

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA  
AND THE THAI VERSION OF RĀMĀYAṆA (RĀMAKĪRTI)  
OF KING RĀMA I OF THAILAND (1782-1809)

As the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been very popular in Thailand, there are many versions of the story but it is pronounced in Thai as *Rāmakian* which probably derives from the word *Rāmakīrti* in Sanskrit. The word *Rāma* existed already during the Sukhothai period (about 1250-1450 A.D.). The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were referred to several times in Thai literature during the Ayutthayā period (1350-1767 A.D.) but the extant manuscripts for dance drama exist only from the Thonburī period (1767-1782 A.D.). King *Rāma I* of the Bangkok period (1782-1809) composed the whole story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* for a dance drama but it was King *Rāma II*, his son (1809-1824), who composed the most popular *Rāmāyaṇa* story for dancing. King Mongkut or *Rāma IV* (1851-1868) wrote certain episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and it was King Vajirāvudh or *Rāma VI* (1910-1925) who was very much interested in Sanskrit literature and composed certain episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* for dancing. The king also wrote a book entitled *The origin of the Rāmakian* which will be referred to several times in this article.

It is believed by Thai scholars that in India even before the time of Vālmīki, the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* had been known and related by mouth. It was Vālmīki who composed the story in Sanskrit verse. So in Southeast Asia the knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* would have come both from the tales of the *Rāmāyaṇa* related in India as well as that composed by Vālmīki. The tales of the *Rāmāyaṇa* would have come from southern India as well as from Bengal in the northeast.

From now on the difference between Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and that of King Rāma I of Thailand or Siam will be described.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of King Rāma I was intended to be composed for a dance drama unlike that of Vālmīki which was written to be read as a sacred book. Therefore the beginning of the story is not the same.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of King Rāma I begins with the eulogy of the king and his intention to compose this dance drama. Then it begins with Hirantayaksha who rolls the earth and at the end is killed by Viṣṇu who transforms himself into a pig. Then the story continues with the foundation of the towns of Ayutthayā and Langkā. The story of Triburam appears until he is killed by Śiva. The story goes on with Nontok or Nandaka who is a yaksha and is later on killed by Viṣṇu. Nontok reincarnates as Rāvaṇa and his four brothers and one sister are born: Kumbhakarna, Piphek, Tutkhon, Trīśian and Sammanakkhā. The birth of Pālī, Sukhrīp and Hanumān are then related until Pālī takes Sukhrīp's wife who is given to him by Śiva. The story of Montho who is originally a frog is then related and Rāvaṇa becomes the king of Langkā. He helps Śiva to straighten the Kailāsa mountain so he receives Montho who is living with Umā as a reward but later on Pālī snatches her away when Rāvaṇa is flying over Pālī's town of Khīdkhin. Rāvaṇa however with the help of his hermit-teacher obtains her back. Pālī's son with Montho is born and his name is Ongkhot. Rāvaṇa performs a ceremony of taking his heart out of his body and therefore remains immortal. He then begins to fight with the gods. He sends his son, Roṇapak, to fight against Indra. The latter loses the war and later on Roṇapak is renamed Indrajit. The story then goes on to the birth of a bull named Torapā and the birth of his son Torapī. Another demon, Maiyarāb, also performs the ceremony of taking his heart out from his body.

The tale then reverses to Rāma's father, Tośaroṭh who has a third wife named Kaikesī. She helps him in his fighting against a demon so Tośaroṭh gives her a promise that she can ask anything she wants from him.

Some of these short stories figure in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* which is the last section of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and believed to have been added later. These short stories relate such as the origin of the family

of the demons but sometimes the names have been changed from Sanskrit into Thai for instance Kuvera has been altered into Kuperan. Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarna and Vibhīṣaṇa (Piphek), the three brothers, all receive the boon from Brahma not from Śiva as in the Thai version. The name Mandodarī, wife of Rāvaṇa, has been changed into Monthothevi. Rāvaṇa is usually called Tośakan (ten necks). For the ceremony of taking the heart out from the body and keeping it in a box in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is performed by Rāvaṇa's hermit-teachers but in the Vālmiki's it is probably a *mantra* taught by Brahma to Rāvaṇa in order to escape a danger for his life. In Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* the original name of Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's famous son, is Meghanāda, not Roṇapak as in the Thai version. King Rama VI thought that the way Rāvaṇa tries to kill Montho's son born from Pālī in the Thai version might have come from other sources such as from one of the Purāṇas.

