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## THE NAMES OF RĀMA

In the Vālmīki Rāmāyana it is naturally Rāma who is distinguished by the greatest variety of epithets and equally naturally his virtue is emphasised in many of them. However, we can discover something more about the way in which Rāma is seen if we look at his names and descriptive epithets with greater attention. Some time ago I realised that the name Rāmacandra, so familiar from its modern use, is in fact totally absent from the text of the Vālmīki Rāmāyana and this was the starting point for an article which is to appear in the Felicitation Volume for Professor Botto<sup>1</sup>. In the present paper, I continue that line of research by examining the various names and epithets used to designate Rāma in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana and elucidating the changes in their frequency, to ascertain whether this can reveal more about the way that Rāma was perceived at various phases in the growth of the epic. I shall use to denote these phases the classification into five overlapping stages presented in my book on the Rāmāyana: the first stage is the reasonably homogeneous core of the Ayodhyā to Yuddha kāndas, 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 kāndas, and the fourth and fifth stages

<sup>1. &</sup>quot;The name Rāmacandra", to appear in *Lex et Litterae: Essays on Ancient Indian Law and Literature in Honour of Oscar Botto*, ed. by Siegfried Lienhard and Irma Piovano. To the instances of *rāmacandra* in \*passages noted in that article should be added another in an invocation at 2.2336\* 1 [l.v.].

comprise the \*passages and App.I passages with good or poor manuscript support respectively<sup>2</sup>. I shall concentrate mainly on the more stereotyped expressions, which the poets and reciters must have used almost automatically, but I shall also include some of those which, although they equally provide  $p\bar{a}da$ -length phrases, did not find favour for reasons which it may be instructive to seek.

The phrase dharmabhṛtāṃ varaḥ, with its emphasis on dharma, is exclusive to Rāma and the full pāda rāmo dharmabhṛtāṃ varaḥ occurs some eleven times in the text³. By contrast, the similar but martially oriented phrase rāmaḥ śastrabhṛtaṃ varaḥ is found only at 2.92.10d and 3.3.14d (also 3.892\* 7; cf. x x śastrabhṛtāṃ vara at 6.107.2d, 112.15b, and rāmaṃ sarvāstraviduṣāṃ śreṣṭhaṃ ... at 4.12.7cd); E.W. Hopkins has an interesting comment on the usage of this phrase in the Mahābhārata: «In 6.34 (BG.10),31, Nīlakaṇṭha (cf. R.2.99.13) explains Rāmaḥ śastrabhṛtām aham as Dāśarathi, but in the Mbh. "the best (by implication) of weapon-bearers" is Bhārgava»⁴, but there is at least one exception to his statement in the Rāmopākhyāna, where rāmaṃ śastrabhṛtāṃ varam is used of Rāma Dāśarathi at Mbh. 3.275.49b.

The commonest  $p\bar{a}da$  applied only to Rāma in the  $Ayodhy\bar{a}k\bar{a}nda$  is  $r\bar{a}mah$  satyaparākramah which occurs six times there, and also eight times in the  $Yuddhak\bar{a}nda$ , but is less frequent elsewhere. It is noticeable that this  $p\bar{a}da$  is most frequent in the second stage (11 times against 5 in the first stage and 7 in the third), no doubt in part because of the emphasis in some passages belonging to that stage on

<sup>2.</sup> Righteous Rāma: The Evolution of an Epic, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1985. The main argument for this analysis into stages 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.

<sup>3.</sup> It occurs at 2.21.12b, 31.24b, 33.12b, 3.5.6b (acc.), 6.7b (acc.), 8b (voc.), 4.38.1b, 6.99.35b, 102.5b, 105.9d, 106.10d; 2.1619\* 3, 1734\* 2, 1958\* 2, 3.272\* 1 and 6.3200\* 1; cf. also x x dharmabhṛtāṃ varam at 2.2.10b, 6.105.26b (voc.), 2.997\* 1, 1693\*, App.I.12.56 (voc.) and the variant for the prior pāda, rāmo dharmabhṛtāṃ śreṣṭhaḥ, at 5.56.17c (also 1.123\* 4 pr., 6 App.I.25.22 pr. and — used of Rāma Jāmadagnya in the acc. — Mbh.13.52.2c; cf. putraṃ dharmabhṛtāṃ śreṣṭham at 2.984\* 2), as well as ..... kākutsthaḥ sarvaśastrabhṛtāṃ varaḥ at 5.33.67ab.

<sup>4. &</sup>quot;Allusions to the Rāma-Story in the Mahābhārata", JAOS 50, 1930, pp. 85-103.

justifying Rāma's actions in moral terms<sup>5</sup>. The reason for its relative popularity is perhaps to be found in the combination of moral and martial superiority which it hints at, whereas the following infrequent pādas stress only the moral aspect; rāmah paramadharmajñah 2.34.29c, rāmah satyātmanām varah 2.101.1b, rāghavo dharmavatsalah 3.29.1b, 2.1018\* 2 post., App.I.16.7, 6.336\* post. (acc.), also satyasaṃdhena rāmeṇa 1.154\* 6 pr. and App.I.2.8 pr.

Another frequent  $p\bar{a}da$  is  $r\bar{a}masy\bar{a}klistakarmana\dot{p}$  which, in either the genitive or the instrumental, is distributed fairly evenly throughout the stages (9 times in the first stage, 8 in the second, 4 times in the third and around 20 times in the fourth and fifth stages)<sup>6</sup>; it occurs in the accusative once only in the text, at 5.28.41a, where exceptionally it is used in the prior  $p\bar{a}da$  (as also at 6.2031\* pr., read by M2 only), since the variant otherwise adopted in the accusative is  $r\bar{a}mam \ aklistak\bar{a}rinam$  found at 2.1.4b ( $r\bar{a}mam \ c\bar{a}^{\circ}$ ), 21.11d, 4.25.2b, 5.1.141b ( $c\bar{a}^{\circ}$ ), 56.26b ( $c\bar{a}^{\circ}$ ), 6.90.23b and 102.28b, also 3.434\*, 5.641\*, 6 App.I.66.2. Similar, though not identical,  $p\bar{a}das$  include  $r\bar{a}m\bar{a}d$   $aklistac\bar{a}ritr\bar{a}d$  at 5.24.43c,  $r\bar{a}men\bar{a}dbhutakarman\bar{a}$  6.66.33b, 1.566\* 32 post., 3.289\* 4 (gen.), 523\* 1 (gen.),  $r\bar{a}men\bar{a}$   $ksiprak\bar{a}rin\bar{a}$  6.96.22b,  $r\bar{a}men\bar{a}cintyakarman\bar{a}$  6.99.2b, and — with the similarity in the sense rather than the wording —  $r\bar{a}ghavasy\bar{a}pramattasya$  at

