**other versions  
(tale collections, folk tellings, performance, etc.)**

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[includes material on Śravaṇakumāra] **pp. 242-45 photocopied**

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**general notes**

**ATU 303**

*See* MB: ‘The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the folk tale “The Two Brothers”.’ In: *Indian epic values: Rāmāyaṇa and its impact*, Proceedings of the 8th International Rāmāyaṇa Conference, Leuven, 1991, ed. by Gilbert Pollet, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 66 (Leuven, 1995), 11–20,

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on location of Rāmāyaṇa story at various places in Maharashtra in popular sources see Anne Feldhaus, *Water and Womanhood* (New York, 1995) pp. 98-101 (also p. 103 lower).

on Rāmjanmabhūmi issue see David Smith, *Hinduism and Modernity,* pp. 190-197 (“Rama and the temple at Ayodhya”)

... The Rāmāyaṇa tradition, we now see more clearly than before, is a crisscrossing of Sanskrit texts, *bhakti* transformations, folk inversions, theatrical amplifications, oral epic sequels, and heterodox revisions — not to mention women's folk songs, political slogans, and proverbs. Blackburn 1991: 379

**Singh and Datta 1993 – notes**

**TR 303 Ind**

**Birth story**  Terang et al, p.189: orange = mango

Upadhyaya, p.68: maidservant worried by inauspicious sight of Daśaratha, cf. Neogi pp.72-3

Vyas, p.12§4—13§1: Daśaratha tries to evade fulfilling bargain

**Short, dangerous route v. long, safe route**

Naik, p.41§2:

Terang et al, p.191 (no motif of returning child to sage), p.203

**Show-me-how** Naik, p.47

Sarma, pp.114-15

Terang et al, p.198

**Jealousy after death and revivification**

Lalruanga and Birendranath Datta, p.221§3

**Relationship between Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa under suspicion**

Mishra pp.23§3—24§1

**Sexual freedom between brother / sister-in-law**

Mishra, p.25

Singh, p.53

**Golden deer: Rāvaṇa**

Terang et al, p.195 Lalruanga and Birendranath Datta, p.221

**Śūrpaṇakhā**

Terang et al, p.194

Gohain, p.239

**Rāma exculpated / Rāma blameless**

Mishra, pp.21§3—22§2 (all blame on Sītā)

Terang et al, pp.195, 207, 211 (Rāma sees the abduction, but Sītā persuades him to take a fatalistic attitude)

Terang et al, pp.193, 196 (Rāma’s ‘poison’ [= life force] stolen from him by Paraśurāma, restored later)

**Paraśurāma:** Terang et al, pp.193, 196 (Rāma’s ‘poison’ [= life force] stolen from him by Paraśurāma, restored later)

Terang et al, pp.192-3 (P wishes to abduct Sītā, cf. **AaTh 303A**)

**‘Grass’: Sītā throws grain at Rāvaṇa to avoid capture**

Vyas, p.14§1

Naik, pp.43 *fin*—44 *init*

**non-*Rāmāyaṇa* folk tales adapting *Rāmāyaṇa* incidents:**

Mishra, pp.19§3—20§2

**solutions to problems:**

Mishra, pp.21§3—22§2 (‘Sītā’ has a child before abduction)

Venugopal, p.100 (Rāvaṇa must not touch Sītā)

Sarma, pp.116-17 (sequel to *Uttara*)

**Singh and Datta 1993: to follow up –**

[Datta 1993a+b = Datta 1979-82]

Datta 1993a: 120-22 on Dūrgāvara’s *Gīti Rāmāyaṇa*

Datta 1993a: 122 on Candrabhārati’s *Mahīrāvaṇavadha*

Datta 1993a: 122-23 on Raghunātha Mahant

Datta 1993b: 174 mid, 177-78 Buddhist influence (check names)

177-78 Mizo ?analyse [*too modern ?*]

Das 1993: **analyse**

Gohain 1993: 231-45 Tai-Phake version, *Lama Mang* **scan; study**

[*Tai-Phake tribe migrated from Yunnan in 12C to N Burma, entered Assam late 18C — Wikipedia*]

**Crooke and Chaube 2002**: 223 no.184: Rāvaṇa tale [*domesticised, origin tale*] **own copy**

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analogues:

jackal says it can only be killed by burning; cf. Hanumān burning Laṅkā: Bompas 2001: 314-15, ‘The jackal and the kite’

ability to draw bow identifies true bridegroom, wins bride: Bompas 2001: 315-16, ‘The potter’s son’

shoes as symbol of authority of absent prince: Bompas 2001: 317-19, ‘The strong prince’

**P.O. Bodding,** *Santal folk tales,* 3 vols (Oslo, 1925-9),

**II, 284-88,** no.62, ‘Rakas ar ḍom reaḱ: **The ogre and the Dom’**

**II,280** Now it is a curious fact that Santal traditions state that their ancestors assisted Ram against Raboṉraj, i.e. king Rāvaṇa, though a certain school of traditionalists deny that such was the case.

**II,281** [... some stories] seem to be directly or indirectly connected with the story of the Rmyaaa. The heroes Ram and Lokhon (acc. to Santal traditions twins), i.e. Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, are stated to have hunted these monsters and to have eradicated them.

**II,284 n.1** THE OGRE AND THE DOM [n.]

[n.] As told by Bhuju Murmu of Dhopahar. This story shows how the names of old heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, live among the Santals. With regard to Ram and Lo\_kho\_n, as the Santals call them, the following may be noted. They tell that they were twins, sons of the *baṭki* (first wife) of Dasarat, who is reported to have had three wives and to have had twins with each of them, all boys. When twins are born among the Santals, it is a general custom, if they are boys, to give the first pair the names of Ram and Lokhon, and succeeding pairs the names of the other twin sons of Dasarat; girl twins are named in the same way Chitaand Kapra, Chita being the same as Sita, king Rama’s wife.

Editor’s Note: **II, 301** The ḍom caste is one of the lowest of the Hindu social system.   
ogre = rākṣasa

**see also** MB, “‘To point a moral or adorn a tale’, the Rāma story in literature and tradition”, lecture given at Literature in Multi-lingual Society: Indian Literature as a case study, Seminar 4, University of Kyoto, 28 October 2006 (text in “Lectures and papers (unpublished)”)

For European examples of Act of Truth **see** *Telling Tales* p. 176 + n.17

On oldest animal **see** Davidson p. 108 in *Companion to the Fairy Tale,* citing Jackson 1961: 76-77 (*The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition*) who derives it from 4th century material in India

**area** North and Central India, including Nepal

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(*see* Singh and Datta 1993: pp.176 init, 181 [sv Datta 1983], 182 [sv Terang]*) and* Ghosh 2002: 49-55 [Banerjee])

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[*folk song from UP*] **analysed =** Oral, *Manushi* 8 (1981): 22-23  
[Defiant Sītā brings sons up to be ignorant of father’s name but trace their ancestry through Janaka and acknowledge Lakṣmaṇa as uncle; epic localised to village life (Sītā goes to fetch water; Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma bathe in stream)]

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[A woman’s / grandmother’s tale, reflecting audience’s interests; enhanced status for Hanumān; **see**MB, ‘Transmission and response in a grandmother’s tale’, inJLB and MB (eds) 2016 (*Other Rāmāyaṇa Women*) : 138-54]

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**notes**

Verrier Elwin (1944: 60): The Gond of Mandla say that Sita protected herself against Ravana by a continual menstruum.

