.* p. 142), is borrowed, so far as its substance is concerned, from the same work (see *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 21, 22). We are, however, in the meantime prohibited from drawing any chronological conclusion from this circumstance, so long as we are unable to fix exactly the time at which the work found its way into Java. The relations of India to this island have evidently not been restricted to the circumstances of merely one immigration, but they extend in all probability over several centuries; and consequently the work may have passed over from the mainland at any particular date during that period. Lassen has indeed entered his protest (*Ind. Alt.* II. 1043ff.) against Friederich's view that the *earliest* of those relations does not go further back at all events than the year 590 A.D.; but whether his own views are so perfectly trustworthy has yet to be proved. In any case, what Friederich himself states regarding the K a v i translation of the *Râmâyana*—see my remarks thereon in the place already referred to—is not brought forward with the view of mak-

ing out that a high antiquity ought to be assigned to it: on the contrary, the conjecture which I have there expressed, to the effect that the poem referred to is probably not the *Rāmāyana* itself, but only a *Bālarāmāyana*, into which were interwoven the latest incidents in the story of Rāma, narrated for the first time in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*—this conjecture seems to be borne out by the fact that recently, and just in Southern India, quite a number of similar works bearing the name *Bālarāmāyana* have been brought to light: see Taylor, *Catalogue of Oriental MSS. of the College, Fort St. George* (Madras, 1857) I. 295, 296, 299, 419, 450, 455. These are, to be sure, designated for the most part thus:—“A Brief Epitome for Schools (106 ślokas);” but, besides these, mention is also made (p. 456) of two separate *Samgraha Rāmāyanas*—a short one in seven *sargas*, and a longer one of uncertain extent (the MS. is defective; it contains about fifty *sargas*); and similarly (p. 169) of a *prasanna-Rāmāyana* in twenty-one *sargas*.* If we add to those the numerous translations of the *Rāmāyana* that are referred to in the *Catalogue*, with or without the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, in almost all the languages of the Dekhan, in Tamil (p.

* In the *Kavi-Rāmāyana* according to Friederich, the contents of the first six books of the *Rāmāyana* are also divided into twenty-five *sargas*.

269, 520, 521), in Telugu (p. 499), in Malayalam (p. 670), in Uriya (p. 675), in Kanarese, both in prose and in verse, pp. 595, 597, 604, 605, 655, 666, 602 (*bálarámáyana*), 603, 606 (*Rámáyanaṅprabandha*), we are furnished, even from *modern times*,* with a sufficient number of analogues of the Kavi translation of the *Rámáyana*, so that we are under no necessity, from the mere fact of its existence, to carry it back to any early date, as long as it cannot be shown from other sources that it really has any claim to such an antiquity.

To go beyond Bhavabhūti, in order to obtain testimonies for the *existence* of the *Rámáyana*, is evidently unnecessary; but yet, considering the importance of the work with reference to the history of literature, there is a certain interest in such an investigation. And therefore I will also exhibit here in one view, at least briefly, such other laudatory notices of the *Rámáyana*, and such works directly assuming its existence, and especially based thereupon, as I find ready to my hand. As instances of the *former* class, I mention the notice of, and panegyric upon, the *Rámáyana*, and indeed upon Vâlmî-

* The translation by Kamban (with the *Uttarakāṇḍa*) must certainly date, according to Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, I. 163, 164, as far back as *Śake* 807=A.D. 885. The Kanarese version of the *Rámáyana* dates, according to Weigle (*Z. d. M. G.* II. 278), from about the 14th century.

k i, by R â j a ś e k h a r a,* who lived about the end of the *tenth* century, in the opening of his *Prachanḍapāṇḍavam* (Aufrecht, *Catal.* p. 140a),—by D h a n a m j a y a, who belongs to the same period,† in his *Daśarūpa*, I. 61 (*Râmâyanaḍi cha vibhāvya Bṛihatkathānī cha*),—by G o v a r d h a n a, who also lived somewhere in the tenth or twelfth century,‡ in the opening of his *Saptaśatī* (v. 32,—*śrī-Râmâyana Bhārata-Bṛihatkathānānī kavīnī namaskurmah*; v. 33, *sati kākutsthakulonnatikāriṇī Rāmāyane kim anyakāvyaena?*),—by T r i v i k r a m a b h a ṭ ṭ a in the opening of his *Damayatikathā* (v. 11, *namas tasmai kṛitā yena ramyā Râmâyanaḍi*§

* Regarding the time at which he lived, conf. *Ind. Streifen* I. 313, 314. R â j a ś e k h a r a lived both before B h o j a d e v a, who quotes him in his *Sarasvatikanthâbharana*, composed after M u ṇ j a 's time: see Aufrecht, *Catal.* p. 209a; and before D h a n i k a: see Hall, *Introd. to the Daśarūpa*, p. 2. The verse in the opening of the *Prachanḍapāṇḍava*, which has in view the self-laudation of the poet, occurs again, in precisely the same words, in the beginning of another drama by the author, the *Bâlarâmâyana* namely (I. 16, p. 9, vide infra, p. 107), and reads thus:—

*babhāva V al m ī k a bhavaḥ purā kavī, tataḥ prapade
bhūvi B h a r t r i m e ṇ t h a t ā m |
sthitaḥ punar yo B h a v a b h ū t i r e k h a y ā s a v a r t a t e
samprati R a j a ś e k h a r a ḥ ||*

† See Hall in his edition (Calc. 1865), *Introd.* pp. 2, 3.