<sup>5.</sup> rāmaḥ satyaparākramaḥ occurs at 1.17.15b, 18.8b (acc.), 14b (acc.), 76.13b, 2.2.19b, 31.4b, 40.1b, 58.50d, 81.15b, 110.44b, 3.3.4b, 5.31.21d, 6.4.1d, 40.50b (voc.), 47.46b, 113.21b, 114.14b, 28b, 116.1d, 20d, 7.63.5d (acc.), 16b (acc.) and 74.15d (also at 1.69\* (acc.), 110\* 2, 514\* 42, 566\* 15 (acc.), 742\* 1, 1379\* 45 (acc.), 2.223\* 11, 1160\* 1 (acc.), 1768\* 5 (loc.), 3.498\* 2, 716\*, 4.125\* 2, 5.609\*, 1359\* 5, 6.314\* 1, 3492\* 2, 3507\* 1, but at Mbh. 13.52.3b of Rāma Jāmadagnya); cf. also rāmo ..... satyaparākramaḥ at 3.35.13ab, rāmo dṛḍhaparākramaḥ at 5.24.17b, rāghavo dṛḍhavikramaḥ at 6.26.31d.

<sup>6.</sup> *rāmasyākliṣṭakarmaṇaḥ* occurs at 2.66.26d, 70.7d (instr.), 79.7b, 3.31.12d (instr.), 48.13d (instr.), 4.33.17b, 52.25d (instr.), 5.33.33b, 41.7b, 56.80d (instr.), 6.31.62b (instr.), 66b, 49.8 (instr., °*kāriṇā*), 56.4b (instr.), 82.3d (instr.), 87.47b (instr.), v.l. at 99.2b (instr.), 114.38b, 7.41.26b (instr.), 67.1b, 74.1b, 92.8d (instr.); also 2.1922\*, 2332\* 2, 3.424\* 5, 731\* 3 (instr.), 740\* 8 (instr.), App.I.10.79, 4.648\* 13 (instr.), 661\* 3 (instr.), 1141\* 1 (instr.), 5.695\* 1 (instr.), App.I.5.2 (instr.), 6.35\* 1 (instr.), 662\* (dat.), 676\* 9 (instr.), 3020\*, 3681\* 2 (instr.), v.l. at 3708 (F)\* 10, 7.981\* 3 (instr.), and Mbh.3.258.5d, 264.21b, 274.29d (instr.) and – used of Jāmadagnya – 13.14.138d (instr.), also *Kūrma Purāṇa* 1.20.34d. It is probable that this *pāda* also occurred at 1348\* 3, read by V2 only and now partly illegible.

5.24.3a; the only reason for their occasional use seems to be the desire for a measure of variety.

The commonest *pāda* describing Rāma in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* is *rāmo daśarathātmajaḥ* occurring six times, and also eleven times in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, but absent from the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* and rare elsewhere. It is found at 1.1.47b, 47.30b, 66.21b, 22d (acc.), 3.20.18d, 32.5d, 48.4d, 59.1b, 63.13d (acc.), 71.14b, 4.4.5d, 5.3b, 18b, 39.9b, 5.64.1b, 6.2.1b, 4.64b, 16.1b (loc.), 16b, 31.24b, 52.14b (acc.), 66.17b, 81.14d (acc.), 92.10b, 105.10b (acc.), 106.12b, 1.1379\* 21 (acc.), 26 (acc.), 2.940\* 1, 3.96\* 2, 606\*, 4 App.I.8.1, 5.852\* 1, 6.265\* 1, 306\* 11, 625\* 1 (loc.), 647\* 8 (acc.), 1026\* 1 (acc.), 3399\* 1 (acc.), also Mbh. 3.264.21b; cf. *rāmo dāśarathiḥ śrīmān* 1.75.21c, 4.51.4c, 56.7c, 5.56.23a, 6.16.25a, 3.979\* 3, *rāmo dāśarathiḥ* x x 5.1.138a, 66.2b, 6.78.31b, 1.1379\* 14, 3.541\* 1, and x x *dāśarathī rāmaḥ* at 6.50.13a, 55.78a, 80.56c (acc.), 2.1921\* 1 pr., 3.44\* 21 pr., 1164\* 3 pr., 1165\* pr., 6.280\* 9 pr., 407\* pr., 454\* 1 pr., 658\* 2 pr., 7.20\* pr.

In general it may be noted that daśarathātmajah, which applies in principle also to Bharata, Laksmana and Satrughna, is regularly used to designate Rāma (in 37 out of its 47 occurrences in the text; it also occurs at least a dozen times in the fourth and fifth stages). The exceptions are references to Bharata in the context of his return to Ayodhyā, his expedition after Rāma and his return then to act as Rāma's viceroy (at 2.65.7d, 87.3b, 93.17b and 106.19d), Lakṣmaṇa acting as Rāma's envoy to Sugrīva (4.32.3b and 33.2d) and in his fight with Indrajit (6.76.7d), and in the dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa together (5.11.22d, 6.39.1b, 40.3b, 2.1173\* 4, 3.1323\*, 1324\* 2 and App.I.17.5). Similarly, the patronymic dāśarathi is used of Lakṣmaṇa at 6.47.100b [l.v.], 103d [l.v.] and 76.1a, and in the dual of Rāma and Laksmana at 6.67.31c, 32c, 33c (also 6.126\* 3b), but refers to Rāma in the rest of its 62 occurrences in the text, of which as many as 1 in 4 are in verses in longer metres (as well as almost half of its 33 occurrences in the fourth and fifth stages); apart from this, it is commonest in the first stage and declines in frequency thereafter, showing basically the same pattern as daśarathātmaja (which is much more frequent in the first stage than subsequently).

