

A CRITICAL STUDY OF
PAUMACARIYAM

Dr. K. R. CHANDRA

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General Editor

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A CRITICAL STUDY OF PAUMACARIYAM

By

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**RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF PRAKRIT, JAINOLOGY
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The Government of Bihar established the Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology & Ahimsa at Vaishali (Muzaffarpur) in 1955 with the object, inter alia, to promote advanced studies and research in Prakrit and Jainology, and to publish works of permanent value to scholars. This Institute is one of the five others planned by this Government as a token of their homage to the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted. Apart from the Vaishali Research Institute, four others have been established and have been doing useful work during the last few years, namely, the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning at Darbhanga, the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna, the Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad for Research and Advanced Studies in Hindi at Patna, and the Nalanda Institute of Research and Post-Graduate Studies in Buddhist learning and Pali (the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara) at Nalanda (Patna).

As part of this programme of rehabilitating and reorientating ancient learning and scholarship this is the Research volume 4, which is the thesis of Dr. K.R. Chandra, Research Scholar of the Institute, approved for the Ph. D. degree of Bihar University. The Govt. of Bihar hope to continue to sponsor such projects and trust that this humble service to the world of scholarship and learning would bear fruit in the fulness of time.

GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

In the Jaina tradition Rāma has been called Padma also and so by Padmacarita or Paumacariya, Rāmacarita is meant. Allured by the great popularity of the Rāma-legend the Jaina poets also based their works upon it. Among these Vimalasūri is the pioneer. His *Paumacariyam* is the first Rāmāyaṇa in the Jaina tradition and also the first epic written in Prakrit. His work has been the source for the later Jaina writers, on the Rāmāyaṇa, like Ravisena, Svayambhū, Śīlācārya and Hemacandra. Apart from the salient features of the Jaina religion Vimalasūri's epic contains enough cultural material pertaining to the contemporary life.

The present work is the approved thesis of Dr. K. R. Chandra. He worked on this subject for nearly four years as a Research Scholar of the Institute, first under its eminent ex-Director Dr. H. L. Jain, and then under the present Director and obtained his Ph. D. Degree from the Bihar University.

Dr. Chandra has divided his work in two parts. In the first part he has given a resume of the narrative materials in the *Paumacariyam* and in the second he has dealt with its cultural and literary aspects. The author has duly classified and lucidly narrated the intervening stories. He has compared and contrasted the Rāma-Story as found in Vimalasūri on one hand and in Vālmīki and Tulsī on the other. The author endorses Vimalasūri's claim that he has purged the traditional Rāma-story of its lies—the irrational exaggerations—and cleared the characters of blemishes. One wonders whether the replacement of the mythical and unbelievable feats of the *vānaras* and the *rākṣasas* by the equally unbelievable supernatural powers of the Vidyādharas

is rationalisation or sheer substitution of tweedledum for tweedledee, just one set of superstition for another.

The author's tracing of Vimalasūri's influence on the later authors of the Rāmāyaṇa is laborious, though in certain cases as in that of showing Tulsī's indebtedness to Vimalasūri he might have been guided more by his zeal than by the factual data.

Dr. Chandra's grasp of the text is thorough and he has dealt with the different aspects of the great epic. His literary evaluation of the text evinces his taste and his keen ears for Prakrit rhythm. We hope the work will prove valuable to the Scholars.

We here place on record our thanks to Professor R. P. Poddar for going through the Press Copy before it was committed to press and also to Dr. Nand Kishore Prasad, Research Fellow, for his hard task of arranging the material in proper order and undertaking the arduous work of reading through the proofs.

Vaishali,
Mahavira Jayanti
April 19, 1970.

NATHMAL TATIA

PREFACE

As I happened to be at Banaras in the month of April, 1957, Prof. Dalsukh Bhai Malavania of the Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, B.H.U. suggested me to make a special study of the *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri, the first Prakrit epic on the Rāma-story. With this suggestion I wrote to my revered teacher Dr. H. L. Jain, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt., Director, Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology & Ahimsa, Muzaffarpur, (Bihar), who was my Professor at Nagpur during my M.A. studies and was encouraging me since that time for higher studies. He was kind enough to give his consent for guiding me in my research work. In due course of time I joined the Institute in the month of November, 1957. The subject was properly selected and was titled as 'A critical study of *Paumacariyam*'. Duly the synopsis was prepared under his guidance and was registered with the Bihar University for the Ph.D. Degree.

During all these days of my work Dr. H. L. Jain took regular classes for guiding me in dealing with the various problems arising out of my thesis. His able and learned guidance as well as his paternal care inspired me greatly and made me able to withstand the difficulties and the long passage of time. It was often due to his timely stimulus that I could remain perseverant in my work and now I feel highly relieved that I have completed my thesis and am submitting it to the University of Bihar for examination for the Ph. D. degree.

In my work I have quoted now and then the work 'Rāmakathā-Utpatti aur Vikāsa' of Dr. C. Bulcke. This work has helped me immensely. Without the help of that book it would have been difficult to collect all the material from works on Rāmakathās in those various languages with which I am unacquainted and also from those works I could not make use of on account of their non-availability to me. I feel deeply indebted to Dr. Bulcke's work and express my gratitude to him.

I acknowledge my deepest gratitude to my revered guide Dr. H. L. Jain and refrain from the vain attempt to praise him because the words are beyond the power to express my feeling. I feel it my duty to record my gratefulness to Dr. Nathmal Tatia, the present Director of the Institute, who gave me all the possible help after

Dr. H. L. Jain left the post of Directorship. I express my gratefulness to all those Scholars, Professors, Institutes and Jain munis who extended their help to me whenever I approached them in connection with my research work. I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to the Government of Bihar for awarding me a Research Scholarship.

Mahavira Jayanti,

April the 19th, 1970.

K. R. Chandra

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

The Thesis is divided into two parts. Part one deals with the comparative and critical study of the narrative material of the *Paumacariyaṃ* and part two comprises of the cultural study. The whole work has been arranged into twelve chapters, the first six forming part one and the next six, part two.

The first chapter contains the critical survey of the text of *Paumacariyaṃ* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi and the sect and the date of the author. The second is a summary of *Paumacariyaṃ* chapter-wise. The Third chapter contains a comparative study of the Rāma-kathā of *Paumacariyaṃ* with that of the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Tulasī Rāmāyaṇa* in particular to find out the points of agreement and disagreement. In the fourth chapter all the intervening stories of the *Paumacariyaṃ* have been summarised and an attempt has been made to find out their sources and their influence. The fifth chapter is a comparative study of the origin and the genealogical lists of various Varnās given in the *Paumacariyaṃ* with that of the Brahmanical tradition. In the sixth chapter an attempt has been made to trace out the sources of the Rāma-Kathā of the *Paumacariyaṃ* as well as of the intervening stories. The original contribution of Vimalasūri and his influence on various Jaina and non-Jaina, Indian and Foreign Rāma-kathās have also been discussed.

The seventh chapter treats of the social conditions reflected in the *Paumacariyaṃ*. Its first section deals with the Jaina and Brahmanical concept of caste or Jāti, and the division of the ancient society into four Varṇas and Āśramas. The second section is a study of the institution of family and the harmonious life of its members, their rights and duties. Various relations also have been noted. The third section treats of the functions and ceremonies of birth, childhood and marriage as well as the considerations on which marital alliances were settled, the types of marriages prevalent and the position of inter-caste and inter-racial marriages. The fourth section comprises of the position of women in the family and society, as a maiden, a wife, a mother and a widow. Then their social status outside the family as well as the political and religious status have been discussed. The sixth section includes the manners, customs and beliefs of the ancient society. The seventh section contains a discussion of the supernatural elements concerning heaven and hell and associated with the life of great personages.

The eighth chapter comprises of the system of education, literature, sciences arts and the architecture. The first section contains topics on the teacher and student's relationship. The second section deals with the various sciences, such as writing, astronomy, astrology, medical science and cooking. The third section deals with the various kinds of arts such as clothing and ornaments, hair dressing articles of fragrance and the use of flowers. Then follows the exposition of fine-arts, viz., music, dance and drama, drawing and painting, terracota and plastering and sculpture. The fourth section gives account of the housing, architecture, town-planning, various types of buildings, palaces and others. The fifth section mentions the articles of furniture and decoration.

The ninth chapter is a study of the economic, political and religious conditions. The first section deals with economic conditions. It contains topics on agriculture, crops, animal husbandry, various other professions and services. Then it treats of the mineral products, forest yield, trade and commerce. The second section discusses the topics such as state, king, administration, policies of state, law, justice, army and warfare. The third section deals with philosophy and religion, including the Jain philosophy, ethics, and monks' and householders' rules. It further throws light on the rituals both Jaina and Brahmanical, as well as the popular worship.

In the tenth chapter the geographical places, peoples and tribes have been identified. Jain cosmology, various races such as the Anāryas or Mlecchas and Vidyādhara, Rakṣasas and the Vānaras are included in it.

The eleventh chapter is a study of the language, grammar and prosody and contains a literary estimate of the *Paumacariyam*.

The twelfth chapter is the conclusion which summarises the original contribution of Vimalasūri to the story of Rāma, his cultural contribution, his indebtedness to others and his influence on the Jaina and non-Jaina Rāma-Kathās as well as the cultural, historical and linguistic importance of the work.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AC*—Abhidānacintāmaṇikośa
Act. Cu—Ācārāṅgacūrṇi
Ādh. Ram—Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa
AIHT—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition
AIU—The Age of Imperial Unity; B. V. Bhavan (1953)
Amg—Ardhamāgadhi
Ana. Rām—Ānandarāmāyaṇa
Anuyoga—Anuyogadvāra Sūtra
AP—Ādipurāṇa
Apa—Apabhraṁśa
Ava N—Āvaśyaka-niryukti
Ava. Cū.—Āvaśyakacūrṇi
Bhad-Samh—Bhadrabāhu Saṁhitā
Bhag. Pu.—Śrīmad-Bhāgawata-Mahāpurāṇa
Bhag. Su—Bhagawatisūtra
Bhā. Sa.—Bhārata Sāvitrī
BI—Buddhist India
Br-Samk—Bṛhat Saṁhitā
Bulcke—Rāma-kathā by Dr. C. Bulke (First Edition).
Bulcke-2—Second edition of Dr. C. Bulcke's Rāma Kathā
CAGI—Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India
Chakladar—Social Life in Ancient India
CHI—The Cambridge History of India
Dasavai—Dasavaikālika Sūtra
Das. Rama—The Rāmāyaṇa, An English Translation of Dr. H. Jacobi's Das Ramayana.
Dhur.—Dhūrtākhyāna
DKA—Dynasties of the Kali Age
Dowson—Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology
EAI—Education in Ancient India
E. G.—Epigraphia Carnatica
EDAD—A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa
EHA—An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture
EHD—Early History of the Deccan
EHVS—The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect
EI—Epigraphia Indica
GD—Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India

- GE*—Geographical Essays Vol. I.
GESM—Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata
GL—Gāthā Lakṣaṇa
GR. Su.—Gr̥hya Sūtras
HAI—The Heroic Age of India, N.K. Siddhanta
Handiqui—Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture
HCLJ—A History of the Canonical Literature of Jainas
Hem. Or Hc.—Prākṛtavyākaraṇa of Hemacandra
HGAI—Historical Geography of Ancient India
HIL—A History of Indian Literature Vol. II.
HJM—History of Jaina Monachism
HSI—A History of South India
HSL—A History of Sanskrit Literature
HVP—Harivaṁśa Purāṇa
HVPJ—Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasenastūri
IA Or Ind. Ant.—Indian Antiquary
IDETBJ—India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism
IK—India in Kālidāsa (B.S. Upadhyāya) 1947
Indra.—The Status of Women in Ancient India
IP—India as Known to Pāṇini
JASG—Jaina Āgama Sāhityamān Gujarāta
J. Charpentier—Uttarādhyayana By J. Charpentier
Jha. Comm. Vol.—Gangānātha Jhā Commemoration Volume
JM., Jmh.—Jaina Mahārāṣṭri
JP—Jambūdivapaṇṇatti
JPMs—Jain Philosophy and Modern Science
JPS—Jambūdivapaṇṇatti Saṅgaho
JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSI—Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa
JSIE—Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs
JSSI—Jaina Sāhityano Sanksipta Itihāsa
Kaut.—Kautilya's Arthaśāstra
KC—Karakandacarīu
LAI—Life in Ancient India
M.—Mahārāṣṭri
Manu.—Manusmṛti
Mg.—Māgadhi
Mar. Pu.—Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
Mar. Pu. Tr.—Translation of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa by F. E. Pargiter

- MB or MBh*—Mahābhārata
MDJG—Manikchandra Digambar Jain Granthamala
Mh.—Mahārāṣṭrī
MP—Mahāpurāṇa
MP Gupta—Tulasīdāsa By Dr. Mataprasad Gupta
Mula.—Mūlācra
MWSED—A Sanskrit English Dictionary by Sir Monier Monier-Williams.
Nandi. Su.—Nandī Sūtra with Malayagiri's commentary
Naya—Nāyādharmakahāo
Nayaku. Ca.—Nāyakumāra cariu
Nisi. Cu. or Ni. Cu—Nisītha Cārṇi
Niyama—Niyamsāra
OGCI—Origin and Growth of Caste in India
OJP—Outlines of Jaina Philosophy
Para.—Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
PCR—Paumacariyam
PCS—Paumacariu
PCV—Paumacariyam
PHAI—Political History of Ancient India
Pischel—Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages
PP.—Prākṛta Phaiṅgalam
PSM—Pāia-sadda-mahāṇṇavo
PTS—Prācīna Tīrthamālā Samgraha
Ragku.—Raghuvamśa
RE—Rock Edicts of Aśoka
RI—Rivers of India
RKS—Rāmāyaṇa Kālīna Sanskriti
RKSj—Rāmāyaṇa Kālīna Samāja
RPS—Rāmapurāṇa of Bhaṭṭāraka Somasena.
RR—The, Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa
S—Sauraseni
Samavā—Samavāyāṅga
San. Sr. Su.—Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Saur.—Sauraseni
SBE—Sacred Books of the East
SEPI—Studies in Epics and Puranas of India
SGMI—Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India
Shama—English translation of Arthaśāstra by Shama Shastri
SI—Select Inscriptions
SIJ—Significance and Importance of Jatakas (1951)

SJS—Singhi Jain Series

SRIGr.—Social and Religious Life in the Gr̥hyasūtras

SS—The Successors of the Sātavāhanas

Stha—,Sthānāṅga

Sukra—Sukranīti

Su. Sam.—Suśruta Saṁhitā

TAI—Tribes in Ancient India

Thana (Abhaya)—Thāṇaṅga with the Commentary of Abhaya-
devasūri

Thana—Thāṇaṅga

TP—Tiloyapannatti

TR—Rāmacaritamānasa

TS—Trattvārthasūtra

TSP—Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita

UP—Uttarapurāṇa

Uttara—Uttarādhyayanasūtra

Uttara Ti.—Uttarādhyayana with the, Commentary of Nemi-
candrasūri (Devendragāṇi).

Va. Pu.—Vāyu Purāṇa

VC—Varāṅga Carita

VGA—The Vakataka Gupta Age, Dr. A. S. Alteker (1954)

VH—Vasudevahiṇḍī Vol. I.

HP (Gud.) or VH Tr.—Introduction of Gujarātī Translation of
Vasudevahiṇḍī.

Vṇ. Pu.—Visnu Purāṇa

Vr.—Prākṛtaprakāśa of Vararuci

VR—Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa

VRTP—Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa Ke Tina Pāṭha

VSJ—Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya

VSS—Vaidika Sāhitya aur Sanskṛti

VTK—Vividha Tīrthakalpa

Yajna—Yājñavalkya Smṛti

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

SECTION I

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE PRINTED TEXT OF PAUMACARIYAṂ EDITED BY Dr. H. JACOBI

I have based my studies on the Text of *Paumacariyaṁ* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi and published by the Jaina Dharmaprasāraṇa Sabhā, Bhāvanagara, in 1941 A. D. During my studies I came across some errors, mistakes and inconsistencies in the text. It would have been valuable to go through all the available manuscripts of *Paumacariyaṁ* for preparing a critical edition of it. But that was a big task beyond the scope of my thesis. In the absence of an examination of the readings of various manuscripts, it would be hazardous to suggest corrections for what appeared to me to be defective readings in the printed text. Therefore, I have limited my suggestions for corrections to only those portions where they appeared to be quite obvious for consistency of topics, clarity in meaning, grammatical accuracy and regularity in metres. As regards these corrections, the *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa has also been very helpful. Other defects have been merely pointed out.

The defective portions, verses and words and my suggestions thereon are as follows:—

A. Consistency :

*The contents of 1.65 should have occurred after 'vijjāṇaṁ ciya lambhaṁ' in 1.58a in order to agree with the sequence of the topics described in the text.

14.15 to 14.98 should be 15.15 to 15.98. It is a printing mistake. The portions have been interchanged by oversight.

*98.38 should come after 99.4 and *98.39 to 98.55 should follow 99.5 (see *PCR*, 101.64-68 and 102.12-53). *98.38 and 99.2 are unsuited. Their correction necessitates help of some fresh manuscripts.

114. 27-29 needs correction in order to agree with the traditional age of Lakṣmaṇa (see *PCV*, 114. 29 and *PCR*, 119. 48-50).

* This mark indicates that the relevant portions in the *Paumacariyaṁ* published from Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, in 1962 A. D. and 1968 A. D. also need revision. Some of them can be corrected with the help of 'variant readings' noted under Appendix 7 of that edition.

B. Context :

Some matter is missing between 77.70 to 77.72* (see *PCR*, 80.152-158) and before 105.13*. In 9.1a 'Āiccaraya' should be 'Āiccaraya'. In 13.29* 'Maṇirae nayare' should be corrected in the light of *PCR*, 13.62. In 77.81* 'Hemaṇtapure' should be 'Hemaṇ-kagahe' (see *PCR*, 80.168). In 82.33a* 'Caupavvaṇtasuṇe' should be 'Vasupavvatayasuṇe' (see *PCR*, 85.57). In 82.56b 'Vaṇṇao' should be 'Dhaṇṇao'. In 118.42 'Jaṇayataṇṇayā' should be 'Jaṇayakaṇṇayā'. In 83.5a 'kāṇṇa' should be 'caṇṇa'. In 20.198a 'ti viddhū' should be 'tīvīṭṭhū'.

C. Grammar :

In 78.24b* 'gau' should be 'gao'. In 8.16a* 'Uggaseṇe' should be 'Uggaseṇā'.

For the correction of the following instances given under D & E see *infra* Ch. 11. Sec. 2.

D. Grammar and Metre :

In 43.15 'bahave' should be 'bahavesu'.

E. Metre :

In 107.15d 'tamha' should be 'tamhā'. Some words or letters are missing or are unsuitable in 14.70*; 17.107*; 53.115 and 106.1, because the verses should not depart from the running Gāthā metre. Verses 14.72 b*; 52.29a*; 70.71c* and 109.26b* are defective.

F. Metre and Siddhānta :

In 2.30* 'aha aṭṭhakammarahiyassa' should be corrected to 'ahaṭṭhaddhakammarahiyassa' (see *infra* Ch. 9. Sec. 3).

G. Siddhānta :

In 14.74* 'vicittasayaṇāsaṇam' should be 'vivittasayaṇāsaṇam'.

H. Clarity in meaning and in the light of the PCR :

In 5.44* 'Rattaṭṭho' should be 'Rattoṭṭho' (*PCR* 5.52). In 5.261* 'Suvvanto' should be 'Suvvatto' (see *PCR* 5.393). In 53.69b 'eṇāṇ diṭṭhu maṇ bhadde' = 'ee paṇdiddumā bhadde' (*PCR* 53.160).

* This mark indicates that the relevant portions in the *Paumacariyam* published from Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, in 1962 A. D. and 1968 A. D. also need revision. Some of them can be corrected with the help of 'variant readings' noted under Appendix 7 of that edition.

ADDENDA

On the above considerations the following additional defective readings and my suggestions thereon are as follows :—

इन्दिस्स १।४७ = इन्दस्स । अह दोण्णि २।५१* = दह दोण्णि । कुकइणोमि (ई) मूढा ३।१५ = कुकइणो मूढा । वयममेयं ८।४४ = वयणमेयं । गुं चवर ८।८८ = गुंजवर । पुण्णोदयमि ८।२०१ = पुण्णोदयम्मि । सिविणयं ९।२६ = सि विणयं । सुलखणसमगो ११।१०६ = सुलखणसमगो । उच्चिट्ठ १२।५८ = उच्छिट्ठ । कुमारवरा १५।९३ = कुमारवरो । पाल्हओ १६।३० = पल्हाओ । मायाचित्तं १७।२१ = मायावित्तं । भोगमिद्धि १८।५७ = भोगसमिद्धि । हणुवईणं १९।७ = हणुवईणं । इन्दतरु वरमालो २०।२९* = इन्द तरुवरमालो । रिक्खया २०।४५* = रक्खया । नरवइन्द २२।७० = नरवरिन्द । समन्ता २४।११* = भमन्ता । भावावित्ते हि २८।९६ = मायावित्तेहि । केगईपुत्तं २८।१३० = केगईपुत्तं । विणीया पुरिम्मि ३२।५० = विणीयापुरिम्मि । सीहोयर ३३।९९ = सीहोयरं । पणमिज्जयइ ३३।१३० = पणमिज्जइ । महिलियाएउ ३९।४५ = महिलियाए उ । बद्धा ३९।११६* = बद्धो । मानेणं ४५।१५ = नामेणं । मुंजइ ४७।३६ = मुंजइ । पडहिय निरुविया ४८।८९ = पडहियनिरुविया । मूलमाईसु ६३।२६ = मूलमाईसु । अणंगसरो ६३।३४ अणंगसरा । इन्हो ६५।३३ = इन्दो । मालाउऊल ६८।१९ = मालाओऊल । दुग्गन्ध ७७।१०१ = दुग्गन्धं । पायारगोयर* ८०।६१ = पायारगोउर । सामण्णापडिभगो ८२।२४ = सामण्णापडिभगो । महिहरंमि ९२।१ = महिरिहंमि । महामई ९४।१३ = महासई । जम्मूसव ९७।८ = जम्मूसर्वं । सेव्वे १०२।१५ = सव्वे । काहेमि १०३।८९ = साहेमि । जन्तचक्क १०३।१२२ = जन्नचक्क । कान्तासोगो १०३।१२९ = कन्तासोगो । अइ रामा १०५।२७ = अइरा मा । विमलसरीरा ११३।१७ = विमलसरीरो । मह महीहि ११७।२८ = सह सहीहि ।

The following defective readings and verses need correction in the light of the other manuscripts :—

मरणं १।५६* ॥ ११।११७* । खेमज्जलीपुरं तं ३८।२४ । कहसि १०३।१५७ ।

The following instances need correction in the light of the PCR.

5.248* at 'Tavaṇṇāyavaliyaṇaṇā' (PCR, 5.373). Verses 5.251*; 9.18. and 77.111-112* (PCR, 5.377; 9.37-38 & 80.200-201 respectively). 11.62 at 'vimuñca' and 'āṇacchā' (PCR, 11.149-150). 101.18* at canda-muttie (PCR, 104.34).

* This mark indicates that the relevant portions in the *Paumacariyaṇ* published from Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, in 1962 A. D. and 1968 A. D. also need revision. Some of them can be corrected with the help of 'variant readings' noted under Appendix 7 of that edition.

SECTION II

AUTHOR OF PAUMACARIAM, HIS SECT AND DATE

A. Author and his works :

The author of *Paumacariyam* mentions in the Praśasti appended to the work that his name is Vimala (sūri). He is a disciple of Vijaya and a grand disciple of Ācārya Rāhu. He belongs to the Nāilavaṃśa (PCV, 118. 118). He mentions thrice in the PCV that he is the author of it (PCV, 1.31, 90; 118. 118). No other work composed by him has so far come to light. It is Uddyotanasūri who for the first time mentions Vimalasūri. In his *Kuvalayamālā* (p. 3, ll. 27-29) he pays tributes to Vimalasūri and refers to him as 'Harivaṃsuppattikā-rayam paḍhamam' and 'Harivaṃsam ceya Vimalapayam.' It indicates that he had composed a work, namely, Harivaṃśa also (see JSI, p. 113).

B. Sect of Vimalasūri :

Vimalasūri, the author of *Paumacariyam* does not mention any particular sect to which he belonged. Evidences available in the work do not prove his bias for any particular sect because some elements support the Digambara tradition, some the Śvetāmbara tradition and some deviate from both the traditions. Therefore, it is difficult to put our author into any sectarian group.

Here we make a survey of various types of elements.

[I] The elements which agree with the Digambara or Śvetāmbara tradition or are in conformity with some Digambara or Śvetāmbara works can be arranged as follows:—

Digambara Tradition :

1. There is mentioned in the PCV, 3.67 that Dhanada (Kubera) starts showering gems (*rayaṇavutṭhi*) fifteen months before the birth of the first Tīrthaṅkara. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition it so happens only on the day of the birth of a Tīrthaṅkara.

2. Lord Mahāvīra's soul is said to have descended directly into the womb of Trisālā (PCV, 2.22).

3. The style of enumerating parentage, birth-places and nakṣatras associated with the Tīrthaṅkaras (PCV, 20. 27-50) is like that of the TP (4.526ff) and not like that of *Āvaśyakaniṣṭi*, 323-391.

4. The description of the Atiśayas (PCV, 2.31-37; 4.34; 75.25-26) associated with the Tīrthaṅkaras is generally on the line of the TP (4.896-914).

5. The order in which the names of fourteen Kulakaras are given in the *PCV* (3.50f) has greater agreement with that of the *TP* (4.421f) than with that of the *JP* (Su. 28), *Samavāyāṅga* (Su. 156) or *Sthānāṅga* (7.566).

6. The height of the first three Kulakaras is given as 1800, 1300 and 800 bows respectively. Thereafter every succeeding Kulakara has his height 25 bows less than the preceding one (*PCV*, 20.95). It agrees with the *TP* (421-495) and not with *Ava N* (156). In the Jaisalamerīya manuscript¹ the whole verse has been replaced agreeing with the *Ava N* but the other two manuscripts K and Kh do not follow it.

7. Tirthaṅkara Aranātha's mother is named Mitrā (*PCV*, 20.44). This name is identical with that in the *TP* (4.543). The *Samavā.* (Su. 157) and *Ava N*, 386 mention Devī. Sacred trees namely, Sarala and Priyaṅgu associated with Tirthaṅkara Abhinandana and Padmaprabha respectively (*PCV*, 20.30,32) agree with those in the *TP* (4.916) while the *Samavā* (Su. 157) mentions Priyaka and Chatrābha respectively.

8. The householder's vow of Samādhimaraṇam is mentioned under last Śikṣāpada (*PCV* 14.112-115). The *Cāritrapāhuḥa* of Kunda-Kunda (22-25). also does the same thing.

9. Abstention from taking food at night is enumerated as sixth aṇuvrata of householder's conduct (*PCV*, 6.120). This sixth aṇuvrata is referred to in the *Sarvārthasiddhi* (7.1) and *Rājavārtika* (7.1). The *Ācārasāra* of Viranandī (5.70) and the *Cāritrasāra* of Cāmuṇḍarāya include it into the sixth aṇuvrata.

10. The names like Muni Kulabhūṣaṇa and Deśabhūṣaṇa whom Rāma pays obeisance on the Vamśagiri hill (*PCV*, ch. 39), are popular in the Digambara tradition.

Śvetāmbara Tradition:

1. Lord Mahāvīra, after attaining omniscience, is said to have delivered sermons while on his way to Vipulagiri (*PCV*, 2.36). According to the Digambara tradition, Mahāvīra delivered his first sermon on the Vipulagiri itself. (See Int. p. 7 of *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa—Pt. Pannalal Jain).

2. Mothers of Tirthaṅkaras are said to have witnessed fourteen dreams (*PCV*, 3.62; 21.12).

1. See revised edition of *PCV* by Prakrit Text Society.

3. The verse referring to the fourteen dream-objects (*PCV*, 21.13) is identical with that occurring in the *Nāyādharmakāhā*:

Gayavasasthaabhiseyadāmasasidiṇayaramjhayamkumbham/
Paumasarasāgaravimāṇabhavaṇarayaṇuccayasihim ca//—*Nāyā*, I, p.9.

4. The categorical reference to twenty factors necessary for acquiring Tīrthaṅkaragotrakarma (*PCV*, 2.82) is in conformity with the description of the same in the *Nāyādharmakāhā* (8.69).

5. Cakravartins are stated to have 64000 wives (*PCV*, 4.58; 5.168) The Digambara tradition mentions 96000 wives.

6. Acala and Padma are referred to as first and eighth Baladeva and Rāma as ninth (*PCV*, 5.154). According to the Digambara tradition, Acala, Rāma and Padma are second, eighth and ninth Baladevas respectively (*TP*, 4.517). But, the *Vasudevahindī* names Dāśarathi Rāma as Rāma and not as Padma.