U. P.Shah wondered whether there were any Gond versions of the Rāmāyaṇa preserving Rāvaṇa as the hero (n.b. setting near Jabalpur).

thug — **see** Taylor 1998: 160-62 (*Confessions of a Thug*; **own copy**)*for Rm version* (*attributed to MBh*); rationalisation of history — monkeys and men no longer so strong

..... As an example from Rajasthan, I would cite the Rāma story sung by the tribal Bhils and Garasiyas. The Vālmīki and related *Rāmāyaṇas* present Sītā as a near-goddess: she is virtuous, faithful to her husband, and a paragon of monogamy. Among the Bhils, however, monogamy is not a virtue. Premarital sex is not prohibited and there is no social stigma attached to it. Can Sītā play the same role in this society as she does in main-stream Hindu society? The Bhil *Rāmāyaṇa* portrays Sītā as more powerful | than Rāma. After Sītā’s abduction, Rāma is shown shivering in fear, unable to confront Rāvaṇa. At this point, Hanumān appears from nowhere and defeats the armies of the Rākṣasa king. The Garasiya version of the Rāma story has an interesting conversation between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa after Sītā has been taken by Rāvaṇa: Rāma starts to weep, but his brother says, “Why are you weeping for that woman? I will get as many Sītās as you want!” We can say that the process of getting the *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes into these tribal traditions represents “parochialization,” as described by Marriott (1955), but that would be to simplify the matter. Rather, as these few examples show, the same epic functions differently in these tribal societies because it is connected to a different social reality and mythological system.

Komal Kothari**,** “Performers, gods, and heroes in the oral epics of Rajasthan”,

in *Oral Epics in India,* ed. by Stuart H. Blackburn, Peter J. Claus, Joyce B. Flueckiger, and

Susan S. Wadley (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989, pp.102-117), pp.115-6.

On a Rājasthānī Rāmāyaṇa by Mehojī see Callewaert’s paper at 12th Int. Rāmāyaṇa Conf. (Leiden, 1995). Acc. to tradition Mehojī composed his Rāmāyaṇa at the age of 35 (c. 1518 AD) and started singing it. Some of its specific details are> Daśaratha was sick and Kaikeyī gained the boons by looking after him; Rāma and Sītā marry on the way to the forest; Hanumān reveals to the rākṣasas about setting fire to his tail (cf. *Ānanda Rām.*); Rāvaṇa is killed by Lakṣmaṇa. See photocopied extracts from edition by Harilāl Maheśvarī (in Hindi): mehojī kṛt rāmāyaṇ (vicetan, sampādit pāṭh, bhāvārth aur śabdārth) lekhak-sampādak: ḍo. harilāl māheśvarī, sat sāhitya prakāśan, kalkattā 700 007, 1985, pp. k-th, 246. [**see also under vernacular – North India**]

On Rāmāyaṇa associations of *Pābūjī* epic, see John Smith’s book pp.91-93.

On a Mizo version see Datta 1993b: 177-78.

Sītā’s sisters; portrait and washerwoman motifs combined as reason for Sītā’s exile: Stewart 2004: 132-33 and 244n.13 (*see p.243n. for source*)

Enthoven 1912/1989 (“The Folklore of Gujarat”): [eagle steals *pāyasa*]

**p.54/p.54 [pages and misprints SIC]**

Dasharatha, king of Ayodhyā, being childless, once performed a sacrifice with the hope of thereby obtaining male issue. On the completion of the ceremony a heavenly being rose out of the sacrificial fire and presented the king with a celestial preparation, called *pāyas*, which he directed the king to give to his wives if he desired a son. The king divided the divine gift among his three queens; but the share of one of them [*which one ?*] was snatched away by an eagle. It was dropped into the hands of Anjani; who was herself childless, and was practising austerities for the sake of obtaining son. On partaking of the *pāyas*, Anjani conceived, and the son born to her was afterwards known as the god [SIC] Hanumān.

**area** South India

**studies** Blackburn, Stuart H. 1987: “Epic Transmission and Adaptation: a Folk Rāmāyaṇa in South India”, in Almqvist and others 1987: 569-90; repr. with minor changes in Flueckiger and Sears 1991: 105-25. **photocopy**

Blackburn, Stuart H. 1991a: “Hanging in the Balance: Rāma in the Shadow Puppet Theater of Kerala”, in Appadurai and others 1991: 379-94.

Blackburn, Stuart H. 1991b: “Creating conversations: the Rama story as puppet play in Kerala”, in Richman 1991: 156-72.

Blackburn, Stuart H. 1996: *Inside the Drama-House: Rāma Stories and Shadow Puppets in South India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, and 1997, titled *Rāma Stories and Shadow Puppets: Kampan’s Rāmāyaṇa in Performance* (Delhi: OUP). **download (most)**

Blackburn, Stuart 1998: “Kampan in Kerala: three lessons learned”, *South Indian Folklorist* 2: 7-22. **photocopy**

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[originally presented as the author’s Ph.D. thesis, University of Mysore, 1982.]

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Kapp, Dieter B. 1991: “The Episode of Ayi- and Mayi-Rāvaṇa in the oral Rāmāyaṇa version of the Ālu Kuṟumbas”, in Thiel-Horstmann 1991: 103-14.

