RĀMĀYANA AND LANKA

PARTS I & II

BY

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THE LATE JUSTICE SIR T. SADASIVA AIYAR, M L. TO WHOM THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

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SIR T. SADASIVA AIYAR, M.L.

MY ELDER BROTHER

WHO LOVED ME & WHOM I LOVED
THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

OPINION

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, K.C.S.I., writes: I found the notes of your research into the geography of Lanka and Rāma's route thereto, entrancing. I admire the patient research and the critical spirit you have brought to bear upon your investigation. Your arguments are prima facie sound. At any rate they challenge impartial examination.'

PREFACE

I was familiar with the Bala and the Sundara Kāndas of the Rāmāyana since my student days. The Bāla Kānda impressed me as puerile Purānic stuff, and the Sundara as mainly, florid, overwrought, descriptive poetry, though in parts exceedingly fine and sweet-sounding. In 1922, when convalescing from a serious illness, I went through the Rāmāyana from end to end and it struck me that the Ayodhya, Āranya and Kishkindhā Kāndas might contain genuine historical matter, and that these Kāndas deserved a critical study in view to ascertain if Vālmīki's epic had a historic substratum. In a verse of the Ayodhya, I read that Dasaratha looked like the 'Sun eclipsed and a Rshi who had spoken an untruth' (Sarga 8, verse 16). It struck me that Vālmīki's loyalty to truth. might, to begin with, be tested with reference to his geography. I sent for Survey of India Standard Sheet 63, and found that Valmiki's Tamasā, Vedasruti, Gōmati, Syandika, and Sringaverapura on the north bank of the Ganges, corresponded to the Tons, Biswi. Gumti, Sai, and Singraur of the Map. This raised a strong presumption that Valmiki's itinerary of Rāma, beyond Singraur, and right

up to Lanka, might be equally reliable. I therefore first concentrated on Valmiki's geography and Appendices I, Ia and II, to Section I of this work, contain the results of my search. In the course of about two years of relevant reading. I made out to my own satisfaction, that the Rāmāyana was in substance a credible record of the struggle of Aryan and Gond for Janasthan, the populous, fertile, black-soil, high level plain of the Damoh District, 800 square miles in extent, and watered by the lower reaches of the Sonar river and of its tributaries, the Kopra to the right, and the Bewas to the left. By 1926, I was able to convince my learned and saintly brother, the late Justice Sadasiva Aivar of the Madras High Court, that my geography was right, as also my conclusions as to the historic kernel of the epic. He was deeply interested in the Rāmāyana, having read it about fifteen times from end to end by way of 'Pārāyana' in the course of thirty-five years. He made up his mind to resign his Presidency of the Religious Endowments Board by the end of 1926, and to join me at Bangalore for a prolonged stay in view to writing out his 'lengthy judgment', as he called it, on his brother's 'startling conclusions based on the unimpeachable evidence of text and topo-maps'. But that, alas! was

not to be. Pressed by the Minister in charge of Endowments for whom he had a special regard, he continued in harness, till he passed away in November 1927. He was a selfless. fearless, forthright worker devoted to God and Truth, and was the first practical pioneer of Harijan uplift to which he gave, during two decades and more, an appreciable portion of his income. In the Rāmāyana, the great Agastya has a brother, called 'Agastya-bhrāta' without a name of his own, and I often felt that, like the latter, I should be content and proud to be known merely as 'Sadasiva-bhrata'. When he died, and the shadow of Kali thickened over India in 1928, I put aside for the time all thoughts of Srī Rāma and the Rāmāyana. But in June 1934, six years later, I read in the Hindu that our illustrious poet-singer, Dr. Tagore, informed a Madras audience: 'I told the Ceylonese, that Sītā, queen of Ayodhya, was abducted and kept confined in their island by a ten-headed giant.' I have no idea why this most angelic of men said so, but it both shocked and saddened me. In Sanskrit literature post-Christian as well as pre-Christian, right down to the Champu Rāmāyana of King Bhoja (1010-1050 A.D.), Cevlon or Simhala was never mixed up with Rāvaņa's Lanka on the Trikūta hill. From

the days of Gunadhya and the Satavahanas, Simhala was a civilised Buddhist kingdom famous for its precious stones. In 330 A.D. the Simhala king Meghavarman sent an embassy to Emperor Samudra Gupta with costly Early in the fifth century A.D., the great Fahien reached Cevlon fourteen days after leaving Tamluk, transcribed the Sacred Books unknown in China, and witnessed the festival of the Exhibition of Buddha's Tooth. In the Ratnāvali of King Srī Harsha (608-48), Simhala occurs half a dozen times, a trader comes from the Simhalas, Vikramabāhu is the high-born (udātta-vamsa-prabhava) king of the Simhalas, and Ratnāvalī with her rare necklace of wondrous sheen, 'was Simhalesa Duhita'. The word Lanka does not appear even once, though Harsha was familiar with the Rāmāyana, and refers in verse 31, Anka II, to Meghanāda's temporary triumph over Lakshmana and the Vanara hosts.

For the first and only time in the Rāmāyaṇa, Ceylon is indicated in Sarga 41, Kishkindha, as 'the abode of wicked Rāvaṇa, glorious as Indra'. It is not named, but is described as an island opposite the Mahendra mountain which Agastya had fixed in the sea where the Tāmbraparṇī enters it near Pāṇḍyakavāṭa or Kolkai. I have dealt with this

interpolation in detail in Chapters I and XI of this work. As Hanuman and Rama started from Mahendra for Lanka, the forger-flatterer's motive was obviously to glorify an Indian king who invaded Cevlon from Kolkai Harbour. defeated the Simhalese king and captured his Capital Anurādhapura. As a rule, in our kāvyas, the victorious hero and his helpers are deified, while his vanquished enemies are diabolized. In the 'Magha' of the latter half of the seventh century A.D., Nārada makes out that Sisupāla was a reincarnation of Rāvana. ås Krshna was of Rāma (Sarga I, verses 65 and 66). This deifying and diabolizing has been introduced, even in an ancient Itihāsa like the 'Bhārata' (vide Vana Parva, Ghoshayātra, Sarga 253), and the Asuras informed Duryodhana that he was their protagonist, that his helper Karna was Narakāsura reincarnate, while the Pandavas (Karna's brothers) were helpers of the Gods! (verses 20 and 25).

There is good reason to believe that Ceylon was faked into Lanka in the eleventh century A.D. In the latter half of the tenth century the Cholas rose to be a great military and naval power. About 1000 A.D., Rājarāja subdued the Pāṇḍya, Chera, Pallava, Gaṅga, Eastern Chālukya and Kaliṅga kingdoms. His son Rājendra extended his conquests to Kedah and

Perak in Malaya, 1,200 miles across the sea from Trincomalee. From the middle of the tenth century, Ceylon fell upon evil times. The Imperial Gazetteer says: "Parantaka II (962-70) sent an expedition to demand from Udaya II, the Pāndya Crown and Insignia in his possession. The Tamils invaded Cevlon. beat the Ceylonese, and captured the Crown. By 999 Rājarāja overcame the Pāndyas of Madura. In 1002 he conquered Ceylon." The 'Mahawanso' says: "the Tamils greatly oppressed the islanders. Anurādhapura was sacked, the holy places desecrated, and king Mihindo and his queen captured by the Cholas. After this there was constant war between the Tamils and the Simhalese for a century and a half. till great Parākramabāhu (1164-97) restored. though only temporarily. Simhalese independence."

The Cholas claimed Solar descent, and it is likely that it was during the two centuries of Chola dominance in Ceylon the Simhala king and his army were made out to be Rāvaṇa and his Rākshasa hosts. It would seem that in the Tamil inscriptions of Rājarāja and Rājendra, Ceylon is called 'Ilā' (vide Rice's Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 334). If 'Ilā' is short for Ilangai or Lanka, that would suggest that verses 17-25 of Sarga 41 of Kishkindha were

interpolated during the sway of Rajaraja or Imperial Rājendra whose dominions extended to Malava beyond the seas. The great Tamil poet Kambar flourished in the second half of the twelfth century. In the 'Nadavatta Padalam' of his Kitkinda Kānda, Sugrīva, describing the way to Ravana's 'great city', refers in succession to the 'South Tamil Country'. Agastva Malai, Tāmbraparnī river, Mahendragiri and the sea (Kadal). He then ends, 'Cross the sea, search thoroughly and return to this place within the month's time fixed' (verses 31 and 32). These verses show that Sarga 41, verses 17-25, of the original Kishkindha. were known to Srī Kambar, and had, therefore, been fabricated before the second half of the twelfth century A.D.

As already noted, there is no mention of 'Simhala' in Bhoja's Champu ending with the Sundara-Kāṇḍa, nor anything corresponding to verses 17-25, Sarga 41, of the original epic. In the Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, however, added by Lakshmaṇasūri, we find in the gadya between verses 32 and 33: 'Just then Rāma and Sugrīva ascended the Suvela and saw Lanka, the crest-jewel of the Trikūta mount, the torus of the lotus-flower that is the Ceylon Island (Simhala-dvīpa-kamala-karṇikām), and the architectural skill of Viṣvakarma.' This

extract closely follows the original Rāmāyana (Yuddha, Sarga 40, verses 1, 2 and 3/1) except that for Valmiki's 'bright with pleasant groves'. Lakshmanasūri substitutes his plumper, 'Simhala-dvīpa-kamala-karnikām'. Bhoja was a great scholar and poet, and ruled in Ujiain and Dhāra till he died in 1050 A.D. It is reasonable therefore to assume that during his life-time, Kishkindha, Sarga 41, verses 17-25. were not current north of the Narmada. I have no idea when Lakshmanasūri lived, but taking all the facts together, we may safely infer, that Kishkindha, Sarga 41, verses 17-25, were interpolated after 1050 A.D., and during the second half of the eleventh century when Chola Power was at its zenith in the reigns of Rājendra Chola and Kulottunga I (1050 to 1112).

Further, not only was hill-top Lanka made out to be 'Ceylon island', but Adam's bridge, the chain of sand-banks between the Rāmeṣvaram and Manaar islands, was identified with the Nalasetu or causeway of stones, rocks, trees, bushes and creepers, raised by the Vānaras by command of Rāma (Yuddha, Sarga 22, verses 50-70). Adam's bridge was once a continuous isthmus which, according to Rāmeṣvaram temple records, 'was breached by storm' in 1480 A.D. (Enc. Brit., Ed. XIV,

Vol. I, p. 159). When the forger of Sarga 41, verses 17-25, Kishkindha, made Agastva purposively fix the Mahendra in the Tambraparni mouth, he evidently had in view an expedition to Ceylon starting from Kolkai Harbour, which is due west of Anuradhapura. But a hundred miles north-east of Kolkai, was a long and continuous isthmus answering admirably to the Nalasetu, and making Rāmesvaram a more plausible starting-point for Rāma's expedition across the sea. In neither case, however, was there a north to south causeway a hundred yojans long, between two hills, the Mahendra and Suvela, in the Rāmāyana. When therefore Lakshmanasūri wrote of Rāma's ascent of the Suvela, and of his view thence of Lanka, 'the crest-jewel of the $Trik\bar{u}ta$, and the torus of the lotus that was Ceylon island', it is obvious he had no idea of any particular hills in 'Simhala-dvīpa' answering to the Suvela and Trikūta of Vālmīki.

The faking of Adam's bridge into Nalasetu and the consequential change in the starting-point of Rāma's expedition from Kolkai Harbour to Dhanushkoti was probably synchronous with the consecration of the Rāmeṣvara Lingam and the erection of the great Rāmeṣvara temple in the Rāmeṣvaram island.

For a century and a quarter (985-1112), three great Cholas, Rājarāja, Rājendra and Kulottunga I, were all powerful in South India. They were devoted Saivites, and Rajaraja built the famous Brhad-Isvara temple in Tanjore. Kulottunga's successor Vikrama-Chola (1112-27) was a bigoted Saivite, and persecuted the great Vaishnava reformer Rāmānuja and his disciples. The great Hoysala king Vishnu-Vardhana (1104-41), a disciple of Rāmānuja, made war on him, captured Talkad and added the ancient Ganga kingdom to his own. From the days of Vishnu-Vardhana and for nearly two centuries, the Hoysalas displaced the Cholas as the Paramount Power in South India. In their inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there are several references to the 'Setu' as the southern end of India. A Hoysala is said to be the best of kings 'between the Himāchala and Setu', and what is more, in an Arsikere inscription (No. 30 of 1134 A.D.), Rāmesvaram is given as the southern boundary of the Hoysala dominions (Rice's Inscriptions, Vol. V. Part I. p. 121). There is thus good reason to believe that Ceylon became Lanka, and Adam's bridge Nalasetu, during the century (1000-1100) of unquestioned Chola supremacy in South India. It was no doubt, during the same period, and

under Chola auspices, the Ramesvaram temple was built over a Lingam whose consecration was attributed to Srī Rāma himself, though there is nothing in the Rāmāvana even remotely suggesting it. On the other hand, Rāma and his mother Kausalya worshipped Vishnu as Nārāyana and Janārdana (Ayodhya, Sarga 4, verse 33 and Sarga 6, verses 3 and 4) and Rāma, when he was about to enter the Sarayu, enjoined on Vibhīshana, the worship of Jagannātha, the family deity of the Ikshvākus' (Uttara, Sarga 108, verse 28). In the Rāmāyana again, Vishnu is the eternal deity, greater than Isvara (Ayodhya, Sarga 1, verse 7, and Bāla, Sarga 75, verses 15-20). Per contra, Rāvana was a Lingam-worshipper and a great devotee of Isvara. Wherever he went, he carried a golden Linga which he fixed in a platform of sand. and worshipped with flowers, scents, dance and song (Uttara, Sarga 31, verses 42-44).

Further, during the century and a half of oppression by the Tamils' mentioned by the Mahāwanṣo', the Tamils settled on a large scale in North Ceylon, driving the islanders to the hilly south, and there are now half a million Ceylonese Tamils descended from these ancient settlers. Brahmanism naturally dominated Buddhism, the holy places were desecrated', the dispirited Simhalese accepted

'Simhala' as a synonym for Rāvana's Lanka, and great Parākramabāhu himself, imitated Rājarāja's device of the standing king in his coins, and patronised both Buddhist and Brahmin priests. Again, not content with faking the Dhanushkoti and Nalasetu and making Srī Rāma consecrate a Lingam in Rāmesvaram, the Tamils carried their politico-religious propaganda into Ceylon itself. As recently as July 1939, both the Illustrated Times of India and the Hindu had an article by Mr. S. V. O. Somanader on the 'Hanuman Theertham ' in Cevlon and I make no apology for giving an abstract of it below. vear during Āudi Amāvāsai, a big Hindu festival ending in a sacred bath in a historic pond adjoining an even more historic temple, takes place at the East Ceylon village of Amritgali. Thousands of pilgrims from various parts of Cevlon come to this temple to perform religious rites and bathe in the sacred pond to wash away their sins. Intense religious fervour is displayed by the pilgrims including selftorture, with the devotees' cheeks pierced by silver arrows and their backs with steel-hooks. Sometimes mere boys and even women go through this ordeal. The origin of this temple is traced back to the Krta-Yuga, when Rāma, an avatār of Vishnu, led his army to Lanka (Cevlon), to fight the Demon King Ravana. It was Rāma's custom to instal a Lingam at every place he halted, and remove it after worship to be taken with him on his travels. Finding a beautiful pond amid trees, he camped at this place, and after the usual pooja tried to remove the Lingam, but found it could not be removed. And so it came about, a temple was raised here. As to the pond, tradition states it was in this very pool, Hanuman dinned his burning tail with which he devastated Lanka. The festival is even now known locally among the Tamils as Hanuman Theertha Trivila." [Note: This is just 'impudent', as the Sundara-Kānda, Sarga 54, verse 50 says 'Hanumān quenched his tail-fire (lāngūlāgnim) in the sea (Samudra).] "After the customary rites, the Theertham takes place at noon. when thousands of devotees with upraised hands and crying 'Arohara', bathe briskly in the pool, as soon as the temple deity borne on an Ox Vāhanam, has been dipped in the water."

Īṣvara was the saviour and patron-deity of the Rākshasa race (*Uttara*, Sarga 4, verses 27-29). Rāvaṇa's devotion to the Lingam (*Uttara*, Sarga 31, verses 42-44) was therefore perfectly natural. But the Tamil settlers who faked the shrine at Amritgali were bigoted Saivites, and they evidently considered it the correct thing to transfer Rāvaṇa's habitual worship of the Lingam to Rāma himself. Again, several years ago, I read an article on 'Nuwara Eliya', an open grassy plateau amid forests, and learnt that according to tradition, it was the very site where ancient Lanka had stood, and that the destruction of Lanka by Hanumān's burning tail accounted for the lack of arboreous growth.

Propaganda of this kind, endlessly repeated century after century, and perpetuated by shrines like Rāmesvaram, has sunk deep into the bones of the Mainland Hindoos, even like the silly story of Demons Rāhu and Ketu swallowing up the Sun and the Moon, time after time. It is no wonder then that even great intellectuals like Dr. Tagore, Pandit Nehru and Srī. Rājāji succumb to it. In June 1934. Dr. Tagore 'told the Ceylonese that queen Sītā of Ayodhya was abducted and kept confined in their island by a ten-headed giant.' Pandit Nehru in his speeches in Cevlon (July 1939) used Lanka and Ceylon as synonymous. and Srī. Rājāji, welcoming him to Madras said the Pandit had come 'by air like great Hanuman' and 'he hoped they would succeed in their efforts without enacting the Rāmāyana.' These be ominous words coming from the powerful Premier of Madras though a foremost disciple of our great apostle of non-violence, and naturally enough, critical Srī. S. Srinivasa Iyengar promptly and pertinently asked, 'is then Sir Baron Jayatilaka a Rāvana?'

TAMIL-CEYLONESE ANTIPATHY

Ceylon is now another Ireland, with the same population and five-sixth of its area. The Buddhist Simhalese and the Brahmanised Tamils, are distinct in race, religion and language, like the Catholic Celts and the Protestant Britishers of Ireland, and in both cases. the antipathy is rooted in forcible settlements. following on military conquest, and accompanied by religious persecution. In those days. the Buddhists were obnoxious to the Jains as well as Brahmins. In Vol. I, page 307, of his 'Musore', Lewis Rice, the great archæologist who discovered at Brahmagiri the Asoka inscriptions that sanctify Mysore, writes: 'It was during this period, or in 788 A.D., according to Wilson, a great religious discussion took place at Kāñchi between Buddhists and Jains before King Hemasītala who was a Buddhist. The Jains were victorious and the Buddhists in lieu of being ground in oil-mills according to the conditions of the contest, were banished to Kandy in Ceylon, the king embracing the Jain faith.' It was in 788 A.D., too, the great Sankara was born. He wrote his famous Bhāshua when only 12 (?), and went to Prayag to meet Kumārila, controvert his Karma-Mīmāmsa philosophy, and persuade him to write a 'Vārtika' (explanatory commentary) on his Bhāshya. But he saw Kumārila wasting away on a pyre of glowing paddy-husk, and the Bhatta told him: 'I must end my life to expiate two sins. I had my Buddhist Guru killed, and following Jaimini I denied a personal God'. Sankara however assured him: "You are 'Guha' (Kārtikeya) born on earth to destroy Sugatas, who turn their backs on Vedic karma " (Mādhava's Sankara-Vijaya, Sarga VII, verse 106). The persecution of the Buddhists began about 180 B.C. in the days of Pushyamitra, who crushed the life out of Brhadratha, his unsuspecting Maurya Emperor, and usurped his throne. In Cunningham's Archeological Report for 1863-64, we find: 'Again, after the fall of the Maurva dynasty, in 178 B.C., we find Pushyamitra, king of Pataliputra, offering 100 Dinars for the head of every Sramana in Sākala (p. 41)'.

There is reason to believe that Patañjali, the grammarian, was Pushyamitra's preceptor and Adhvaryu-priest. Pushyamitra is Patañjali's hero. 'Sabha', he says, denotes the halls of kings like Chandragupta and Pushyamitra,

ignoring Buddhist Asoka. We also find: 'Pushyamitra sacrifices (yajāte). Here we conduct Pushyamitra's Sacrifice. Pushyamitra is a liberal largess-giver'. Pushyamitra's hatred of the Sramanas is crystallised in Patañjali's 'Sramana-Brahmana' as an example of 'mutual antipathy', like 'dog and jackal', and 'crow and owl'. Patañjali was a bigoted Brahman. Under the merciful and tolerant Asoka, Brahmans were apparently permitted to practise their sacrifices, but with substitutes fashioned out of flour-paste and shaped like the prescribed animals. Such a substitute is the 'pishta-paşu' of the Mādhva Brahmans of these days. But Patanjali would not hear of substitutes. The actual 'object' (dravya), the live animal, must be killed. 'There is nothing, 'he says, 'to be gained by killing a lump of dough (pishta-pindim) '. Again, quoting the Brāhmaṇa, 'in the spring, a Brahman should perform the Agnishtoma and other sacrifices', Patanjali asks, 'Ijyāyāh kim prayojanam '? (What is the good of sacrificing?) And he answers straightway: 'In Paradise, divine nymphs become his wives and lie under him.' Neither the Sukla-Yajus nor the Kṛshṇa-Yajus, nor any Brāhmaņa so far as I know, refers to this 'exceeding great reward' of a sacrifice. It is not unlikely that Patanjali's active brain first conceived this alluring idea, and that after centuries of Purānic propaganda, it became an article of 'Sanātani' faith, and helped to ensure the ultimate triumph of Brahmanism over Jainism and Buddhism.

Further, in the Rāmāyaṇa itself, great and righteous Rāma is audaciously exploited to discredit the great and good Buddha, though both Brahmans and Buddhists are agreed that Rāma was anterior to Buddha. In Ayodhya, Sarga 109, verse 34, Rāma says: 'as is a thief, so surely is the Buddha: Know that Tathāgatha is an atheist (nāstika)' (Ayodhya, Sarga 109, verse 34). Such was 'Odium theologicum' in India in the bad old days which began with Pushyamitra and Patañjali.

So, between Sugrīva and Rāma speaking through an interpolator, Ceylon island became Lanka on the Trikūta, the Buddhist Simhaļese and their 'Mahendra-bright' ruler (is 'Mihindo' Pāli for Mahendra?) became Rāvaṇa and his Rākshasas, and the Buddha himself, a thief and an atheist rolled into one. These became settled facts of Indian history since about 1000 A.D., and our great and good Rājājīvāl, the Ṣrī. Rāma of South India, warns the Ceylonese not to provoke another Rāmāyaṇa War.

Nearly twenty-five years ago, my learned brother told me after a visit to Cevlon that the Simhalese were 'militant Buddhists' (apparently a contradiction in terms), and had developed a special dislike for the Tamils. Neither he nor I was able to make out at the time why this was so, and it was only a decade later that I chanced upon the background of this antipathy in the 'Mahāwanso' account of the long-drawn oppression and religious persecution of the Simhalese by the Tamil invaders from the Chola and Pandya kingdoms. So too, the Tabarra keeps alive the memory of Kerbela and the Shia grievance, though a millennium and a quarter old, and the I.R.A. avenge the wrongs of their ancestors by sowing explosive time-bombs all over rich and wicked England.

It was therefore with deep regret and pain that I read in the Hindu in June 1934, the announcement of our illustrious poet that he told the Ceylonese that Queen Sītā had been abducted and kept confined in their island by a ten-headed giant'. I felt that such a statement by so great and good an Indian, stigmatizing Ceylon as the mother of a race of man-eating demons and a lustful ten-headed monster, must exacerbate Simhalese feelings against Indians, and it struck me that the facts about Lanka, Rākshasas and Vānaras

which I had accidentally discovered, might, if published, help to mollify Simhalese animosity, rooted in a historic wrong and envenomed by a vicious perversion of Vālmīki's Itihāsa.

It was in these circumstances that I began my work on Lanka and the Rāmāyana. I wrote the First Chapter of this book in 1934 giving my reasons for holding that Cevlon cannot possibly be the Lanka of the Rāmāyana. I then gave a detailed account of Rāma's journey from Ayodhya to Sarabhanga's hermitage at the junction of the Sarabhanga and Paisuni rivers. An abstract of this detailed account is embodied in Chapter XIV of this book. From Singraur (Sringaverapura) on the north bank of the Ganges, the text takes us through, (1) Prayag, (2) the Sacred Banvan tree (Vatassyāmah) on the south bank of the Jumna, (3) Chitrakūt hill, (4) Atri's hermitage. (5) Virādha's burial-pit, and (6) Sarabhanga's hermitage. Of these, Singraur and Chitrakūt were well-known places and identified in the District Gazetteers as the Sringaverapura and Chitrakūta of the Rāmāyana. In my detailed account, I showed, (1) that the visit to Prayag was interpolated, and that Prayag was then part of the bed of a great lake (Sāgara) formed by the meeting of the

waters of the Ganges and the Jumna. (2) that the Sacred Banvan tree grew near Bar Dewal at Katra (Lat. 25°16'; Long. 81°30') and was probably destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni, (3) that Anasūva hill, nine miles south of Chitrakūt, is Atri's hermitage of the text. (4) that Biradh kund of the Topo map three miles south of Anasūva hill, is the pit where Rākshasa Virādha was buried by Rāma and Lakshmana, (5) that Sarabhanga's hermitage, a yojan and more to the south of Biradh kund. lay at the junction of the Sarabhanga and Paisuni rivers at the north foot of the Panna Range, and (6) that the Vindhya and the Saivala which enclosed the Dandaka forest according to Agastya, were the Panna Range on the north and the Vindhyan to the south. With Singraur and Chitrakūt as landmarks to guide me, a perusal of the relevant Gazetteers and a scrutiny of large-scale survey maps enabled me to arrive at the above conclusions. A distinguished friend of my late brother who took a kindly interest in my work advised me to append a sketch map of Rāma's route to my description, and the same in two Sections will be found at the end of Chap. XIV of this book. A learned and distinguished University Professor, however, opined that my 'labours had been anticipated long ago by other Scholars' and 'in particular, by F. E. Pargiter, I.C.S., in an article published in the Journal of the R. A. Society of G. B. and Ireland for 1891 (pp. 231-64).' I read the article and wondered why the Professor referred me to Mr. Pargiter. Mr. Pargiter purports to deal with the story of Rāma's exile as contained in three versions: (1) Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, (2) Rāmōpākhyāna of the Bhārata and (3) Sodasha-rājika. ibid. (p. 232). He begins with the assertion: The main features of Central and Southern India and Ceylon portrayed in the poems are undoubtedly correct, and only a minute enquiry can show whether the details agree with nature or not' (pp. 233 and 234). Towards the end, he says: 'If my identifications are reasonable, we must conclude that the author of the Rāmāyana had a real knowledge of Central and Southern India and whatever historic truth may be contained in the story of Rāma's exile and Invasion of Ceylon. the geographical knowledge could hardly have been obtained except from an actual visit to those regions by some person' (pp. 263 and 264). Pargiter's investigation is thus based on the assumption (1) that the main features of South India and Ceylon portrayed in the poems are undoubtedly correct and that the Rāmāyana is the story of Rāma's 'Invasion of Ceylon'. Taking Ceylon to be Lanka, Pargiter places Kishkindha 'at or close to Bellary'. The Vindhyan therefore to the south of Kishkindha and between Bellary and Ceylon, must be a South Indian Vindhyan. Pargiter proceeds: "Sampāti whose tidings of Sītā would come more appropriately in the South than in the well-known Vindhyans, said that when he fell on this Vindhyan mountain, he looked about and concluded this must be the Vindhyan on the shore of the Southern Ocean. Considering all things, it seems to me the 'Vindhyan' meant here, must be the hills and plateau of South Maisur. These stretch across from the western to the eastern ghats. and form a dividing ridge in the south, like the Vindhyan range in the north. The waves of the sea are compared to the ridges of these mountains, a simile very appropriate to a mountain plateau." Sampāti's Vindhyan is therefore the Nilgiri Cross-range parting the Mysore and Nilgiri Districts, and the sea at its foot the undulating Mysore Plateau of hard gneiss. Mr. Pargiter however overlooks the statements in the text, that it was on the shore, and with the waters, of this same sea below the Vindhyan, the same Sampāti offered an oblation (Udaka) to the manes of Jatāyu, and that the north shore of this sea was at the south foot of the Vindhyan, whereas the plateau of Mysore begins at the *north* foot of the Nilgiri ridge, and extends *northward* to the Tungabhadra, and the Tungabhadra, according to Pargiter, 'is the chief river of Kishkindha, the country round Bellary' (p. 257).