Also quite common, occurring eleven times in the Yuddhakāṇḍa

though notably absent from the Ayodhyākānda, is rāghavasya mahātmanah which occurs fairly evenly throughout the different stages of the epic's growth (11 times in the first stage, 10 in the second, 8 in the third, 35 or more in the fourth and fifth stages) but is so general in sense as to reveal nothing of significance about Rāma; the term mahātman is applied to virtually every major figure in the epic, not excluding Rāvana<sup>7</sup>. Another pāda with a similarly general sense is rāmasya viditātmanah which occurs seven times each in the first and second stages but is rare later<sup>8</sup>. His splendour is indicated in the full pāda rāmasyāmitatejasah 6.16.23d (instr.), 59.25b (instr.), 1.686\* 1, 705\* 1 (dat.), 839\* 1 (dat.), 1252\* 8 (instr.), 1379\* 40, 2.781\* 2, 1210\* 3, 1290\* 1 (instr.), 4.250\* 2; cf. ... rāmasya ... amitatejasah 5.56.61ab, rāmenādityatejasā 6.48.65d, and rāmam įvalitatejasam 3.5.1d and 2 App. I.15.3. A shorter form is found in tato rāmo mahātejāh 6.47.126a, 49.1a, 7.31.1a, 6.1976\* pr.; cf. atha rāmo mahātejāh 6.1837\* 1 pr., while the adjective mahātejah, like mahātman, mahāyaśah, mahābala, mahābāhu, pratāpavat and the like, is common not only for Rāma but also for most major figures. Mostly such adjectives do not link with the name into a complete pāda, although occasional examples are found, such as mahābhāgena rāmeņa at 4.33.16a, rāghavam ca mahābalam 4.37.2d, 5.62.2b (dual of Rāma and Laksmana) or rāghavam ca mahāvratam 2.718\* 4 post. One tech-

<sup>7.</sup> rāghavasya mahātmanaḥ occurs at: 1.1.67d, 3.14d, 44.7b, 3.15.1b, 4.13.3b, 15b, 31.16d, 42.6b (instr.), 5.1.155d, 35.60b, 56.32b (instr.), 58.17d, 65.1b (instr.), 6.11.15b (dat.), 48.2d (instr.), 56.1b (instr.), 68.1b, 88.6b (instr.), 89.29b, 92.6d, 98.1b (instr.), 100.11b (instr.), 108.9b, 114.15d (instr.), 7.2.1b, 40.5b (instr.), 41.17d, 42.3d, 47.7d (instr.), 86.14b and 90.1d (dat.), also at 1 App.I.1.9,16,110 (instr.), 122,178 (instr.), 257 (instr.), 266, 2.200\* 1 (instr.), 361\* (instr.), 1170\* 1 (dat.), App.I.16.1, App.I.26.95, 3.447\* 7 (instr.), 924\*, 989\* 1, 4, App.I.8.1, 4.123\* 22, 207\* 1, 318\* 2 (instr.), 463\* 4, 841\* 3, 1196\* 2, 5 App.I.7.6 (instr.), 6.647\* 11 (instr.), 656\* 1, 667\* 1 (dat.), 829\* (instr.), 1744\* (dat.), 2005\*, 3092\* 2 (instr.), 3150\* 9, 3587\* 2 (instr.), 7.778\* 1 (instr.), 818\* (dat.), but contrast kākutsthena mahātmanā at 4.262\* 5; cf. rāghavam ca mahātmānam 6.71.4a (also rāmaṃ caiva mahātmānam 4.516\* 1), rāmeṇa tu mahātmanā 4.31.8b, and rāmasya ca mahātmanāḥ 4.48.9d, 1.160\* 2, 7.799\* 2: Data for the fourth and fifth stages are not complete, since App.I of Yuddhakāṇḍa and the \*passages and App.I of Uttarakāṇḍa have not been checked as systematically as the rest.

<sup>8.</sup> *rāmasya viditātmanal*i occurs at 2.2.30b, 3.19.5b, 32.11d (instr.), 5.2.36b, 40b, 14.10d (instr.), 18b, 17.6b, 23.17b (instr.), 24.49b (instr.), 28.42b, 34.9d (instr.), 6.24.7b, 33.8b, also 1.663\* 1, 3.581\* 7, 819(A)\*, 1344\* 2 (dat.), 5.501\*.

nique to form  $p\bar{a}da$ -length phrases – adding su- before such adjectives – is rare and relatively late; instances found are:  $r\bar{a}mena$   $sumah\bar{a}t$ - $man\bar{a}$  2.105.14b (note the variant:  $r\bar{a}mena$   $vidit\bar{a}tman\bar{a}$ ),  $r\bar{a}ghavah$   $sumah\bar{a}yaśah$  6.2062\* 13, and  $r\bar{a}ghavah$   $sumah\bar{a}man\bar{a}h$  6.3163\* 8 (M2 only).

Rāma is projected as the conqueror of foes or strangers in several pādas, of which the commonest is rāmah parapuramjayah 2.2.9d, 4.42.8d, 6.26.1d, 72.2b, 116.12b (also 3.469\* 2, 1191\* 10, App.I.7.25, 5.651\* 4, 7.1262\* 2), but none is very frequent. The others are: rāmah śatrunibarhanah 1.4.22d, 3.27.18b, 6.1.16b, 92.23b, rāmah śatrubhayāvahah 6.514\* post., rāghavah śatrutāpanah 2.1907\* 1 post. and 3.533\* 2 (acc.); rāghavam śatrusūdanam 3.467\* 8 post., rāghavaḥ śatrukarśanaḥ 5.671\* post.; and rāmaḥ parabalāmardī 4.15.15c; rāmam parabalārdanam 4.39.1d, rāghavah paravīrahā 4.25.8b, 5.62.40b, 3.558\* 1, 6.8\* 1, 7.774\*, 986\* 5, and h rāmah paravīrahantā 4.30.5c [l.v.]. His strength is stressed in the term atibalah, occurring in jayaty atibalo rāmah 5.41.6a, 6.32.13a, 2.2336\* 6, 5.1266\* 4 pr., 6.694\* 2 pr.; cf. dideśātibalo rāmaḥ 6.35.1c. Other pādas alluding to his might or prowess are rāghavasyāmitaujasah 5.48.16b, rāmasya vipulaujasah 2 App.I.25.50 post., rāmam apratimaujasam 3.439\* 1 post., 522\* 1 post., rāmah sīghraparākramah 6.3070\* 6 post., and rāghavo laghuvikramah 3.347\* 5 post. More generally he is seen as the warrior hero in the following relatively late pādas: rāmasya mahārathasya 3.27.30a [longer verse (l.v.)], rāghavo ranavikrāntah 5.56.116c, rāmam ca ranakuñjaram 6.8.16f, rāghavam ripughātinam [varia lectio (v.l.)] at 3.24.1b, App.I.8.3, rāmena ripughātinā 1.514\* 46 (gen.), 4.259\* 17, rāghavo ripumardanah 3.499\* 1, rāmaś ca ripusūdanah 3.504\* 17, rāmenāprativīryena 3.609\* pr. [v.l.] at 4.34.4c, and rāghavo jayatām varah at 6.3451\* 7, while the pugnacity of the warrior is indicated in rāghavah paramāmarsī at 4 App.I.19.26. Presumably the implication of the following pādas is also his fierceness: rāme manujaśārdūle 2.1367\* 1, rāghavo nrpaśārdūlah 5.1274\* 5, rāmasya rājasimhasya 5.1048\* 13. The relative lack of stereotyping here suggests that this martial aspect was not of particular importance in the poets' understanding of Rāma's character.