As for the origin of the family of monkeys, it is different from the Vālmiki's for the birth of Hanumān, Bālī (Pālī) and Sugrīva (Sukhrīp). However for the birth of Hanumān though in the Thai version it is described in details and the name of Hanumān's mother is different but the story in general is very much alike.

1. Now the story of the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* corresponding to the *Bālā-kāṇḍa* of Vālmiki will be described. Tośaroṭh, Rāma's father performs a ceremony to ask for children. Viṣṇu is then asked to be reincarnated as Rāma. In the ceremony divine rice is cooked. Montho, Rāvaṇa's wife, smells its fragrance and would like to taste it so Rāvaṇa has a female demon named Kākanāsūn to fly after the smell and steal one part of the divine rice for Montho. The three wives of Tośaroṭh then partakes of the rest. Four boys: Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Prot and Satrud are born. Montho gives birth to a girl, Sītā, but Piphek predicts that in the future she will destroy Langkā so she is left adrift inside a bowl along the river until she is found by Chanok, a hermit king, who brings her up. One day the four boys of Tośaroṭh play together by shooting earth bullets. Rāma shoots at a dwarf-girl and she promises to have a revenge upon him. Prot and Satrud then go to live in the town of Prot's maternal grandfather.

Rāvaṇa orders Kākanāsūn and her attendants to trouble the her-

mits' dwellings so the hermits Vasiṭ and Viśvāmit ask Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to come and help them. They kill Kākanāsūn and Savāhu, her son, but another son Mārīch flees to Langkā.

Chanok (Janaka) who finds Sītā when he is a hermit retires from recluse and goes back with Sītā to his town, Mithilā. He then arranges a marriage for Sītā to a man who can lift a sacred bow. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa go to Mithilā and Rāma is able to lift it. The marriage then takes place with witnesses such as Tośaroth, Prot, Satrud and Indra, the god. On coming back home they encounter Rāmasūn, a demon, who challenges Rāma to fight but at the end the demon is defeated.

The story then reverses to the buffalo, Torapā, who is killed by his son, Torapī. Torapī then comes to challenge Pālī and is destroyed by the latter. Sukhrip, Pālī's younger brother, thinks that Pālī is dead in fighting so he is later banished from the town by Pālī. The birth of Mangkornkan, a nephew of Rāvaṇa, is also related.

In the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa*, sometimes the town of Ayutthayā (Ayodhyā) is referred to as Dvāravatī. Sumantra, a charioteer of Tosaroth is called Sumantan. The story of Kākanāsūn who steals a portion of divine rice for Montho does not figure in Vālmīki's story. It might have come from one of the Purāṇas. The names of the four sons of Tośaroth (Daśaratha in Sanskrit) also vary from Vālmīki's except Rāma. Prot comes from Bharata, Lak or Lakṣhaṇa from Lakṣmaṇa and Satrud from Śatrughna. Piphek, Rāvaṇa's younger brother also derives from Vibhīṣaṇa. Mārīch, a demon, is from Mārīcha; Savāhu, his brother, from Subāhu and their mother Kākanāsūn from Tārakā.

In the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* there is also the story of a female named Ahalyā, wife of the Rishi Gautama, but in Thai her name is changed into Kāla-achanā. In the Thai text it is related that she has a son with Indra that is Pālī (Bālī) and another with the sun (Sūrya) that is Sugrīva or Sukhrip. She also has a daughter with her husband, Gautama, named Savāha. The daughter is cursed by the mother as she informs about the unfaithful behaviour of her mother to her father. Savāha according to the Thai text is the mother of Hanumān whose father is the God of Wind, Vāyu.

In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* the four sons of Tośaroth are married after the lifting of the sacred bow but in the Thai version only Rāma is



married. On their way back from Mithilā to Ayutthayā in the Thai version they meet Rāmasūn (Rāmasura) but in Vālmiki's they encounter Paraśurāma, who is also regarded as one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Paraśurāma is defeated and presents the bow of Śiva to Rāma.

