poetry; with the practice of translation as a process of structural rather
than verbal mimicry, and, ultimately, with a leap of the poetic imagina-
tion.

Finally, ‘From Classicism to Bhakti’, an essay that Ramanujan co-
authored with Norman Cutler, takes up the issue of how classical Tamil
poetry and culture, emerging on the periphery of the epic and classical
worlds of Sanskrit in north India, historically shape the subsequent
poetry and culture of bhakti, as the latter appears in the works of the Śrī
Vaiṣṇava ālvārs, especially Nammālvar. Taken together with the essays
on the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, and the other three essays on
classical Tamil culture included here, this essay indicates why, even in
the first millennium of the common era, there can be no simple formula
for ‘unity’ or ‘diversity’—or for ‘unity in diversity’—in the Indian sub-
continent.

Three Hundred Rāmāyanaș:
Five Examples and
Three Thoughts on Translation

How many Rāmāyanaș? Three hundred? Three thousand? At the end of
some Rāmāyanaș, a question is sometimes asked: How many Rāmāyanaș
have there been? And there are stories that answer the question. Here is
one.

One day when Rāma was sitting on his throne, his ring fell off. When it
touched the earth, it made a hole in the ground and disappeared into it. It
was gone. His trusty henchman, Hanumān, was at his feet. Rāma said to
Hanumān, ‘Look, my ring is lost. Find it for me.’

Now Hanumān can enter any hole, no matter how tiny. He had the
power to become the smallest of the small and larger than the largest
thing. So he took on a tiny form and went down the hole.

He went and went and went and suddenly fell into the netherworld.
There were women down there. ‘Look, a tiny monkey! It’s fallen from
above!’ Then they caught him and placed him on a platter (thāli). The
King of Spirits (bhūt), who lives in the netherworld, likes to eat animals.
So Hanumān was sent to him as part of his dinner, along with his vege-
tables. Hanumān sat on the platter, wondering what to do.

While this was going on in the netherworld, Rāma sat on his throne on
the earth above. The sage Vasistha and the god Brahmā came to see him.
They said to Rāma, ‘We want to talk privately with you. We don’t want
anyone to hear what we say or interrupt it. Do we agree?’

‘All right,’ said Rāma, ‘we’ll talk.’

Then they said, ‘Lay down a rule. If anyone comes in as we are talking,
his head should be cut off.’
‘It will be done,’ said Rāma.

Who would be the most trustworthy person to guard the door? Hanumān had gone down to fetch the ring. Rāma trusted no one more than Laksmana, so he asked Laksmana to stand by the door. ‘Don’t allow anyone to enter,’ he ordered.

Laksmana was standing at the door when the sage Viśvāmitra appeared and said, ‘I need to see Rāma at once. It’s urgent. Tell me, where is Rāma?’

Laksmana said, ‘Don’t go in now. He is talking to some people. It’s important.’

‘What is there that Rāma would hide from me?’ said Viśvāmitra. ‘I must go in, right now.’

Laksmana said, ‘I’ll have to ask his permission before I can let you in.’

‘Go in and ask then.’

‘I can’t go in till Rāma comes out. You’ll have to wait.’

‘If you don’t go in and announce my presence, I’ll burn the entire kingdom of Ayodhya with a curse,’ said Viśvāmitra.

Laksmana thought, ‘If I go in now, I’ll die. But if I don’t go, this hot-headed man will burn down the kingdom. All the subjects, all things living in it, will die. It’s better that I alone should die.’

So he went right in.

Rāma asked him, ‘What’s the matter?’

‘Viśvāmitra is here.’

‘Send him in.’

So Viśvāmitra went in. The private talk had already come to an end. Brahmā and Vasiṣṭha had come to see Rāma and say to him, ‘Your work in the world of human beings is over. Your incarnation as Rāma must now be given up. Leave this body, come up, and rejoin the gods.’ That’s all they wanted to say.

Laksmana said to Rāma, ‘Brother, you should cut off my head.’

Rāma said, ‘Why? We had nothing more to say. Nothing was left. So why should I cut off your head?’

Laksmana said, ‘You can’t do that. You can’t let me off because I’m your brother. There’ll be a blot on Rāma’s name. You didn’t spare your wife. You sent her to the jungle. I must be punished. I will leave.’

Laksmana was an avatar of Śeṣa, the serpent on whom Viṣṇu sleeps. His time was up too. He went directly to the river Sarayū and disappeared in the flowing waters.

When Laksmana relinquished his body, Rāma summoned all his followers, Vibhisana, Sugriva, and others, and arranged for the coronation of his twin sons, Lava and Kuśa. Then Rāma too entered the river Sarayū.

All this while, Hanumān was in the netherworld. When he was finally taken to the King of Spirits, he kept repeating the name of Rāma. ‘Rāma Rāma Rāma …’

Then the King of Spirits asked, ‘Who are you?’

‘Hanumān.’

‘Hanumān? Why have you come here?’

‘Rāma’s ring fell into a hole. I’ve come to fetch it.’

The king looked around and showed him a platter. On it were thousands of rings. They were all Rāma’s rings. The king brought the platter to Hanumān, set it down, and said, ‘Pick out your Rāma’s ring and take it.’

They were all exactly the same. ‘I don’t know which one it is,’ said Hanumān, shaking his head.

The King of Spirits said, ‘There have been as many Rāmas as there are rings on this platter. When you return to earth, you will not find Rāma. This incarnation of Rāma is now over. Whenever an incarnation of Rāma is about to be over, his ring falls down. I collect them and keep them. Now you can go.’

So Hanumān left.

This story is usually told to suggest that for every such Rāma there is a Rāmāvana. The number of Rāmāyanas and the range of their influence in South and Southeast Asia over the past twenty-five hundred years or more are astonishing. Just a list of languages in which the Rāma story is found makes one gasp: Annamese, Balinese, Bengali, Cambodian, Chinese, Gujarati, Javanese, Kannada, Kashmiri, Khotanese, Laotian, Malaysian, Marathi, Oriya, Prakrit, Sanskrit, Santali, Sinhalese, Tamil, Telugu, Thai, Tibetan—to say nothing of Western languages. Through the centuries, some of these languages have hosted more than one telling of the Rāma story. Sanskrit alone contains some twenty-five or more tellings belonging to various narrative genres (epics, kāvya or ornate poetic compositions, purāṇas or old mythological stories, and so forth). If we add plays, dance-dramas, and other performances, in both the classical and folk traditions, the number of Rāmāyanas grows even larger. To these must be added sculpture and bas-reliefs, mask plays, puppet plays
and shadows plays, in all the many South and Southeast Asian cultures. Camille Bulcke (1950), a student of the Rāmāyana, counted three hundred tellings. It’s no wonder that even as long ago as the fourteenth century, Kumāravyāsa, a Kannada poet, chose to write a Mahābhārata, because he heard the cosmic serpent which upholds the earth groaning under the burden of Rāmāyana poets (ṭīnikiḍana phañirāya rāmāṇaḍa kaviṅala bhāradali). In this paper, indebted for its data to numerous previous translators and scholars, I would like to sort out for myself, and I hope for others, how these hundreds of tellings of a story in different cultures, languages, and religious traditions relate to each other: what gets translated, transplanted, transposed.

