

RĀMĀYAṆA NOTES I

John Brockington

The various members of the Institute for Asian and African Studies working in South Asian studies have long been valued colleagues and friends. It therefore gives me great pleasure to contribute to this felicitation volume in honour of Bertil Tikkanen. Since he is a noted scholar in the field of South Asian linguistics, it seems appropriate to contribute this modest note, the first in a series on particular grammatical topics and vocabulary items in the Rāmāyaṇa.¹

Among the less frequent forms occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are those nominal forms (whether substantives or adjectives) which are turned into an adverbial prefix (*gati*) ending in *-ī* before \sqrt{kr} or $\sqrt{bhū}$ by the taddhita suffix *cvi* (Pāṇini 1.4.61, also 5.4.50–51, 6.4.152 and 7.4.26–32). There are 81 such verbal formations in total in the text of the Critical Edition but at least 107 in the passages relegated to the apparatus and to Appendix I (including variant readings noted in the critical apparatus); the collection of forms was originally done manually but has subsequently been checked against the electronic text, though not of course for the *passages and App.I passages, where the collection may well not be complete. I will first list all the forms occurring in the Critical Edition,² along with their occurrences in the *Mahābhārata* for the more frequent or significant ones, and then make some remarks about their distribution and about individual instances.

<i>aṅgīkṛta</i>	2.1800*1
<i>aṅgībhavati</i>	3.47.26c
<i>andhakārīkṛta</i>	6 App.I.27.349 and App.I.54.41
<i>abhyantarīkṛta</i>	6.51.14d

1 This is a revised and updated version of a note originally intended for the felicitation volume of an Indian colleague, now finally abandoned. Consequently the second in the series, “Rāmāyaṇa Notes II: terms for anger”, has already been published in *Studia Indologica: Professor Satya Ranjan Banerjee Felicitation Volume*, ed. Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya (Delhi, 2007), pp. 161–172.

2 All references to the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* are to the Critical Edition (*The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, critically edited for the first time*, 7 vols, gen. eds G.H. Bhatt & U.P. Shah, Baroda, 1960–1975). Similarly, references to the *Mahābhārata* are to its Critical Edition (*The Mahābhārata*, critically ed. V.S. Sukthankar et al., 19 vols, Poona, 1933–1966).

<i>ākulīkṛta</i>	6.5.22d(ific), 1.1081*1, 4.810*9, 6 App.I.57.93 (cf. °kṛtya MBh.7.121.9c, 12.4.19a; also <i>ākulībhāva</i> MBh. 12.197.3c)
<i>āmiṣīkṛta</i>	1.42*1(iic)
<i>urarīkṛtya</i>	5.273*2
<i>ekīkṛta</i>	5.7.59c(iic)
<i>kaluṣīkṛta</i>	1.35.23b(ific), 59.22b, 63.12d(ific), 5.57.5d(ific), 7.95.9b, 1.1181*19(ific), 6.1067*1(iic), 3325*(ific), App.I.3.177, App.I.6.68, App.I.26.2, 7 App.I.8.120,168(ific) (also at MBh. 3.240.14d; cf. <i>kaluṣībhūta</i> and <i>kaluṣībhavati</i> MBh. 12.329.16 ³)
<i>kavalīkṛta</i>	6.32.4b
<i>kaṣāyīkṛta</i>	6 App.I.30.24(iic) and App.I.33.26(iic)
<i>kiṃpuruṣīkṛta</i>	7.79.24b
<i>kubjīkṛta</i>	1.771*3 and 775*1
<i>kṛkalībhūta</i>	7 App.I.8.38
<i>kṛṣīkṛta</i>	6 App.I.57.28(ific)
<i>koṣṭhakīkṛtya</i>	6 App.I.12.13
<i>kṣaṇībhūta</i>	7.85.21c
<i>khaṇḍīkṛta</i>	3 App.I.7.21
<i>goṣpādīkṛta</i>	5.34.7d, 1.6*1(iic), 42*1(iic), 5.696*2[l.v.]
<i>ghanībhūta</i>	2.111.7b
<i>cakrīkṛta</i>	6.1985*(iic)
<i>cūrṇīkṛta</i>	5.54.15d, 5.970*2, 6 App.I.37.12 (also MBh. 6.112.49c, 8.61.4b[l.v.], 15.6.24c)
<i>cūrṇībhūta</i>	6 App.I.62.335
<i>jaḍīkṛta</i>	1.75.11a,12b, 4.60.15d, 7.12.28a, 4.25*(ific), 5 App.I.7.10, 6.434*2, 7.235*2 (cf. <i>ajaḍīkṛta</i> MBh. 12.263.5d)
<i>jarjarīkṛta</i>	4.12.22b, 7.21.20b, v.l. (of 17 mss) 7.29.32b, 6.2055*, 2057*3, 7.439*1, App.I.1.148 (also MBh. 3.263.4d, 7.69.60b, 9.57.31a (iic), 12.15.52b; cf. <i>vijarjarīkaroti</i> MBh. 12.309.40b)
<i>jarjarīkṛtya</i>	6.2057*3
<i>jarjarībhūta</i>	6 App.I.27.424 (also MBh. 3.12.49a)
<i>ṛṇīkṛta</i>	1.42*2(iic)
<i>ṛṇīkṛtya</i>	6 App.I.15.61, App.I.18.18 (also MBh. 1.180.2b, 5.148.11b, 7.107.15a, 116.14c)
<i>ṛptībhūta</i>	6 App.I.75.32
<i>ṛḍhīkarana</i>	2.84.20b (cf. <i>ṛḍhīkāra</i> MBh. 12.192.105bc, 258.15c)
<i>droṇīkṛta</i>	5.42*2 (absent also from the text of the <i>Mahābhārata</i>)