2. *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*. In this Thai section Tośaroṭh prepares to crown Rāma as king of Ayutthayā but a dwarf woman who would like to have a revenge on Rāma asks Kaikesī, the third wife of Tośaroṭh, to ask for a promise that Tośaroṭh has already given her. Kaikesī then asks that Rāma should go out and live in a forest for fourteen years and let her son, Prot, rule the town instead. Tośaroṭh has to keep his promise so Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā become hermits and leave the town of Ayutthayā. Tośaroṭh then forbids Kaikesī and her son, Prot, to come to his cremation ceremony after his death and afterwards he dies of sorrow. When Prot comes to Ayutthayā he is so angry and threatens to kill his mother. The three wives of Tośaroṭh, Prot and Satrud then go out to invite Rāma to come back but Rāma refuses. The three of them continue their journey.

After Rāma leaves the town with his wife and younger brother, he meets Guha near the Ganges River. This name is spelt Khukhan in Thai. In Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa it is not said that Kaikesī and Prot are forbidden to cremate Tośaroṭh's remains but on the contrary it is Prot who arranges the cremation ceremony. So this episode of forbidding Kaikesī and Prot to join in the cremation ceremony is probably added in the Thai version. In Vālmiki's story both Prot and Satrud also become hermits though Prot at the same time acts as a regent for Rāma.

3. *Aranya-kāṇḍa*. Rāma kills Pirāp, a demon who tries to abduct Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa also kills another demon, Kumbhakāśa.

Rāvaṇa goes out into jungle. His younger sister's husband, Jiuḥā, protects the town for him. He puts out his tongue around the town to protect it. When Rāvaṇa comes back he cannot see the town and he throws a discus to kill Jiuḥā. Sammanakkhā, Rāvaṇa's sister is so sad. She goes into the jungle and falls in love with Rāma. She is punished

by Lakṣmaṇa so she goes to inform one of her brothers Khon (Khara in Sanskrit). Rāma kills Khon. Another brother Tut (Dūṣaṇa) comes and is killed again. So Trīṣian (Trīśira) comes out and loses his life in fighting with Rāma. Sammanakkhā then goes to Langkā and praises about Sītā's beauty to Rāvaṇa until the latter falls in love with her. He then asks Mārīch to help him by disguising as a golden deer to lure Rāma away. Rāvaṇa then abducts Sītā, fight with Sadāyu, a bird, and brings Sītā to his garden in Langkā. Rāma follows, finds Sadāyu and also in his search meets Kumpol (Kumbala) and Aśmukhī. Both of them are killed and punished by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Kumpol, however, goes back to heaven as his curse is finished.

Virādha is called Pirāp in Thai. As for the younger sister of Rāvaṇa, in Thai she is called Sammanakkhā from Sanskrit Śūrpanakhā. For her brothers, Trīṣian (Trīśira) is only a general not her brother. Sadāyu is in Sanskrit Jaṭāyu, the same as Aśmukhī, the name of a female demon, is in Sanskrit Ayomukhī. Kumpol is in reality Kabandha.

4. *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*. In this section Rāma finds Hanumān who becomes his ally. Hanumān then introduces Sukhrīp and the latter asks Rāma to kill Pālī which Rāma accepts and at last kills him. Then Ongkhot (Aṅgada) and Chompūpān, another monkey, also are on Rāma's side. Sukhrīp is crowned as the king of the town of Khīdkhin (Kiṣkindhyā). Rāma then has another ally, Mahāchomphū and he sends Hanumān, Ongkhot and Chompūpān to Laṅkā. Ongkhot kills another demon, Paklan. Hanumān finds two girls named Bushmālī and Suvarṇamālī who show them the way to Langkā as well as other hermits and a bird named Sampātī, a younger brother of Sadāyu. Hanumān then flies alone to Laṅkā.

In Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* there are two episodes of Pālī fighting with a buffalo. First he fights against Tuntupī and the second time against Māyāvī but in the Thai version they mix them together into only one episode. Rāma in order to show Sukhrīp his strength shoots an arrow through seven trees and a mountain. This display of strength

does not appear in the Thai version. Also in the Thai version Hanumān gets Bushmālī as his wife. So here it should be explained that though in Vālmiki's text, Hanumān observes celibacy but in the Thai version he is a great lover, probably because of the Thai characteristics.