‡ See my *Abh. über Hāla's Saptaśataka*, pp. 9, 10.

§ V y ā s a with the *Bhārata*, B â ṇ a and G u ṇ ā ḍ h y a are mentioned further on.

kathá),—by the *Rájatarangiñí* (I. 166, *vide supra*, p. 61), —finally, by *Ś â r ñ g a d h a r a** (*kavîndum naumi V â l m î k i ñ yasya Râmâyanañîñ kathâm chandrikâm iva chinvanti chakorá iva sâdhavañ* | see Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 3885; and Aufrecht, *Catal.* p. 124*b*). In the *Brahmavaivartapurâna* also: *itîháso Bháratam cha V â l m î k a ñ kâvyam eva cha* are mentioned after eighteen *Upapurânas* (see Burnouf, *Introd. to the Bhágavata Purâna*, I. 23.) In the *Vishñupurâna*, III. 3, “*Riksha*, the descendant of *Bhrigu*, who is also known by the name *V â l m î k i*,” appears as the *Vyâsa* (reviser) (of the twenty-fourth *dvâpara*—which unquestionably refers to *V â l m î k i*’s authorship of the *Râmâyana* (see Wilson, p. 273, Hall’s ed. III. 35).

In the *latter* class, we have first of all to consider the later epic literature to which the two great epics gave rise. The literature of the *Purânas*, however, which calls for the earliest attention here, yields comparatively little that bears on our subject (see my *Abh. über die Râma Tap. Up.* p. 281). I take from Aufrecht’s *Catalogus* the statement that the *Agnipurâna* in seven chapters, *quæ singulorum Râmâyanae librorum nomina gerunt*, contains an epitome of the

* According to Hall, *Introd. to the Vâsavadattá*, p. 48, A. D. 1363.

seven books of the *Râmâyana* * (Aufrecht, p. 7a) ; and that in the *P a d m a purâna* several sections are occupied with the history of R â m a (ibid. pp. 13, 14). The *Skandapurâna*, too, appears to contain a short section with the same, introduced in connection with the account of the *Râmanavamâvratâ*.† Regarding the section of the *Vishṇupurâna* that relates to this matter (IV. 4), see Wilson, p. 385, and Hall, in his edition of Wilson's translation, III. 317. In addition to these, I have only been able to get from the *Brahmâṇḍapurâna* a *Râmâyana-mâhâtmya* (Aufrecht, l. c. 30a), and *Adhyâtmarâmâyana*.‡ But we have still to mention here that singular work which bears the name : *ârsham* (or *ârshayarachitam*) *vâsishṭham mahârâmâyana*—see *Verz. der. Berl. S. H.* pp. 187-194 ; Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 354ab), which is placed in the mouth of V â l m î k i, and which against the 24,000 verses of the ordinary *Râmâyana* seems to repre-

* And before that of the *Harivaṅśa* and the *Mahâbhârata*.

† In a passage quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, LXXII. 15, from the *Skanda*, the *mûla-Râmâyana*, "Original *Râmâyana*," is designated, after the four *Vedas*, the *Bhârata* and the *Pañcharâtrika*, as also possessing the character of a *śâstra*. And this evidently presumes the *existence* of various later versions of the *Râmâyana*.

‡ On this work see Wheeler, in vol. II. We already know, from Friederich (*Ind. Stud.* II. 131, 132), that this *Purâna* is found in Java, on the island Bali, and it would be interesting to learn whether the Javanese text contains also these two pieces.

sent a redaction in 100,000 verses,* but really contains only an exhortation addressed by Vasiṣṭha to the youthful Râma regarding true blessedness and the means of attaining to it, accompanied by numerous narratives, that are quoted as illustrative examples.† We have next, directly connected herewith, the artificial epic (dating perhaps even from the *eleventh* century‡), *Râghavapâṇḍavîya* of Kavirâja, which sums up at the same time and in the same words the contents of the *Râmâyana* and of the *Mahâbhârata*, and which has served as a model for a whole series of similar artificial works.§ And lastly, as occupying the same ground, though quite modern, we

* When Târânâtha (Schiefner, p. 6) speaks of a *Râmâyana* in 100,000 verses, as little weight is to be attached to the statement as when (*ibid.*) he ascribes 80,000 verses to the *Raghuvansha*!

† For the sake of *these* stories, a more thorough investigation of the work would certainly be very valuable. It is quoted so early as by Śârṅgadhara (see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 125*a*), and it was probably composed in Kashmir.

‡ See *Ind. Streifen*, I. 352, 269, 271, and my *Abh. über das saptasatakam des Hâla*, p. 6.

§ Thus Chidambakavi in his *Bhârata-Râmâyana-Bhâgavatasâra* treats of the history of these works at the same time and in the same words; see Taylor, *Catalogue*, pp. 175, 176 (each verse is therefore “capable of three renderings”). An analogous literary conceit is the *Râmakṛishnakâvya*, probably composed by Sûryadâsa, whose date falls about 1540; see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, 132*a*.

have to mention also :—the *Rāmachandracharitrāsāra* of A g n i v e ś a (Aufrecht, *Catal.* p. 121b),—the *Rāghavavilāsa* of V i ś v a n ā t h a, author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 208, ed. Roer)—two works bearing the name *Rāmavilāsa*, the one composed by R ā m a c h a r a ṇ a (see Aufrecht, 214b); the other (an imitation of the *Gītāgovinda*) by H a r i n ā t h a (*ibid.* 132a),—the *Raghunāthabhyudaya* of Ś r î R ā m a b h a d r ā m b â (see *Verz. der Berl. S. H.* p. 154),—the *Abhirāmanāmakāvya* of Ś r î R a l a m ā n ā t h a (*ibid.* p. 156),—the *Rāmakutūhala* of G o v i n d a, from the middle of the seventeenth century (Aufrecht, 198b),—finally, the revision of the *Setubandha* in the *Setusaraṇi*, from the beginning of the same century (see *Verz. der Berl. S. H.* pp. 154-156).