Vālmīki and Kampaṇ: Two Ahalyās

Obviously, these hundreds of tellings differ from one another. I have come to prefer the world tellings to the usual terms versions or variants because the latter terms can and typically do imply that there is an invariant, an original or Ur-text—usually Vālmīki’s Sanskrit Rāmāyana, the earliest and most prestigious of them all. But as we shall see, it is not always Vālmīki’s narrative that is carried from one language to another.

It would be useful to make some distinctions before we begin. The tradition itself distinguishes between the Rāma story (rāmakathā) and texts composed by a specific person—Vālmīki, Kampaṇ, or Kṛttivāsa, for example. Though many of the latter are popularly called Rāmāyanas (like Kamparāmāyanam), few texts actually bear the title Rāmāyana; they are given titles like Itīrāvāvatāram (The Incarnation of Rāma), Rāmacaritmānas (The Lake of the Acts of Rāma), Ramakien (The Story of Rāma) and so on. Their relations to the Rāma story as told by Vālmīki also vary. This traditional distinction between kathā (story) and kavya (poem) parallels the French one between sujet and récit, or the English one between story and discourse (Chatman 1978). It is also analogous to the distinction between a sentence and a speech act. The story may be the same in two tellings, but the discourse may be vastly different. Even the structure and sequence of events may be the same, but the style, details, tone, and texture—and therefore the import—may be vastly different.

Here are two tellings of the ‘same’ episode, which occur at the same point in the sequence of the narrative. The first is from the first book (Balakānda) of Vālmīki’s Sanskrit Rāmāyana; the second from the first canto (Pālakāntam) of Kampaṇ’s Itīrāvāvatāram in Tamil. Both narrate the story of Ahalyā.

The Ahalyā Episode: Vālmīki

Seeing Mithilā, Janaka’s white and dazzling city, all the sages cried out in praise. ‘Wonderful!’ How wonderful!’

Rāghava, sighting on the outskirts of Mithilā an asram, ancient, unpeopled, and lovely, asked the sage, ‘What is this holy place. so like an asram but without a hermit? Master, I’d like to hear: whose was it?’

Hearing Rāghava’s words, the great sage Viśvāmitra, man of fire, expert in words answered, ‘Listen, Rāghava, I’ll tell you whose asram this was and how it was cursed by a great man in anger.

It was great Gautama’s, this asram that reminds you of heaven, worshipped even by the gods. Long ago, with Ahalyā he practised tapas here for countless years. Once, knowing that Gautama was away, Indra (called Thousand Eyes), Śacli’s husband, took on the likeness of the sage, and said to Ahalyā:

“Men pursuing their desire do not wait for the proper season, O you who have a perfect body, Making love with you: that’s what I want. That waist of yours is lovely.”

She knew it was Indra of the Thousand Eyes in the guise of the sage. Yet she, wrongheaded woman, made up her mind, excited, curious about the king of the gods. And then, her inner being satisfied,

O giver of honour, lover, protect yourself and me.’
And Indra smiled and said to Ahalyā,
"Woman of lovely hips, I am very content. I'll go the way I came."
Thus after making love, he came out of the hut made of leaves.
And, O Rāma, as he hurried away, nervous about Gautama and flustered, he caught sight of Gautama coming in, the great sage, unassailable by gods and antigods, empowered by his tapas, still wet with the water of the river he'd bathed in, blazing like fire, with kusa grass and kindling in his hands.
Seeing him, the king of the gods was terror-struck, his face drained of colour. The sage, facing Thousand Eyes now dressed as the sage, the one rich in virtue and the other with none, spoke to him in anger: "You took my form, you fool, and did this that should never be done. Therefore you will lose your testicles."
At once, they fell to the ground, they fell even as the great sage spoke his words in anger to Thousand Eyes. Having cursed Indra, he then cursed Ahalyā: "You, you will dwell here many thousands of years, eating the air, without food, rolling in ash, and burning invisible to all creatures."
When Rāma, unassailable son of Daśaratha, comes to this terrible wilderness, you will become pure, you woman of no virtue.
and burning invisible to all creatures.
When Rāma, unassailable son of Daśaratha, comes to this terrible wilderness, you will become pure, you woman of no virtue.
you will be cleansed of lust and confusion. Filled then with joy, you'll wear again your form in my presence." And saying this to that woman of bad conduct, blazing Gautama abandoned the ashram, and did his tapas on a beautiful Himalayan peak, haunt of celestial singers and perfected beings.
Emasculated Indra then spoke to the gods led by Agni attended by the sages and the celestial singers.
"I've only done this work on behalf of the gods, putting great Gautama in a rage, blocking his tapas. He has emasculated me and rejected her in anger. Through this great outburst of curses, I've robbed him of his tapas. Therefore, great gods, sages, and celestial singers, help me, helper of the gods, to regain my testicles." And the gods, led by Agni, listened to Indra of the Hundred Sacrifices and went with the Marut hosts to the divine ancestors, and said, "Some time ago, Indra, infatuated, ravished the sage's wife and was then emasculated by the sage's curse. Indra, king of gods, destroyer of cities, is now angry with the gods. This ram has testicles but great Indra has lost his. So take the ram's testicles and quickly graft them onto Indra. A castrated ram will give you supreme satisfaction and will be a source of pleasure.
People who offer it will have endless fruit. You will give them your plenty." Having heard Agni's words,
the Ancestors got together
   and ripped off the ram's testicles
and applied them then to Indra
   of the Thousand Eyes.
Since then, the divine Ancestors
   eat these castrated rams
and Indra has the testicles
   of the beast through the power
of great Gautama's tapas.

Come then, Rāma, to the ashram
   of the holy sage and save Ahalyā
who has the beauty of a goddess.
   Rāghava heard Viśvāmitra's words
and followed him into the ashram
   with Laksmana: there he saw
Ahalyā, shining with an inner light
   earned through her penances,
blazing yet hidden from the eyes
   of passersby, even gods and antigods.
(Sastrigal and Sastri 1958, kānda 1, sargas 47-8;
   translated by David Shulman and A.K. Ramanujan)

THE AHALYĀ EPISODE: KAMPAN
They came to many-towered Mithilā
and stood outside the fortress.
On the towers were many flags.
There, high on an open field,
stood a black rock
that was once Ahalyā,
the great sage's wife who fell
because she lost her chastity,
the mark of marriage in a house. [Verse 547]
Rāma's eyes fell on the rock,
the dust of his feet
wafted on it.
Like one unconscious
coming to,
cutting through ignorance.
changing his dark carcass
for true form
as he reaches the Lord's feet,
so did she stand alive
formed and coloured
again as she once was. [548]