5. *Sundara-kāṇḍa*. Hanumān on flying to Langkā has to fight against a female demon of the ocean. He then goes on to visit the hermit Nārada and later kills the protector demon of Langkā. He goes into the town of Langkā, finds Sītā in a garden and rescues her from hanging herself. Then Hanumān destroys the garden in Langkā palace and kills Sahaskumāra, Rāvaṇa's sons. Indrajit is called upon and can catch Hanumān. Hanumān asks to be burnt alive and he burns down the whole town of Langkā. Nārada helps him to extinguish the fire on his tail by putting it in Hanumān's own mouth. Rāvaṇa has his new town constructed by the gods. Hanumān, Ongkhot and Chompūpān come back to Rāma. At first Rāma is angry for what Hanumān has done but at last he pardons him.

In Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, angels would like to try Hanumān's power so they ask Surasā, the mother of all the *nāga*, to stop him but Hanumān can win her and is allowed to leave. This story of Surasā does not figure in the Thai version. The encounter with the hermit Nārada also does not appear in the Sanskrit text. The name of Sahaskumāra is in Sanskrit Akshakumāra and is only one person but in the Thai version they are composed of 1,000. In Thai before Hanumān is burnt alive Rāvaṇa tries to kill him in many ways but unsuccessful. This episode does not exist in the Sanskrit text and Hanumān extinguishes the fire on his tail in the ocean not by Nārada's suggestion as explained in the Thai version.

6. *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*. Rāma's army moves to Langkā. Rāvaṇa has a bad dream and Piphek suggests to his brother to return Sītā. Rāvaṇa is so angry that he banishes Piphek from the town of Langkā. So Piphek comes to live with Rāma and first he would like to see the strength of

Rāma's army. After Rāvaṇa hears the noise of Rāma's soldiers, he sends one of his military, Sukrasarn, to spy on them. Sukrasarn is caught, punished and sent back. Rāvaṇa then transforms himself as a hermit and tries to deprive Piphek from Rāma's side but in vain.

Rāvaṇa then asks Benyakai, Piphek's daughter, to transform herself as Sītā and floats to Rāma's camp. This trick however is found out and Hanumān in bringing Benyakai back to Langkā again has her as his wife.

Then follows the story of Rāma building a causeway to Langkā. Rāvaṇa asks one of his daughters, a mermaid, to destroy the causeway. Hanumān catches her and has her again as his wife. The son of Hanumān and this mermaid is adopted by another demon, Maiyarāp. Rāma's army then marches on to the town of Langkā. Indra orders Mātulī (Mātali in Sanskrit), his charioteer, to bring down his chariot for Rāma. Rāma then sends Ongkhot as a messenger to Rāvaṇa to ask for Sītā back but unsuccessful. Rāvaṇa has a parasol set up so that Rāma's army cannot see the sun but Sukhrīp can destroy the parasol.

Rāvaṇa asks Maiyarāp to come for help. He can abduct Rāma but Hanumān can kill Maiyarāp and brings Rāma back. Rāvaṇa asks for Kumbhakarṇa's help. The latter can catch Sukhrīp but Hanumān can rescue him. Kumbhakarṇa tries to perform a ceremony to sharpen his sacred lance which is called Mokkhaśakti but Hanumān and Ongkhot destroy the ceremony. Kumbhakarṇa comes out to the battlefield for the second time. He can injure Lakṣmaṇa with his lance but Hanumān can find the medicine to cure him. Kumbhakarṇa then tries to make himself as a dam so that Rāma's army cannot get water but Hanumān can drive him back into Langkā. Kumbhakarṇa then comes out for the last time and is killed by Rāma.