The *dramatic* literature, however, that has a bearing on this matter is peculiarly rich.* At the head of the list we may name the *Prasannarāghava* of J a y a d e v a, son of M a h ā d e v a; † at the head,

* Conf. *supra*, p. 78, the *earliest* notice of the kind that bears upon the subject from the *Harivaṅśa*. According to the *Sāhityādarpaṇa*, § 277, p. 126, the substance of the *Rāmāyana* forms a particularly suitable subject for *nāṭaka*.

† Aufrecht, 141 b. It is certainly doubtful whether *this* J a y a d e v a is identical with the author of the *Gītāgovinda*, as Hall believes; see my *Abh. über Hāla's Saptaśataka*, p. 10. According to the account in Bholanāth Chandar's *Travels of a Hindu* (Lond. 1869), 1. 57, the author of the *Gītāgovinda*

because according to Hall (Preface to the *Daśa-rūpa*, p. 36) a verse from this drama is quoted in *D h a n i k a*, and it must therefore be placed before the middle of the *tenth* century. The *Mahānāṭaka*, ascribed to *H a n u m a n t* himself, belongs also to this period; for, according to Aufrecht (*Catal.* 209*a*), it is quoted so early as by *B h o j a d e v a*, the author of the *Sarasvatīkanṭhābharana*, which dates probably from the end of the tenth, or it may be from the beginning of the eleventh century: *Ś â r ñ g a d h a r a* also (Aufrecht, 125*a*) quotes it occasionally; and with this, too, accords exactly the venerable tradition (see Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, II. 372-3), which ascribes the composition of the work to the Monkey *H a n u m a n t* himself,* who first

lived so late as the end of the fourteenth, or rather the beginning of the fifteenth century, and was an adherent of *Râmâ-nanda*. Compare also the account in Wilson, *Select Works*, I. 65 ff. Now, considering the strong bias of the *Gîtâgovinda* in favour of *Kṛishṇa*-worship, we should not readily infer that its author belonged to the *Râmâ* sect.

* *Hanumant* appears also in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, XL. 18, as a great grammarian. According to the account of the scholiast *K a t a k a*, he was the ninth *vyākaraṇakartâ* (see Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, IV. 417, 418). It is probable that a grammarian actually bore this name; and that his work was then imputed to the illustrious first bearer of the name (and there is a work ascribed to him, on the ten *avatâras* of *V i s h ṇ u*; see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 232*a*).—Quite analogously, the name of *R â v a ṇ a* is quoted as that of a king of Kashmir (vide supra, p. 62, n.†); and it is told of the *L a ṅ k â* prince himself (see *Ind. Stud.* V. 161, *Ind. Streifen*, II. 202); that on one occasion, on the *Chi-*

“ engraved or wrote it on the rocks,”* and then, to please V â l m î k i, cast it into the sea, lest his *Râmâyana* should be thrown into the shade ; in B h o -

trakûta, he wrote upon stone the *bhâshya* of P a t a ñ j a l i, &c., and by that means preserved it from being lost. According to Hall’s communications in M. Müller, *Rigveda*, vol. III. p. xiii, there are also ascribed to Râvaṇa, or at least to some one of that name, a *Rigbhâshya* and a commentary “ on one of the *Sâkhâs* of the *Yajurveda*,” both of which are said still to exist. Similarly a *Râvaṇabhâshya* to the *Sâmaveda*” (Rost in *Ind. Stud.* IX. 176). A *parîsishta* belonging to the *Sâmaveda* bears the name *Râvaṇabhait* ; see Burnell’s valuable *Catalogue* of his Vedic MSS. in *Trübner’s Record*, Jan. 1870, p. 651. The *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1862, pp. 129-134, contains some specimens of Râvaṇa’s *Rigbhâshya*, communicated by Dr. FitzEdward Hall from a scholion on the *Bhagavadgîta* by Surya Paṇḍita.

* In this writing “ on the rocks” (see also the preceding note) we have evidently a testimony to the existence of the “ rock inscriptions” of P i y a d a s i, and specially the Brahmanical conception of that fact. Compare with this also the account in the *Foe Koue Ki*, chap. 28, regarding the forty-two questions which were addressed by Ś a k r a to B u d d h a and written with his finger on a rock. As regards, moreover, the well-known tradition of H a n u m a n t ’ s being prior to V â l m î k i, is it not probable that we should look for its origin in the fact that the R â m a legend was chanted in the dialects of the people before it was clothed in Sanskrit by V â l m î k i ? As a matter of fact, the first account that we have of R â m a is in *Pâli*, and even then composed in a partially metrical form. The statement too in the *Adhyâtma Râmâyana* (vide supra, p. 18), that Vâlmîki was “ of low caste,” may perhaps be considered as pointing in the same direction. Compare, as analogous with this, the statement that the *Brihatkathâ* was originally composed in *Paisâchi*, in the language of the *Bhûtas* (already in D a ṇ ḍ i n ’ s *Kâvyâdarśa*, see *Ind. Streifen*, I. 314).