Rāma then asks Viśvāmitra why this lovely woman had been turned
to stone. Viśvāmitra replies:

'Listen. Once Indra,
Lord of the Diamond Axe,
waited on the absence
of Gautama, a sage all spirit,
meaning to reach out
for the lovely breast
of doe-eyed Ahalyā, his wife. [551]
Hurt by love's arrows,
hurt by the look in her eyes
that pierced him like a spear, Indra
writhed and cast about
for stratagems;
one day, overwhelmed
and mindless, he isolated
the sage; and sneaked
into the hermitage
wearing the exact body of Gautama
whose heart knew no falsehoods. [552]
Sneaking in, he joined Ahalyā;
coupled, they drank deep
of the clear new wine
of first-night weddings;
and she knew.
   Yet unable
to put aside what was not hers,
she dallied in her joy,
but the sage did not tarry,
he came back, a very Śiva
with three eyes in his head. [553]
Gautama, who used no arrows 
from bows, could use more inescapable 
powers of curse and blessing. 
When he arrived, Ahalyā stood there, 
stunned, bearing the shame of a deed 
that will not end in this endless world. 

Indra shook in terror, 
started to move away 
in the likeness of a cat. [554] 
Eyes dropping fire, Gautama 
saw what was done, 
and his words flew 
like the burning arrows 
at your hand: 

“May you be covered 
by the vaginas 
of a thousand women!” 
In the twinkle of an eye 
they came and covered him. [555] 

Covered with shame, 
laughingstock of the world, 
Indra left. 
The sage turned 
to his tender wife 
and cursed: 

“O bought woman! 
May you turn to stone!” 
and she fell at once 
a rough thing 
of black rock. [556] 
Yet as she fell she begged: 
“To bear and forgive wrongs 
is also the way of elders. 
O Śiwa-like lord of mine, 
set some limit to your curse!” 
So he said: “Rāma 
will come, wearing garlands that bring 
the hum of bees with them. 
When the dust of his feet falls on you, 
you will be released from the body of stone.” [557] 

The immortals looked at their king 
and came down at once to Gautama 
in a delegation led by Brahmā 
and begged of Gautama to relent. 

Gautama’s mind had changed 
and cooled. He changed 
the marks on Indra to a thousand eyes 
and the gods went back to their worlds, 
while she lay there, a thing of stone. [558] 

That was the way it was. 
From now on, no more misery, 
only release, for all things 
in this world. 

O cloud-dark lord 
who battled with that ogress, 
black as soot, I saw there 
the virtue of your hands 
and here the virtue of your feet.” [559] 

Let me rapidly suggest a few differences between the two tellings. In Vālmiki, Indra seduces a willing Ahalyā. In Kampan, Ahalyā realises 
she is doing wrong but cannot let go of the forbidden joy; the poem has 
also suggested earlier that her sage-husband is all spirit, details which 
together add a certain psychological subtlety to the seduction. Indra tries 
to steal away in the shape of a cat, clearly a folklore motif (also found, 
for example, in the Katāsarītsāgara, an eleventh-century Sanskrit com-
pendium of folktales; see Tawney 1927). He is cursed with a thousand 
vaginas which are later changed into eyes, and 
Ahalyā is changed into 
frigid stone. The poetic justice wreaked on both offenders is fitted to their 
wrongdoing. Indra bears the mark of what he lusted for, while Ahalyā is 
rendered incapable of responding to anything. These motifs, not found in 
Vālmiki, are attested in South Indian folklore and other southern Rāma 
stories, inscriptions and earlier Tamil poems, as well as in non-Tamil 
sources. Kampan, here and elsewhere, not only makes full use of his 
predecessor Vālmiki’s materials but folds in many regional folk tradi-
tions. It is often through him that they then become part of other Rāmā-
yanas. 

In technique, Kampan is also more dramatic than Vālmiki. Rāma’s 
feet transmute the black stone into Ahalyā first; only afterwards is 
her story told. The black stone standing on a high place, waiting for
Rāma, is itself a very effective, vivid symbol. Ahalyā’s revival, her waking from cold stone to fleshly human warmth, becomes an occasion for a moving bhakti (devotional) meditation on the soul waking to its form in god.

Finally, the Ahalyā episode is related to previous episodes in the poem such as that in which Rāma destroys the demoness Tātakā. There he was the destroyer of evil, the bringer of sterility and the ashes of death to his enemies. Here, as the reviver of Ahalyā, he is a cloud-dark god of fertility. Throughout Kampan’s poem, Rāma is a Tamil hero, a generous giver and a ruthless destroyer of foes. And the bhakti vision makes the release of Ahalyā from her rock-bound sin a paradigm of Rāma’s incarnatory mission to release all souls from world-bound misery.

In Vālmiki, Rāma’s character is not that of a god but of a god-man who has to live within the limits of a human form with all its vicissitudes. Some argue that the references to Rāma’s divinity and his incarnation for the purpose of destroying Rāvana, and the first and last books of the epic, in which Rāma is clearly described as a god with such a mission, are later additions. Be that as it may, in Kampan he is clearly a god. Hence a passage like the above is dense with religious feeling and theological images. Kampan, writing in the twelfth century, composed his poem under the influence of Tamil bhakti. He had for his master Nammalvār (ninth century?), the most eminent of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava saints. So, for Kampan, Rāma is a god who is on a mission to root out evil, sustain the good and bring release to all living beings. The encounter with Ahalyā is only the first in a series, ending with Rāma’s encounter with Rāvana the demon himself. For Nammalvār, Rāma is a saviour of all beings, from the lowly grass to the great gods:

**BY RĀMA’S GRACE**

Why would anyone want
to learn anything but Rāma?

Beginning with the low grass
and the creeping ant
with nothing
whatever,

he took everything in his city,
everything moving,
everything still,

he took everything,
everything born
of the lord
of four faces,

he took them all
to the very best of states.

Nammalvār 7.5.1 (Ramanujan 1981, 47)

Kampan’s epic poem enacts in detail and with passion Nammalvār’s vision of Rāma.

Thus the Ahalyā episode is essentially the same, but the weave, the texture, the colours are very different. Part of the aesthetic pleasure in the later poet’s telling derives from its artistic use of its predecessor’s work, from ringing changes on it. To some extent all later Rāmāyana play on the knowledge of previous tellings: they are meta-Rāmāyanas. I cannot resist repeating my favourite example. In several of the later Rāmāyanas (such as the Adhyātma Rāmāyana. sixteenth century), when Rāma is exiled, he does not want Siṭā to go with him into the forest. Siṭā argues with him. At first she uses the usual arguments: she is his wife, she should share his sufferings, exile herself in his exile and so on. When he still resists the idea, she is furious. She bursts out, ‘Countless Rāmāyanas have been composed before this. Do you know of one where Siṭā doesn’t go with Rāma to the forest?’ That clinches the argument, and she goes with him (Adhyātma Rāmāyana 2.4.77–8; see Nath 1913, 39). And as nothing in India occurs uniquely, even this motif appears in more than one Rāmāyana.