<i>dviguṇīkṛta</i>	3.33.33b(iic), 3.1217*2(iic), 1220*1(iic), 6 App.I.56.248(iic) (also MBh. 6.96.43b, 7.18.9b(iic), 87.62c)
<i>navīkṛta</i>	2.110.9a
<i>niḥsaṃśayīkṛta</i>	6.45.11b
<i>nirantarīkṛta</i>	6 App.I.27.365
<i>nirviṣayīkṛta</i>	2.96.4d
<i>niṣpradhānīkṛta</i>	6 App.I.53.91
<i>piṇḍīkṛtvā</i>	v.l. (of Ś1 D6) 3.64.33b
<i>piṇḍīkṛtya</i>	6 App.I.27.211 (also MBh.12.188.5c; cf. <i>piṇḍīkṛta</i> MBh. 3.40.50b, <i>piṇḍīkaroti</i> MBh. 12.188.10b)
<i>puruṣībhūta</i>	7.80.25a (absent from the text of <i>Mahābhārata</i>)
<i>peśīkṛta</i>	2 App.I.26.70
<i>peśīkṛtvā</i>	3.64.33b (also e.g. MBh.1.700*6)
<i>prakaṣīkṛta</i>	6.1647*6
<i>prakāśīkaraṇa</i>	2.6.18a(iic)
<i>prakāśīkṛta</i>	5.8.27c(iic)
<i>pradakṣiṇīkṛtya</i>	1.75.23c, 6.2089*1, 3683*7, 3687*9[l.v.] (also MBh. 12.58.29c, 318.61c, 13.20.47a, 14.62.21a)
<i>pradakṣiṇīkṛta</i>	4.64.15c, 5.37.36c, 66.20c, 5.1110*6
<i>pramānīkṛta</i>	6.104.16a
<i>pralambīkṛta</i>	4.12.6b(iic)
<i>bahulībhūta</i>	6.52.30a
<i>bālīśīkriyate</i>	3.15.36d
<i>bhasmarāśīkṛta</i>	1.39.28c, 40.12c,19c, 1.884*, 885* (also MBh. 1.39.9c)
<i>bhasmī + √kr</i>	5.38.15d, 65.27d, 6.3239*2, App.I.24.4 (also MBh. 3.98.23d, 7.134.65c)
<i>bhasmīkṛta</i>	1.54.7c, 5.53.7d, 7.35.7c, 5.1246*, 1266*2, 7.1041*3 (also MBh. 5.61.9c, 13.141.28b)
<i>bhasmīkṛtya</i>	v.l. (of B1–4) 7.21.27d
<i>bhasmīkṛtvā</i>	7.59.21c, v.l. (of Ñ G1 M7.9) 7.21.27d
<i>bhasmībhūta</i>	1.58.18b, 3.60.20b, v.l. 1.939*2, 1.1279*2, 6 App.I.27.428 (also MBh. 1.6.12c, 39.7a, 46.30b. 3.285.5d, 9.61.14c, 11.25.33d)
<i>maṇḍalīkṛta</i>	3.24.15b(iic), 6 App.I.44.20(iic), App.I.46.24(iic) (also MBh. 1.123.60b, 6.96.16a, 104.35a, 7.66.26c, 100.32b, 114.23b, 135.41b, 8.15.27b; cf. <i>maṇḍalībhūta</i> MBh. 7.21.14c, 114.34c and KA 6.2.14)
<i>mandīkṛta</i>	5 App.I.4.5(imc)
<i>maśakīkṛta</i>	1.6*1(iic)
<i>māṇsīkṛta</i>	v.l. 2 App.I.26.70
<i>miśrībhūta</i>	6.3661*2