7. The verses (*PCV*, 5.154 & 155) referring to the names of nine Baladevas and nine Vāsudevas bear similarity with those of the *Samavāyāṅga* (Su.159 with Abhayadeva's commentary).

8. A number of verses from *PCV* are quoted by Pt. Parmanand Shastri suggesting their similarity with those of the Digambara *Tattvārthasūtra*. But, in our opinion some of them bear similarity with those of the Śvetāmbara works.¹ Compare *PCV*, 102.101 with Śvetāmbara *TS*, 3.7; *PCV*, 102.67 with the *Bhāṣya* on the *TS*, 3.2, *PCV*, 14.75 with *Uttarādhyaṇa*, 30.30 or *Samavā*, (Su. 6) and *PCV*, 102.140 with *Uttarā*, 36.207.

9. Viṣṇusrī, the name of the mother of Tīrthaṅkara Śreyāṃśa (*PCV*, 20.37) is found also in the *Samavā*, (Su. 153) and in *Ava N* 385, whereas the *TP* (4.536) mentions Venudevī. Malli, the sacred tree associated with Puṣpadanta (*PCV*, 20. 35) is mentioned in the *Samavā* (Su. 157) but *TP* (4.916) refers to the Akṣa tree.

10. There is a reference to only three ramparts of the Samosaraṇa of a Tīrthaṅkara (*PCV*, 2.50). The Digambara tradition mentions four ramparts, the fourth being that of the mud (*TP*, 4.733).

[II] There is no ground to maintain that the following elements show any bias for the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara tradition.

1. In the *PCV* the story of Rāma (Padma) is introduced as narrated by Indrabhūti Gautama to king Śreṇika (3. 14). It is in agreement with the Digambara tradition because, according to the

1. *Anekanta*, Varsa 5, kirana 10-11, 'Paumacariya kṛ Antaḥparikṣaṇa.'

Śvetāmbara tradition Sudharmasvāmin narrates to Jambūsvāmīn. But in the *Vasudevahindī* we find both the traditions of introducing the narratives.

- (i) Tattha tāva Suhammasāmiṇā Jambūnāmassa paḍhamāpuoge Vasudevacarīyaṁ kaḥiyaṁ—*VH*, p. 2.
- (ii) Tato Bhayavaṁ Seṇiyassa raṇṇo savvaṇṇumaggaṇa dhammi-lacariyaṁ kaheumāraddho—*VH*, p. 27.

2. There is a reference to Anudīśa Vimānas (tāṇa vi aṇuddisāmiṁ purao āiccapamuhāim, *PCV*, 102-145) situated above the Graiveyaka Vimānas. They are four—Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita. Then Sarvārtha is called the best of Ahamaindra vimāna (ahaminda-varavimāṇaṁ savvaṭṭhaṁ ceva nāyavvaṁ *PCV*, 102.146). These vimānas are not referred to as Anudīśa in the Śvetāmbara tradition. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti states that there are three layers of Kalpātita Vimānas—Graiveyaka, Anudīśa and Anuttara (*TP*, 8.117—gevajjama-niddisayaṁ anuttaṁ iya huvaṁti tivihappā). But in the Jaisalameriya manuscript of *PCV*¹ the reading is 'tāṇa vi ya uddisāmi purao purao āicchapamuhāim' and so the reference to aṇuddisāmiṁ. Next at 102.171 and at 2.84 the *PCV* does not make any difference between Anudīśa and Anuttara but all the five are mentioned as Anuttaras. The *PCR* also calls them as Anuttaras (105.170). Therefore, it can not be maintained that the *PCV* is following the Digambara works exclusively.

3. The *PCV* (20.57-58) states that Mahāvīra renounced the world as a Kumārasīha. Kumārasīha does not mean that he did not marry but it indicates that he renounced the world before becoming a king (see *JSI* p. 100-101).

4. It cannot be maintained that there should be 'vattha' in place of 'tattha' in the *PCV* (83.5) to justify that Bharata gave up ornaments and clothes just before renouncing the world to observe nudity. At 114.13-15 & 108.46 Rāma and Hanumat are referred to as giving up their ornaments but there is no reference to any clothe.

Apumanno gurūṇaṁ Bharaho (Kāṇṇa?) mottūna tattha laṅkāraṁ/Nissesa saṅgarahio luṅcai dhīro niyayakese//—*PCV*, 83.5.

The reference to 'nissesaṅgarahio' cannot be taken as nudity as suggested by Pt. Parmanand Shastri (See op. cit. Anekanta).

In the *Uttarādhyayana* (Ch. 35) it is laid down that when one gets ordained he should give up all the 'saṅgas' but, there the giving up of saṅgas does not mean accepting nudity.

1. See revised Edition of *PCV* by Prakrit Text Society-

5. At 83.12 Kaikeyi is said to have attained liberation (siddhipayam uttamam pattā). At 95.26 it is said that she had ascended to some celestial abode (tiyasavimānuttamam pattā). In the light of the latter reference 'siddhipayam' is an interpolation. In the Jaisalameriya and other two manuscripts¹ the reading is 'sammottam' in place of 'siddhipayam'.

6. The preceding fact leads us to believe that a single reference in the whole work to a Śvetāmbaramuni at 22.78 (siyambaram) is perhaps an interpolation. Even, if it be not so, the reference cannot be exclusively taken as a proof of Vimalasūri's belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect.

[III] Besides that, some statements in the *PCV* are contradictory in themselves and some elements neither favour the Digambara nor the Śvetāmbara tradition.

1. It is mentioned at 105.16 that a period of 64000 years elapsed between the events of *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*². At 20.81 it is mentioned that a period of eleven lakh years intervened between the advent of Munisuvratanaṭha and Nemi during whose tīrtha-kālas Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were born respectively.

2. At 20.203 Madhukaitabha and Nisumbha are mentioned as fourth and fifth Prativāsudevas respectively but, at 5.156 they are mentioned as fifth and fourth Prativāsudevas respectively.

3. At 20.44 Aranātha's birth place is mentioned as Prathamapuri i. e. Ayodhā while at 95.34 it is mentioned as Kuñjarapura i. e. Hastināpura

4. Tīrthanāka Mallinātha's mother is named Rakṣitā (*PCV*, 20.45) and the Sarala tree is associated with lord Mahāvīra (*PCV*, 20.50) but the *Samavā* (Su. 157) *Ava N* (386) and the *TP* (4.544 & 4.917) mention Prabhāvatī as the mother of Mallinātha and associate the Sāla tree with Lord Mahāvīra.

5. The birth time nakṣatra of Vāsupūjya is said to be Śatabhisaj (*PCV*, 20.38) but, the *TP* mentions Viśākha (4.537). The names of the celestial abodes (*PCV*, 20.22-25) from which the Tīrthanākas descended into the wombs of their mothers do not agree generally with those given in the *TP* (4.522-25),

6. The names of the mothers of the three of the nine Baladevas (*PCV*, 20.196) and those of fathers and mothers of two out of nine

1. See revised edition of *PCV* by Prakrit Text Society,

2. In the new edition of Punyavijayaji (1968) it is more than 6 lakh years.

Nārāyaṇas (*PCV*, 20.182-185) do not agree with those mentioned in the *Samavāyāṅga* (Su. 158). The previous birth-names of the Baladevas and their teachers (*PCV*, 190-193) generally do not agree with those referred to in the *Samavāyāṅga* (Su. 158).

The above survey poses a question whether Vimalasūri can be assigned to any particular sect of the Jains. There are elements which support the Digambara as well as the Śvetāmbara tradition equally and there are some verses which show affinity with the works of both the sects. Hence it will be quite hazardous to bind him to any particular sect. It is clear that he had no bias for either sect. He while describing the universe mentions 12 Kalpas only (*PCV*, 102. 143-144), which are in agreement with the Śvetāmbara tradition but at 82.76 he mentions Brahmottara Kalpa also (devo bambhuttare kappe), which is one of the 16 Kalpas of the Digambara tradition. Shri Nathuram Premi suggests that Vimalasūri might have belonged to the Yāpanīya Saṅgha (*JSI*, p. 101). But this suggestion also does not solve our problem because Vimalasūri states in the colophon at the end of the *Paumacariyam* that he belonged to the Nāilavaṃśa. It is the *Kalpasūtrasthavirāvalī* which mentions that the Nāilasākhā originated with a disciple of Vajrasena. Vijaya, the preceptor of Vimalasūri is referred to as Nāilakulavaṃsanandiyara (*PCV*, 118. 117). It is the *Nandisūtra Paṭṭāvalī* (Su. 38-39) which refers to Bhūtidinna, a pupil of Ārya Nāgārjuna, with the same epithet. Thus we find that the Nāilavaṃśa finds a place in the works of the Śvetāmbaras whereas the Digambara tradition does not refer to the Nāilavaṃśa and the Yāpanīyasaṅgha as a branch of the Digambara sect. Now Svayambhū, a Yāpanīya, mentions 16 dream-objects in his *Paumacariu* whereas Vimalasūri refers to 14 objects only. It is also to be noted that the Nāila-sākhā originated in the first century A. D. when the schism between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras had not taken place. Thus it becomes problematic to assign any particular sect i.e. Digambara, Śvetāmbara or Yāpanīya to Vimalasūri. Therefore, the only safe position as far as the evidences go, is that Vimalasūri was a Jain monk and a liberal author without having any bias for any sect. This trait of Vimalasūri is further strengthened when we find him addressing the Tīrthaṅkaras with the names of Brahmanical deities (*PCV*, 5.122; 28.48; 109. 12) (See also *Infra*. Ch. 9 Sec. 3 Jain Rituals).

C. Date of *Paumacariyam* :

It has been a problem for various scholars to assign a uniform date to the author of the *Paumacariyam*. The date given in the *Praśasti* of the work does not stand the test of the linguistic evidences, historical parallels and other elements in the *PCV* as well as so late

mentioning of *Paumacariyam* such as by the author of *Kuvalayamālā*. We shall critically examine the statement of the author about the date, the views of other scholars, external and internal evidences to find out the correct date of the work.

Author's Statement :

The *Prasasti* appended to the *Paumacariyam* states that the work was composed 530 or according to another manuscript¹ 520 years after the emancipation of Lord Mahāvīra. These dates come to 4 A. D. or 6 B. C. and according to Jacobi's date of Vīra-nirvāṇa, to 63 or 53 A. D. Prof. Leumann² regards 4 A. D. as incontestible date but the history of the advent of monastic lineage of Vimalasūri goes against it. Vimalasūri states that he belonged to the Nāilavamsa³ and addresses his preceptor Vijaya as Nāilakulavamsanandiyara.⁴ The *Nandisūtra Paṭṭāvalī* (Su 38-39) refers to Bhūtidinna, the pupil of Ārya Nāgārjuna with the same epithet. Nāgārjuna's time is fixed at about 356 V. S. It shows that the Nāilakulavamsa was in existence during the last quarter of the 3rd century A. D. The *Kalpasūtrasthāvīrāvalī* mentions that the Nāilasākhā originated with a disciple of Vajrasena. Dr. Jacobi⁵ places Vajrasena at about 580-600 A. V. and states that Vimalasūri was, therefore, removed from the founder of the Nāilasākhā by some generations and he cannot have lived before the later part of the 7th century A. V. i. e. 2nd century A. D. In the colophon at the end of the *Paumacariyam*, Vimalasūri is called a 'Pūrvadhara (Puvvahareṇa)' but the *Nandisūtra*, the *Avacūṛṇi* of *Oghaniryukti* and the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* have no reference to any Vimalasūri as a Pūrvadhara.⁶ Different dates of composition of *Paumacariyam* given in the manuscripts, the late origin of Nāilasākhā and the absence of any reference to Vimalasūri as a Pūrvadhara create suspicion about the authenticity of the colophon and the statement about Vimalasūri's date given in the *Prasasti*. Therefore, we shall examine external and internal evidences to find out the probable date of *Paumacariyam*.

External Evidences :

The *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri of 778 A. D. is the first work which⁷ refers to *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri. It shows that the

1. See *Upamātibhavaṇaprapaṇcokathā* Preface p. 10

2. See *HIL* Vol. II, p. 477, f. n. 3.

3. See *PCV*'s Colophon.

4. *PCV*, 118, 117.

5. See *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, Int. p. xix.

6. See Int. of *Paumacariyam* chs. 27-28 ed. by S. C. Upadhyaya 1934.

7. p. 3, b. 27; see also *JSI*, p. 88.

Paumacariyam was composed earlier than 778 A. D. Uddyotanasūri refers to the *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa also. Shri K. H. Dhruva¹ maintains that the *Paumacariyam* was composed later than the *Padmacaritam*. He states that some metres employed in the *PCV* are modern and the test word *Vimala* used in the work is also not an old practice. But, these elements cannot be a sure guide in determining the date of the work. The *Setubandha* also uses a test word though, not the name of the author and we have proved that the *Padmacaritam* is an enlarged Sanskrit version of the original *Paumacariyam*². The date of *Padmacaritam*³ is 677 A. D. Therefore, the *Paumacariyam* must date earlier than the *Padmacaritam*.

Internal Evidences :

The *PCV* refers to *Dīnāra* at 68.32 on the occasion of mock auctioning of *Rāvaṇa* by *Aṅgada*. Dr. V. S. Agrawala⁴ says that it were the Imperial *Kuṣāṇas* who first introduced the name *Dīnāra* to their coins. *Kuṣāṇa* King *Kadphises* (45-78 A. D.) is said to have struck the *Dīnāra* coins⁵. Particularly in the south the *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* Inscp. No. 2 of *Virapurnṣadatta* of the time of second half of the third century A. D. refers to such coin and that also as *Dīnārīmāśaka*⁶. The *Aṅgavijjā* also refers to the *Dīnāri*⁷. It is the Gupta gold coins which are known as *Dīnāras*⁸. All these evidences prove that the *Dīnāras* became prevalent not before the last quarter of the 1st century A. D. Further the *PCV* (14.115) mentions *Sallekhanā* under the fourth *Śikṣāpada* of the house holder's conduct. The *Cāritra-pāhuḍa* of *Kundakundācārya* (v. 25) whose date ranges between first to fifth century A. D. is perhaps the first work which includes *Sallekhanā* into the *Śikṣāpadas*. The *PCV* refer to a *Śvetāmbara* monk once only (22.78). At 83.12 it is said that *Kaikeyī* attained liberation and at 95.26 it is mentioned that *Kaikeyī* attained some celestial abode. It seems that the first reference is an interpolation and in this light the word *Śvetāmbara* also may be an interpolation. Even, if it is not so then we find that both the traditions, *Śvetāmbara* as well as *Digambara* hold that the schism took place at 136 or 139

1. *Jain Yuga*, Pustaka 1, Aṅka 5, Poṣa-1932.

2. See *Infra*. ch. 6. sec.

3. *PCR*, 123.181.

4. See *Aṅgavijjā* Int. pp. 92-93.

5. See *Coins of India*, p. 45.

6. *SI*. Vol. I. p. 222.

7. *Op. cit.*

8. *Collected works of R. G. Bhandarkar*. Vol. I. p. 46.

V. S. i. e. 81 or 85 A. D.¹ Therefore, the specific mention of Śvetāmbara or Digambara must not have occurred before 81 or 85 A. D. Muni Kalyāṇavijayaji² opines that the specific reference to a particular sect had started not before the 7th century of V. S. i. e. later half of the 6th cent. A. D. and according to that view Vimalasūri's date should not fall earlier than that period. But, the epigraph³ of Śrī Vijayaśivamṛgeśa Varma (470-488 A. D.) at Devagiri refers to the 'Śvetapaṭamahāśramaṇasaṅgha'. It proves that on this basis Vimalasūri cannot be relegated to so late a period of the 6th century A. D. The *PCV* (22, 24-27) further refers to not less than twenty kinds of penances. Generally the Jaina Canonical literature and the *Mūlācāra* do not refer to most of them. Dr. S. B. Deo⁴ writes that a large number of tapas is probably a later development. The puṣpikā at the end of the praśasti of *Paumacariyam* refers to Vimala as a Sūri. The *Kalpasūtrasthavirāvali* and the *Nandisūtra-paṭṭāvali* do not refer to any Sūri. The general epithets are Thera and Ajja (Sthavira and Ārya). The early Jaina Inscriptions of Mathurā also do not refer to any Jaina Sūri of early christian era. Dr. S. B. Deo⁵ states that it is the *Gacchāsāra* which explains 'Sūri' as a sole supporter of a gaccha. He further mentions that Sūri seems to be a later term for Ācārya as it is seldom found in the earlier portions of the Jaina canon and in the *Mūlācāra* also there are very scanty references to the term 'Sūri'. He says⁶ that closer we come to the medieval period we have the predominance of the Sūri etc. All these evidences create difficulties in believing the praśasti's claim that the work was composed in the first century A. D.

The *PCV* gives the planetary position existing at the time of the birth of Hanumān (17.107-112). The position of the planets is not accurate. Are these verses interpolated by some mediocre scribe or does accurate plenatory position given in the *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa indicate that the portion in the *PCV* is not an interpolation but there are some defective readings in it? Prof. N. Shastry writes to me that in the *PCV* only seven planets are taken into consideration, so the system seems to be old whereas the *tuṅgava* of the planets in zodiacs

1. See *JSI*, p. 97.

2. *Śramaṇa Bhagawān Mahāvīra*, p. 307.

3. Insep. No. 98 vide *Jaina Śilālekha Saṅgraha*, Pt. II; see also *VGA* p. 219 and *JSE*, p. 193.

4. *HJM*, p. 167 ff, p. 563.

5. *Ibid* pp. 232, 237.

6. *Ibid*, p. 514.

indicates that it is in affinity with the system of Varāhamihira¹. Dr. Jacobi² on the evidences of the word *Dīnāra*, some ancient peoples and astronomical terms places the *Paumacariyam* between the 3rd and the 4th century A. D. On the basis of the above material we cannot agree with Winternitz³ maintaining that Vimalasūri is a very early Prākṛt poet.

Political Situation & Historical Data :

The political situation as obtained, the historical parallels available and the references to some ancient peoples in the *PCV* indicate that the work was not composed in the first century A. D. The *Paumacariyam* mentions that Rudrabhūti, the chieftain of the Kāgonanda tribe kidnapped Bālikhilya, the ruler of Kūvavaddapura. The latter's minister requested Sīmhodara, the king of Ujjain to get Bālikhilya released, but Sīmhodara expressed his helplessness. When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa reached there, they were requested for the same. They crossed the river Narmadā, entered the Vindhya forest, subdued Rudrabhūti and got Bālikhilya released. (*PCV*, 34.25-49). The ancient history of India⁴ reveals that Kṣatrapa Rudrasīmha I ruled over Ujjain. He received material assistance from the Ābhīras. With their help, he dethroned his nephew Jivadāmana and became a Mahākṣatrapa. The Guṇḍā Insc. dated 181 A. D. refers to Rudrabhūti, an Ābhīra General who is considered to be one of the allies of Rudrasīmha. Later another Ābhīra leader Īśvaradatta came into forefront and carved a principality for himself at Nāsika. He deposed Rudrasīmha I and himself became a Mahākṣatrapa. But within two years Rudrasīmha ousted the conqueror and again became a Mahākṣatrapa. Ruprabhūti is mentioned in both the above evidences while the names, Rudrasīmha and Sīmhodara can be equated on the law of metathesis. Sīmhodara's refusal to extend his help to Bālikhilya against Rudrabhūti can be compared with the historical fact that Rudrasīmha could not dare to oppose Rudrabhūti for the latter was powerful and had previously helped Rudrasīmha. Ābhīra Īśwardatta's separate principality at Nāsika can be compared with the stronghold of the Kāgonanda chief in the region south of Narmadā. Thus the political situation of the 2nd century A. D. has a fair parallel in the *Paumacariyam*.

The *PCV* mentions that Rāma had his allies in the people of Śrīparvata, Māhendra and Malaya region (Māhindamalayatīra siri-

1. Vide A letter from Prof. Nemicandra Shastri Arrah, dated 17.2.61.

2. *Upamitibhavaṇṇapāṇicakathā*, p. x.

3. *HIL*, II, p. 477.

4. See *VGA*, p. 45.

pavvayaḥaṇuruhāyā *PCV*, 55.16) while fighting against Rāvaṇa. All these three regions are situated in the south. The *PCV* (85.26) further refers to Hanumat as the lord of Śrīpura situated in the valley of Śrīparvata. It is said that Hanumat was named as Śrīśaila because in his childhood he had fallen down from the aerial car on the slab of a hill (sañcuṇṇio ya selo 18.49). This frequent mention of Śrīparvata and its people as allies of Rāma indicates that our author was haunted with the memory of the Śrīparvatīya-Andhras of the *Purāṇas*, identical with the Ikṣvākus of South Āndhradeśa, who¹ ruled during the 3rd century A.D.

The *PCV* (55.17) further mentions the Kelīgīlas as the allies of Rāma. The *PCR* (55.29) mentions them as Kailikilas. They are the Kilakilas who are historically known as the ancestors of the Vākātakas.² Vākātika king Vindhyaśakti (223-275 A.D.) came into power after the Kilakila kings.³ Therefore, the Kilakilas seem to have ruled before the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D.

The *PCV* mentions (98.66) that Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa subdued the Ānandas on their way to the Digvijaya. Historically⁴ the Ānandas rose in the fourth century A.D. They succeeded the Br̥hatphalāyanas and ruled over the Guṇṭūra region in the south Āndhradeśa for a long period.

There are references to more political tussles, one between Ujjaina and Daśapura and the other between Ayodhā and Nandyaāvartapura. It is narrated in the *PCV* (ch.33) that Vajrakarṇa, lord of Daśapura and a bhṛtya of Simhodara of Ujjaina was violating the code of a feudatory. Hence, Simhodara attacked Vairakarṇa and made him his prisoner. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa helped Vajrakarṇa and defeated Simhodara. The territory as well as the treasury under Simhodara was divided between Vajrakarṇa and Simhodara and latter accepted the suzerainty of Bharata of Ayodhyā. It reveals that Daśapura (Maṇḍasora) was trying to be independent of Ujjain's overlordship. The inscriptional⁵ reference to Daśapura, perhaps for the first time, is found in the Nāsika cave Insc. of the time of Nāhapana. It is referred to as a place of pilgrimage (119-124 A.D.). It has no political importance. The town comes into political significance

1. Ibid. pp. '9, 60.

2. See *EDAD*, p. 39.

3. See *VGA*, p. 89.

4. See *EDAD*, pp. 215, 233, 836; *VGA*, pp. 64-65.

5. See *SI*, Vol. I, p. 161.

during the Gupta period. Dr. A.S. Altekar¹ states that Daśapura was ruled by Jayavarman and Simhavarman as independent rulers during the later half of the 4th cent. A.D. Naravarman and Viśvarman (404 & 423 A.D.) were also independent rulers of Maṇḍasora (aśapura) and there is nothing to show that they acknowledged the supremacy of the Guptas. The last record of Maṇḍasora (No. 52) mentions Kumāragupta as overlord of Daśapura, which was being ruled by Bandhu-varman, the son of Viśvarman. He² says that Bandhuvarman was probably a feudatory chief of Kumāragupta I ruling from 414 to 454 A.D. He further remarks that towards the close of the reign of Kumāragupta I, his kingdom was disturbed by wars but the exact adversaries are not well established. The Gupta emperor was threatened with utter ruin. Dr. H. C. Rayachauduri³ associates the title Vyāghraparākrama with Kumāragupta. In the Paumacariyaṃ the king of Ujjaina is named as Simhodara. Both the terms have some similarity. These events reveal that Daśapura came into political importance in the 4th and 5th century A. D.

The *PCV* (Ch. 37) narrates that when Ativīrya of Nandyāvartapura sought a battle with Bharata of Ayodhyā, Rāma and Lokṣmaṇa left Vijayapura for helping their brother and subdued Ativīrya. The Poona Copper plate Insc. of Prabhāvatī Guptā refers to Nandivardhana which is identified with modern Nagardhan or Nandardhan near Rāmateka about 13 miles north of Nāgapura.⁴ Nandivardhana was the capital of the Vākātakas. Pravarasena II shifted his capital from this place to Pravarapura in about 430 A. D.⁵ Narendrasena, the son of Pravarasena II is said to have been overwhelmed with a debacle on account of the invasion of his dominions by Bhavadattavarman, a Nala king about the middle of the 5th century A. D.⁶ Thus the history reveals that there was some political tussle in that area and the *PCV* also speaks of a political tussle in that area.

Haradeva Bahari⁷ regards that the evidences such as Dīnāra, Śvetāmbara and planetary position might be interpolations and hence the date third or fourth century A. D. assigned to the Paumacariyaṃ cannot be maintained. But we have to say that the above stated

1. See *VGA*, pp. 166, 167.

2. Ibid. pp. 159-160.

3. See *PHAI*, p. 480 (Fourth edition) vide *VGA*, p. 161.

4. See *AGAI*, p. 323 & *SI*, Vol. I, p. 407.

5. See *VGA*, p. 105.

6. Ibid. p. 107.

7. *Prākṛta aur Usakā Itihāsa*, p. 66.

political situations and references to historical people, cannot be regarded as interpolations, therefore the date of *Paumacariyam* cannot go before the 5th century A. D.

Literary and Linguistic Evidences :

In the genealogical list of the Ikṣvāku varṇśa given in the *Paumacariyam*, the number of the ancestors of Daśaratha is generally in agreement with that of the Brahmanical Purāṇas and not with that of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa.¹ The Praśasti of *Paumacariyam* mentions that of besides other things, Kāma, Artha, Dharma and Mokṣa² from the constituents of a Purāṇa. This definition is not in full agreement with the early definition of a Brahmanical Purāṇa, but it is in agreement with the later developed definition of a Brahmanical Purāṇa.³

The gāthā metre employed in the *Paumacariyam* shows an advanced stage as the nicest rules of metres are applicable to it. The time of the advent of Mahārāṣṭrī language is generally held to be the second century A.D. but the Mahārāṣṭrī language of *Paumacariyam* reveals an advanced stage and there is some influence of Apabhraṃśa on it.⁴ We have evidence of the use of Apabhraṃśa dialect in one of the Aṅkas of Vikramorvaśī of Kālidāsa (i.e. 4th, 5th century A. D.).

Conclusion:

Thus we conclude that the Nāilavarṇśa originated in the second century A.D. The references to the Dīnāra, Vimala as a Sūri, Surāṅga and the astronomical term take us to still a later date. The inclusion of Sallekhanā by the PCV into the twelfth vow a householder bears similarity with the Cāritrapāhuḍa of Kundakunda. The recognition of abstaining from taking meal as the sixth apuvrata of householder's conduct (PCV, 6 120) is mentioned as late as in the Sarvārthasiddhi (7.1) of Pūjyapāda. The references to the Śrīparvatīyas, Kilakilas and the Ānandas take us between the 3rd and the 4th century A.D. The political situations around Daśapura and Nandyāvartapura reveal historical parallels of the first half of the 5th century A.D.

1. See Infra. Ch. 5.

2. PCV, 118, 111.

3. See Infra ch. 11 Sec. 3B.

4. See Infra. Ch. 11. Sec. 1; See 'Variant Readings and Orthographie-Scribal tendencies of the PC, *Paumacariyam*, Pt II, Prakrit Text Society, 1968. pp.13-.

The character of the language reflects the middle stage of the Middle-Indo-Aryan. In the light of the above evidences the genuineness of the date mentioned in the Praśasti of *Paumacariyam* becomes doubtful. I am tempted to suggest that the date mentioned, really may belong to the Kṛta or Vikrama Era which was converted into Nirvāṇa era by mistake* or even may be deliberately. Thus the correct date of *Paumacariyam*¹ come to $(530 - 57 = 473 \text{ A.D.})$.

* A parallel to such a mistake can be quoted from the Jaina tradition. The date of the fall of Vallabhi empire is given as 845 V. S. in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (p. 29), whereas the *Prabandhakośa* (p. 74) refers to 845 A. V. and the former is the correct date (see *Maitraka Kālina Gujarāta* by H. G. Shastri Pt. I, p. 157 ff.).

1. Readers are also referred to my article, New Light on the Date of *Paumacariyam*, Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda, Vol. XIII, No. 4, pp. 378-368.

CHAPTER II

SUMMARY

1. The author commences his work with salutation to the Tīrthaṅkaras and declares to narrate the story of Padma (*Paumacariyam*) as it has come down traditionally. He mentions his name and speaks of the form and the style of his work. Then after giving the contents of the work he tells us again about the form and the style as well as the traditional way in which the story has been handed over.

2-4. Then follows a brief biography of Lord Mahāvīra, his arrival at mount Vipulagiri and the homage paid by king Śreṇika to the Lord. Next day Śreṇika again calls on Gautama (first Gaṇadhara of Lord Mahāvīra) and expresses his doubts in the Rāma-story as it (*Ramāyaṇa*) has been popularised by the heretics. He requests Gautama to narrate the true story. Thereupon Gautama begins to relate the true story. He gives a brief account of the Universe, the Cycle of Time and the advent of fourteen Kulakaras. He recounts¹ the biography of Lord Rṣabha, the establishment of three social orders (Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra), the assignment of the region of the Vijayārdha mountain to Nami and Nemi, the episode of the battle of the two brothers, Bharata and Bāhubali and the formation of the fourth social order, namely, the Brāhmaṇas (Māhaṇas).