ja's time, however, some portions came again to the light, and, at his request, were arranged by Miśra - Dâmodara (see further Aufrecht's notices in the *Catalogus*, 142b, 151a; Taylor's *Catalogue*, I. 146). In Taylor (I. 11) mention is made also of a second drama of this name, and indeed as having been composed by "Bodhayana charî" (*vide supra*, p. 18, note). The *Cham purâ m ây a ṇ a*, by Vidarbharâja, "otherwise Bhobjarâja," in five aṅk as, also claims (Taylor, I. 175, 455) to date from the time of Bhobja. Similar claims to belong to the middle or the end of the *tenth* century are set up by the *Bâlarâ m ây a ṇ a*, a somewhat tasteless drama by Râjasekhara,*

* See Hall, Preface to the *Daśarûpa*, pp. 30, 31. The *Balarâmâyana* has recently been published in Benares (1869) by Govinda Deva Śâstri, first in the *Pandit* newspaper, and afterwards in a separate form. It consists of ten Acts (pp. 312), and exhibits a remarkable absence of poetic feeling! There is much that is interesting, however, in the account contained in the opening of the poem regarding Râjasekhara. From this it appears that Mâdhava was quite in error when he described him, in the *Saṅkaravijaya*, as king of Kerala (see Aufrecht, *Catal.* 254b ff., *Ind. Streifen*, I. 314). According to the account given here, he sprang from a *Yâyâvarakula* (see the St. Petersburg Lexicon, s. v.), and was the *guru*, or rather *upâdhyâya*, of a king Nirbhaya or Mahendrapâla, of the Raghua family, who is designated as his pupil. The same verse in laudation of the poet which, according to Aufrecht (*vide supra*, p. 100. n. †), is found in the opening of his drama *Prachandapâṇḍava*, and which extols him as a newly arisen Vâlmîki, Bhartrîmenṭha, and Bhavabhûti, turns

and by two dramas that are also quoted by Dhānīka in the scholia to the *Daśarūpa*, namely, the *Udātta-Rāghava** and the *Chhalita-Rāma* (Hall, p. 36). All three are quoted also in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. In addition to these, we have still to mention the following dramas that bear upon our subject:—the *Anargharāghava* of Murāri (quoted as early as by Śārṅgadhara, Aufrecht, 124*b*; according to Wilson, II. 383, dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century),—the *Kṛityā-Rāvaṇa*,—the *Jānakī-Rāghava*—the *Bālibadhā*—the *Rāghavābhyaśaya*,—the *Rāmācharita* (or is Bhāvabhūti's work here meant?),—the *Rāmābhinanda*,—and the *Rāmābhyaśaya*.† The *Rāmāchandrachampū* of Ka-

up again here, being put in the mouth of a *Daivajña*; and this is immediately followed by another similar laudatory estimate of the poet's talents, which is given as that of a *sabhyasya Saṅkaravarmaṇaḥ*. In the third Act there is inserted a *nāṭaka* of Bharatāchārya, called *Sītāsvayaṃvara* (pp. 58--85), which is represented by Kōhala's troupe in presence of Rāvaṇa, with the object of diverting his mind from the contemplation of his love-sorrows! Regarding the *Sītāsvayaṃvara*, see the account in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, § 279, p. 127.

* Quoted also by Hemachandra in his *Prākṛit Grammar*, IV. 283; see Aufrecht, *Catal.* p. 180*a*.

† The *Rāmābhyaśaya* is quoted as early as by Dhānīka (*Daśarūpa*, p. 42): also a *Hanumannāṭaka* (*ibid.* p. 61), which, however, is perhaps only another name for the *Mahānāṭaka*. There is still another of the dramas quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* that may be included in our list, namely the *Bālācharita*, as in the quotation made from it in that work (§ 346, p. 148), according to the account in Ballantyne's translation (p. 201): Bhārgava speaks to Rāma.

vichandra was not composed till after the date of the *Sâhityadarpaṇa* (Aufrecht, 211b). The *Abhirâmanamanîkâta* dates (according to Wilson, II. 395, Aufrecht, 137b) from the year 1599 A.D. The *Dâtâṅgâda* of Śrî-Subhâṭa appears also (Wilson, II. 390; Aufrecht, 139b) to be a modern production, composed by order of the Mahârâjâdhirâja śrî Tribhuvanapâladeva for the pilgrimage to the temple of Deva-śrî-Kumârâpâla. Hall (*Introduction to the Daśarûpa*, p. 30) mentions also a drama called *Amogha-Râghava*, which he had found quoted from, and one called Chokkanâtha's *Jânakîpariṇaya*, which he had himself looked into. The *Râmachandrodaya* of Purushottama (Aufrecht, 201a) probably also belongs to this category.