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Shulman, David Dean 1979b: “Sītā and Śatakaṇṭharāvaṇa in a Tamil Folk Narrative”, *Journal of Indian Folkloristics* 2.3-4: 1-26. **photocopy**

Shulman, David Dean 1981: “The crossing of the wilderness: landscape and myth in the Tamil story of Rāma”, *Acta Orientalia* 42: 21-54. **photocopy**

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

Sreekantan Nair, C.N. and Sarah Joseph 2005: *Retelling the Ramayana: Voices from Kerala,* translated from the Malayalam by Vasanthi Sankaranarayanan (Delhi: OUP).   
 **Afterword** (**pp. 145-50) photocopied**

Zvelebil, Kamil V. 1987: *Two Tamil Folktales: The Story of King Matanakāma, The Story of Peacock Rāvaṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). **own copy**

Zvelebil, Kamil V. 1988: “Rāvaṇa the Great in modern Tamil fiction”, *JRAS*: 126-34. **photocopy + download**

**notes** On Kannaḍa folk versions see Blackburn and Ramanujan 1986: 64-68 **own copy**

‘another ... [of numerous explanations in Tamil folklore for the odd way in which a crow tilts its head from side to side] is that Rama blinded it in one eye for pecking Sita’s breast.’ Blackburn 2001: 51n.24

Besides the Skt etymology for Sītā’s name, note the Kannaḍa etymology (‘sneeze’), linked with the story of Rāvaṇa himself giving birth to her (cf. Ramanujan in *Many Rāmāyaṇas* p.36): etymology giving rise to story about her birth (cf. also Bulcke 1962).

On the information given to Abraham Roger (d. 1649) by a S. Indian Smārta Brāhman **see** under Early European Accounts in “Further Notes (verbal/general)”. There is useful background on Abraham Roger’s *De Open-Deure ...* in Sweetman 2003: 89-103 (= ch. 5), also on Zieganbalg’s *Malabarisches Heidenthum ...* in ch. 6 (pp. 104-126)

The puppet play’s internal dialogue leads to two final observations on audiences and performances in India. First, the puppet play resembles traditional Indian texts composed as conversations to be overheard by the reader, and Rāma stories provide prime examples. Tulsīdās’s text and the Sanskrit *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and *Tattvasamgraharāmāyaṇa,* for instance, are all narrated by Śiva to Pārvatī, not to mention Vālmīki’s text, in which Nārada recounts Rāma’s history to the poet. Likewise, two popular folk Rāmāyaṇas in Tamil (*Catakaṇṭarāvaṇaṉ Katai* and *Mayilirāvaṇaṉ Katai*) are told by Nārada to another sage, Gautama. Within these dialogic frames, texualized audiences are created whenever a character summarizes the plot to another character, as when Rāma tells his story to Hanumān, who then narrates Sugrīva’s story to Rāma, and so forth. Remembering these examples, I understood why listening to performances inside the drama-house sometimes felt more like reading a book than seeing a live performance. On the other hand, the persistence of the dialogic frame in literary forms of the Rāma story might be further evidence of its oral origin and transmission. In either case, we are reminded that all texts, written or spoken, have audiences who play a part in the storytelling.

Stuart Blackburn, *Inside the Drama-House: Rāma Stories and Shadow  
Puppets in South India,* University of California Press, Berkeley etc., 1996, p. 14 §2

The Kerala shadow puppet play is not alone in this preference for the War Book; many Rāma texts, both folk and literary, give disproportionate emphasis and space to its events, sometimes omitting everything but the final book. For instance, the battles between Rāma and Rāvaṇa comprise nearly the whole of the earliest Rāmāyaṇa in Kerala, the *Rāmacaritam,* and half of the original Kathakaḷi plays on the Rāma story. Kampaṉ did not slight the War Book either. ..... Certainly the War Book is the longest book in any edition of Kampaṉ, and, if textual variation is any indication of frequency of performance, it has been told more often than any other portion of the epic: the percentage of variant verses and suspected interpolations (*mikai pāṭal*) in the War Book is twice that in the Birth Book and nearly four times that in any other book. .....  
 Stuart Blackburn, *Inside the Drama-House,* p. 96 §2

“The Story of Peacock Rāvaṇa”, *Mayilirāvaṇaṉkatai,* (Zvelebil 1987) narrates Hanumān’s exploit in freeing R. + L. from the underworld of this Mayilrāvaṇaṉ. There is a brief allusion in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (3.20.34) to his killing Mahīrāvaṇa and freeing of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (cf. Zvelebil 1987: xxxvi-vii + xl mid.). Other cognates mentioned at Zvelebil 1987: xxxviii-ix. Zvelebil estimates that “the origin of the story itself — i.e. the heroic folk-legend of Hanumān’s exploits in a “second” Laṅkā against “another” Rāvaṇa — goes back to the later Vijayanagara times (16th Cent.?)” (Zvelebil 1987: xlv).

*a Rm retelling with hints of ATU* 303 *—*

Birth from mango; mother will be claimed later by donor; evil magician learns of heroine’s beauty from distant kingdom, disguises self as Śaiva *sādhu*, visits Nagammal’s house where she is alone (family have gone to fetch water), asks for alms, has chariot hidden beneath ground; husband and brothers-in-law have told her not to cross three lines on threshold; she does not suspect *sādhu*, gives him rice, captured, suffers but preserves chastity; husband and brothers-in-law seek her but turned to stone; after many years son sets out to rescue her; ATU 300 + ATU 302; men disenchanted; donor’s claiming of mother cannot be averted because her time has come:   
 from Blackburn 2001: 250-56, no.96, ‘Young Nagammal, the snake-girl’

Richman 2008: 18

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

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

see also Richman 2008: 193-200.

see also Narayanan 2001: 265-73, 278-79 for Muslim commentators on Kampaṉ in Tamilnad

**area** Sri Lanka

**studies** Dias, Malini 2014: “Distortion of archaeological evidence on the Rāmāyaṇa,” *Journal of the RAS of Sri Lanka* 59.2: 43-54. [demolition of basis for so-called “Rāmāyaṇa Trail” of Sri Lanka Ministry of Tourism; cf. Goonatilake 2014] **download**

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Godakumbura, C.E. 1976: “The literary evidence on the Rāmāyaṇa in Śrī Laṅkā”, *Ceylon Historical Journal* 25: **wrong reference** (taken from Godakumbura 1980: 453)

Godakumbura, C.E. 1980: “Rāmāyaṇa in Śrīlaṅkā and Laṅkā of the Rāmāyaṇa”, in Raghavan 1980: 430-54 **own copy; ‘The Folk Version’, 430-33 = 1946: 14-16**  
[repr. in Krishnamoorthy, Mukhopadhyaya and Nath 1991-93: II, xcv-cxviii; *Journal of the RAS of Sri Lanka,* 59.2 (2014): 55-83. **own copy (1991-93); checked**]

Goonatilake, Susantha 2014: “Introduction to the issue on the Rāmāyaṇa”, *Journal of the RAS of Sri Lanka* 59.2: 1-21. **download**

Henry, Justin W. 2019: “Explorations in the transmission of the *Ramayana* in Sri Lanka”, *South Asia* 42.4: 732-46. **download**