5. Thereafter Gautama narrates the origin of the Ikṣvāku, Soma and the Vidyādhara dynasties and their genealogies. He relates the biography of Lord Ajita, the installing of Meghavāhana, a Vidyādhara king as the first ruler of Laṅkāpurī as well as Pātālāṅkārapura, the episode of the death of the sons of Cakravartin Sagara and the origin of the Rākṣasa dynasty.

6. Gautama continues the narration with the installing of Vidyādhara Śrīkaṇṭha as the first king of Kiṣkindhipura situated in the Vānaradvīpa. Amaraprabha, a descendant of Śrīkaṇṭha establishes Vānaravamiśa, by adopting the figure of monkey as the emblem of his state. Then follows the wresting of Kiṣkindhipura and Laṅkāpurī by

1. The main story commences with chapter 22.161 while the chapters preceding it contain the biographies of some Tīrthaṅkaras, the origin of various dynasties, the episodes or stories relating to some of the descendants of those dynasties, the early career of Rāvaṇa and the story of Añjanāsundarī. Here a passing reference has been made to them as they are dealt with in a separate chapter.

Aśanivega, a Vidyādhara ruler of Rathanūpura from Vānara Kiṣkindhi and his Rākṣasa ally Sukeśa respectively. Later on Mālin, the son of Sukeśa, reoccupies his ancestral Laṅkā.

7. Mālin gets jealous of the growing power of Indra, the grandson of Aśanivega and the son of Sahasrāra. He attacks Indra but the latter slays him. Indra appoints Soma, Varuṇa, Kubera and Yama as governors of four quarters and installs Vaiśravaṇa (Vesamaṇa or Dhanada 2.53) as ruler of Laṅkā. Sumālin the younger brother of Mālin staying in terror at Pātālāṅkārapura, gets blessed with a son, named Ratnāśrava. The latter marries Kaikasī. She in due course gives birth to Daśamukha (Rāvaṇa), Bhānukarṇa (Kumbhakarṇa), Candranakhā and Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa attains mastery over various lores (vidyās) to reoccupy his ancestral Laṅkā.

8. Gautama then relates the marriage of Mandodarī and many other girls with Rāvaṇa and further describes the valorous feats of Rāvaṇa. He defeats Dhanada, subdues Bhuvanālaṅkāra elephant, conquers Yama and restores Kiṣkindhipura to Ādityarajas, the son of Kiṣkindhi.

9. Next follows the narration of the kidnaping of Candranakhā by Kharadūṣaṇa, the hostility of Rāvaṇa with the son of Ādityarajas namely, Vāli for marrying the latter's sister and the resultant renouncement of the world by Vāli, as well as the raising of the Aṣṭapada (Kailāsa) mountain by Rāvaṇa to disturb the monk Vāli and the former's discomfiture at the hands of the latter.

10. Rāvaṇa subjugates many Khecara chieftains and reaches Pātālāṅkārapura. There he is greeted by Kharadūṣaṇa. Further Rāvaṇa launches a war-campaign, imprisons Sahasrakirāṇa, the Māheśvara king, and overpowers various other kings.

11. He stops the animal-sacrifice organised by Marutta (Maruya), the king of Rājagṛha and marries the latter's daughter, Kanakaprabhā. She gives birth to Kṛtācitrā.

12-13. Rāvaṇa marries Kṛtācitrā to Madhu, the prince of Mathurā. Then he proceeds to Durlaṅghyapura and defeats Nalakūbara. Uparambhā, the wife of Nalakūbara, had a design to secure the love of Rāvaṇa. At first Rāvaṇa accepted her proposal with a view to subjugate Nalakūbara. But later he rejected her proposal, rebuked her and thus helped preserve her character. Thereafter Rāvaṇa conquers Indra, a Vidyādhara king.

14. Rāvaṇa pays homage to omniscient Anantavīrya and accepts a vow not to enjoy with any lady without her prior consent.

15-19. He wages a battle with Varuṇa but his forces are overpowered by the enemy. Ultimately with the help of Pavanañjaya, a Vānara king, he succeeds in making truce with Varuṇa. But during the truce Rāvaṇa keeps preparing for war. After some time, with the help of Hanu, the son of Pavanañjaya, he defeats Varuṇa. Thereupon he becomes the sovereign of the three divisions of Bhāratavarṣa (tikhaṇḍāhivo i.e. ardha-cakravartin).

20. Here king Śreṇika requests Gautama to tell him about the great persons of the Jaina faith (Jinacakkharāṇa-uppatti), particularly about the origin and life of eighth Baladeva (i.e. Padma or Rāma). Gautama then enumerates the birth-place, parentage, intervening period, age, height, etc. of the sixty-three illustrious persons (triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa)

21-22. Gautama before relating the life of Rāma, narrates the origin of Harivaṁśa and gives in brief the life-sketch of Tirthaṅkara Munisuvrata who belonged to Harivaṁśa. He further tells us that Vāsavaketu, a descendant of the same dynasty, ruling over Mithilā begot a son, named Janaka on his wife Ilā. He narrates the episodes of some Ikṣvāku rulers of Śāketa, namely, Vajrabāhu, Kīrti-dhara, Sukośala, Naghuṣa and Saudāsa. He further enumerates their descendants up to Anarāya who begets two sons, Anantaratha and Daśaratha on his wife, Pṛthvī. When his elder son becomes a monk, Anarāya enthrones Daśaratha and he himself renounces the world. Daśaratha marries Aparājitā and Sumitrā.

Main Story

23. Gautama continues to narrate that once Nārada informs Daśaratha about the plot of Vibhīṣaṇa to assassinate Daśaratha and Janaka for saving Rāvaṇa from being killed by the would-be son of Daśaratha. Janaka was to beget a daughter, Sītā, who was destined to be the cause of Rāvaṇa's death. So Daśaratha and Janaka leave their territories and wander incognito. Now at Śāketa an effigy of Daśaratha is instituted in the palace. Vibhīṣaṇa goes to Śāketa, cuts off the head of Daśaratha and returns to Laṅkā with satisfaction.

24. Daśaratha, along with Janaka happens to reach Kautukamaṅgalapura. There princess Kaikeyī (Kegai), the daughter of Śubhamati, selects Daśaratha as her husband in her svayaṁvara ceremony. Some disgruntled candidates give a fight in which Daśaratha emerges victorious on account of the dexterity of Kaikeyī in driving his war-chariot. Daśaratha marries her, returns to Śāketa and grants her a boon in recognition of her war-services.

25. In due course Padma (Rāma) is born to Aparājita, Lakṣmaṇa (Lakṣhaṇa) to Sumitrā and Bharata (Bharaha) as well as Śatrughna (Sattuggha) to Kaikeyī. All of them receive general education and training in archery under preceptor Āirakucchī.

26-27. Gautama continuing the story narrates that queen Videhā (Videhī, Vaidehī or Videhā), the wife of king Janaka of Mithilā, gives birth to Sītā and a son who is immediately abducted by a celestial being and is thrown into a garden. Khecara Candragati, the Vidyādhara king of Rathanūpura, happens to see that babe. He takes it to his wife and adopts it as his own son, naming him as Bhāmaṇḍala. Now it so happens that some Mleccha tribes of the Ardhabarbara country invade the territory of Janaka. He demands help from Daśaratha. The latter sends Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa who chase away the Mleccha hordes. Janaka gets pleased with the valour of Rāma and he settles Sītā's betrothal with the latter.

28. When Nārada comes to know of this relation, he with a desire to see Sītā, enters her palace. Sītā gets frightened at the dreadful look of his matted hair and makes a cry of alarm. At this her warders have a scuffle with him and he flees away from there. Thus being insulted, he prepares a portrait of Sītā and places it somewhere in the garden of Rathanūpura to put her in trouble. When Bhāmaṇḍala catches a glance of that portrait, he gets at once smitten with the flowery arrows of cupid. His father, Candragati, makes a plan to marry Bhāmaṇḍala with Sītā. He sends a Vidyādhara to Mithilā. The latter, in the disguise of a horse, abducts Janaka to Rathanūpura. Candragati demands Sītā for his son but Janaka does not agree to break Sītā's betrothal with Rāma. Thereupon Candragati gives him a divine bow named Vajrāvarta and tells him that if Rāma is really a mighty person he shall prove his prowess by stringing the bow. Then only he will be entitled to marry Sītā. Janaka returns to Mithilā with that bow and arranges for the svayamvara-ceremony. Out of many prospective princes Rāma only emerges successful in stringing the bow. Lakṣmaṇa also strings that bow and some Vidyādharas offer their daughters to him in marriage. At this moment Bharata becomes gloomy over his inferiority. Kaikeyī quickly guesses the cause of his depression and tries to remove his disgust. She through Daśaratha, requests Kanaka, the brother of Janaka to arrange for the svayamvara of his daughter, Subhadrā. Immediately the ceremony is held and Subhadrā selects Bharata. Thus Rāma and Bharata marry Sītā and Subhadrā respectively and return to Sukośalapura (Sāketa).

29. Gautama further relates that once on the occasion of a religious festival, Daśaratha sends the bath-water of Jina to his chief

queen through his chamberlain. His queen does not receive the sacred water in time. Daśaratha rebukes the chamberlain for the delay. The chamberlain with his trembling limbs explains to Daśaratha that his pitiable old age handicapped him in the quick delivery of the bath-water. At this the heart of Daśaratha gets moved and he develops a feeling of detachment. After some days monk Sarvasattvahita happens to arrive there. Daśaratha pays his obeisance to him, listens to the religious discourse and returns to his palace.

30. Now Bhāmaṇḍala being afflicted with the pangs of separation from Sītā starts for Śāketa. In the way as soon as he reaches Vidarbhanagara (Viyabbhanayara), he remembers his previous birth and comes to know that Sītā is his sister. He then along with his father, Candragati goes to Śāketa and pays homage to Sarvasattvahita. Candragati becomes a disciple of Sarvasattvahita. At that time Daśaratha also happens to come over there with his family members and listens to the previous life-accounts of Candragati and Bhāmaṇḍala narrated by the monk. Daśaratha then embraces Bhāmaṇḍala. On getting news from Daśaratha, Janaka and his wife also come over there and feel happy to see their son. All of them return to their respective places.

31. Once Daśaratha listens to the account of his previous birth from Muni Sarvasattvahita and gets enlightened. He informs his ministers about his decision to enthrone Rāma and renounce the world. At this Bharata also desires to become a monk. Kaikeyī gets perturbed to learn it. She finds it impossible for her to live in separation from both her husband and son. She thinks of a plan to keep Bharata tied to the worldly life. She requests her husband to fulfil her boon by coronating Bharata as the king of Śāketa. Daśaratha readily gives his consent and informs of the same to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. When Bharata learns it he expresses his unwillingness in transgressing over the right of his elder brother. Thereupon Rāma decides to leave the territory for removing the scruples of Bharata and keeping up the honour of the words of his father given to Kaikeyī. Lakṣmaṇa first gets agitated by this decision, but he pacifies himself with the idea that he shall not interfere in the work of the elders. When Rāma departs from Śāketa, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa also accompany him.

32. Rāma along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa proceeds towards the west, enters the Pāriyātra forest, crosses the river Gambhīrā and sojourns on its bank. There in Śāketa Daśaratha coronates Bharata and himself renounces the world. Consequently Aparājītā and Sumitrā get very much aggrieved on account of their separation

from their husband and sons. Kaikeyī is unable to bear the agony of her co-wives. She sends Bharata and follows him to call Rāma back. When she meets Rāma, she weeps, implores the latter to forgive her, asks him to return to Sāketa and occupy the throne. But Rāma does not return. He coronates Bharata there in the forest itself and proceeds towards the south. Bharata goes back to Sāketa and waits for the day of Rāma's coming back when he will accept ordination throwing off the burden of kingdom.

33. Rāma on his way comes across the hermitages of recluses, traverses the Citrakūṭa hill, enters the territory of Avantī and proceeds to Daśapura. Lakṣmaṇa there subdues Siṃhodara, the king of Ujjain and restores Daśapura to the latter's feudatory, Vajrakarṇa. Lakṣmaṇa promises to marry later the maids offered to him by both the kings. Rāma then reaches Kūvavadda (Kūvarapura) on his way to Malayagiri.

34. There Lakṣmaṇa promises to Kalyāṇamālā, the princess of that town (living in the disguise of a male) to rescue her father, Bālikhilya from the captivity of the Mleccha chief Rudrabhūti and to marry her later. Proceeding further they cross the river Narmadā and enter the Vindhya forest. There they have an encounter with Rudrabhūti, the chief of the Kāgonanda tribe. Lakṣmaṇa subdues him and gets Bālikhilya released from his captivity.

35. Then traversing the region of the river Tāptī they enter Arunagrāma and go to the residence of Brāhmin Kapila to quench the thirst of Sītā. When Kapila insults them for polluting his sacred house, they decide never to take shelter in the house of any one but to sojourn outside a settlement. Then they repair to the forest. There they stay in the colony of Rāmapura, conjured up specially for them by Vināyaka Pootana, a Yakṣa lord.

36. After some days as they resume their journey, the Yakṣa presents Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā with a necklace, a pair of earrings and a braid-jewel respectively. He gives them a lute also. They reach Vijayapura which was ruled by Mahīdhara. Lakṣmaṇa rescues princess Vanamālā who was about to commit suicide losing all her long-cherished hopes of marrying the former. Lakṣmaṇa promises to marry her.

37. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa come to know that Bharata is attacked by Ativīrya, the king of Nandyāvartapura. They move to the battlefield and imprison Ativīrya by the trick of disguising themselves as dancing girls. Ativīrya renounces the world.

38. His son, Vijayaratha accepts the suzerainty of Bharata, engages his sister Ratimālā to Lakṣmaṇa and marries his other sister Vijayasundarī to Bharata. Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā return to Vijayapura. From there they reach Kṣemañjalipura (Khem-añjalipura). There Lakṣmaṇa wins the hand of Jitapadmā, the daughter of king Śatrudamana.

39. From there they proceed to Vamśagiri and protect two monks, Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa from a calamity (uvasagga) brought upon them by a celestial being. Another celestial being, Garuḍādhipati appears there and promises to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa his help in difficulty.

40. Suraprabha, the king of Vamśasthalapura greets Rāma and constructs many Jina-shrines on that hill at the request of Rāma. The hill comes to be known as Rāmagiri.

41. Thereafter they resume their journey and enter the Daṇḍakāraṇya. Two monks, Sugupti and Trigupti arrive there. They worship these monks and offer alms to them. In the meanwhile a diseased vulture (Jaṭāyū = Giddha, Jaḍāgi or Jaḍāu) falls down there. It gets cured by the touch of the foot-wash-water of the monks. The monks entrust it to Sītā and depart from there.

42. Rāma along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa reaches the river Krauñcaravā and sojourns there.

43. Once Lakṣmaṇa curiously proceeds towards the direction from which some fragrant smell gushes forth. He comes across a grove of bamboos and sees there a divine sword. He lifts it up and as soon as he cuts off the thicket, a severed head falls out of it. He soon repairs to Rāma and acquaints him with the sad incident. Now Candranakhā, the sister of Rāvaṇa with the hope of calling on her son Śambūka who had entered the Daṇḍakāraṇya to obtain a divine sword, called Sūryahāsa, by performing some penance, gets stunned to find there her son slain. While in search of the murderer she gets a glance of the handsome figures of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Being smitten with cupid's arrows she transforms herself into a young and beautiful lady and proposes to marry Rāma. At this Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are taken aback. Not finding any favour from them she gets enraged and returns to Pātālāṅkārapura.

44. She instigates her husband, Kharadūṣaṇa to take revenge upon the murderers of their son and further gives a false report that she had, with great difficulty, rescued herself from being molested by them. Kharadūṣaṇa sends a message to Rāvaṇa and himself proceeds

with his army to the site of the incident. Lakṣmaṇa proceeds to meet the enemy, asking Rāma who was scheduled to stay with Sītā, to come to his help if he makes a lion's roar. In the meanwhile Rāvaṇa also arrives there. As soon as he catches sight of the beautiful figure of Sītā, he gets overpowered by cupid. By the power of his lores he recognises Sītā and comes to know the signal of danger proposed by Lakṣmaṇa. He utters a lion's roar. At this signal Rāma leaves Sītā under the protection of Jaṭāyu and hastens to help his brother. Taking advantage of the situation, Rāvaṇa immediately removes Sītā by force, overpowers the intimidating Jaṭāyu and speeds up towards Laṅkā in his aerial-car (Puṣpaka-Vimāna). As he is conscious of his vow of not enjoying with any lady without her consent, he makes no attempt to rape her. When Rāma reaches the site of the battle-field, Lakṣmaṇa gets surprised to find his brother there. He at once sends him back with a caution to safeguard Sītā. When Rāma returns, he does not find Sītā there. While searching for Sītā he finds Jaṭāyu in a precarious condition. Jaṭāyu dies there and Rāma bewails the loss of Sītā.

45. There, by chance, Lakṣmaṇa gets an ally in Vidyādhara Virādhita, an enemy of Kharadūṣaṇa. He kills Kharadūṣaṇa and takes Virādhita to Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa now comes to know of the sad incident. Virādhita commissions his soldiers to make search for Sītā, but in vain. In the meanwhile Rāvaṇa in his flight is interrupted by Khecara Ratnajātin. The former overpowers the latter by seizing his lores and resumes his flight with Sītā who is all the time crying very bitterly. There Virādhita escorts Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Pātālāṅkārapura. They defeat Sunda, the other son of Candranakhā and occupy his palace. Sunda and his mother flee away to Laṅkā.

46. Rāvaṇa also reaches Laṅkā and keeps Sītā in the Devaramaṇa park. Sītā takes an oath to observe abstinence from food until she gets some news about her husband. Rāvaṇa goes to his palace, consoles Candranakhā and sends his wife, Mandodarī to persuade Sītā to marry him. Mandodarī's attempts prove futile. Rāvaṇa also fails in frightening Sītā by conjuring up many terrible objects. Vibhīṣaṇa gives a sympathetic ear to the grief of Sītā. He requests Rāvaṇa to desist from such an indecent behaviour but in vain. Rāvaṇa then arranges for her residence under the Aśoka trees growing abundantly in the Padmavarā-udyāna. Finding Rāvaṇa completely drowned in the ocean of sensual lust, Vibhīṣaṇa gets Laṅkāpurī fully prepared for any emergency.

47. Gautama continues to narrate that Sugrīva, the Vānara king of Kiṣkindhipura, along with his minister, Jambūnada goes to Pātālāṅkārapura to seek help from Rāma. Jambūnada tells Rāma that

some Dānava in the disguise of Sugrīva wants to establish sexual relations with Sūtārā, the wife of Sugrīva. He further continues that Hanu's help was sought to chase away the sham Sugrīva, but he was in a fix for he could not recognise the real Sugrīva. He further implores Rāma's help. Rāma agrees to help Sugrīva and the latter reciprocates with a promise to find out Sītā as soon as possible. All of them then go to Kiṣkindhipura. In the first duel between both the Sugrīvas, the real one is overpowered because Rāma could not distinguish between the real and the sham. During the next duel as soon as Rāma appears on the scene, the sham Sugrīva loses his lore and appears in the real figure of Sāhasagati. Rāma kills him with his arrows and restores Sūtārā to Sugrīva. Then the daughters of Sugrīva try to please Rāma but Rāma in separation of Sītā does not find any pleasure with them and passes time in grief.

48. Sugrīva forgets his promise in merriment with his wife. Lakṣmaṇa rebukes Sugrīva and makes him alert on his duty. The latter now sends his soldiers in all the quarters and an envoy to Bhāmaṇḍala with a letter from Rāma. He also goes in search of Sītā. He meets Rātnajaṭin on the Kambudvīpa and takes him to Rāma. Rātnajaṭin informs Rāma that Sītā has been kidnapped by Rāvaṇa. All the Vānaras get stupefied hearing the name of Rāvaṇa and express their disinclination at withstanding the powerful forces of Rāvaṇa. When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa encourage them, Jambūnada informs Rāma of the prophecy made by monk Anantavīrya that one who lifts up the Koṭiśilā will be the slayer of Rāvaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa immediately goes to Sindhudeśa, raises up the proposed slab and comes back.

49. Hanu is called to Kiṣkindhipura and appointed for persuading Rāvaṇa to release Sītā. Rāma gives him his finger-ring to be handed over to Sītā and asks him to bring her braid-jewel. Hanu departs from there with a band of warriors.

50. On his way he overpowers his maternal grandfather, Mahendrārājan, the king of Mahendranagara to take revenge of his mother's banishment by the latter.

51. At the advice of Hanu, Mahendrārājan along with his wife and son, Pratisūrya goes to Rāma and meets his daughter, Añjanā, the mother of Hanu. Hanu proceeds further and meets Gandharva, the king of Dadhimukha island and informs him about the death of Sāhasagati. Gandharva takes his daughters to marry them to the killer of Sāhasagati as fore-told by a sooth-sayer.

52. Hanu on his way to Laṅkā kills Vajramukha, the chief guard of the rampart of Laṅkāpurī and wins the love of Laṅkāśundarī, the daughter of Vajramukha.

53. Gautama continues to narrate to Śreṇika that next day Hanu enters Laṅkāpurī, meets Vibhīṣaṇa and learns from him about the obstinacy of Rāvaṇa. He enters Padma-udyāna, hands over the ring to Sītā and delivers the message of Rāma. In the meanwhile Mandodarī happens to arrive there. She deprecates Hanu for siding with Rāma. Sītā rebukes Mandodarī for uttering abusive words. Mandodarī quarrels with Sītā but Hanu intervenes and Mandodarī has to depart from there with a sorry figure. At the request of Hanu, Sītā breaks her fast by taking food, but denies to accompany him for she does not think it proper on a chaste lady's part to go along with a third person whosoever he might be. She hands over her braid-jewel and tells him that she will go along with Rāma and nobody else. At the time of his departure Hanu has an encounter with the soldiers of Rāvaṇa. He overpowers them and upsets the whole garden in anger. He further damaging various constructions reaches the palace of Rāvaṇa. Indrajit soon nooses him and produces him before Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa abuses Hanu for his deplorable alliance. Hanu on the contrary rebukes Rāvaṇa for his malicious intentions. Rāvaṇa orders his warriors to harass Hanu, but the latter tears asunder the nooses and flees away to Kiṣkindhipura after damaging the palace of Rāvaṇa and various other buildings.

54. After reaching Kiṣkindhipura Hanu hands over the braid-jewel and conveys the message of Sītā to Rāma. On the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa and the army of the Vānaras proceeds towards Laṅkā. On the way Samudra, the king of Velandharapura is conquered by Nala, a Vānara chief. Samudra offers his daughters to Lakṣmaṇa. The army of Rāma reaches Hamsadvīpa lying in the vicinity of Laṅkā, situated in the sea. Rāma conquers Hamsaratha, the chief of that island and encamps there. A fresh message is sent by Rāma to Bhāmaṇḍala.

55. Now in Laṅkā the war-drum is beaten to face the enemy. Vibhīṣaṇa tries to dissuade Rāvaṇa from waging war. Indrajit retorts Vibhīṣaṇa for his cowardice. There follow a hot exchange of words and a physical duel between Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa exiles Vibhīṣaṇa who with his meagre force of soldiers seeks Rāma's shelter. In the meanwhile Bhāmaṇḍala also arrives there with his army.

56-58. In the ensuing battle between the armies of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras, Hasta and Prahasta, the two Rākṣasa generals are slain by Nala and Nila, the Vānara generals.

59. The battle continues and this time Bhāmaṇḍala and Sugrīva are noosed by Indrajit and Meghavāhana, the sons of Rāvaṇa. At this discomfiture as soon as Lakṣmaṇa remembers the celestial Garuḍādhipati, the latter appears there and provides them with divine lores, chariots and weapons.

60. With the help of these war-appliances, Bhāmaṇḍala and Sugrīva are rescued from the enemy.

61. Now Indrajit and Bhānukaṇḍa are captured by Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma respectively. Following that Lakṣmaṇa is struck in the chest by the missile (Amoghavijayā) hurled by Rāvaṇa. He faints and falls down on the ground.

62. Rāvaṇa repairs to Laṅkā while Rāma gets overpowered with depression. Jāmbata (Jambūnada) consoles Rāma and advises him to find out some remedy for Lakṣmaṇa before the sun-rise. A temporary war-colony is erected and Lakṣmaṇa is removed to that place.

63. In the meanwhile Khecara Candramaṇḍala arrives there. He requests Rāma to procure the bath-water of Viśalyā, the daughter of Droṇamegha for the recovery of Lakṣmaṇa.

64. Accordingly Bhāmaṇḍala, Hanu and Aṅgada, the son of Sugrīva proceed to Bharata and apprise him of their need. Bharata sends for Viśalyā but in vain. Then Kaikeyī herself goes to her brother (Droṇamegha) and sends the latter's daughter escorted by Hanu, Aṅgada and Bhāmaṇḍala to the war-colony of Rāma. Viśalyā cures Lakṣmaṇa as well as other wounded soldiers.

65. Now Rāvaṇa through his envoy offers to Rāma to have a peace-treaty on the condition that the latter should not demand Sītā and for that he will get a part of the territory of Rāvaṇa. Rāma straightway rejects the proposal.

66. Rāvaṇa then performs meditation in the shrine of Jina Śānti for attaining mastery over Bahurupā Vidyā, a very powerful and unvanquishable lore.

67. Getting this opportunity the Vānara warriors cause confusion in the city of Laṅkā.

68. Aṅgada tries to disturb Rāvaṇa in his meditation but in vain. Rāvaṇa succeeds in his undertaking.

69. Then he approaches Sītā and frightens her with the power of his lores and the spectacle of his strong army. At this Sītā gets depressed. She requests Rāvaṇa not to kill Rāma and Bhamaṇḍala

and soon faints down on the ground. At this Rāvaṇa feels remorseful of his own cruelty and determines to restore Sītā to Rāma but only after defeating the latter, for he thought that people would take him for a coward if he submitted.

70-73. Rāvaṇa visits his weapon-hall. Mandodarī reminds him of his vow and his destined death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa, the Prativāsudeva. Rāvaṇa, without paying any heed to the words of his wife, leads his army to the battle-field. A gruesome battle follows in which various missiles and counter missiles are hurled from both the sides. Lakṣmaṇa severs the head and the arms of Rāvaṇa but to his surprise he finds that they go on multiplying as many times as he cuts them off. It was happening due to the power of Rāvaṇa's Bahurupā-Vidyā. Ultimately Rāvaṇa hurls his disc (Cakraratna) at Lakṣmaṇa. But instead of killing Lakṣmaṇa, the disc begins to obey his commands. Vibhīṣaṇa once more tries to persuade Rāvaṇa to restore Sītā to Rāma but in vain. Finally Rāvaṇa is slain with the disc hurled at him by Lakṣmaṇa, in the afternoon of the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyeṣṭha.

74. Vibhīṣaṇa and Rāvaṇa's wives mourn the death of Rāvaṇa.

75. Rāma and others perform the funeral rites of Rāvaṇa. On that occasion monk Aprameyabala arrives there. He attains omniscience and delivers a religious discourse. Indrajit, Ghanavāhana, Bhānukaṇṇa, Mandodarī, Candranakhā and many others renounce the world.

76. Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa enters the city of Laṅkā, meets Sītā and takes her along with him.

77. Rāma then goes to the palace of Rāvaṇa and consoles Sumālin, Mālavanta, Ratnāśrava and Vibhīṣaṇa, the grandfather, grand uncle, father and brother of Rāvaṇa respectively. At the request of the wife of Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāma visits her palace. He refuses to become the king of Laṅkā when a request to this effect is made by Vibhīṣaṇa because the former considers himself to be a subject of Bharata. After some days Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa send for all those girls who were engaged to them during their journey and duly marry them there.

78. In due course Nārada delivers to them a message of grief of Aparājitā and Sumitrā.

79. Consequently Rāma along with Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, many Khecaras and Rākṣasas returns to Śāketa driving in the Puṣpaka-Vimāna. There Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are accorded a warm welcome by Bharata and their mothers.

80-84. As the days pass, Bharata again develops an intense desire for renunciation. Rāma tries to keep him attached to the worldly life but in vain. On that very day the elephant Triloka-maṇḍana (Bhuvanālaṅkāra) who was associated with Bharata in his previous birth, remembers his previous life and muses over the ephemeral nature of the world. On that occasion two monks, Deśa-bhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa arrive there. All the members of the royal family attend their religious discourse. Bharata and Kaikeyī renounce the world and in due course attain salvation. That elephant also performs austerities and attains some celestial existence.