I might now mention also, in conclusion, those works which, in a greater or less degree, treat of the *worship* of the Râma sects. But I will not go into this part of the subject, partly because I am able to refer, for information on it, to my *Abh. über die Râma-Tâpanîya-Upanishad* (Berlin, 1864),* and partly because a more detailed treatment of the quite modern literature of this description, which

* In that treatise (I. 47) the version of the *Râmacharita* closes with the return from Lañkâ to Ayodhyâ: no notice is taken of the later incidents in Râma's history till his final entrance into heaven with all that belonged to him (I. 93; conf. *Uttarakâṇḍa*, 114 and 115).

is connected with the names of R â m â n u j a * and R â m â n a n d a † would certainly lead us too far a-field. I will mention here only the *Adbhutot-turakâṇḍa* (see *Verz. der Berl. S. H.* p. 123–127), since it clearly makes a *direct* reference to the *Râmâyana*.

Let us briefly sum up the results of our investigation.

1. The earliest indigenous testimonies to the existence of a *Râmâyana* date from about the *third* or *fourth* century of our era.

2. Considering the present extent of the work (about 24,000 *ślokas*), and the great diversity found in the numerous recensions, it is impossible to pronounce a judgment, with anything approaching to certainty, regarding the *original* condition of the text. In the *existing* condition of the text, however, we find unmistakable indications that the influence of Greece upon India was already firmly established.

3. Seeing that the *earliest* form of the story told in the *Râmâyana* as we find it, namely, in the Buddhist legend, ‡ knows nothing of the abduc-

* About the middle of the twelfth century (precise date 1127 A.D.), according to Wilson, *Select Works*, I. 35ff.; Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 285b, 286a.

† End of the fourteenth century, Wilson, *Select Works*, I. 46ff.

‡ The circumstance that in this legend S i t â appears as the

tion of Sitâ by Râvâṇa, or of the siege of Lañkâ, it is *possible* that, in the addition of these two elements by Vâlmîki, we should recognise the influence of an acquaintance with the Homeric saga-cycle, just as other stories belonging to the cycle have found their way into the Buddhist legend.

4. It is uncertain whether the Vaishṇava bias which characterises the *Râmâyana*, as we possess it, and which has done so, according to the testimony of the literature on the subject, for a long time back, belonged to the poem *originally*; but it is clear that the presence of this bias is due to the endeavour of the author to avail himself of national legends and the heroic figures of national tradition, and to make use of these, in the interest of the Brahmanical theology, as an antidote to Buddhism.

5. It is certainly at least possible that Wheeler is right when he refers the conflict with the Râkshasas in Ceylon to anti-Buddhist tendencies.

6. It is uncertain in how far the story of Râma and Sîtâ, as contained in its earliest form

sister of Râma, and becomes his wife only at the close of the exile, probably finds its counterpart in the *Râmâyana* in the representation that during the entire period of the exile (and in fact throughout the poem) she remains *without children*. It is only when we come to the *Uttarakânḍa* that we hear of her being a mother.—For a different and singular view of this circumstance, see Wheeler, p. 652.

in the *Daśaratha-Jātaka*, may have a historical germ, or whether even that earliest version may not also have had as its groundwork, in addition to such a germ, what V â l m î k i has undoubtedly interwoven into his representation of the story, namely, the adoration of a demigod, bearing the name of R â m a, and regarded as the guardian of agriculture, but hindered in his beneficent activity by a temporary exile (possibly the Winter ?), and also of the field-furrow deified under the name of s î t â.

7. The extreme mildness, which is the prominent feature in R â m a's character as represented by V â l m î k i, is in *this* form an inheritance from the Buddhist legend.* It is possible that, in the course of time, Christian elements may also have found their way into the representation (Ś a b a r î, Ś a m b u k a, &c.)

8. V â l m î k i appears to have belonged to a school of the *Yājurveda*, the sagas of which he has interwoven into his narrative (*añgarāga*, J a n a k a, A ś v a p a t i); and we may conclude that his birth-place was probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of A y o d h y â.

* The circumstance, too, that the R â m a-worship has *never* degenerated, either like that of K ṛ i ś h ṇ a into sensual excesses, or like that of Ś i v a into bloody orgies, is undoubtedly due to the earnest moral tone which as a *beneficium ab origine*, it preserves as a heritage from the same source.

EXCURSUS.

As the version of the *Attanagaluvāṅsa* by D'Alwis is rarely to be met with, I subjoin an extract from that work (p. 176 ff.), containing the substance of the *Daśaratha-Jātaka*. This is evidently based, in part at least, on a metrical version of the story ; and the verse quoted at the close, about the 16,000 years that Râma reigned after his happy return from exile, has an almost exact counterpart in the *Râmâyāṇa* itself (though the number of years there is only 11,000), as well as in several of the Râma legends in the *Mahābhārata*. And it is very possible that an acquaintance with the whole of the Pâli text, which is therefore greatly to be desired, might bring to light still further coincidences of a similar nature.

“In aforesaid times there was at Baranes a king named Daśaratha. He reigned righteously, free from the four causes of *agati* (favour, anger, fear, and ignorance). His queen-consort, who was at the head of 16,000 wives, became the mother of two sons and a daughter. The eldest was called Râmapaṇḍit (*Doctor*), the second was named Lakkhana, and the daughter Sîtâ-dēvî. Some time afterwards the queen-consort died. Upon this event the king was afflicted for some time ; and being consoled by his ministers he performed what was necessary to be done, and married an-

other queen. She bore him love and affection, and in process of time conceived and bore him a son (*laddhagabbhaparihârá*). He was named prince B h a r a t a.* From the love which he bore to the son, the king said to the queen, “Dear (*bhad-da*), I shall confer a boon; accept (it).” Behaving as having accepted it,† or as if she were pleased at it, she (was silent for a time) and went up to the king (one day), when the boy was seven or eight years of age, and said to the king: “Please your majesty, a boon was conferred by you upon my son; give it to him now.” “Dear, take it,” replied the king. “Sire, give the kingdom to my son.” The king snapping his fingers wrathfully said: “Wretch (*vasali*), I have two sons as resplendent as two flames of fire, and dost thou wish me to kill them and give the kingdom to thy son?” (Whereupon) terrified, she quietly entered her bed-chamber. On subsequent days (nevertheless) she repeatedly asked the king to bestow the very kingdom (on her son). The king, still refusing her the boon, and reflecting “that women were un-

* D’Alwis has *Baratha* throughout.