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Kariyawasam, Tissa 1990: “Bāla kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and the ritualistic literature in Sri Lanka”, in *Ananda: papers on Buddhism and Indology: a felicitation volume presented to Ananda Weihena Palliya Guruge on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. by Y. Karunadasa (Columbo: Felicitation Volume Editorial Committee): 177-86. **(IND) Budd C 103**[demonstrates the familiarity of some Sinhala folk rituals with the *svayaṃvara* and Rāma Jāmadagnya bow stories]

Padma, Sree 2019: “Borders crossed: Vibhishana in the Ramayana and beyond”, *South Asia* 42.4: 747-67. **download**

Tilakasiri, J. 1980: “Ramayana in Sinhala literature and its folk version”, in Raghavan 1980: 385-96. **own copy**

**notes** Godakumbura 1946: *Folk tradition gives Sītā 3 sons: the first born conventionally; the second created in her absence by Vālmīki from a flower; when she returns she refuses to believe V’s story until she sees him create a third.*

Godakumbura 1980: 449 — It was not only South India that gave the Sinhalese new ideas, beliefs and practices. Other countries of Asia such as Siam, Malaysia and Burma contributed at least in some measure. It is not impossible that the *Rāmāyaṇa* stories and cults connected with it, could have reached South-East Asian countries before they reached the extreme south of the Peninsula and Śrī Laṅkā, and they came to Śrī Laṅkā from the [*sic*] direction. ... We are safe in dating the acceptance of the story of Rāma, Sītā and Rāvaṇa, as taking place in the Siṃhala country was [*sic*] in about the thirteenth century.

summary of planned paper by Sven Bretfeld for Epic Narratives in India and Asia workshop at SOAS (February 2018) [sent to organiser, and to MB by e-mail, 21 Feb 2018)

My talk would have been addressing the turned role of Rāvaṇa in modern Sri Lanka where he is associated with numerous pre-Buddhist/pre-Indo-European civilization practices: the building of stone palaces, maintenance of international trade routes, the invention of medicine etc. Palaces and other locations of this supposed "proto-historical high-civilization" have been allocated around the island (I made some photos recently). This imagined civilization is roughly dated to some 10.000 years BCE. (BTW, the first stone palace we can ACTUALLY detect in Sri Lanka date not earlier than the 11th cent. CE!).

So, the Sri Lankans did not follow the usual "adoption and relocation" pattern of Rāmāyaṇa reception as known, for ex., from Southeast Asian cultures. Rather they re-code the villain of the story as a "good guy" and a cultural hero of yore. In the modern discourse he is understood as a non-Indo-Europen human (!) king, rather than a demon-like figure—a general shift in the modern understanding of the term yakṣa. That Sri Lanka is identical with the Laṅkā of the epic is taken for granted. It is noteworthy to say that versions of Rāmāyaṇa (and Mhbh) came up first in the mid-colonial period and follow Tamil versions of the narrative rather than Valmīki's. So the whole idea is rather young. The role of cultural founding/identity narratives is rather occupied by the vaṃsas (esp. Mahāvaṃsa and the vernacular vaṃsas derived from it). Already Heinz Bechert argued that the "failure" of the Indian epics in Sri Lanka was due to the Mahāvaṃsa fulfilling similar cultural functions.

A hypothesis and outlook of my talk would have been the question if the importance of the Rāmāyaṇa (i.e. the Rāvaṇa figure and his imagined high-civilization in the remote past) correlates with the modern idea of a Sri Lankan proto- and pre-historic period---a very prominent topic in recent archaeological research and in museum exhibitions---and the need to fill this new horizon with cultural meaning. To this end, the Rāvaṇa story with it's portrayal of a powerful kingdom cross-linked through the Indian Ocean/Bay of Bengal came in handy. Once again, this imagination of the past could be staged to argue that (even in the proto-historical period) Sri Lanka was not on the periphery of world culture, but right at it's center. In the context of the alleged Rāvaṇa-ruled civilization, even the Indian Ayurveda is presented as but a derivative of (allegedly much more ancient) Sri Lankan scientific knowledge (with wise king Rāvaṇa as its embodiment). Again a turn-around of center and periphery hierarchy of a similar pattern as I have shown it last year with the story of Buddhism according to the Mahāvaṃsa. (BTW, yet another story filling that pattern: At the moment much is made of a finding of some pottery with Brāhmī letters in Anurādhapura, C14-dated to a period BEFORE Aśoka. People, including Robin Coningham, have started to claim that Brāhmī had been invented in Sri Lanka before it came to Northern India. That the sample had most probably been contaminated by the discoverers before it went to the lab, is silenced.)

Henry 2023 provides fuller account both of these modern developments and of the earlier period.

3 sons not met elsewhere, although the miraculous creation of the second son is found in mainland India but not common: Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara*; but is commonplace in SE Asia: from Prambanan (mid-9C) and *passim*, except Myanmar, *Rama Vatthu*.  
**see** entry “Sītā gives birth to 1 child” in “C. Narrative elements” within “1. cumulative S-Y”

**title (and author)** Persian translations

**date (and provenance)** 16th to 18th centuries (under Mughals)

**edition(s)** Dārā Shukoh 1968: *Jog Bashist,* ed. by Tara Chand and Sayyid Amir Hasan ʿAbidi (ʿAlīgaṛh: Dānishgāh-i Islāmī ʿAlīgar). **Wolfson (Floersheimer) 294.592191 YOGV**

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**translation(s)**

**studies** ʿAbidi, S.A.H. 1964: “The story of Rámáyana in Indo-Persian literature”, *Indo-Iranica* 17.3 (Sept. 1964): 17-29. **scan**  
[lists and comments on the translations made under the Mughals; **see** notes below]

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 **photocopy**

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Gandhi, Supriya 2020: *The Emperor who never was: Dara Shukoh in Mughal India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U.P.). [ch. 8 (pp. 194-213) “The Greatest Secret, 1656-57” – **download**]

Hanneder, Jürgen 2012: “Accident and Edition: John Shore’s translation of the *Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha”*, in *Highland Philology: Results of a Text-Related Kashmir Panel at the 31st DOT, Marburg 2010,* ed. by Roland Steiner (Halle: Universitätsverlag Halle-Wittenberg): 143-54. **scan**

Keshavmurthy, Prashant 2015: “Rām wa Sitā”, in *Encyclopædia Iranica,*online edition, 2015 <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ram-wa-sita>. **download**

Keshavmurthy, Prashant 2018: “Translating Rāma as a proto-Muḥammadan prophet: Masīḥ’s *Masṉavī-i Rām va Sītā*”, *Numen* 65: 1-27. **download**

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 **BL:** General Reference Collection YA.1988.a.20804; Asia, Pacific & Africa T 34148

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**notes n.b. download** from Perso-Indica website <perso-indica.net/> and various articles by Audrey Truscke; also listing of Persian versions in *Surabhāratī* 9 (2003-4) pp. 94 fin.-95 [**own copy**]

The best known Persian translation of the Rāmāyaṇa is that often ascribed solely to Mullā ʿAbdul Qādir Badā’ūnī, who was apparently commissioned by Akbar to undertake the work in 1585 and finished it the next year [Akbar’s own copy, with 176 ill., is preserved in the Poṭhikhāna of Jaipur]. But the precise authorship of the work is unclear. In his Ā'īn-i Akbarī, Abū al-Fażl ibn Mubārak names as co-translators three men: Naqīb Khān (a court historian), Sultan Thānīsarī (a fiscal administrator) and Badā’ūnī. However, in the flyleaf on his copy of the work, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān names Naqīb Khān as the sole translator. In his clandestine history of the period (Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh), Badā’ūnī claims exclusive responsibility for the translation and also states that he rendered the work into verse (probably a mis-statement by Badā’ūnī rather than evidence for a second translation).