Even more strikingly the image of Rāma as the bowman so fami-

liar in later iconography (in contradistinction to Rāma Jāmadagnya, later called Paraśurāma) finds no real support in the text of the Rāmāyana. If we take the term dhanuspāni as typical, we may note that, although it occurs a couple of times in a somewhat formulaic pāda, tato rāmo dhanuspānih at 4.12.19a and 6.114.20a (cf. also yatra rāmo dhanuspānih at 3 App.I.8.8), it is actually applied less often in the text to Rāma (also at 3.8.11a, 27.11a, 42.5b, 6.14.14a) than to Laksmana (at 2.45.6c = 80.7c, 3.10.1c, 45.17c, 61.12c, 4.30.41a, 5.37.47c, 66.25c, 6.72.32a, 74.1c) and as often to others still (to Daśaratha at 1.19.5a, to Rāma and Laksmana together at 1.21.7a, to rāksasas at 6.42.24a and 46.20d, and to Satrughna at 7.56.7c and 60.3d). Nor is it appreciably more frequent in the fourth and fifth stages, although it is interesting to note the use of a couple of other adjectives in pādas which could readily have become formulaic: rāmam paramadhanvinam 1.1359\* post., and rāmah sarvadhanu<sma>tām śresthah ... 5.717\*.

Two  $p\bar{a}das$  which highlight Rāma's physical appearance,  $r\bar{a}mah$  kamalapatrākṣah and  $r\bar{a}mo$   $r\bar{a}j\bar{\imath}valocanah$ , are much more frequent in the fourth and fifth stages, perhaps reflecting the shift towards a devotional attitude;  $r\bar{a}mah$  kamalapatrākṣah, occurring in the first or third  $p\bar{a}da$ , appears only five times in all in the text but more often in the fourth and fifth stages<sup>9</sup>, and  $r\bar{a}mo$   $r\bar{a}j\bar{\imath}valocanah$ , occurring in the second or fourth  $p\bar{a}da$ , appears seven times in the text but eighteen or more times in the fourth and fifth stages<sup>10</sup>. Similar to these in its refe-

<sup>9.</sup> It occurs at 1.75.12c (acc.), 2.60.8a, 5.33.8a, 6.28.19c (acc.), 7.99.1c; also v.l. at 6.24.27c, 1.81\* 1, 800\* 3 (acc.), 997\* 4 (acc.), 1325\* 2 (acc.), 3.230\* 1 (acc.), 4.523\* 2, 6.754\* 1 and Mbh. 3.275.3a (also x x *kamalapatrākṣaḥ* at 2.804\* 1); cf., for the second and fourth *pādas*, *rāmaḥ kamalalocanaḥ* 5.34.32b, 62.25d (acc.), 3 App.I.13.2, 5.1350\*, 1385\* 2, App.I.5.24.

<sup>10.</sup> It occurs at 1.18.17d (acc.), 19.2b, 2.89.2d, 3.59.27b, 5.24.39d (acc.), 6.4.63b, 7.88.3b; 1.78\*, 519\* 2, 742\* 23, 2.314\* 1, 336\* 3, 838\* 2 (acc.) 919\* 2, 1731\* 6 (acc.), 1861\* 2, v.l. at App.I.12.86 post. (voc.), App.I.13.14 (loc.), 51 (acc.), 3.508\* 1, 4.409\*, 1182\* 2, 5.885\* 1, App.I. 5.5, 6.1752\* 5, 3399\* 11 and – used of Jāmadagnya – Mbh. 13.83.31b; cf. rāmo rājīvatāmrākṣaḥ 2.140\* 3 pr., App.I.24.22 pr., rāme rājīvaraktākṣe 2.908\* 10 pr., rāmam padmanibhekṣaṇam 2.2360\* post., and rāmam padmadalekṣaṇam 5.788\* 2. Note too that the adjective rājīvalocana is also used of Rāma at 1.29.12b, 2 App.I.24.14 and 3.557\* 1, but of Daśaratha 2 at App.I.14.62. We may also compare rāmam indīvaraśyāmam at 2.2.33a (= App.I.5.16 pr.) and rāmam āyatatāmrākṣam at 3.1208\* 2 pr. = 1209\* 2 pr.

rence to his physical appearance, but carrying more martial overtones, is  $r\bar{a}mo$   $rakt\bar{a}ntalocanah$  at 3.19.12b (acc.), 5.24.31b, 6.14.3b, also 3.474\* 10 (acc.), 4.238\* 3 and 5 App.I.5.9, with which may be compared in the prior  $p\bar{a}da$ :  $r\bar{a}mam$   $rakt\bar{a}ntanayanam$  at 5.24.35c. Another  $p\bar{a}da$  combining name and epithet and alluding to his appearance occurs only once:  $p\bar{u}rnacandr\bar{a}nanam$   $r\bar{a}mam$  at 6.101.42a (also as [v.l.] at 3.45.31a).

The shift by the later stages to a devotional attitude towards Rāma is illustrated very well by the pādas lokanāthasya rāmasya 2.790\* 1 pr., 6 App.I.18.19 pr. (cf. lokanāthaḥ sa rāghavaḥ 5.19.19d) and rāghavasyāprameyasya 5.427\* 2 pr., 503\* 2 pr., with their implicit ascription of divinity to Rāma, which is perhaps also visible in the Northern variant rāmaḥ prāṇabhṛtāṃ varaḥ for 7.74.15d. On the other hand the emphasis is on his own piety or self-discipline in rāmaṃ prayatamānasam at 7.10.2b and rāghavaḥ prayatātmavān at 6 App.I.65.56. Is there possibly some indication of Rāma's graciousness to worshippers in rāghavaḥ priyabāndhavaḥ at 2 App.I.24.6 and rāghavaṃ priyakāriṇam 4.686\* 2?

Surprisingly perhaps, allusion to Rāma's wisdom is never particularly frequent, although the main phrase to indicate this is appreciably commoner in the third and especially the fourth stage than earlier. This is x x  $r\bar{a}masva$   $dh\bar{i}matah$  at 5.20.21b, 31.12d  $(bh\bar{a}ry\bar{a}...)$ , 34.2b, 6.5.21b, 91.1b, 116.62d, 7.43.15b, 48.17d (patnī...), 49.2d, 60.11b (bhrātā...), 98.4d (instr.), also 2.223\* 8, 1707\* 1 (instr.) 2403\* 3 (instr.), 2405\* (dat.), App.I.25.23, 3.160\*, 208\* 6 (dat.), 468\* 3 (instr.), 574\* 3, 672\* 1, 4.908\* 1, 5.418\* 6, 1274\* 3 (instr.), 6.1851\* 1, 3493\* 1; cf. rāghavena ca dhīmatā 4.463\* 6. Were it not for the number of occurrences elsewhere, one might be tempted from a Western standpoint to think that its use (at 7.48.17d and 49.2d) in the context of Rāma's banishment of Sītā was ironic but presumably its employment there indicates the poet's explicit approval of the attitudes involved. There is a form of stereotyping in rāmo buddhimatām varah at 6.1649\* 2 post. but of an epithet which is quite widely applied, and indeed it is striking that this occurs only once; the same is true of rāghavasya manasvinah at 3.27\* post.