Now the Tamil Rāmāyana of Kampan generates its own offspring, its own special sphere of influence. Read in Telugu characters in Telugu country, played as drama in the Malayalam area as part of temple ritual, it is also an important link in the transmission of the Rāma story to Southeast Asia. It has been convincingly shown that the eighteenth-century Thai Ramakien owes much to the Tamil epic. For instance, the names of many characters in the Thai work are not Sanskrit names, but clearly Tamil names (for example, Rṣyasṛṅga in Sanskrit but Kalaikkōtu in Tamil, the latter borrowed into Thai). Tulsi’s Hindi Rāmacaritaṁānas and the Malaysian Hikayat Seri Ram also owe many details to the Kampan poem (Singaravelu 1968).

Thus obviously transplantations take place through several routes. In some languages the word for tea is derived from a northern Chinese dialect and in others from a southern dialect; thus some languages, like...
English and French, have some form of the word tea, while others, like Hindi and Russian, have some form of the word chá(y). Similarly, the Rāma story seems to have travelled along three routes, according to San-
tosh Desai: 'By land, the northern route took the story from the Punjab and Kashmir into China, Tibet, and East Turkestan; by sea, the southern route carried the story from Gujarat and South India into Java, Sumatra, and Malay; and again by land, the eastern route delivered the story from Bengal into Burma, Thailand, and Laos. Vietnam and Cambodia obtained their stories partly from Java and partly from India via the eastern route' (Desai 1970, 5).

JAIN TELLINGS

When we enter the world of Jain tellings, the Rāma story no longer carries Hindu values. Indeed the Jain texts express the feeling that the Hindus, especially the brahmins, have maligned Rāvana, made him into a villain. Here is a set of questions that a Jain text begins by asking: 'How can monkeys vanquish the powerful rāksasa warriors like Rāvana? How can noble men and Jain worthies like Rāvana eat flesh and drink blood? How can Kumbhakarna sleep through six months of the year, and never wake up even though boiling oil was poured into his ears, elephants were made to trample over him, and war trumpets and conches blown around him? They also say that Rāvana captured Indra and dragged him handcuffed into Lanka. Who can do that to Indra? All this looks a bit fantastic and extreme. They are lies and contrary to reason.' With these questions in mind King Śrenika goes to sage Gautama to have him tell the true story and clear his doubts. Gautama says to him, 'I'll tell you what Jain wise men say. Rāvana is not a demon, he is not a cannibal and a flesh eater. Wrong-thinking poetasters and fools tell these lies.' He then begins to tell his own version of the story (Chandra 1970, 234). Obviously, the Jain Rāma-yana of Vimalasūri, called Paumacariya (Prakrit for the Sanskrit Padma-cariya), knows its Vālmiki and proceeds to correct its errors and Hindu extravagances. Like other Jain purāṇas, this too is a prati-purāṇa, an anti-
or counter-purāṇa. The prefix prati-, meaning ‘anti’ or ‘counter-’, is a favourite Jain affix.

Vimalasūri the Jain opens the story not with Rāma’s genealogy and greatness, but with Rāvana’s. Rāvana is one of the sixty-three leaders or śalākā-puruṣas of the Jain tradition. He is noble, learned, earns all his magical powers and weapons through austerities (tapas), and is a devotee of Jain masters. To please one of them, he even takes a vow that he will not touch any unwilling woman. In one memorable incident, he lays siege to an impregnable fort. The queen of that kingdom is in love with him and sends him her messenger: he uses her knowledge of the fort to breaches it and defeat the king. But, as soon as he conquers it, he returns the kingdom to the king and advises the queen to return to her husband. Later, he is shaken to his roots when he hears from soothsayers that he will meet his end through a woman, Śitā. It is such a Rāvana who falls in love with Śitā’s beauty, abducts her, tries to win her favours in vain, watches himself fall, and finally dies on the battlefield. In these tellings, he is a great man undone by a passion that he has vowed against but that he cannot resist. In another tradition of the Jain Rāma-yanas, Śitā is his daughter, although he does not know it: the dice of tragedy are loaded against him further by this oedipal situation. I shall say more about Śitā’s birth in the next section.

In fact, to our modern eyes, this Rāvana is a tragic figure; we are moved to admiration and pity for Rāvana when the Jains tell the story. I should mention one more motif: according to the Jain way of thinking, a pair of antagonists, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva—a hero and an antihe-
ro, almost like Self and Other—are destined to fight in life after life. Laksmana and Rāvana are the eighth incarnations of this pair. They are born in age after age, meet each other in battle after many vicissitudes, and in every encounter Vāsudeva inevitably kills his counterpart, his prati. Rāvana learns at the end that Laksmana is such a Vāsudeva come to take his life. Still, overcoming his despair after a last unsuccessful attempt at peace, he faces his destined enemy in battle with his most powerful magic weapons. When finally he hurls his discus (cakra), it doesn’t work for him. Recognising Laksmana as a Vāsudeva, it does not behead him but gives itself over to his hand. Thus Laksmana slays Rāvana with his own cherished weapon.

Here Rāma does not even kill Rāvana, as he does in the Hindu Rāma-
yanas. For Rāma is an evolved Jain soul who has conquered his passions; this is his last birth, so he is loath to kill anything. It is left to Laksmana, who goes to hell while Rāma finds release (kaivalya).

One hardly need add that the Paumacariya is filled with references to Jain places of pilgrimage, stories about Jain monks, and Jain homilies and legends. Furthermore, since the Jains consider themselves rationalists—unlike the Hindus, who, according to them, are given to exorbitant and often bloodthirsty fancies and rituals—they systematically avoid episodes involving miraculous births (Rāma and his brothers are born in the normal way), blood sacrifices, and the like. They even...
rationalise the conception of Rāvana as the Ten-headed Demon. When he was born, his mother was given a necklace of nine gems, which she put around his neck. She saw his face reflected in them ninefold and so called him Daśamukha, or the Ten-faced One. The monkeys too are not monkeys but a clan of celestials (vidyādhāras) actually related to Rāvana and his family through their great grandfathers. They have monkeys as emblems on their flags: hence the name Vanaras or ‘monkeys’.

FROM WRITTEN TO ORAL

Let’s look at one of the South Indian folk Rāmāyanas. In these, the story usually occurs in bits and pieces. For instance, in Kannada, we are given separate narrative poems on Sītā’s birth, her wedding, her chastity test, her exile, the birth of Lava and Kuśa, their war with their father Rāma, and so on. But we do have one complete telling of the Rāma story by traditional bards (tambilī dīśayyas), sung with a refrain repeated every two lines by a chorus. For the following discussion, I am indebted to the transcription by Rāmē Gowda, P.K. Rājašēkara and S. Basavaiah (1973).