Ernst 2003: 178-83 argues that Mughal interest in the epics was for their political content, not their religious significance — “The second large category of translations from Sanskrit consists of the mostly epic texts rendered into Persian during the time of Akbar. This phase of translation was dominated by historical and political considerations.” (p. 178) and “Abu al-Fazl appears to regard the epic *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* primarily as histories of ancient India with biographical and philosophical overtones.” (p. 180).

Adamjee and Trusche 2015: 157 [pp. 155-59 under subheading “The *Ramayana*: Envisioning the Mughals as Indian Kings”]

“In Akbar’s court, a crucuial motivating factor for importing the *Ramayana* into Indo-Persian frameworks seems to have been its ability to speak to Mughal notions of rulership. The paintings articulate this link more than the text, which, from what we can ascertain at this still early stage, does not overtly note a parallel between Emperor Akbar and King Rama.84 It is difficult to overlook this suggested relationship in many illustrations, however. In figure 5.9 [R. meets sons, one with vīṇā; Hamīda Bānū Begum’s copy; Mus. of Islamic Art, Doha, MS.20.2000 p.906], for example, Rama is dressed in Mughal fashion and has Central Asian facial features, remarkably similar to portrayals of the emperor in paintings of the *Akharnama.* Ancillary details of the setting—such as the type of throne, carpets, tiled floors, and luxury objects, such as blue-and-white ceramic vessels and long-necked bottles—are also typical in depictions of court scenes from the period.

In the insinuated blurring of Rama and Akbar, it is important to recall the Mughals’ familiarity with Vishnu, Rama’s divine identity. More crucially, both Persian and Sanskrit texts attest that Akbar relished being identified as a new incarnation of Vishnu, often indicated by his just rule and desire to protect cows and Brahmans. Brahmans seem to have presented this idea to Akbar and bolstered their claim by asserting that Sanskrit texts foretold his birth as an incarnation of Vishnu. This comparison was not a light exercise. On the contrary, Akbar identified great imperial promise in adapting the stories, norms, and expressions of other religious and cultural traditions. Perhaps the greatest contemporary attestation to the power of such attempts is found in the opposition to Akbar’s multicultural projects. For example, Bada’uni, one of the *Ramayana* translators, was asked to write a preface to the new Persian text and refused, even though he risked the king’s wrath.87

84 The Akbari *Ramayana* is unpublished, and manuscripts have only recently become available (and are still little studied). Additionally, the text appears to be somewhat fluid between copies. Given these factors, our contention that there is an absence of textual evidence equating Akbar and Rama is highly tentative.

87 Bada’uni, *Muntakhab al-tavarikh*, Persian ed., 2:366; English trans. 2:378. Akbar’s *Ramayana* as we have it today lacks a preface.”

cf. Truschke 2016: 204-5 – “Akbar idealized Rama, an avatar of Vishnu’s and the hero of the epic, as a model Indian monarch. Imperially illustrated manuscripts of the translation overtly parallel the two men and suggest what other Sanskrit texts state explcitly: Akbar was another incarnation of Vishnu.”

(from ʿAbidi 1964):  
First Rāmāyaṇa in Persian that by Mullā ʿAbdul Qādir Badāyūnī, translated in verse between 1584 (992 A.H.) and 1589  
anon. trans. in BM ms OR 1248 and IO ms 1963, probably by Badāyūnī in prose  
one by Mullā Sh. Saʿdullāh, pen-name Masīḥ, known as Pānīpatī (since born at Kairāna, near Panipat) – an abridged poetical translation, *Rām va Sītā* (published Lucknow 1899), made during Jahāngīr’s reign and popular in Kashmir (? reason for lateness of Kashmiri Rām.) **see** Aggarwal 2007 153-4; Keshavmurthy 2017  
 [illustrated ms. in Christie’s sale, 10490, 23 April 2015, lot 145]  
abridged verse version, *Rāmnāmah,* in 5,900 couplets by Girdhardās Kāyasth (completed 1036 A.H. = 1626 A.D.)  
Gopāl, son of Śrī Gobind, translated into prose, completing it in 1681 or 1685-86  
Candraman Bedil Kāyasth Madhpūrī, son of Śrī Rām, wrote versions in prose (in 1685-86) and later in verse (in 1693-94), called *Nigāristān* (in about 4906 couplets); this was later printed by Nawalkishore Press in 1875 but mistakenly ascribed to Mirzā Bedil  
Amar Singh made a prose version in 1705-6, called *Amarprakāś,* dedicated to Aurangzeb  
Amānat Rāi Lālpūrī, son of Subhānt, spent 25 years composing his *Rāmāyan-i Fārsī,* completed in 1755, in 40,000 couplets with ghazals at the end of each chapter  
anon. prose trans. in an illuminated ms (with 64 miniatures in provincial Mughal style, probably Alwar) in National Museum, New Delhi (no. 59.268)  
others in 19th century

ʿAbidi 1966: 30 – “At least twenty-one versions of the *Ramayana* are available in Persian today.” [and list of them on pp. 30-31, but most are modern]  
cf. Mujtabai 1978: 65 – “there are at least 24 different Persian versions of *Rāmāyaṇa*”, with list of them on pp. 68-71, which adds a translation of Tulsīdās’ *RCM* by Debīdās Kāyastha (date unknown) and a verse translation by Ananda Khān “Khush” (also date unknown) but remainder of his list are from 2nd half of C19 onwards