Play on Rāma's name is less frequent than might be expected in view of the frequency of other stereotyped pādas such as laksmaṇaḥ

śubhalakṣaṇaḥ. However, the following instances are found, mostly in the fourth stage:  $r\bar{a}mo$   $ramayat\bar{a}m$  śreṣṭhaḥ 2.47.1c, 6.4.66c, 7 App.I.8.220 pr., and  $r\bar{a}mo$   $ramayat\bar{a}m$  varaḥ 2.55.1b (loc.), 5 App.I.5.17 post., 7.796\* 1 post., 859\* 2 post. (acc.); cf.  $r\bar{a}masya$   $lokar\bar{a}masya$  1.17.16a and 1.1324\* 3 pr.;  $gun\bar{a}bhir\bar{a}mam$   $r\bar{a}mam$  ca 5.14.1c;  $gun\bar{a}r\bar{a}masya$   $r\bar{a}masya$  1 App.I.2.1 pr.,  $gun\bar{a}ratn\bar{a}kare$   $r\bar{a}me$  2.9\* 2 pr.,  $abhir\bar{a}masya$   $r\bar{a}masya$  1.154\* 10 pr.,  $r\bar{a}mo$   $lokabhir\bar{a}mah$  2.55\* 4 pr.,  $r\bar{a}mah$  sarvamanoramah 5 App.I.6.2 post.; ....  $r\bar{a}mam$   $svabhir\bar{a}madarśanam$  4.27.45c [l.v.] (= 4.527\* 6 [l.v.]). The emphasis on his virtues seen in some of these is also found in two  $p\bar{a}das$  which each occur only once in the fourth stage, when such emphasis is strongest:  $r\bar{a}mah$   $sarvagun\bar{a}nvitah$  2.222\* 3 post. and sarvaśreṣṭhagunam  $r\bar{a}mam$  2.1898\* 2 pr.

As some of these stereotyped *pādas* already demonstrate, the properly dynastic term *rāghava* is overwhelmingly employed to designate Rāma, although it can be used on occasion for others. This is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the fact that after its use for Rāma (399 times in the first stage, 324 in the second and 197 in the third – a small but appreciable decline in frequency from the first to the third stage), the next most frequent is its use in the dual for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, which occurs mainly in the first stage and does not, of course, constitute a real exception<sup>11</sup>. Equally, alongside the common *rāmalakṣmaṇau* there is also occasionally found *rāghavalakṣmaṇau* (five times in the text, of which three are in verses in longer metres: 1.35.1b, 3.50.42c [l.v], 4.1.49d [l.v.], 5.14.29b [l.v.] and 6.40.22b, also 6.1341\* 22), while the use of *rāghavānuja* to denote either Lakṣmaṇa or Bharata is just as indicative<sup>12</sup>. There are several stereotyped *pādas* which confirm this:

<sup>11.</sup> *rāghavau* denotes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa at 1.22.7b, 29.4b, 47.9b, 48.17a, 65.2c, 66.19d, 67.11d, 68.17a, 2.31.1d, 46.5d, 87.22d, 110.45b, 3.6.3d, 49.23d, 65.1b, 5b, 22d, 66.5b, 70.3d, 4.3.1d, 4.25d, 5.1d, 5.38.16c, 61.27c [l.v.], 62.2b, 6.35.12b, 36.3d, 7a, 38.16d, 40.60a, 41.9b, 115.25b; also 1.648\*, App.I.5.3,5, 2.1095\* 3, 1100\*, 1109\* 3, 1213\* 5, 3.44\* 13, 116\* 2, 1252\* 1, 1254\* 4, 1274\* 8, 1369\*, 4.87\* 3, 300\* 3, 1147\*, 1266\* 1, 6.736\*, 1556\* 2 [l.v.], 1764\* 11, 1794\*, 3494\* 2, 3498\* 5; but at 7.74.3d Bharata and Lakṣmaṇa are meant (Rāma speaking) and at 7.98.14b Kuśa and Lava (Śatrughna addressing Rāma).

<sup>12.</sup> *rāghavānuja* occurs at 2.14.22b, 3.11.1b, 44.1b, 4.31.4d, 6.78.24b, 59.78b, 116.44b, 7.46.1b, 91.14d; 2.1717\* 1, 3.1266\* 3, 4 App.I.17.16, 5.863\* 1; cf. *rāghavāvaraja* (= Lakṣmaṇa) 5.863\* 1. Indeed it is hardly less frequent than the spe-

rāghavah sahalaksmanah at 1.44.1b, 48.12b, 3.16.2b, 63.25b, 70.25b, 4.26.5b, 5.32.20b (acc.), 35.24b (acc.), 40d (acc.), 56.118d, 6.8.13d (acc.), 53.38b, also 1 App.I.1.185, 2.1134\* 1, 3.848\* 2 (loc.), 1367\*, 5.1383\* 1, 6.764\* 2, 3524\* (cf. rāmam ca sahalakṣmaṇam 6.38.21d, 47.6b and, in the prior pāda, rāghavah sahasaumitrih 5.33.41c, but contrast laksmanah saharāghavah 5.61.24b); rāmah saumitrinā saha 1.49.1b, 3.7.11b, 12.23d, 71.20b, 4.26.4d, 5.19.29b, 6.32.20b, 45.10b, 108.17b (acc.), 2.1015\* 1, 1131\* 1, 2120\* 1, 3 App.I.3.8 (cf. rāmas tu sahasaumitrih 3.7.1a, rāmah saumitrisahito 4.1.1c and rāmah saumitrinā sārdham 4.1\*); rāghavah saha sītayā 2.242\* 1, 2184\*, 3.286\* 11; and also, with the other rather less frequent patronymic, kākutsthaḥ sahalaksmanah 3.7.17b, 6.24.15b, 107.9b. The prime explanation for the greater frequency of rāghava compared with kākutstha appears to lie in the fact that for metrical reasons the preferred position for rāghava is in the second or fourth  $p\bar{a}da$ , while that for  $k\bar{a}kutstha$  is in the first or third, by a margin of around four to one in both cases.