Rāvaṇa then calls on Indrajit. For the first battle with Lakṣmaṇa, nobody wins. Mangkornkan, a nephew of Rāvaṇa, comes out to fight and is killed by Rāma. Indrajit then comes out to the battlefield again and shoots an arrow in the form of *nāga* to entwine Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma shoots an arrow to call down a *garuḍa* who drives away the *nāga*. Indrajit then disguises himself as Indra and shoots an arrow at Lakṣmaṇa. Hanumān is so angry. He flies up to kill the pseudo-Airāvata. Rāma comes out to the battlefield and faints because of sorrow. So Rāvaṇa sends Sītā on a flying vehicle to see that both Rāma

and Lakṣmaṇa have already been dead but her female demon attendant, Piphek's wife, has a pity upon her and informs her that the flying vehicle will not move if it is ridden by a widow. Later on Rāma recovers and Hanumān can bring medicine to cure Lakṣmaṇa. Indrajit then comes out again with a prisoner who transforms himself as Sītā. He beheads the prisoner so that Rāma's army will believe that Sītā has been killed but this trick is also discovered. Indrajit comes out for the last time and is killed by Lakṣmaṇa.

Rāvaṇa then comes out to the battlefield for the first time. Indra again asks Viśvakarma to bring down to Rāma a chariot named Vejaiyanta. This time the result of the fighting is even. Other two demons, Sahasdeja and Mūlapalam come to help Rāvaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa kills Mūlapalam and Hanumān Sahasdeja. Another demon, Saeng-ātī, is called upon. He is also killed by Rāma. Rāvaṇa comes out for the second time and the result of the fighting is again even. Two other demons come to help Rāvaṇa: Satalung and Trīmek. Rāma kills Satalung and Trīmek is killed by Hanumān.

Rāvaṇa then tries to perform a ceremony but it is destroyed by Sukhrīp, Nilanon and Hanumān. Satthāsūn and Virunchambang come to help Rāvaṇa. Hanumān and Ongkhot kill Satthāsūn. Virunchambang is also killed by Hanumān who has during the pursuit another wife, Vānarīn.

Rāvaṇa asks Mālīvarāj, his grand-uncle who can utter sacred words to come down from heaven and judge the case between him and Rāma. Mālīvarāj, however, after having heard many witnesses who went to Rāma's wedding with Sītā, sides with Rāma and orders Rāvaṇa to return Sītā. Rāvaṇa refuses and Mālīvarāj then curses him to lose the battle.

Rāvaṇa then performs another ceremony which is destroyed by Pālī according to the command of Śiva. Rāvaṇa comes out to the battlefield again and can throw his lance, Kabilapat, to Lakṣmaṇa. The latter however is cured by Hanumān through the information of Piphek. In curing Hanumān has to go to Langkā to fetch a grinding stone which Rāvaṇa uses as a pillow. He ties Rāvaṇa's hair to that of Montho.

Another demon, Tapanāsūn, comes to help Rāvaṇa. He is killed by Rāma. Rāvaṇa's two sons, Taśakhīrīvan and Taśakhīrīthorn come out to fight with Lakṣmaṇa. They are both killed. During that time

Montho performs a ceremony to get a nectar to revive all those dead demons during the battles. She succeeds but later on the ceremony is destroyed by Hanumān, Nilanon and Chompūpān.

Rāvaṇa comes out again but he cannot be killed because his heart is outside his body. It is in a box guarded by the hermit Goputra. Hanumān then asks the hermit Goputra to take him to Rāvaṇa as he does not want to stay on Rāma's side anymore. Ongkhot afterwards steals the box containing Rāvaṇa's heart. Rāvaṇa accepts Hanumān as his adopted son. Hanumān then goes out to do a mock battle against Lakṣmaṇa. Later on Rāvaṇa knows about the plot so for his last battle he transforms himself as Indra and is killed by Rāma through having his heart crushed by Hanumān at the same time. Piphek then invites Sītā to come from the garden and meet Rāma but she asks first to walk on fire to prove her faithfulness to Rāma.

Piphek who later on becomes the king of Langkā has a cremation ceremony for the remains of Rāvaṇa arranged. Aśakan, another demon, comes to fight and is killed by Rāma. Rāma then begins to go back to Ayutthayā with Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and the monkey soldiers. He destroys the causeway he built to Langkā. Banlaikan, another son of Rāvaṇa, follows the army but is killed by Hanumān. The army arrives at the town of Khīdkhin, the town of Sukhrīp. Rāma sends Hanumān and Kukhan to Ayutthayā. They stop Prot and Satrud from burning themselves as Rāma has not yet come back after fourteen years. Then Rāma is crowned as the king of Ayutthayā.