† *yahitan* (*gah-?*) *katva thapetva*—“behaving as if (she had) accepted it; *i.e.* inducing him by her manner to believe that she would accept the offer hereafter” (the gerund, *thapetvâ*, has usually the meaning *praeter*: properly, “putting aside”).

grateful and envious, and that, either by means of forged writings (*kûtapanna*),* or by means of a dishonest bribe (*kûtalancha*), the queen might procure the death of his sons," caused them to be summoned (to his presence), communicated the same (his misgivings) to them, and said: "Children, some calamity might befall you if you live here; go (therefore) to a foreign country or to the woods, return at the time of my funeral obsequies (*dhûmakâle*), and assume the sovereignty to which you are lineally entitled." So saying, he sent for astrologers (*nimittaka*), and inquired of them how long he would live; and having learned that he would live a further period of twelve years, said: "Sons, return after twelve years from hence, and ascend the throne." The princes, saying "Well," saluted the king, and went down the mansion weeping. Sî t â - d e v î (hearing this) said: "I too will go with my brothers," saluted the king and proceeded with them weeping.†

These three persons, accompanied with a large

* With reference to this word, conf. *Ind. Streifen*, II. 337-9. In addition to the passages quoted there regarding *letters* and the like, numerous proofs are to be found in *Buddhaghosa's* commentary on the *Dhammapada*: see Fausböll, pp. 217, 221, 235, 240, 245, 265-8, 417.

† In *this* respect the demeanour of the *Mâdrî-devî* in the *Vessantara-Jâtaka* (see Hardy: *Manual*, p. 117) corresponds much more closely with the account in the *Râmâyana*.

retinue, left (the city), and dismissing them (after they had gone some distance) gradually reached H i m a v a n t a, and built a dwelling in a locality which had the advantage of water and herbs, and abounded with various fruits; and living on them they dwelt there. P a n ð i t [sic!] L a k k h a n a and his sister S î t â supplicated R â m a, and obtained his consent (to the following proposal): “You stand to us in the position of a father, therefore tarry you here, we shall fetch herbs and fruits and maintain you.”

From thence R â m a was altogether at home, and the others nourished him with herbs and fruits. Whilst they were thus dwelling, king D a ś a r a t h a, owing to the grief for his sons, died (a premature death) in the ninth year (after the departure of his sons). His queen, after the rites of cremation, said: “Give the kingdom (*chatta*) to my own son, prince B h a r a t a.” The ministers, saying, “Those who are entitled to the kingdom are in the forest,” did not comply. (Whereupon) prince B h a r a t a, (resolving)—“I will bring my brother R â m a from the woods and will set him upon the throne,” proceeded with the four-bodied army and the five-fold royal insignia (*pancha rājākakudhabhāṇḍa*)* to the locality where R â m a dwelt; and pitching their

* Conf. Fausböll, *Dhammapada*, p. 222 (where *rājākakudhabhāṇḍa*).

tents near near it, B h a r a t a with several ministers went to his residence at a time when L a k k h a n a and S î t â had gone to the woods. He met R â m a at the door of his residence, in the enjoyment of health, and quietly seated like a firm golden statue. Having accosted him and taken his respectful distance, B h a r a t a informed him of the news regarding the king, and wept with his ministers, falling down at the feet of R â m a. But R â m a neither wept nor sorrowed. In him there was not the slightest emotion.* In the evening, whilst B h a r a t a was (yet) weeping, the other two returned with herbs and fruits.

Whereupon R â m a (thus) pondered :—“These are children. They have not, as I have, the wisdom of *pariganhana*.† If at once it be said to them, Your father is dead, unable to bear the grief, their hearts will be rent. I shall (therefore) by some device get them to descend into the water, and shall then cause the intelligence to be conveyed (to them).” He then, pointing to a pond opposite to them, spoke in a couplet thus: “You have come very late, let this be a punishment for you. Get down into this water and stand. L a k k h a n a and S î t â, come ye both (*ettha Lakkhana Sîtâ cha*)

* Contrast *Râmâyana*, II. 103, 3ff.

† The wisdom of taking things easy, of accepting all things with complaisance, of submitting to every condition of life.

and descend into the water." They at once descended and stood (as desired); when, communicating to them the (sad) intelligence, Râma gave utterance to the remaining couplet:—"This Bharata says thus:—'King Dâśaratha is dead.'" The moment they heard the intelligence of their father's death they became insensible. It was again conveyed to them, and they again became insensible. When they had thus fainted for the third time, his ministers raised and lifted them up from the water, and set them down on the ground. After they had recovered, all of them reciprocated their grief, and wept and bewailed. Bharata (however) pondering,—“This brother Lakkhana and sister Sîtâ, from the moment they heard the intelligence of their father's death, are unable to restrain their grief; but Râma sorrows not and weeps not: I shall, therefore, inquire of him the cause of his non-sorrowing”—uttered the second stanza for the (purpose of) that inquiry:—

“Having heard the death of a father, sorrow distresses thee not (*na tan pasakati*),* Râma. By what power (*pabhâva*) dost thou not grieve for that which should be grieved for?”