I will now take Sarabhanga's hermitage which both Pargiter and myself have attempted to locate. The text says a day's march took Rāma to Atri's place, and the next day's march to Sarabhanga's. I placed Atri at Anasūva hill, nine miles south of Chitrakūt, and Sarabhanga at the junction of the Paisuni and Sarabhanga, eight miles south of Anasūva hill. Sītā walked with Rāma, and it is reasonable to believe she made seventeen miles in two marches. Mr. Pargiter however locates Sarabhanga 'near Narwar on the northern slope of the Vindhyan mountains in the Bhopal State'. There is a Narwar in Bhopal, below an outlying peak of the Vindhyan, 1,937 feet high. It is not a place of note and is not referred to under Bhopal in the Imperial Gazetteer. It is on Lat. 23° 20' and Long. 78°, while Chitrakūt hill is on Lat. 25° 10' and Long. 80° 51' and the distance from Chitrakūt to Narwar is about 250 miles as the crow flies. So Pargiter would have it that Sītā did 250 miles in two marches from Chitraküt to 'Narwar on the north slope of the Bhopal Vindhyan'!! The entire essay of Pargiter, I must add, is a farrago of trash of this sort.

The same distinguished Professor referred also to a paper on the situation of Lanka read by Sirdar Kibe of Indore at the First Indian Oriental Conference, but not published in the Proceedings of the Conference. I happened however to have read it in an issue of the Times of India. Sirdar Kibe tried to make out that the Choli village (Lat. 22° 15'; Long. 75° 40') on the S.-E. shore of a largish lake (ten furlongs by three) and midway between the Vindhyan range and the Narbada at Mandlesvar, was Rāvaņa's Lanka. The roads from Mahesvar and Mandlesvar to Mhow, meet at Choli. But Choli is in open terrain sloping gently from the Vindhyan foot to the Narbada. There is no hill or island in the lake below it, while Lanka on the Trikūta top was surrounded by a lake. Mandlesvar is 530 feet high, Choli 700 feet, and five miles north of Choli is the thousand-foot contour line at the Vindhyan foot. Again, Sirdar Kibe overlooked the fact that Mahesvar, the Capital city of the illustrious Ahalyabayi, was the Māhishmati of Haihava Kārtavīrya, and later, of Chedi Sisupāla (Māgha, Sarga 2, verse 64). Rāvaņa's Lanka may not, therefore, be looked for in a village of the plain, only seven miles N.-E. of Maheşvar the Capital city of Arjuna, Rāvaṇa's mighty thousand-armed captor.

My position was thus a difficult one. From the Mahendragiri, Hanuman crossed the hundred-yōjan sea, and reached Lanka. From the Mahendra-dvār, Rāvana drove Sītā in an assdrawn car to Lanka. Neither of them is said to have crossed the Narbada. Rāma's bridge too, from the Mahendra to the Suvela, did not cross the Narbada. Sirdar Kibe therefore very properly searched for Lanka between the Vindhvan and the Narbada so as to conform to the fundamental instruction of Sugrīva to the south-bound Vanaras (Kishkindha, Sarga 41. verse 8). But these are days of intense regional patriotism in Hindu India, and the Sirdar's vision appears to have been limited. though unintentionally, to Indore territory, when he sought to locate what is incomparably the most famous battle-field in Indian History. In the result, he ignored the Trikūta and Suvela hills facing each other, the lake that encircled them, and the lay-out of Lanka on the Trikūta top, and placed Lanka in an impossible position.

Pargiter stuck to recent tradition, assumed that Ceylon was Lanka and was enabled by

a glance at the map of India to realise and announce that the Nilgiri ridge and the Mysore plateau must, respectively, be the Vindhyan range of the Rāmāyana, and the sea (Samudra or Sagara) below it. In the first chapter of my original essay, which is also the first chapter of this book, I gave conclusive reasons for holding that the identification of Cevlon with Rāvana's Lanka was irrational to a degree-The learned Professor does not state his own opinion in the matter. Does he assume like Pargiter, as an unquestionable fact, that Lanka is Cevlon? Or does he agree with Sirdar Kibe that Lanka is Choli between the Vindhyan and the Narbada, a thousand miles north of Ceylon? As for myself, I began my first chapter with the question 'Where is Lanka?' I then raised the question: 'Is Lanka Ceylon or in Cevlon?' And as the result of a lengthy argument, I answered: 'It is clear therefore that Ceulon has nothing to do with the Lanka of Vālmīki.'

Apparently, among Indian Orientalists including the learned Professor, Pargiter's exposition of the geography of Rāma's exile possesses the authority of a Privy Council decision in an Indian Court of Law. Sirdar Kibe, however, could not swallow Pargiter's assertion that the rocky plateau stretching

north of the Nilgiris right up to the Tungabhadra. must be the South Sea of Valmiki south of the Vindhvan, on whose South shore Trikūta rose with Lanka on its top. Possibly that was why Sirdar Kibe's paper was not published in the Proceedings of the Conference. It was natural therefore for the Pargiterridden Professor to hold that my essay covering Rāma's journey from Ayodhya to Sarabhanga's hermitage was 'unfit for publication in a research journal'. This was also the opinion of a well-known University Professor of Sanskrit. I had imagined too, that the sketch maps appended to my essay would thrill the Professors, and secure unquestioning acceptance of my views. But they clean ignored my maps and left me in a fix. Two learned ladies, however, to whom I submitted my essay, agreed with me that Ceylon could not be Rāvana's hill-top city of Lanka. But they were critical ladies, and were not satisfied with a mere negative. They wanted me to get down forthwith to brass tacks. They were intensely interested in Lanka where Sītā was confined and Rāma destroyed wicked Rāvaņa and his Rākshasa hosts. Head Mistress Sister Subba Lakshmi, B.A., L.T., who is a Sanskrit Panditā, would not let me rest and wrote 'I am eagerly waiting to know where

you have located Lanka of Rāmāyana'. Srī. Visālākshi Visvanāthan, my brother's daugherin-law, who is good in English and great in Tamil, asked me in Tamil: 'If I wish to go to Lanka now, can I go? Which is the way?' I now realised that the ardent desire of these cultured ladies to know where Lanka stood. was but the reflex of the deep-seated instinct of a simple and essentially righteous people to whom visits to Kshetrams are a chief and cherished part of religion. The story of Sītā, the wonder-girl of the king-seer venerated through the ages, has a unique power of appeal to the Hindu heart. As she was being taken away shivering, in Rāvana's ass-drawn chariot, Sītā noticed old Jatāyu half-asleep on his tree, and told him: This wicked Rākshasa is carrying me away. He is strong, cruel and well-armed. You cannot fight him. But tell Rāma and Lakshmana all about my abduction'. But noble Jatāvu fought Rāvana all the same, and when he collapsed bleeding from many wounds. Sītā ran to him as to a brother, embraced him and went over him. Rāvana however, rushed towards her, and parting her from Jatāyu, carried her off. When in the guise of an ascetic, Rāvaņa had tried to seduce her, she called him a sneak, thief and jackal, and told him he ought to be ashamed of himself. But even after Jatāvu fell, and as she was being driven away from Panchavati, she remained fearless and wide awake, and when the chariot crossed the Pampa and ascended the Pass below Rsvamūka which led to Lanka. she quietly made up her jewels into a bundle unnoticed by Rāvana, and dropped them in sight of five Vanaras seated on the hill-side. And it was this forethought of this wonderwoman of the ages, that put the first ray of hope into Rāma, and enabled him to trace her to Lanka and restore her to Freedom. The main action therefore of the Epic starts with the forcible removal of Sītā from Pañchavati and her confinement in a secluded grove of Lanka after a long drive with Ravana in an ass-drawn chariot. And it culminates in the ascent of Trikūta hill by a Vānara army, the battle before Lanka, and the destruction of Ravana by Rāma.

It appears from the above, that the 'locale' of the main action comprised, Rāma's Pañchavaṭi hut at one end and Rāvaṇa's Lanka at the other, the road or cart-track connecting them, and sundry regions abutting on the road. It is clear too, from the text that this road was negotiable right through by an assdrawn chariot. Further, in describing Rāvaṇa's drive from Pañchavaṭi to Lanka, the text

refers to three unmistakable land-marks on the way. One is the Pampa Lake which had to be crossed ($\bar{A}ranya$, Sarga 54, verse 5). Another was a peaked hill bordering on the road at whose foot Sītā dropped her jewels. The third was the cleft (dvara) across the Mahendragiri where Supārṣva met Rāvaṇa and Sītā on their way to Lanka.

From Panchavati too, Rama started in search of Sītā. Not far from his hermitage. where Jatāyu had struggled with Rāvana, he had ample evidence that a powerful wellarmed Rākshasa driving in an ass-drawn chariot, had forcibly taken away Sītā. The pursuit of the abductor was therefore facilitated by the trail of a chariot and the hoofmarks of the asses that drew it. Following Rāvana's track, Rāma reached the lotus-lake of Pampa and he too crossed it like Rāvana. The way across the Pampa towards Lanka ran west to east, and comprised a long causeway (sudūra samkramah, Āranya, Sarga 75. verse 30) which led up to the Rsyamūka hill where Sītā had dropped her jewels in front of five Vanaras.

On the eastern shore of Pampa, below the Rsyamūka hill, Rāma met Sugrīva and his four Vānara companions, and Sugrīva produced the bundle of jewels dropped by Sītā from

Rāvaṇa's chariot. It is thus clear that Pampa and Rṣyamūka were adjoining as well as arresting land-marks on the Janasthān-Lanka route, and that both Rāvaṇa and Rāma crossed the Pampa and passed below the Rṣyamūka. Beyond the Pampa and the Rṣyamūka foot, Rāvaṇa drove on till he met Supārṣva fishing in the river-gorge that pierced the Mahendragiri. By Supārṣva's sufferance, he descended the gorge, and crossing the great Basin (Sāgara) that stretched south of the Mahendra, he reached Lanka with Sītā.

The south-bound Vanaras led by Angada searched, as instructed by Sugriva, the 'thousand-headed 'Vindhyan Range to begin with. On the Vindhyan ridge, they learnt from Sampāti, father of Supārsva, that the Mahendra Pass was Rāvana's key to Lanka. From Mahendragiri therefore, Hanuman crossed the Sāgara and reached Lanka. Rāma too. on receiving Hanumān's report of Sītā's discovery, marched to the Mahendragiri and had a causeway run across the Sagara to facilitate the transport of his Vānara army to Lanka. The bridge or causeway extended from Mahendragiri to Suvelagiri facing the Trikūta hill. The bridge ran north to south. and its length across the Basin or Sāgara was one hundred yojanas.

It would thus seem that Rāvana and Rāmatook the same way from Panchavati to Lanka. Rāvana in his chariot and Rāma on foot. also appears that both Rāvaņa and Rāma met three striking land-marks on their way, the Pampa lake, the Rsyamūka hill, and the Mahendra hill, one after the other. Again, a scrutiny of the text discloses the following facts .- The Mahendra with its cleft was a part of the Vindhyan Range. Trikūta crowned by Lanka, rose between the Vindhyan Range and the Narbada river. The Sagara below the Mahendra cum Vindhyan was crossed by Rāvana. Hanumān and Rāma in succession. Rāvana drove through it in his ass-drawn chariot. Hanumān swam across it and Rāma had it bridged by Nala. In Kishkindha, Sarga 65 and verse 24 of Sarga 64, the crossing (langhana) of the Sagara is expressed as 'gamana' (going). and 'plavana' (swimming), and not even once as 'dayana' or 'patana' (flying).

It is again significant, that the text makes no mention of a 'Sāgara' or 'samudra' when dealing with Rāvaṇa's first journey from Lanka, to seek the help of Mārīcha, and his return to Lanka by the latter's advice. That strongly suggests that the depression below the Mahendra one hundred yōjanas in width, was only a shallow river-basin negotiable by an ass-

drawn chariot in the spring and summer, between March and June.

It is again a fact of cardinal importance that Vālmīki uses 'yojana' in two senses. As a rule it is four krosas. A krosa is a dhanussahasra (one thousand bow-lengths) and a dhanus is four cubits or two yards. A yojana is thus eight thousand yards or four and a half miles. But the yojana is also a dhanussata (one hundred bow-lengths or two hundred yards) as when Sugrīva speaks of the distance Vāli threw the corpse of Dundubhi (Kishkindha, Sarga 11, verse 47, read with verse 66). The one hundred yojanas Hanuman swam from the Mahendra to Lanka may therefore be either four hundred and fifty miles or eleven and a half miles.

Turning now to the search by the south-bound Vānaras, it is important to note (1) that the Narbada riverain lay south of the Vindhya and was to be searched next to the Vindhyas, (2) that the search was actually confined to a section of the Vindhyan which had an abruptly-pointed south-west end and therefore ran N.-E. to S.-W., (3) that a sea lay along the south foot of the Vindhyan with the hills Trikūta and Suvela rising from its south shore, a hundred yojans away, (4) that Hanumān swam across this sea to the Trikūta hill with-

out meeting the Narbada. The Narbada south of the Vindhyan, refers obviously to the east to west course of the river. five hundred miles long, between the Vindhyan and the Sātpura Ranges. This five hundred-mile course begins from its junction with the Gaur, four miles south of Jubbulpore (Lat. 23° 5' and Long. 79° 58'). For eighteen miles, the Narbada eats its way south to north across the north wall of the Satpuras before meeting the Gaur, its powerful tributary from the north-east, and is then turned aside N.-W. and West into the Jubbulpore plains. Emerging from its famous constriction between sheer walls of marble near Bheraghat, the Narbada enters a broad and fertile basin between the Vindhyan and Satpuras which extends two hundred miles westward to Handia (Long. 77°) before it narrows again near the Mandhata hills. Along this stretch of two hundred miles, the Vindhyan rises sheer north of the valley, the average fall of the river is about a foot and a half a mile. and the width of the valley from river to ridge rarely exceeds half a degree of latitude or 35 miles as the crow flies.

Having regard to the facts set forth above, it was clear that if the Suvela and Trikūta hills rose between the Vindhyan and the Narbada, they must be looked for in the

northern section of the Narbada basin between Lat. 23° to 24° and Long. 80° to 77°. I naturally began my search with Degree sheet 55.M. comprising the area between Lat. 23° to 24° and Long. 80° to 79°, as it is in this sheet. close to Lat. 23° and Long. 80°, the Narbada begins its westward course after leaving the Sātpuras to the south. As luck would have it, sheet 55.M, contained the entire 'locale' of the main action from Panchavati to Lanka with the connecting highway and cart-tracks. A scrutiny of the coloured sheet showed (1) the pointed S.-W. end of the Vindhyan, twentytwo miles due north of the Marble Rocks. (2) the Katas cleft across the Vindhyan (corresponding to Mahendra-dvar) thirty miles due north of the Congress Nagar of 1939 on the north bank of the Narbada, and (3) two hills facing each other, sixteen miles north of Jubbulpore and twelve miles south-south-east of the Katas cleft. These hills surrounded on three sides by the great Hiran river are unquestionably the Suvela and the Trikūta, a hundred yojans or Stadia to the south of the Mahendra-dvār. When I realised all this. I gazed at the coloured Degree sheet 55.M, and bowed down before it, even as a humble truth-seeker before his truth-revealing Guru. If a lightly coloured Degree sheet, four miles

to the inch, could reveal all this, it was obvious to me that coloured mile to inch Topo maps covering the same ground would exhibit the same features with convincing clearness. Long ago, I had the unspeakable good fortune to serve as a Personal Assistant under the great and good Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, the born Engineer and Statesman who harnessed the Sivasamudram Falls for Mysore, and thereby pioneered hydro-electric enterprise for the Eastern Hemisphere. He put me to work on his D.P.W. Files and enabled me to realise the unique informative and educative value of coloured mile to inch Topo sheets, especially in hilly country where the naked eye often deceives even within the narrow broken horizons open to it.

Out of the sixteen mile to inch Topo sheets comprised in 55·M, three maps 55·M/10, 55·M/14 and 55·M/15 show, between them, the common route of Rāvaṇa and Rāma from the western shore of the Pampa to Lanka. They contain the three great landmarks the protagonists met on their way, the Pampa lake (now dry), the Rṣṇamūka hill-fort, and the Mahendra-dvār. They also show distinctly, three other landmarks in the neighbourhood of the route, the Kishkindha cave, the Prasravaṇa hill, and the pointed south-west end

of the Vindhvan, where the Kaimur-Vindhvan splits into two, and is re-aligned beyond the Kaimur Pass as the Bhanrer Vindhyan. In these circumstances I decided to deal in the geographical part of this booklet with the Pampa-Lanka section of the tract through which Rāvana drove Sītā to Lanka, followed with difficulty by Rāma on foot. Chapters III to IX of this volume deal with this same tract and I began Chapter III with the location Trikūta itself, once Lanka-crowned, in response to the urge of Srimatis Subba Lakshmi and Visālakshi. I found I acted wisely. The former wrote to me: 'It is most interesting. and the points regarding the location of Lanka are most convincing. If people don't believe it all, it will be only due to their stubborn obstinacy.' Sister Subba Lakshmi is well versed in Sanskrit and a hard-headed Head Mistress of many years' standing and, her unqualified approval satisfied me that I had reason on my side when I located Lanka on Indrana hill fifteen miles north of Jubbulpore. Thus. encouraged, I ventured, though with some hesitancy, to submit Chapters III to IX to Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., the distinguished thinker, scholar and administrator. and a former Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University. He wrote: 'I found the

notes of your research into the geography of Lanka and Rāma's route thereto, entrancing. I admire the patient research and the critical spirit you have brought to bear upon your investigation. Your arguments are *prima facie* sound. At any rate, they challenge impartial investigation.'

Sir P. S. Sivaswamv Aiver added by way of advice: 'To make your note acceptable, get suitable map drawn on a modest scale. noting only the general features of the country and marking only the places you refer to. requires extraordinary patience and acuteness of vision to verify your statements in the Topo sheets. Could you not get some friend in the Survey Office to prepare an accurate sketch for you.' Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer gave me similar advice in connexion with my notes dealing with Rāma's route from Ayodhya to Sarabhanga's place, and I appended to my original essay two sketch maps on a scale of sixteen and four miles respectively to the inch. the same that I have now annexed by way of elucidation to Chapter XIV of this booklet. But these were clean ignored by the two learned University Professors who imagined that my labours must have been anticipated by a Mr. Pargiter who flourished as Bengal \mathbf{a} Civilian in the last decade of the nineteenth century. I was moreover attacking millenniumold traditions believed as gospel-truth all over India, and powerful vested interests had grown round this Dhanushkoti-Rāma'sbridge-Lanka fake of fakes. Sir P. S. S. himself quietly warns me: 'Your conclusions will of course give a shock to the orthodox reader.' The orthodox may denounce my sketch-maps as fakes, and I would have no answer to make except by reference to three Topo maps $(55 \cdot M/10, 55 \cdot M/14 \text{ and } 55 \cdot M/15)$ costing five rupees a set. The maps though procurable from the Map Record and Issue Office, Calcutta, are not available even in large Public Libraries. The maps themselves are authoritative, and the relevant section of the Evidence Act runs: 'The Court shall presume that maps purporting to be made by the authority of Government were so made, and are accurate, but maps made for the purposes of any cause must be proved to be accurate.' I decided therefore to get a thousand copies of an authorised extract covering 23° 20' to 23° 40' Lat., and 79° 35' to 80° Lon. prepared by the Survey of India Department itself, and that is the map I have prefixed to this book. This was the more necessary, as the tract in question, about six-hundred square miles in area, is an out of the way, thinlypeopled, roughly cut-up region of hills and forests nowhere within ten miles of a Railway.

And here I must record my deep indebtedness to Srī. N. S. Harihara Iyer, of the Survey of India, for his invaluable help in preparing this map for the Map Publication Office.

In my next volume, I propose to set out in detail Rāma's route from Ayodhya to Matangavana, together with a special note on Rāma's time and character. I hope too, D.V. to include in it, a few chapters on the geography of the Rk-samhita.

I feel happy to end this Preface with my grateful blessings to my grandchild Srīmati Lakshmi, whose young eyes have proved very helpful in correcting the proofs of this work.

T. PARAMASIVA IYER.

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PART I GEOGRAPHICAL

CHAPTER I

Has the Rāmāyana a Historic Basis? If so, Where is Lanka? And Who are the Rākshasas and the Vānaras?

RAMAYANA, according to the Trikandasesha (Supplement to the Amara Kosa), is the destruction of Ravana by Rama (Ramena Rāvana-vadho Rāmāyanam iti smrtam). great war of Rāma and Rāvana took place before the walls of Lanka. Never, before or after, was fought so fierce a battle. As the sky is like the sky, and the sea like the sea, so the Rāma-Rāvana war could be compared to nothing besides. The essence of the Rāmāyana is thus the triumph of Rāma in the siege and battle of Lanka. The Lanka war was thus another Trojan War. Rāma was the mightiest of archers, the twang of his Kodanda bow inspired mortal dread, and his victory over Rāvana was the most resounding of victories. Resounding fame is ever the reward of great martial prowess, and stern Achilles and arrowshowerer Arjuna inspired the immortal Mahābhārata and the Iliad. In the latest Encyclopædia too, General Ludendorff, the annihilator of armies, 'atheist and anti-Christian heathen,' as he announced himself, when he recently re-entered public life under the auspices of Herr Hitler, gets as much space, as the three greatest Rulers of all time, Asoka, Marcus Aurelius and Akbar, put together. The Trojan War, we know, had a historic basis, and the ruins of Ilium have been uncovered in the Hissarlik mound, close to the Aegean end of the Dardanelles. The site of Kurukshetra where the Kaurava cousins fought and nearly eighteen lacs of warriors found their grave, is also well known. It was easily recognised in the days of Kālidāsa of Meghadūta by the bleached bones of unburied warriors (Pūrva Meghā. verse 48). But where is four-gated Lanka on the top of the Trikūta hill and surrounded by a sea? And who are the Rākshasas ruled by Rāvana, and after him, by his long-lived brother Vibhīshana? Who again are the Vānaras, and where is Kishkindha, the great cavernous gorge in the hills (known too, as such, to our ancient grammarians), where Angada ruled after Sugrīva and Vāli? Hissarlik was the traditional site of Ilium and Kurukshetra. can be identified on the map with reference to its description in the Mahābhārata.

Is Lanka Ceylon or in Ceylon?

As to Lanka however, the tradition of five centuries places it beyond Adam's bridge or Rāma's bridge, a chain of sand-banks between the island of Rāmesvaram and the island of Manaar. This bridge is over thirty miles long, and runs west-north-west to east-south-east. As Lanka was surrounded by the sea, Rāma had to bridge the sea. The bridge was a hundred yojans long and ran due north and south from the foot of Mahendragiri in the north to Suvelagiri (a hill adjoining Trikūta) on whose slopes Rāma marshalled his Vānara hosts.

WHAT IS THE YOJANA?

*The yojana is used in two senses in Vālmīki. It is generally used in the ordinary sense of four Krcṣas or Gorutas of one thousand Dhanus each (Kaut., Adhi. 2, Prak. 38). A Dhanus is four Hastas or two yards, and that gives about four and a half miles to the yojana. Sugrīva however uses it in the sense of a stadium, and that evidently was the 'sports' sense.