<i>yuktīkṛta</i>	5.6.8c[l.v.](iic)
<i>rāśīkṛta</i>	6.42.11b, v.l. 2 App.I.26.70
<i>vacanīkṛta</i>	7.46.4d
<i>vaśīkartum</i>	6 App.I.53.35
<i>vaśīkaraṇa</i>	1.705*2 (cf. <i>vaśīkara</i> MBh. 13.17.79b)
<i>vaśīkṛta</i>	v.l. (of Ś2 B1.2 D1–3.8–12) 6.101.8d, 6 App.I.32.84 (also MBh. 3.92.22b, 171.14d, 175.19b, 218.6d, 252.20c, 4.44.10d, 11.4.11b, 12.124.19d, 13.2.79d)
<i>vaśīkṛtya</i>	1.26.3d
<i>vaśībhūta</i>	3.313* (also MBh. 3.15.21c, 12.295.30a)
<i>vānarīkṛta</i>	6.31.85d
<i>vicūrṇīkaraṇa</i>	5.993*(iic)
<i>vijanīkṛta</i>	7.47.6b
<i>vitathīkṛta</i>	6.38.14d, 5.1248*1
<i>vidalīkṛta</i>	v.l. (of Ñ B3.4 D4) 6.42.19d
<i>vīphalīkṛta</i>	1.46.2b, 57.12b, 1.1005*1, 1013*2
<i>vīphalībhūta</i>	2.430*1, 438*2
<i>vimukhīkṛta</i>	1.67.7d, 75.19d, 6.88.26d(iic), 1.1379*38, 4 App.I.23.16, 6 App.I.55.59
<i>vimukhīkṛtya</i>	7.23.30c, 6.1564*3
<i>virahīkṛta</i>	4.1.46d
<i>viśakalīkṛta</i>	v.l. (of Ś B1 D1.3.8.12.13) 6.42.19d, 6.1782*2
<i>vyasanīkṛta</i>	7 App.I.8.76
<i>vyākulīkṛta</i>	5.54.22b(iic), 6 App.I.3.7 (also MBh. 6.92.46c, 7.8.28a; cf. <i>vyākulīkṛtya</i> MBh. 7.18.25a, 101.20a, <i>vyākulībhūta</i> Mbh. 7.134.25a)
<i>śakalīkurvan</i>	4.30.15a
<i>śakalīkṛta</i>	3.60.50d, 2.159*1, 1602*2
<i>śakalībhavitā</i>	7.26.44d
<i>śakalībhūta</i>	3.1172*2, 6 App.I.27.426
<i>śītīkṛtvā</i>	2.65.5a (cf. <i>śītībhūta</i> MBh. 12.192.122b, 306.10a, and <i>śītībhaviṣyasi</i> MBh. 12.306.9d)
<i>śyāmīkṛtvā</i>	4.29.24b
<i>saṃkulīkṛta</i>	2.1906*1
<i>sajjī + √bhū</i>	3.65.10a (°bhava), 4.24.18a (°bhavantu), 7.25.29d (°bhavantu), 27.4c (°bhavata, v.l. °bhavantu), 6 App.I.19.111 (°bhavantu) (also MBh. 2.21.2d, 3.42.7d, 12.8.19c, 153.7a, 232.6d, 14.51.3b, 16.8.12d; cf. <i>sajjī</i> + √kr MBh. 13.53.29a, 15.29.20c, 16.8.11a)
<i>saphalīkṛta</i>	1.1233*1
<i>samayīkṛta</i>	2.101.16d