On a few occasions, when it is compounded with *saha*- or *sa*-, the term *rāghava* is ambiguous in so far as it could mean either Rāma or Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (1.34.7d, 44.7d, 9b, 65.1d, 4.8.13d) or at 1.73.8d either Rāma or all four brothers, but these are really of no significance. The only occasion that I have noticed where there is serious ambiguity is at 2.18.15d, where either Rāma or Daśaratha could be meant. At the following places *rāghava* denotes Daśaratha: 1.13.12d, 18.18b, 20.7b (or perhaps here the singular is used of the dynasty), 8b, 2.9.22b, 51.26b, 57.34b, 68.9b, 96.8b, 2.1346\* 7, 1422\* 1. The instance at 2.96.8 is particularly interesting, incorporating as it does both a stereotyped *pāda* elsewhere applied to Rāma and *rāghava* also applied to Rāma: *idam ikṣvākunāthasya rāghavasya mahātmanah / rāghavena pitur dattaṃ paśyataitad yathāvidhi //*; indeed, many N manuscripts have the second *pāda* in the instrumental and thus

cific *rāmānuja*, occurring at 2.53.24a, 69.4a, 4.19.25c, 30.1d [l.v.], 12d, 33a, 31.22a [l.v.] (imc), 5.26.10d [l.v.], 19d [l.v.], 6.47.96b [l.v.], 76.15b, 7.61.29c, 91.6a; 4.299\* 1 [l.v.] (iic), 5.863\* 4, 7.1439\* 3 [l.v.]. Conversely, *lakṣmaṇapūrvaja* (2.48.12b, 53.21b, 5.24.18b, 37b, 26.10d [l.v.], 6.31.1b; 2.1044\* 2, 3.122(A)\*, 4.239\* 4, 6.609\* 1) and *lakṣmaṇāgraja* (2.2.11b, 18.37b, 99.1b, 3.6.18b, 4.8.45b, 13.1b, 5.24.38b, 33.32b, 6.30.25b, 31.13b, 59.8d, 92.7b, 112.1b, 115.29b; 2.1200\* 5, 2182\* 1, 3.494\* 2, App.I.11.11, 4.64\*, 6.3053\* 4 [l.v.]) denote Rāma.

applying to Rāma. Of course, Daśaratha is the head of the dynasty until his death and thus one might expect the term to be used even more often to denote him. Certainly rāghava is applied more often to Bharata – 23 times in all – in the second half of the Ayodhyākānda, in the context of his anticipated succession to the throne and then of his becoming in effect Rāma's viceroy, at 2.63.5d, 64.14d, 65.23d, 73.4b, 76.27a [l.v.], 77.5b, 79.17b, 83.1b, 84.3b, 86.18d, 93.13b, 94.11b, 14d, 39d, 45d, 49b, 50b, 51b, 59b, 97.19b, 103.18d, 20d, 23b, 1820\* 1, 2163\* 1, 2214\* 2, App.I.23.29,101 (also rāghavī senā of Bharata's or the kingdom's army at 2.2105\* 1). However, perhaps pointedly, Bharata himself calls Rāma rāghava at 67.10b. The term is used much more rarely of the other two brothers: 5 times of Laksmana -2.45.1d (where several manuscripts substitute Laksmana's name), 4.32.8d, 6.47.91a [l.v.], 77.30c, 7.50.18b (but rāghavārthe at c denotes Rāma) - and 4 times of Śatrughna - 7.62.2d, 6b, 63.10bd (Rāma speaking, and at 63.3d  $r\bar{a}ghava = R\bar{a}ma$ ), 98.11d. The term can also denote the dynasty itself and is usually then in the plural: 1.20.2c, 68.11c, 2.58.21d, 60.6d, 62.8d, 102.22d, 31a [l.v.], 4.8.4d (iic), 5.1.99a (sg.), also 1.1250\* 1, 1295\*5, App.I.1.288, 2.1452\* 2, 4 App.I.23.26, 5.923\* 2, App.I.8.19. We may note that in 1.68 rāghava is used of Daśaratha (by Janaka), of the dynasty, and of Rāma and Laksmana. Similarly, we may note the juxtaposition of kākutstha (= Rāma) and  $r\bar{a}ghava$  (= Bharata) at 2.103.20, where only the context makes clear which is meant: te tam ūcur mahātmānam paurajānapadā janāh / kākutstham abhijānīmah samyag vadati rāghavah //, and of the same two terms to denote Dasaratha and Rāma respectively at 6.108.1: pratiprayāte kākutsthe mahendrah pākaśāsanah / abravīt pramaprīto rāghavam prāñjalim sthitam //.

In the same way the simple form raghu is occasionally used in the plural of the dynasty (5.36.9b (iic), 6.96.20b, 2.1030\* 8, 2243\*, 3 App.I.12.54, 5.673\* 3), as is the compound raghuvamśa (6.1.10a, 1.154\* 14, 5.485\*), but much more frequently raghu is used at the start of a compound adjective and these forms become increasingly frequent in the later stages, mirroring the overall decline in the frequency of  $r\bar{a}ghava$  and  $k\bar{a}kutstha$ . In view of Kālidāsa's choice of the name Raghuvamśa for his  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$ , it is worth noting that both that and similar terms are infrequent. Besides the few instances of the sim-

ple form just noted, the following also occur, to denote Rāma unless otherwise noted: raghuvamśavardhana (2.89.19d [l.v.], also 3 App.I.13.120 [l.v.], 4.162\* 4 [l.v.], 7.779\* 2 [l.v.], 804\* 1 [l.v.], 999\* 4 [l.v.], 1191\* 3 [l.v.], and in the dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa at 2.1029\* 2 [l.v.]); raghuvamśavivardhana 5.641 (B)\*, 6.253\* 1; raghuvaravamśavivardhana 6.2060\* 5 [l.v.];  $r\bar{a}ghavavamśavardhana$  2.20.36b [l.v.], 104.24a [l.v.], App.I.27.48 [l.v.], 3.259\* 2 [l.v.] and in the dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa 2.1128\* 2 [l.v.];  $r\bar{a}ghavavamśaja$  used of Bharata at 2.84.19d; raghukulanrpanandana 6.97.33c [l.v.]; raghukulodvaha 3.253\* 3, App.I.4.19, 7.1145\*. The term  $r\bar{a}ghavendra$  used of Rāma at 3.315\* (read by G3 only) could also be included here.