The Greek 'Stadium' of about two hundred yards was the course for the short foot-race, and its user was extended to other sports like throwing quoits and swimming. A 'Nalba' of four hundred Kishkus, corresponds to the stadium, but I have met with the word only in Subandhu's Vāsavadatta. When Sugrīva proposes a test of Rāma's strength he says

that Vāli threw the corpse of Dundubhi a 'yojan' distance, and he would be satisfied that Rāma was the stronger, if Rāma raised the skeleton of Dundubhi on his foot and threw it a distance of four hundred yards (dvi-dhanus-sate, Kishkindha, Sarga 11, verse 72). The 'voian' that Vali threw it must be a 'dhanus-sata' or two hundred yards, and not four and a half miles. Again when Angada seated at the foot of the Vindhyas on the north shore of the sea and surrounded by the great Vanara chiefs, questioned the latter as to who would brave the dangers of the sea and cross over to Trikūta a hundred yojans beyond (Kishkindha, Sarga 64, verse 18), nine of them from Gaja to Jāmbavan, felt fit to swim from ten to ninety yojans. Angada was confident he could go over a hundred yojans at a stretch, but he was not sure if he was strong enough to return immediately after. Hanuman goes and reaches the 'Lamba' end of Trikūta before sunset, and waits for nightfall to ascend unobserved the Trikūta peak to Lanka. It also appears that this sea was dotted with hills one of which invited Hanuman to rest on its peak. The probabilities are therefore very strong, that here too, 'yojana' is used in a 'sports' sense, and that a hundred yojans is

about eleven and a half miles. Hanumān goes over in about eight hours, and it is not unlikely he did the hundred yojans partly wading and partly swimming, and resting occasionally on projecting hills. That is the more likely, as the sea was filled and the bridge was made up by trees and rocks pulled out by the Vānaras, and the bridge was completed in five days, fourteen yojans in the first day, and twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two and twenty-three yojans respectively, in the next four days (Yuddha, Sarga 22, verses 61 to 78).

LANKA CANNOT BE CEYLON

Adam's bridge is neither eleven and a half miles nor four hundred and fifty miles long. There is no hill in Rāmeṣvaram Island nor anywhere near Maṇḍapam. There is no hill in Manaar Island and none in the northern half of Ceylon (Lat. 7° 30′ to 9° 30′ including Anurādhapura), 'a vast arid zone rendered habitable only by a most skilful irrigation system'. Ceylon is twenty-five thousand square miles in extent with a population of five millions mainly Simhaļese (who speak Āryan Pāļi) and Tāmils. There are about four thousand primitive Veddahs, dwelling in rock-shelters and running wild in the woods. These surely are not the Rākshasas of the

Rāmāyana. It is clear therefore Ceylon has nothing to do with the Lanka of Valmiki, and Adam's bridge a chain of sand-banks thirty miles long, and running west-north-west to east-south-east cannot be 'Nalasetu'. eleven and a half miles or four hundred and fifty miles long, between two hills, Mahendra on the north and Suvela on the south. Rama's bridge and Ceylon are thus palpable fakes. All the same, almost all Hindus believe that Adam's bridge is Nalasetu and not long ago (June 1934) Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, our revered poet-singer, addressing a Madras audience, said: 'I told the Cevlonese, that Sītā, Queen of Ayodhya, was abducted and kept confined in their island by a ten-headed giant.' It is extraordinary too that no Hindu, Pandit. English-educated, or illiterate, looks for a hilltop city on the other side of Adam's bridge corresponding to Lanka where Rāma enthroned Vibhīshana. They have all however, like our illustrious poet, a vague notion that Ceylon is, or contains, the Lanka of Välmiki. Where then, it may be asked, is the Lanka of the Rāmāyana.

IS THE RAMAYANA A MERE FABLE?

Some hold that the entire epic was evolved out of the poet's imagination in view to inculcate great moral lessons. That, to me,

is as unthinkable as that Ceylon is, or contains, Lanka, though I remember to have read somewhere that Mahatma Gandhi was of that opinion. There is of course the supernatural element in the Rāmāyana, the Avatār of Vishnu and crores of minor Gods, Sanas (curses) and Varadanams (desirable gifts), by Gods and Rshis, re-births and transformations of men as beasts and monsters, and the whole paraphernalia of the marvellous, miraculous and monstrous, which were regarded as legitimate embellishments of our post-Christian poetry and poetic prose, even though dealing with historic personages and incidents. The deus ex machina is everywhere in our later literature, and dominates everything. Sarasvatī descends to the world of mortals in Bāna's Harsha-charitra as well as Vidyāranya's Sankara Vijaya. In both it is a curse of Muni Dürvāsa that brings her down. Sankara, Rāmānuja and Madhva are all Gods in human shape.

THE RAMAYANA FAMILIAR TO GREAT INTELLECTUALS OF PRE-CHRISTIAN TIME

Apart, however, from this supernatural element, the main incidents of the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ were familiar to the trustworthy and hardheaded author of the Artha- $S\bar{a}stra$, the great

dramatist Bhāsa whom it is the glory of Travancore to have rescued from unmerited oblivion, and the great grammarian Patanjali. and all these flourished long before the Christian Era commenced. Under the heading 'Indriya-jaya' (control of the senses), Kautilva says, 'Rāvana perished by excess of pride, refusing to restore a married woman, (Adhi. I, Prak. 3). That reminds us of what Rāvana said when advised by venerable Mālvavan to restore Sītā: 'I will break thus into two, but never bend to any one. That is my inborn defect and I cannot change my innate character ' (Yuddha Kānda, Sarga 36, verse 11). Bhāsa was regarded as an oldtime (purāna) dramatist by Kālidāsa of Mālavikāgnimitra. The Bharata-vākya of that drama shows, that that Kālidāsa flourished under Agnimitra in Vidīşa, about 160 B.C. Bhāsa has two dramas, the Pratimā and the Abhisheka, based on incidents in the Rāmāyana. In the Chārudatta too of the same author, the inimitable Şakāra tells Vasantasena: 'I will seize you by the hair and carry you off as Dussāsana did to Sītā ' (Anka I, verse 12). Again, under the Sūtra 'Upād-deva-pūjāyām,' Patañjali in his Mahābhāshya quotes a verse evidently from the Rāmāyana then extant: 'See in this army of Vanaras, amid the many lving senseless, there is one that is wide awake. and prays (upatishthate) to the Sun'. 'No. don't think this one is conscious, he too is like us, and it is only his monkey-nature (kānevam) that makes him bow his head (upatishthati) before the Sun.' This verse is not to be found in the Yuddha Kānda of Vālmīki as we have it now. There is every reason to believe that Patañjali was Pushyamitra's adhvaryu-priest and therefore a contemporary of Kālidāsa I. Kauţilya was the minister of the great Chandragupta Maurya, and it is not unfikely that Bhāsa's Rājasimha whose imperial umbrella shadowed the earth right up to the seas (Svapna Nātaka, Anka 6. verse 19) was one of the three great Maurya Emperors.

VALMIKI AND HIS GEOGRAPHY, prima facie RELIABLE

There are, again, a number of facts which suggest that Vālmīki wrote an impartial Itihāsa, and was a great lover of truth. In Ayodhya, Sarga 18, verse 6, the poet says, Daṣaratha looked black in the face 'like a Rṣshi who had spoken an untruth' (uktānṛtam ṛshim yatha). When Rāma is exiled, he goes in Daṣaratha's travelling coach drawn by four fleet and powerful horses. He halts for the

night at the east Tons (Tamasā) about fifteen miles from Avodhya. Starting at early dawn, he crossed the Biswi (Vedasruti), the Gumti (Gomati) and the Sai (Syandika) in succession. He crossed the frontier at the Sai and tells Sītā that that was the boundary of the Kosala kingdom carved for Ikshvāku by King Manu (Ayodhya, Sarga 49, verses 11 and 12). It would appear from this that the Dakshina-Kosalas (the modern Rewah) with their capital Kusavati 'on the pleasant slopes of the Vindhyas' (Uttara, Sarga 108, verse 4) were carved out by Rāma for his son Kusa out of the Dandakas which he subdued. And the Dandakas, according to the Uttara Rāmāyana, had once pertained to a branch of the Ikshvāku family. Leaving the Kosalas probably at Bela on the Sai, Rāma reached Singraur on the north bank of the Ganges before sunset. So far the journey was by a royal chariot a distance of about eighty-five miles from the East Tons to Singraur was covered in about twelve hours. Rāma halted for the night under an Ingudi tree (Terminalia catapa) near Singraur, crossed the Ganges next morning, and landed forthwith on the fruitful stretches of the flourishing kingdom of the Vatsas (Ayodhya, Sarga 52, verse 101). The Vatsas are the Gangetic Doab, and so far

Vālmīki has given a correct itinerary of Rāma from Ayodhya to the Doab, including Singraur and the ferry opposite. So far his geography is reliable, and that raises a strong presumption that Vālmīki's Lanka, a hill-top city surrounded by a sea, did exist. The city may have disappeared, but the hills Trikūta and Suvela facing each other must be discoverable if they are not imaginary.

CHAPTER II

Lanka in Sanskrit Literature

In Sanskrit literature, Lanka is almost always, as in the Rāmāyana, the capital city of Rāvana perched on the top of the Trikūta hill and surrounded by a sea. Islands formed in lake-like expansions of rivers are often known as 'Lanka', but not, so far as I know, in Sanskrit literature. Such are the Godavari Lankas, the Sona Lanka and the Rupya Lanka of the Dal Lake, and a bigger Lanka in Wular Lake. There is however a Lanka known to Indian astronomy and that is the Lingga Island in the Dutch Riow Lingga Archipelago extending from Singapore to the mouth of the Indragiri river in Sumatra. This Lanka is on the way to Java, and the Hindus of South India colonised Sumātra before Jāva, and long before Varāhamihira's time. Lingga is a largish (400 square miles) fertile island. and the Equator cuts it right at the top. The Pancha-Siddhāntika says: 'Those in Lanka see the Dhruva-tārā (Pole-Star), touching the Earth (Bhūlagnām), while those in the Meru (North Pole), see it in the centre of the sky (nabhāso-madhyagatām). Lanka is below the equinoctial line (Vishuvallekhā dhastāt Lanka)'. It is a fact that the Equator cuts Lingga just at the top leaving almost the entire island lying to its south. It would appear too, that Quito, the highest city on the earth, was known to Varāhamihira. In the Pancha-Siddhāntika, he says that the Sun rising at Lanka sets in the Siddhapura. Quito, like Lingga, is on the Equator. The difference in longitude between Lingga and Quito is about 182°. Siddhas mean dwellers on mountaintops (vide Kum. Sam., Sarga 1, verse 5, and Pūrva Megha, verses 14, 45 and 55). Quito is the Siddhapura par excellence on Earth. It is 9.300 feet high with a population of 80,000 and was reputed to be an ancient city of the Quitus when the Spaniards seized it in the sixteenth century A.D.

Varāhamihira flourished in the sixth century A.D. under Yaṣodharman Vikramāditya, the great victor of Mandasor, but the North Pole had been discovered long before Varāhamihira. In the Tait. Āraṇ., Prap. 1, Anu. 7, the Sun as the creator and regulator of the year (Samvatsara) and its seasons (Rtus), is said to have eight phases, the eighth or full phase called Kaṣyapa circling the Mahā Meru and never leaving it. In the Anuvāka itself, two Rshis Pancha-karṇa and Sapta-karṇa, state: 'I have seen these seven Suns, but have only heard of

Kasyapa as a tradition (Anu sravanika eva nau Kaşyapah). For surely it does not seem possible to go to Mahā Meru (na hi sekum iva mahā merum gantum)'. But Gārgya Prānatrāta (lit., sustained by vital breath) said: 'I have seen this Solar Orb (Sūrya mandalam) circling (parivartamānam) the Mahā Meru'. The Taittiriya Aranyaka was probably contemporaneous with the Satapatha Brāhmana, and the latter was expounded by Yāgñavalkya when the Krittikas (Pleiades) were the precessional asterism (vide Satavatha Brāhmana. Kānda II, Prap. 1, Brāh. 2) and that was about 2000 B.C. It would appear then that the fact of the Sun circling the North Pole was known in very ancient times, that it became a mere tradition owing probably to the growth of ice in the Glacial period, and that the traditional (anusravanika) belief in Kasvapa was verified in the Krittika period at the risk of his life by Gargya Pranatrata who apparently combined in himself extraordinary vitality with a burning love of scientific knowledge. The passing however, of the equinoctial line over Lingga (Lanka) was probably discovered in the course of the first to the third centuries A.D. when the Andhra Sātakarnis were supreme in the southern seas. So much then for Lanka outside the Rāmāyana.

ANCIENT HINDUS AND THEIR KEEN EYE FOR THE EARTH'S PHYSICAL FEATURES

In his monumental work The Face of the Earth, the great geologist Eduard Suess says: 'The Hindus have developed a terminology much more perfect than our own, to denote the superficial features of the ground, and it is a question whether many of their designations might not with advantage be more generally employed '(Vol. I, p. 48).

A study of the Rāmāyana has convinced me that Valmiki. like the old world Hindus of Suess, was a careful observer of nature, guided in his narration of facts, historical and geographical, by the spirit of truth and reason. I will now proceed to state, as concisely as. I can, the results of my geographical search. beginning with the location of the Trikūta and Suvela hills, and ending at the western shore of Lake Pampa. According to the text. the way to Trikūta lay across the Pampa Lake, beside the Rshvamüka hill, and through the Mahendragiri Pass. It is important to note that this was the common route to Lanka of both the protagonists, Rāma and Rāvana. these landmarks (Pampa to Trikūta) can beidentified on the Topo maps consistently with their description and relative positions in the text, and if, at the same time, non-Āryan tribes answering to the Rākshasas and Vānaras can be found in the region about Trikūta, we can safely conclude that Vālmīki's $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ was an $Itih\bar{a}sa$ (lit., 'Thus it was') or true history, and not an imaginary $K\bar{a}vya$ or poetic concoction.

CHAPTER III

Where is Trikūta with Lanka on its Top? TRIKUTA is Indrana hill, 1,932 feet high with the great Hiran river embracing it on three sides. It rises 650 feet above the Haveli or high-level plain comprising the broad valleys of the Hiran and Narmada. Lanka, in Rāvana's own words, was laid out on the summit of Trikūta (Sāgarena parikshiptā nivishtā giri-mūrdhani, Āranya, Sarga 47, verse 29). Opposite to Indrana, on the south bank of the Hiran is Singaldip, or Simhaladvipa, possibly so named by a learned Narmada Brahman in derision of the brazen-faced assertion that Rāvana's hill-top fort is the Ceylon island twenty-five thousand square miles in extent.

THE 'SAGARA' ROUND TRIKUTA

The Jubbulpore Gazetteer says: 'During the monsoon months, the Haveli presents the appearance of a vast lake.....and the Vindhyan appears to rise abruptly from the plain'. It is highly probable, that in the old days, the Hiran, which hugs the Indrana hill on three sides, spread out as a shallow lake all round the hill right up to mile-stone 15

on the Panagar-Singaldip-Majholi road. The hill-top is 23° 24' Lat. and 79° 54' Long.

RAKSHASAS ARE GONDS

Rāvana was the king of the Rākshasas or Gonds. It is likely that Brahmanised Vibhishana and his successors organised the clan of Raj-Gonds. The ordinary or Dhur-Gonds are known as Rāvana-vamsis in the Central Provinces. 'They attach no opprobrium to the name and freely accept it.' The Gonds love wooded hills, and dominated the Satoura and Vindhyan plateaus from their hill-top forts. Rāvana tells Sītā: 'there with me. vou will ramble in the forests' (Aranya, Sarga 47, verse 30). Trikūta was, therefore. a forest-clad hill. His sister Sūrpanakha too tells Rāma: 'You will then roam over the hills and woods of the Dandakas with me' (Āranya, Sarga 17, verse 28). She next offers the same delights of a forest life to Lakshmana (Āraņya, Sarga 18, verse 7). Again, Avomukhi, a Rākshasi, met Rāma and Lakshmana on their way to Matanga's hermitage, and pressing Lakshmana to her bosom told him: 'You are a lucky dear; in the rough hills and sandy islets of rivers, you will enjoy lifelong happiness with me ' (Aranya, Sarga 69, verses 15 and 16). According to the Gazetteer of Mandla where more than half the population are Gonds, 'the Gond craves for flesh, and is omnivorous in respect of it. He will even consume a panther-kill, ten or twelve days old, so stinking as to repel fifty yards away'. This evidently was why 'Palaṣi' and 'Piṣitāṣana' became synonymous with Rākshasas.

LANKA OR TRIKUTA UNDER THE RAKSHASAS AND HAIHAYAS

Indrana hill is steeply scarped on three sides. but is fairly easy of ascent on the north. The Topo map of 1912 (55.M/15) shows no village on its summit which is a mile-long narrow plateau spread out in three levels from 1,750 to 1,932 feet. It is however very likely that for nearly six centuries, Rāvana's Lanka, under the name of Trikūta, was the capital of the Kālachuri Haihayas known as Traikūtakas. About 900 A.D. the Traikūtakas transferred their capital to Tewar or Tripura probably because Lanka was destroyed by fire or otherwise. If so, excavations may reveal Kālachuri and even older remains. The Gonds and Haihayas occupied the lower and upper valleys of the Narmada and were thus natural enemies from the days of Kartavirya and Rāvana.

SUVELA HILL, NALASETU AND RAMA'S VANARA ARMY

Rāma marshalled his Vānara hosts on the slopes of the Suvela hill, north-east of Indrana The two hills meet at their base at mile 12 of the Panagar-Majholi road. The Suvela summit (23° 25' Lat. and 79° 55' Long.) is a circular flat, half a mile in diameter and 1,800 feet high (vide $55 \cdot M/15$). Rāma slept there on the eve of the battle, and had his first view of Lanka thence (Yuddha, Sarga 37, verses 3 and 4). Verses 60 to 63 of Sarga 63, Yuddha Kānda, make it clear that the Nalasetu was a mole or series of moles made up of wood, trees, stones and rocks. just like Alexander's mole from the mainland to Tyre. Verse 68 of the same Sarga shows that the mole was to end at Suvela (Suvelam adhikrtya vai).

VANARAS ARE KORKUS OR KORWANS

Gonds and Korkus occupy the same forested plateaus of Sātpura and Chota Nagpur from Nimar to Hazaribagh. The Gazetteers say: 'Korkus were notorious robbers and freebooters. They consider a regular marriage inauspicious, and give away daughters without any ceremony. There is no illegitimacy among them, and if a girl has a child before marriage he is considered the husband's and shares equally with the legitimate sons. Korkus are muscular and well-built, slightly taller than the Gonds. Korku is a Munda language, while Gondi (Kannadi?) is Dravidian. Where Gonds and Korkus live together, the Korkus are delegated to the most jungly villages. The Korku is very poor and wears little clothing.'

The Vanaras of Valmīki were not naked tailed monkeys. Sugrīva and Vāli tightened their belts before closing in combat (Kishkindha, Sarga 12, verse 15, and Sarga 16. verses 26 and 27). Again, Sugrīva himself says that Vali got together the people (Prakrtis) and ministers, submitted a full report of his (Sugrīva's) unnatural conduct, and banished him with a single cloth (Vastrenaikena, Sarga 10. verse 26). Even in Sarga 39 of 43 verses. where the various contingents of Vanaras, Rkshas and Golangulas parade before Rāma and Sugrīva, between Kishkindha and Prasravana, there is no reference to their tails. For the first time in verse 4 of the last (67) Sarga of Kishkindha, we find an astounding tail fitted to the prodigiously-swollen body of Hanuman, and Sargas 67 and 66 admirably dovetail into the florid recension of Valmīki's text known as the Sundara Kanda. The Golangulas are probably the 'Kols'.

RKSHAS ARE BHUIYAS

The Gazetteer says: 'All Bhuiyas affect great reverence for Rikhman or Rikhiasan, some as a patron deity, and others as a mythical ancestor. It seems Rikhman was originally the bear-totem of a sept of the tribe. This bear-cult is peculiar to the Bhuiyas, and links together, the scattered branches of the tribe.' Dhūmra, Jāmbavan's elder brother, is said to be overlord of all the Rkshas, to rule over the high Rksha range (Mahadev range of the Sātpuras), and drink the waters of the Narbada (Yuddha, Sarga 27, verse 9).

CHAPTER IV

Why I Located Lanka on Indrana Hill Sugrīva's Instructions to the South-bound Vanaras

If there is true geography in the Ramayana, Lanka must be looked for in the poet's account of the successful search for Sītā by the Vānaras led by Angada and Hanuman. These were to search the region south of Kishkindha and Prasravana. Prasravana was close to Kishkindha. From Prasravana, Rāma could hear the riotous noise of Vanaras singing and drumming in Kishkindha (Kishkindha, Sarga 27. verses 26 and 27). From Kishkindha. Sugriva and Lakshmana hastened to Prasravana in a palanguin (Kishkindha, Sarga 28, verse 16) and the Vanara hosts were marshalled in the valley between. When Sugriva solicits Rāma's orders for the assembled army, Rāma naturally says: 'First find out whether Sītā is alive, and where Ravana lives.' Sugriva and Rāma evidently believed that Rāvaņa lived to the south of Kishkindha, and Rāma gave his signet-ring to Hanuman for delivery to Sītā (Kishkindha, Sarga 44, verse 12). Sugriva's first, and probably only, instruction to the south-bound Vanaras was: 'Search the

thousand-headed Vindhya and the Narbada river difficult of approach '(Sarga 41, verse 8). A month's time was fixed for search, return and report, and the penalty for delay was death. Myriads of Vanaras were sent in all four directions, and the leaders Vinata, Satavali and Sushena returned to Prasravana before the month expired (Sarga 47, verses 6-9). That being so, Sugriva's fanciful geography of the region to the south of the Narbada right down to the Sunless South Pole ruled by Yama, may be ignored as an interpolation. It is clear however that the Vindhyan ridge ran close to Kishkindha to the south of it and that the Narbada flowed south of the Vindhya. Both range and river were world-famous landmarks but Hanuman did not cross the Narbada on his way to Lanka, nor did Rāma in his march to Lanka at the head of his Vanara host. The Narbada is so great and important a river that the poet would not have overlooked it if it came in the way of Rama or Hanuman, and it may be assumed therefore that Trikūta with Lanka at its top rose between the Vindhyan and the Narbada river.

THE SEARCH FOR RAVANA'S ABODE

Verse 8 of Sarga 41 proved the key to the discovery of Lanka. There is no mistaking

the identity of thousand-headed Vindhya or of the Narbada river, especially when the two are placed in juxtaposition, the river to the south of the range. As ordered by Sugriva, the search began with the Vindhyas. Vanaras went over the range systematically from end to end, as detailed in Sargas 48 and 49. What is more, the search was confined to the Vindhyas, there is no mention of villages, towns, or inhabited country, and it covered only the crags, caves and gorges, the torrents, water-falls, tangled thickets, and inaccessible river-heads of the great ridge. As they entered a thicket, a huge Asura attacked them and Angada, thinking he was Ravana, killed him. Evidently therefore, the Vanaras expected to find Rāvaņa in or near about the Vindhyas.

SOUTH-WEST END OF THE VINDHYAS

Tired and thirsty, they sat down at the pointed south-west end of the range (Kotim dakshina-paṣchimām, Kishkindha, Sarga 30, verse 3). There is only one such abrupt end in the entire range of eight hundred miles and that is where the Kaimur section of the range terminates a mile east of Katangi in the twenty-fourth mile of the Jubbulpore-Damoh road. There was no mistaking the pointed end even in the Degree sheet 55.M, but looking

at the coloured sheet 55·M/15 it was plain as a pike (Long. 79° 48' and Lat. 23° 27'). There is thus conclusive proof that the search was confined to a section of the Vindhyas beginning at the south-west end near Katangi, and ending at the Mahendra-dvār, the extraordinary cleft in the Kaimur ridge through which the Kair river enters the Sihora Haveli to the south of the ridge. This section is eight miles in length running south-west to north-east and the ridge is a knife-edge.

FROM THE VINDHYAN KOTI TO THE & MAHENDRAGIRI CLEFT

Near the south-west end, the hungry and thirsty Vānaras looked for water and entered a great cavern known as the 'Rksha-bila' (Bear's hole), whence aquatic birds emerged with wetted wings. The ridge is precipitous on both sides, and is infested by bears even now. The cave must be looked for near the 'Koti' in the swampy ground between the ridge and the rivulet that drains the Kaimur Pass. The Vānaras got lost in the dark windings of the cave till an ascetic Svayamprabhā took them in hand, made them close their eyes, and led them up the steep slope to the top of the ridge. There she told them: 'This is the Vindhyan mountain, here is the

great Sāgara, and this again is the Prasravana hill'. It was from below the Prasravana the Vānaras were despatched south by Sugrīva, and they were to search the Vindhyan to begin with. From the Kaimur ridge, therefore, Svayamprabhā must have pointed north to the Prasravana peak. The ridge ran northeast to south-west and the great Sagara therefore lay along the south-east foot of the Range, and it is noteworthy that a mile east of the south-west Koti, the Kair joins the great Hiran and swells its waters. A look at coloured sheets 55·M/15 and 55·M/14 shows that Prasravana or Mālvavan must be the high peak rising 2.140 feet out of the Deori Reserved Forest immediately south of the Singrampur valley. The Deori peak is nearly five miles north-north-west of the Kaimur 'Koti' as the crow flies, and the Bhanrer ridge between the Koti and the peak is too low to obstruct the view

When Svayamprabhā left them, the Vānaras saw the dread sea and sitting on a foot-hill of the *Vindhya*, anxiously considered the position (Sarga 53, verse 16). Aṅgada said: Sugrīva himself fixed the day of our return. That day expired in the Bear's cave... Our search has been fruitless. Sugrīva is cruel by nature and always hated me. He is sure to

have me killed by painful torture. Here. therefore, on the holy shore of the sea, I will sit down to die of starvation.' The Vanara chiefs shed hot tears of sympathy. They reviled Sugrīva, praised Vāli, and sat round Angada determined to die with him. Seated on the north shore of the sea, they discussed, sadly and fearfully, the disasters that followed the exile of Rāma, including the destruction of Jatāyu. Sampāti, a brother of Jatāyu, lived closeby in a cavern of the Vindhya at the head of a precipice. Hearing Jatavu mentioned, he came out of the cavern, saw the Vānaras, and burst out: 'Who is this that announces the death of my younger brother who was dearer to me than life. I wish to descend this precipice and learn all about Jatāyu's death.' Angada boldly went up, led Sampāti down and told him of Sītā's abduction by Rāvana, and Jatāyu's death in his unequal fight with Ravana. Angada then said: 'If you are Jatāyu's brother, tell us where that Rākshas Rāvana lives' (Sarga 58, verse 9). Sampāti replied: 'I am now weak and wingless. The only help I can give is by way of information. As to the seat of that Rākshas, listen to my words. In an island of the sea, a hundred yojans hence, Rāvana sits supreme in the city of Lanka.' Sampāti then desired to be taken down to the sea to offer a libation to his brother in Heaven. He was led down and led up again.