This folk narrative, sung by an Untouchable bard, opens with Rāvana (here called Ravula) and his queen Māndodari. They are unhappy and childless. So Rāvana or Ravula goes to the forest, performs all sorts of self-mortifications like rolling on the ground till blood runs from his back, and meets a jāgi, or holy mendicant, who is none other than Śiva. Śiva gives him a magic mango and asks him how he would share it with his wife. Ravula says, ‘Of course, I’ll give her the sweet flesh of the fruit and I’ll lick the mango seed.’ The jāgi is skeptical. He says to Ravula, ‘You say one thing to me. You have poison in your belly. You’re giving me butter to eat, but you mean something else. If you lie to me, you’ll eat me up.’

In Kannada, the word sītā means ‘she sneezed’: he calls her Sītā because she is born from a sneeze. Her name is thus given a Kannada folk etymology, as in the Sanskrit texts it has a Sanskrit one: there she is named Sītā because King Janaka finds her in a furrow (sītā). Then Ravula goes to astrologers, who tell him he is being punished for not keeping his word to Śiva and for eating the flesh of the fruit instead of giving it to his wife. They advise him to feed and dress the child, and leave her some place where she will be found and brought up by some couple. He puts her in a box and leaves her in Janaka’s field.

It is only after this story of Sītā’s birth that the poet sings of the birth and adventures of Rāma and Laksmana. Then comes a long section on Sītā’s marriage contest, where Ravula appears and is humiliated when he falls under the heavy bow he has to lift. Rāma lifts it and marries Sītā. After that she is abducted by Ravula. Rāma lays siege to Lanka with his monkey allies, and (in a brief section) recovers Sītā and is crowned king.

The poet then returns to the theme of Sītā’s trials. She is slandered and exiled, but gives birth to twins who grow up to be warriors. They tie up Rāma’s sacrificial horse. defeat the armies sent to guard the horse and finally unite their parents. this time for good.

One sees here not only a different texture and emphasis: the teller is everywhere eager to return to Sītā—her life, her birth, her adoption, her wedding, her abduction and recovery. Whole sections, equal in length to those on Rāma and Laksmana’s birth, exile and war against Rāvana, are
devoted to her banishment, pregnancy and reunion with her husband. Furthermore, her abnormal birth as the daughter born directly to the male Rāvana brings to the story a new range of suggestions: the male envy of womb and childbirth, which is a frequent theme in Indian literature, and an Indian oedipal theme of fathers pursuing daughters and, in this case, a daughter causing the death of her incestuous father (see chap. 22, ‘The Indian Oedipus’, below). The motif of Sītā as Rāvana’s daughter is not unknown elsewhere. It occurs in one tradition of the Jain stories (for example, in the Vasudevahindī) and in folk traditions of Kannada and Telugu, as well as in several Southeast Asian Rāmacchāyaṇas. In some, Rāvana in his lusty youth molests a young woman, who vows vengeance and is reborn as his daughter to destroy him. Thus the oral traditions seem to partake of yet another set of themes unknown in Vālmiki.

A SOUTHEAST ASIAN EXAMPLE

When we go outside India to Southeast Asia, we meet with a variety of tellings of the Rāma story in Tibet, Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, Java and Indonesia. Here we shall look at only one example, the Thai Ramakirti. According to Santosh Desai, nothing else of Hindu origin has affected the tone of Thai life more than the Rāma story (Desai 1980, 63).7 The bas-reliefs and paintings on the walls of their Buddhist temples, the plays enacted in town and village, their ballets—all of them rework the Rāma story. In succession several kings with the name ‘King Rama’ wrote Rāmacchāyaṇa episodes in Thai: King Rama I composed a telling of the Rāmacchāyaṇa in fifty thousand verses, Rama II composed new episodes for dance, and Rama VI added another set of episodes, most taken from Vālmiki. Places in Thailand, such as Lopburi (Sanskrit Lavadur), Khidkin (Sanskrit Kiskindhā), and Ayuthia (Sanskrit Ayodhyā) with its ruins of Khmer and Thai art, are associated with Rāma legends.

The Thai Ramakirti (Rāma’s glory) or Ramakien (Rāma’s story) opens with an account of the origins of the three kinds of characters in the story, the human, the demonic, and the simian. The second part describes the brothers’ first encounters with the demons, Rāma’s marriage and banishment, the abduction of Sītā, and Rāma’s meeting with the monkey clan. It also describes the preparations for the war. Hanumān’s visit to Lanka and his burning of it, the building of the bridge, the siege of Lanka, the fall of Rāvana, and Rāma’s reunion with Sītā. The third part describes an insurrection in Lanka, which Rāma deputes his two youngest brothers to quell. This part also describes the banishment of Sītā, the birth of her sons, their war with Rāma, Sītā’s descent into the earth, and the appearance of the gods to reunite Rāma and Sītā. Though many incidents look the same as they do in Vālmiki, many things look different as well. For instance, as in the South India folk Rāmacchāyaṇas (as also in some Jain, Bengali and Kāshmirī ones), the banishment of Sītā is given a dramatic new rationale. The daughter of Sūraṇaṅkha (the demoness whom Rāma and Laksmaṇa had mutilated years earlier in the forest) is waiting in the wings to take revenge on Sītā, whom she views as finally responsible for her mother’s disfigurement. She comes to Ayodhya, enters Sītā’s service as a maid, and induces her to draw a picture of Rāvana. The drawing is rendered indelible (in some tellings, it comes to life in her bedroom) and forces itself on Rāma’s attention. In a jealous rage, he orders Sītā killed. The compassionate Laksmana leaves her alive in the forest, though, and brings back the heart of a deer as witness to the execution.

The reunion between Rāma and Sītā is also different. When Rāma finds out she is still alive, he recalls Sītā to his palace by sending her word that he is dead. She rushes to see him but flies into a rage when she finds she has been tricked. So, in a fit of helpless anger, she calls upon Mother Earth to take her. Hanumān is sent to subterranean regions to bring her back, but she refuses to return. It takes the power of Śiva to reunite them.

Again as in the Jain instances and the South Indian folk poems, the account of Sītā’s birth is different from that given in Vālmiki. When Daśarath performs his sacrifice, he receives a rice ball, not the rice porridge (pāyasā) mentioned in Vālmiki. A crow steals some of the rice and takes it to Rāvana’s wife, who eats it and gives birth to Sītā. A prophecy that his daughter will cause his death makes Rāvana throw Sītā into the sea, where the sea goddess protects her and takes her to Janaka.

Furthermore, though Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, in Thailand he is subordinate to Śiva. By and large he is seen as a human hero, and the Ramakirti is not regarded as a religious work or even as an exemplary work on which men and women may pattern themselves. The Thais enjoy most the sections about the abduction of Sītā and the war. Partings and reunions, which are the heart of the Hindu Rāmacchāyaṇas, are not as important as the excitement and the details of war, the techniques, the fabulous weapons. The Yuddhakānda or the War Book is more elaborate than in any other telling, whereas it is of minor importance in the Kannada folk telling. Desai says this Thai emphasis on war is significant: early Thai history is full of wars; their concern was survival. The focus in the Ramakien is not on family values and spirituality. Thai audiences are more fond of Hanumān than of Rāma. Neither celibate nor devout, as in the Hindu
Rāmāyana, here Hanumān is quite a ladies’ man, who doesn’t at all mind looking into the bedrooms of Lanka and doesn’t consider seeing another man’s sleeping wife anything immoral, as Vālmiki’s or Kampan’s Hanumān does.