Râma then addressing him thus explained the reason why he sorrowed not:

* With *pasakkati* compare *parisakkati*, Fausböll, *Dhammap.* cccxxxi. 3, 6, and \surd *shvakk* in Westergaard; especially my treatise on *Hâla*, Appendix v. 51, 59.

1.—“ If a person by great grief cannot protect (*pálitum*) a thing, wherefore should a wise (*viññu*) and discreet (*medhávi*) man distress himself ?

2.—“ The young as well as (*dahará cha*) the old, the ignorant as well as the wise, and the poor as well as the rich—all are (alike) subject to death (*machchuparáyaná*).

3.—“ The ripe fruit is ever in danger of dropping down (*papataná*) ; so likewise man that is born (of a woman) is always in danger of death.

4.—“ Many people are seen in the morning (of whom) some disappear in the evening (*sávam*), (and again) many people are seen in the evening (of whom) some disappear in the morning.

5.—“ If a stupid person, who weeps afflicting himself, can derive any profit (*kinchid attham*), then indeed should the wise man do the same (*kairamenan* [?] *vichakkhana*).

6.—“ He who torments himself (*attánam attano*) (by sorrow) becomes lean and (colourless) cheerless ; by sorrow (*tená*) the dead are not saved (*na pálienti*) : it is vain (*niratthá*) (therefore) to weep.

7.—“ As a house (*saranam*) involved in flames is extinguished with water, so likewise the steady, well-informed, intelligent and learned man speedily destroys the sorrow that is begotten (the felt sorrow), as the wind (drives away a tuft of) cotton.

8.—“ Alone is man (*eko va machcho*) born in a

family—alone does he depart ; the chief end of the enjoyment of all beings is their very association together (for a time) (*samyogaparamattho va sambhogá savvapáninān*).

9.—“ Wherefore the heart (*hadayañi mañani cha*) of the wise and well-informed, who sees both this and the world to come (*passato imāni cha param cha lokam*), and who knows the *dhamma** (*aññāya, i. e. ājñāya dhammam*) is not inflamed even by exceeding great sorrow.

10.—“ Thus, I who know exactly what should be done shall, seeing and enjoying (*so ’ham dassāni cha bhokkhañi cha*) nourish (my) relations, and protect all the rest.”

The attendants who heard this sermon of Paṇḍit R â m a, declaring the transientness of things, were consoled. Afterwards prince B h a r a t a, saluting R â m a, said : “ Accept the kingdom of B â r â ṇ a s î .”

“ Child, take L a k k h a n a and S î t â and rule the kingdom.”

“ (Why not) your Highness ?”

* Nature of all things, especially the eight realities of life ; namely (as p. 176)—

Lābho alābho ayaso yaso cha nindā pasāmsā cha sukhañi cha dukkham. |

Ete cha dhammā manusesu nichcham. . . .

“Child, my father said to me: ‘Assume the kingdom by returning after twelve years.’ If I go now, I would not be acting up to his word. I shall therefore go after the expiration of the remaining three years.”

“Who will reign until then?”

“Do ye.”

“We cannot.”

Then (saying):—“Until I come, these shoes* will reign,” he took out his shoes made of grass (straw), and gave them (to B h a r a t a .) Those three people, taking the shoes, and saluting the P a n ḍ i t , went with their retinue to B â r â ṇ a s î . The shoes reigned for three years. The ministers, placing the straw shoes on the throne, administered justice. Whenever they committed an act of injustice, the shoes struck each other. From that warning (sign) they reheard the case. But whenever they adjudicated justly, the shoes remained silent.

The P a n ḍ i t , after the expiration of the three years, left the wood, and, having reached B â r â ṇ a s î , entered the royal park. The princes, learning his arrival, entered the park attended with ministers, installed S î t â (into the office of) queen-consort, and performed the ceremony of consecration on both. The M a h â s a t t a who had been thus consecrated

* See *Râm.* II. 112, 21ff. Schl., 123, 16ff. Gorr.; *Zeit. d. Deut. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XIV. 267, 268.

ascended an ornamented carriage, entered the city with a large retinue, and, after receiving reverential salutation, ascended the upper story of his magnificent mansion called *Sukandaka*. From thence he reigned righteously for 16,000 years and went to heaven.

daśa varśasahasrāni sat̥thim̐ varśasatāni cha |
kambugūvo mahābhū Rāmo rajjam akārayi† ||*

* "Of golden neck"; here *kambugūvo* means 'a neck like a golden drum,' *kambu* being used to express gold (!); for the true explanation see Böhlingk-Roth, s. v. As an epithet given to *Rāma* in the *Rām.* I. 1. 11, V. 32. 10.