85. In due course at the suggestion of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa is coronated as the king of Ayodhyā. Rāma, Sītā and Viśalyā are also consecrated. Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva, Māruti (Hanu), Pratisūrya, Nila, Candrodaranandana, (Virādhita), Ratnajaṭin and Bhāmaṇḍala are recognised as the rulers of Trikūṭaśikhara (Laṅkā), Kiṣkindhipura, Śrīpura (Śrīparvata), Hanuruḥapura, Rākṣapura, Pātālaṅkārapura, Devopagītanagara and Rathanūpura respectively.

86-89. Then Rāma declares Śatrughna to be the king of Mathurā which was being ruled by Madhu. Śatrughna leads his army to Mathurā, defeats king Madhu, kills his son Lavaṇa and occupies Mathurā.

90. Lakṣmaṇa demands Manoramā in marriage but Ratnaratha, her father, ruler of Ratnapura rejects the proposal. Thereupon a battle issues between them. Manoramā intervenes and stops the battle. She and her sister Śrīdāmā are married to Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma respectively.

91. Following that Lakṣmaṇa launches a war-campaign, conquers various rulers and becomes (Ardhacakravartīn) the master of seven jewels.

92-96. In due course Sītā becomes pregnant. She expresses her longing for paying a visit to various Jina temples. Accordingly Rāma arranges for a religious ceremony and sojourns in a garden outside the city. There some of his officers inform him that the people are suspicious of the character of Sītā on account of her staying with Rāvaṇa for a very long period of time and are further questioning his (Rāma's) wisdom in accepting Sītā. Rāma calls for Lakṣmaṇa and expresses his decision to abandon Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa opposes it but in vain. Rāma commissions Kṛtāntavadana, the General of his army to carry Sītā to the terrible forest of Sīmhanināda, situated beyond the river Ganges under the pretext of escorting her to the sacred mountain Sammata for

the purpose of visiting the Jina shrines. The general leaves her behind in the forest as he was ordered to do. Sītā screams there in agony and terror. Vajrajaṅgha, the king of Poṇḍariyāpura, happens to pass by that way and listens to the pitiable cry of Sītā. He approaches her, consoles her, escorts her to his capital and looks after her as a brother.

97-100. In course of time Sītā gives birth to two sons, Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa (Aṇḍalavaṇa and Mayāṇkuśa). They receive education under Kṣullaka Siddhārtha (Siddhattho nāma cellao). Lavaṇa marries Śaśicūlā, the daughter of Vajrajaṅgha while Aṅkuśa marries Kana-kamālā, the daughter of king Pṛthu of Pṛthvīpura after defeating him in the battle. Then they conquer various countries and return to Poṇḍariyāpura. Thereafter learning from Nārada about their mother's miserable fate and getting it corroborated from their mother they attack Śāketa despite Sītā's opposition. In the ensuing battle the weapons of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa become ineffective against Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa, hence the formers get depressed. At this Siddhārtha and Nārada intervene and acquaint them with the parentage of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa. Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa greets his sons and returns to Śāketapurī along with them.

101-105. Rāma at the request of Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇa and Hanu, agrees to accept Sītā provided she convinces the public of her chastity. Sītā is then brought to Śāketa. She rebukes Rāma for his cruel behaviour. Rāma expresses his helplessness and arranges for a fire-ordeal in which Sītā emerges successful. Rāma implores her to forgive him and to live with him. Sītā consoles Rāma but does not like to get re-entangled into the worldly miseries. She renounces the world and becomes a nun. Kṛtāntavadana also renounces the world. In course of time Sītā is born as a Prati-Indra of the Acyuta, a celestial region.

106-108. Gautama narrates the svayamvara-ceremony of Mandākinī and Candramukhī. They select Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa as their spouses respectively. At this eight sons of Lakṣmaṇa feel depressed and consequently renounce the world. Then follows the demise of Bhāmaṇḍala, the initiation of Hanu and his wives and the emancipation of Hanu.

109-118. Gautama continues to narrate that once two curious celestial beings descend at Śāketa for testing the deep mutual affection of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. They conjure up a situation as if the ladies of the harem are bewailing the death of Rāma. At this Lakṣmaṇa receives great shock and dies instantly. This incident inspires Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa to renounce the world. Rāma being overpowered with

grief becomes mad and wanders about carrying the dead body of Lakṣmaṇa. Seeking this opportunity the sons of Rākṣasa Sunda invade Sāketa but they are chased away by other two celestial beings namely, Kṛtāntavadana and Jaṭāyu. The same celestials restore Rāma to sanity. Thereupon Rāma realises the truth about the worldly things. He performs the last rites of the dead body of Lakṣmaṇa, enthrones the son of Lavaṇa and renounces the world along with Śatrughna, Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva, Nala, Nila, Virādhita and many others. In course of time he attains clairvoyance (Avadhijñāna). He repairs to the forest and observes various penances. He breaks his fast there with the food offered by Pratinandī, the king of the city of Syandanasthali (Sandapathali). During the course of his spiritual elevation, Sītā, the Prati-Indra tries to distract him from meditation to mar his progress and thus to cause his rebirth into her own abode, but in vain. Consequently Rāma attains omniscience. He gets emancipated after leading ascetic life for a period of twenty-five years.

CHAPTER III

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE RĀMA-STORY

A comparative study of the Rāma-story of *Paumacariyaṃ* has been made particularly with that of the Vālmīki and Tulasī Rāmāyaṇa while other important Jaina and non-Jaina works dealing with the story of Rāma have been referred to in general wherever necessary to illustrate the points of agreement and variation.

SECTION I

KING DAŚARATHA, HIS WIVES AND SONS

A. Queens of Daśaratha :

According to the *Paumacariyaṃ*¹ of Vimalasūri, Daśaratha, the king of Śāketapurī (Ayodhyā) marries (22.100-108) Aparājita (Avarāṇiya), the daughter of king Sukośala and his queen Amṛtaprabhā of the city of Aruhasthala (Aruhatthala), Sumitrā (Somitti), the daughter of king Subandhutilaka (—tilaa) and his queen Mitrā (Mittā) of Kamalasaṅkulapura (22.106-8) and Kaikeyī (Kegai), the daughter of king Śubhamati (Suhamai) and his queen Prthivīśrī (Puhaisirī) of the city of Kautukamaṅgala (Kouyamaṅgala²). Kaikeyī's brother's name is Droṇamegha (Doṇameha 24.2-3).

According to the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, the name of the first queen of Daśaratha who reigns over Ayodhyā, is Kauśalyā (1.14.33). The names of the other two queens are identical with those mentioned in the *PCV*. It does not refer to the birth-places and the parents of the first two queens. Kaikeyī's father is said to be king (1.73.1-2) Aśvapati (2.9.22) of Kekaya country with his capital at Rājagṛha (2.68.6), also called as Girivraja (Ibid. 21). Kaikeyī's brother is named as Yudhājit (1.73.1).

1. Dr. Buleke mentions four queens of Daśaratha. This number is found in the *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa, not in the *Paumacariyaṃ*. Bulcke has quoted in his Rāmakathā all the references from *Padmacaritam* on the basis that the *Paumacariyaṃ* and the former are identical. But there are certain differences also.
2. Besides these three queens, Daśaratha is said to have 500 wives (ruva-
guṇasālīṇīṇaṃ pañcasaya jassa pavarajuvaiṇaṃ 28.7). The *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa agrees with this number (28.161). The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa also refers to 350 (trayaḥ śatasatārdhā-2, 39.36 ardhasaṁśrīṣṭa 2.34.13) wives of Daśaratha. The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* mentions 700 wives of Daśaratha (1.1.72).

The Rāmacaritamānasa or Tulast-Rāmāyaṇa agrees with the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa as regards the names of the queens of Daśaratha. Kaikeyī is merely mentioned as Kekayanandanī (2.91). Their seniority is not clear. However at the time of distribution of the sacrificial offering (havi) Kauśalyā is given the first preference, Kaikeyī follows her and Sumitrā is mentioned last of all (1.190). The same order is found when they bear sons (I. 195, 195).

According to the *Vasudevahindī*, Daśaratha has three queens, Kaikeyī being the second one (pt. I, p. 241). The name of the first queen is Kauśalyā. According to the *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa, Suprabhā is the fourth queen of Daśaratha (22,176). She is also called Suprajā (25.39; 123.80). The birth-place of Aparājītā is said to be Darbhasthala¹ (22,171). Kaikeyī's mother's name is Pṛthuśrī (24.3). The *Paumacariu* of Svayambhu follows Raviṣeṇa (21.4.9), but does not mention their birth-place and parentage except that of Kaikeyī. Aparājītā is called Kosaladuhīya (=duhitṛ 22.12.4). Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśālākā-puruṣacaritra* agrees with Raviṣeṇa, but the name of the mother of Kaikeyī is Pṛthvīśrī (IV, pp. 190-1). The *Rāma-Purāṇa*² of Bhaṭṭāraka Somasena follows Raviṣeṇa, but Sumitrā, hails from the city of Padmapatra. Kaikeyī is called Kaikāmatī. Her mother's name is Pṛthvīmatī. Kaikeyī has two brothers: Kaikaya and Droṇa. Suprabhā is daughter of the king of Ratnapura.

1. Aruhasthala of the PCV, Darbhasthala of the PCR and Kuśavati of the VR (7. 108.4) seem to be identical. Kuśavati of the VR is called Kuśasthali in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Hindi Translation, H. S. S. Prayaga—p. 366). The very name of Kuśasthali denotes that it was a place where the Kuśa grass grew abundantly. Such a place is not suitable for the cultivation of crops. Therefore Aruhasthala (i. e. a land unsuitable for growth) and Darbhasthala mean the same thing. Further the VR (7. 108.4) mentions that Kuśavati was situated in the Vindhya. It was made the capital for Kuśa. Kuśa is also called as the king of the Kośala country and Lava of the Uttarakośala (Kosaḷeṣu Kuśaṁ vīramuttareṣu tathā Lavam 7. 107. 7). It means that Kuśavati or Kuśasthali was the capital of South Kosala. Further the VR states that on the occasion of Daśaratha's horse-sacrifice king Bhānumat of Kośala had visited Ayodhyā (tathā Kosalarājānam Bhānumantaṁ susatkṛtam 1. 13. 26). It indicates that Bhānumat was the king of Dakṣiṇa Kośala and perhaps the father of Kauśalyā (*Rāmāyaṇa Kūṭina Samāja*—p. 135) who was addressed after the name of the country to which she belonged just as the name Vaidehī (Sītā, the princess of Videha country) and Kaikeyī (the princess of Kekaya country) denote. Therefore, Aruhasthala of the PCV should be the capital of South Kośala and Aparājītā can be called as Kaulśayā i. e. the princess of Kośaladeśa.

2. *Rāma-carita* (Hindi Translation of *Rāma-Purāṇa*) by L. B. Shastri—p. 84-85.

According to the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra (67. 148-165), Daśaratha rules at Vārāṇasī. He shifts his capital to Ayodhyā when Sagara, the king of Ayodhyā dies. The names of the first two queens of Daśaratha are Subālā and Kaikeyī. The third one is anonymous. The *Mahāpurāṇa* (*Tisatthimahāpurisaguṇālankāra-mahākavva*) of Puṣpadanta follows Guṇabhadra, but mentions one more queen (69. 14. 10).

In the *Rāmopākhyāna* (MB, 3. 174. 8) the queens are mentioned in the same order as in the *TR*. In the *Raghuvamśa* their order agrees with that of the *VR*. They are said to be the daughters of the kings of Magadha, Kośala¹ and Kekaya countries (9. 17). It indicates that Sumitrā belonged to the Magadha country. This account agrees with that of the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Uttarakhaṇḍa*, ch. 269)² and *Ānandarāmāyaṇa* (1. 1. 32, 70-71). In the latter work king Kośala is the father of Kauśalyā.

According to the *Daśaratha Jātaka*³ Daśaratha is the king of Vārāṇasī and he has 16000 wives. The Daśaratha Kathānam⁴ mentions four queens only.

According to the *Serī Rāma*⁵ and the *Hikāyata Mahārāja Rāvaṇa*⁶, Daśaratha has two wives, Mandu and Baliyādari. The *Serata Kāṇḍa*⁷ names them as Baliādarū and Bandodari.

In a western account⁸ Daśaratha is said to have four wives.

B. Marriage of Kaikeyī and the granting of a Boon :

In the *PCV* the wedding of Aparājita and Sumitrā to Daśaratha is merely referred to while the episode of the marriage of Kaikeyī with Daśaratha is described in two chapters (23-24). At Laṅkā, Nārada comes to know of the plot hatched by Vibhīṣaṇa for assassinating Daśaratha to save Rāvaṇa, because Sāgaravidhī, a *naimittika* had predicted that the would-be son of Daśaratha would kill Rāvaṇa for the sake of the would-be daughter of Janaka. Nārada informs of the same to Daśaratha, the latter soon absconds from his country and wanders incognito. A

1. In the *Mahānātaka* (3. 11) Kauśalyā is called kośalakanyakā and in the *Būlarāmāyaṇa* (6. 38f) as dakṣiṇakośalādhipatiputrī.
2. Its *Pātālakhāṇḍa* (ch. 112) mentions four queens, viz. Kauśalyā, Sumitrā, Surūpā and Suveśā.
3. *Jātaka* No. 461.
4. *Rāmāyaṇa* in China by Dr. Raghuvīra.
5. Stories as found in Hindesiā (Indo-China). Vide Bulcke, p. 278.
6. Ibid.
7. As found in Java. Vide Bulcke, p. 278.
8. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* by J. A. Dubois pp. 619-24. (19th Cent.); Vide Bulcke, p. 279.

plaster statue (effigy) of Daśaratha is installed in his palace to deceive Vibhīṣaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa goes there and cuts off the head of that effigy in the night taking it to be the real person of Daśaratha. In due course Daśaratha meets Janaka who was also fleeing from his capital at the advice of Nārada. Both of them join the svayamvara ceremony of Kaikeyī. Kaikeyī chooses Daśaratha for her spouse. The disgruntled candidates wage a battle with Daśaratha so courageously and skilfully that the latter becomes successful in routing his opponents. Daśaratha duly marries Kaikeyī and returns to Vinitāpurī (24. 34 i. e. Ayodhyā). There he offers her a boon in recognition of her valorous performance in the battle.

According to *VR* when Daśaratha while assisting the Devas (gods) in their battle with Śāmba Asura, gets wounded, Kaikeyī guards him and saves his life. For that Daśaratha promises two boons to her (2.9.17). Further the interpolated chapters 2-4 after 7.37 of the *VR* state that Muni Agastya once narrated to Rāma an account which was related to him by Nārada. He told Rāma that Rāvaṇa came to know from Sanatkumāra that one who is killed by Prabhu-Hari-Nārāyaṇa attains the abode of Hari, that Hari would be born as the first son of Daśaratha and would go to the Daṇḍaka forest in exile. Rāvaṇa planned to kidnap Sitā so that he would attain emancipation at the hands of Rāma, the Hari.

In the Tulasī *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is only a reference to the boons (2.22.3).

Raviṣeṇa's *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. Here the name of the naimittika is Sāgarabuddhi (23.25). It states that Vibhīṣaṇa goes to kill Janaka (23.55) also. Svayambhu's *PCS* agrees with Raviṣeṇa, but it mentions that the boon was offered at Kautukamaṅgalapura (*PCS*, 21.4.3). Hemacandra's *TSP* follows Svayambhu but does not mention the name of the naimittika (*TSP*, IV. pp. 190-192). Bh. Somaśeṇa's *RPS* agrees with the *PCR* but does not refer to the name of the naimittika.

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (p.241) accounts differently. Two boons were granted to Kaikeyī, viz. one for her benefactory services to her own people (sayāṇovayārayakkhaṇāe) and the second one for her courage and manly performance (purisavarasarisam) in getting Daśaratha released from the captivity of a neighbouring hostile king.

The *Uttarapurāṇa* as well as the *Mahāpurāṇa* do not contain this episode.

Kaikeyī's Svayamvara (marriage) is referred to in the Bangali *Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa* (1.25) and Assamese *Rāmāyaṇa* of Mādhavakandalī (8-10). [Bulcke, 2. p. 294.]

The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the episode of the marriage of Daśaratha with Kauśalyā, which partially agrees with that of the *PCV*. Rāvaṇa comes to know from Brahmā that the son of Daśaratha born of Kauśalyā would kill him. He foils their marriage by demolishing their boat in the Sarayū river, kidnaps Kauśalyā, puts her into a trunk and leaves it into the custody of Timiṅgala Matsya. When the Matsya is away to face his enemy, Daśaratha goes there and performs Gāndharva marriage with Kauśalyā. Rāvaṇa comes to know of it and he tries to kill them, but Brahmā intervenes and saves them. Thereafter Daśaratha marries Sumitrā and Kaikeyī (1.1.37-74). This account¹ is found in the interpolated portion of some of the recensions of the *Svāyambhuva* and *Tulasī Rāmāyaṇa*.

According to the *Satyopākhyāna*, Nārada praises the beauty of Kaikeyī before Daśaratha and predicts that a great son would be born of her. Daśaratha manages to win the heart of Kaikeyī through a Deva-yoginī. Kaikeyī's father marries Kaikeyī to Daśaratha on the condition that her son would inherit the crown of Ayodhyā (Bulcke, p. 278).

There are certain non-Jaina works which associate war-chariot with the promising of boons to Kaikeyī. Kaikeyī was granted two boons by Daśaratha for she prevented, in time, the dislocation of a wheel from the war-chariot by putting her hand in place of the axle which had fallen down broken when Daśaratha was fighting in the Devāsura battle. This feat of Kaikeyī was commended and rewarded by Daśaratha. This account is found in the *Brahmapurāṇa* (Ānand-āśrama, ch. 123. p. 300), *Padmapurāṇa* (Bengali version, vide-Bulcke, p. 322), *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* (2.2. 66-72) and the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (101. 75-84).

The *Rāma Kīyaṇa*² (ch. 14) also has the above account. According to the *Śerī Rāma*³ and the *Hikāyata Mahārāja Rāvaṇa*, Darī a concubine of Daśaratha holds up the wrecking litter of Daśaratha when he marries Mandu-devī (chief queen). Daśaratha makes Darī her queen and promises the kingship to her son (Bharata).

There are some non-Jaina works which refer to one boon only. The *VR*⁴ also indicates that upon the strength of one boon Kaikeyī

1. Vide Bulcke, p. 277.

2. Vide Bulcke, p. 322.

3. Ibid. pp. 278, 3 3.

4. Pūrvaṃ dattavarā devī varamenamayācata /
Vivāsanam ca Rāmasya Bharatasyābhiṣecanam// 1.1.22.

demanded two things. The *Rāmopākhyāna*¹ agrees with it. The *Dasaratha Jātaka* and the *Dasaratha Kathānam* mention one boon. The *Seri-Rāma* and the *Hikāyata-Mahārāja-Rāvaṇa* agree with it

Like the *VH*, the Assamese *Rāmāyaṇa* of Mādhavakandalī (ch. 16 and *Seri-Rāma* (some other version)² mention that two boons are granted to Kaikeyī on two different occasions. Telugu *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa* (13th-14th cent. A. D.) and *Varadarāju Rāmāyaṇa* (1650 A. D.) also mention two boons.³

C. Birth of Rāma and his brothers :

In the *Paumacariyam*, there is no association of any divinity with the birth of the sons of Daśaratha. They are born in the natural way and Daśaratha does not perform any religious rites for their birth. Rāma is the eighth Baladeva (20.2; 21.1). He is one of the three members of the eighth trinity of the 'sixty-three great persons' of the Jaina faith (20). The other two i. e. Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva of the eighth trinity are Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa (Daḥamuha) respectively.

According to the *VR*, when Daśaratha does not have any son, he performs 'aśvamedha' (horse-sacrifice) and the 'putreṣṭiyajña' (1.14-15). On that occasion at the request of various gods to Brahmān, Viṣṇu promises to take birth in form of the sons of Daśaratha for bringing an end of the atrocities of Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa king. Thus Rāma and his brothers are born as the incarnations of Viṣṇu (1.18. 11-14).

The *TR* mentions only the 'putrakāma subha yajna' (I.189) and not the 'aśvamedha'.

The *Mahābhārata* (3.276.5) refers to the incarnation of Viṣṇu, but does not mention the performing of any sacrifice by Daśaratha. Similarly the *Viṣṇu* (4.87), *Bhāgavata* (9.102), *Vāyu* (4.4.87), *Kūrma* (1.21.18) and the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (143.4) do not have reference to any sacrifice.

1. Satyapratijñā yanme tvaṁ kāmamekaṁ viśiṣṭavān/ Upakurusva tadrājaraṣṭa-smānucyasva sañkaṭāt/ Varam dadāni te hantū tad ghaṇa yadicchasi (MB, 3.277.21-22). Abhiṣecanikaṁ yatte Rāmārthamupakalpitam/ Bharatastadavāpnōtu vanaṁ gacchatu Rāghavaḥ. MB, 3.277.26.

2. Bulcke, 2, p. 402.

3. *Rāmāyaṇa Samikṣā*, Venkateswara University, Tirupati, (1967), pp. 32, 34, 42.

In the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, *Daśaratha Kathānam*, *Serata Kāṇḍa*¹, *Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa*² and the *Khotānī Rāmāyaṇa*³ there is no reference to any sacrifice.

D. Christening of Names :

According to the *PCV*, Aparājītā's son is named Padma (Pauma) for his face glittered like a lotus and his eyes resembled the petals of a lotus flower (*viyasiyavarapaumasarisamuham* 25.7). Sumitrā's son is named Lakṣmaṇa for he was endowed with several qualities (*lakk-aṇesu uvaveo teṇaṃ guṇānuruvaṃ chūḍhaṃ ciya Lakkhaṇo nāmaṃ* 25.11). Kaikeyī bore twin⁴ sons namely, Bharata (Bharaha) and Śatrughna (*Sattuggha* 25.14). Padma who is also called Rāma had white complexion while Lakṣmaṇa's was dark-blue just like a blue water-lily (*nīluppaladalasamo* 25.11).

According to the *VR*, Rāma, the son of Kauśalyā is born on the ninth day of the bright half of Caitra. Bharata is the son of Kaikeyī. Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna are the youngest twin⁵ sons of Sumitrā (*I. 18.8-13, 21-22*). This account differs from that of the *PCV* as regards the seniority of Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata and the mother of Śatrughna. Vālmīki does not assign any particular reason for naming them as such. However Lakṣmaṇa is addressed with some epithets such as 'lakṣmīvardhanaḥ' and 'lakṣmīsaṃpannaḥ' (*1.18.28.30*) and Rāma as lotus-eyed (*rājīvalocanaṃ* *1.19.17*), (*padmapatraviśālakṣau* *1.48.3; 1.76.12; 1.50.20*). Rāma's face is described as resembling a blue-lotus (*Rāmasya vadanam puṣkarekṣaṇam* *2.61.8*).⁶ As regards the colour of their bodies Vālmīki differs from Vimalasūri. In the *VR* Rāma is said to be of dark-blue complexion (*śyāma* *6.28.18; megha-śyāma, indīvaraśyāma*) while Lakṣmaṇa of white complexion (*śuddh-ajambūnadaprabhaḥ* *6.28.22*).

In the *TR* (1.197) each brother is named after his individual qualities. Rāma is named as such because he is a treasure of happiness and solace to the whole world ('so sukha-dhāma Rāma' and 'akhila-

1. Bulcke, p. 267.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Though it is not stated explicitly, yet their birth-ceremony is mentioned to be celebrated together. It indicates that they were twin brothers (*jammusavo mahanto tānaṃ pi kao naravaiṇaṃ* *25.14*).

5. See *1.18.15* and the Tilaka Commentary.

6. Rāma is called Padmanābha i.e. Hari or Viṣṇu (*7.87* interpolated chapter No. 5.45.).

lokadāyaka viśrāma'),¹ Lakṣmaṇa on account of his being a repository of multifold qualities (lacchana dhāma²), Bharata as he is the maintainer of the world (bisva bharana poṣana kana joi) and Śatrughna as such for the recitation of his name is enough for annihilating the enemies (jāke sumarinate ripu nāśā). As regards the complexion of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the date of birth of the former and their seniority, the *TR* agrees with the *VR*. Rāma is described as 'syāma' (1.198.3), 'Nilakañja bārīda gambhīra' (1.199) and Lakṣmaṇa as 'gaura' (1.198.3), 'dāminī barana Lakhana' (2.115.4). Śatrughna is called younger than Lakṣmaṇa (2.164), Lakṣmaṇa younger than Bharata (2.200) and Bharata younger than Rāma (2.194).

The *Raghuvamśa* agrees with the *VR* and states that Rāma was named so on account of his charming body (abhirāmeṇa vapuṣā 10.67). In the *Padma-purāṇa*³, Rāma is named as such for his 'tribhuvanābhira-mataya', Lakṣmaṇa because of his 'rupaśauryādilaṣmiyogyatayā', Bharata on account of his 'bhuvam bhārātīyati' and Śatrughna because of his 'śatrūnhanīti'. The *Adh. Rām.* agrees with the *Padma-purāṇa*, but Lakṣmaṇa is said to be named so for his 'lakṣaṇānvitam' just as mentioned in the *TR* and *PCV*.

As regards the seniority of Bharata and Lakṣmaṇa there is no agreement in the Brahmanical works. At one place even in the Southern recension of *VR*, Lakṣmaṇa seems to be elder than Bharata for the latter salutes the former with reverence (6.127.41⁴). The Gaudīya version⁵ of *VR* mentions Bharata as a younger brother of Lakṣmaṇa. In the *Pratimā Nāṭaka*⁶ Bharata addresses Lakṣmaṇa with reverence and salutes him. Sumantra clearly calls Bharata as an 'anuja' of Lakṣmaṇa. In the *Purāṇas*⁷ the order in which they are mentioned shows that Lakṣmaṇa is elder than Bharata.

In the *Daśaratha Jātaka* Bharata is younger than Lakṣmaṇa. It does not mention any fourth son of Daśaratha.

According to the *Daśaratha Kathānam*, Bharata and Śatrughna are born of the third and the fourth queen of Daśaratha. In the *Serī Rāma* Bharata and Śatrughna are uterine brothers (Bulcke, p.280).

1. In the *VR* lokarāma is the adjective of Rāma 1.13.29.
2. Compare with the 'lakṣaṇesu uvaveo, of the *PCV* (25.11).
3. Pātālakhanda. Ch. 112.
4. But the Tilaka commentary explains that Bharata is elder.
5. Bulcke, p.280.
6. IV. 9f.
7. *Viṣṇu. Pu.*, 4.4.87, *Bhāgavata Pu.*, 9.11.9; *Padma Pu.*, Pātāla. ch. 112.

In the Marāṭhī *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa*¹ Bharata and Śatrughna are uterine brothers as in the *PCV*.

The *PCR* mentions Śatrughna as the son of Suprabhā,² the fourth queen of Daśaratha. The name Lakṣmaṇa is christened on account of his bearing good marks (sulakṣmyā 25.26).³ The *Vasudevāhīṇī* (I.p.241) agrees with the *PCV* as regards the seniority and the respective mothers of all the four brothers. The *PCS* follows the *PCR* and calls Rāma as Rāmacandra⁴ also (Rāmacandu 21.4.9) Hemacandra's *TSP* (IV.p.192-195) follows the *PCR* but it mentions that Padma and Lakṣmaṇa are born at Rājagṛha when Daśaratha after marrying Kaikeyī goes there and stays there with his wives. Somasena's *RPS* follows the *PCR* and also mentions the date of birth of Padma as the thirteenth day of the dark half of Phālguna (p.86).

According to the *UP* of Guṇabhadra, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are born of Subālā and Kaikeyī respectively. They are born at Vārāṇasī and their dates of birth are the thirteenth day of the dark half of Phālguna and the first day of the bright half of Māgha respectively. Rāma is nowhere mentioned as Padma. Bharata and Śatrughna are born of the third queen and they are born at Sāketapura (67.149.165). The *MP* (69.12-14) of Puṣpadanta follows the *UP* but Bharata and Śatrughna are born of the third and the fourth queen of Daśaratha respectively. In it Rāma is called Padma also (78.13.8;78.29.3) as well as Rāmacandra (78.26.2). The first son of Daśaratha is named Rāma on account of his charming body (taṇurāmu) and the second is named Lakṣmaṇa (Lakkhaṇu⁵) because of his having qualities (lakkhaṇalakkhaṇkiyau 69.12).

E. Rāma's Teacher :

According to the *PCR*, Rāma and his brothers receive education in various sciences and training in archery at Ayodhyā under Airakucchī (25.26) of Kāmpilya-nagara. His parents are named to be Bhārgava

1. Bulcke, p.279.

2. The Brahmanical *Padma Purāṇa*, which mentions four queens of Daśaratha tells us that Bharata and Śatrughna are the sons of Surūpā and Suveśā respectively (Vol. 2- 8. 733) But at another place Suveśā is said to be the daughter of the king of Kekayadeśa. She demands kingdom for Bharata and the exile of Rāma (p.739).

3. The B. G. K. edition reads 'Sulakṣmā'.

4. Svayambhu is the first author among the Jains to call Padma as Rāmacanda. See also *Mahāvīracaritam* 2. v. 20.13 'hā deva candamuha Rāmacanda' and 1. v. 26, 1 2. jaya jaya 'jagatpate Rāmacandra'.