Rāvana too is different here. The Ramakirti admires Rāvana’s resourcefulness and learning; his abduction of Sītā is seen as an act of love and is viewed with sympathy. The Thais are moved by Rāvana’s sacrifice of family, kingdom and life itself for the sake of a woman. His dying words later provide the theme of a famous love poem of the nineteenth century, an inscription of a Wat of Bangkok (Desai 1980, 85). Unlike Vālmiki’s characters, the Thai ones are a fallible, human mixture of good and evil. The fall of Rāvana here makes one sad. It is not an occasion for unambiguous rejoicing, as it is in Vālmiki.

**PATTERNS OF DIFFERENCE**

Thus, not only do we have one story told by Vālmiki in Sanskrit, we have a variety of Rāma tales told by others, with radical differences among them. Let me outline a few of the differences we have not yet encountered. For instance, in Sanskrit and in the other Indian languages, there are two endings to the story. One ends with the return of Rāma and Sītā to Ayodhya, their capital, to be crowned king and queen of the ideal kingdom. In another ending, often considered a later addition in Vālmiki and in Kampan, Rāma hears Sītā slandered as a woman who lived in Rāvana’s grove, and in the name of his reputation as a king (we would call it credibility, I suppose) he banishes her to the forest, where she gives birth to twins. They grow up in Vālmiki’s hermitage, learn the Rāmāyana as well as the arts of war from him, win a war over Rāma’s army, and in a poignant scene sing the Rāmāyana to their own father when he doesn’t quite know who they are. Each of these two endings gives the whole work a different cast. The first one celebrates the return of the royal exiles and rounds out the tale with reunion, coronation and peace. In the second one, their happiness is brief, and they are separated again. Making separation of loved ones (vipralambha) the central mood of the whole work. It can even be called tragic, for Sītā finally cannot bear it any more and enters a fissure in the earth, the mother from whom she had originally come—as we saw earlier, her name means ‘furrow’, which is where she was originally found by Janaka. It also enacts, in the rise of Sītā from the furrow and her return to the earth, a shadow of a Proserpine-like myth, a vegetation cycle: Sītā is like the seed and Rāma with his cloud-dark body the rain.

Rāvana in the south is the Pluto-like abductor into dark regions (the south is the abode of death); Sītā reappears in purity and glory for a brief period before she returns again to the earth. Such a myth, while it should not be blatantly pressed into some rigid allegory, resonates in the shadows of the tale in many details. Note the many references to fertility and rain. Rāma’s opposition to Śiva-like ascetic figures (made explicitly by Kampan in the Ahalyā story), his ancestor bringing the river Ganges into the plains of the kingdom to water and revive the ashes of the dead. Relevant also is the story of Rśyaśṛiga, the sexually naive ascetic who is seduced by the beauty of a woman and thereby brings rain to Lomapāda’s kingdom, and who later officiates at the ritual which fills Daśarath’s queens’ wombs with children. Such a mythic groundswell also makes us hear other tones in the continual references to nature, the potent presence of birds and animals as the devoted friends of Rāma in his search for his Sītā. Birds and monkeys are a real presence and a poetic necessity in the Vālmiki Rāmāyana, as much as they are excrescences in the Jain view. With each ending, different effects of the story are highlighted, and the whole telling alters its poetic stance.

One could say similar things about the different beginnings. Vālmiki opens with a frame story about Vālmiki himself. He sees a hunter aim an arrow and kill one of a happy pair of love-birds. The female circles its dead mate and cries over it. The scene so moves the poet and sage Vālmiki that he curses the hunter. A moment later, he realises that his curse has taken the form of a line of verse—in a famous play on words, the rhythm of his grief (soka) has given rise to a metrical form (tala). He decides to write the whole epic of Rāma’s adventures in that metre. This incident becomes, in later poetries, the parable of all poetic utterance: out of the stress of natural feeling (bhāva), an artistic form has to be found or fashioned, a form which will generalise and capture the essence (rasa) of that feeling. This incident at the beginning of Vālmiki gives the work an aesthetic self-awareness. One may go further: the incident of the death of a bird and the separation of loved ones becomes a leitmotif for this telling of the Rāma story. One notes a certain rhythmic recurrence of an animal killed at many of the critical moments: when Daśaratha shoots an arrow to kill what he thinks is an elephant but instead kills a young ascetic filling his pitcher with water (making noises like an elephant drinking at a water hole), he earns a curse that later leads to the exile of Rāma and the separation of father and son. When Rāma pursues a magical golden deer (really a demon in disguise) and kills it, with its last breath it calls out to Laksmana in Rāma’s voice, which in turn leads to his leaving Sītā
unprotected; this allows Rāvana to abduct Sītā. Even as Rāvana carries her off, he is opposed by an ancient bird which he slays with his sword. Furthermore, the death of the bird, in the opening section, and the cry of the surviving mate set the tone for the many separations throughout the work, of brother and brother, mothers and fathers and sons, wives and husbands.

Thus the opening sections of each major work set into motion the harmonics of the whole poem, presaging themes and a pattern of images. Kampan's Tamil text begins very differently. One can convey it best by citing a few stanzas.

THE RIVER
The cloud, wearing white
on white like Śiva
making beautiful the sky
on his way from the sea
grew dark
as the face of the Lord
who wears with pride
on his right the Goddess
of the scented breasts. [2]
Mistaking the Himalayan dawn
for a range of gold,
the clouds let down chains
and chains of gleaming rain.
They pour like a generous giver
giving all he has,
remembering and reckoning
all he has. [15]
It floods, it runs over
its continents like the fame
of a great king, upright,
infallible, reigning by the Laws
under cool royal umbrellas. [16]
Concubines caressing
their lovers' hair, their lovers' bodies, their lovers' limbs,
take away whole hills
of wealth yet keep little
in their spendthrift hands

as they move on: so too
the waters flow from the peaks
to the valleys,
beginning high and reaching low. [17]
The flood carrying all before it
like merchants, caravans
loaded with gold, pearls,
peacock feathers and rows
of white tusk and fragrant woods. [18]
Bending to a curve, the river,
surface coloured by petals,
gold yellow pollen, honey,
the ochre flow of elephant lust,
looked much like a rainbow. [19]
Ravaging hillsides, uprooting trees,
covered with fallen leaves all over,
the waters came,
like a monkey clan
facing restless seas
looking for a bridge. [20]
Thick-faced proud elephants
ranged with foaming cavalier horses
filling the air with the noise of war,
raising banners,
the flood rushes
as for a battle with the sea. [22]
Stream of numberless kings
in the line of the Sun,
continuous in virtue:
the river branches into deltas.
mother's milk to all lives
on the salt sea-surrounded land. [23]
Scattering a robber camp on the hills
with a rain of arrows,
the scared women beating their bellies
and gathering bow and arrow as they run,
the waters assault villages
like the armies of a king. [25]
Stealing milk and buttermilk, guzzling on warm ghee and butter straight from the pots on the ropes, leaning the marutam tree on the kuruntam, carrying away the clothes and bracelets of goatherd girls at water games, like Kṛṣṇa dancing on the spotted snake, the waters are naughty. [26]