It is thus clear that Sampāti lived in a cave in the southern slope of the Vindhya not far from the south-west Koti near Katangi. It is clear too that the Sagara was immediately below at the hill-foot. The south-west Koti is 1,200 feet high and the first swell a mile and a half up the Koti is a low peak 1,507 feet, almost on the solstitial point. Half a mile further up, the Kair is nearest to the mountain-foot which it almost touches before it recedes and joins the Hiran a mile below. It was here probably that Sampāti offered a libation to Jatāvu's manes, and if the Sāgara was a shallow fresh-water lake of Kair and Hiran combined, it was here too that Sampāti and Suparsva found their supply of drinking water.

RAVANA AND SITA SEEN AT MAHENDRA-DVAR BY SUPARSVA

Gladdened by news of Rāvaṇa, the Vānaras rejoiced exceedingly. Jāmbavan however jumped up, and questioned Sampāti: 'Where is Sītā? By whom was she seen? Who took her? Tell us all about it.' Sampāti replied: Listen Vānaras, as to how I heard of the

taking of Vaidehi, by whom I was told of it. and where Sītā is ' (Sarga 59, verse 6). "Old and weak, I had lighted on this steep hill many yojans long, and my son Supārsva supports me by fetching food for me at eating time. One evening at sunset he came to me without flesh. When I complained, he pacified me and explained: 'Seeking flesh, I stood over the cleft across the Mahendra hill and bent down to block the gorge and keep back the sea-animals that passed through it. There I saw a shiny-black man with a Sunbright woman. In soft words, he begged me to let him pass, and it was not for one like me to resist his respectful appeal. I was then told by the Siddhas thereabouts, that it was Rāvana. King of the Rākshasas, taking Rāma's wife.'. This information Supārsva gave me" (Sarga 59, verses 10-14 and 19).

IS MAHENDRAGIRI A SECTION OF THE KAIMUR RANGE?

A mile and a half above Sampāti's peak, the Vindhyan ridge rises almost to 2,000 feet. This peak is higher than the Trikūta (1,932 feet) in the Sihora Haveli below. It is also the highest peak in the final thirty-mile stretch of the Kaimur between the Bhainsakund (2,086 feet) and the 'Koti' near Katangi.

From this dominating peak, the ridge descends in five miles to what the Damoh Gazetteer calls 'the extraordinary cleft known as the Katas' through which, the river that drains the Singrampur valley forces its way to the south. This stretch of five miles between high peak and low pass is also marked by two more peaks 1.860 and 1.758 feet high, while the cleft itself like the Katangi Koti, is only 1.200 feet. This 'wonderful cut' as the cleft is called by the Jubbulpore Gazetteer, strikingly corresponds to the Mahendragiri gorge (doara) where Supaisva was preparing to fish when he met Rāvana and Sītā on their way to Lanka. It seems almost certain, therefore. that this five-mile section of the 'thousandheaded Vindhya' is the Mahendragiri of Supālsva, and the cut across the mountain wall named Katas, the 'dvāra' (hole, passage, gateway) of the Mahendragiri he was attempting to block.

FURTHER PROOFS OF THE IDENTITY OF THE MAHENDRAGIRI AND VINDHYA

Having ascertained Rāvaņa's abode from Sampāti, the Vānaras gathered on the seashore, and discussed the feasibility of crossing the hundred-yojan sea (Sarga 64, verses 2, 4 and 15-18). Hanumān undertakes the

task. He then brags in approved athlete fashion: 'This ground cannot stand the force of my spring. Here are these (etāni iha) high firm peaks of the Mahendra and from these I will take off. These will stand the pressure of my feet as I jump across the hundred-yojan sea' (Sarga 67, verses 35-38).

When Angada asked: 'Who will cross the hundred-yojan Sāgara, and save our lives' the Vānaras were camped on the north shore of the Sāgara below the Vindhyan ridge. From his perch on the Vindhyan, Sampāti said: 'Rāvaṇa lives in Lanka City in an island of the sea full hundred yojans hence' (Sarga 58, verses 19 and 20). The Jubbulpore Gazetteer says: 'The Jubbulpore (Tahsil) Haveli is an entirely flat and open plain, while the Sihora Haveli watered by the Hiran, is interspersed with hills and jungles.' The island referred to by Sampāti was no doubt, the Trikūta cum Suvela hill.

In this connexion the references to the Vindhya and the Mahendragiri contained in the Sundara Kānda are worthy of special note. When Hanumān meets Sītā in Lanka, he naturally gives her a short account of the search the Vānaras made for her and says 'We were lost in the great Vindhyan mountain. The period fixed for our return expired,

and we sat down to die on the top of that hill. Gladdened however by news of Rāvaṇa's whereabouts from Sampāti, we rose from the Vindhya and descended to the seashore. I then swam (plutaḥ) a hundred yojana, and entered Lanka in the night '(Sarga 35, verses 57-71). Again in the same Kāṇḍa, Sarga 57, when Hanumān re-crossed the sea, he raised a thunderous shout of triumph as he approached the lofty Mahendra hill and the Vānaras awaiting him on the northern shore rejoiced to hear it and jumped down the rocks to welcome him (verses 14-16, 18, 19 and 25).

CHAPTER V

Supārṣva's Story Is it Intrinsically Probable?

WHEN Hanumān pointed to 'these peaks (Sikharāni) here of Mahendra' he obviously referred to the three-peaked five-mile section of the Kaimur ridge, ending in Supārṣva's Mahendra-dvār. Supārṣva, as a dutiful son, found and fetched his father's food for him. The gorge of the Kair river with the lake below was excellent fishing ground, and is moreover the only gorge of the kind in the entire range. It was only six miles from Sampāti's cave, and it was natural for Supārṣva to frequent it as his most reliable fishery.

But the question of questions remains: 'did Supārṣva meet Rāvaṇa and Sītā near the gorge?' Believing Supārṣva's story as related by Sampāti, Hanumān took off from the Mahendra hill, crossed the hundred-yojan sea, and reached the 'Lamba' foot-hill of the Trikūta well before sunset. Next morning Hanumān re-crossed the hundred-yojan sea and joined his friends at the foot of the Mahendra hill. With them, he crossed the Mahendra ridge and hastened towards Prasravana to report to Rāma the glad tidings of

Sītā's discovery (Sundara, Sarga 61, verses 2 and 6). On their way however, the Vānaras entered Sugrīva's cherished Mahua grove, defied his uncle and care-taker Dadhimukha, and drank their fill of Mahua liquor. It may be added that Mahua trees (Bassia latifolia), called Madhuka and Madhudruma in Sanskirt, abound in the Singrāmpur valley and Mahua flowers are 'the chief food and drink of the Korkus'.

Hanumān's faith in Supārṣva's story was thus fully justified. He virtually went over Rāvaṇa's route from Mahendra to Trikūta and returned to Mahendra the same way. When Rāvaṇa saw that Hanumān had discovered the way to his hill-top city and communicated with Sītā in Lanka, he forthwith realised that Rāma would be advancing towards Lanka to beleaguer his fort. He called together his Rākshasas to consult about measures for defence and told them: 'It is very clear (Suvyaktam) that Rāma with thousands of Vānaras will cross the Sāgara with ease (Sukham) and besiege us' (Yuddha, Sarga 6, verses 1, 2, 16 and 17).

When Hanuman made his report and delivered the token-jewel Sītā had entrusted to him, Rāma knew that his way to Lanka was the way taken by Rāvaṇa and Hanumān.

He hastened to Mahendragiri, crossed the ridge and camped with his army on the north shore of the Sagara (Yuddha, Sarga 4, verses 92 and 93 and Sarga 5, verse 1). Time and again the text says, that the Mahendra and the Vindhya stood above the north shore of the south sea, while the south shore of the same sea lay at the foot of the Trikūta or Suvela hill. It also consistently asserts that the distance between the north share below the Mahendra or Vindhya, and the south shore below the Trikūta or Suvela, is a hundred voianas. To facilitate the transport of the Vānara host, Naļa ran up a causeway of a hundred-yojans from Mahendragiri to Suvelagiri. The time taken was five days, the materials used were stones, rocks and trees, and Rāvana opined that the Sāgara was easily crossed (Sukham tarishyati). Having regard too to the Indian habit of calling even big tanks, Sāgaras, Samudras and Ambudhis, it is easy to suppose that the western half of the Sihora Haveli (about fifty square miles in extent) shaped like a trapezoid and enclosed by the Pareyt, Kair and Hiran rivers, was naturally called a Sagara or Samudra.

There are however two more questions to be answered before we can confidently assert that Trikūta is Indrana hill. The latter is no doubt almost due south of the Katas cut in the Kaimur range, but the distance from the cleft to the Suvela hill-foot is only about twelve miles. Are a hundred yojans then only twelve miles? Again how did Rāvaṇa, burdened as he was with Sītā, negotiate the narrow Mahendra gorge? The answer to the first question is 'Yes'. It is a crucial question and I make no apology for repeating here most of what I have stated under 'what is the yojana' in Chapter I.

The uojana is used in two senses in Valmīki. It is generally used in the ordinary sense of four krosas of one thousand Dhanus each. A 'Dhanus' is four hastas or two yards, and that gives about four and a half miles to a uoiana. Sugiīva however uses it in the sense of a stadium and that evidently was its 'Sports' sense. The Greek stadium of two hundred yards was the course for the short foot-race, and its user was extended to other sports like quoits and swimming. Proposing a test of Rāma's strength, Sugrīva says : 'Vāli threw the corpse of Dundubhi a yojan distance, and I will consider Rāma the stronger if he throws Dundubhi's skeleton two hundred dhanus' (dvidhanus-sate) (Kishkindha. Sarga 11, verses 47 and 72). It is obvious

that the yojana Vāli threw, was a dhanussata or two hundred yards, and not four and a half miles. When Angada seated at the foot of the Vindhya questions the Vanaras as to who would brave the dangers of the sea and cross over to Trikūta a hundred yojans beyond, nine of them felt fit to swim ten to ninety yojanas. Hanuman undertook the task and reached the Lamba end of Trikūta before sunset. The sea was apparently dotted with hills and one of them invited Hanuman to rest on its peak. It is almost certain that here too vojana is used in the sports sense of a stadium, and that Hanuman did the hundred yojanas partly swimming, partly wading or walking, and resting occasionally on projecting hills. The hundred yojanas from Mahendra to Trikūta was therefore a hundred stadia or eleven and a half miles which is the actual distance from the Katas Cleft to the north end of the Indrana hill.

THE MAHENDRA GORGE HOW DID RAVANA NEGOTIATE IT *

To crown all, there is a stunner in the text that Rāvaṇa left Lanka for Janasthāna in a car drawn by asses and, what is more, took Mārīcha in his car right up to Rāma's hermitage in Pañchavati. Again, Rāvana forced

Sītā into the same car, and though Jatāyu broke it according to the text, it is reasonable to assume that Rāvaṇa who dreaded Rāma and was keen on abducting Sītā, had provided against the contingency of a breakdown. According to Bhoja too, Sītā was taken to Lanka in another car which Rāvaṇa ascended directly Jatāyu collapsed (gadya, between verses 32 and 33 of the Āraṇya). The Champu, it may be noted, follows Vālmīki very closely in its facts. It even begins the first verse of the Ayodhya to the Sundara Kāṇḍas with the same word.

If then Supārsva saw Rāvana and Sītā in an ass-drawn car at Mahendra-dvār, it is evident there was a cart-track just above Supāsva, carried over the Katas break in the Kaimur wall. If there was such a track, it is almost certain to appear as a decent road on the modern Topo map. As a matter of fact there is such a road carried over the Katas Cleft close to Lat. 23° 321' and Long. 79° 52½'. This road is the twenty-mile metalled road from Sihora, which connects with the Jubbulpore-Damoh highway at the head of the Kaimur Pass thirty miles above Jubbulpore. It crosses the Kair stream just above its junction with the Phalku river which drains the Singrampur valley. Ascending the left bank of the Kair, the road skirts the gorge and descends to the Sihora Haveli. From the Katas Cleft to Majholi (five miles), the road is metalled. The branch road from Majholi to the north foot of the Indrana hill (seven miles), is however a cart-track. These same twelve miles of road-way across the Sihora Haveli, correspond closely both in direction and length, to the hundred yojan causeway of Nala from the Mahendra hill in the north, to the Suvela hill in the south (vide coloured Topo maps 55·M/14 and 55·M/15).

CHAPTER VI

Across the Pampa Saras to Rsyamūka

RAVANA'S journey from Lanka to Panchavati, and back to Lanka with Sītā, are to be found in the Aranya Kanda. Akampana, a commander in Khara's army, survived the carnage before Panchavati, hastened to Lanka, and reported the disaster to Rāvana. He said: 'Rāma is the mightiest of archers. He has a brother like himself, and acting together. they are like fire aided by the wind. You cannot, Dasagrīva, face Rama in the battlefield. There is only one way to destroy him. He has a wife, Sītā, young, perfectly-shaped and of wondrous beauty. Manage to abduct her. Parted from her, Rāma will pine away and perish ' (Āranya, Sarga 30, verses 1, 2, 15-17. 27. 29 and 31). Rāvaņa approved of his advice, went to Panchavati in a chariot drawn by asses, and abducted Sītā with the help of Mārīcha. Returning to Lanka in the same or a similar chariot, he instructed eight powerful Rākshasas as follows: 'Fully armed, hasten to Janasthan once ruled by Living in Janasthan, watch and give me accurate reports of Rāma's doings. Be always on the look out to take Rāma unawares

and kill him' (Āraņya, Sarga 54, verses 20, 25 and 27).

In the text, dealing with Rāvaṇa's journey from and to Lanka, there is no geographical information except that he crossed the Pampa, and that his way to Lanka skirted a hill near which Sītā dropped her jewels in the view of five Vānaras (Āraṇya, Sarga 54, verses 1, 2 and 5).

RAMA'S SEARCH FOR SITA FROM PANCHAVATI, ACROSS THE PAMPA, TO RAYAMUKA

Having cremated Jatayu and offered libations to his manes as to a parent, Rāma and Lakshmana started in search for Sītā. They went west and then south. They then entered the Krauncha forest three krosas beyond Janasthan. They then went three krcsas east. and midway between the Krauncha forest and Matanga's hermitage, near a deep, dark, gaping fissure in the ground, they met an ugly Rākshasi named Ayomukhī. A little further on, they met a huge mis-shapen Rākshasa named Kabandha who impressed it upon Rāma that his sole hope of recovering Sītā lay in securing Sugrīva's help to search for her. Kabandha concluded: 'Here is your pleasant way by the side of vonder thicket of flowering trees to the west. Eat the fruits thereof.

Then marching from forest to forest and hill to hill, you will reach the lovely lotus lake (Pushkarani) of Pampa, and find Matanga's hermitage on its western shore. Rsyamūka hill is to the east of Pampa, and is very difficult of ascent (Suduhkhārōhaṇaḥ). In it is a large cave, concealed by a rock and difficult of entry. Near the eastern end of the cave is a large deep pool of chill waters. There lives Sugrīva with his four Vānara companions (Āraṇya, Sarga 73, verses 2, 10, 11, 28 and 32 and 39-41).

There is good reason to believe that Kabandha was a faithful emissary of brainy Sugrīva was a coward and Hanumān. Hanuman knew it. The mere sight of Rama and Lakshmana armed with formidable weapons made him shiver and stand still (Kishkindha, Sarga 1, verse 129 and Sarga 2, verses 17-20). Again, in those spacious days. Hanumān, though a Korku, appears to have received an Arvan education. He was learned in the Aryan sense, and familiar with Aryan ways and beliefs. He evidently knew that Fire was 'all-gods-in-one' to the Aryan, and that a promise before a fire possessed a peculiar sanctity. He struck a fire in orthodox fashion out of two fire-sticks, worshipped it with flowers and made Rāma and Sugrīva go round it as a preliminary to swearing mutual friendship (Kishkindha, Sarga 5, verses 15-17). When therefore, Kabandha advises Rāma to put down his weapons when meeting Sugrīva ($\bar{A}ranya$, Sarga 72, verse 21), and to swear friendship before a blazing fire (Sarga 72, verse 17), it is clear he must have received his instructions from Hanumān, and his parting words to Rāma were, 'make friendship' ($Sakhyam\ kurushva$) with Sugrīva ($\bar{A}ranya$, Sarga 73, verse 45).

Following Kabandha's instructions, the brothers reached the western shore of Pampa after passing the night on the crest of a hill. There, on the western shore, they met the ascetic Sabari in her pleasant home amid trees, and were hospitably entertained by her. Going down to the lake, Rāma first plunged into a deep pool known as the Matanga Saras apparently to cool his burning limbs (Āranya, Sarga 75, verse 14). He then started to cross the Pampa for the Rsyamūka hill which rose on the opposite shore 'not very far off ' (Āraņya, Sarga 75, verse 7). From the description of Pampa in the last Sarga of Aranya, and the first of Kishkindha. it was evidently a broad, placid, shallow cirque lake, thickly overspread with multicoloured lotuses and water-lilies (Aranya, Sarga 75, verse 13), as well as floating semisubmerged trees (pāri-plava-drumām) (Kishkindha, Sarga 1, verse 126). One thing is certain, that Vālmīki's Pampa Saras cannot be the Tungabhadra river near Hampe with 'its rapids, boulder-strewn channels, and narrow gorges, and surrounded by a barren tree-less tract of granitic hillocks'.

WAS THERE A CAUSEWAY ACROSS THE PAMPA?

The last verse of the $\bar{A}ranya$ says that it was a great distance (mahadvartma) across the Pampa to Rsyamūka, that the passage comprised a good long causeway (sudūra sankramam) as well as troublesome stretches of sandy waste (pratikūla dhanvanam), and that the lake itself was interspersed with wooded islands full of birds of all kinds. 'Sankrama' is a causeway. All causeways round Dwāraka were 'broken' (bheditāh) as a measure of defence against Sālba's invasion (Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, Adhvāva 15. verse 14). In the Kādambarī, Bāna, who flourished in the seventh century A.D., speaks of the lotus lake (Padma Saras) of Pampa, 'where even now' (yatra adyāpī), chakravāka couples meet the eye of the 'passer-through' (madhya-chāriṇā) like embodiments of Rāma's curse. The madhya-chāri traveller and the

chakravākas on either side, strongly suggest a causeway across the Pampa.

The Kishkindha Kānda begins with the crossing of the Pampa by Rāma, and the meeting of Rāma and Sugrīva in the Rsvamūka hill. It was at this meeting that Sugriva produced the bundle of jewels dropped by Sītā. Not long before, according to the text, Rāvana had crossed the Pampa, and Sītā had dropped her jewels in view of five Vānaras seated on a hill-top. Pampa and Rsyamūka, a high hill and a lake, are thus important, and what is more, adjoining. landmarks on the Janasthana-Lanka route. The way across the Pampa was therefore a cart-track with Matanga's grove to the west. and the hill-fort of Rsyamūka to the east. The road evidently passed right under the brow of the hill, and the Vanaras, as was natural, were sitting by the roadside above the head of the Pass, watching men and carts pass. It would appear therefore that as the asses plodded up the steep ascent, Sītā secured her jewels in her upper garment of yellow silk, and dropped them right in front of the Vanaras, unnoticed by Ravana (Āranya, Sarga 54, verses 1-3). It is thus clear that both Ravana and Rama crossed the Pampa and passed by the Rsyamūka hill.

The production, therefore, of Sītā's jewels by Sugrīva at Rsyamūka, is a turning point in the epic, as it furnished conclusive evidence of the fact of abduction as well as the track of her Rākshasa Captor. My faith in Vālmīki as a truthful historian, had its root in verse 6 of Sarga 18 of the Ayodhya. Forced by a prior promise to go back on his promise to Rāma, Dasaratha, says Vālmīki. looked 'like the Sun eclipsed, and a Rsi who had spoken an untruth' (Uktanrtam Rshim yatha). My faith was strengthened when I found on a reference to coloured Topo-sheets 55·M/15 and 55·M/14, that Vālmīki's south-west 'Koti' of the Vindhvan. corresponded unmistakably to the abrupt south-west end of the Kaimur-Vindhyan near Katangi, and that the Mahendra-dvār where Supārsva met Rāvana, corresponded to the 'wonderful cut' known as the 'Katas Cleft' where the Kair river breaks right through the Kaimur ridge eight miles above its Katangi end.

CHAPTER VII

Rsyamūka to Mahendra-dvār

WHILE Valmiki's account of Rama's movements from Janasthan to Prasravana reads like a genuine diary, there is nothing in it to fix the actual position of Pampa, Rsyamūka, Kishkindha and Prasravana. The text however enables us to glean a number of suggestive facts in regard to the position and physical features of the tract of country intervening Rsvamūka and Mahendra. Rāvana crossed the Pampa, skirted Rsyamūka, and went to Mahendra. The west to east road across the Pampa must, therefore, have run on, probably eastward, to Mahendra. Sugrīva saw Rāvana's chariot pass below the Rsyamūka. He was familiar with the country round Rsvamūka including the Pampa cirque to the west, as well as Kishkindha, his old home. probably to the east. He knew therefore the lie of Rāvana's track for some distance beyond the Rsvamūka hill. Rāma too, may have verified Sugriva's information, by the trail of Rāvaņa's chariot in the immediate vicinity of the hill. As for Rāma, he halted at Rsvamūka with Sugrīva and assassinated Vāli in front of Kishkindha, a great, well-wooded, and

well-watered, hollow amid hills (Kishkindha, Sarga 33, verses 4, 5 and 7), which served as the home of the Vanaras and contained their capital city. Kishkindha was not far from Rsvamūka. Sugrīva and Rāma went twice to Kishkindha in the course of a day. After his first bout, Sugrīva ran back to Rsyamūka severely punished, but went again to Kishkindha with a garland of rose-coloured Argyreias (elephant-creeper) to enable Rāma to distinguish him from Vāli. Having killed Vāli and enthroned Sugrīva, Rāma halts for the four rainy months (Ashādha to Kārtika) on the top of the Prasravana hill, Prasravana being generic for a high circular ridge giving rise to a number of hill-streams. This hill was close to Kishkindha. Rāma says: 'Not far from here is Kishkindha amid picturesque woods, whence the sounds of music, vocal and instrumental, reach us. Sugriva is evidently enjoying himself' (Kishkindha, Sarga 27, verses 26-28). Kishkindha and Prasravana were thus close to each other and not far from Rsyamūka. Rsyamūka and Prasravana were high hills, while Kishkindha was · a world-famous (loka-viṣruta) gorge, hollow, or cave, amid hills (Giri-guha, Giri-gahvara, Giri-samkata). Vālmīki refers to certain special features of the wild wooded terrain

connecting these great landmarks, and these are easily recognised in the coloured Toposheets 55·M/14 and 55·M/15. Again, Rāma from Rsyamūka to Kishkindha and Prasravana. Later on, he goes from Prāsravana to Mahendra, after Hanuman returns to Prasravana through Mahendra with news of Sītā's discovery. Further, Rāvana drove straight in his ass-drawn chariot from Rsyamūka to Mahendra and on to Lanka. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the west to east road across the Pampa stretched beyond Rsyamüka to Mahendra, and that Kishkindha and Prasravana abutted on this road on either side of it. A look at sheets 55 M/10 and 55 M/14 fully supports this inference.

Of decisive importance, however, is the poet's vivid and, accurate description, of the southern section of the Vindhya searched by the Vānaras. This section being in the neighbourhood of the south-west Koti of the Kaimur near Katangi, is obviously the Kaimur Pass, and Vālmīki says: 'They stayed long near the south-west end of the Vindhya. It was an extensive tract full of swamps and hollows, and most difficult to explore' (Sahi deso durānveshyo guhā-gahanavān mahān) (Kishkindha, Sarga 50, verse 4). Hanumān

searched all over the mountain (parvatam). Having explored the southern region surrounded by a network of hills (giri-jālāvritam), they grew tired, hungry and thirsty. Looking for water, they found, surrounded by trees and creepers, a wide hole, difficult of approach, and known as Riksha-bila (Bear's hole). This description is faithfully reflected on the face of Topo-map 55·M/15, and agrees with the Gazetteer description of the western or Bhanrer side of the Pass close to Katangi.

KATANGI AND THE KAIMUR PASS

Katangi (Long. 79° 47'; Lat. 23° 26' 30") is at the foot of the Bhanrer hills, a mile and a half north of the Hiran river, and a mile west of the abrupt south-west end of the Kaimur range. It is near Katangi the strike of the Kaimur ridge is displaced, and the Vindhyan is re-aligned under the name of the Bhanrer. South-west of Katangi, the Bhanrer, like the Kaimur, is 'a single ridge, abrupt and lofty,' with the Hiran river flowing along its base (vide sheet 55.M/11). But near Katangi itself, 'it becomes a confused mass of hills over hills, 2,000 to 2,500 is here 'an extensive high'. It feet plateau occurs, 2,000 feet high, and on it are situate a number of Gond villages'. The description of the Bhanrer near Katangi corresponds closely to Vālmīki's description of the 'extensive region surrounded by a network of hills 'near the south-west Koti of the Vindhyan (Kishkindha, Sarga 50, verses 3, 4 and 7). It is significant too, that in the course of their search, the Vānaras met a huge Asura whom Angada took to be Rāvana and felled to the ground (Kishkindha, Sarga 48, verses 19-21). It looks, therefore, as if the extensive high-level plateau adjoining the western or Bhanrer wall of the Kaimur Pass, was settled by the Gonds or Rākshasas as far back as the days of Rāvaṇa.

Katangi was once a military station of the Gond Rājās. It is the gate of the Kaimur Pass and of great military importance, and there is a Jagannāth temple on the Bhanrer slopes near the village. It was probably to this Jagannāth Rāma referred, when he gave his parting message to Vibhīshaṇa 'to rule Lanka long' and 'to offer worship to Jagannātha, the guardian deity of the Ikshvāku race' (Uttara Kāṇḍa, Sarga 108, verses 25-28). The above description of Jagannāth reminds us that on the eve of his intended Coronation as Yuvarāja, Rāma lay awake in the Vishņu temple of his palace (Srīmatyāyatane Vishṇoḥ) contemplating Nārāyaṇa (Ayōdhya,

Sarga 6, verses 3 and 4). Lanka is not far from Katangi, and the appeal addressed to Vibhīshaṇa suggests that Rāma raised a temple at Katangi as a memento of his victory over Rāvaṇa and consecrated Vishṇu-Jagannāth in it.