5. See the reason assigned in the *PCV*.

and Airāṇī. He himself was educated at Rājagṛha under Vaivasvata (Vaivassaa).

In the *VR* Vaśiṣṭha is the family preceptor. Upādhyāya Sudhanvan is referred to as the teacher of archery (2.100.14). Viśvāmitra is said to have taught 'Balā' and 'Atibalā' lores to Rāma on the southern bank of the river Sarayū (1.22.11-12). He also trained him in the discharging of various missiles (1.27-28).

In the *TR* all the four brothers are referred to have first got educated at the house of an unnamed preceptor (1.204-205). Later on Viśvāmitra trained Rāma (1.209).

The *PCR* (25.42-43) names the preceptor as Ehiruṇḍhi or Ero (25.49) and his mother is called Iṣu. The *RPS* mentions them as Ehiruḍha and Iṣakā (p. 86).

SECTION II.

BIRTH OF Sītā AND HER MARRIAGE

A. The Family of Janaka :

According to the *PCV* Janaka, the king of Mithilā, is the son of Vāsavaketu (21.32) or Indraketu (28.15) born of Ilā (21.33). Janaka's wife is Videhā (26.70; 28.16) or Vaidehī (Vaidehī 26.75). His daughter and son who are born as twins are Sītā and Bhāmaṇḍala (26.75, 87). Bhāmaṇḍala is lost by Janaka and is then adopted by Candragati as his son.¹

Janaka's brother is Kanaka (Kaṇaa). The latter's wife and daughter are Suprabhā and Subhadrā (28.132) respectively.

According to the *VR*, Janaka is the son of Hṛṣvaroman. Janaka's brother is Kuśadhvaṇa (1.71.12-13). There is no mention of the wives of Hṛṣvaroman, Janaka and Kuśadhvaṇa. Janaka has two daughters, Sītā and Urmilā (71.20-22; 1.73.26, 30). No son of Janaka is referred to in the *VR*. Kuśadhvaṇa has two daughters—(1.72, 5), Māṇḍavi and Śrutakīrti (1.73.32-33). Thus the account of the *PCV* differs from that of the *VR*.

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1. Bhāmaṇḍala on the very day of his birth, is kidnapped away by a celestial being who had enmity with him in his previous life. The stolen child is found by Candragati, a Vidyadhara, king of Rathanūpura. Candragati takes him to his wife and adopts him as his own son (26.70, 87). He is named Bhāmaṇḍala on account of the shining caused on his body by the reflection of his ear-rings beset with jewels.

In the *TR* Sunayanā is called the chief queen of Janaka (Janaka pātamahīṣī 1.124). The brother of Janaka is Kuśaketu. In other respects it agrees with the *VR* (1.325).

In the *Purāṇas*¹, Sītā's father is named Sīradhvaja whose brother's name is the same as found in the *VR* and Bhānumat is mentioned as the son of Sīradhvaja. But the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (9.13.21) mentions Kuśadhvaja as the son, not the brother of Sīradhvaja and Bhānumat is said to be the fourth descendant in the line of Kuśadhvaja. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (38.11,12,32) refers to two sons and one daughter of Janaka. Thus the tradition of the *PCV* is generally supported by the *Purāṇas* that Janaka had a son.

According to the *Ānandarāmāyaṇa*, Sumedhā is the chief queen of Janaka (1. 3. 98; 5.2.25).

The *PCR* and the *RPS* agree with the *PCV*, but the name of the mother of Janaka is stated to be Vipulā (*PCR*, 21. 53, *RPS*, p. 81). The *PCR* (28.259) and the *BPS* (p. 93) mention Lokasundarī instead of Subhadrā. The *PCS* (21.10,3) names the father of Janaka as Candraketu and does not refer to any brother of Janaka (21. 13-14). The *TSP* (IV. p. 204) follows the *PCV*. In the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (1. p. 241) the name of the wife of Janaka is Dhāriṇīdevī, but there is no mention of the brother and the son of Janaka.

According to the *UP* (67. 167) the name of the wife of Janaka is Vasudhādevī. No son or brother of Janaka is referred to. The *MP* (69. 14-15; 70. 8-9) follows the *UP*.

B. Birth of Sītā :

According to *PCV*, Sītā is born of Videhā,² the wife of Janaka (26.75). But in the *VR*, Janaka while ploughing the land finds a female child emanated from the land.³ She is named as Sītā (1.66. 13-14) and adopted as his own daughter by Janaka though she is not born of his wife (sthāpīteyamayonijā 1. 66. 15). In the *TR* also she is called the daughter of the land (avanikumārī 2.64 ; dharāṇī sūtā

There are some works which do not give any hint to the supernatural birth of Sītā. In the *Rāmopākhyāna* (*MB*, 3.274.9) she is merely called the daughter of Janaka (Videharājo Janakaḥ Sītā tasyātmajā

1. *Vn. Pu.* 4.5.30; *Vy. Pu.* 2.28.18.

2. Aha sū suhaṁ pasūyā, duhiyā puttāṁ ca tattha Vaidehi.

3. Atha me kṛtataḥ kṣetraṁ lāṅgalāduṭṭhitā tataḥ ; Kṣetraṁ śodhayatā labdhā nāmā Sītei viśruta bhūtalāduṭṭhitā sū tu vyavardhata mamātmaajā.

vibho). Some other references in the *MB* also corroborate the same view (sutām Janakārājasya Sītām 3. 148. 7; Vaidehī 3. 148. 8; 7.59.5) The *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* (41. 130) differs from other *Purāṇas* and agrees with the *MB* for it also does not refer to her supernatural birth.

In the Jaina Rāma-story there are two different traditions about the birth of Sītā. The first tradition as found in the *PCV* that Sītā is born of the wife of Janaka, is followed by the *PCR* (26. 121), the *PCS* (21.5.4) and the *TSP* (IV. p. 197). The other tradition is found in the *PCV* that Sītā is born of the wife of Janaka, is followed by the *PCR* (26. 121), the *PCS* (21. 5. 4) and the *TSP* (IV. p. 197). The other tradition is found in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (I. p. 241). It mentions that Mandodarī, the chief queen of Rāvaṇa puts her new-born daughter into a casket and orders the minister to throw it away, because she was prophesied to become the cause of the destruction of her family. The minister takes it to the garden of Janaka and with the help of 'tirakkharaṇīvijjā' fixes it on the plough-share. Thus she comes to be known as extracted by the plough. She is then handed over by the ploughman to Dhārinī, the wife of Janaka, who adopts the child as her own daughter, naming her as Sītā.¹ The *UP* of Guṇabhadra (68.17-27) agrees with the above account. Here Mārīca at the order of Rāvaṇa buries near the garden of Mithilā the casket in which she is closed along with a letter of identification, by Mandodarī. Then it follows the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*. It calls her also as 'bhūbhūtā' (68. 336) and 'mahīsutā'. It is noteworthy that the name of the wife of Janaka is Vasudhā. Thus we find that the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*² removes away the uncertainty of the parentage of Sītā while the *UP* improves upon the former by naming the wife of Janaka as Vasudhā³. Thus Guṇabhadra puts forth a logical explanation of the birth and the naming of Sītā. Puṣpadanta (*MP*, 70.8-9) agrees with the *UP* and calls Sītā as 'dharāsuyā' (72.3.9). 'mahīruhā' (76.30.1), and 'Jaṇayavasundharīdhīya' also (78.27.9).

1. The tradition that Sītā was the daughter of Rāvaṇa seems to have influenced many other Rāma-stories in India and abroad. Among the Indian Rāma-stories the Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa is an example. Among the stories of the foreign countries, the Tibetan and Khotānī Rāmāyaṇa, Seratakāṇḍa, Seri Rāma, Reānakera, Rāma Kiyena are noteworthy (See Bulcke, pp. 896-890).
2. Bulcke (p. 300) remarks that Guṇabhadra is the first author to mention Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa. This statement needs modification, because the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* is of earlier date than the *Uttara Purāṇa* of Guṇabhadra.
3. The *VR* also states her birth from 'vasudhā' in the sense of the earth. See 6.116.15 (Apadeso me Janakānnotpattirvasudhātālāt).

Bh. Somasena (*RPS*, Ch. 14) has mixed up both the Jaina traditions. He states that when Bhāmaṇḍala, the twin brother of Sītā is stolen by a revengeful celestial being, a farmer brings a casket and gives it to Janaka. The female child concealed in it is adopted by Janaka. That child (i. e. Sītā) becomes an object of solace for the wife of Janaka who is aggrieved at her separation from her son. She receives the female child as a replacement for the lost son.

The Svāyambhuva *Rāmāyaṇa* (17th cent. A. D.) mentions Sītā as Mandodarī's daughter¹. *Rāmajātaka* of Śyāma records the same thing. According to the *Pālaka Pālāma* of Śyāma² and Laṅkānoy of Laos³ Sītā is Rāvaṇa's daughter.

On the strength of the evidences available in the *PCV* and the Brahmanical literature it can be surmised that Vimalasūri is the first author who definitely mentions that Sītā was begotten by Janaka on his wife Videhā.⁴

C. Sītā's Betrothal with Rāma :

According to the *PCV* Janaka engages Sītā to Rāma in recognition of the latter's chivalry 'purisayāranihasaṁ' (27,41). Rāma helped Janaka by chasing away the Mleccha hordes who under the leadership of Ātaraṅga, the chief of Mayūramāla, had attacked the land of Janaka.

There is no account of the betrothal of Sītā to Rāma in the *VR* and the *TR*. According to the *VR* many kings go individually and try in vain their skill and strength at the bow. Janaka refuses to offer Sītā to any one of them. Then the disgruntled kings besiege Mithilā for one year. Helpless Janaka propitiates gods. The latter send their fourfold army and chase away the enemy-kings (1.66.17-24). About the brother of Janaka a separate episode is narrated in the *VR*. Sudhanvan the king of Sāṅkāśyapura once seizes the city of Mithilā to obtain the Śaiva-bow and Sītā for himself. Janaka does not surrender but kills Sudhanvan in the battle. He installs his own brother (Kuśadhvaṇa) on the throne of Sāṅkāśyapura (1.71-16-19). The *TR* does not contain any such account. It refers to the visit of Rāvaṇa and Bāṇāsura and their vain efforts at the bow (1.250) prior to the celebration of the 'svayamvara'.

1. Buleke, 2, p. 188.

2. Ibid. p. 376.

3. Ibid. p. 280.

4. Dr. Buleke is of the opinion that Sītā was the legal daughter of Janaka in the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* (p. 292).

Raviṣeṇa (*PCR*, XXVII), Svayambhu (*PCS*, XXI-6-7), Hemacandra (*TSP*, IV. 199-200) and Somasena (*RPS*, p. 69) agree with the *PCV*.

The *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpa-danta do not refer to either the betrothal of Sītā or the bow-ceremony.

In the *Buddhacarita* it is said that when the land was attacked by some Anāryas, Rāma defended it coming back from the Tapovana (tathā mahīm viprakṣatāmanāryaistapovanādetya rakṣa Rāmaḥ 9.69). But there is no reference to the association of Janaka with this episode.

D. Intervention of the Bow :

According to the *PCV* the marriage of Sītā would have, in the ordinary course of way, followed her betrothal. But a strange episode takes place and Janaka is compelled to arrange for the 'svayamvara' of Sītā (28. 1-76).

When Nārada comes to know of the betrothal and the charming beauty of Sītā, he enters the palace of Sītā, out of curiosity to have a look at her beauty. There he is manhandled by her guards as soon as Sītā makes an alarm at the horrible sight of the stranger. Being thus insulted Nārada plans to put Sītā in trouble. He prepares a portrait of Sītā and shows it to Bhāmaṇḍala at Rathanūpura. Bhāmaṇḍala being ignorant of his uterine relation with Sītā, develops intense love for her and insists upon her marriage with him. His father Candragati commissions Capalagati. He disguising himself as a horse, kidnaps Janaka and brings him there. Candragati demands Sītā for his son. Janaka expresses his inability. Candragati then gives over the Vajrāvarta-bow (Vajjāvatta) to Janaka and tells him that Rāma can marry Sītā provided he strings the bow, otherwise he can not (28. 74). Janaka is helpless, he returns to Mithilā with the bow.

In the *VR* no such impediment is put by any outside person. Janaka had voluntarily declared Sītā 'Vīryaśulkā' and the condition put forth was that one who strung the Śaiva-bow, would get her in marriage (1.66. 15-18). In the *VR* the origin of the 'Śaiva-bow' has been referred to at four different places: (i) Janaka got that 'Sunābha' bow from the gods as a reward for performing a sacrifice (1. 31. 12); (ii) Rudra, after destroying the sacrifice of Dakṣa gave it to the gods who entrusted it to Devarāta, an ancestor of Janaka (1. 66. 7-12); (iii) There were two bows : one was given to Viṣṇu and the other to Śiva (Tryambaka) by the gods. Once there emerged a fight between Viṣṇu and Śiva to examine the comparative strength of the bows. The bow of

Śiva loosened, so Śiva (Rudra) gave it to Devarāta, while the bow of Viṣṇu was inherited by Paraśurāma from his ancestor, Rciḱa (1. 75. 11-28); and (iv) Sītā tells Anasūyā that the bow was given by Varuṇa (2. 118. 39). These accounts describe the divine¹ origin of the bow.

In the *TR* it is called 'Śiva-dhanu' (1. 250). Its origin is not mentioned.

Like the *PCV* some Brahmanical works mention that the bow is obtained by Janaka only for the purpose of the marriage of Sītā.

According to the *Padmapurāṇa*² the betrothal of Sītā is settled with Rāma. Daśarathā goes to Videhapura to celebrate Rāma's marriage, but Nārada intervenes and requests them to postpone the date of marriage because it was an inauspicious day. He further advises to arrange for a 'svayamvara' and to invite various princes to perform the kṣātravivāha'. Janaka does not like that any other person should marry Sītā. He offers meditation before Rudra. The latter appears and gives him a bow which could be strung only by Rāma. According to the *Satyopākhyāna*, Śiva gives 'darśana' to Janaka in a dream and gives him a bow. He asks him that one who strings the bow, should be married to Sītā (*Uttara*, 2). The *Kaśinīrī Rāmāyaṇa* also contains the same episode (Vide Bulcke, p. 285).

The *PCR* mentions that two bows 'Vajrāvarta' and 'Sāgarāvarta' were given to Janaka by Vidyādhara Candragati (28.169). The *PCS* and the *RPS* follow the *PCR*. The *TSP* mentions 'Arṇavāvarta' in place of 'Sāgarāvarta' (IV.p.203). The *Vasudevahinī* mentions that Sītā chooses Rāma in a 'svayamvara'. It does not refer to any bow (1.p.241).

This episode is completely absent from the *UP* and the *MP*.

E. Svayamvara of Sītā:

According to the *PCV* Janaka then arranges for the 'svayamvara' and invites various princes. Rāma along with his parents and brothers go there. Nobody is able to string the bow except Rāma. Sītā is then declared as his wife (28.93-124). Lakṣmaṇa also strings the same bow. Then some Vidyādharas offer him their daughters in marriage.

In the *VR*, there is no 'svayamvara' ceremony and no simultaneous arrival of various princes. They come casually at intervals, try their

1. Note that the *PCV* (28. 74) also calls it 'suresu kayarakkhaṇ' i. e. protected by the Suras.

2. *Pātālakhanda*, ch. 112,

strength at the bow and go away disappointed. It is after a long period of time that Viśvāmitra takes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa along with him to attend the Yajña of Janaka (1.31.6-7) and to show them the strange bow. At the request of Janaka and with the permission of Viśvāmitra as soon as Rāma strings the 'Śaiva' bow, it breaks into two (1.67.16-17). Janaka sends for Daśaratha. He arrives there with his other sons to attend the marriage ceremony (1.68-69) of Rāma and Sītā.

Tulasīdāsa has introduced a new element in it. He tells us that Rāma and Sītā see each other in a garden at Mithilā. Sītā develops love for Rāma (1.230-232) and prays the deity 'Girijā' (1.236) to fulfil her desire. Again when all the princes are unsuccessful, Sītā prays Maheśabhavānī to lighten the bow in weight so that Rāma may wield it easily (harahu cāpagaruāi 1.257). Thus in the *TR* many princes assemble to decide their fate (1.250.2), but only Rāma emerges successful. Sītā puts 'jayamālā' round the neck of Rāma (1.264). Disgruntled princes are mentioned to have made a row, but the immediate appearance of Paraśurāma subdues their anger (1.266, 268). It mentions that previously Rāvaṇa had come there to string the bow, but he felt defeated at the very sight of the heaviness of the bow and went away. (1.250.1).

There are many non-Jaina works which mention the presence of various princes on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Sītā, their failure in stringing the bow, Rāma's success and his claim for the hand of Sītā.

The *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa* (47.105-118), the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (*Aṅka* 3), the *Mahānāṭaka* (1.35), the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Pātāla* 112), the *Prasannarāghava* (3.40-41), and the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.3.61-140) refer to the unsuccessful efforts of other princes. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (9.10.6) and the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* (1.6.24) speak of the presence of various princes. *Brahmacakra* of Laos refers to the same event (Bulcke, 2.p.280).

The Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambana (1.12), the Telugu *Dvīpāda Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Reyāmakera* mention the unsuccessful efforts of other princes (Vide Bulcke, p.286).

There are some non-Jaina works which mention that after the svayamvara-ceremony is over, the disgruntled candidates attack¹ Rāma. Rāma defeats them and marries Sītā. The *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa* (47.119-124), *Padmapurāṇa* (ch.112, Pt. II, p. 739) and the *Serī Rāma* (vide Bulcke-

1. In Rāma's case the PCV does not refer to this kind of incident. It is on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Kaikeyī that the disappointed candidates attack Daśaratha.

p. 287) refer to this battle. The *Maithilī Kalyāṇam* (5.38-45), a Jaina work states that the disgruntled candidates make a row but then submit to Rāma. The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.4.20-45) states that the unsuccessful candidates (1.3.165-168) attacked Rāma and his father when they were returning from Mithilā, on the occasion of Dīpāvalī.

According to the *PCR*, Lakṣmaṇa strings the other bow 'Sāgarā-varta' (28.247). The *PCS* and the *RPS* follow the *PCR*. The *TSP* (IV. 204) follows the *PCR* and further mentions that Sītā puts the 'svayaṃvara' garland round Rāma's neck. Daśaratha is said to have come there on the occasion of Rāma's marriage.

In the *UP* there is no reference to the 'svayaṃvara' ceremony and the bow. Janaka had invited Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with a promise to marry Sītā to Rāma, if they protected his yajña from being disturbed by Rāvaṇa and the Rākṣasas (67.169). In the presence of many kings the yajña was accomplished and Sītā was married to Rāma. The *MP* follows the *UP* and further mentions that Rāma strung his bow to warn the enemies (70.13).

F. Marriage of Rāma and his Brothers :

According to the *PCV* at the prospects of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata gets dejected. Kaikeyī apprehends it. She with the help of Daśaratha gets another 'svayaṃvara' arranged specially for Subhadra, the daughter of Kanaka. She selects Bharata. Rāma and Bharata marry Sītā and Subhadra respectively, and return to Ayodhyā (28.125-140) along with their wives.

According to the *VR* Sītā is married to Rāma and Ūrmilā to Lakṣmaṇa (1.71.21). Māṇḍavī and Śrutakīrti, the daughters of Kuśadhvaṇa are married to Bharata and Śatrughna respectively (1.73).

The *TR* follows the *VR*.

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV* (28.261). The *Vasudeva hindī* merely alludes to the marriage of other brothers. According to the *PCS* Śaśivaradhana marries his eight daughters to Lakṣmaṇa and other ten daughters to Bharata and Śatrughna. Here Viśalyā,¹ the daughter of Droṇa is married to Lakṣmaṇa (*PCS*, 21.14). The *TSP* (IV.204) agrees with the *PCV*.

The *UP* and the *MP* do not refer to the marriages of other brothers at Mithilā. It is stated that Daśaratha marries seven girls to

1. According to the *PCV* Viśalyā marries (64.45) Lakṣmaṇa after curing (64.45) him in the battle field.

Rāma and sixteen to Lakṣmaṇa (UP, 68.47,48; MP, 70.13) after their returning from Mithilā.

According to the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, Rāma marries his own sister, Sītā.

SECTION III EXILE OF RĀMA

A. Daśaratha's decision to crown Rāma :

According to the *PCV* Daśaratha realises his old age and asks his ministers to enthrone Rāma so that he himself may become an ascetic (31.56). This realisation comes to him at the sight of the pitiable condition of his chamberlain Kañcukī (29.20-29) emaciated by old age. His desire to renounce the world is intensified after listening to the religious discourse and the account of his previous life from a monk (30.36 to 31.49). On this occasion all the four sons of Daśaratha are there.

In the *VR* also it is the old age which inspires Daśaratha to announce Rāma as his heir-apparent (2. 1. 36; 2.4.12), though the cause of its realisation is not given. Sumantra tells at one place that he and Daśaratha would have entered the life of anchorites after installing Rāma on the throne (2.35.35). Here Daśaratha wants to enthrone Rāma as soon as possible in the absence of Bharata who is away from home (2.4. 18-27). Daśaratha apprehends some intrigue¹ from Bharata. He is said to have seen some inauspicious dreams. Rāma also while persuading Lakṣmaṇa to stay behind at home, expresses his suspicion in Bharata's faithfulness to his mother (2.31.14).

In the *TR* the realisation of old age comes through the observation of a grey hair growing near his ear (2. 2). There is no reference to any suspicion of Daśaratha in Bharata. On the contrary it is mentioned

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1. This suspicion seems to be quite appropriate when one comes across Rāma telling Bharata on the Citrakūṭa hill that their father while marrying Kaikeyī, had promised her father that the kingdom would be entrusted to her son (Purābhrātaḥ pitā naḥ sa mātaraṁ te samudvahaṁ/mātāmahe samāsrausidrājyaśulkamanuttamam 2. 107. 3). The *Pratimā Nūṭaka* also corroborates it: Bharata tells the Devakulika that Kaikeyī might have demanded kingdom for him remembering the 'śulkadoṣam' (3.11). At another place (3.19) Kaikeyī admits it before Bharata (Jēda sukkaluddhā naṇu pucchidavvā). According to the *Satyopākhyāna*, Kaikaya married his daughter to Daśaratha on a promise from the latter that the crown of the kingdom would pass to the son of Kaikeyī (Bulcke, p. 278).

that Rāma along with Sītā (2. 7) and the people of Ayodhyā (2. 11) was eagerly awaiting the return of Bharata to grace the occasion of his coronation.

In the *Rāmopākhyāna* (MB, 3.277.15) there is no indication to any such suspicion of Daśaratha in Bharata.

According to the *Mahānātaka* Bharata was not away from home at the time of Daśaratha's decision to crown Rāma (3. 5).

The PCR (29. 79. to 31. 90), the PCS (32. 3, 9), the TSP (IV. p. 209) and the RPS (p. 97) are in agreement with the PCV.

The *Uttarapurāṇa* (78. 9) and the *Mahāpurāṇa* (70.18) state that Daśaratha announces Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as the king and the heir-apparent respectively and send them to Vārāṇasī, their ancestral capital, to rule over there.

B. Rāma's voluntary exile :

विजयशीलसुन्दरसूरि ग्रंथ संग्रह

According to the PCV (31.59), Bharata also wants to renounce the world along with his father. Kaikeyī gets aggrieved to learn that both her husband and her son would remain no more with her and thus she would die of their separation. Therefore, she thinks out a plan to prevent Bharata from renouncing the world. She demands of Daśaratha to fulfil her boon by making Bharata the king of Śāketa. Daśaratha immediately grants her demand (31.71) and informs of the same to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. But Bharata is not ready to engross himself in the worldly life by accepting the crown. When Daśaratha and Rāma persuade him, he frankly says that he would never transgress over the legitimate claim of Rāma (*Bharahena ya paḍibhaṇio naya tujjha vaikkamaṁ kāhaṁ*-31.91). Being forced by circumstances Rāma voluntarily exiles himself to remove the scruples of Bharata.

No definite period and place of exile are mentioned. However Rāma tells Bharata that he may depart to any forest, or to the bank of any river or to any mountain, in a solitary place. He further informs his mother that he may go to the Vindhya or to the Malaya mountain¹ or in the vicinity of the sea (31.100). Rāma takes permission of his parents and starts on his journey. Sītā joins him without any opposition. Lakṣmaṇa accompanies them without making any rash and disparaging utterings against Daśaratha (31.100).

According to the VR, Kaikeyī is not at all disturbed by the news of Rāma's coronation, because Rāma is as dear to her as her own son, Bharata (2.8.13-19). But her maid-servant Mantharā warns her of

1. See also. 33.141.

being degraded in future and instigates her to get the two boons fulfilled by Daśaratha, viz. coronation of Bharata and banishment of Rāma for fourteen years (2.9.20). Then Kaikeyī's heart gets aflame with jealousy. She falls into the trap and exploits Daśaratha's pullisanimity for her demands. Daśaratha gets distressed with these cruel demands. He implores Kaikeyī to give up her wilfulness and to allow him to coronate Rāma (2.13.22). But Kaikeyī does not swerve from her decision. Daśaratha feels ashamed of asking Rāma to go in exile. It is Kaikeyī who in the name of Daśaratha asks Rāma to go to Daṇḍakāraṇya for fourteen years (2.18.35-37). Rāma readily accepts the command and starts for the journey. Lakṣmaṇa gets ferocious and passes scandalous remarks against Daśaratha (2.21.12). He tries to excite Rāma to occupy the throne by force, but the latter pacifies Lakṣmaṇa by telling him that he will remain loyal to the orders of his father (2.22.15). Lakṣmaṇa also accompanies him to the forest. Sita also wants to go along with her husband. First her request is not granted by Rāma. At this Sītā gets enraged and abuses Rāma (striyam puruṣavigraham 2.30). Ultimately Rāma takes her along with him.

After their departure Daśaratha dies in extreme grief (2.64.78) of separation from his sons. On this occasion Bharata and Śatrughna are not there.

In the *TR* a divine element has been introduced. Sarasvatī, at the request of the gods, pollutes the mind of Mantharā (2.12) and induces her to instigate Kaikeyī. At one place Bharadvāja tells Bharata that it was not the wickedness of Kaikeyī, but Sarasvatī had led her astray (2.206).

In the *TR* Daśaratha is ready to anoint Bharata (2.31) but does not want Rāma's exile. Kaikeyī does not yield.

In the *PCV* and the *VR*, Kauśalyā is unwilling to send her son to the forest, but in the *TR* she does not prevent Rāma. On the contrary she considers it to be an honour for a son to obey the orders of his parents (2.55-57).

In the *TR* Sītā is not referred to as abusing Rāma for not taking her along with him. Rāma permits her when he finds her determined to accompany him. Lakṣmaṇa does not oppose his father's decision. He tells Niṣāda at one place that it is all due to misfortune (2.92).

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. The *PCS* agrees with the *PCV*, but Kaikeyī is depicted to be jealous at the coronation of Rāma (22.6.7). Bharata labels Daśaratha as 'mahāmayandhu' (22.10.6) i. e. impudent. Lakṣmaṇa is ready to imprison Bharata for crowning Rāma but Rāma himself pacifies Lakṣmaṇa. The period of exile is

said to be of sixteen years (24.10.4). The *TSP* (IV.p.209) and the *RPS* (p.97) agree with the *PCV*. The *Vasudevahindī* follows the *VR* but the period of exile is mentioned to be of twelve years.

In the *Rāmopākhyāna* the period of Rāma's exile is not referred to in Kaikeyī's demand (277.26), but at the time of Rāma's returning from Laikā fourteen years are mentioned (271.39).

The *UP* and the *MP* do not contain any reference to the exile of Rāma.

According to the *PCV* it is quite clear that Rāma takes a voluntary exile. Kaikeyī cannot be alleged as cruel and wicked. There are many non-Jaina works which have tried to exonerate Kaikeyī from being charged with rascality and impiety by putting forth various reasons.

The *Gauḍiya* and the North-West versions of *VR* record that Kaikeyī was cursed by a Brahmin, therefore (śāpadoṣamohitā) her mind became perverted and she trusted the words of Mantharā (Bulcke, p.324).

In the *Pratimā Nāṭaka* it is said that Kaikeyī demanded coronation for Bharata for she wanted to keep up the promise of Daśaratha (mahārassa saccavaṇṇaṃ rakkhantī III. 18f). Further it is said that she exiled Rāma to make true the curse of a Mahārṣi (Andhakamuni) and while asking for fourteen days' exile, unconsciously fourteen years' period was demanded by her. She says to Bharata that whatever she has done, is with the prior consent of Vaśiṣṭha and Vāmadeva (VI.15f). In the *Mahāvīracarita*, Śūrpanakhā in the disguise of Mantharā, goes to Mithilā on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Sītā and hands over Daśaratha a letter from Kaikeyī, really a forged letter, demanding (IV.14) crown for Bharata and exile for Rāma. The *Anargharāghava* tells the same story (IV.14-15; IV.66). According to the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (6.5-11), Daśaratha and Kaikeyī had gone to meet Indra. Finding the opportunity, Māyāmaya, Śūrpanakhā and a maid-servant in the disguises of Daśaratha, Kaikeyī and Mantharā respectively go to Ayodhyā and banish Rāma. The *Mahā Nāṭaka*¹ tells us that the arrival of the new bride i. e. Sītā was found to be inauspicious (3.5f), hence Kaikeyī demanded exile of Rāma along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa and demanded throne for Bharata.