Turning forest into slope, field into wilderness, seashore into fertile land, changing boundaries, exchanging landscapes, the reckless waters roared on like the pasts that hurry close on the heels of lives. [28]

Born of Himalayan stone and mingling with the seas, it spreads, ceaselessly various, one and many at once, like that Original even the measureless Vedas cannot measure with words. [30]

Through pollen-dripping groves, clumps of champak, lotus pools, water places with new sands, flowering fields cross-fenced with creepers, like a life filling and emptying a variety of bodies, the river flows on. [31]

This passage is unique to Kampan; it is not found in Vālmiki. It describes the waters as they are gathered by clouds from the seas and come down in rain and flow as floods of the Sarayū river down to Ayodhya, the capital of Rāma's kingdom. Through it, Kampan introduces all his themes and emphases, even his characters, his concern with fertility themes (implicit in Vālmiki), the whole dynasty of Rāma's ancestors, and his vision of bhakti through the Rāmāyana.

Note the variety of themes introduced through the similes and allusions, each aspect of the water symbolising an aspect of the Rāmāyana story itself and representing a portion of the Rāmāyana universe (for example, monkeys), picking up as it goes along characteristic Tamil traditions not to be found anywhere else, like the five landscapes of classical Tamil poetry. The emphasis on water itself, the source of life and fertility, is also an explicit part of the Tamil literary tradition. The Kural—the so-called Bible of the Tamils, a didactic work on the ends and means of the good life—opens with a passage on God and follows it up immediately with a great ode in celebration of the rains (Tirukkural 2).

Another point of difference among Rāmāyanas is the intensity of focus on a major character. Vālmiki focuses on Rāma and his history in his opening sections; Vimalaśūri's Jain Rāmāyana and the Thai epic focus not on Rāma but on the genealogy and adventures of Rāvaṇa; the Kannada village telling focuses on Sītā, her birth, her wedding, her trials. Some later extensions like the Adbhuta Rāmāyana and the Tamil story of Śatakamanthravāvan even give Sītā a heroic character: when the ten-headed Rāvaṇa is killed, another appears with a hundred heads: Rāma cannot handle this new menace, so it is Sītā who goes to war and slays the new demon (see Shulman 1979). The Santals, a tribe known for their extensive oral traditions, even conceive of Sītā as unfaithful—to the shock and horror of any Hindu bred on Vālmiki or Kampan, she is seduced both by Rāvaṇa and by Lakṣmaṇa. In Southeast Asian texts, as we saw earlier, Hanumān is not the celibate devotee with a monkey face but a ladies' man who figures in many love episodes. In Kampan and Tulsi, Rāma is a god; in the Jain texts, he is only an evolved Jain man who is in his last birth and so does not even kill Rāvaṇa. In the latter, Rāvaṇa is a noble hero fated by his karma to fall for Sītā and bring death upon himself, while he is in other texts an overweening demon. Thus in the conception of every major character there are radical differences, so different indeed that one conception is quite abhorrent to those who hold another. We may add to these many more: elaborations on the reason why Sītā is banned, the miraculous creation of Sītā's second son and the final reunion of Rāma and Sītā. Every one of these occurs in more than one text, in more
THOUGHTS ON TRANSLATION

That may be too extreme a way of putting it. Let me back up and say it differently, in a way that covers more adequately the differences between the texts and their relations to each other, for they are related. One might think of them as a series of translations clustering around one or another in a family of texts: a number of them cluster around Vālmiki, another set around the Jain Vimalasūri, and so on.

Or these translation-relations between texts could be thought of in Peircean terms, at least in three ways.⁹

Where Text 1 and Text 2 have a geometrical resemblance to each other, as one triangle to another (whatever the angles, sizes, or colours of the lines), we call such a relation iconic. In the West, we generally expect translations to be ‘faithful’, i.e., iconic. Thus, when Chapman translates Homer, he not only preserves basic textual features such as characters, imagery and order of incidents, but tries to reproduce a hexameter and retain the same number of lines as in the original Greek—only the language is English and the idiom Elizabethan. When Kampan retells Vālmiki’s Rāmāyana in Tamil, he is largely faithful in keeping to the order and sequence of episodes, the structural relations between the characters of father, son, brothers, wives, friends, and enemies. But the iconicity is limited to such structural relations. His work is much longer than Vālmiki’s, for example, and it is composed in more than twenty different kinds of Tamil metres, while Vālmiki’s is mostly in the sūkha metre.

Very often, although Text 2 stands in an iconic relationship to Text 1 in terms of basic elements such as plot, it is filled with local detail, folklore, poetic traditions, imagery, and so forth—as in Kampan’s telling of that of the Bengali Krtitvāsa. In the Bengali Rāmāyana, Rāma’s wedding is very much a Bengali wedding, with Bengali customs and Bengali cuisine (Sen 1920). We may call such a text indexical: the text is embedded in a locale, a context, refers to it, even signifies it, and would not make much sense without it. Here, one may say, the Rāmāyana is not merely a set of individual texts, but a genre with a variety of instances.

Now and then, as we have seen, Text 2 uses the plot and characters and names of Text 1 minimally and uses them to say entirely new things, often in an effort to subvert the predecessor by producing a counter-text. We may call such a translation symbolic. The word translation itself here acquires a somewhat mathematical sense, of mapping a structure of relations onto another plane or another symbolic system. When this happens, the Rāma story has become almost a second language of the whole culture area, a shared core of names, characters, incidents, and motifs, with a narrative language in which Text 1 can say one thing and Text 2 something else, even the exact opposite. Vālmiki’s and Vimalasūri’s Jain texts in India—or the Thai Ramakitti in Southeast Asia—are such symbolic translations of each other.

One must not forget that to some extent all translations, even the so-called faithful iconic ones, inevitably have all three kinds of elements. When Goldman (1984–) and his group of scholars produce a modern translation of Vālmiki’s Rāmāyana, they are iconic in the transliteration of Sanskrit names, the number and sequence of verses, the order of the episodes, and so forth. But they are also indexical, in that the translation is in English idiom and comes equipped with introductions and explanatory footnotes, which inevitably contain twentieth-century attitudes and misprisions; and symbolic, in that they cannot avoid conveying through this translation modern understandings proper to their reading of the text. But the proportions between the three kinds of relations differ vastly between Kampan and Goldman. And we accordingly read them for different reasons and with different aesthetic expectations. We read the scholarly modern English translation largely to gain a sense of the original Vālmiki, and we consider it successful to the extent that it resembles the original. We read Kampan to read Kampan, and we judge him on his own terms—not by his resemblance to Vālmiki but, if anything, by the extent that he differs from Vālmiki. In the one, we rejoice in the similarity; in the other, we cherish and savour the differences.