Gopal ibn Govind Satri, *Tarjama-i Rāmāyan* **—** A prose translation of the Rāmāyaṇa made in the 1680s. Marshall and Mujtabai both report several manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Marshall 1967, no 541; Mujtabai 1976: 138). [source: Perso-Indica website]

adapted from Findiriskī 2006: 11-13 – Yogavāsiṣṭha itself never translated into Persian, only abridgements of it, also some other works mainly based on it:  
1. LYV trans. by Niẓam al-Dīn Pānīpatī for Prince Salīm (future Jahāngīr) at end of C16  
2. *Shāriq al-ma‘rifat,* attributed to Faiẓi, mainly based on YV  
3. Mīr Abu’l-Qāsim Findiriskī’s work (see quotes below)  
4. *Tarjuma-ye Jūg-basasht,* an abridgement of Niẓam al-Dīn’s work made in 1177/1764  
5. *Basishta Jūg,* abridged trans. of YV made in 1006/1597  
6. *Jūg-bashast,* another abridged trans. for Akbar by Farmulī, undated  
7. *Aṭwar dar ḥalh-i asrar* or *Tuḥfa-ye majlir,* abridged trans. of *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* made for Jahāngīr by Ṣūfī Sharīf Quṭb-i Jahānī  
8. story of Śuka from ch. 1 of *Vairāgyaprakaraṇa* of LYV quoted from Niẓam al-Dīn’s trans. in *Dabistān-i madhāhib* (2nd *ta‘līm*)  
9. *Jūg-bashast,* another trans. of LYV, made for Dārā Shukōh in 1066/1656.

Findiriskī 2006: 31 – “[Findiriskī’s work] consists of numerous passages of mystico-philosophical purport, selected from Niẓam al-Dīn’s translation of the *Laghu-yoga-vāsiṣṭha,* and compiled with pieces of Ṣūfī poetry taken from the works of ‘Aṭṭar, Rūmi, Sayyid Ḥusainī, Shabistarī, Awḥadī, Ḥāfiẓ, Maghribī, Ni‘mat-allāh Walī, Qāsim Anwar, and Fānī Isfahānī.”

from Findiriskī: 16-17 + 43-44 – All the poets quoted lived in or before C15, except Fānī Isfahānī (d. Isfahān 1222/1807); nearly half the verses are from his poem. 2 mss ascribe the work to Findiriskī himself. He died in 1640-41 and wrote the work during the later period of his life, so it must have been expanded later by inclusion of Fānī Isfahānī’s verses.

**see also** Asok Kumar Das, “An introductory note on the Emperor Akbar’s *Ramayana* and its miniatures”, in *Facets of Indian Art,* ed. R. Skelton et al. (London, 1986), **and** *Proceedings, 1st Int. Skt Conf.,* vol. 2 pt. 2, pp.113-4 and 126-7.

illustrated copy (dated 1602) of condensed Persian translation by Farmulī (undertaken at Akbar’s command apparently in 1006/1597-8) of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in Chester Beatty Library (Ind. MS. 5) [**see** Losty 1982: 92; Wilkinson, J.V.S. 1948: “A note on an illustrated manuscript of the *Jog-Bāshisht”,* *BSOAS* 12: 692-94 ( **printout**) and esp. Franke 2011 (**scan**)]

Hanneder 2012 — John Shore in 1784 translated into English a Persian translation of the *Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha* (in 3 ms vols) but later, discouraged by lack of interest in it, set it aside (acc. to DNB “destroyed them” [not in ONDB entry]).

*The Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī of Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad : a history of India from the early Musalmān invasions to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Akbar*, trans. by Brajendranath De. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, [1913]-1927 [and reprints]  
 **(IND) Persian D 13c / OIL stack DS403 NizS**[*?* *contains ref. to Akbar attending a Rāmlīlā performance, which prompted him to order the translation of the Rāmāyaṇa (cf. Swann 1990: 218 n.3) ? –* ***not*** *traceable through indexes to volumes*]

**n.b.** also an Urdu Rāmāyaṇa: from Phillips 2014: 454 — “The work of concern here is the Urdu-language verse *Ramayan* by Munshi Jagannath Lal ‘Khushtar’, also known as the *Khushtar Ramayan.* Completed in 1852, this work (in the form of our ‘manuscript in absentia’, for this particular object is now lost to us) was intended by its author for presentation to the king of Awadh, Wajid Ali Shah ‘Akhtar’.1 Only later, in 1860, was it published in Lucknow by Naval Kishor Press (NKP), where it eventually appeared in a total of sixteen editions, the lattermost in 1924.”

Also within the Islamic world there is the tradition recorded by Ibn al-Mujāwir (1204/5–1291/2) in his *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir* that a well on Sira Island in Aden harbour is the mouth of a tunnel that Hanumān dug in order to rescue Sītā from Rāvaṇa (here called Hadathar) and through which he brought her back to Rāma. [**see**Scott S. Reese, *Imperial Muslims* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017): 17, citing   
*A traveller in thirteenth-century Arabia: Ibn al-Mujāwir's Tārīkh al-mustabṣir,* trans. by   
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**Rāmāyaṇa in performance**

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**notes n.b.** photocopied plan of Rāmnagar Rāmlīlā performance locations among “various extracts and notes” in Eternal Rāma storage box; typed extract from Cohn 1971: 52 on Rāmlīlā in A4 ring binder

About a dozen Skt shadow-plays written in Nepal around 14th-15th century, of which several are on Rāmāyaṇa themes. There is a manuscript dated 1441 of the oldest known play in Nevārī, which is based on the Rāmāyaṇa. [Brinkhaus at 23. DOT]

an inscription at Bāgūr village records a grant made in 1543 A.D., during the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Sadāśiva, by one of the ruler’s officials for the enactment of a puppet performance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story (Mysore Arch. Dept 1942: 136-7); this establishes that such popular performances have a considerable past history.

The puppet play's internal dialogue leads to two final observations on audiences and performances in India. First, the puppet play resembles traditional Indian texts composed as conversations to be overheard by the reader, and Rāma stories provide prime examples. Tulsīdās's text and the Sanskrit *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and *Tattvasamgraharāmāyaṇa,* for instance, are all narrated by Śiva to Pārvatī, not to mention Vālmīki's text, in which Nārada recounts Rāma's history to the poet. Likewise, two popular folk Rāmāyaṇas in Tamil (*Catakaṇṭarāvaṇaṉ Katai* and *Mayilirāvaṇaṉ Katai*) are told by Nārada to another sage, Gautama. Within these dialogic frames, texualized audiences are created whenever a character summarizes the plot to another character, as when Rāma tells his story to Hanumān, who then narrates Sugrīva's story to Rāma, and so forth. Remembering these examples, I understood why listening to performances inside the drama-house sometimes felt more like reading a book than seeing a live performance. On the other hand, the persistence of the dialogic frame in literary forms of the Rāma story might be further evidence of its oral origin and transmission. In either case, we are reminded that all texts, written or spoken, have audiences who play a part in the storytelling.  
 Blackburn 1996: 14