† The Sanskrit form of this verse differs only in the third *pāda*, and, as already remarked above, in this respect also, that only ten hundred years are spoken of, instead of sixty hundred (making therefore altogether only 11,000 years instead of 16,000); but as regards the remainder there is perfect identity. In the Sanskrit version the sentence runs as follows:—

daśa varśasahasrāni daśa varśasatāni cha |
 *Rāmo rājyam̐ akārayat. ||*

This is how it occurs in the last chapter of the *Rāmāyana* (Book VI.) in A (*pāda* 3; *vītasōkabhayakrodho*) in C. (*pāda* 3: *evāṅguṇasamāyukto*), and in the Bombay edition, VI. 130, 104, in which likewise, strange to say, only *pādas* 1 and 4 are found); it does not occur in Gorr. at all. Further, in the *Mahābhār.* VII. 2244, (*pāda* 3: *sarvabhūtamanahkānto*). XII. 954 (*pāda* 3; *Ayodhyādhipatir bhūtvā*). *Hariv.* 2354 (*pāda* 3; *Ayodhyâyām ayodhyâyām*). In the *Mahābh.* III. 11219, the second hemistich runs somewhat differently; *rājyam̐ kâritavân Rāmas tataḥ sva(r)bhavanam̐ gataḥ*.—The first hemistich recurs also in the first chapter of the *Rām.*, and indeed in the whole of the texts in Schlegel (I. 1, 93) and Goires. (I. 1, 100), also in the editions of Serampore, I. (1. 114) and of Bombay

B u d d h a having delivered this sermon, applied (*samodhānesi*) the *Jātaka* to the matter in hand : and after the explanation of the four verities, the husbandman* attained the path. D a ś a r a t h a of that period is now king S u d d h o d a n a ; the mother (of R â m a), M a h â m â y â, S î t â, R â h u l a m â t â, B h a r a t a, Â n a n d a, L a k k h a n a, S â r i p u t t a, the retinue, the attendants of B u d d h a ; and R â m a [am] I.”

[Prof. Weber adds a second Excursus, giving the various readings of the following passages :— α —*Râmâyana*, I. 1, 86-93 Schl. ; β —VI. 113, 1-11 Gorr. ; γ —VII. 106, 7-14 ; δ —*Makâbhârata*, XII. 944-955 ; ϵ —VII. 2224-47 ; and ζ —*Hari-vaṅśa*, 2343-58.]

(I. 1, 97), and in A B C ; and it is found in combination with the following second hemistich, which, in accordance with the context in which it occurs, is regarded as prophetic :—

Râmo rājyam upāsya ’sau brahmalokaṁ gamishyati.

The various readings in which are—for *upāsya*, *upāsyeḥa*, Ser., *upāsivâ*, Schl. Bomb. ; *Râmo rājyam upāsritya ’sau* B. sec. m. for *brahmalokaṁ*—*vishṇulokam*, ABC. Ser., *bramalokân*, Bomb., and for *gamishyati*—*prayāsyati*, Schl. Bomb.

* This refers to B u d d h a ’s telling the story of R â m a (as the introduction of the *Jātaka* informs us) for the comfort of a husbandman who had lost his father, and who, “overcome with grief, left off all his avocations and began to lament” ; the story is told as an example from the *olden* time :—“wise men of old, who knew the eight realities of life (*aṭṭha lokadhamma*) did not at all sorrow on the death of a parent.” We are probably to find *here* therefore “a test of true Buddhism.” This subject was undoubtedly a favourite theme in Buddhist preaching ; compare on this point the legend (in Fausböll, *Dhammap.* pp. 359, 360) of the father mourning over the death of his son, as also the legend of K i s â g o t a m î (*vide supra*, p. 28 n.).

Note by the Translator.

Professor Weber contributes to the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of 30th Dec. 1871, a notice of “*The Daśaratha-Jātaka*, being the Buddhist story of King Râma; the original Pâli text, with a translation and notes by V. Fausböll, Kopenhagen, 1871.” In this notice, referring to the fact that the account furnished by D’Alwis had already shown that one of the verses of the *Daśaratha-Jātaka* was reproduced in the *Râmâyana*, Weber quotes his own conjecture (*ante*, p. 113), that “an acquaintance with the whole of the Pâli text might bring to light still further coincidences of a similar nature.” This conjecture, he here says, has been fully confirmed. According to Fausböll, there are two other verses in this Buddhist version which are found also in the *Râmâyana*; for although the parallel is not so close as to be a word for word reproduction, yet the verses are identically the same in substance as those in the Pâli text. These are, v. 5 of the *Daśaratha-Jātaka* found in *Râmâyana*, II. 105, 15 (Schlegel and also in the corresponding chapters in Gorresio and Carey-Marshman); and v. 10 in *Râm.* II. 108. 3 (Schlegel, and in both the other editions). And it is further worthy of notice that both the remaining portion of *Râm.* II. 105 contains several additional distinct allusions to the words of the Pâli text, and that the verse of the

Rāmāyaṇa which corresponds to the 10th verse of the *Daśaratha-Jātaka* is put into the mouth of Jâbâli, who is represented in the Brahmanical poem as the representative of the *nâstika*-wisdom, and whose words give occasion to Râma's sharp retort and to his well-known attack upon Buddha—

yā t h ā h i coraḥ as tathā hī Buddhas, tathā-gatam nâstīkam atra viddhi.

It is true, says Weber, that Schlegel has cast suspicion upon the authenticity of this passage; but whether he was justified in doing so appears at least questionable in the light of the new information we have on the subject. At all events the whole of this section of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has now acquired special importance; and a collation of all the available manuscripts of the same is therefore greatly to be desired.

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