One may go further and say that the cultural area in which Rāmāyanas...
are endemic has a pool of signifiers (like a gene pool), signifiers that include plots, characters, names, geography, incidents, and relationships. Oral, written, and performance traditions, phrases, proverbs, and even sneers carry allusions to the Rāma story. When someone is carrying on, you say, 'What's this Rāmāyana now? Enough.' In Tamil, a narrow room is called a kīṣkindhā; a proverb about a dim-witted person says, 'After hearing the Rāmāyana all night, he asks how Rāma is related to Śītā'; in a Bengali arithmetic textbook, children are asked to figure the dimensions of what is left of a wall that Hanumān built, after he has broken down part of it in mischief. And to these must be added marriage songs, narrative poems, place legends, temple myths, paintings, sculpture, and the many performing arts.

These various texts not only relate to prior texts directly, to borrow or refute, but they relate to each other through this common code or common pool. Every author, if one may hazard a metaphor, dips into it and brings out a unique crystallization, a new text with a unique texture and a fresh context. The great texts rework the small ones, for 'lions are made of sheep,' as Valéry said. And sheep are made of lions, too: a folk legend says that Hanumān wrote the original Rāmāyana on a mountain-top, after the great war, and scattered the manuscript; it was many times larger than what we have now. Viśiṣṭa-mūkha is said to have captured only a fragment of it. In this sense, no text is original, yet no telling is a mere retelling—and the story has no closure, although it may be enclosed in a text. In India and in Southeast Asia, no one ever reads the Rāmāyana or the Mahābhārata for the first time. The stories are there, 'always already'.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU LISTEN

This essay opened with a folktale about the many Rāmāyanas. Before we close, it may be appropriate to tell another tale about Hanumān and Rāma's ring. But this story is about the power of the Rāmāyana, about what happens when you really listen to this potent story. Even a fool cannot resist it; he is entranced and caught up in the action. The listener can no longer bear to be a bystander but feels compelled to enter the world of the epic: the line between fiction and reality is erased.

A villager who had no sense of culture and no interest in it was married to a woman who was very cultured. She tried various ways to cultivate his taste for the higher things in life but he just wasn't interested.

One day a great reciter of that grand epic the Rāmāyana came to the village. Every evening he would sing, recite, and explain the verses of the epic. The whole village went to this one-man performance as if it were a rare feast.

The woman who was married to the uncultured doit tried to interest him in the performance. She nagged him and nagged him, trying to force him to go and listen. This time, he grumbled as usual but decided to humour her. So he went in the evening and sat at the back. It was an all-night performance, and he just couldn't keep awake. He slept through the night. Early in the morning, when a canto had ended and the reciter sang the closing verses for the day, sweets were distributed according to custom. Someone put some sweets into the mouth of the sleeping man. He woke up soon after and went home. His wife was delighted that her husband had stayed through the night and asked him eagerly how he enjoyed the Rāmāyana. He said, 'It was very sweet.' The wife was happy to hear it.

The next day too his wife insisted on his listening to the epic. So he went to the enclosure where the reciter was performing, sat against a wall, and before long fell fast asleep. The place was crowded and a young boy sat on his shoulder, made himself comfortable, and listened open-mouthed to the fascinating story. In the morning, when the night's portion of the story came to an end, everyone got up and so did the husband. The boy had left earlier, but the man felt aches and pains from the weight he had borne all night. When he went home and his wife asked him eagerly how it was, he said, 'It got heavier and heavier by morning.' The wife said, 'That's the way the story is.' She was happy that her husband was at last beginning to feel the emotions and the greatness of the epic.

On the third day, he sat at the edge of the crowd and was so sleepy that he lay down on the floor and even snored. Early in the morning, a dog came that way and pissed into his mouth a little before he woke up and went home. When his wife asked him how it was, he moved his mouth and that, made a face and said, 'Terrible. It was so salty.' His wife knew something was wrong. She asked him what exactly was happening and didn't let up till he finally told her how he had been sleeping through the performance every night.

On the fourth day, his wife went with him, sat him down in the very first row, and told him sternly that he should keep awake no matter what might happen. So he sat dutifully in the front row and began to listen. Very soon, he was caught up in the adventures and the characters of the great epic story. On that day, the reciter was enchanting the audience with a description of how Hanumān the monkey had to leap across the ocean to take Rāma's signet ring to Śītā. When Hanumān was leaping across the
The signet ring slipped from his hand and fell into the ocean, Hanumān didn’t know what to do. He had to get the ring back quickly and take it to Sītā in the demon’s kingdom. While he was wringing his hands, the husband who was listening with rapt attention in the first row said, ‘Hanumān, don’t worry, I’ll get it for you.’ Then he jumped up and dived into the ocean, found the ring on the ocean floor, brought it back, and gave it to Hanumān.

Everyone was astonished. They thought this man was someone special, really blessed by Rāma and Hanumān. Ever since, he has been respected in the village as a wise elder, and he has also behaved like one. That’s what happens when you really listen to a story, especially to the Rāmāyana.11

No Hindu ever reads the Mahābhārata for the first time. And when he does get to read it, he doesn’t usually read it in Sanskrit. As one such native, I know the Hindu epics, not as a Sanskritist (which I am not), but through Kannada and Tamil, mostly through the oral traditions. I’ve heard bits and pieces of it in a tailor’s shop where a pundit used to regale us with Mahābhārata stories and large sections of a sixteenth-century Kannada text; from brahman cooks in the house; from an older boy who loved to keep us spellbound with it (and the Kannada Arabian Nights which he was reading in the Oriental Library) after cricket, in the evenings, under a large neem tree in a wealthy engineer’s compound; from a somewhat bored algebra teacher who switched from the binomial theorem to the problems of Draupadi and her five husbands. Then there were professional bards who ‘did the Harikathā Kālaksepaṇam’, redeeming the time with holy tales (and not always holy ones). They were invited into a neighbourhood by a group or a wealthy man, and they would recite, sing and tell the Mahābhārata in sections night after night, usually under a temporary canopy (pandal) lit by petromax lanterns, with a floating audience sitting on rugs on the street and on the verandas of houses that lined the street now turned into a makeshift auditorium. They sang songs in several languages, told folktales, sometimes danced, quoted Sanskrit tags as well as the daily newspaper, and made the Mahābhārata entertaining, didactic and relevant to the listener’s present.

The Mahābhārata provides materials and allusions to every artistic genre—from plays to proverbs, from folk performances to movies and TV. Indeed, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana have appeared as serials, week after week in popular Tamil weeklies. C. Rajagopalachari, the veteran statesman, who was dedicated to bringing traditional wisdom