This section is the longest of the whole story. In the Thai text after Hanumān comes back from Langkā after he presents Rāma's ring to Sītā, he is rewarded a bathing cloth by Rāma. This episode does not figure in Vālmīki's version. The mountain Mahendragīrī where Rāma's army stops on the coast of the ocean in front of Langkā is called Hemtiran in Thai. Kumbhakarna in Thai means the ear as big as a pot. In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Piphek is quite brave but in the Thai text he is rather cowardly. When he is banished from Langkā, according to Vālmīki he is accompanied by four soldiers but in the Thai version he leaves alone. As for the name of his wife in the Thai language it is Trīchadā (Trījaṭā) not Saramā like in Sanskrit. For the name of his daughter it is Benyakai in Thai instead of Nandā.

One can perceive that in Vālmīki's text, the three episodes in the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* are lacking: 1) when Benyakai, Piphek's daughter, transforms herself as Sītā and floats to Rāma's camp; 2) Hanumān quarrels with Nilapat during the construction of the causeway to Langkā and 3) the story of the mermaid, Suvarṇamacchā, and Hanumān.

As for Śuka and Sārana, two soldiers of Rāvaṇa, who come to spy on Rāma's soldiers, in the Thai text they are mixed into one single person named Sukrasārṇ and each time one of them comes is shortened into one episode only.

The story of Mālīvarāj in the Thai text might have come from Mālīyavan who is the maternal grandfather of Rāvaṇa. He also suggests to Rāvaṇa to return Sītā but Rāvaṇa would not listen to him.

For the episodes of breaking Rāvaṇa's parasol and sending Ongkhot as a messenger, in the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* it is reversed in time to that of Vālmīki.

The three stories of Maiyarāp abducting Rāma, Kumbhakarṇa making himself as a dam and performing the ceremony of sharpening his lance, Mokkhaśakti, never appear in the Sanskrit text.

When Indrajit shoots an arrow as *nāga*, in the Sanskrit text both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are intertwined by a noose and the *garuḍa* comes to help by himself. But in the Thai story only Lakṣmaṇa is intertwined by the noose and Rāma shoots an arrow to call down the *garuḍa*.

Mangkornkan, Rāvaṇa's nephew, is called in Sanskrit Mangkarakṣhā. Saeng-ātīt, another demon, never figures in the Sanskrit text. Neither do Mūlapalam and Sahasdeja, the other two demons.

Rāvaṇa is killed according to the Sanskrit text because the hermit Agastayamuni tells Rāma a *mantra* called "*The heart of the sun (Ādityaharidaya)*". This might be transformed into a box containing the heart of Rāvaṇa in the Thai version.

So far we have followed King Rāma VI's comparison between Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Thai version of King Rāma I. Now another Thai scholar, Phya Anumān Rājadhon, who has done the same research surmises that probably the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* derives from the Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* both directly and indirectly. He cites for

example the story of Maiyarāp which does not figure in Sanskrit but exists in Tamil called Mayilirāvaṇa and there are many Tamil names in the Thai version for example Asūramāyan, Sumantan, Paulastayan, Kurepan, Sudhāmantan, Kukan or Khukhan and Anomātan. Mūlapalam according to an explanation of a brahmin in Thailand is not a person but an army of Rāvaṇa in the Tamil version.

7. *Uttara-kāṇḍa*. As has been said this section is a later addition and full of many anecdotes. Here the writer will describe first the story of the Thai version of King Rāma I.

After Rāma becomes king of Ayutthayā, he rewards his brothers and many of his soldiers. A town is built for Hanumān to rule. A demon named Mahābāl comes to attack Langkā which is ruled by Piphek. Rāma sends Hanumān to help him and Hanumān kills Mahābāl. Montho, a former wife of Rāvaṇa gives birth to a boy and so does Benyakai, Hanumān's wife. Hanumān later on becomes a hermit. Piphek mistakes Montho's son as his real child but one day after he grows up the son knows that Rāvaṇa who was killed by Rāma is his father so he goes to see Chakravatti, another powerful demon for help. Chakravatti's army comes to besiege Langkā and can seize Piphek. Hanumān's son with Benyakai then tries to find his father. Hanumān leaves his hermitage and informs Rāma what has happened in Langkā. At this time begins the repetition of what Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa have done but change the heroes into Prot and Satrud with Nilapat as a chief monkey soldier. They kill Chakravatti as well as his friend Vaitāl. Then Rāma performs the ceremony of cutting the mermaid's tail from the son of Hanumān born from a mermaid who is the daughter of Rāvaṇa.