In the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* (2.2.44-46) it is said that the gods and goddesses sent Sarasvatī to Ayodhyā for perverting the minds of Mantharā and Kaikeyī. The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (8.2.56) and the

1. The recension of Madhusūdana Mīśra.

Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa (Bulcke-p.325) blame Sarasvatī. In the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* (2.1.33-28) it is also mentioned that a day before the coronation of Rāma, Nārada goes to Ayodhyā and reminds Rāma of his promise to lighten the burden of the earth by killing Rāvaṇa. Rāma then accepts his advice and promises to enter the forest rather than accept the kingdom. Further at the time of Kaikeyī's demand for his exile, he consoles his father saying that his exile is meant for the accomplishment of the wishes of the gods (devakāryam cāpi bhaviṣyati 2.3.75). Thus Kaikeyī is saved from being blamed. The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.6), the *Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa* and the interpolated portions of some versions of the *Rāmacaritamānasa* also contain this account (Bulcke, p.319). In the *Rāmaliṅgāmṛta*, Kaikeyī tells Rāma, after his return from Laṅkā, that she sent him in exile for killing Rāvaṇa as she was induced by the Devendra (Sarga 12) to do so (Bulcke-p.207).

There are some works which make Pitāmaha (Brahmā) responsible for the exile of Rāma. According to the *Rāmopākhyāna* (MB,3.269.9-10), Gandharvī Dundubhi was commissioned by the Pitāmaha to be born as Mantharā for bringing about the destruction of Daśgarīva by exiling Rāma. The Gaudīya version of *Padma-purāṇa* (*Pātālakhaṇḍa* ch. 15) and the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.2.3) mention the same thing.

Then there are certain works which tell us that the enmity of Mantharā with Rāma was responsible for that unhappy episode. The *Agnī-purāṇa* (6.8) mentions that Rāma had insulted Mantharā, hence the latter put him in trouble. According to the Telugu *Rāmāyaṇa* of Raṅganātha (2.3) Rāma had fractured a leg of Mantharā. The Serī Rāma and the Rāma Kiyena mention that Rāma had pierced an arrow into the hump of Mantharā. According to the *Satyopākhyāna* the enmity between Mantharā and Rāma in their previous life became the cause of the exile of Rāma (Bulcke, p. 326).

According to the *PCV*, Rāma voluntarily prefers exile to crown. Kaikeyī does not demand his exile. There are some non-Jaina works which agree with this point of the *PCV*.

The *Daśaratha Jātaka* and the *Daśaratha Kathānam* mention that Kaikeyī demanded only the coronation of Bharata. But Daśaratha being suspicious of the intrigues of the mother of Bharata sent Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa away from his territory for twelve years. According to the *Anāmakam Jātaka* the king voluntarily retired to the forest to avoid battle with his maternal uncle.

According to the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, Daśaratha was unable to decide whether Rāma or his younger brother should be made the

crown-prince. Then Rāma voluntarily went away to some hermitage to perform penance in favour of his younger brother. According to the Serī Rāma when Rāma heard the news of Bharata's coronation, he voluntarily left for the forest along with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. According to some other version of Serī Rāma when Kaikeyī tells Rāma about her demand for the coronation of Bharata, Rāma leaves for the forest to lead the life of a Ṛṣi (Bulcke, p. 321).

The Sinhalese *Rāmakathā* states that Rāma alone goes to the forest and lives there for seven years to escape the inauspicious effect (condition) of the Saturn of his life. According to the Western Account No. 1 Rāma retires to the forest for 12 years to expiate the sin of killing Tāḍakā. According to the Account No. 12 Rāma departed to the forest for performing penance at the age of 15 along with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. According to No. 14 Rāma was cursed by a Brahmin, hence he accepted the request of Kaikeyī and voluntarily left for the forest (Bulcke, p. 321).

C. Kaikeyī's attempt to call back Rāma :

According to the *PCV*, Rāma along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa proceeds towards (avaradisaṃ vaccantā) the west from Ayodhyā, enters the Pāriyātra (Pāriyatta) forest, crosses the river Gambhīrā and sojourns there. Some warriors who had accompanied him of their own accord go back to Ayodhyā and report the news to Bharata. Thereupon Daśaratha crowns Bharata and he himself becomes a monk (32.7.27). Now Aparājitā and Sumitrā get distressed due to the separation from their husband and sons. Kaikeyī is unable to bear the sight of the grief of her co-wives. She sends Bharata and herself follows him to call back Rāma. After meeting Rāma, she admits her fault, weakness and lack of sagacity and begs his pardon. She further requests Rāma to occupy the throne, because Bharata is merely a novice (Rajjaṃ kerehi niyayaṃ, Bharaho viya sikkhaṇṭo te; Mahilā sahāvacavalā, adihapehī sahāvamāillā; Tam me khamāhi puttaya, jaṃ paḍikūlaṃ kayam tujjha 32.50.51). But Rāma does not swerve from his promise like a true Kṣatriya. He anoints Bharata there in the forest and resumes his journey towards the south. Bharata returns home and reigns over the land. He waits for the day when Rāma would return and he (Bharata) would be able to shake off the burden of the kingdom and become a monk (32.96). On the other side Rāma traversing the forest comes across some hermitages of the recluses (33.3). From there he proceeds to the Citrakūṭa hill and sojourns there for four months (33.11).

According to the *VR* Sumantra escorts Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in a chariot (2.40.12). They reach the river Tamasā (2.46), leave behind the citizens who voluntarily accompanied them, cross the rivers Tamasā (2.46.28), Vedaśruti (2.49-50), Gomati and Syandikā, reach Śraṅgaberapura and cross the river Ganges in a boat with the help of Guha, a Niṣāda chief leaving behind Sumantra (2.52). Rāma asks Lakṣmaṇa to go back to Ayodhyā but the latter does not. Then they reach Prayāga situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna (2.54.5) and pay homage to Muni Bharadvāja. They further proceed to the Citrakūṭa hill (2.56.12). There they pay homage to Vālmiki and sojourn in a hut (2.56.23).

Now Sumantra reaches Ayodhyā and reports himself to Daśaratha. Daśaratha desperately dies in sorrow of separation (2.64.77). Then Bharata is brought to Ayodhyā from his maternal uncle's home (2.70). He rebukes his mother Kaikeyī and performs the last rites of his dead father (2.77). He rejects the offer of kingship and goes to the Citrakūṭa hill along with his mothers and the royal paraphernalia to bring back Rāma (2.83.6). He informs Rāma of the death of their father, blames Kaikeyī and requests Rāma to return and accept the throne. Kaikeyī is quite silent. She does not tell anything. Rāma remains true to the words of his father (2.105.39). Jābālī and Vaśiṣṭha try to persuade Rāma but in vain. On a request from Bharata, Rāma gives away his sandals to the former (2.112.12). Bharata then returns to Ayodhyā. He shifts his capital to Nandigrāma and awaits the safe return of Rāma (2.115, 17).

The *TR* follows the *VR* with some alterations and innovations. At Śraṅgaberapura, Sumantra requests Rāma to return to Ayodhyā, because Daśaratha wanted (2.95) him to do so. Finding him unwilling, Sumantra again requests him to send back Sītā (2.96). Rāma advises Sītā to return, but she does not. Then follows the arrival of a Tāpasa and his homage to Rāma (2.110). Tulasīdāsa further refers to the appearance of gods in the disguise of the Kolas and Kīrātas and the construction of two cottages by them for the sojourn of Rāma (2.133). Bharata on advice from Vaśiṣṭha places before Rāma three alternatives viz. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa along with Sītā should return to Ayodhyā and Bharata and Śatrughna should go to the forest or Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna should return to Ayodhyā and Bharata will go along with Rāma or Rāma along with Sītā should go to Ayodhyā and the remaining three brothers should go to the forest (2.268-269). Janaka also comes there on that occasion (2.273). A divine element of bearing fruits by the trees is also referred to (2.278). Rāma is ready

to do as Bharata and the elders want him to. At this stage the gods are perturbed for they suspect that Rāma might return to Ayodhyā and thus the mission might fail. Rāma perceives it. He asks Bharata to accept the crown. Bharata obediently accepts his brother's command (2. 306-7). Rāma then gives away his sandals to Bharata (2. 315-316). Kaikeyī¹ is said to be repenting in her heart for her deeds when she sees Rāma on the Citrakūṭa hill. When the messenger of Janaka arrives there, Kaikeyī² again laments over her mistakes.

The *PCR* (31-33. 40) agrees with the *PCV*. *Vasudevahiṇḍī* refers to the efforts of Bharata and Kaikeyī to call back Rāma. Further it follows the *VR*, but it does not mention Guha, Bharadvāja, Vālmīki and the Citrakūṭa hill. Here Bharata and his mother go to call back Rāma. Rāma consoles Bharata's mother but does not accept her request. He further advises Bharata not to censure his mother. The *PCS* follows the *PCR*. It also mentions that Bharata's desire for renouncing the world is again disapproved by Daśaratha. Bharata goes of his own accord to bring back Rāma (24. 7. 9). Kaikeyī follows him but she does not speak anything to Rāma. On the other hand the poet depicts her as a jealous character who goes there to assert that the former decision of Rāma's exile should hold (ṇaṁ bhaṇai Bharahu tuhuṁ āu vaṇavāsahim Rāhau jāu jāu 24.9.8). The *TSP* follows the *PCV*. It states also that Daśaratha (IV. p. 213) sends his officers to bring back Rāma but Rāma does not return. Then Kaikeyī takes permission of Daśaratha and goes along with the ministers and Bharata to call back Rāma (IV. p. 215). Daśaratha renounces the world after the returning of Bharata. The *RPS* follows the *PCR*, but mentions the name of the river as Bāhu in place of Gambhīrā (p. 99).

According to the *UP* of Guṇabhadra, Rāma, once during the spring season, sojourns for some days at the Citrakūṭa garden along with his wife Sītā (68. 126). Puṣpadanta follows Guṇabhadra (*MP*, 71, 11, 16). There is no exile of Rāma.

In the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, Kaikeyī is remorseful of her malicious (2. 9. 56) designs which were aroused in her heart by her own folly and illusion. She requests Rāma sojourning at the Citrakūṭa hill to pardon her (Kṛtaṁ mayā duṣṭadhiyā māyāmohitacetasā; Kṣmasva mama daurātmyaṁ kṣamāsārā hi sādhaṇaḥ). Rāma consoles her by informing

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1. 'Lakṣi Siya sahita sarala dou bhāi kuṭila rāni pachitāni agahāi. Avani Jamahi jācati Kaikei, mahi na bicu bidhi micu na deī-2. 252.
 2. 'Garai galāni kuṭila Kaikeyī, kāhi kahai kehi dūṣaṇu deī-2. 273.

that she was impelled by himself to do so for the accomplishment of the work of the gods and so she was not to be held guilty (2. 9, 63-64). The *Ananda Rāmāyaṇa* follows it (1. 6. 112-115). The *Torāve Rāmāyaṇa* (2.6) and the *Rāmalingāmyta* (12) follow the same.¹

According to the *Dharmakhaṇḍa* ch. 38 of *Skandapurāṇa* and *Tattvasaṅgraharāmāyaṇa* (2. 11), Kaikeyi gets perturbed to see that the people of Ayodhyā are in grief on account of the parting away of Rāma. Her heart melts and she goes to Rāma and requests him to come back (Bulcke, p. 404, 2nd edition).

SECTION IV

RĀMA'S JOURNEY FROM CITRAKŪṬA TO DAṆḌAKĀRĀṆYA

A. Main work during the Journey :

According to the *PCV*, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa along with Sītā, throughout their journey from the Citrakūṭa hill upto their entering into the forest of Daṇḍaka, primarily assist the helpless rulers and rescue them from the atrocities of the oppressive kings and tribal chiefs. They bring them under the suzerainty of their brother Bharata and promise to marry several girls offered to them by those kings. It is only on the Vamśagiri that they pay homage to some monks and save them from a calamity.

In the *VR* and the *TR*, Rāma along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa comes across various Rṣis who greet Rāma and inform him of the atrocities of the Rākṣasas. Rāma promises to annihilate the Rākṣasas. There is no reference to the subjugation of any ruler by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

B. Route of their Journey :

According to the *PCV* they leave behind the Citrakūṭa hill and enter the Avantideśa. Further they cross the river Narmadā and after traversing the Vindhya forest they reach the land where flows the river Tāpī. Proceeding further they arrive at the Vamśasthalagiri. From there they depart to the Daṇḍakārāṇya where flows the rivers Krauñcaravā and Karṇaravā. They sojourn there.

According to the *VR*, they immediately enter the Daṇḍakārāṇya leaving behind Citrakūṭa and the Āśrama of Atri. They proceed by

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1. It has been already stated in the preceding section that they came across some hermitages before reaching the Citrakūṭa hill. They stayed there for night only (33.4). Further in the Daṇḍaka forest they pay homage to two more monks (Sec.5).

the side of the river Mandākinī and reach Pañcāpsara. From there they go to the bank of Godāvarī (Pañcavatī) and sojourn there.

C. Account of Rāma's Journey :

A brief comparative account of the important incidents during their journey is given below.

According to the *PCV*, Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā enters the territory of Avanti (33.11), leaving behind the Citrakūṭa hill and reach Daśapura. Lakṣmaṇa subdues Simhodara, the king of Ujjenī (capital of Avanti) and rescues Vajrakarṇa, the lord of Daśapura from the captivity of Simhodara, the overlord of Vajrakarna. Lakṣmaṇa accepts the girls offered to him in marriage by both the kings. From there they go to the town of Kūvavadda (33.148) and promise prince Kalyāṇamālā¹ to get his father (Vālikhilya) released from the clutches of Rudrabhūti, the Mleccha chief of the Kāgonanda tribe. Proceeding further they cross the river Narmadā and enter the Vindhya forest (34.34). Lakṣmaṇa subdues Rudrabhūti and rescues Vālikhilya (34.51). Further traversing the forest and the land of Tāpī they reach Aruṇagrāma and go to the house of Kapila, an orthodox Brahmin, to quench the thirst of Sītā. Unfortunately being insulted by that orthodox Brahmin (35.9) they repair to the forest. A Yakṣa, Potana by name, greets them and conjures up a divine colony called Rāmapurī (35.26) for their sojourn. Unknowingly Kapila approaches them with the hope of gaining some wealth. He is welcomed and offered great wealth by Rāma. Kapila then becomes a layman of the Jaina faith. Yakṣa Potana presents Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā with a necklace, a pair of earring (cūṣāmaṇī), a braid-jewel and a lute when they depart from Rāmapurī (36.4-6). In due course they reach Vijayapura. Lakṣmaṇa gives his consent to marry Vanamālā, the daughter of Mahīdhara, king of that town (36.35). Further on getting the news of the attack of Ativīrya, the ruler of Nandyāvartapura, on their brother Bharata, they go to the battle-field and subdue Ativīrya by means of a stratagem. Ativīrya accepts the suzerainty of Bharata (37.64-65). Vijayaratha, the son of Ativīrya engages his sister Ratimālā to Lakṣmaṇa and marries Vijayasundarī to Bharata (38.1,8). Resuming his journey Rāma along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa reaches Kṣemañjali-pura. Lakṣmaṇa wins the hand of Jitapadmā, the princess of that place by withstanding a severe test proposed by her father, king Śatrudamana (38.44). Proceeding further they ward off the calamity (uvasagga) caused by some celestial being to disturb the two monks,

1. Really a princess in the disguise of a prince (34.23).

Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa meditating at the Vamśagiri. Another celestial being Garuḍādhipati appears there and makes a promise to assist Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in difficulty (39.131). Suraprabha, the king of Vamśasthalapura extends a hearty ovation to them and provides them with all the facilities. He gets many Jina shrines constructed on that hill on the advice of Rāma. The hill comes to be known as Rāmāgiri (40.16). Rāma continues his journey and enters the Daṇḍakāraṇya forest (41.1) which is said to be situated on the other side of the river Kaṇṇaravā (Kaṇṇaravā 40.13).

According to the *VR*, many Tāpasas inform Rāma sojourning on the Citrakuṭa hill, of the dreadful atrocities being perpetrated on them by the Rākṣasas under the leadership of Khara (2.116.11) in the Janasthāna. They advise Rāma to go to some safe place and themselves migrate to the Āśrama of muni Aśva (2.116.20). The place being deserted by the Tāpasas was not worth living; then the haunting memory of Bharata's sweet visit associated with that place tormented him time and again, and the place had become very untidy too, so Rāma leaves (2.117.2-4) that place and goes to the Āśrama of Atri and Anasūyā. Atri greets Rāma as a worthy prince while Anasūyā greets Sītā and presents¹ her with clothes ornaments, unguents, anointments and garlands (2.118.18). From there they enter the forest of Daṇḍaka (3.1.1). Staying there for a day in the Āśrama of some Ṛṣis they proceed further. On the way they encounter Virādha, a fierce Rākṣasa (3.2) who snatches away Sītā. They overpower him and bury him alive (2.4) according to his wishes. Then they arrive at the āśrama of muni Śarabhaṅga as directed by Virādha (3.4.20). In course of their further journey they meet many sages (munisaṅghāḥ) and listen to their complaints. They promise to annihilate the Rākṣasas and rescue the sages from oppression. Among these various types of Tāpasas there are the Vālakhilyas² who have profuse hair grown on their bodies. Proceeding further by the side of the river Mandākinī and after traversing many rivers and by-passing many hills they reach the āśrama of Sūtikṣṇa and pay respects to him (3.7.1). They resume their journey to visit various other āśramas. On the way Sītā mildly protests against the decision of Rāma to put an end to the Rākṣasas, because she tells him that penance and bow cannot go

1. 'Inam divyaṁ varaṁ mālyam vastramūbharaṇāni ca Aṅgarūgaṁ ca Vaidehi mahārhamanulepanam'.

2. The Tilaka commentary calls them 'prajāpaternakhalomajṭh' or 'ye vātāste Vālakhilyāḥ' (3.6.2). In the *PCV* there is the account of rescuing Vālakhilya, the father of Kalyāṇamālā of Kūvavadda by Rāma.

together (3. 9. 27). Rāma insists on performing his righteous duty by destroying the wicked. Proceeding further they reach Pañcāpsara Taṭāka (3. 11. 11), stay there for a very long period of time and visit again muni Sutīkṣṇa. From there they go to the āśrama of the brother of Agastya and then to that of muni Agastya. They pay obeisance to the great sage while the sage expresses his regards for them and presents them with a divine Vaiṣṇava bow, an arrow, a quiver and a sword (3. 12. 32-36). Being directed by the sage, they proceed towards Pañcavaṭī (3. 13. 13), situated beside the river Godāvarī (3. 13. 18), for their final resort.

The *TR* follows the *VR*, but in it Rāma is deified (8. 4). He departs from the Citrakūṭa hill with the fear that he will be disturbed and often frequented by the people as they had known the reality that Rāma was an incarnation of Viṣṇu (3. 3)¹. During his journey all the munis pay obeisance to Rāma, taking him as God personified. Sītā is also deified. She is mentioned as 'Sri'² (Lakṣmī 3. 7). There is no reference to the snatching away of Sītā by Virāḍha. Rāma manifests his 'caturbhuja-rūpa' and Sutīkṣṇa eulogises Rāma as God-incarnate. There is no reference to the Pañcāpsarataṭāka. Muni Agastya addresses Rāma as Hari and worships him (3. 12). From there Rāma goes to Pañcavaṭī.

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. But it mentions Kūvavadda as Kūvara, Potana as Pūtana (Yakṣādhipati) and names the place where the colony was conjured up by the Yakṣa as Vanasthalī (35. 54). Sītā is said to have been left behind with an Āryā (nun) when Rāma proceeded to subjugate Ativīrya (37. 95). The *PCS* deviates from the account of the *PCV* and the *PCR*. It mentions that Rudrabhūti on being enamoured of Sītā commissions his warriors to snatch her away (27. 3. 9),³ but he soon falls at the feet of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as soon as he learns that they are Baladeva and Vāsudeva respectively (27. 8. 9). Vijayapura is mentioned as Jīvantapura (29. 10) while the name of the king is Anantavīrya (30. 1. 2). It does not refer to Ratimālā and Vijayasundarī. The river Godāvarī (Golāṇai) is referred

1. In the interpolated chapter 4.45 after 7.37 of the *VR*, Rāma is called Padmanābha i. e. Viṣṇu.
2. She is also called the mother of world, 'jagadambī' by Aṅgada when he goes to Laṅkā to persuade Rāvaṇa (*TR*, 6. 25. 3). In the *VR*, in an interpolated chapter Sītā is addressed as Lakṣmī (3. 2. and 5. 53 after 7. 37).
3. In the *VR* Virāḍha snatches away Sītā, but he surrenders to Rāma as soon as he remembers the prophecy made by Vaiśravaṇa that he will attain Svarga on being killed by Rāma (3. 4. 18).

to have fallen on their way (31. 3. 2). It refers to a heap of bones¹ of those candidates who tried to win the hand of Jitapadmā, but on being unsuccessful, they were killed by Aridamana=Satrudamana (tāhēn kāraṇēnjo jo marai johu, so ghippai taṁ haḍḍairi ehu 31. 5. 8). The *RPS* follows the *PCR*, but it does not speak of the offering of girls by king Simhodara and Vajrakarṇa to Lakṣmaṇa (p. 104). Kūvavadda is mentioned as Nalakacchapura. Vālikhilya is said to have afterwards appointed Rudrabhūti as his minister (p. 106) on the advice of Rāma. The land of Tāpī is called Khānadeśa. According to the *PCV*, the sons of Mahīdhara accompany Rāma to assist him in subjugating Ativīrya (37. 32), but the *RPS* tells us that Mahīdhara (Pṛthividhara) also goes along with Rāma (p. 109). The *TSP* follows the *PCV*, but it mentions Kuvavadda as Kūbararpura (iv. p. 222). Here Kalyāṇamālā is said to have been offered in marriage to Lakṣmaṇa (IV. p. 223). Rudrabhūti is called Rudradeva, a Kāka and the lord of the Kirātas (p. 224). He tries to snatch away Sītā but he is unable to withstand the fight given by Lakṣmaṇa. It clearly mentions that the river Tāpī is crossed by Rāma (IV. 224). The Yakṣa lord is called Gokarṇa (IV. p. 225).

The *Vasudevahinḍī* does not refer to these various incidents. It says that after leaving Bharata behind, Rāma goes towards the south, visits various Tāpasas on the way and reaches Vijanasthāna.

The *Uttarapurāṇa* and the *Mahāpurāṇa* do not contain any such accounts.

The *Dasaratha Jātaka*, the *Dasaratha Kathānam* and the *Anāmakam Jātaka* also do not refer to these incidents.

The following accounts of the *Buddhacarita*, *Raghuvamśa* and the *Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi* have something common with the attack of Anantavīrya on Bharata and Rāma's counter attack as found in the *PCV*. In the *Buddhacarita* it is mentioned that Rāma came from 'tapovana' to defend his country when it was devastated by the Anāryas (Tathā mahīm viprakṛtāmanāryaistapovanādetya rarakṣa Rāmaḥ 9.69). In the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* it is said that Rāma took voluntary exile in favour of his younger brother's coronation and joined some hermitage. The reference in the *Buddhacarita* to the 'tapovana' perhaps speaks of this type of exile of Rāma. The *Raghuvamśa*² mentions that Bharata was immediately called

1. The *TR* refers to the heap of bones of the munis killed by the Rākṣasas (asthi samūha dekhī Raghurāyā 3. 9). See *Adh. Rām*, 3. 2. 19 (patitānyanekāni śīraṇṣi asthi bhūtāni).

2. The *VR* (2. 67) merely describes the drawbacks of a kingless state and compares it with a wild forest which is full of danger.

back from his maternal uncle after the exile of Rāma, for the kingdom without a king was likely to slip into the hands of enemies (12. 11). In the *Āścarya Gūḍamaṇināṭaka* of Śaktibhadra when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are away for hunting the 'Kānaka mṛga' Rāvaṇa and his charioteer in the disguise of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa approach Sītā and ask her to ride the chariot as they want to go to assist Bharata whose territory is in danger.

SECTION V ABDUCTION OF SĪTĀ.

A. Meeting a Vulture (Jaṭāyu) :

According to the *PCV*, while sojourning in the Daṇḍakāraṇya on the bank of the river Kārṇaravā, Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa reverentially receive two monks, Trigupti and Sugupta (Tiguttināmo muni 41.18; Suguttamuni 41.66). On that occasion a diseased vulture (giddha 41.14, Jaḍāgī 41.56, Jaḍāu 41.75) falls down there. It is then entrusted by the monks to Sītā for its nourishment and care (41.70). From there Rāma proceeds further into the interior of the forest and stays near the river Kroñcaravā¹ (Kuñcaravā 42.15) along with Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and the vulture (42.35).

According to the *VR*, Rāma while proceeding to the Pañcavaṭī meets Jaṭāyu on the way (3.14.1). Jaṭāyu introduces himself as the son of Aruṇa and Śyenī (3.14.32-33) and the brother of Sampāti as well as a friend of Daśaratha (3.14.2). He offers his help to protect Sītā. Rāma takes Jaṭāyu along with him to the Pañcavaṭī (3.14.36).

The *TR* (3.13) follows the *VR* and introduces a sermon which is delivered by Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa on Īśvara and Jīva (8.14-16). In the *PCV* also there is a sermon delivered by the munis to the vulture on the ethics and adoration of the religion (41.66-70).

B. Death of Śambuka and Candranakhā's displeasure :

Once Lakṣmaṇa proceeds to the place wherefrom comes fragrant smell. There he sees a divine sword called 'Sūryahāsa.' He lifts it up and sportively cuts of the bamboo-thicket growing on the bank of the river Kroñcaravā, to examine the power of that sword. No sooner does he strike at the thicket than a severed human head falls out of

1, The *VR* (3.69.5) mentions Kroñcāraṇya where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa reach in search of Sītā. It is said that they reached there after moving first to the west of Pañcavaṭī and then to the south (See Sec. 5E).

it (43.27). Lakṣmaṇa immediately returns and reports the matter to Rāma. When Candranakhā comes there, she finds her son, Śambūka killed who was performing penance in that thicket to obtain that divine sword (3.29). Bereaved Candranakhā sets out in search of the culprit and as soon as she catches sight of those handsome princes, she forgets her wrath on account of being enamoured of them. She transforms herself into a young girl and starts weeping. Sitā consoles her. Candranakhā introduces herself as a destitute girl and requests Rāma to marry her. At this both the brothers are stunned. Finding no reply from them, Candranakhā gets disappointed and retraces to her home (43.47).

In the *VR* Śambūka has no relation to Candranakhā (Śūrpaṇakhā). The episode of the death of Śambūka is narrated in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* (73-76). Here Śambūka is a Śūdra who performs penances to attain heaven (7.76.2). His penance against the religious code is considered to be the cause of the untimely death of the son of a Brahmin (7.74.28). Hence Rāma searches out Śambūka who was performing penances hanging from a tree with his head downwards near a pond situated in the northern side of the Śaivāla hill (south of the Vindhya)¹ and severs his head with a sword (7.75.9; 7.76.4). The Brahmin boy is automatically restored to life.

According to the *VR* Śūrpaṇakhā happens to be at Pañcavatī casually (yadr̥cchayā 3.17.5). She in her charming disguise requests Rāma and then Lakṣmaṇa to marry her. When neither of them agrees to her proposal she threatens to devour Sitā. At Rāma's beacon Lakṣmaṇa cuts off her ears and nose (3.18.21). Disfigured Śūrpaṇakhā crying bitterly goes away from there in wrath.

The *TR* does not give any account of Śambūka. Śūrpaṇakhā discloses her real ferocious form when Lakṣmaṇa insults her. At this Sitā gets frightened Rāma makes a sign to Lakṣmaṇa to cut her nose and ears (3.17). The interpolated Lavakūśakāṇḍa of the *TR* follows the *VR* as regards the slaying of Śambūka by Rāma.