The adjective raghunandana is used more frequently of Rāma than of any other character. It is much more frequent in the  $B\bar{a}la$  and  $Uttara\ k\bar{a}ndas$  (occurring 41 and 32 times respectively) and in passages of the fourth and fifth stages (where it occurs around 100 times) than in the  $Ayodhy\bar{a}$  to  $Yuddha\ k\bar{a}ndas$ , in which it occurs 27 times in all (with 11 occurrences in the first stage and 16 in the second)<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, the somewhat tautologous full  $p\bar{a}da\ r\bar{a}ghavo\ raghunandanah\ -$  used only of Rāma himself - is absent from the third stage, though occurring twince in the second, and is found mainly in

<sup>13.</sup> It is found at 1.22.12b, 24.14d, 26.9d, 27.12b, 29.19b, 21b, 31.9d, 32.14b, 22b, 33.6d, 15d, 34.18b, 36.9b, 14d, 37.13b, 15b, 20d, 38.1b, 19d, 39.9d, 13b, 27b, 40.1b, 23b, 41.2b, 3b, 11b, 12b, 42.6b, 44.21b, 45.12b, 47.19b, 51.12b, 54.4d, 55.12d, 60.11b, 21d, 61.1d, 62.10b, 66.16b, 76.2d, 2.23.18b, 50.1d, 91.17c [l.v.], 111.16d, 3.8.1b, 10.71b, 12.5b, 13.1b, 15.2b, 25.14b, 42.1b, 55.15b, 57.1b, 58.4b, 67.29b, 70.17d, 4.13.12b, 5.10.2b [l.v.], 6.16.15d, 66.35b, 72.10a, 87.43b, 101.6b, 108.10b, 111.2b, 113.16d, 116.40d, 7.1.13b, 8.22b, 40.12d, 41.11d, 45.11d, 47.12d, 49.16d, 54.7d, 11d, 56.1d, 59.3d, 61.32b, 63.3b, 7b, 65.8d, 68.11b, 12d, 69.1d, 70.14b, 73.9d, 75.1d, 77.19b, 78.6b, 15d, 79.11d, 89.4b, 97.6d, 98.16b, 100.1d; 1.624\*, 636\* 41, 638\* 1, 742\* 40, 827\*10, 875\*, 1124\*, 1146\* 1, 1173\* 64, 1183\* 10, 1325\* 1, 1326\*, 1379\* 39, App.I.7.23, App.I.8.17, 2.372\* 3, 374\* 2, 410\* 4, 574\* 4, 620\* 2, 694\* 1, 717\* 13, 718\* 3, 725\* 7, 818\* 2, 1069\* 1, 1107\* 4, 1272\* 8, 1623\* 1, 2164\* 9 [l.v.], 2304\* 3, App.I.13.43, App.I.26.15, 3.204\* 4, 207\*, 215\*, 220\*, 228\*, 446\* 1, 456\* 4, 479\* 1, 480\* 1, 738\*, 1068\* 1, 1150\* 1, 1296\*, 1313\*, App.I.3.17,29,64, App.I.4.22, App.I.8.25, App.I.9.6, App.I.18.37, 4.123\* 4, 130\* 1, 142\*, 189\*, v.l. 35.17d, 790\*, App.I.15.2, 5.765\* 2, 846\* 2, 1020\* 2 [l.v.], App.I.5.24, App.I.8.17, 6.9\* 3, 33\* 1, 266\* 1, 1208\* 2, 1312\* 3, 2059\* 2, 3007\* 2, 3206\* 12, 3303\* 5, 3306\* 3, 3428\*, 3441\*, 3622\*, 3636\* 1, 3668\* 2, 3684\* 1, 7.23\*, 87\* 1, 90\* 3, 773\* 1, 941\* 2 [l.v.], App.I.12.25.

the fourth to fifth stages<sup>14</sup>. The adjective *raghunandana* is, however, not uncommonly applied to other characters: to Daśaratha at 1.70.22d, 71.16b, 23b, 72.4d, 2.1.1d, also 1.1245\* 2, 2.826\* 8; to Lakṣmaṇa at 3.41.45b (Rāma speaking), 6.72.32d, 78.7b, 7.44.17b (Rāma speaking), 51.1b, also 3.283\* 4 (Rāma speaking), 1133\* 3 (Rāma speaking), 1189\* 1 (Rāma speaking); to Bharata at 1.72.19d, also 2.2304\* 11, App.I.1.15, App.I.2.78,94; to Śatrughna at 7.55.9d (Rāma speaking), 98.8b, in the dual to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa at 1.28.17d. 3.70.3b; and in the plural to all four brothers at 1.72.27b<sup>15</sup>. It is, indeed, much less specific than many of these terms.

Thus, raghuśrestha is used of Rāma at 1.39.21a, 6.112.3c, 7.35.15a, 36.32c, 1.873\* 3, 1000\* 1, 2.1200(A)\* 2, 5.1392\* 2, 6.493\*, 1745\* 3, 1752\* 5 ( x x x raghuśrestho rāmo rājīvalocanah, read by T3 only), 7.1188\* 1, in the dual of Rāma and Laksmana at 2.11\* 1, but otherwise once only of Satrughna at 7.43.9a. Similarly, raghūttama almost exclusively denotes Rāma (at 3.70.20b, 5.65.31b, 7.73.5d, 1.1185\* 3, 2.559\* 1, 2304\* 6, 3.218\*, 225\*, 799\*, 1224\*, 1347\* 1, 1375\* 5 [l.v.], 5.502\* 5, 890\*, 6.253\* 2, 1221\* 3 [l.v.] 2082\* 3, 3009\*, 3053\* 6 [l.v.], 7.787\* 2 [l.v.]), being used twice of Laksmana, at 6.1323\* 1 and 1741\* 2, and once of all four brothers at 1.72.23d in the context of their wedding. A third such form occurs only in verses in longer metres: raghupravīra at 6.67.42b [1.v.], 7.61.38b [l.v.] (= Satrughna), 3.789\* 73 [l.v.], 790\* 110 [l.v.], 4 App.I.14.87 [l.v.], 6.991\* [l.v.] (= Laksmana), 7.843\* 1 [l.v.], 1022\* 2 [l.v.]. Other similar forms are: raghumukhya 5.17.20c, raghuvīra 2.39\* 1, 4.123\* 49, 7.1136\* 3 [l.v.], raghuśārdūla 2.1767\* 1, 3.796\* 1, 6.2070(C)\* 8, raghusattama 6.131\* 6 and raghusūnu at 3 App.I.8.51 [l.v.], all denoting Rāma; however, raghusuta denotes Laksmana at 6.78.51c.

As already noted, the other main patronymic  $k\bar{a}kutstha$  is much

<sup>14.</sup> The full pāda  $r\bar{a}ghavo$  raghunandanah occurs at 5.37.42b, 6.91.24d; 2.332\* 2, 1107\* 4, 3.458\* 9 (acc.), 1068\* 1 (acc.), 4.130\* 1 (acc.), 142\* (acc.), 6.33\*, 2070(C)\* 2 (acc.), 3253\*.