Katangi is on the 24th mile of the great military highway from Jubbulpore to Damoh. 66 miles long. The Kaimur Pass above it is five miles long and a mile wide, and contains a five-mile section (24th to 29th) of the highway. Up to the 29th mile, the Pass, the highway and the scarps that wall them in, run N.-N.-E. Near the 29th mile, however, the Pass opens into the Singrampur vallev as the result of the Bhanrer curving inwards to the west, while the Kaimur continues its N.-N.-E. course right up to the Katas Cleft. Turning inwards, the Bhanrer 'forms the southern and western enclosures of the landlocked valleys of Singrampur and Jabera'. The Gazetteer also says: 'An isolated buttress commanding the Jubbulpore-Damoh road and the Jabera Pass, carries the old hill-fortress of Singorgarh'. Descending northwards, this buttress nearly overhangs the head of the Jabera Pass right above the 36th mile-stone of the road. At the head of the Kaimur Pass (29th mile), the road, like the ridge, curves north-west and west, and runs parallel to the scarp for seven miles right up to the head of the Jabera Pass. The Pass heads are thus connected by seven miles of roadway (29-36) and are both about 1,300 feet high.

From Katangi to Singorgarh is a twelvemile stretch of highway, six miles running north, and six miles west. Midway, near the 30th mile, it is joined by the Sihora-Majholi-Katas road, twenty miles long. Two and a quarter miles west of the junction is Singrampur, the chief village of the valley. Three and a quarter miles E.-N.-E. of the junction is the Katas Cleft or Mahendra-dvār. Singorgarh is four miles west of Singrampur. From the 30th mile, the highway follows the northern foot of the incurved Bhanrer, but at Singorgarh, while the road continues its westward course across the Jabera valley for six miles (36-42), the ridge curves southwest, north, and north-east in succession, encircling the Jabera valley and bounding it on three sides.

THE JUNCTION OF THE ROADS—A KEY POSITION

As already noted, the roads from Katangi and the Katas Cleft, meet at the 30th mile of the Jubbulpore-Damoh highway

(Lat. 23° 32'; Long. 79° 50'). The junction is virtually at the head of the Kaimur Pass, and is a key-position. From this point, a short drive of three and a quarter miles to the east took Ravana to the Katas Cleft or Mahendra-dvār (Lat. 23° 32½'; Long. 79° 521') on his way to Lanka. From it too, the Vanaras descended south and explored the Kaimur Pass, about six miles long, for nearly a whole month. Though the Pass is only a mile in width, it's western boundary is the broken side of a densely-wooded plateau, the Bhanrer ridge being the eastern edge of a high tableland, 35 square miles in extent. descending 500 to 600 feet to the bottom of the scarp. This plateau amid 'a confused mass of hills over hills 'was the 'extensive impenetrable southern region surrounded by a network of hills ' (Kishkindha, Sarga 50. verses 4-7) where the Vanaras expected to find Rāvana's secret abode.

Unlike the Bhanrer, the Kaimur wall of the Pass is a thin knife-edge, with bare precipitous slopes on either side of the ridge. It is evident from the text that the Vānaras did not attempt its steep ascent though they explored the Pass right down to the south-west Koti of the Kaimur. Svayamprabhā made them close their eyes when she led them up the

slope, and they saw for the first time on reaching the crest, the wide-spreading waters round the junction of the Kair and the Hiran in the Haveli below.

Looking over the Kaimur Pass and the contour lines on either side of it (vide Maps 55·M/15 and 55·M/14), it is easy to realise the extraordinary steepness of the Kaimur scarp, as compared with the Bhanrer slope across the Pass. The Vānaras could not even dream of Rāvaṇa's driving his chariot over the steep ridge which they had to ascend with closed eyes behind Svayamprabhā. They were not aware of the existence of the Katas Cleft till Sampāti told them of the fateful meeting of his son and Rāvaṇa at Mahendradvār. Till then it was a military secret of Rāvana and his Rākshasas.

When Rāvaṇa heard Akampana's account of the destruction of his Janasthān army, he realised forthwith he could not face Rāma and his far-shooting bow and allpiercing arrows. But his hill-top fort lay south of the Vindhyan knife-edge in a region utterly unknown to the Āryans and even to the Korkus. The Trikūta was steeply scarped on three sides, and on those sides, the great and swift Hiran flowed round it. Lanka was thus vulnerable only from the north, by way

of the Katas Cleft bored by the Kair river through the Kaimur ridge. So long as this passage remained a secret, Rāvaṇa felt safe from the enemy. When, however, the Vānaras learnt of it and Hanumān crossed the Sāgara from the Mahendra to Trikūta, Rāvaṇa knew it would not be long before Rāma appeared before Lanka at the head of thousands of Vānaras (Yuddha, Sarga 6, verses 16 and 17).

SUGRIVA KNEW NOTHING OF RAVANA AND HIS WHEREABOUTS

All this is entirely consistent with Sugriva's assurance to Rāma, that he knew nothing of Rāvana or his abode. The occasion was the production by Sugrīva of Sītā's jewels from his cave in the Rsyamūka hill. Having sworn eternal fidelity before the Sacred Fire, Rāma solemnly declared: 'I will kill Vali who took your wife. This very day, you will see him lie lifeless on the ground, pierced by my deadly arrows.' Sugrīva rejoiced when Rāma promised to kill Vāli and said: Hanuman, my best adviser, tells me your wife was abducted by a Rakshas. I believe it was your wife whom I saw one day, as she was being carried away by a wicked Rakshas. Seeing me seated on the ledge, she dropped her uppercloth with some jewels. I will fetch

them for your inspection.' Rāma examined the garment and the jewels, exclaimed, 'O my Sītā', and collapsed weeping. He then asked Sugrīva: 'Tell me, which way she was taken, and where that Rakshas lives, who has brought this great calamity on me.' Sugrīva replied: 'I have no idea where that wicked Rakshas lives. Nor do I know anything of the prowess, resources or parentage of that low-born wretch. But I will put forth my best efforts to enable you to recover Maithili' (Kishkindha, Sarga 6, verses 24 and 25 and Sarga 7, verses 2 and 3).

CHAPTER VIII

The Identity of Rayamūka with Singorgarh

FROM the road-junction near the 30th mile of the highway. Rāvaņa drove three and a quarter miles E.-N-E. to the Katas Cleft Mahendra-dvār which gave access to Lanka. This section of three and a quarter miles, it may be presumed, was an unbeaten inconspicuous track in the olden days. From the 30th mile too, the south-bound Vanaras descended south, and searched the Kaimur Pass and the high plateau to its west, right down to Katangi and the Kaimur 'Koti'. on either side of the highway. The search, though long and arduous, proved fruitless, and the Rākshasa whom Angada killed and whom they took to be Ravana, proved to be someone else. From the 30th mile again. there is even now, neither road nor carttrack branching towards the north. The highway runs W.-N.-W. for two and a quarter miles to Singrampur and thence due west for four miles to the foot of the Singorgarh hill at the head of the Jabera Pass 1,300 feet high. Along this stretch of six miles (30-36), the road is roughly paralleled, immediately

to the south, by the incurved Bhanrer ridge, which is crowned, above the 36th mile, by the dominating peak of Singorgarh 2,100 feet high.

It seems almost obvious in the circumstances that, journeying in his ass-drawn car with Sītā, Rāvaṇa drove west to east along the highway, from the foot of the Singorgarh hill at the 36th mile to the parting of the ways at the 30th mile, a mile above the head of the Kaimur Pass. If this is so, the conclusion is irresistible that the Rṣyamūka hill which Rāvaṇa skirted as he hastened towards Lanka, and at whose foot Sītā dropped her bundle of jewels, is identical with the Singorgarh hill rising abruptly above the Jabera Pass.

Singorgarh is a conspicuous landmark. It rises to the east of the Jabera basin and corresponds strikingly to the Rayamūka hill as described by Kabandha. As however, it rose according to the text, from the eastern shore of the Pampa Lake, and both Rāvaṇa and Rāma crossed the Pampa before reaching Rayamūka, the identification of Rayamūka with Singorgarh will not hold, unless the great and shallow lotus-lake of Pampa can be located in the Jabera hollow between hills, about 36 square miles in extent.

As described by Kabandha, Rṣyamūka with its flowering trees rose to the east of the Pampa, whereas Matanga's secluded hermitage lay on the western shore of the lake. Rṣyamūka was 'very difficult of ascent '(Suduḥkhā-rōhaṇaḥ) and was 'carved '(vinirmitaḥ) by Brahma in the olden days, and that suggests it was an impregnable hill-fortress. Kabandha concludes: 'There is a great cave in the hill concealed by a rock. At its eastern opening there is a great pool of chill waters. There lives Sugrīva with his four Vānara companions (Araṇya, Sarga 73, verses 27, 31, 39 and 40).

SINGORGARH IS RSYAMUKA AND LAKE PAMPA IS NOW THE JABERA BASIN

Under 'Singorgarh', the Damoh Gazetteer says: 'A hill-fort in Government forest, four miles from the village of Singrāmpur on the Jubbulpore-Damoh road. The fort commands the Jabera Pass giving access to the road between the Bhanrer and Kaimur ranges. West of Singorgarh, it is said, there was formerly a great lake filling a circular basin in the hills with an area of 35 square miles; and 28 villages now stand on this area....At the close of the fifteenth century, Dalapt Sa, the Gond Rāja of Garha-Maṇḍla, removed his

capital from Garha near Jubbulpore to Singorgarh. He died, leaving his widow the beautiful Chandel Princess Rāni Durgāvatī. as regent of his kingdom. In 1564, her territories were invaded by the Moghal Vicerov. Asaf Khan. Durgāvatī met the Imperial army on the wide plain of Singrampur, four miles from Singorgarh, and was defeated. again defeated and killed near She was Mandla.' (The Narasingpur Gazetteer says she plunged a dagger into her own breast and killed herself.) 'The fort of Singorgarh is said to have undergone a siege of nine months by Aurangzeb. Its citadel or inner fort, is on a high central hill.' This hill is 1,889 feet high and Kabandha appropriately describes it as 'Suduhkhārōhanah'. Under 'physical features' too, the Damoh Gazetteer says: 'The Jabera valley near Singorgarh, consisting of twenty-eight villages lying in a cup of the hills is said formerly to have been one vast lake....' (page 5). Of the illustrious Rāni Durgāvatī, the Mandla Gazetteer says: 'During her fifteen years of Regency, the country was so prosperous that the people paid rent in gold mohars and elephants. This is recorded in the Ain Akbari.' Of the inner fort, little remains 'but a solitary tower and some ruined stone reservoirs' but Kabandha's 'great pool of chill waters' is still intact and shows as a striking object on Forest Map 84/S.E. 3. The pool is oval-shaped and two furlongs by one, and adjoins the citadel. It is noteworthy too that a Gond Malguzar owns the Singrāmpur and several neighbouring villages.

THE PRASRAVANA RIDGE AND ITS STREAMS

From Rsyamūka foot, Rāvaņa drove six miles west to east to the road-junction at the 30th mile. The highway and the Bhanrer both turn N.-W. near the road-junction, and run east to west parallel to each other, right up to Singorgarh. This six miles section of the Bhanrer is crowned, about midway, by the Deori peak (2.140 feet), the highest in the ridge from Katangi to Singorgarh. It gives rise to three considerable streams of which the central, called Songana, is far the largest, and flows west to east immediately south of Singrampur. It is evidently this stretch of the Bhanrer with the Deori peak in its centre that is called Prasravana by Rāma and Svavamprabhā. As noted before, the high Deori peak is easily visible from the Kaimur ridge across the comparatively low western or Bhanrer wall of the Kaimur Pass.

SINGRAMPUR ON THE SONGANA RIVER

From mile 36, the Jabera Pass runs for two miles across the Reserved Forest of Singrāmpur. It then opens, near mile 34, into a mile-wide valley, and this again expands, between miles 33 and 32, into the level plain of Singrāmpur where Durgāvatī fought Akbar's army and lost. Singrāmpur on the perennial Songana is thus a fit camping-ground for a large army, and it is easy to believe that it was hereabouts that Rāma marshalled his Vānara hosts before marching for Mahendradvār only five miles east of Singrāmpur.

CHAPTER IX

Kishkindha, the Hill-Cave (Giri-guha) Where is It?

From Singrampur to the Katas Cleft, the open plain is five miles long and about half as broad, and is watered by the Songana cum Phalku river, right up to its junction with the Kair. To the east, the plain is shut in by the Kaimur wall, while to the south and the west, it narrows towards the Jabera and the Kaimur Passes. On the north, however, it develops a huge hollow amid hills, which can only be described as a unique piece of freaksculpturing, fitted by nature into the picturesque frame-work of the Vindhyan plateau. A horse-shoe-shaped hill-rim bounds the hollow on three sides, while a central ridge, five miles long, divides it into two arms and forms a minor water-shed between them. This 'divide', stops short a mile and a half below the apex of the horse-shoe, with the result that the hollow is converted into a thirteen-mile long semi-circular valley, with an average width of one and a half miles. The western arm drains into the Songana, two miles E.-N.-E. of Singrampur, while the eastern arm drains into the Kair a mile north of the Katas Cleft. The slope from apex to base of the horse-shoe is exceedingly gentle. being only fifty feet (1,350 feet to 1,300) in six miles, and both arms open into the Singrampur plain to the south. This wonderful twenty-square-mile valley shaped like an inverted U, is fairly open, well-wooded and well-watered, and now contains twenty villages. Abounding in Mahua trees, it was naturally an ideal home-land for the Korkus, and could easily accommodate and maintain myriads of that primitive race. But this great and open valley cannot be the Kishkindha or Giri-guha of the Rāmāyana. Its western mouth nearest to Singrampur and Singorgarh. is over a mile in width, and there is no constriction anywhere in the valley reducing its width to less than a mile.

In the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa, Kishkindha is called a Guha (cave), Gaḥvara (cavern), or Saṅkaṭa (enclosure), with Giri (hill), prefixed to these words. In the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, again, Sugrīva is said to rule 'Kishkindha, the cave of the thickets' (Guhām sagahana-drumām) (Sarga 28, verse 30). The Gaṇa-pāṭha, too, of the ancient grammarian, calls 'Kishkindhā', a giri-guha. In the text, the name is also applied to the village in the cave containing the residence of its Chief, but

this village, it is stated, was an impregnable fortress full of gold, silver and gems and containing a seven-gated palace of Sugriva comparable to Mahendra's palace in Svarga (Kishkindhā, Sarga 33, verses 8-18). Per contra, there is Vāli's description of himself and his people as he lay dving before the entrance to the Kishkindha passage. That shows that like most Korkus even to-day, the Vanaras were indifferent to gold, silver and tillage. They loved to roam over the woods (vanacharas), and lived on forest produce (Rishkindhā, Sarga 17, verses 28 and 29). Like the Korkus too, the Vanaras, including Hanuman and Jambavan, not to speak of Sugriva, were madly fond of Mahua liquor. For it, they trespassed into the jealouslyguarded Mahua grove of Sugrīva, though they dreaded cruel Sugriva more than death. They defied uncle Dadhimukha, and fought him and his 'Vanapālas' (Grove-guardians) with the only weapons they knew, hands and feet, nails and teeth, and stones and branches of trees. Their drunken pranks are vividly described in Sargas 61 and 62 of the Sundara Kānda, which contain excellent material for an effective Prohibition film. Ignoring then the imaginary city and the seven-gated palace therein, we may now proceed to locate the hill-cave with its outlet to the Singrāmpur plain. In Sarga 33, verse 1, the poet, it may be noted, characterises the cave as 'dreadful' (ghora).

KISHKINDHA-DVAR

A 'dvār' or passage, frequently referred to as the 'Kishkindha-dvār', led to the mouth of the cave, ' $Dv\bar{a}r$ ' implies a narrow passage, as in Mahendra-dvār. There is nothing to suggest that there was a door or other barrier to close it, either at the exit to the Singrampur plain, or at the entrance to the great (mahati) and inaccessible (duraa) cave. Vāli was the fearless champion pugilist of his age, and it was from the outer end of the dvar, that challenges to come out and fight, were roared in by rivals like Māvāvi, Dundubhi and Sugrīva. The challenges were evidently quite audible within, as Vali always emerged promptly from the cave in response (Nirjagāma, nishpapāta, nischakrāma, nissritah). That being so, the distance from the outlet of the dvar to Vali's place in the cave was probably well within half a mile and the 'inaccessibility' of the 'great' cave was apparently due to the impenetrability of the dvar or passage.

THE VALI-SUGRIVA COMBAT VALI'S DEATH AND CREMATION THE PARTING OF RAMA AND SUGRIVA

According to the text, there was a thick forest (gahanam vanam) near the Kishkindha outlet, where Rāma concealed himself to ensure a steady aim at Vāli's chest, while Sugrīva was engaging Vāli at fisticuffs in the open plain. Rāma did so on both the occasions he followed Sugrīva from Rsvamūka to Kishkindha (Kishkindhā, Sarga 12, verse 14, and Sarga 14, verse 1). Again, there was a great forest (mahā-vanam) all the way from Rsyamūka to Kishkindha, into which Sugrīva escaped when battered and pursued by Vali (Kishkindhā, Sarga 12, verse 22). When Vāli expired and lay a corpse before the dvār, Rāma said: 'the wail of the living will not help the dead. Cease mourning and arrange for the disposal of the dead.' Tala promptly entered the cave (pravivesa quhām sighram) and came out with a bier borne by powerful Vanaras. The bier was taken to a hill-stream (giri-nadi) and in a sand-bank surrounded by water, a funeral pile was raised and Vāli placed on it. Angada set the pyre on fire, and went round his father bound on his long last journey. Led by Angada, all of them offered libations to the manes hill-cave with its outlet to the Singrāmpur plain. In Sarga 33, verse 1, the poet, it may be noted, characterises the cave as 'dreadful' (ghora).

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verse 49), and the Songana rising from the Prasravaṇa to the south, is the only perennial stream in the neighbourhood of Singrāmpur. From the sand-bank, Hanumān points towards Kishkindha as 'imam giri-guham' (this hill-cave). From the same place Rāma points to Prasravaṇa to the south as 'asmin parvate' (this mountain). It thus appears that Kishkindha was to the north of the Songana, and that both Prasravaṇa and Kishkindha were within easy reach of the river-bed, on either side of it.

KISHKINDHA OR THE GORKHA-PAHARIPARA
HOLLOW BETWEEN TWO RESERVED
FORESTS, HALF A MILE NORTH OF
MILE 33, FURLONG 4, OF THE HIGHWAY

From Rayamüka to Singrāmpur, the highway runs due west to east for nearly four miles (mile 36, to m. 32, furlong 2). For a mile and a half, it runs through the Singrāmpur Reserved Forest. Here at m. 34, f. 4, the forest recedes on both sides, and the pass widens into a valley two and a half furlongs wide. Near mile 34, the road is cut across by the Kakarha stream (a feeder of the Songana), which drains the Rayamūka hill to the south. Here the valley suddenly broadens into a plain.

For nearly a mile, and roughly parallel to the roadway between miles 34 and 33, the Kakarha flows west to east along the edge of the Singrampur Reserved Forest and parts that forest from the plain. Midway again, between miles 34 and 33, the width of the plain across the road is a mile and a quarter, of which two furlongs run due north from the road to the south bank of the Kakarha. Here on the south bank, two foot-paths meet, one from the south-west and one from the south-east, both branching from the highway at m. 33, f. 7 and m. 32, f. 6, respectively. Opposite to this point, on the north bank of the Kakarha, is the beginning of the Kishkindha $dv\bar{a}r$. This ' $dv\bar{a}r$ ' is a narrow passage one and a half furlongs long, shown as a foot-path in the Topo and Forest Maps. It runs south to north through the Reserved Forest, and opens into a great hollow, a square mile and a half in extent, and hemmed in on three sides by hill-forest. The foot-path is a col. 1,346 feet high in the centre, between two forest-clad hills which slope on either side from a height of 1,500 feet to 1,600 feet. Sarga 31 of the Kishkindhā deals with Lakshmana's entry into the Kishkindhā-dvār by order of Rāma, and verses 27 and 28 of the same, strongly suggest that the way to the cave lav between hills (parvatāntara) from which Vānara guards could hurl down rocks and trees and overwhelm the daring intruder. The Kishkindha hollow is trapezoid in shape. and now contains two Malguzari villages. Gorkha and Paharipara. Of these, the Gorkha is only two furlongs north of the entrance to the cave, and probably contained the residence of Vali. It is thus apparent that defiances to Vali were shouted into the dark and narrow Kishkindhā-dvār from the junction of the paths on the south bank of the Kakarha, and were clearly audible to Vāli who lived less than half a mile away in or near Gorkha. It is equally clear that the arena of the combatants was the open plain south of the Kakarha and immediately below the obtuse angle formed by the meeting of the pathways opposite to the Kishkindhādvār. This arena is historic ground sacred to the memory of great and good Vali. It was here that Vāli had two bouts with Sugrīva and was shot through the heart by Rāma almost at the moment of victory. Rāma was then concealed in the dense Reserved Forest (gahane vane) on the north bank of the Kakarha, a little to the west of the Kishkindhā-dvār, and within half a furlong of the arena.

CHAPTER X

Lanka in the Uttara Ramayana

In Sarga 3 of the 'Uttara,' Agastya tells Rāma that Vaiṣravaṇa (Kubera) occupied Lankā before he was dispossessed by Rāvaṇa, and that Viṣravas, their common father, selected Lanka as Kubera's seat. Viṣravas told Vaiṣravaṇa: 'On the shore of the south sea is a mount named Trikūta. On its top (tasyāgre) is the fine city of Lanka created by Viṣvakarman as a home for the Rākshásas. The Rākshasas abandoned it for fear of Vishṇu. It is now vacant and you can occupy it' (verses 24–28). Vaiṣravaṇa thereupon settled thousands of Rākshasas and took up his residence in 'sea-moated' Lankā on the hill-top (verses 31–33).

AGASTYA ON THE ORIGIN OF THE RAKSHASAS AND OF LANKA

Prajāpati having created the waters, created Rākshasas and Yakshas to stand guard over them. In the line of Rākshasas was a glorious king named Vidyutkeṣa who married Sālakaṭaṇkatā, daughter of Sandhyā. They had a son, Sukeṣa, whom lustful Sālakaṭaṇkatā abandoned as soon as

he was born. Sukesa however survived by the grace of Isvara and Parvati who gifted him with long life and an air-ship. Sukesa had three sons, Mālvavān, Sumāli and Māli, who grew to be fierce and fiery warriors. They attacked both Suras and Asuras, who fled unable to face them. They then told Visvakarman: 'You are the architect of the great gods. Raise for us a habitation brilliant as the seat of Mahesvara' (Kailas). Visvakarman, having done so, informed the Räkshasa brothers: 'On the shore of the south sea is a mount called Trikūta. There is also another. the Suvela. In that ridge, on its central peak chiselled on all four sides (tanka-chchinnachatur-disi). I have laid out, as ordered, a city called Lanka. Settle in inaccessible Lanka with your Rākshasa followers, and you will be invulnerable to your enemies.' They occupied Lanka accordingly (Sarga 4, verses 9, 13, 23-25 and 28-30, and Sarga 5, verses 5, 6, 16-18 and 21-29).

Settled in Lanka, Mālyavān, Sumāli and Māli married three daughters of a Gandharvī called Narmadā. Sumāli had a large family by Ketumatī, among whom was a son, Prahasta, and a daughter Kaikasī (Sarga 5, verses 30, 31 and 38-40). Swell-headed and surrounded by their numerous progeny, the brothers

over-ran the earth, worrying the Gods, Rshis. Nāgas and Yakshas, and destroying Vedic sacrifices. The Gods complained to Vishnu: 'There is an impregnable city named Lanka on the Trikūta peak. Issuing thence, the sons of Sukesa invade our lands and deprive us of our seats. We appeal to you for protection. Destroy them and save us' (Sarga 6, verses 14-16). Vishnu agreed, and when next the Rākshasa brothers left Lanka with a numerous army to invade the country of the Gods, Nārāyana himself, seated on his Brahmany kite (Garuda), met them and gave them battle. His whirling discus cut off Māli's head, explosive darts shot out of his Sārnga bow. slew numberless Rākshasas, and finally, Mālvavān and Sumāli turned back and fled towards Lanka. Dreading the might of Vishnu they abandoned Lanka with their wives and followers, and settled in Pātāla among the tribe of Sālakatankatas. For long, strong Sumāli wandered over the Rasātala in fear of Vishnu, and it was during this period that Dhanesvara ruled in Lanka (Sarga 8, verses 19, 20, 22, 23 and 29).

THE BIRTH OF RAVANA AND THE EXPULSION OF KUBERA FROM LANKA

In course of time, Sumāli left the Rasātala for the plains. One day he noticed Kubera

in his air-ship, the Pushpaka, bound on a visit to his father, Visravas. Sumāli was filled with envy, and told his daughter Kaikasī to prav to Visravas to give her a son, Sun-bright and glorious as Dhanesvara. waited on Visravas at fire-kindling time, sun-set and begged for off-spring. Visravas said: 'This is the inauspicious hour for cruel dreadful deeds, and you will therefore give birth to Rākshasas, frightful to look at and cruel by nature.' Kaikasī appealed for mercy, and the Rshi, softening, told her: 'Your last-born son, however, will be a righteous soul, worthy of me.' In due course, Kaikasī gave birth to blue-black Rāvana. shaped like a Rākshasa, strong Kumbhakarna, hugest in size amongst mortals, Sūrpanakhā with an ugly face, and last, righteous Vibhīshana, pleasing to the Gods who acclaimed his birth. Daşagrīva and Kumbhakarna were oppressive by nature and inspired universal terror while Vibhīshana developed into a good-natured youth of studious habits. Rāvana practised long and intensive penance, in appreciation of which, Brahma made him unconquerable by the Gods. Sumāli then told Rāvaņa: 'Brahma's gift has made you specially powerful. We need not fear Vishnu now who drove us into

Rasātala. Our city of Lanka is now ruled. by your brother Kubera. You must become Lankesvara and uplift the race of Rākshasas now sunk in misery.' Rāvaņa went to Trikūta and sent Prahasta to Kubera with the following message: 'This fine city of Lanka was originally settled, and long enjoyed, by powerful Rākshasas under Sumāli. It will be just, and I will be glad, if you restore it to us.' Kubera consulted Visravas and he said: 'Rāvana is power-proud, and is not amenable to reason. Go to Mount Kailas where is lovely Mandākinī and make your home there.' Dhanada did so, and Ravana ascended (ārurōha) Lanka vacated by his brother (Sarga 11, verse 48).