As regards the episodes of meeting Jaṭāyu, murder of Śambūka and displeasure of Candranakhā, the *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. The *TSP* agrees with the *PCV* but with some alterations. It does not mention the river Karṇaravā. Śambūka is referred to be hanging with his head down and his legs tied to a banyan tree. Candranakhā introduces herself to Rāma as a princess from Avanti and the widow of a Khecara (IV. p. 241). The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* does not refer to the

1. The *Tilaka Tika* (7.75.13).

meeting of Jaṭāyu at this place and the murder of Śambūka is altogether absent. Rāma reaches Vījanasthāna. There Sītā abuses Śūrpaṇakhā for her misconduct. At this Śūrpaṇakhā assumes a dreadful form in wrath and frightens Sītā. Rāma¹ himself disfigures her.² *Mahābhārata* of Śāralādāsa and *Vicitrarāmāyaṇa* of Mādhavadāsa (Oriya) mention the killing of the son of Śūrpaṇakhā at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa (Bulcke p. 619).

The *Uttarapurāṇa* and the *Mahāpurāṇa* do not contain these episodes.

The episode of the killing of the son of Śūrpaṇakhā by Lakṣmaṇa finds place in many non-Jaina works with certain alterations.

In the *Ananda Rāmāyaṇa* the name of the son of Śūrpaṇakhā is Śāmba. He performs penances in a jungle. Brahmā puts there a divine sword for him. It is not noticed by him. Lakṣmaṇa takes it away and cuts off the trees and creepers. Śāmba is also killed (vrkṣagulme hataḥ Śāmbaḥ 1. 7. 41-43). His mother sees Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and proceeds to kill them. Then it follows the *VR. Bhāvārtharāmāyaṇa* (3. 8.) contains a similar story. (Bulcke. p. 619).

In the Kanarese *Torāve Rāmāyaṇa*, Sambūka, the son Śūrpaṇakhā performs penance for attaining Indra-pada. During the course of his penance, he gets covered with an anthill. Indra and Nārada disguise themselves as hunters and invite Lakṣmaṇa for hunting. Indra conjures up a boar running towards the hill. Lakṣmaṇa shots at the boar but Śambūka gets killed (Aran. 3. Vide-Bulcke p. 411) in the Telugu *Dvīpāda Rāmāyaṇa* his name is Jambumālī. He prepares to obtain a divine sword for killing Rāvaṇa who had killed the former's father. Lakṣmaṇa happens to see that sword and kills Jambukumāra who was performing penance in a bamboo thicket (Aran. 4-5 ; Bulcke-p. 411).

In a south Indian story the son of Śūrpaṇakhā goes to an Āśrama of some Tapasvin to eat fruits. The Tapasvin curses him to become a tree. Further being requested by Śūrpaṇakhā, the Tapasvin moderates his curse saying that her son will attain emancipation when Rāma (Viṣṇu) cut one of the branches of that tree (Bulcke p.412).

In the Serī Rāma, Dersāsīmha, the son of Surapandakī performs penances to obtain a divine sword for taking revenge upon Rāvaṇa who had killed the former's father. Lakṣmaṇa kills him with that sword. The *Seratakāṇḍa* also refers to the death of the son of Surapandakī being

1. According to the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Uttar*. 269) Rāma cuts off the nose and the ears of Śūrpaṇakhā.
2. She is called Suppaṇahī.

pierced by an arrow. In the *Rāmakīyena*, Kumbhakaśa is the son of Śūrpaṇakhā (Sammanakkhā). A battle between Kumbhakaśa and Lakṣmaṇa takes place for the latter had taken away the former's sword. That sword was placed by Brahmā by the side of Kumbhakaśa who was performing penances on the bank of Godāvarī to obtain the same (Bulcke p.412).

According to the Brahmacakra Lakṣmaṇa kills two daughters of Śūrpaṇakhā who were guarding the borders of Laṅkā (Bulcke 2.p.422).

C. Battle with Kharadūṣaṇa :

According to the *PCV*, disappointed Śūrpaṇakhā, the sister of Rāvaṇa, runs away to Pātālāṅkārapura in wrath. She reports to her husband Kharadūṣaṇa the murder of their son and makes a false allegation that the murderer attempted to molest her. Kharadūṣaṇa sends an envoy to Rāvaṇa and he himself with a contingent of 14000 soldiers attacks Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (44.1-14). Lakṣmaṇa asks Rāma to guard Sītā and to come to his help if he makes a lion's roar (*sihanāyana*). He proceeds to face the enemy (44.23). In the meanwhile Rāvaṇa arrives there and gets enamoured of the beauty of Sītā (44.30). He deceives Rāma by making a lion's roar resembling the voice of Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma immediately runs to the help of Lakṣmaṇa but the latter gets surprised to find his brother there. He sends Rāma back to protect Sītā (44.50). Lakṣmaṇa by chance gains there an ally in Vidyādhara Virādhita (45.1), the son of Candrodara whose capital Pātālāṅkārapura was usurped by Kharadūṣaṇa (3.10-23). Lakṣmaṇa kills Kharadūṣaṇa while Virādhita slays all the soldiers of Kharadūṣaṇa.

According to the *VR*, Śūrpaṇakhā goes to Janasthāna (3.18.25) and reports to her brother Khara (Dūṣaṇa and Rāvaṇa are also 3.17.22 her brothers and the name of her husband is Vidyujjihva 7.12.2) the disfiguring of her form by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for the sake of Vaidehī (Sītā). She further expresses her desire to devour the blood of all the three persons (3.19.20). Khara sends fourteen Rākṣasas to kill the culprits but they are slain by Rāma (3.20.21). Śūrpaṇakhā again approaches Khara and abuses him. Khara accompanied by an army of 14000 Rākṣasas under the leadership of Dūṣaṇa, attacks Rāma (3.22). On that occasion Lakṣmaṇa being instructed by Rāma, takes away Sītā along with him in a near-by cave (3.24.15). Rāma fights with them and alone¹ kills all the Rākṣasas as well as

1. There is no reference in the *VR* to any help of Virādhita as found in the *PCV*. In the *VR* Virādhita is a Rākṣasa who snatches away Sītā and finally

Dūṣaṇa, Triśiras and Khara (3.26-30.27). Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā come back to Rāma.

Rākṣasa Akampana¹ reports to Rāvaṇa the death of Khara and others. He further praising the beauty of Sītā asks Rāvaṇa to kidnap her so that Rāma might die in separation from her (3.31.31). Rāvaṇa seeks help from Mārīca but the latter advises him not to fight with Rāma and not to kidnap Sītā. Śūrpaṇakhā abuses and excites Rāvaṇa and makes him a false report that she went there to bring Sītā, the peerless beauty, for him but Lakṣmaṇa disfigured her (3.34.21). She further instigates him to kidnap Sītā. Rāvaṇa reapproaches Mārīca and asks him to help in removing away Sītā by becoming a golden deer. First Mārīca prevents Rāvaṇa but being threatened by the latter he accedes to his plan. On seeing the golden deer Sītā asks Rāma to bring it for her. Rāma leaves behind Lakṣmaṇa and chases the deer (3.35-43). When the deer is pierced with the arrow of Rāma, it makes a noise of alarm 'Hā Sīte hā Lakṣmaṇa.' Hearing it Sītā sends away Lakṣmaṇa to help her husband (3.44-45).

The *TR* follows the *VR* but it does not refer to any desire of Śūrpaṇakhā to devour the blood of the culprits and the first battle of 14 Rākṣasas. Here Khara is mentioned to have first demanded Sītā to avoid the slaying of Rāma in the battle. When Rāma declines to give away Sītā, a battle takes place (3.19). Rāma transforms the Rākṣasas into Rāmas with the power of his 'māyā'.² The Rākṣasas bring their own end (3.20). It does not refer to the message of Akampana. When Śūrpaṇakhā³ reports the beauty of Sītā and the assassination of Khara and Dūṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa thinks that Rāma is not an ordinary person, but he is an incarnation of God. So he plans to be killed at the hands of the god by kidnapping Sītā⁴ (*Tō mairi jai*

he is buried alive (See Sec. 4 C). In the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* Virādha is mentioned to be a Vidyādhara (3.2.38) while in the *VR* he is Gandharva (3.4.16).

1. Akampana's message to Rāvaṇa is not found in the *Gauḍīya* and the *NW* versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bulcke p. 329). The *Rāmopākhyāna* (*MB.* 3.277) and the *Bhāṭṭikāya* (Ch. 5) also do not mention it.
2. The *Raghuvamśa* mentions that each Rākṣasa was seeing a number of Rāmas (12.45).
3. The *Raghuvamśa* does not mention Akampana (12.51). Here also Śūrpaṇakhā reports to Rāvaṇa.
4. According to the *VR* as stated above Śūrpaṇakhā instigates Rāvaṇa to kidnap Sītā. But the interpolated chapters No. 2, 3 and 4 after 7, 37 (*Uttarakāṇḍa*) state that Rāvaṇa wanted to attain the abode of Hari or Bhagavān or Viṣṇu by being killed at the hands of Rāma, the incarnate God, hence he kidnapped Sītā.

· bairu haṭhi karaṭṭuṁ/prabhu sara prāna tajeṁ bhava taraṭṭuṁ S. 23.). Rāvaṇa requests Mārīca once only and Mārīca also thinks it auspicious to be killed by Rāma= Hari (3. 26). Further at the advice of Rāma, Sītā enters into the fire and manifests a shadow Sītā when Lakṣmaṇa is away from there to collect some bulbs and fruits for their food (Prabhu pada dhari hiyaṁ anala samānī, nija pratibimba rākhi taḥaṁ Sītā 3. 23). Mārīca at the time of his death is said to have been granted a good state of existence by Rāma (muni durlabha gati dinni, nija Pada dinha 3. 27).

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV* but additionally mentions that Rāvaṇa uttered 'Rāma, Rāma' in his lion's roar (44. 78). The *PGS* refers to Khara and Dūṣaṇa (37. 2. 10) as two persons and husbands of Candranakhā. She is mentioned to have assumed her hideous form (37. 1) and Lakṣmaṇa is said to have raised the Śurāhāsa sword against her (37. 2). Khara marched to punish the culprits while Dūṣaṇa sent a message to Rāvaṇa (37. 1. 2). It (37. 14-15) also mentions Triśiras of the *VR*. Rāvaṇa was in advance tempted by the beauty of Sītā which was communicated to him through the message of Dūṣaṇa (38. 1). The *RPS* agrees with the *PCV*. According to the *TSP*, Candranakhā informs Rāvaṇa (IV. p. 243) and requests him to help Kharadūṣaṇa. She also excites him referring to the beauty of Sītā. The latter is said to have compelled Rāma to go to the help of Lakṣmaṇa. Triśiras is also mentioned (IV. p. 246).

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* agrees with the *VR*. But in it Khara and Dūṣaṇa are sons of Śūrpaṇakhā (Suppaṇa). It does not mention the sending of the 14 Rākṣasas or the army of 14000 soldiers or the message of Akampana. Mārīca is requested by Rāvaṇa¹ once only.

The *Uttarapurāṇa* and the *Mahāpurāṇa* do not contain these episodes. They relate the abduction of Sītā as follows. Nārada instigates Rāvaṇa to kidnap the beautiful Sītā. Rāvaṇa decides to do so and plans to kill Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa whose rising glory was becoming unbearable to him (*UP*. 68. 91-114; *MP*. 71. 1-3). It is also said that Rāvaṇa kidnapped Sītā for he was not invited by Janaka on the occasion of her marriage with Rāma. The *MP* states that Rāvaṇa could not tolerate the wedding of Sītā to Rāma because Janaka and Daśaratha were his (Rāvaṇa's) vassals (kiṅkarau) and Sītā was previously promised to him (Rāvaṇa) by Janaka (74. 12).

In the *UP* the plan adopted by Rāvaṇa for kidnapping Sītā differs from that of the *PCV* but it agrees with the *VR* with some additions.

1. Rāvaṇa is called Rāmaṇa.

Mārica though first unwilling to help, later on advises Rāvaṇa to send Śūrpaṇakhā and ascertain whether Sītā has any affection for him. Śūrpaṇakhā goes to the Citrakūṭa garden where Rāma and Sītā are sojourning. She in the disguise of an old lady-gardener enquires from Sītā and comes back with a report that Sītā is very faithful to her husband and cannot be seduced at all (68. 115-182). Considering the report a lie, Rāvaṇa himself driving in his Puṣpaka-vimāna goes there along with Mārica. The latter transforms himself into a golden deer and dupes Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa is not there at that time (68. 199). The *MP* also agrees with this account. In it Śūrpaṇakhā is called Candanahī. She goes there in the disguise of a Kañcukī and pretends herself to be mother of (71. 19) the gardener.

D. Forcible removal of Sītā by Rāvaṇa to Laṅkā :

According to the *PCV* when Sītā is left alone with Jaṭāyu, Rāvaṇa removes her by force. He overpowers the vulture and flees away taking her in his Puṣpaka-vimāna (44. 39-42). Khecara Ratnajaṭin obstructs the passage of Rāvaṇa and tries to rescue Sītā, but Rāvaṇa nullifies the power of the Vidyās of that Khecara as a result of which the latter falls down on the Kambudvīpa (45. 32). On the way Rāvaṇa implores Sītā to become his wife but she rebukes him (46. 1-10). He reaches Laṅkā, puts Sītā in the Devaramaṇa Park and himself goes to his palace (46. 15). He deposes Mandodarī to persuade Sītā. Mandodarī requests Rāvaṇa to use force but the latter tells her of his vow¹ of not using force on any unwilling woman. Mandodarī fails to persuade Sītā. Then Rāvaṇa himself tries to seduce Sītā first by putting allurements before her and then by conjuring dreadful and monstrous beasts and hobgoblins. But Sītā is firm. Vibhīṣaṇa is unable to see her plight. He admonishes Rāvaṇa. But the latter is adamant, and arranges for Sītā's abode under the Aśoka grove of Padma-udyāna. He sends his maid-servants to seduce Sītā but all in vain.

According to the *VR*, when Sītā is left alone, Rāvaṇa approaches her in the disguise of a Parivrājaka (3.46,2) and talks a while with her. He asks her to become his wife. She condemns her for his malicious intentions. He resumes his real form and forcibly takes her away in his chariot (3.49.16). He cuts off the limbs of the intervening Jaṭāyu (3.51.42). During his flight Sītā drops her upper garment and some ornaments when she observes five monkeys sitting on a hill (3.54.2).

1. He took his vow when he paid homage to Muni Anantavīrya (14. 153).

Rāvaṇa passes over Pampā and arrives at Laṅkā¹. He first puts her in his harem (3.54.13), not in any park. Here Rāvaṇa is said to have commissioned eight Rākṣasas to work as spies in the Janasthāna and to kill Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (3.54.18-29). He implores Sītā to become his wife. He shows her the wealth and the splendour of Laṅkā (3.35). Sītā rebukes him. Rāvaṇa threatens to kill her in a year if she does not yield to him. He appoints the Rākṣasīs having hateful figures to take her to Aśokavāṭikā and to guard her there (3.56). There is no reference to Mandodarī's advice to use force on Sītā. At one place before the expulsion of Vibhīṣaṇa from Laṅkā, Mahāpārśva requests Rāvaṇa to use force² on Sītā but Rāvaṇa declines to do so on account of the fear of a curse of Brahmā that he (Rāvaṇa) will die if he uses force on any unwilling woman (6.13). Rāvaṇa was cursed to that effect when he had once molested Puñjikasthalā. There is no mention of Rāvaṇa's request to Mandodarī to persuade Sītā to yield to him. In the *Sundarakāṇḍa* Hanumat³ is said to have secretly observed that Rāvaṇa along with the ladies of his harem went to Sītā and tried to seduce her by putting various allurements before her. Sītā bitterly condemns him (5.18,20); that various Rākṣasīs tried to frighten Sītā with their ugly and hideous forms (5.24) but Sītā did not yield even at the risk of her life (5.25.3). It does not refer directly to the intervention of Vibhīṣaṇa, but Sītā is said to have told Hanumat that once Kalā, the daughter of Vibhīṣaṇa informed her that Vibhīṣaṇa requested Rāvaṇa to release her (Sītā) but Rāvaṇa did not pay any heed to it (5.37. 9-11).

According to the *TR* Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā in the disguise of a yati (Jati keṇ veṣā 3.28). While taking her away by force, Rāvaṇa in his heart happily bows to her feet (mana mahuḥ carana vandī sukha mānā⁴). The account of the Jaṭāyu agrees with *VR*. On the way Sītā drops her clothes on a hill where some monkeys were sitting. Sītā was taken to the Aśoka-vana of Laṅkā (3.29). It does not mention the

1. There is no reference to the intervention of Ratnajaṭin of Kambudvīpa to rescue Sītā from Rāvaṇa. But Sūpārśva, the son of Sampātī (and nephew of Jaṭāyu) is said to have let Rāvaṇa pass freely when the former was in search of food on the sea-shore-side of the Mahendragiri. Supārśva first thought of killing them for his food but he gave way to them when Rāvaṇa implored for the same (4.59.13-18). The Kambudvīpa of the *PCV* and Kabandha of the *VR* has some similarity in name. (See Sec. 5E).
2. Also see 5.20.6 (evam caivamakāmaṁ tvaṁ na ca sprakṣyāmi Maithilī).
3. The *PCV* does not refer to any such secret observation by Hanumat.
4. In the interpolated section of the *VR* (5.54. after 7.37) it is stated that Rāvaṇa guarded Sītā as his mother.

commissioning of any Rākṣasa by Rāvaṇa to kill Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa or Mahāpārśva's intervention to help Sītā. In other respects it (5.9-11) agrees with the *VR*.

The *PCR* and the *PCS* agree with the accounts of the *PCV*. The *RPS* mentions that the motherly love gushed forth from the heart of Mandodarī when she was trying to persuade Sītā to yield to Rāvaṇa. Sītā also felt in her heart as if she was the daughter of Mandodarī. The latter then promised to safeguard the chastity of the former (Here she is the abandoned daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī). In other details the *RPS* agrees with the *PCV*. The *TSP* agreeing with the *PCV* additionally mentions Trijaṭā¹ (IV. p. 245) attending upon Sītā.

According to the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* which follows the *VR*, Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā in the disguise of a Tāpasa. Jaṭayu is referred to as a Vidyādhara. It tells us in short that Rāvaṇa crossed the Kiṣkindhi hill and went to Laṅkā.

According to the *UP* when Rāma goes away to hunt the golden deer, Rāvaṇa in the disguise of Rāma asks Sītā to go to her palace in a palanquin (really the Puṣpaka-vimāna) telling her that the deer had already been sent to the palace. Thus by deception he removes her to Laṅkā. (There is no mention of Jaṭayu in the *UP*). When he reveals his real form, Sītā gets frightened. He does not dare touch her with the fear of being deprived of his 'gaganagāminī vidyā' (68.213). He puts her under the guard of some Rākṣasīs. They try to allure her but in vain. When many inauspicious omens are observed, ministers persuade Rāvaṇa to release Sītā but he does not (68.235). The *Mahāpurāṇa* agrees with the *UP*. In both these works Vibhīṣaṇa's efforts to get Sītā released have not been referred to.

Further the *UP* mentions Rāvaṇa persuading Sītā to accept him as her husband. He goes to her along with the ladies of his harem and appoints Mañjarikā (Mandodarī in the *PCV*) for the same (68.321). Rāvaṇa himself tries with various temptations. At his failure he gets furious but Mandodarī² prevents him from using force (68.340). There is a new element which differs both from the *PCV* and the *VR*. The *UP* mentions that Mandodarī and Sita both feel,

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1. In the *VR* Trijaṭā interprets her own dream to Sītā, consoles her and saves her from committing suicide (5.27-28). The *PCS* also mentions at another place that Trijaṭā guarded Sītā and she had seen a dream (50.8).
 2. In the *VR* Dhānyamālīnī (5.22.30) does the same thing but at another place Hanumat tells Rāma that Mandodarī (5.58.77) prevented Rāvaṇa from using force.

as if they are mother and daughter. Mandodarī goes away having utmost sympathy for Sītā and advising her not to yield to Rāvaṇa in any case (68.348-363). The *MP* follows the *UP*. It mentions additionally that Mandodarī recognises Sītā as her abandoned daughter by the marks on her feet (olakhiya payajuyalañchaṇeṇa 73.22.12).

Like the *PCV* there are some works which do not refer to the device of the golden deer.¹

In the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (*Uttā*. 37.113, 114), Sītā is said to have been kidnapped by Rāvaṇa when she was strolling alone in the forest (ghītvā māyayā veṣaṁ carantīm vijane vane).

In the *Anāmakaṁ Jātaka* when the king goes away to collect fruits, a cruel Nāga assuming the form of a Rṣi abducts the former's queen.

According to the Sinhalese *Rāmakathā*, Sītā is abducted from the capital in the absence of Rāma. The *Rāmacarita* of Anāma mentions that Daśānana attacks the capital of Daśaratha and after gaining victory over it, he takes away Sītā along with him (Bulcke p. 340).

The Western Accounts No. 6, 9, 11 & 15 do not mention the golden deer. According to the Account No. 15 a servant of Rāvaṇa assuming the form of a beggar kidnaps Sītā for his master when Rāma is out to subdue the revolting vassals (Bulcke p. 341).

E. Rama's Sojourn at Pātālankārapura :

According to the *PCV* Rāma on being cautioned by Lakṣmaṇa immediately goes back but does not find Sītā there (44.51). He while making a useless search for Sītā sees the vulture crying and breathing his last. He loses all hopes. (44.66). In the meanwhile Lakṣmaṇa returns and learns about the sad incident. He introduces Virādhita to Rāma. Virādhita commissions his soldiers to search for Sītā but all in vain (45.17-27). Virādhita then takes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Pātālankārapura for their safety. They defeat there Sunda who then along with his mother Candranakhā flees away to Laṅkā (45.44).

According to the *VR* Rāma meets his brother Lakṣmaṇa in the way after having killed the deer (Mārīca). At this unexpected meeting

1. C.V. Vaidya is of the opinion that the episode of the golden deer is a later development in the *VR*. Sītā was abducted when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa had gone out for usual hunting because Sītā says to Rāvaṇa "Āgamiṣyati me bhartā vanyamādāya puṣkalam. Rurūṅgodhūnvarahanśca hatvādāya miṣam bahu (3.47.23)".

In the case of a golden deer she would have referred to it. (*The Riddle of the Ramayana*, C. V. Vaidya, p.144).

he suspects the safety of Sītā and both the brothers speed up towards the Āśrama and find that Sītā is not there (3.60). Further in search of Sītā they meet Jaṭāyu who is in a precarious condition. He informs Rāma that Rāvaṇa has kidnapped Sītā and has gone towards the south. Saying so he dies then and there. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa proceed further to the west and then to the south. They enter the dense Kroñcāranya (3.69.5)¹ and reach the āśrama of Mātāṅga (3.69.8). There they encounter Ayomukhī Rākṣasī. Lakṣmaṇa disfigures her. Then proceeding further they meet a dreadful Rākṣasa or Dānava Kabandha² (3.69.27,43). Both the brothers fight with him and cut off his limbs. He tells them that he was cursed to this state by Sthūlaśirarṣi (3.71.4). He further advises them to go to Sugrīva who will help them in recovering Sītā (3.72). Rāma arrives at Padmāsarovara. (3.74.3), meets Śabarī and proceeds towards the Rṣyamūka hill (3.75).

Thus we find that Ayomukhī, Mātāṅga, Pampā and Śabarī of the *VR* do not find mention in the *PCV*. The Rāmopākhyāna also does not refer to Ayomukhī, the Mātāṅga-āśrama and Śabarī (*MB* 3.279,280). The other recensions of *VR* except the southern one do not mention Ayomukhī (Bulcke p.330).

The *TR* agrees with the *VR*. About Jaṭāyu it tells us that he assumed the form of Hari at the time of his death and was granted Haridhāma by Rāma (3.32-33). It does not mention Mātāṅga-āśrama and Ayomukhī. Further Śabarī, not Kabandha, requests Rāma to go to Pampā and make friends with Sugrīva (3.36).

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. The *PCS* additionally mentions that Virādhita was installed as the king of his paternal kingdom of Alaṅkārapura (40.18.6) by Rāma. The *TSP* and the *RPS* follow the *PCS* in this respect. The *PCS* further mentions that when Rāma becomes hopeless and dejected about the recovery of Sītā, two Cāraṇa munis console him by the way of delivering a religious discourse (39.3-10).

According to the *Vasudevahindī* the Jaṭāyu tells Rāma that Rāvaṇa has kidnapped Sītā. Then Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa proceed toward the Kiṣkindhigiri.

1. In the *PCV* there is a reference to the river Kroñcaravā (Kuñcaravā) flowing into the heart of the dense forest of Daṇḍakāranya (42.5.14.5) (See Sec. 5A).
2. It reminds us of Ratnajaṭin (*PCV* 45.32) of Kambudvīpa whom Sugrīva meets in search of Sītā. Sugrīva takes him to Rāma. He informs Rāma of the kidnapping of Sita by Rāvaṇa (See Sec.6D).

According to the *UP* the deer is not killed but Rāma loses his way in the forest. His attendants make a search for him but he is not discovered. Next morning Rāma returns. When a search is made for Sītā, her upper garment (uttariya) is found (68.245). Subsequently a messenger informs Rāma of a dream seen by Daśaratha. Daśaratha dreams that Rāhu kidnapped Rohiṇī. It meant that Sītā was kidnapped by Rāvaṇa and was carried away to Laṅkā. To this effect a letter closed in a casket was sent by Daśaratha to Rāma through that messenger. Following that, Rāma's brothers and Janaka console Rāma and think over a plan for the recovery of Sītā (68.268). The *MP* follows the *UP*, but it mentions that Lakṣmaṇa was there when Rāma returned after the sunset and not the next morning (73.1-3) as referred to in the *UP*.

SECTION VI

FRIENDSHIP WITH SUGRĪVA

A. Sugrīva's approach to Rāma for help :

According to the *PCV*, Vānararāja Sugrīva wandering about in distress caused by the appearance of a sham Sugrīva, learns about the slaying of Kharadūṣaṇa. He considers the slayer of Kharadūṣaṇa to be a fit person to help him. Accompanied by his minister Jambūnada he approaches Rāma sojourning at Pātālāṅkārapura. Jambūnada makes Rāma conversant with the plight of Sugrīva and requests him to assist Sugrīva. Rāma promises to do so and asks Sugrīva to search out Sītā. Sugrīva reciprocates with a promise to help him (47.1-31).

According to the *VR*, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa themselves are in search of Sugrīva (3.75,7-10: 4.3.37). When they reach near the R̥ṣyamūka hill (4.1.128), Sugrīva observes them from a distance and gets frightened suspecting them to be disguised agents of Vāli (4.1.6,21) Sugrīva sends his minister, Hanumat to spy against them. Hanumat disguising himself as a 'bhikṣu' (4.3,2) approaches them and finds out their identity. He requests them to make friends with Sugrīva (4.3.32) who was in distress on account of being deprived of his wife and political right by Vāli (4.5.22-23). Lakṣmaṇa tells Hanumat of the kidnapping of Sītā by some Rākṣasa and requests for the help of Sugrīva (4.4.18). Hanumat fetches them to Sugrīva. Rāma and Sugrīva take an oath of mutual help. Sugrīva produces before Rāma the upper garment and the ornaments of Sītā (4.6.15) and promises to kill Rāvaṇa (4.7.4).

The *TR* agrees with the *VR*, but it mentions that Hanumat goes to Rāma in the disguise of a brahmin ('bipra' or 'baṇu' 4.1). Hanumat

and Sugrīva receive Rāma as Bhagavān (4.3). Sugrīva is ignorant of the identity of the kidnapper of Sītā (4.5).

B. Cause of Sugrīva's distress :

According to the *PCV*, Vidyādhara Sāhasagati, the son of Khecara Cakrāṅka being enamoured of the beauty of Tārā, demands her in marriage from her father Jvalanasimha of Jyotipura. Jvalanasimha rejects his proposal on the ground of his short span of life as foretold by a sage and marries Tārā (Sutārā) to Sugrīva. Bearing this enmity Sāhasagati masters the 'rūpaparivattanakari' Vidyā in the Himalayas (10.1-13). He transforming himself as real Sugrīva, goes to Kiṣkindhīpura to establish sexual relations with Tārā. A duel follows between the real and the impostor Sugrīva. As it becomes quite impossible to identify the true one, both of them are expelled from the city. Hanumat is called for to settle the issue, but he is also in a fix and he returns in vain (47.23,38). The impostor is also called 'duṭṭho māyāvī Dānavo' (47.13).

According to the *VR*, the cause of depriving Sugrīva of his wife and expelling him from the territory is that he occupies the throne of Vāli considering that the latter has died.

The *VR* narrates that Vāli, the elder brother of Sugrīva bore enmity with Māyāvī (Asura), the son of Dundubhi¹ (4.9.4) for a certain woman. Once Māyāvī challenged Vāli for a fight. The latter chasing the former entered a hollow land (bila) leaving behind Sugrīva to wait at the opening of the 'bila'. Sugrīva stayed there for a year and saw some blood flowing out of the hollow. Considering it to be a sign of the death of Vāli, Sugrīva closed the opening with a slab of stone to escape any further atrocity from Māyāvī and returned to Kiṣkindhā. The ministers then enthroned him. But in course of time Vāli returned safe after having killed Māyāvī (also called Dānava 4.9.22). Vāli got enraged at the faithlessness of Sugrīva. He did not excuse him, but kidnapped his wife² and expelled him from the city. Helpless Sugrīva took shelter in the R̥ṣyamūka hill where Vāli could not go because of the fear of the curse of a sage (4.11.64).