<i>samavāyīkṛta</i>	6.1051*14
<i>samī + √kṛ</i>	6.51.24d (° <i>kuru</i>), 53.8d (° <i>kartum</i>), 115.5a (° <i>kuruta</i> , v.l. ° <i>kriyaṃtāṃ</i>), 2.1866*1 (° <i>kurvan</i>), 6 App.I.3.214 (° <i>kariṣyāmi</i>) (also MBh. 5.24.8b)
<i>samīkṛta</i>	4.27.33d, 6.42.3d, 3.270*3 (also MBh. 3.145.21a)
<i>samībhūta</i>	6 App.I.14.36 (also MBh. 12.137.20c)
<i>sākṣībhūta</i>	3.43.28b (absent from text of <i>Mahābhārata</i>)
<i>sthīrībhava</i>	v.l. 2.23.25d (cf. <i>sthīrībhūta</i> MBh. 7.76.2c, 113.3d, 135.16e, 170.10a, <i>sthīrībhavata</i> MBh. 9.31.17f, 12.202.30c, <i>sthīrībhūya</i> Mbh. 15.45.9a, <i>sthīrīkṛtya</i> MBh. 12.294.14a, <i>sthīrīkartum</i> MBh. 13.22.5b)
<i>sphīṭīkṛta</i>	2.1516*6(iiic)
<i>svīkaroti</i>	4.54.3d (cf. <i>svīkurute</i> at MBh. 3.34.67d)
<i>svīkṛta</i>	v.l. (of B) 4.12.6b(imc)

As can be seen from this list, the great majority are non-finite forms and of those almost all are past participles or absolutes, where the widest range of bases occurs. There is considerable vacillation in the formation of the absolute between *kṛtya* and *kṛtvā*, to a greater extent than this listing reveals, since in many instances both forms are found in different manuscripts. The only other non-finite forms occurring are the following: *dr̥ḍhīkaraṇa* 2.84.20b, *prakāśīkaraṇa* 2.6.18a(iiic), *vaśīkaraṇa* 1.705*2, *vaśīkartum* 6 App.I.53.35, *vicūrṇīkaraṇa* 5.993*(iiic), *śakalīkurvan* 4.30.15a, *śakalībhavitā* 7.26.44d (agent noun used as periphrastic future), *samīkartum* 6.53.8d, and *samīkurvan* 2.1866*1.

Finite verbal forms are effectively limited to three bases that yield meanings not easily expressed by other means: *bhasmī*, *sajjī* and *svī*. There is just one exception in the text – *bālīśīkriyate* at 3.15.36d – but Lakṣmaṇa’s description of winter at 3.15 is in a much more ornate style than the average and so this form can hardly be regarded as typical of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There is another exception in the variant reading (of Dt1 Dd1 Dm1 T3 M2.3) *sthīrībhava* at 2.23.25d. The actual forms which occur from the three bases noted are: *bhasmīkariṣyataḥ* 5.38.15d and 65.27d, *bhasmīkuryāt* 6.3239*2 post., and *bhasmīkuryāṃ* 6 App.I.24.4 post.; *sajjībhava* 3.65.10a, *sajjībhavantu* 4.24.18a, 7.25.29d and 6 App.I.19.111, and *sajjībhavata* 7.27.4c (v.l. °*bhavantu*); *samīkuru* 6.51.24d, *samīkuruta* 6.115.5a (v.l. °*kriyaṃtāṃ*) and *samīkariṣyāmi* 6 App.I.3.214; and *svīkaroti* 4.54.3d. Even among these, the occurrence of *bhasmīkariṣyataḥ* at 5.38.15d must be regarded as questionable, since the whole passage 5.38.12–20b is omitted by Ñ2 V B D6 and within that verses 12–17 are largely identical with 5.65.24–29 (containing at 27d the other occurrence of this form). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the noun *bhasman* provides the only examples of forms made with the taddhita suffix *sāti* (Pāṇini 5.4.52–54) to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; *bhasmasātīkṛta* occurs at 1.43.1d, 7.28.1b,