The Kerala shadow puppet play is not alone in this preference for the War Book; many Rāma texts, both folk and literary, give disproportionate emphasis and space to its events, sometimes omitting everything but the final book. For instance, the battles between Rāma and Rāvaṇa comprise nearly the whole of the earliest Rāmāyaṇa in Kerala, the *Rāmacaritam,* and half of the original Kathakaḷi plays on the Rāma story. Kampaṉ did not slight the War Book either. ..... Certainly the War Book is the longest book in any edition of Kampaṉ, and, if textual variation is any indication of frequency of performance, it has been told more often than any other portion of the epic> the percentage of variant verses and suspected interpolations (*mikai pāṭal*) in the War Book is twice that in the Birth Book and nearly four times that in any other book. .....  
 Blackburn1996: 96 **title (and author)**

motifs from other displays as part of *The Rāmāyaṇa: love and valour in India’s Great Epic*, exhibition at British Library (16 May–14 September 2008) —

Chhau dance video: Rāma strings the bow, then breaks it (bows regularly strung in Jagat Singh paintings).

puppet performance (*see also programme notes*):

No Viśvāmitra episode; Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa just go wandering to acquire knowledge.

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa meet Rāma Bhārgava (an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu) in the forest before going to Mithilā. He has been seeking Viṣṇu’s *avatāra*, and begs Rāma to shoot him toput him out of the misery of too long a life. Rāma is reluctant, encouraged to do so by Lakṣmaṇa.

Lakṣmaṇa wins Sītā by breaking bow, then drinking large vessel (contents unspecified) then surrenders her to Rāma because he has taken vow of celibacy. Daśaratha is not asked for his consent, but is pleased when the princes go home and present Sītā to him.

Kaikeyī claims the promise of the throne for Bharata. Rāma leaves voluntarily for permanent residence in the forest.

Rāvaṇa lusts after Sītā as an incarnation of Śrī because of his previous unsuccessful attempts at other incarnations, Vedavatī and Citrāvatī.

Mārīca does not demur.

Magic circle: Rāvaṇa arrives as an old man asking for water. Sītā directs him to the well but he says he is too frail and she leaves the circle to help him.

Memory of the menagerie Sītā had had as a child makes her beg for the golden deer. Jaṭāyus had been her pet in her childhood.

Sugrīva had been trapped upside down in a tree by Vālin.

Jaṭāyus’ dying words that Sītā had been abducted by “a huge *rākṣasa* from A...” are interpreted by Sugrīva as Rāvaṇa from Alengka.

Hanumān and Trijatā equally infatuated with each other.

Sarapadnuke 1980: 255 —

The portions of the Rāmāyana that are always represented in Khon or the masked play are:  
 Episode of Killing Kākanasun, Maiyarab the Magician, a Floating Lady, Nāpapāśa, the Weapon of Brahma (Bromastra), Sītā wading through the fire, Hanumān, the Volunteer, Rāma’s journey in the forest and Rām’s ruling over Ayodhyā.

typed extract from Singer 1972: 77 on *Rāmāyaṇa* recitations in South India in A4 ring binder

**Balinese**

deBoer, I Madé Bandem and I Ketut Madra 1992 (**printout**) 143, 146-47 –   
main plot of *wayang* performances principally derived from *Kakawin* with quotations freely paraphrased, enlarged creatively and with non-*Rm* additions and buffoonery.

“Death of Kumbakarna” is translation of text of performance given in August 1977

Long, bitter and outspoken quarrel between Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa until Kumbhakarṇa grudgingly goes to battlefield to die in order to achieve heaven (does so, p.196), not to support Rāvaṇa (p.170).

Prahasta (prime minister, old and wise, gave good advice) has already been killed and is prominently regretted (p.172), killed by Nila, **Sugrīva’s son**.

Sumali, Rāvaṇa’s grandfather, has long ago advised against fighting Rāma (p.174)

Sugrīva’s defeat of Dhūmrākṣa recalled (p.179)

**shadow-puppet performance, Kedah**

*Wayang Gedek*, a form of shadow-puppet performance of Thai origin now has its principal home in Kedah; uses folk versions, sometimes of Rāma story. [*notes from Yousof 1992 for database: Malay, see HSR — or possibly Thai?;   
 see photocopy for further details*]

Yousof, Ghulam-Sarwar 1992: *Panggung Semar: aspects of traditional Malay theatre* (Petaling Jaya: Tempo Publishing, 1992). **checked ILL Princeton [SOAS lost]** *study photocopy pp.130-32, 144-45*

**Wayang kulit Kelantan**

Essentially the dramatic repertoire of the Malay shadow play, active in the NE state of Kelantan on the Malay peninsula, this is based on a local oral version of the Ramayana, known as *Hikayat Maharaja Wana*. Secondary stories are derived from other sources, including the Javanese Panji romance, or have been invented by puppeteers themselves over the past several decades.   
 [from G.-S. Yousof’s abstract for Bangalore 2017 Rāmāyaṇa conference]

Sweeney 1972: 8 [*on shadow puppets; not to be analysed*]

“In Kelantan, a tree metaphor is often used to distinguish between the various parts of the tales of Rama. The main part is that extending from before the birth of Ravana, up to his death. This is regarded as the roots, trunk and main branches of the tree and is known as the *Cherita Mahraja Wana.* The tale of Rama’s sons up to the reconciliation of Rama and Sita also falls into the branch category. This part of the repertoire is roughly parallel to the *Hikayat Seri Rama*, the Malay literary version of the *Ramayana*. There is then a great mass of stories generally referred to as *cherita ranting* (twig stories) and by extension, *cherita bunga* and *cherita daun* (flower and leaf stories).”

Sweeney 1972: 76

“The sequel to the *Cherita MW*, the *Cherita Kusi Serawi*, is also a fundamental part of the Rama repertoire.”

Sweeney 1972: 18

“It is possible to speak of a *Wayang Siam* version of the Rama cycle [*WS is form of Malay shadow-play popular in Kelantan, Trengganu, Patani, Kedah, Perak*] [with features that] prove the existence of this version during the nineteenth century.”

**Khon** [= ‘mask’] is Thai dance drama. In earlier forms all characters wore masks; now only demons and monkeys wear masks; humans and angels wear elaborate headgear. Originally 4 hours long, now cut to one hour fifteen minutes, staged publicly twice every week at Bangkok’s Sala Chalermkrung Royal Theatre (former cinema set up over 50 years ago by king Rama VII); attracts mostly tourists.   
 *Times of India*, 2 March 2008

**Southeast Asian folk traditions**

**Cham: notes**

Marrison, Geoffrey E. 1985: “The Chams and their literature”, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the RAS* 58.2 (249): 45-70. **Soc. Indo-Chin. d.211**

Marrison 1985:49-50   
 *Pram Dit Pram Lak* is the Cham version of the *Ramayana,* and has been the subject of special study by G. Moussay. The Ramayana was well-known in the ancient kingdom of Champa. . . . However, there are no literary remains from that period, and the text discovered by Moussay came from Panduranga, and were entitled *Palikai Pram Dit Pram Lak* (the story of Rama and Laksmana) and *Damnuy Po Keidai Muherasih* (the tale of the ascetic king, that is Dasaratha, father of Rama).