THROUGHOUT THE RAMAYANA LANKA IS A HILL-TOP CITY SURROUNDED BY A SEA

For the first time in the Rāmāyaṇa, in verse 28, Sarga 47, of the Āraṇya, Lanka is described by Rāvaṇa himself as his 'great city' (mahāpuri) laid out on the top of a hill (nivishṭa-giri-mūrdhani) and 'surrounded by a sea' (Sāgareṇa parikshipta). It is so described right through Kāṇḍas 3-6, the hill it crowned being the Trikūta, which was faced by an adjoining hill called the Suvela. The Uttara Kāṇḍa is a much later addition, but

there too, Lanka is a city laid out by Viṣva-karman on the top of the Trikūta hill, and near the Trikūta was another hill, the Suvela. In Sarga 3, verse 33, Lanka is characterised as 'sea-moated' (Samudra-parikhā). This being so, how did the island of Ceylon twenty-five thousand square miles in extent come to be known as the Lanka of the Rāmāyaṇa and the home of Rāvaṇa where Sītā was secreted? Is there anything in the Rāmāyaṇa itself, to suggest directly or indirectly, that Ceylon was Lanka and the home of Rāvaṇa?

CHAPTER XI

Ceylon referred to in Sarga 41, Kishkindhā as Rāvara's Abode—It is called an 'Island' (Dvī pa) and 'Country' (Deṣa) but is Unnamed

SUGRIVA'S GEOGRAPHY OF THE GLOBE

In Sargas 40-43 of the Kishkindhā, Sugrīva instructs the Vanaras in the geography of the Earth in view to an exhaustive and fruitful search for Sītā. There are about two hundred verses in all, describing the lands and seas, east, south, west and north right to the ends of the earth where the sun does not shine and all is confusion (Abhāskaram Amaryādam). Towards the south, the search was to commence with the Vindhyas and the Narmadā river, and to extend beyond India to the world of the Pitrs enveloped in thick darkness where Yama ruled (Sarga 41, verse 45). Evidently this meant the South Pole, eight thousand miles from the Vindhyas and the Narmada as the crow flies. The search parties comprised a lac or more of Vānaras, and they were to complete their search and report to Sugriva in a month. The penalty for delay was death, and Sugrīva was a cruel task-master. On the face of it all this looks incredible, as tens of thousands of Vanaras may not be supposed to be endowed like Hanuman with supernatural strength and speed, and to conduct a detailed search over a quarter of the Earth's surface within a month. The south-hound Vanaras were led by Angada and Hanuman, and their search was all-important, as it resulted in the discovery of Rāvana's home and Sītā's place of detention. Sugriva expected their search to be fruitful, and describing the region between the Vindhyas and Narmada, and the dark abode of the dead, he makes a furtive reference to Ceylon as the home of Ravana. That is the only reference to Ceylon in the Rāmāyana and the reference is unmistakable, though it is not called Simhala. Asoka called it Tambapannī, Kautilya before him called it Tāmraparni and the ancient Greeks and Romans called it Taprobane. A migration of Behari Buddhist Singhs under the ægis of Aşoka gave rise to its name of Simhala and it bore this name in the Brhatkathā of Gunādhya who flourished under the Andhra Satavahanas about the beginning of the Christian Era. The reference to Ceylon is contained Sarga 41, verses 17-25. Sugrīva to the great iron-faced mountain clothed in sandal trees (apparently the Bābābudan

Range), then to the Kaveri river and Agastva on the Malaya, and proceeds: 'Then comes the Tamraparni infested by crocodiles, and where she enters the sea is the golden gate of the Pandvas. There you will see the great Mahendra mountain planted deep into the ocean by Agastya in view to a coming need which he foresaw. On the opposite shore is a flaming island one hundred yojans in length and inaccessible to men. There you must make a careful exhaustive search for Sī.ā, for that surely is the country of wicked Rāvana, the overlord of the Rākshasas, whose glory equals that of the thousand-eyed (Indra).' Kolkai, at the mouth of the Tāmraparnī, was the famous seaport capital of the Pandyas known as Pandya-kavata. Tāmrapamī silt ruined the port, and its site is now five miles from the sea. Kautilya refers to the Pandya-kavataka and Tamraparnīka pearls (A.-Şāstra, Adhi. II, Pr. 29), and even now the Tinnevelly fishery is close to the Tamraparni mouth, while the Ceylon fishery, one hundred and twenty miles across the sea, is a little to the south of the Manaar Island. Presumably Agastya planted Mount Mahendra in the sea as a firm jumping-off ground for Hanuman (Kishkindha, Sarga 67, verses 36-39), and a convenient starting

point for Rāma and his army to cross over to Lanka (Yuddha, Sarga 4, verses 92-97). There is however no hill at or near the Tamraparni mouth. About fifty miles south-west of the river mouth, and fourteen miles southwest of Nanguneri, is a hill named Mahendragiri, 3,427 feet high, on the Malaya ridge. It may be remarked in passing, that if the Mahendragiri was at the mouth of the Tāmraparnī, Rāma's camp and the Darbha-sayana at Dhanushkodi may not be located in the Rāmesvaram island, and there is no elevation of any size either there or near Mandapam on the main land. Apart from all this, Sugrīva must have known he was merely fooling Rāma. As stated in Kishkindhā. Sarga 6, verses 14 and 16, Sugrīva brought out Sītā's jewels and silken upper wrap from a deep cave in the Rsyamūka hill, and Rāma recognised them as Sītā's and burst into tears. He asked Sugrīva: 'Tell me which way she was taken, and where the Rakshas lives who has brought this great calamity on me' (verse 23). Sugrīva wept in sympathy and replied: 'I have no idea whatever where the sinful Rakshas lives. Nor do I know anything of the prowess, resources or parentage of that low-born wretch ' (Sarga 7. verses 1 and 2). Compare this with Sarga 41,

verses 17-25, and it is clear Sugrīva's geography is a long audacious yarn. Having seen Rāvaņa's ass-drawn car below Rsyamūka hill at the east end of the Pampa. Sugrīva knew which way Rāvana took. He must have known that the only car-road across the Pampa and beyond the Rsyamūka ran south of the Vindhyas, and that was why Rāma gave his recognition ring for Sītā to Hannman. I was therefore convinced that Sugrīva's sole instruction to the south-bound Vānaras is contained in verse 8 of Sarga 41. They were to search the thousand-peaked Vindhya and the wild, cut-up valley of the Narmadā. This conviction enabled me to circumscribe the region of my search for Trikūta hill, and led to the discovery of its exact position on the map of India. But this is not all. The author of Sugriva's geography is so enamoured of it as to try and secure credence for it by proving that his unique knowledge was the outcome of extensive travels forced upon Sugrīva by imminent danger of death. When the Vanaras had departed, Rāma asked Sugrīva: 'How do you happen to know so well the entire surface of the Globe?' Sugriva replied: 'Listen, I will tell you everything in detail. When Vali drove the buffalo-shaped Dundubhi

towards the Malaya mount, Mahisha entered a cave of the Malava. Vāli followed him into the cave. I thought Vali was dead, and placed a huge rock against its mouth that Mahisha might perish, unable to emerge. I returned to Kishkindha and got the kingdom, Tārā and Rumā. But Vāli turned up and made a rush at me to kill me. I ran. He then drove me and my men all over the earth, and as I ran and ran, I saw all this earth as in a looking glass. Vāli drove me east to the mount of Sun-rise and the ocean of milk, then south towards the Vindhyan forests, then west to the mount of the Sun-set, and then north to the Himālaya, Meru, and the northern ocean. When I found no asylum anywhere. brainy Hanuman told me: 'I now remember Matanga's curse on Vali that his head would break into a hundred pieces if he (Vāli) trespassed into his penance-grove.' I then entered Rsvamūka. This is how I saw with my own eyes the entire surface of the earth."

When, however, Sugrīva explained to Rāma how he and Vāli came to be enemies, he said z 'The first born son of Dundubhi, Māyāvi by name, was Vāli's rival for a woman's love' (Kishkindhā, Sarga 9, verse 4). For the rest and till Vāli returns from the cave, the accounts in Sarga 9 and Sarga 46 agree

except that in the latter, Dundubhi is substituted for Māyāvi. Rāma could not have forgotten Dundubhi. The flinging of Dundubhi's skeleton was one of the tests Sugiva proposed to satisfy himself that Rāma was more than a match for Vāli. In Sarga 11, stated by Sugrīva, Vāli vanguished 'Mahisha Dundubhi' in open combat. Dundubhi inspired universal dread by his huge size and enormous strength (verses 7-23). His challenge to Vāli and fight before the Kishkindha gate and the throwing of Dundubhi's corpse a yojan distance are described in verses 26-47. Then comes the pollution of Matanga's grove by wind-blown drops of Dundubhi's blood, and Matanga's curse on Vāli which made Rsyamūka a safe asylum for Sugriva (verses 48-65). And then says Sugrīva: 'Here is Dundubhi's skeleton like a huge hill. If Rāma lifts it with his foot and flings it two hundred Dhanus (400 vards). I will treat Vāli as dead' (verses 66 and 72). Rāma flung it ten 'yojans' distance and Dundubhi or Mahisha is mentioned sixteen times in the course of Sugriva's relation. And yet the Sugrīva when accounting for his unique geographical knowledge says it was 'Dundubhi-Mahishākrti' that ran into a

followed by Vali (Sarga 46, verses 3 and 4). Again Sugrīva states that on returning to Kishkindha, Vāli made a fierce rush at him to kill him, and pursued him to the ends of the earth till Hanuman recollected Matanga's curse at the nick of time. This too can be disproved out of Sugrīva's own mouth. In Sarga 10, Sugrīva says: "Though I spoke soft words, he threatened me, cried 'shame on you' and used abusive language. He assembled the people (prakrtis) and addressed them: 'You are all aware that cruel "Māyāvi" challenged me one night to come out and fight him. When he sought refuge in a deep cavern, I told this bad-hearted brother of mine, "await me at the mouth of this cave". I killed my enemy, but found the entrance closed by a huge rock. I broke it open with great difficulty and came to Kishkindha and here I was shut out by this Sugriva covetous of my kingdom and dead to all brotherly feeling.' Having said this, Vāli drove me out with only a single piece of cloth to cover me and deprived me of my wife."

It may be noted in conclusion that in Kishkindhā, Sarga 41, verse 23, the home of Rāvaṇa opposite to Pāṇḍya-kavāta (Kclkai) is called a 'dvīpa' (island) and this dvīpa is said to be the 'deṣa' (country) of the

wicked, Indra-bright Ruler of the Rākshasas (Sarga 41, verse 25). It is noteworthy too, that in verses 27 and 28 of Sarga 40, Sugrīva calls Java with its seven kingdoms, 'Yava-dvīpa', and these kingdoms rose centuries after Christ. In the Rāmāyaṇa, however, Lanka is never referred to as a 'dvīpa' or 'deṣa', but is always a hill-top city, the capital of Rāvaṇa.

CHAPTER XII

Where was Visvāmitra's Siddhāsrama? In the Tātakāraņya or Daņdakāraņya? Did Rāma Kill Mārīcha's Mother Tātakā?

THERE is one other geographical question of crucial importance and that is the position of Visvāmitra's Vāmanāsrama. In the 'Bāla'. it was in 'Tātakāvana,' but in the Aranya. it was in the 'Dandakāranya'. In the 'Bāla'. the Rshi takes Rāma along the south bank of the Sarayū to its junction with the Ganges. They then cross the Ganges and enter the Tātakāvana. Rāma kills Tātakā and the party proceed to Vāmanāṣrama. There Rāma kills Subāhu and other Rākshasas, but Mārīcha escapes. A day's march from the hermitage takes them to the bank of the Sone. There the Rshi tells Rama, that the country was part of the Magadhas, and points out the five fine hills round Girivraja the city founded by Vasu (Sarga 31, verse 24; and Sarga 32, verses 7-9). They then cross the Sone, march till mid-day and reach the Ganges. It is thus clear that Tātakāranya was in the Sone-Ganges angle to the east of the Sarayū-Ganges junction, in the modern Shahabad District. In Sarga 38, however, the 'Aranya' Mārīcha tells Rāvana,

"Rāma is a true hero, and a good man.... Full of energy, I once roamed over the Dandakāranya eating the flesh of Rshis. High-souled Visvāmitra dreaded me, went to king Dasaratha, and said: 'Let Rāma protect me on the critical day of the sacrifice. Though a boy, he is fully fit to overcome Mārīcha. I will take Rāma and go. I wish you well.' In the Dandaka forest, Rama stood guard over Visvāmitra twanging his bow. Though only a fine-eyed, smoothfaced boy, he lit up the Dandaka forest by the glory that went out of him." As for the Dandakāranya, it touched Atri's hermitage on the north. The hermitage was a short day's march (nine miles) to the south of Chitrakūt, and Rāma halted there for a night. It is now the Anasūya hill on the Bindhachal ridge. There is an ascetic's house even now midway up the hill and huts at the foot for pilgrims. It is here that the Paisuni (called first 'Mālyavatī' and then Mandākinī in the Rāmāyana) breaks into the Karwi plains. The last verse of the Ayodhya, and the first verse of the $\bar{A}ranya$, show that Atri lived on the outskirts of the Dandakas. Ayodhya is 82° 10' Long., and Anasūya hill is 79° 50'. The Saravū joins the Ganges near 85° Long.. and the Sone joins the Ganges further east.

Further, the two forests were not only far apart, but had distinct origins. Tātakāvana was once a fertile and populous tract in the Magadhas but was devastated by Tātakā Rākshasī, and reverted to primitive jungle. It was therefore known as Tātakā's jungle (Bāla, Sarga 24, verses 28 and 29). The Dandakas were once the kingdom of Danda and lay between the Vindhva and Saivala (Panna) ranges. The country was destroyed by burning dust and ashes rained by Indra and became the Dandakāranya (Uttara, Sarga 81, verses 8, 9, 18 and 19). It is a curious fact that on the same ridge. twenty-five miles south-west of Anasūya hill, is the impregnable hill-fort of Kalinjar, the capital of North Chedi or Bundelkhand. It is a sky-piercing trachytic (Aindra) volcano, and was the Vimāna gifted by Indra to king Vasu (maternal grandfather of Vyāsa), that he might dominate all kingdoms from its inaccessible top and justify the name 'Uparichara' Vasu (Mahābhārata, Ādi, Sarga 64, verses 13 and 14).* Ten miles west, again,

^{*} Note on Kalinjar.—'Since earliest days, Kalinjar was the key to Bundelkhand.' For nearly a millennium, with short interruptions, Bundelkhand was ruled from Kalinjar by the Chandels and the Bundelas till it passed to the British in 1812.

of Kalinjar, on the same ridge, are the fine 'fantastically-shaped' volcanic hills of Kartal one of which is nearly as high as Kalinjar (1,230 feet).

The descendants of the great Chhatrasal of Panna hold the larger portion of the Dandakas comprising. Panna. Ajaigarh, Bijawar and Charkari, and the Panna Mahārāja is the senior representative of the Bundelas. The mines diamond between Bindhachal and Panna Ranges are in his territory. and he has a historic claim to Kalinjar. During the mutinv his troops held Kalinjar for the British. and he also helped to clear the Damoh District of rebels. As a reward, he got the Semaria Pargana of Damoh which contains 'Muhadra' the hermitage of Sutikshna. With Semaria, he got the title of Mahendra. This title was made hereditary in 1875, and he is called 'Mahārāja Mahendra'. This title evidently belonged to the Rulers of Kalinjar from the days of the Chedi ' Vasu' of the Mahābhārata. But the Mahārāja has now only the empty title without the great volcanic hill-fort which entitled him to be called the Mahendra of the earth and the friend of the Mahendra of Heaven (Adi, Adhy. 64, verses 5-7). Kalinjar dominates the entrance to the Dandakas, and it looks almost certain that the Indra whom Dasaratha helped in the battle with 'whale-bannered' Sambara, was the then 'Indra' of Kalinjar. The battle was fought before 'Vaijayanta Fort' on the way to the Dandakas (Ayodhya, Sarga 9, verses 11-13) and Vaijayanta is very probably the impregnable fortress of Ajaigarh midway between Kalinjar and Panna at the head of the Dandakas.

The Siddhāṣrama is a great landmark in the life of Rāma, as it was there he achieved his first resounding triumph as an archer. It was there too the seed was sown of the enmity between Arva and Rakshasa that culminated in the destruction of Rāvana and his hill-fortress of Lanka. If the Rāmāvana has a historic basis Siddhāsrama cannot be both Tātakāvana and Dandakāvana. It may be noted in passing, that in the \vec{A} ranya, neither Mārīcha nor Rāvana refers to the killing of Tātakā. If the killing was a fact, Rāvaņa would surely have stigmatised Rama as a woman-killer in his bitter denunciation of Rāma (\bar{A} ranya, Sarga 36, verses 11 and 12), and cried shame on Mārīcha for calling the killer of his mother a 'Sādhu'. Rāma, I have no doubt, did not kill Tātakā, and the sin of Strī-hatya has been wickedly foisted on him and Visvāmitra for a reason which I will discuss in a later volume.

CHAPTER XIII

Rāma's Halts in Hermitages Kulapatis and Gotra Rshis

MARCHING from the south bank of the Ganges through Chitrakūt to Pañehavati in the Daṇḍaka forest, Rāma makes a night's halt as an 'atithi' (unexpected guest) with six Rshis or Munis, who are Kulapatis, or Brahman heads of forest-settlers (Vānaprasthas). Of these, three bear the names of Bharadvāja, Atri and Agastya. It is now necessary, before attempting to trace Rāma's route, to clear up the confusion caused by calling Kulapatis and Palace priests by their Gotranames without any addition to distinguish them from their remote Vedic ancestors.

Vānaprastha (Forest) settlements were called Tapovanās. In Adhik. II, Prak. 20 of the Artha-Ṣāstra, Vishņu Gupta says: 'A king should assign to Tapaṣvis (ascetics) Tapovanās, named after the Gotra'. Forest blocks so assigned were called the Tapovanās of Atri, Bharadvāja or Agastya with reference to the Gotra of the leader of the settlers.

According to Pāṇini, sundry descendants of a Gotra Rshi (founder of a family) may be called by the ancestral name. A respected

elder is so called as a mark of reverence (Adh. IV, Pāda 2, Sū. 166). Even a studious youth, according to Patanjali, may be so honoured (Mahābh., Adhy. IV. P. I. Ah. 3). This user of the Gotra-name as an honorific. has enabled interpolators to identify descendants with their primeval ancestors and confound chronology, genealogy and history. It is clear from the Avodhvā Kānda that the name 'Vasishtha' of Dasaratha's Purchit. was only an honorific, the Vasishthas being the hereditary purchits of the Ikshvākus (Ayodhya, Sarga 31, verses 27-30). Rāma was a far-seeing politician, and in view of his uncertain future on his return from exile. secured the good-will of the influential priests. of the Palace by costly gifts. The first and foremost was Suvagña, son and successor of the aging chief priest, and Rāma told Lakshmana: 'Bring hither Vasishtha's son Ārya Suyagña, supreme among Brahmans.' When he came, Rāma and Sītā bowed to him, and Rāma showered jewels and precious stones on him. Prompted by Sītā, Rāma told him: 'Leaving for the forest, your friend Sītā wishes to give these jewels, bracelets. garlands and belt as well as her bejewelled bed to your wife. This elephant Satrunjaya which my maternal uncle gave me I make

over to you with a thousand gold pieces (nishka-sahasrena) ' (Ayodhya, Sarga $\mathbf{R}\mathbf{ar{a}ma}$ then turned 4-10). Lakshmana and said: 'Invite the great Brahmans, Agastya and Kausika, and shower endless precious stones on them. Give the learned preceptor of the Taittirivas who always attends on Kausalya with his blessings, a carriage, slave-girls, and silks, according to his heart's desire' (Sarga 32, verses is clear from the above 13-16). Tt. that Kausika, the Palace priest, was not Vișvămitra who appealed to Dașaratha for help and took Rāma to the Dandakas to fight Mārīcha and his Rākshasa followers (Aranya, Sarga 38, verses 3, 4 and 12-15).

It is equally clear that Agastya, the Palace priest on whom Rāma showers precious stones, was not the great *Kulapati* Agastya of Janasthān who armed Rāma with Vishņu's bow and selected Pañchavati for his residence. They are both called Agastya as elderly noteworthy descendants of their great Vedic progenitor Agastya, son of Māna.

As for Atri and his wife, they lived a day's march south of Chitrakūt. Their hermitage was without doubt the Anasūya hill (Long. 80° 53'; Lat. 25° 10'), where the Paisuni (first called Mālyavati and then Mandākini in the

Rāmāyana) breaks through the Bindhachal ridge and flows near Chitrakūt on its way to join the Jumna. It is needless to say that this Kulapati settled on the outskirts of the Dandakas, was not the great Vedic Rshi of the fifth mandala who restored the light of the darkened sun to a panic-stricken world. He too, like other Puranic Atris the putative fathers of Soma, Dürväsa and Dattätreva, was only a Gotraja Atri. As for Bharadvāja, he was the most prolific of the Vedic Gotra Rshis. In Sarga 140 of the $\bar{A}di$ Parva, the Mahābhārata has it: 'Near Gangādvār lived a great Rshi known as Bharadvāja. He went to the Ganges to bathe and saw Apsaras Ghrtāchi. A strong breeze blew aside her skirt, and the Rshi desired her and erupted. He secured the juice in a Drona and it developed into Drona (the military preceptor of the Kauravas) (verses 34-39). This Bharadvāja who lived in Hardvār was only a Gotraja of the mighty Bharadvāja (son of Brhaspati) who saw the sixth mandala of the Rig Veda. Similarly Bharadvāja with whom Rāma halted for a night before he left for the dark-green Sacred Banyan on the south bank of the Jumna, was a contemporary of Rāma and a Kulapati of the Bharadväja Gotra. Unluckily it is the location of the Tapovana

(penance-grove) of this same Bharadvāja at Prayāg (Allahabad), that opposes the first snag in exploring Rāma's route from the south bank of the Ganges to the Dandakas.

CHAPTER XIV

Abstract of Rāma's Itinerary from Ayodhya to Şarabhanga's Hermitage

(To be read with Sketch Maps I and II)

(a) AYODHYA TO SINGRAUR BY CAR

RAMA went by Royal chariot from Ayodhya to Singraur a distance of one hundred miles. On the way he crossed the E. Tons, Biswi, Guinti and Sai rivers. At the Sai (Syandika) was the Kosala frontier. He halted for two nights, one on the Tamasā bank, and the other on the Ganges bank at Singraur. The latter is probably a part of the Ganges since 1935 (vide note under Singraur in Sketch Map I).

(b) THE LENGTH OF THE DAILY MARCH REVOND SINGRAUR

From the south bank of the Ganges, Sītā walks with Rāma right down to Pañchavati, and the daily march ends by sun-down, Rāma fixing a resting place for the night in advance. The daily march was thus limited to about eighteen miles though Sītā fed on flesh, and was bubbling with the energy of an adolescent girl.

(c) SINGRAUR TO JUMNA BLUFF

At Singraur, Rāma crossed the Ganges, and marched fifteen miles across the Doab. Crossing the Jumna, he went thirteen miles along its south bank visiting the Sacred Banyan at Katra and halting for the night on a bluff of the Jumna a mile west of Katra. He spent two nights in the Doab, one under a banyan tree south of the Ganges and the other as the guest of a Rshi Bharadvāja on the north bank of the Jumna, close to Sihonda and the Majhiari Ferry.*

^{*}Note.-There was no 'Prayag' in Rāma's days. Allahabad was then under the 'Sagara' a lake of about four hundred square miles which the Ganges and the Jumna entered by distinct mouths. Srī Krishna says of Brhadratha and his two wives: . Between them, the King looked like the Sagara in human form between the Ganges and the Yamuna' (Bhārata, Sabhā Parvu, Adhy. 17, verses 18-20). Obviously the 'Sagara' cannot be the Bay of Bengal. Again Srī Rāma says: 'Ever doth the full Yamuna flow into the 'Samudra' of swelling waters (Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhya, Sarga 105, verse 19). The bevelled stumpy ridge of the Bindhachal between Meia, east of the S. Tons, and Partabpur, on the south bank of the Jumna and shown as 'Stony waste' in Degree sheets 63. K and 63. G. is conclusive proof that there was an old 'Sagara' which is now dry even like the Pampa Saras and the Sāgara round Trikūta. In his 'Indica,' Arrian quotes Megasthenes as saying: 'The Ganges in many places forms lakes, so that the land opposite

(d) JUMNA BLUFF TO CHITRAKUT

From the Jumna bluff to Chitrakūt is forty-one miles. The text does not refer to any halts on the way. But as Sītā followed him, Rāma must have halted twice, and there is good reason to believe that he spent one night at Lalapur hill (fifteen miles to the east of Chitrakūt), as the guest of Rshi Vālmīki. Rāma thus reached Chitrakūt a week after he left Avodhva, and almost on the day Dasaratha died. Bharata visited him at Chitrakūt six weeks later. He was in Nāgarkot, Kangra, six hundred miles from Ayodhya, when he learnt of his father's death, the funeral ceremonies took a fortnight, and the journey to Chitrakūt with his mothers must have taken another fortnight.

(e) CHITRAKUT TO ŞARABHANGA'S HERMITAGE

On Bharata's departure, Rāma went to Atri's abode on Anasūya hill (nine miles).

is not visible where it is flat and nowhere stands up in hills.' Evidently the 'Sāgara' between the Ganges and the Yamuna was such a lake. Bhāsa and Patañjali do not refer to Prayāg and so far as I know there is no reference to it in pre-Christian Sanskrit literature. The Akshaya-vaṭa in the Allahabad Fort is an obvious fake for the Sacred Banyan on the south bank of the Jumna worshipped by Sītā.