<sup>15.</sup> So too the much less frequent *rāghavanandana* is used of Bharata at 2.80.3d and 7.54.14d, of Śatrughna at 7.57.2b, 59.3d, 61.32b, and of Rāma himself at 7.33.22b and 87.17b; it is also worth noting that this occurs only once outside the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

less frequent than rāghava. But it too is used predominantly of Rāma; only 20 of its occurrences in the singular in the text do not apply to Rāma, who is designated 62 times in the first stage, 61 in the second, 86 in the third and 76 or more times in the fourth and fifth stages. Daśaratha is meant at 1.18.16a, 20.3c, 2.32.9a, 35.26a, 6.108.1a, 2.1058\* 2 (iic) and App.I.10.56, Laksmana at 3.41.8a, 4.34.22e and 4 App.I.7.32, Bharata at 2.78.12a, 83.5b, 7.85.16c (Rāma speaking), 2.134\* 8, 1925\*, App.I.25.7, Satrughna at 7.54.15c, 21a, 55.10a, 56.1a, 63.13a, 15a (all Rāma speaking) and 57.7c, Sagara at 1.38.9c, Somadatta's son at 1.46.16d, and Kākutstha 2 at App.I.27.3. The dual is used a number of times for Rāma and Laksmana (at 1.29.3a, 66.26a, 3.49.23b, 6.36.33c, 38.27c, 28c, 40.38a, 74.26a, 1.730\*, 3.44\* 24, 1321\* 2, 1322\* 1, App.I.12.63 [l.v.], 6.878\* 1, probably also at the start of a compound at 1.64.22c) and in addition for Rāma and Bharata at 2.104.2d and for Laksmana and Bharata at 7.55.5a, while the plural is used for the dynasty at 2.102.22b and for all four brothers at 1.72.21c and 1329\*.

The instances in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* where *kākutstha* does not denote Rāma have an interesting distribution: 7.54.15c, 21a, 55.5a, 10a, 56.1a, 57.7c, 63.13a, 15a and 85.16c; all the last of them are in the passage concerned with Śatrughna's founding of Madhurā (most denote Śatrughna but one occurrence in the dual at 55.5a denotes Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata). The dynastic implications of the employment of the term here are obvious, as they were for the use of *rāghava* for Bharata in the second half of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*.

The dynasty is of course most commonly known as the Iksvāku dynasty but in fact the patronymic form aiksvāka is rare, occurring only at 1.23.11c, 69.9d, 2.12.1d, 30.23a [l.v.] (iic), 32.1a, 33.14a, 43.15a, 46.8d, 3.65.2c and 6.116.38c (iic). In all cases the dynastic sense is obviously present, even in those instances where the reference is to individuals. In fact iksvāku itself, either in the plural or as the first element of a compound, is much commoner but, unlike  $r\bar{a}ghava$  and  $k\bar{a}kutstha$ , shows an appreciable increase in frequency in later stages (23 times in the first stage, 35 in the second, 36 in the third, and 60 or more in the fourth and fifth stages). A number of these compounds are similar to those with  $r\bar{a}ghava$  or raghu. Thus we find  $iksv\bar{a}kunandana$  used of Rāma at 1.17.6d, 5.31.14b, 2.937\*,

App.I.26.56, 3.202\* 1, 6.3587\* 6, of Daśaratha at 4.61.4b, 1.422\*, and of Śatrughna at 7.63.4b; *ikṣvākunātha* used of Bharata by Rāma at 3.15.35c, of Sagara by Hanumān at 5.1.77a, of Rāma at 5.41.18c, and of Daśaratha at 2.2190\*. Certain such titles form complete *pādas: ikṣvākukulanandana* used of Rāma at 6.71.4b, 3602\* 2, 7.751\* 1 [l.v.], of Anaranya or a successor at 7.19.14d, and of Daśaratha at 1.478\* 8, 1263\* 7 (also *ikṣvākukulanandinī* of Sītā at 5.11.57b), *ikṣvākukulavardhana* at 1.41.21d (used of Bhagīratha) and 6.116.16d, *ikṣvākuvaṃśaprabhava* at 1.1.8a (Rāma) and 7.59.4c (Śatrughna) and *ikṣvākukulabhāskara* (Bharata) at 3.282\*; another complete *pāda* incorporating the term is *ikṣvākuvaṃśe dharmiṣṭhe* to denote Rāma at 5.53.15a.

There are also occasionally other epithets occupying a full  $p\bar{a}da$  used to designate Rāma, of which the only one to occur more than once in the text is  $kausaly\bar{a}nandavardhana$  at 1.1.16b, 67.15b, 72.17b, 2.66.33b, 84.11b, 3.35.9b, 6.31.67b, 115.40b, also 5.676\* post. and 6.1810\* 2 post. (and Mbh.1.105.25b and 3.261.13b), cf.  $kausaly\bar{a}nandivardhana$  6.96.25b and 7.742\* 1. Others include  $sarvabh\bar{u}tamanohara$  at 5.33.8b (interestingly after  $r\bar{a}mah$   $kamalapatr\bar{a}ksah$  in the first  $p\bar{a}da$ ; at 5.22.2b the epithet refers to  $S\bar{1}t\bar{a}$ ) and sarvalokapriyamvada at 5.33.20d,  $p\bar{u}rnacandrasamadyuti$  at 7.1.8b and  $p\bar{u}rnacandranibh\bar{a}nana$  at 5.28.10b and 859\* 1 (most of its 14 occurrences in the text refer to  $S\bar{1}t\bar{a}$ ).

The overall picture that we gain from examination of these names and epithets is not vastly different from that to be gained from a study of the text as a whole. However, it is notable that certain of the patronymics in particular are virtually specific to Rāma, without their dynastic sense ever entirely being lost sight of. Equally, it is significant that the two terms which present Rāma's descent in the most immediate and realistic terms, daśarathātmaja and dāśarathi, tend to decline in frequency with the passage of time, whereas the more general dynastic terms, rāghava and kākutstha, show a complementary increase, although the biggest shift in the later stages is to the more elaborate epithets such as raghunandana. The various pāda-length phrases show, as the dynamics of the story from the beginning demand, an emphasis on Rāma's morality, well illustrated by pādas such as rāmo dharmabhrtām varah. However, there is rather less

emphasis on the martial aspect — and specifically on Rāma's bow — than one might in abstract have anticipated and it is interesting to note that two frequent pādas, rāmaḥ satyaparākramaḥ and rāmasyākliṣṭakarmaṇaḥ, seem to indicate as much of the moral aspect as the martial. The increase in the elaboration of the epithets and in particular of those like raghunandana or raghuśreṣṭha is in line with the tendency to overuse of formulaic expressions as the conventions of oral composition break down in the later stages of growth of the epic. It is also, however, worth noting that it is among those first appearing in later stages that any parallels to the forms preferred in later literature, from Kālidāsa to Tulsīdās, may be found.