A female demon named Adūl transforms herself as Sītā's lady-inwaiting and asks Sītā to draw a portrait of Rāvaṇa. When Rāma finds the portrait he is very angry with Sītā and asks Lakṣmaṇa to take Sītā out into a jungle and kill her. Lakṣmaṇa cannot behead her because Sītā is still faithful to Rāma so he lets her go to live with a hermit. Sītā later on gives birth to a son. One day she takes him out to a river. The hermit cannot find Sītā's son so he performs a ceremony to create another boy and both of them turn to be playmates. One is named



Mongkut and the other one Lob. They both learn about fighting and magic formula from the hermit. Rāma performs a ceremony called Aśvamedha by letting lose a horse followed by an army which is led by Prot, Satrud and Hanumān. Mongkut and Lob catch the horse and ride it. They fight with Prot, Satrud and Hanumān, not knowing one another. Mongkut is caught and brought back to Ayutthayā but Lob comes to rescue him and they return to the hermitage where resides Sītā. Rāma follows and fights with his two children. Later on he realizes that they are his sons. Sītā will not come back to live with Rāma but let the two children go to live with their father. Rāma then makes a trick by hiding himself inside an urn and orders Hanumān to inform Sītā that he is dead. Sītā comes back to Ayutthayā and when she finds out that Rāma is still alive she makes a wish to go down and stay in the nether world. The wish is fulfilled.

Rāma calls Piphek to Ayutthayā for consultation and Piphek advises that he should go out to the jungle again for one year. So Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumān and the monkey soldiers leave Ayutthayā and kill many demons along their journey. After one year they come back to Ayutthayā and Śiva arranges a second wedding for Rāma and Sītā.

The last anecdote concerns the king of Gandharva who attacks and captures the town of Prot's maternal grandfather, Kaiyakesha. Rāma orders Prot, Satrud and his two sons to bring an army to fight them. In this last story Mongkut, Rāma's first son, becomes a hero. At last Rāma's army can take back the town.

At the end of the story there is an eulogy for Rāma and also a warning to the Thai public that this story is written in Hinduism, not in Buddhism. Then the date for the beginning of the composition of the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* in the reign of King Rāma I is given: 1797 A.D.

In the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* the origins of Rāma, Rāvaṇa and the family of the monkeys are related at the beginning of the story. Only the banishment of Sītā from the town of Ayutthayā, the birth of Mongkut (in Sanskrit Kuśa) and Lob (in Sanskrit Lava) and the fighting of Prot and Satrud are kept at the end.

The story of the banishment of Sītā from Ayutthayā is totally dif-

ferent from that of Vālmīki and the war of only Satrud in Vālmīki's is totally changed into the war of Prot and Satrud with Nilapat replacing Hanumān. The revolt against Piphek in Langkā by Rāvaṇa's son does not exist in Vālmīki's. The end of the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* on Rāma's ceremony of Aśvamedha is like the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the Aṅganikāya version of Bengal but the story of Rāma hiding in an urn does not appear in any of the Indian texts.

For the war with the king of the Gandharva in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* the general of the army is Prot and his two sons but in the Thai version it is Prot, Satrud and Rāma's two sons. The story of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa going up to heaven at the end does not appear in the Thai version which tells only of the happiness of Rāma and Sītā.

One can therefore surmise that the Thai version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* composed in the reign of King Rāma I of Thailand (Siam) from 1797 A.D. is based on the following sources:

1. Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit both from the Uttaranikāya and mostly from the Aṅganikāya of Bengal.
2. the Tamil versions.
3. Viṣṇupurāṇa.
4. Hanumānnāṭaka.
5. Tullidāsa's Hindi *Rāmāyaṇa*.
6. the Thai former versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which have mostly been lost and the Thai own characteristics.

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