Thence he marched to Ṣarabhanga's place (eight miles), near the junction of the Paisuni and Ṣarabhanga rivers, killing and burying Virādha on the way. The total distance is seventeen miles covered in two marches, and the way winds almost due south, skirting the Paisuni right up to its junction.

It may be assumed without straining, that Sarabhanga lived near the river-junction, as the stream that joins the larger Paisuni bears his name. There is, moreover, a fine highlevel (1,000 feet) plain stretching above and below the junction, forming a cirque between hills, and containing a dozen villages large and small. Above all, Virādha's statement that Sarabhanga lived a yojan and more away, is wonderfully confirmed by the junction being about five and a half miles from Biradhkund', taking 'ardha' in 'Adhyardhauoiana' (Āranya, Sarga 4, verse 19), as masculine in gender. Here, at the meeting of the rivers, we end, as already noted, in a blind alley, and the view, further south, is walled up by the steep slope of the Panna Range. The eight-mile section of the route from Atri to Sarabhanga though treated as a part of the Dandakas in the text, is in reality the narrow passage leading to the Dandaka proper, and Bhavabhūti accurately characterised it as the 'mouth' or entrance of the Vindhyan forest (Esha Vindhyātavi-mukhe Virādha-samvādaḥ, Uttara Rāma-charita, Anka 1, between verses 24 and 25). Total distance from Singraur to Ṣarabhanga's hermitage is 15 + 13 + 41 + 17 = 86 miles.

THE DANDAKAS PROPER

As to the great Dandaka forest, the Topo map shows that from the Sarabhanga junction. the road climbs the Panna ridge, rising six hundred feet in six miles, to the Majhagawan Railway Station twenty-three miles west of the Manikpur junction. Ascending in thought a nearby hill-top, one of the many Pisgahs from which the silent workers of the G.T. Survey did their blessed work of delineating Mother India's physical features, a glance at 63 (D) reveals in miniature, an amazing landscape, sui generis in India. It is an extensive stretch of numberless hills, streams and jungles, walled in and defined by the Panna and Vindhyan Ranges. The Ranges run north-east to south-west, parallel to each other, with an average height of 1,600 feet. and the parallelism persists nearly one hundred miles into the Damoh and Saugor Districts. The rough sloping plain they enclose, is, on an average, twenty-five miles in width from ridge to ridge, and 1,100 feet in elevation along its centre. This tract, about two thousand and five hundred square miles in extent, corresponds to Agastya's 'Dandakāranya' between the Vindhyan and Şaivala (Panna) Ranges (Vindhya Saivalayor madhye), and the Panna Range, like the Sewaliks of the Sub-Himalaya, possibly got its name 'Saivala' (mossy) from its moss-covered rocks. It is this tract that has to be examined in the light of the text and the Topo maps, for traces of Ramā's route from Ṣarabhanga to Panchavati.

APPENDIX I

Rāma's Route from Sarabhanga's Hermitage to Matanga-vana

(Vide Degree Sheets 63/D, 54/P and 55/M)

For a special reason stated in the Preface. I have begun Rāma's itinerary at its destined end, and traced his route from Matanga-vana on the western shore of the Pampa, to Lanka on the Trikūta or Indrana hill a distance of miles (vide Chapters twenty-seven III-IX ante). I had previously dealt in detail with Rāma's journey from Ayodhya to Sarabhanga's hermitage at the junction of the Sarabhanga and Paisuni rivers, and have now given an abstract of the same in Chapter XIV of this volume. The total distance from Ayodhya to Sarabhanga is 186 miles. I have not yet attempted a detailed description of the central section of Rāma's route which proved difficult of ascertainment, and append for the present an outline of it as below:-

SECTION 1

SARBAHANGA TO SUTIKSHNA

1	From	Fia	То	Distance (Miles)
	l. Şarabhanga	Majhagawan and Kothi Sohawal on Satna river	Sohawal on Satna ri ver	30
ci	2. Sohawal		Nagod	11
ೞ	3. Nagod	Gonour and Mahewa	Mahar Ford on Ken river	ŦŦ
-i	4. Mahar Ford		Mohdra (Sutikshņa)	c.
•	Total distance		Sarabhanga to Sutikshna	16

SUTINGENA TO PANCHAVATI, OR MOHDRA TO HINDORIA SECTION II

noe	18 miles	٠٠ 13 ،	°,	32 miles
Distance	Four yojans or	One yojan or	Two yojans or	
0	bhrāta)	astya)	havati)	āmāṣrama
To	Kota (Agastya-bhrāta)	Kundalpur (Agastya)	Hindoria (Pafichavati)	Sutikshņa to Rāmāṣrama
	•	:	•	•
From	1. Mohdra (Sutikshna)	Kota (Agastya-bhrāta)	Kundalpur (Agastya)	Total distance
	1.	લાં	က်	

SECTION III

То	Damoh	Nohta (Kabandha's place)	Bansipur R. F. (Matanga-vana on western shore of Pampa)	
$V^{i}a$	Khamkhera B. F. (Khara's Station)			Hindoria to Mātanga- vana
From	1. Hindoria (Rāmāṣrama) Khamkhera R. F. (Khara's Station)	2. Damoh	3. Nohta (at junction of Bearma and Bhadra)	Total distance

Total distance from Sarabhanga to Matanga-vana 94 + 32 + 34 or

APPENDIX I (a)

LENGTH OF BAMA'S JOURNEY FROM AVODHYA TO LANKA

Distance (Miles)	100	98	160	27	373
	:	=	:	=	:
	=	:	:	:	nka)
	1. Ayodhya to Singranr (by car)	2. Singraur to Şarabhanga	3. Sarabhanga to Matanga	Matanga to Lanka	Grand Total (Ayodhya to Lanka)
	-:	⊅ ₹	က	-	

APPENDIX II

Latitude and Longitude of Noteworthy Places on Rāma's Route from Ayodhya to Lanka

SECTION I

AYODHYA TO ŞABABHANGA

				Survey sheet Latifude	Latitude	Longitude
1. Ayodhya 2. Kosala frontier (Bela on the S. Bingraur (Singaverapura) 4. Jumna Ferry between Sho 5. Barha Katra (Saored Bany 6. Lalapur Hill (Välmiki's pla 7. Chitraküt Hill 7. Chitraküt Hill 8. Anasüya Hill (Atri's place) 9. Biradh Kund 10. Şarabhanga's place	Ayodhya Kosala frontier (Bela on the Sai) Singraur (Singaverapura) Jumna Ferry between Sihonda and Barha Katra (Sacred Banyan). Lalapur Hill (Välmiki's place). Chitraküt Hill Anasüya Hill (Atri's place) Biradh Kund Sarabhanga's place	i) and Majhiari	:::::::::	63.J 63.K/I 63.G/II 03.G/II Do. 63.C/I6 Do. Do.	26° 48' 25° 56' 25° 56' 25° 11' 25° 14' 25° 10' 25° 20	82° 12' 82° 81° 39' 81° 39' 81° 39' 81° 6' 81° 6' 80° 51' 80° 51' 80° 52' 80° 52' 80° 52'

Note.—In the Banda Gazetteer there is almost conclusive evidence of the correctness of the location of items 5 to 9, and that the Sacred Banyan with the 'Bar Deval' or Banyan Temple, put up in its honour, was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni,

SECTION III

FROM MATANGA-VANA ACROSS PAMPAT TO LANKA

l	-					Survey sheet Latitude Longitude	Latitude	Longitude
22.	22. Singorgarh Fort (Ręyamūka)		:	:	:	55·M/14	23° 32′	79° 45'
23.	23. Gorkha hollow (Kishkindha)	:	:	:	:	Do.	23° 321	79°47'
24.	24. Katas cleft (Mahendra-dvār)	:	:	:	:	Do.	23°32′	79° 524′
25.	25. Indrana Hill† (Trikūta)	:	:	:	:	65-M/15	23°24′	79° 54′
26.	26. Suvela Hill	:	:	:	:	Do.	23°25'	79° 55′
1					-			

† There is no village on Trikuta top, where Lanka once stood. Pampa Saras (now dry) is the Jabera basin. Matanga-vana is to its west, and Singorgarh to its east, as stated in the text.

CHAPTER XV

Chronology in the Ramayana Did Rāma Rule 11,000 Years? The True Cause of Rāma's Exile

In Sarga 1 of the Bāla Kāṇḍa, Nārada informs Vālmīki that Rāma will rule for eleven thousand years, and then pass over to the Brahma-loka (verse 96). This however is only a prediction. In Viṣvāmitra's account of the descent of the Ganges, Sagara is said to have ruled thirty thousand years (Bāla, Sarga 41, verse 26). Amsumān practised penance for thirty-two thousand years on a peak of the Himālaya and died in the penance-grove. His son Dilīpa ruled for thirty thousand years and died of disease, before he devised his plan to bring down Ganga and raise his ancestors to Svarga (Bāla, Sarga 42, verses 3, 4 and 8).

At a very early stage of the epic proper, Dasaratha tells Visvāmitra, that Rāma was a boy under sixteen and that he (Dasaratha) was sixty thousand years old (Bāla, Sarga 20, verses 2 and 11). The contrast comes as a shock especially after we are told in verses 20, 24, 28 and 37 of Sarga 18, that Rāma was named, educated and trained in the art of

war like an ordinary Kshatriya expected to live his Vedic century. If, instead of a hundred autumns, the Ikshväkus lived a lac of years, and gestation was proportionate to longevity, Rāma should have been eight hundred years in the dark womb.

Next we have Jatāyu in the Āraṇya telling Rāvaṇa: 'It is now sixty thousand years since I was born. I am old (Vṛddhaḥ). You are a youth (tvam yuvā)' (Sarga 50, verse 20). Jatāyu was a friend of Daṣaratha and may have been nearly as old as Daṣaratha, but his characterising Rāvaṇa as a youth suggests that sixty thousand should be treated as a poetic exaggeration of sixty and that Rāvaṇa was a youth in the ordinary sense of the word.

From the *Uttara* however, it would appear that even the common people all over India lived a lac of years. In Sarga 73, the village Brahman who wailed over his dead child at Rāma's Palace-gate said: 'My son is only a boy of five thousand years. His premature death must be due to a sin of Rāma. In other kingdoms there is no fear of death for boys' (verses 5 and 10). Vasishṭha assembled eight learned Brahmans, and Nārada as their spokesman told Rāma: 'This is the Dvāparayuga in which *Tapas* passed to Vaisyas. In the Kali-yuga to come, a Ṣūdra may practise

Tapas. But it is a great adharma for a Sūdra to do so in Dvāpara. A Sūdra is now doing it near the Kosala frontier, and that is why this boy died prematurely' (Sarga 74, verses 25, 27 and 28). Rāma went over his kingdom and found a Sūdra, Sambūka by name, practising Tapas near a lake on the north flank of the Saivala (Panna Range). He cut off Sambūka's head and the dead boy in Ayodhya came to life at once!!!

RAMA MARRIES AT SIXTEEN THE TRUE CAUSE OF HIS EXILE

As already mentioned. Rāma was under sixteen when Visvāmitra took him to Vāmanāsrama. The $B\bar{a}la$ $K\bar{a}nda$ also has it that just then Dasaratha was consulting with his preceptor and relations about the wedding of his sons ($B\bar{a}la$, Sarga 18, verses 37 and 38). In the Mahābhārata, Abhimanyu weds Uttarā when he was sixteen. In Kautilya, Adhyaya 3. a Prince's education including Dandaniti, ends when he is sixteen years old. Then comes Godana and Dara-karma (wedding). A thousand years later, according to Bana's Kādambari, King Tārāpīda tells his son Chandrapida: 'It is now the tenth year of your entering the school-house (Vidyā-grha). You entered it in your sixth year. You are, therefore sixteen years old now. You can emerge to-day, and enjoy the pleasures of Roval Power and fresh youth.' Till a few decades ago, heir apparents in Hindu States were mated at sixteen. Rāma marries Sītā shortly after his triumph in Vāmanāsrama. It is almost certain therefore that Rāma was sixteen years old when his wedding took place in Mithila. When on that occasion he bent and broke Rudra's bow and proved that he was the mightiest archer on earth, Dasaratha realised the might and the glory that was his first-born son, and resolved that the Law of Primogeniture should prevail over his unfortunate promise of Rājya-sulka to Kaikayī (Ayodhya, Sarga 107, verse 3)* at a time when he had reason to believe that his senior queen, wedded long before, was incapable of bearing a son. He then sent away Rāma's rival Bharata to far-off Girivraja or Rājagrha (Nagarkot in Kangra) to live with his maternal uncle Yudhājit.

^{*} In the Pratimā Nāṭaka of great Bhāsa, this Rājya-ṣulka promised to Kaikayī, is referred to twice in Anka 1, verses 15 and 22. The Varadānams in the Devāsura War, like other Varadānams and Sāpos in later literature are a fake and find no place in Bhāsa.

It is clear however from Sargas 4, 20 and 21 of the Ayodhya, that there was a strong party in the Palace and the Capital City in favour of Bharata, and Dasaratha tells Rāma: 'Get vourself crowned when my mind is unclouded, for fickle is the mind of men. This night you must fast and rest with your wife on a bed of Darbha grass. Let wideawake friends guard you on all sides. Many dangers besct a scheme of this import. The moment Bharata was sent out of this City, the time, I made sure, had come for crowning you. True it is, Bharata walks in the ways of the good, defers to his elders and is steady, goodhearted and righteous. But my opinion is, that the minds of men are unstable, even of those whose actions have ever been just. and who shine by their good deeds' (Avodhua. Sarga 4, verses 20 and 23-27). This, it is important to note, was just before the King met Kaikayī. He evidently anticipated trouble from the partisans of Bharata and even an attempt to assassinate Rāma. That Kaikayi's demand for Bharata's Coronation fell upon him like a bolt from the blue is therefore incredible. Rāma was a rival to be dreaded, he had conspired with the King to nullify the latter's promise to her father and she naturally demanded his exile in the light of Bharata's virtual banishment to facilitate the crowning of Rāma.

RAMA WAS SEVENTEEN WHEN HE WAS

Again, when Rāma announced his proposed Coronation to Kausalyā, she said: 'Child. Rāma, live long, your foes are smashed (Hatāste paripanthinah). Now that you are in luck, make my relations and Sumitrā's. rejoice.' Very shortly after, when he told her of the change in his fortune, Kausalva, said: 'A barren woman has but one regret. that she is childless. As for me, I have never known the joys and triumphs that come to the Queen of a Warrior-king. My co-wives insult me, and Kaikayi's attendants treat me with special contempt. Even the few that serve me or look up to me, turn away their faces when they reflect on the future of Kaikayī's son. It is now seven and ten years since you were born and I have been longing for an end to my sorrows' (Ayodhya, Sarga 20, verses 37-45). Lakshmana was wild. He burst out: 'Before anybody suspects anything, assume, Rāghava, the sovereignty. Who can withstand you, with me, bow-inhand, to back you? I will depopulate Ayodhya, if any oppose. Bharata's partisans,

and even those who wish him well, I will kill. If, influenced by Kaikayi, our father has become our enemy, let him be killed or imprisoned' (Ayodhya, Sarga 21, verses 8-12). Reinforcing Lakshmana's speech, Kausalyā savs: 'You have heard Lakshmana. If you approve, do what is needful in the matter. You may not listen to the words of my co-wife and abandon your stricken mother. You know the demands of duty. Stay here and do what I bid you. You owe to your mother the same respect that you owe to the king. I order you not to go. If you desert me, I will sit down to die of hunger and you will incur the sin of a matricide.' It is clear from all this, especially from Sarga 4, verses 24 and 25. and Sarga 20, verse 43, and Lakshmana's threat to depopulate Ayodhya, that in the Palace as well as Ayodhya, it was an open secret that Bharata was the coming king. The belief was natural as Bharata was the son of Kaikavi the 'appointed' Queen. For over a decade, when Rāma and Bharata were children this belief must have been universal. and it was strengthened by the fact that the king, as Bharata says, spent most of his time in Kaikayi's Palace (Ayodhya, Sarga 72. verse 12). The rival queens and the rival sons were a source of danger to the king's

person and the State. As Kautilya says: 'A king should guard against wives and sons. For king's sons are like crabs and eat their fathers ' (Janaka-bhakshāh) (vide Artha-Sāstra, Prak. 13). One way of guarding against a disaffected son, according to Kaunapadanta quoted by Kautilya, is to send him to live with his mother's relations. So Dasaratha sent Bharata to far-off Nagarkot (six hundred miles from Avodhya as the crow flies) to facilitate his supersession by Rāma. when Kaikayi upset his scheme, Lakshmana forthwith illustrated the 'crab nature' of king's sons and was ready to kill or imprison his father, and Kausalyā would have apparently rejoiced if Rāma had ascended the throne over the life-less body of her husband to enrich and uplift her blood-relations (Gnātis). It is at this juncture that Kausalyā furnishes conclusive evidence as to Rāma's real age when he was exiled to the Dandakas. Her mother's heart had just rejoiced over the glad news of Rāma's Coronation. Her heart therefore nearly burst, and she naturally fainted, when she heard from Rāma himself the grievous tidings of his exile. At such a moment when Kausalyā said: 'It is now seventeen years since your birth', we can safely take it, that it was an accurate

statement of Rāma's age. Rāma was thus seventeen years old when he was banished. having married Sītā at sixteen according to Kshātra-Dharma. That again is inconsistent with a longevity of a lac of years. In a Vālmīki Rāmāyana, however, condensed by a learned professor of Sanskrit, the first half of Ayodhya, Sarga 20, verse 45, is translated thus: 'Ten and seven years, O, Rāghava, since your re-birth', and re-birth is explained as 'initiation as a Kshatriya' in brackets. The word in the text is Jātasva. Kausalyā, a Ghosha Queen just plunged in misery and despair, calculated her son's age with reference to his initiation in the Savitri. makes my reason reel. To me it is unthinkable even in the case of a most learned Srotriva Brahman, 'Initiation' for the Kshatriya is in his eleventh year corresponding to the eleven letters of the Trishtup, the Vajra of Indra. The condenser is evidently anxious to make out that Rāma was twentyeight when his mother said he was seventeen. I cannot make out why, but I dare say it is for a very learned reason and I leave it at that. Again, if Dasaratha was over sixty thousand on his way towards a lac. it is unthinkable that Kaikayī fixed the period of Rāma's exile at fourteen years which would, in proportion, correspond to five days in a century.

REFERENCES IN THE RAMAYANA TO A CENTURY LIMIT OF LIFE

When Mantharā tries to persuade Kaikayī that the crowning of Rāma would spell ruin to her and her son, Kaikayī, who loved Rāma as her own son, answers to begin with, 'Why do vou grieve over Rāma's Coronation? Bharata too, after Rāma's one hundred years, will succeed to the kingdom of his forefathers' (Ayodhya, Sarga 8, verses 15 and 16). If Kaikayī said this, she must have believed that the upper limit of Rāma's life was one hundred, though as he and Bharata were nearly of the same age, she could not, in reason, have hoped for Bharata's succeeding to the Throne 'after Rāma's one hundred years'. Again, on reaching Panchavati, Rāma said: 'Lakshmana, where would you locate our future abode? Select a picturesque spot free of brambles....' With folded hands. Lakshmana replied: 'I have no will of my own, Kākustha, while you live your hundred years (Paravānasmi Kākutstha tvayi varsha satam sthite, Āranya., Sarga 15, verse 7). When Lakshmana said this, it is clear that the limit of human life was the Vedic century, and that Lakshmana's father Dasaratha could not have lived sixty thousand years and more.

Further, when Sītā is about to hang herself from the branch of a Simsapa tree (Dalbergia sissoo) in the Asoka Park, Hanuman providentially meets her, and gives her glad tidings of Rāma and Lakshmana. She says: "Blessed; I realise, is the folk-song, 'If only one lives, happiness will come to him though after a hundred years'" (Sundara, Sarga 34, verse 6). When, later on, the same Hanuman gives Bharata the news of Rāma's victory over Ravana and his imminent arrival, the same folk-song (Gāthā) is repeated by Bharata (Yuddha, Sarga 128, verse 2). Again, when in Kishkindhā (Sarga 30, verse 64), love-sick Rāma spoke of the slow passing of the four rainy months as though they were a hundred years, his Varsha-satam referred, no doubt. to the maximum duration of human life.

ȘATAYUS (CENTURY-LIFE) IN THE VEDAS

The above references by Kaikayī, Lakshmaṇa, Rāma, Sītā and Bharata to a hundred-year life (Varsha-sata), conform to the clear and repeated assertions in the Mantras as well as the Brāhmaṇas as to the duration of human life. A hundred autumns or winters

was the Ayus (life-time) of the Rshis. The .Vedic mantras pertain to the Krta-yuga. the age of Vrtra-vadha when Indra destroyed the glaciers and set free the frozen rivers. Bharadvāja, son of Brhaspati, with the help of whose Soma, Indra destroyed Sambara, the hugest of Vrtras, says: 'Let us rejoice a hundred winters' (Mandala VI, Hymn 17. verse 15; and Hymn 24, verse 10). Gotama savs: 'A hundred autumns is the limit, O Gods, you have fixed for the decay of our bodies. Do not injure us midway in life's progress (Ayurgantoh)'. Right through Sanskrit literature it is 'let us live a hundred years'. Once, after 'live a hundred years,' occurs, Bhūyascha saradassatāt (and even more than a hundred years). There is also a reference to three great Rshis who were Tryayushas-Jamadagni, Kasyapa and Agastyabut this is to be found in the unreliable supplement beyond the eighth Ashtaka. though it is not improbable that a few humans lived into the third century after birth. Rāma lived long after the Mantra period and later than the Brāhmanas too, as these latter. voluminous as they are, contain no references to Parașu Rāma or Dāsarathi Rāma, or for that matter to any avalar of Vishnu. According to Nārada in the Uttara, Rāma lived in

the Dvāpara (Sarga 74, verses 24-28). In the opening Sarga of the Bāla.. Nālada savs: 'When Rāma rules' (he had just then crowned himself, vide verse 88) 'there will be no widows, and people will rejcice as in the Krta-yuga'. In Sarga 24 again of the Bāla.. Visvāmitra tells Rāma of 'the olden days when Vrtra was destroyed ' (Purā Vrtravadhe, verse 18). And yet when mighty seers of the Mantras like Bharadvāja hoped for a hundred years of life, the Rāmāyana, as we have it, says that Dasaratha lived sixty thousand years, and Rāma ruled eleven thousand vears. We can safely take it therefore, that these figures are a poetic exaggeration for sixty and eleven respectively. There is ample proof that in mediæval times, Valmīki's Itihāsa was converted into the so-called $\vec{A}di$ - $k\vec{a}vya$, and in a $K\vec{a}vya$ (poetic composition) Sankalpa (flighty imaginings), may legitimately take the place of Satya (prosaic facts).

WHICH WAS THE ELDER? LAKSHMANA OR BHARATA?

In Sarga 129, verses 91-93 of the Yuddha, Rāma offers the Yauva-rājya to Lakshmaṇa and tries his best to make him accept it. That suggests that Lakshmaṇa was senior to Bharata and as the Ikshvāku family strictly followed the rule of primogeniture. Rāma could not have intended to supersede Bharata. With matted hair and clothed in barks. Bharata went to Chitrakut, humbled himself to the dust, and prayed to Rāma to assume the kingdom. When however Rāma insisted on carrying out his father's promise to Kaikayi's father (vide Ayodhya, Sarga 107. verse 13). Bharata went back, abandoned Avodhva and lived in a village, installing Rāma's sandals on the throne. Till the brothers met at Chitrakūt and Rāma revealed the root-cause of his exile, Lakshmana was unaware of Dasaratha's promise to Kaikayī's father. In these circumstances, it was natural for Rāma as well as Lakshmana to feel the deepest love, and admiration bordering on veneration for Bharata. Sarga 16, verses 37-40 of the $\bar{A}ranya$, show how Rāma felt towards Bharata, and in verses 27-33, Lakshmana, like the great gentleman that he was, makes amends out of his honest heart for the injustice he had done to Bharata. It was no doubt in the same spirit that Lakshmana renounced the Yauva-rajva in favour of Bharata. Then again, in verse 41, Sarga 129 of the Yuddha, it is said: 'Bharata then went up to Lakshmana and Sītā, made his

prostrations and announced his name.' That seems to be conclusive as to Lakshmana's seniority, but not to an un-named Tīkā-krt referred to by the great Mallinatha. Consistently with the above verse of Valmiki, Kālidāsa has it: 'Bharata then joined Saumitri, and he (Sa cha) raising up him humbly bowing, embraced tightly' (R.V., S. 13, verse 73). In his Sanjāvini Mallinātha makes out that 'he' is Bharata and 'him' Lakshmana. He quotes verse 41, Sarga 129 of the Yuddha and admits that that verse too. affirms the seniority of Lakshmana and that his own comment is 'crooked' (anārjava). But, he adds, 'listen to the meaning of the Rāmāyana verse by the Tikā-krt. The āsādanam (approach) applies to Lakshmana and Sītā, but the abhivādanam was for Sītā alone. Otherwise, the seniority of Bharata formerly stated will be contradicted.' The Tikā-krt evidently refers to verses 8-14 of Sarga 18 of the Bāla. It may however be noted that planets and zodiacal signs find no place in the voluminous literature of the Mantras and Brāhmanas. The Vedāngajyotisha too, propounded by Lagadha and given out by his sishya Suchi, does not know the planets and the Zodiac. Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Shāma Sāstry, Ph.D., quotes from the Indian Ephemeris of the learned Dr. Swāmi-kaṇṇu Pillai, and agrees with the latter in fixing the date of the Vedāngajyotisha near about 850 B.C. It is thus very likely that the horoscopic verses 8-14 of Sarga 18 were added long after Vālmīki, to be in keeping with the successive imbibition by Daṣaratha's Queens of the fecundating milk of the Gods into which the might of the mantra had drawn the might of Vishṇu (Bāla., Sarga 16, verses 15-30).

In the Pratimā-nātaka again of the great Bhāsa, there is conclusive evidence that Lakshmana was senior to Bharata. Tn Anka 4, between verses 8 and 9, Bharata addressing Lakshmana says: 'Arya, abhivādaye,' and Lakshmana responds: 'Child, peace and long life to you'. Again in Anka-7. between verses 7 and 8, when Bharata meets Lakshmana on his return from Lanka. Bharata repeats, Ārya abhivādaye, Lakshmana responds: 'Come, come child: may you live long: embrace me.' Bhāsa. I may repeat, was anterior to Kālidāsa I who flourished in Vidīsanagar under Agnimitra (vide Bharata-vākya in the Māļavikāgnimitra) in the first half of the second century B.C.