Pram Dit (Rama) and Pra lak(Laksmana) are friends, not brothers as in the original epic. Pram Dit gains the hand O Jata ((Sita) by showing his prowess in shooting down seven trees with one arrow. Jata is abducted by Rak Binsvor (Ravana). Pram Dit and Pram Lak reach the monkey court, and while there, the queen becomes pregnant by Pram Dit, who goes away. He offspring Kra-lai (Hanuman), when he is big enough goes to seek his father, and comes upon him and Pra Lak by the seashore. Kra-lai with his monkey army makes a bridge to Sri Lanka, finds princess Jata and kills Rak Binsvor.

Moussay finds parallels in the leading incidents between the Cham version and the Malay Hikayat Sri Rama, which may be its source. There are however some aspects which need further consideration. The title of the story looks like an adaptation from Khmer. Pram Dit –, *Khm.* Preah tut, *Skt* Aditya is a title of Sūrya, the sun-god which is sometimes applied to Rama. Pram Lak is like *Khm.* Preah Leak, the rendering of Laksmana’s name in the Khmer epic, the *Ream Ker.* Moussay notes the priestly cantors, both Mōdvn and Kadhar, will only begin any work after invoking Pram Dit, Pram Lak, Bya Jata and Kra-lai. Nevertheless, in spite of the significant place which the Ramayana appears to have in Cham culture, no manuscripts of the story are to be found in the collections, unless one item registered by Lafont, CAM 52(5) in the EFEO collection, described as ‘*texte* | *versifiee: l’enlèvement de Marasih Dhartri nai par Banasur,* of seven pages, is an account of the abduction of Sita. We have in fact what appears to be a folk tradition rather than an established literary one; perhaps we should look to the Cambodian dance-drama, which is largely based upon the Ramayana, as the source of the Cham work.

[citing – Moussay, G. 1976a: *Pram Dit Pram Lak,* Paris: EPHE.

Moussay, G. 1976b: “Pram Dit Pram Lak, *Actes du 29e Congres International des Orientalistes: Asie et Sud-Est Asie continental,* vol. 2: 131-35 (Paris: Asiatèque).

**Khmer: notes**

Bhandari, C.M. 1995: *Saving Angkor* (Bangkok: White Orchid Press). **BL, CUL, SOAS, V&A** [legend; no source or provenance given]  **notes**

[Bhandari is a physicist; 1991-94 Indian Ambassador to Cambodia]

**p.68** Even though a Demon King, Ravana was a great Brahmin scholar and devotee of Shiva. He wanted Shiva to live in his kingdom of Lanka down south instead of on mountain Kailash in the north. But when Shiva did not oblige, he tried to lift the entire Kailash mountain to transplant it in Lanka. Pleased with Ravana’s devotion, Shiva manifested himself and gave him his linga for worship saying he should not rest it on ground before reaching Lanka. But evening fell before Ravana could reach Lanka and as a brahmin, it was a must for him to perform his evening prayers. He saw a shepherd boy and asked him to hold on to the linga while he prayed. The boy agreed saying if Ravana delayed and he had to leave, he would call three times. Unfortunately Ravana could not finish on time and the boy put the linga on ground after calling Ravana three times. So, Ravana could not even have the linga, but in anger he hit the boy on his head causing a deep depression on his head and crushing his neck. The boy turned out to be Shiva’s own son, Ganesha. This is why Ganesha has no neck and some statues of Ganesha, especially in south India, show a deep depression on his head as the hit mark. The Khmer version of Ganesha is exactly on these lines.

**area** Mauritius

**studies** Auleear, Dawood and Lee Haring (ed. and trans.) 2006: *Indian folktales from Mauritius* (Chennai: National Folklore Support Centre). **own copy**

Ramdin, Suchita 2003: “The *Rāmāyana* in the Oral Tradition of Mauritius”, *Journal of Indian Folkloristics* 5.1-2: 29-47. **Ind. Inst. – seen**

Ramsurrun, P. 1982: “Birth of the Pearl Islands”, in *Folk Tales of Mauritius,* Folk Tales of the World 14 (New Delhi: Sterling): 1-4. **photocopy; analysed**

**notes**

Ramdin 2003: 29 — The oral tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Mauritius has been wholly based on the *Rāmcharitmānas* of Tulsidas.   
[*emigration to Mauritius on a regular basis from 1834 mainly from Bihar and UP*]

Ramdin 2003: 31 — The early 19th century emigration saw the rise not only of the [*sic*] *Ramcharitmānas* readers, but also of Rama worshippers in Mauritius.

[*records legend narrated by storyteller and Rm singer Seewooduth Parsad, recorded in Triolet village in 1982, that explains name of Mauritius as* Maricha Tapu (Mārīca’s Island *in Bhojpuri*) *from boon granted to dying Mārīca by Rāma that his ears be forever filled with the name of Rāma. Rāma turns Mārīca into a pearl thrown into ocean, becoming pearl-shaped island, where eventually Mārīca’s wish is fulfilled with the arrival of the Indian immigrants; similar tale to Ramsurrun 1982*]

Auleear and Haring 2006: v — Beginning in about 1833, after tribal people in South Bihar rebelled against the harshness of British rule, large numbers of them were easy prey to the demands of recruiters who dragooned them into being shipped to ... Mauritius as indentured labourers. ... The Bhojpuri speakers preserved their language ... Today in Mauritius, Bhojpuri is spoken by one-fifth of the population, about 250,000 people, and understood by a good many more. ... The experience of forced immigration and virtual enslavement, and the surrounding multilingualism and multiculturalism, roused the creative energies of Bhojpuri raconteurs to revive and remake old Indian stories.

**Siberian folk telling**

**studies** Lokesh Chandra 1970: “Indian culture in Transbaikalian Siberia”, *India’s contribution to world thought and culture,* ed. Lokesh Chandra ( Madras: Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, 1970): 629-32. **Ind. Inst. Ind gen c 4; checked**

**notes sole information** in Chandra, Lokesh 1970:631: **“Rāmāyaṇa in Siberia** The Rāmāyaṇa is also known from Siberian folklore. The Research Institute of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. has the manuscripts of Prof. Golstunsky’s work on a short version of the Rāmāyaṇa in the Kalmuk language.” [**see** Raghavan 1980: 651-52]  
 [Kalmuk also called Oirat]