bhasmasātkr̥tvā at 7.53.9c (also MBh. 6.78.40a, 7.18.15bc, 81.33a, 12.330.44a), and *bhasmasādbhūta* at 6.91.23a, 7.27.41c and 72.16a (also MBh. 1.6.3c, 3.106.4a, 186.59c, 12.249.8a).³ However, only one of these instances comes from the earlier books, the *Ayodhyā* to *Yuddha kāṇḍas*, and the sarga 6.91 in which it occurs seems in fact to be a relatively late part of those books. These *-sāt* forms seem, therefore, not to belong to the language of the earlier stages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* but rather to its third and later stages.⁴

On the other hand, the forms prefixed with *bhasmī*, *sajjī* and *svī* occur more often in the first than in the second stage, though substantially more frequent from the third stage onwards; they are also relatively more frequent in the *Mahābhārata*, as the occurrences noted above demonstrate, and may be regarded as part of the epic language at all periods. However, if these are excluded from the totals given in the second paragraph,⁵ the frequency of the other forms increases with the later stages (20 in the first stage, 24 each in both the second stage and the shorter third stage, and almost one hundred in the fourth and fifth stages), suggesting that they belong to the type of learned grammatical form – of which the periphrastic future is the most striking example – characteristic of the language of the later

3 In variant readings there also occur finite and separable forms: *kuru ... bhasmasād* v.l. at 5.20.20cd (also at MBh. 8.26.21d) and *bhasmasād akarot* v.l. at 7.21.27d. Further instances from the *Mahābhārata* besides those already cited are: *bhasmasādbhavet* MBh. 1.29.7d, *bhasmasātkurute* MBh. 6.26.37b,d, *mā kārṣīr bhasmasāt* MBh. 8.24.122c, *karomi bhasmasāt* MBh. 8.49.97d, *abhūn ... bhasmasāt* MBh. 9.16.39c, *bhasmasāt ... kariṣyati* MBh. 9.62.12d, *kariṣyati bhasmasāt* MBh. 13.56.5d, *bhasmasāt ... jagāma* MBh. 13.95.48d, and *bhasmasān nītāḥ* MBh. 15.43.13c and 44.33a. This form is therefore an infrequent phenomenon in the *Mahābhārata* also, with only two instances in those *parvans* where they occur (and three in the *Bhīṣma* and *Karṇa parvans*).

4 For my analysis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into stages, see my *Righteous Rāma: The Evolution of an Epic*, Delhi: OUP, 1985, also “Some *Rāmāyaṇa* Textual Issues”, *India in Warsaw / Indie w Warszawie*, ed. Danuta Stasik & Anna Trynkowska, Warszawa: Elipsa, 2006, pp. 202–212 (this discusses the minor refinements to that analysis made in the process of preparing *Rāma the Steadfast: An Early Form of the Rāmāyaṇa*, tr. John Brockington & Mary Brockington, London: Penguin Books, 2006). The first stage is the reasonably homogeneous core of the *Ayodhyā* to *Yuddha kāṇḍas*, the second stage comprises the material within those books which shows evidence of later reworking or addition, the third stage consists of the *Bāla* and *Uttara kāṇḍas*, and the fourth and fifth stages comprise the *passages and App.I passages with good or poor manuscript support respectively. The main argument for my analysis is contained in the second chapter (pp. 16–61) but a convenient tabular summary may be found on p. 330. The first and second stages each comprise about 37–38% of the text and the third almost 25%, with the fourth and fifth stages roughly equal in length to the text.

5 If they are included, the first and second stages show very similar proportions, with 25 and 26 respectively, but the third stage with 30 contains over 37% of the instances in the text in barely 25% of its extent. The fourth and fifth stages contain almost a third more than in the whole of the text.

parts, when the epic language is appreciably influenced by Pāṇinian models.⁶ At all times, though, these forms constitute an infrequent feature of the language of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

⁶ The distribution of the instances incidentally noted from the *Mahābhārata* suggests that there too these forms tend to be later, since the *parvans* in which more than ten occur are *Āraṇyaka* (18), *Droṇa* (21) and *Śānti* (21), while the next highest number of occurrences is six in both the *Ādi* and the *Anuśāsana parvans*.