CHAPTER XVI

Vālmīki's Rāma—Essentially Human, though Deified

VALMIKI is not blinded by Rāma's divinity to his essential humanity. In Rāma, brain, brawn and will-power were developed to an extraordinary degree. His master-passion as a Prince was archery, and he developed almost superhuman skill in archery by constant practice in the hunting field. He won his resounding triumph as a warrior by bending and breaking Rudra's bow, and secured supreme beauty in the shape of high-spirited Sītā as his prize. Sītā was thus doubly precious to Rāma. His mind, muscle and magnificent physique were nourished and maintained by the flesh of game, the fruits of the chase. Love of archery, love of hunting, relish for game-flesh and love of Sītā were thus ingrained in his bones, and strong-willed and essentially righteous as he was, his will gave way and his sense of right and wrong was deflected when in conflict with these deep-seated desires. His master-passion breaks out when he passes the Kosala frontier at the Syandika (Sai) river above Bela (Bela possibly means 'boundary'). Turning north towards Ayodhya

he exclaimed in his powerful swan-voice: 'When shall I return to thee and roam hunting (mrgayām paryatishyāmi) over the flowering forests of the Sarayū. This delight of hunting is unapproached by anything in the world, and is approved by royal saints (Rājarshi sammata)' (Ayodhya, Sarga 49. verses 25-27). Incidental to his love of hunting was his keen relish for the flesh of game. When he goes to his mother to announce his exile to the Dandakas, Kausalyā, unaware of the change in his fortunes, offered him a seat and invited him to breakfast. Rāma said-'You do not know the dread danger that has overtaken vou as well as Sītā and Lakshmana. I am going to the Dandakas, and for fourteen vears I shall live like a muni in the uninhabited forest living on honey, fruits and roots, giving up flesh ' (hitva munivadāmisham. Ayodhya, Sarga 20, verses 27-29). When again Guha proposes, on the eve of Rāma's crossing the Ganges, to entertain him in right royal style. Rāma said: 'I can accept no feasts. Know I am now a Tapasa dweller of the forest dressed in barks and skins, and living on fruits and roots. The one favour you can do me is to see that these favourite horses of my father are well fed, watered and lodged' (Ayodhya, Sarga 50, verses 44-47). When he

spoke as above to his mother and to Guha. it goes without saying he was absolutely sincere. He was content at Singraur with a drink of Gangā water, and fasted for the night. Next morning, he perfected his entry into Vaikhānasa, by sending for the banvan's milky juice and matting his locks. He initiated Lakshmana too, into Vanaprastha and crossed the Ganges. In mid-stream Sītā addressed her prayers to the river, and vowed. if she returned safe from the forest, to propitiate her with a 'thousand pots of wine and meaty food' (Ayodhya, Sarga 52, verse 89). On reaching the south bank however, Nature asserted herself. The brothers had starved for the night and were hungry (bhubhukshitau). Their growing (Rāma was then seventeen) vigorous frames craved for the accustomed nourishment, and tempted by the forest, they forthwith shot four heads of big game, a boar. a sambhur, a spotted deer and a great Ruru (Barasingh), took the flesh, and made their home under a tree (Ayodhya, Sarga 52, verse 102). In the Bāla-Kānda, however, on the south bank of the Sarayū, Visvāmitra initiates Rāma into the mysteries of the Balā and Atibalā and says: 'These two Vidyas, directly you learn them, will make you the strongest, most energetic, healthiest, and most

intellectual, of men. Having recited Bala and Atibala you will never be tired, hungry or thirsty. All wisdom is concentrated in them and they are the daughters of Pitāmaha (Creator Brahma) ' (Bāla-Kānda, Sarga 22, verses 12-17). It is clear that this is not Vālmīki but a recent mantra-ridden interpolator. Sī ā too seems to have shared Ramā's taste for game-flesh. At Chitrakut she roamed with Rāma over the picturesque banks of the hill-stream, and Rāma gratified her with the flesh of game saying, 'This is nourishing, this is savoury, this is done to a turn (Ayodhya, Sarga 96, verse 1). From what Kabandha tells Rāma it would appear that aquatic birds fatty as lumps of Ghi, as well as fish were welcome to Rāma, and Kabandha expected Lakshmana to transfix fish with arrows in the still transparent waters of the Pampa Lake.

CHAPTER XVII

Vālmīki and Women No Ghosha Spirit in Vālmīki

WHEN the exiles take to the boat in the Ganges. Rāma told Lakshmana to help Sītā (parigrhya āropaya) into the boat and Lakshmana did so (Ayodhya, Sarga 52, verses 75 and 76). After Sītā praved to the Sacred Banvan Tree, Rāma tells Lakshmana: 'Brother of Bharata, go in advance with Sītā. I will follow behind, armed. Whatever flower or fruit Jānakī desires, whatever pleases her fancy, get the same and give her '(Ayodhya, Sarga 55, verses 27 and 28). Again when searching for Sītā in Janasthān, Rāma savs: 'On the flat rock here, seated with me and smiling sweetly, noble Sītā chattered away. making fun of you' (Aranya, Sarga 63, verse 12). When Rāma goes to his mother to announce his Coronation, Sumitra, Lakshmana and Sītā had already gathered there (Ayodhya, Sarga 4, verse 31). Again when Rāma finally decides to obey his father's order in spite of Kausalyā's command to the contrary, Lakshmana seizes Rāma by the feet and told both him and Sītā (Sītām uvācha Rāghavam cha) that he would follow them to the forest, that Kausalvā would look after Sumitrā and

he (Lakshmana) would be neglecting no part of his duty by following Rāma (Vaidharmyam neha viduate). Rāma agrees and tells him to go and take leave of all his friends (Sarvameva suhrijanam) (Ayodhya, Sarga 31, verses 2, 21. 22 and 26). Yet when Sugriva produces Sītā's jewels and Rāma asks Lakshmana if he recognized them, Lakshmana says: 'I know no armlets, I know no ear-rings, but I recognise the anklets as I used to prostrate daily before her feet.' This verse was evidently forged in the degenerate unchivalrous days long after Vālmīki, and is supposed to be a gem of a verse in these yet un-regenerate days. When Rāma is attacked by Khara and his army, Lakshmana was in charge of her in an inaccessible hill-cave hidden by forest trees. When after Khara's destruction Lakshmana returned with Sītā the poet says: 'Sītā rejoiced to see Rāma safe and victorious, and embraced him. And when she heard the great Rshis extol his valour, she felt proud and happy, and embraced him once again, $(\bar{A}ranya, Sarga 20, verses 39 and 41).$

Was there an Ūrmila a Daughter of Janaka and Wife of Lakshmana?

It would appear from the preceding para, that Urmila, a daughter of Janaka, wedded to

Lakshmana according to the Bāla-Kānda, was treated as non-existent in the Ayodhyā-Kānda. Sumitrā, Lakshmana and Sītā gather in Kausalyā's place to rejoice over Rāma's good fortune. There is no Urmila there. According to Lakshmana, Kausalvā wielded great power and influence, and could maintain herself as well as his mother Sumitra in ease and comfort (Ayodhya, Sarga 31, verses 22 and 23). Here too Lakshmana makes no reference to an Urmila. When again Lakshmana says, 'I wont be neglecting any of my duties by following you,' it is clear he is no bhartā with a bhāryā, and the primary duty of a Grhastha is to support his wife. If there was an Urmila, selfless Rāma would surely have said, 'what about Urmila' and not 'all right, bid adieu to your friends'. If really Sītā had a sister wedded to Lakshmana. that sister as a daughter of Janaka would have followed Lakshmana to the forest and Sītā would have rejoiced to have her sister as a helpful companion in misfortune. would appear too that Lakshmana had a mansion of his own like Rāma, and Rāma instructs his weeping dependants: 'Lakshmana's abode and this house of mine, both should be cared for till I return ' (Ayodhya, Sarga 32, verses 25 and 26). Further, Rāma tells Sūrpaņakhā:

'This younger brother of mine is unmarried. has known no woman, and will make a fit husband for you.' He might have fibbed for parihāsa (fun) to use his own expression, but if there was an Urmila, it is unthinkable Sītā told Rāvana 'Lakshmana is Rāma's younger brother, fierce in war and a firmwilled student (Brahmachārī drdha-vratah)'. In the Kumbhakonam edition it is 'Dharmachāri' for 'Brahmachāri', but even so, the drdha-vratah shows his dharma could not have been garhastya if he left with his brother and Sītā for a fourteen years' stay in the jungle. If Vālmīki had wedded Ūrmiļa to Lakshmana in the Bāla-Kānda, he would surely not have made his great hero and heroine heartlessly ignore Urmila in the Ayodhya-Kānda. When Rāma described the dangers and miseries of a jungle life, to dissuade Sītā from following him to the Dandakas, Sītā says: 'Did my father, the King of the Videhas and Lord of Mithila, imagine you were a woman in man's image when he gave me to you for wife? Why do you wish to abandon your devoted wife? I will follow you even as Sāvitrī of old followed Satyavan. You may not start for the forest without me.' That this spirited and high-souled Sītā let Lakshmana follow her to the forest without giving a thought to her own sister Urmila, his wife, is just unthinkable.

THE QUADRUPLE WEDDING IN THE BALA-KANDA

The later Bāla-Kānda is wholly dominated by the Supernatural. Sītā-kalvāna had to be made a quadruple wedding to harmonise with the miracles attendant on the conception of Rāma and his brothers and the orthodox observance of their sacraments from 'naming' to 'wedding'. Born after twelve months' gestation and under three successive precessional stars, the four brothers were virtually of the same age. When their education was nearly complete. Dasaratha consulted with his priests and relations as to their wedding (Teshām dārakriyam prati). Just then Visvāmitra turned up to apply for Rāma's help against Mārīcha (Sarga 18. verses 35-39). In Sarga 20, verse 2, the king savs Rāma was under sixteen. At sixteen a Prince completes. his education and is due to wed (Kautilya, Adhi. 1, Prak. 2). When Rāma was wedded at sixteen, his brothers too had to be wedded. three girls had to be improvised, and three weddings tacked on to the Sītā-kalyāna.

CHAPTER XVIII

Vālmīki and Women Did Sītā Insult Lakshmaņa and Facilitate Her Own Abduction!

IT would appear too that Sītā told Lakshmana: 'You are a deep villain. Alone you follow Rāma with a hidden motive. You wish to secure me for yourself or Bharata' (Āranya. Sarga 45, verses 23-24). Lakshmana replied. 'These unbecoming words are not surprising, coming as they do from a woman. For, this is the nature of women all over this earth, to be fickle, unrighteous, and sharp-tongued, and to part friends; shame on you who are seeking your own ruin. I will go to Rāma. May you be safe.' Sītā's insult and Lakshmana's libel both appear unnatural. By this time. Lakshmana had slaved for herself and her husband for nearly eleven long years. She and Lakshmana had seen Bharata at Chitrakūt when he came with Kaikayi to offer the kingdom to Rāma. Rāma had refused, and Bharata had humiliated himself by soliciting a gift of Rāma's sandals as Regent of the State in his absence. Bharata was then a boy much under seventeen, and for eleven long years Lakshmana and Bharata had not met.

Sītā was a far-seeing clear-headed Princess and had warned Rāma against the impropriety of a Vaikhānasa penetrating the Daṇḍakas armed with bow and arrows, and attacking Rākshasas 'without cause for offence' (Āraṇya, Sarga 9, verses 25, 27 and 28). That in these circumstances Sītā charged Lakshmaṇa with conspiring with Bharata to abduct her is wildly improbable.

Again, Mārīcha was not familiar with Rāma's voice. Again and again, he hid and showed himself alternately, and drew Rāma very far (sudūram) from his hermitage (Āranya, Sarga 44, verse 8). That with Rāma's arrow through his heart, he had the desire, will or power, to imitate Rāma's voice and make himself heard by Sītā is incredible. Even if his voice could carry a krosa or Goruta (2.000 vards) like a bull's, it is obvious he was too far off for Sītā to hear his 'O Sītā, O Lakshmana'. But the whole story is a big soapbubble and Sītā herself pricks it in a single verse. When Rāvana sees Sītā alone and enters the hut as an ascetic atithi (guest), Sītā says: 'rest awhile, holy Brahman, you can stay in comfort here. My husband will return with plenty (pushkalam) of forest produce (vanya), and great quantities of flesh of deer, ichneumon, and boars killed by him'

(Aranya, Sarga 47, verses 22 and 23). If she herself had adjured Rāma to follow and secure alive, if possible, the bright-spotted deer, and had also forced Lakshmana to run to Rāma's help in response to his piteous outcry, she surely would not have told her ascetic guest that Rāma would return with great quantities of roots, fruits and flesh, and assured him he could make himself comfortable. Again, what she told Ravana in Sarga 47, verse 22, is quite consistent with Sarga 46, verse 37. It was time for the brothers to return, and Sītā, 'then expecting her husband who had gone out hunting (mrigayā-gatam) with Lakshmana (Saha-Lakshmanena), looked out in different directions, but saw only the great green forest, but not Rāma and Lakshmana'. It is clear therefore that Sītā knew Rāma and Lakshmana had both gone out together as usual, to hunt and to gather fruits and roots. They had naturally great appetites, and both would be needed to gather, kill, skin and carry the large quantities of food secured. Lakshmana carried the basket and spade (khanitra-pitakādharah) and did all the menial work (Ayodhya, Sarga 31, verses 25-27). He followed Rāma and Sītā with the water-pot when they went to the river to bathe (Aranya, Sarga 16, verse 3).

On the south bank of the Gangā in the Doab both brothers hunted together and secured four head of game (Ayodhya, Sarga 52, verse 102). Again, going a krosa beyond the sacred Banyan on the south bank of the Yamuna, both of them hunted in the Jumna forest and secured several head of edible deer (Avodhva, Sarga 55, verse 32), On their way to Panchavați they met Jatāyu and the latter says: 'I will help you as a neighbour if you like. This is a trackless forest full of wild beasts and Rākshasas and I will take care of Sītā when you go out with Lakshmana' (Āranya, Sarga 14, verse 23). He was of course referring to their expeditions in search of food, and as promised, he tried his best to save Sītā even at the cost of his life.

Then again, even before Sītā met Rāvaṇa, Rāma had pricked the iridescent bubble in half a verse. Āraṇya, Sarga 44, verses 15 and 16 run, 'The mighty arrow pierced Mārīcha's heart like a thunder-bolt. He jumped up the height of a palm and fell down nearly lifeless making a dreadful noise (vinadan bhairavam nādam), and dying, he put aside his artificial skin (kṛtrimām tanum)'. What follows (verses 17 and 18) is altogether extraordinary. "He then remembered his

words, and meditated (Dadhāyu) as to how to make Sītā send away Lakshmaņa, so that Rāvaņa could easily abduct her. Then knowing his time had come, he imitated Rāma's voice and said 'O Sītā, O Lakshmaṇa'.' The forger is evidently muddled.

Rāvana had given clear instructions to the same effect (\bar{A} ranya, Sarga 40, verses 19-22). and if Mārīcha 'remembered his words,' there was no need for him to exercise his sinking mind and re-discover Rāvana's bright idea. "Seeing the Then come verses 22-25: Rākshasa blood-sprinkled and rolling in the ground, Rāma thought of Sītā and said to himself · 'This is Mārīcha's device as Lakshmana foretold, and it is Märicha I have killed. This Rākshasa died crying out 'O Sītā. O Lakshmana' in a loud tone. How would Sītā feel on hearing it." Cogitating thus. Rāma's hairs stood on end, and dismay and dejection entered Rāma. That was his state of mind and what does he do? Here comes Vālmīki's bomb which explodes this unnatural concoction. "Having killed the deer-shaped Rakshasa and heard his voice. Rāma killed another spotted deer (prishatam chānyam), gathered its (māmsam ādāya) and hastened towards Janasthāna " (Āranya, Sarga 44, verse 27). It is clear Rāma followed Mārīcha in the belief he was an ordinary spotted deer to be killed and skinned for food, and not to catch him alive as the rainbow-coloured bejewelled marvel of a deer (Āraṇya, Sarga 42, verses 25-29), that fooled and fascinated Sītā. Sītā's verse 22 in Āraṇya, Sarga 47 and verse 27 of Āraṇya, Sarga 44, show conclusively that nearly two hundred verses have been interpolated, making up most of Chapters 42-46 and, discrediting Vālmīki, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Rāma.

The fact was, Mārīcha never forgot the wound inflicted by Rāma when he attacked Visvāmitra's sacrificial platform. That too was in the Dandakas, and when Rama returned to the Dandakas as an exile with matted hair and in barks, Mārīcha thought he was an unarmed, ill-nourished low-down ascetic. and rushed towards him to avenge his former injury (Aranya, Sarga 39, verses 8 and 9). Ha had two Rakshasa friends with him and all were camouflaged in deer-skins. It would appear that to go on fours covered by a deer skin was the favourite device of Maricha to approach unsuspecting hermits and pounce upon them to satisfy his intense Rākshasa (Pisitasana) craving for flesh. Rāma however took up his bow and shot three arrows at Mārīcha and his companions. The latter were killed, but Mārīcha jumped up and his remarkable agility saved him (Āranya, Sarga 39. verses 2, 9, 10 and 12). He was familiar with the hunting grounds of the Rāghava brothers. He had a grudge (Pūrva-vaira) against Rāma. Inattacking Visvāmitra acted under Rāvana's too, he orders (Bāla-Kānda, Sarga 20, verse 20). He was active and strong, and an expert at hiding in thickets and moving like a deer covered by a deer skin. It was natural for Ravana to seek his help, and natural for Maricha to readily agree.

CHAPTER XIX

Miraculous Origin of the Rāmāyana How Vālmīki's Sōka became a Slōka

THE Rāmāyana as we have it begins with Nārada's answer to Vālmīki's question: 'Who is the best and greatest of contemporary men?' (Sarga 1, verses 1-5). Nārada answers it was Rāma, and gives an abstract of Rāma's life from his exile to the Dandakas to his coronation as king in Ayodhya. Nārada then predicts, that Rāma would perform hundreds of horse-sacrifices, rule eleven thousand years, and pass on to the world of Brahma (verses 8-96).

In Sarga 2, the origin of the Rāmāyana as a kāvya is traced to Vālmīki's pity for a wild goose that was shot dead by a hunter and mourned by his mate. He involuntarily cursed the hunter in the famous verse Mānishāda, etc. He felt surprised and elated and told his disciple: 'Let these words made up of regular feet and musical as a lute-wire, and born of my soka (anguish) be a sloka, not otherwise.' The disciple reverently said, 'so be it,' and the muni was pleased (verses 14-18). When he came home, the four-faced Creator turned up to see the muni and said:

"Have no doubt it is a sloka you have constructed. and it is by my own will, this Sarasvatī has issued out of vou.... Work up the full story of Rāma that Nārada told you into a kāvya of pleasing slokas" (verses 30, 31 and 35). This verse 'Mānishāda' is in Anushtup metre known to the Vedic Mantras as well as the Brāhmanas. Atri and Kanva are the most ancient of the Vedic chanters. use the Anushtup. Anushtup is the Turīva (fourth) Brahman, Gāyatrī, Trishtup and Jagati being the first three. It is with the help of the-Anushtup that Atri discovered the darkened Sun (vide Mandala 5, Hymn 40, verse 6). The two sacred verses dealing with the blackening of the Sun by Svarbhanu and the restoration of his light by the Atris (Hymn 40, verses 5 and 9) are appropriately in the Anushtup metre. The word sloka too, occurs in the Vedic Mantras though not specifically applied to the Anushtup. In the Brahmanas however Anushtup is again and again called sloka. In the eighth and ninth Kāndas of Adhyāya 39 of the Aitareya Brahmana, we have a good number of slokas in Anushtup metre quite as regular and musical as Vālmīki's Mānishāda verse. What is more, these verses are introduced in the text itself by the words 'In this connexion, these slokas are sung

($\$lok\bar{a}$ Abhi $G\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}h$)'. But it would appear Vāimīki was astonished by his metrical outburst, called it a \$loka as it issued involuntarily out of his \$soka, that Brahma assured him it was a \$loka, and that He sent His muse which inspired Vālmīki's tongue. Now all this is obviously rank bunkum.

CHAPTER XX

The So-called Gayatri-Ramayana

I LEARNT for the first time about three years ago from the correspondence columns of the "Hindu", that there is a so-called Gāyatrī-Rāmāyaṇa of twenty-four thousand slokas each letter of the Gāyatrī-mantra being a Bījākshara giving rise to a thousand slokas. I have studied the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa with some care, and my conclusion is that the idea that the Rāmāyaṇa was reared on the Gāyatrī as its foundation is at best a fantastic conceit.

'GAYATRI-RAMAYANA' Vs. ELEMENTARY ARITHMETIC

In the first place, the Gāyatrī of the Sāvitrī contains only 23 letters. At a thousand letter, the total of verses can be only twenty-three thousand. In the Mantras the Gāyatrī is always of three $P\bar{a}d\bar{a}s$ (feet), but the feet are often elliptical. The Sāvitrī Rik is the tenth verse of Hymn 62 of the third Mandala. The first $P\bar{a}da$ has only seven letters. In verse 4 of the same hymn, it is the second foot that has only seven letters. In verse 5 it is the third foot that lacks a letter. In Rik 6 all three feet are elliptical, with seven

letters to each foot. In Riks 7, 8 and 9 all three feet are perfect, having 8 letters each. I need hardly say the 'Om' was prefixed to the Mantras in the Brāhmana period, as the Ekākshara Brahman, Udgātha, or 'Anugñākshara' (meaning 'yes'), and is not part of the Rik itself. The essence of the Upanayana is the imparting of the 'Sāvitrī'. The boy says 4 Sāvitrīm bho anubrūhi'. The Guru responds 'yes' (Omiti) and recites the Rik Pāda by Pāda, the first pāda being Tatsavitur Varenyam which has only seven letters (Bodhāyana-Grihya Sutra, Pras. 2, Adhyāya 5, Sūtras 39 and 40). In Sūtra 9 of Pr. I. Kh. 13 of his Dharma-Sūtras, Apasthamba explains the word Upanayanam, and says in his next (10th) Sūtra: "The Brāhmana says, 'the Sāvitrī is taught in all the Vedas '." Even in the later Manu-smrti, what is now called 'Gāyatrī' is the Sāvitrī (vide Adhyāya 2, verses 38, 39 and 77). In verse 77 Manu says: "Pārameshthi-Prajāpati, milked out this Sāvitrī Rik beginning 'Tat' foot by foot, out of the three Vedas." So too was 'Om' with the three Vyāhrtis from the three Vedas (verse 76) and verse 78 treats the 'akshara' and the 'vyāhrtis' as distinct from the Rik.

It is not clear when and where the Sāvitrī began to be called the Gāyatrī, though there

are thousands of Mantras in the Gayatra Chchandas. It must have been in the days of Brahman decadence when we grew indifferent to the letter as well as the spirit of the Riks and so far back as the second century B.C. Patanjali quotes from a hymn to the Asvins and says: 'Many, surely are the words whose meanings are not known' (Mahābhāshya, Adh. II, Pāda I, Ahn. I). It is no wonder the Pandit who conceived the ingenious idea of treating the Rāmāyana as an expansion and exposition of Visvāmitra's praver to the Divine Will as the inspiring light of the Universe, overlooked the fact that the Gavatri in which the Savitri is clothed has only twenty-three letters. Again, when Brahma appeared before Välmiki in his Asrama, the Muni's soka for the bereaved Kraunchi. persisted, and he intoned the śloka 'Mānishāda', etc. Brahma smiled and told him: "You have put together a sloka, and there is no doubt about it. This Sarasvatī has issued out of you by my desire. Make up Rāma's story woven into pleasing 'slokas'. This idea then occurred to Vālmīki: "I will make up the entire Rāmāyaņa Kāvya of slokas like this' (Bāla-Kānda, Sarga 2, verses 23-41). Verse 42 that follows states that the famous muni produced the epic of hundreds of slokas

with an equal number of letters (samāksharaih). There is no reference in all this to the Savitri. All the enthusiasm is for the Anushtup sloka. Again, it is to be expected from what Brahma savs and Vālmīki decides, that the Rāmāyana will contain only Anushtup slokas (vide Sarga 2, verses 30, 32 and 41). A good number of verses and sometimes whole Sargas are in a different metre. Further it is assumed that the number of verses (24,000), is the sole test of the origin and contents of the Rāmāyana. Even omitting the fact that many verses are not slokas like the 'Mānishāda' etc., Sarga 4, verse 2, says: 'The Rshi gave out twenty-four thousand slokas, so too (tatha) five hundred Sargas, and six Kāndas as well as the Uttara. In the Uttara too (Sarga 94, verses 25 and 26), Kusa and Lava repeat the above facts and figures. Evidently it is the 'twenty-four thousand slokas' of the above verse that suggested the twenty-four letters of the normal Gāyatrī metre as the seed-letters of the The author of the idea was Rāmāyana. apparently accustomed to the loose modern user of the word Gayatri for Savitri, and overlooked the fact that the Gayatri of the Savitri contained only twenty-three letters. The supposed connexion obsessed the author and without more ado he called Valmīki's epic the Gāyatrī-Rāmāyana, over-looking the 'Sarga-satān pañcha' next to the 'twenty-four thousand slokas' in Sarga 4, verse 2. I have not counted the verses in the Rāmāyana like Dewan Bahadur Mr. K. S. R. Sāstri but I will take it that the number is near about 24,000. The Sargas, however, total 646, a number substantially (29 per cent.) larger than 500, and cannot therefore be reconciled with verse 2 of Sarga 4.

For the above reasons, there can be no doubt that the so-called Gāyatrī-Rāmāyaṇa is a contemptible forgery.

ERRATA

- Page xlii, line 13-substitute "72" for "66".
- Page xlvi, line 20—Insert "comma" after "standing" and omit "comma" after "and".
- Page xlvii, line 6—Read "examination" for "investigation".
- Page 7, line 20—Read "Durvāsa" for "Dūrvāsa".
- Page 69, line 20-Read "Tāra" for "Tārā".