In the *PCV* there is no enmity between Vāli and Sugrīva. The name of the wife of Vāli is not mentioned. Vāli voluntarily renounces the kingdom for Sugrīva on the occasion of a battle with Rāvaṇa for the

1. At 7.12.13 Māyāvī and Dundubhi are called brothers and the sons of Maya Dānava.

2. Her name is Rumī (4.18.19; 4.20.28; 4.35.5). Tārā is the wife of Vāli (4.20.2; 4.11.37; 4.15.6).

marriage of his sister and himself becomes a monk (9.6,9,94-26) instead of recognising the suzerainty of Rāvaṇa.

According to the *TR* Māyāvī entered a cave (4.6) and Sugrīva waited for Vāli one month only.

C. Slaying of sham Sugrīva :

According to the *PCV*, Sugrīva takes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Kiṣkindhipura from Pātālākārapura. A battle ensues between both the Sugrīvas. Initially the real Sugrīva is overpowered by the hit of a mace of the sham Sugrīva. He is consoled by Rāma pleading that he could not distinguish between the two. In the second fight the impostor is brought forth to Rāma's sight. As soon as Rāma is seen by the impostor, the Vetālī (Veyālī Mahāvijjā 47.43) leaves the impostor and he appears in his real form as Sāhasagati. Rāma slays him with his arrows. Thus Sugrīva recovers his wife Tārā. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa stay there in a garden. Thirteen daughters of Sugrīva offer themselves to serve Rāma (47.52).

According to the *VR*, Sugrīva for his own confidence takes two tests of Rāma to ascertain the latter's fitness in killing the mighty Vāli. Rāma is successful in both the tests viz. kicking off the heavy carcass of Dundubhi and piercing of seven trees of Tāla by an arrow at a single stretch (4. 11. 84, 12. 3). No test is mentioned in the *PCV*¹ in this connection.

Then the account of the *VR*² is similar to that of the *PCV*. The *VR* mentions a duel and not a battle. At the time of the second duel Sugrīva puts round his neck a flower garland (gajapuṣpimālā 4. 12. 30) for being distinguished from Vāli. Before the ensuing of the second duel, Vāli is intervened by his wife, Tārā. She requests him to make friends with Sugrīva because Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are assisting Sugrīva. Vāli declines the same because he considers it quite contemptible and degrading that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa should ever perform such a sinful act (dharmajñāśca kṛtajñāśca katham pāpam kariṣyati 4. 15. 5). Rāma shoots Vāli with his arrow, concealing himself behind some trees (4. 16. 35). Vāli derides Rāma for his cowardice. The latter explains that his act is righteous. Vāli hands over his divine garland to Sugrīva and dies. Then follows the mourning by Tārā, the coronation of Sugrīva, the conferring of the status of Yuvarājatva to Aṅgada, the son

1. See Section 7B.

2. Here they are not distinguished on account of their similarity in stature, body, dress and movements-*śālaṅkāreṇa veṣeṇa pramāṇeṇa gatena* and *'rupasādṛśya'* (4. 12. 30, 32).

of Vāli (in the *PCV* the name of the son of Vāli is Candrarasmi while Aṅgada and Jayānanda are the sons of Sugrīva 47. 23; 10.10). Sugrīva recovers his wife Rumā (4. 26.42), makes Tārā also as his wife (4. 29. 4; 4. 35. 4) and succeed the throne of Kiṣkindhipura. The *VR* does not refer to any daughter of Sugrīva. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa stay in a cave of the Praśravaṇagiri (4. 27. 1-4), a range of the Mālyavat mountain (4. 28. 1).

The *TR* is in agreement with the *VR*. It additionally mentions that Sugrīva develops the feeling of 'Vairāgya' (birāga) and so he does not like to fight with Vāli. Rāma advises him to do so saying that his words always become true (4. 7). Here Tārā prevents Vāli at the time of the first duel and Vāli considers it auspicious to be killed by Rāma (jauṇ kadāci mohi mārahim tau puṇi houm sanātha 4. 7). Vāli eulogises Rāma as Bhagavān. Tārā is not mentioned to have become the wife of Sugrīva and no wife of Sugrīva is referred to.

According to the *Rāmopākhyāna* (*MB.* 3. 28) Hanumat does not assume any artificial form; there is only one duel between Sugrīva and Vāli. Rumā is not mentioned, and Tārā is called the wife of Vāli. Further once Vāli suspects Tārā of having soft heart for Sugrīva when she prevents Vāli from holding a duel with Sugrīva. And though Sugrīva is said to have told Rāma that his wife was snatched away from him by Vāli, yet after the death of Vāli it is nowhere mentioned that Sugrīva got back any woman other than Tārā. The above reference and the suspicion of Vāli on Tārā indicate that Tārā was formerly the wife of Sugrīva or Sugrīva wanted Tārā for himself.

In the *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa* (ch. 50) there is one duel only. Tārā's warning to Vāli and her efforts for pacifying Lakṣmaṇa are not mentioned. There she seems to be the wife of Sugrīva to whom she is restored from Vāli. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are unaware of the identity of the kidnapper of Sītā.

The *Rāma-Kīyena* does not refer to the tests as mentioned in the *VR* and thus it agrees with the *PCV* (Bulcke p. 358).

According to the *Anāmakaṃ Jātaka* the king (Bodhisattva) in search of his queen meets a monkey whose territory was usurped by his uncle. When both the monkeys fight, the king fixes an arrow on the bow and at the sight of it the uncle monkey flees away. There is no mention of hiding of the king behind the trees and thus it is in agreement with the *PCV*.

The *PCR* (47), the *PCS* (43), and the *RPS* (21) agree with the *PCV*. The *TSP* (IV. p. 253) mentions only one fight between the impostor and the real Sugrīva.

According to the Vasudevahiṇḍī Vāli and Sugrīva are Vidyādhara who develop mutual enmity for a certain woman. Vāli overpowers Sugrīva and the latter takes shelter in a Jaina temple along with Vidyādhara Hanumat and Jāmbavat. Further it follows the VR. But the approach of Hanumat to Rāma, in disguised form, the tests taken by Sugrīva and the hiding of Rāma etc. are not mentioned.

According to the *Uttarapurāṇa* there arrive two Vidyādhara, Sugrīva and Anumat (Hanumat of the PCV) of their own accord to help Rāma (68.269). They were already informed of the plight of Rāma by Nārada. Nārada advised them to help Rāma in recovering Sītā from Rāvaṇa so that Sugrīva would regain his hereditary position (68.287-289) of Yuvarājatva. Here Sugrīva is said to have been exiled by Bāli on account of the latter's greediness (68.275). There is no mention of the abduction of Sugrīva's wife by Bāli. Here Rāma sends Anumat twice to bring about conciliation with Rāvaṇa but the missions are met with failure. Then Rāma marches with his army towards Laṅkā and sojourns at Citrakūṭavana. At that time Bāli through his envoy offers to help Rāma provided Sugrīva is not given any shelter (68.442). Rāma does not agree to the proposal. He demands Mahāmegha elephant from Bāli and also asks him to accompany him to Laṅkā. At this proposal Bāli gets annoyed and challenges Rāma for a battle. Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva fight the battle and kill Bāli (69.464). Rāma restores the lost kingdom to Sugrīva and sojourns in a garden of Kriṣkindhanagara (68.467). The MP follows the UP (73.7-75).

SECTION VII

THE MISSION OF HANUMAT

A. Reproach to Sugrīva and Patnakeśins help :

According to the PCV (48.1.10), Sugrīva after the restoration of Tārā, gets so much immersed in pleasures with her that he forgets to make any search for Sītā. Rāma speaks of the negligence of Sugrīva to Lakṣmaṇa. The latter reproaches Sugrīva for his procrastination. Sugrīva begs pardon of Lakṣmaṇa and despatches his warriors in various quarters to search out Sītā (48.34). Rāma sends a message through one of the Vānaras to Bhāmaṇḍala (48.37). Sugrīva himself, on his way to discover Sītā, meets Ratnajaṭin at the Kambudvīpa (48.30). Sugrīva fetches him to Rāma. Ratnajaṭin (Ke śi) informs Rāma about the abduction of Sītā by the Rākṣasa Lord of Laṅkā (42-44). Thus

for the first time Rāma and Sugrīva come to know of the name and the place of the kidnapper.

According to the *VR*, before the reproachment of Sugrīva by Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumat reminds Sugrīva of his promise (IV. 20) and then Sugrīva orders Nīla to call for the help of the Vānaras from different places. But still the work gets delayed. Then at the fury of Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumat alerts Sugrīva (4.32). Lakṣmaṇa warns Sugrīva that he will be killed by Rāma (4. 34. 17). Here Tārā¹ intervenes and pacifies Lakṣmaṇa (4. 24). Sugrīva himself does not go but sends his generals with suitable forces to various places² (4. 41-44). In place of Ratnajaṭin of the *PCV*, Sampāti, the elder brother of Jaṭāyu informs Hanumat, Aṅgada and Jāmbavat of the place and the name of the kidnapper³ of Sītā (i. e. Rāvaṇa). Sampāti was informed of the same by his son Supārśva (4. 59)

The *TR* agrees with the *VR* (*TR* 4.18-28). But no details of pleading of Tārā for Sugrīva and no reference to Supārśva are found in it.

B. Lifting up of Koṭiśilā and selection of Hanumat for Mediation:

According to the *PCV* (48.47-195), after hearing the very name of the lord of Laṅkā, all the Vānaras get stupefied and so much frightened that Jāmbavat⁴ has to request Rāma to drop the idea of rescuing Sītā because of the invincibility of Rāvaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa then tries to convince them of the unfailing valour of Rāma but in vain. Lakṣmaṇa goes to Sindhudeśa and lifts up the 'Koṭiśilā.' At this Jambū-

1. Sending of Tārā by Sugrīva to pacify Lakṣmaṇa is not found in the N. W. and the Gaudīya versions of the *VR* (Bulcke p. 35).
2. The long description of various routes as found in the *VR* is a later interpolation (H. Jacobi-Das Rāmāyana p. 37) vide Bulcke p. 356. The *PCV* does not have such descriptions (48.35).
3. There are contradictory references in the *VR* about the identity of the kidnapper and his place.
 - (A) Jaṭāyu informs Rāma of the person who kidnapped Sītā and the direction in which he went (3, 67. 1 and 68. 10). But Lakṣmaṇa informs Hanumat at the time of his first meet that he is ignorant of the identity of the kidnapper of Sītā (4. 4. 14).
 - (B) Sugrīva himself promises to kill Rāvaṇa when the former meets Rāma for the first time (4.7.4)-
 - (C) Tārā informs Lakṣmaṇa that she heard of Rāvaṇa from Vālī (4.35.16). But Rāma requests Sugrīva to discover the place of Rāvaṇa (4.40.11).
 - (D) Aṅgada tells Hanumat about the kidnapping of Sītā by Rāvaṇa when he and others get frightened at the sight of Sampāti (456.12-13).
4. Jambūnada (Jāmbuvat) is the minister of Sugrīva (19.18-41).

nada gets assured of the destined death of Rāvaṇa as prophesied by sage Anantavīrya (48.99). The Vānaras do not favour a straight fight with Rāvaṇa. They advise Rāma to conciliate with Rāvaṇa through Vibhiṣaṇa. Hanumat who is considered to be quite a fit person for mediation, is called there from Śrīpura (49.19). Hanumat¹ is the son-in-law of Sugrīva. He is an ally of Rāvaṇa and the husband of the daughter of Candranakhā.

According to the *VR*, there is no stupefaction of the Vānaras but Tārā while pacifying Lakṣmaṇa, says that Rāvaṇa cannot be killed by Sugrīva alone (4.35.16), therefore, other allies are called for assistance. Lakṣmaṇa does not try to convince the Vānaras about the valour of Rāma but Sugrīva himself admits before Lakṣmaṇa that Rāma is quite fit to kill Rāvaṇa on account of his success in previous test.² Hanumat does not bear any marital relation with Rāvaṇa. He is selected on account of his strength, ability, wisdom and faithfulness. He is commissioned to find out Sītā. No command of making an effort to reconcile with Rāvaṇa through Vibhiṣaṇa (4.44.7) is mentioned in the *VR*.

The *TR* does not describe these topics of the *VR* in detail.

There are some non-Jaina works in which Lakṣmaṇa is also associated with the test of Rāma in piercing the seven trees, though in the *PCV* it is only Lakṣmaṇa who lifts up the Koṭīśilā. According to the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.8.36), Serī Rāma and the Reāma Kera as well as the Western. Acc. No. 1, these trees stood on the back of a snake coiling itself in a circular form. Lakṣmaṇa presses that snake to straighten its body and Rāma pierces the trees. Some works mention that there prevailed a prophecy that one who pierced these seven trees at a stretch would be the killer of Vālī. This account is found in the *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa* (50.22), *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.8.39) and the West Acct. No. 13. According to the *PCV* also there prevailed a prophecy that one who lifted up the Koṭīśilā, would be the slayer of Rāvaṇa.

C. Hanumat's journey to Laṅkā :

According to the *PCV* Rāma gives his finger-ring to Hanumat to convince Sītā that the bearer is his (Rāma's) confidant and he further asks him to bring the braid-jewel of Sītā (cūḍāmaṇi 49.35). Hanumat along with a band of soldiers, on his way to Laṅkā, overpowers

1. 19.18-41.

2. This test was taken for adjudging the fitness of Rāma in killing Vālī and not for the annihilation of Rāvaṇa as found in the *PCV* (See Sec. 6C).

Mahendrarāja of Mahendranagara to take revenge upon the latter who had deserted his own daughter, Añjanāsundarī, the mother of Hanumat. Further Hanumat conciliates with Mahendrarāja and sends him to Rāma sojourning at (50) Kiṣkindhapurī. Proceeding further Hanumat meets king Gandharva of the Dadhimukha island and informs him of the death of Sāhasagati. Gandharva goes to Kiṣkindhapurī to marry his three daughters to Rāma (51) as foretold by a Naimittika (ch.51). Hanumat on his way enters into the belly of Āśalikāvidyā through her mouth and tears open her belly. She was requisitioned there to defend the rampart of Laṅkā. He further kills Vajravādāna, the chief guard of the rampart and fights with Laṅkāśundarī, the daughter of Vajravādāna but her amorous advances win his heart. He stays there for the night, enjoying with her and the next day he enters the city of Laṅkāpurī (ch.52).

According to the *VR*, the ring is given to Hanumat but he is not asked by Rāma to bring the braid-jewel of Sītā (4. 44. 12). Hanumat is said to have gone towards the south along with Tārā, Jāmbavat and Nīla under the leadership of Aṅgada. Sugrīva sends other generals to the east, west and north but they return unsuccessful¹ (4. 47). Herefrom the details of the account differ from that of the *PCV*. On their way Hanumat etc. make a search for Sītā on the Vindhya (4. 48. 2). Aṅgada kills Asura Suranirbhaya considering him to be Rāvaṇa (4. 48. 20). Further they move to the south of the Vindhya (4. 49), enter into the Rkṣabila (cave) and meet Tāpasī Svayamprabhā (4. 50-52). From there they reach the seashore and meet Sampāti, the elder brother of Jaṭāyu, who informs them of the name and the place of the kidnapper of Sītā (4. 53-59). The episode of humiliating the king of Mahendranagara is not found in the *VR*. Here Hanumat alone (leaving all others behind) climbs the Mahendragiri (4. 67. 39), magnifies his body (5. 1. 10) and takes a flight across the sea. In course of his flight he converses with the Maināka mountain (5. 1. 89), enters into the mouth of Surasā Rākṣasī, mother of the Nāgas (5. 1. 156) and deceives her by coming out again after assuming a small form. He further slays Simhikā Rākṣasī (5. 1. 188) and jumps on the Lambagiri, on the other side of the sea (5. 1. 200). There is no reference to Dadhimukha island but the *VR* mentions that Hanumat, on his way back from Laṅkā, ruins Madhuvana in a frenzy of excessive joy and fights with Dadhimukha who is the maternal uncle of Sugrīva and the gardener of Madhuvana (5. 61). Dadhimukha comes to know the

1. It can be compared with the unsuccessful return of the warriors of Virādhita as mentioned in the *PCV* (Sec 5 E).

reality when he goes to Sugriva to make a complaint of the miscreant. He comes back and requests pardon of Hanumat (5. 64). Hanumat further on his way to Laṅkā, after having crossed the sea, assumes a small form like that of a cat (5. 2. 47) to enter into Laṅkāpurī unnoticed. Before entering into the city he overpowers Rākṣasī Laṅkā who is stationed there by Rāvaṇa to guard the city (5. 3. 28). She is referred to as the city itself appearing in the form of a Rākṣasī.

The *TR* agrees with the *VR* but it cuts short all the descriptions. (4. 23-28). Jāmbavat (Jānavat) while encouraging Hanumat to jump across the sea, calls him an incarnation coming to the world with the sole purpose of fulfilling the mission of Rāma (Rāma kāja laḡi tava avatāra 4. 30). The description of the journey of Hanumat across the sea is in agreement with that of the *VR*. Hanumat assumes the form of a mosquito (masaka samāna rupa 5. 4). Laṅkinī is called a niśicari (Rākṣasī).

The *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda does not refer to the love proposal of Laṅkāśundarī but mentions that in the cave of Svayamprabhā, Vānaravarasundarī proposes twice to gain the love of Hanumat but the latter rejects her proposal (Bulcke, p. 184).

D. Meeting with Sītā and Mandodarī's Interference :

According to the *PCV*, Hanumat straightway goes to the house of Vibhīṣaṇa and requests him to persuade Rāvaṇa to send back Sītā. Vibhīṣaṇa is very sorry because his previous efforts met with derision and reproach (52. 8). He advises Hanumat to make his personal efforts in admonishing Rāvaṇa. Hanumat goes to the Padma-udyāna and drops the finger-ring in Sītā's lap. Sītā regains her spirits, becomes cheerful and hands over her upper-garment to Hanumat as a mark of refuge (53. 12). Learning about the gladness of Sītā, Mandodarī arrives there and gets surprised to see Hanumat there. Hanumat then introduces himself to Sītā and narrates the events which happened to Rāma (53. 40). Mandodarī flatters Hanumat, but the latter reproaches the former. Mandodarī then condemns Rāma. Sītā rebukes Mandodarī. At this Mandodarī along with other women makes an attempt to beat Sītā. Hanumat intervenes at this stage. Mandodarī gets discomfited and reports the matter to her husband (53. 55).

In the *VR* there is no reference to the meeting of Hanumat with Vibhīṣaṇa. On the other hand Hanumat makes a very long and thorough search for Sītā (5. 4-13) and observes her surrounded by many Rākṣasīs, seated under a 'caitya prāsāda' in the Aśokavāṭikā

(5.15). Hiding himself in the 'Simsapā tree' Hanumat takes notice of the harassment of Sītā¹. Here Sītā is said to have tried to commit suicide which was ultimately given up by her on observing auspicious omens (5.28-29). Then Hanumat meets Sītā, hands over the finger-ring and both of them have a free talk about the conditions and the events which took place on either side (5.30:37). The episode of Mandodari's attempt to beat Sītā is not referred to in the *VR*. At 5.58.75-80 Hanumat informs Rāma that he saw Rāvaṇa beating Sītā with his fist and the intervention of Mandodari to save Sītā. While at 5.22.39 it is said that Rāvaṇa in his fury roaringly approached Sītā to frighten her but Dhānyamālinī immediately took him away from there (5.22,39).

The *TR* mentions that Hanumat while searching for Sītā hears Vibhīṣaṇa chanting the name of Rāma (5.66). He assumes the form of a Vipra, goes to Vibhīṣaṇa and acquaints him with the situation. Vibhīṣaṇa points out the place of Sītā's confinement (5.8). Then it (5.9-12) agrees with the *VR*. When Sītā thinks of committing suicide by burning herself into the fire (5.12) Hanumat drops the finger-ring before her. Then follows their meeting.

Though the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.8.29), the *Gujarātī Rāmāyaṇasāra*, *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* (5,1) and the West. Acct. No. 13 do not mention any meeting between Hanumat and Vibhīṣaṇa as found in the *PCV*, but they tell us that Hanumat saw Vibhīṣaṇa devotedly eulogising Rāma (Bulcke, p. 371).

The *Rāmopākhyāna* (*MB*, 3. 280, 281) does not mention the manifestation of his huge form by Hanumat when he crosses the sea or the changing of his form while entering the city of Laṅkā. Further it is to be noted that the tortures afflicted on Sītā by Rāvaṇa and the Rākṣasīs, as described in the *VR*, are not mentioned to have been observed by Hanumat. It agrees with the *PCV* as regards the order of these incidents which are referred to have taken place before the arrival of Hanumat. Hanumat's journey to Laṅkā is not narrated directly. It is Hanumat who reports to Rāma the account of his journey to Laṅkā after having returned to Kiṣkindhipura (3.282).

E. Discussion with Sītā :

Further according to the *PCV*, at the request of Hanumat, Sītā takes food which she had given up (46.14) when she was being taken

1. See Sec. 5 D.

to Laṅkāpurī by Rāvaṇa. Hanumat requests Sītā to accompany him to Kiṣkindhipura on his shoulders (āruhasu majjha khandhe 53.60) but Sītā declines to touch any other person's body (53.61a). She confides the following episodes¹ of her life to Hanumat so that the latter should refer to these in his conversation with Rāma and make him believe that he actually met Sītā: (i) homage paid by them to the Cāraṇamunis, (ii) subduing the wild elephant by Rāma in the Padmasara², (iii) embracing Candanalātā by Rāma, (iv) sportively beating of Sītā by Rāma with the stalk of a lotus, (v) explaining of the Nandidrumas to her by Rāma, (vi) hospitality extended by them to the sages on the bank of the Kaṇṇaravā and on the same occasion obtaining of the Cuḍāmaṇi³ at the time of the supernatural occurrences. After narrating these episodes she gives her braid-jewel to Hanumat and advises him to depart before Rāvaṇa puts any impediment (53.63-72) before him.

In the *VR* there is a reference to the weakness of Sītā on account of her observing fast 'Upavāsa' (*VR*, 5.15.19) but there is no reference to the request by Hanumat to take food. Here Hanumat requests Sītā to take her on his back⁴ 'upāroha mama prṣṭham 5.37.31) but Sītā refuses on the same ground (5.37.62). She is further said to have told that she would not be able to withstand the speed of Hanumat and she might fall in the sea or she might be put to further difficulties on being chased by the Rākṣasas. Further for her genuineness Sītā confides some episodes to Hanumat to be conveyed to Rāma and also hands over her 'Cuḍāmaṇi' (5.38.66). Here the private incidents referred to differ from those of the *PCV*. They are, viz. the kākā vṛttānta (5.38, 5.40, 4), and the application of the maṇḍilā-tilaka on her cheeks by Rāma (5.40.5).

According to the *TR*, Hanumat expresses his inability to take her to Rāma without Rāma's commission to that effect (5. 16). Hanumat again meets Sītā after burning the city of Laṅkā and receives her braid-jewel. She for the confidence of Rāma narrates the 'Śakrasutakathā' (5. 277) i. e. the kākā-vṛttānta to Hanumat.

1. Sāhiṇṇāṇṇesu puṇa, imesu vayanēsu viśāttho 53.64.
2. Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmācārīta* (Aṅka.3) refers to Sītā's alarm when an elephant who was nurtured by her, is attacked by an agitated elephant in the river. She requests Rāma to save the elephant in trouble. This episode has some basic similarity with that of the *PCV*.
3. The text does not refer to the Cuḍāmaṇi on that occasion. It was given by Yakṣa Potana when they started from Rāmapurī (See Sec. 4C).
4. In the *Aśhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* the request is made to climb his shoulders (me skandha-māroha 5.5.6) as in the *PCV*. In the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* also (1.9.277).

F. Capturing of Hanumat by Indrajit and the former's wordy duel with Rāvaṇa :

According to the *PCV*, as soon as Hanumat starts from there he finds himself surrounded by the servants of Rāvaṇa. They had been commissioned by Rāvaṇa to beat and chase off Hanumat, on receiving the information of his arrival from the ladies who had gone to the garden. During his fight with them Hanumat ruins the whole garden (53. 75-80). Following that a band of soldiers arrive there. Hanumat inflicts a crushing defeat by killing them. Further he destroys various buildings of Laṅkā and approaches the palace of Rāvaṇa (53. 90). Rāvaṇa gets ready to capture Hanumat but Indrajit intervenes. The latter himself along with Meghavāhana and his soldiers, after a gruesome fight, binds Hanumat with serpent nooses (*baddho ciya nāgapāsehim*) and produces him before Rāvaṇa (53. 120). Rāvaṇa deprecates his alliance with Rāma. Hanumat retorts Rāvaṇa rebuking him for his malicious conduct. Rāvaṇa gets annoyed and orders his men to insult Hanumat by beating him in the centre of the city (53. 141). Hanumat losing no moment tears asunder the fetters and flees away towards Kiṣkindhipura after ruining the city of Laṅkā. Mando-darī informs Sītā of (53. 147) Hanumat's escape.

According to the *VR*, Hanumat intentionally deserts the garden to ascertain the mind and the strength of the army of Rāvaṇa (5. 41. 7. 11). Rākṣasīs report it to Rāvaṇa on the next day (5. 42). Rāvaṇa then sends a contingent of 8000 servants to subdue Hanumat but they all are killed. Hanumat destroys the 'caityaprasāda'¹ and kills the guards who try to oppose him (5. 43). Then follows the slaying of Jambumālin (5. 44. 20), seven sons of the ministers (5. 45. 17), five generals (5. 46) and Akṣayakumāra (5. 47. 38) who were all commissioned by Rāvaṇa to capture Hanumat. At last Indrajit is sent. He overpowers Hanumat and seizes him by his Brahmāstra (*paitāmahaṁ astram* 5. 48. 36). Hanumat voluntarily gets captured with a view to have some discussion with Rāvaṇa (5. 48. 47). He is then produced before Rāvaṇa who being annoyed with the abuses and scorns from Hanumat orders his men to assassinate Hanumat (5. 51. 45). Here Vibhīṣaṇa intervenes and saves Hanumat (5. 52. 25). Rāvaṇa then orders to ignite the tail of Hanumat. It is done accordingly. Hanumat gets himself released from the fetters and burns the whole city of Laṅkā (5. 53-54) except the house of Vibhīṣaṇa. He again goes to Sītā and

1. There is no mention of destroying of any 'caitya' in the N. W. and Gauḍiya versions (Bulcke, p. 366).

finds her quite safe (5. 55-56). Then he jumps over the sea and alights on the Mahendra hill (5. 57. 30). There he narrates all the events to Aṅgada, Jāmbavat etc. They proceed further, ruin Madhuvana and then having been sent for by Sugrīva, they all go to him (5. 58-64).

In the *TR* Hanumat takes permission of Sītā and starts plucking the fruits of the garden to quench his hunger (5. 17). As a monkey he is, he uproots the trees of the garden, being impelled by his inborn nature. Then he encounters the guards of the garden, other warriors, Akṣayakumāra and Indrajit (5. 19). Hanumat requests Rāvaṇa to become a devotee of Rāma (5. 23). Thereafter it follows the *VR*. After burning the city of Laṅkā, Hanumat again meets Sītā and then goes away (5. 29).

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. But it does not point out the location of Koṭīśilā. It states that eleven days had passed since the abduction of Sītā when Hanumat met Vibhīṣaṇa at Laṅkā (53.12). Vibhīṣaṇa is said to have promised Hanumat to assist him by re-approaching Rāvaṇa for rescuing Sītā (53.12). Here Hanumat changes his form when he drops the finger-ring before Sītā (53.25). Hanumat appears before Sītā when the latter makes a request for it and that also after the arrival of Mandodarī (53.37-49). Sītā refuses to go with Hanumat because Rāma had not ordered him to that effect (53.146). According to the *PCS* Hanumat drops the finger-ring hiding himself in the sky (49.9.9). Trijaṭā's dream is referred to in it (50.9). Hanumat destroys the park to tease Rāvaṇa (51.1.1). The killing of Akṣayakumāra by Hanumat is mentioned in it (52). When Rāvaṇa is being advised by Vibhīṣaṇa to give up Sītā, Indrajit intervenes, scorns Vibhīṣaṇa and then seizes Hanumat (53). According to the *RPS*, Rāma is so furious that he attempts to kill Sugrīva for the latter's negligence in searching out Sītā, but Lakṣmaṇa intervenes and saves Sugrīva (p.131). The place of Koṭīśilā is mentioned to be Nābhagiri (p.134). Here Hanumat ties Mahendrārāja by the help of his 'lāṅgūla vidyā' (p.136). He manifests himself in the form of 'Kāmadeva' to win the love of Laṅkāśundarī (p.138). He changes his form, climbs a tree and then drops the ring in the lap of Sītā (p.138). He assumes the form of a monkey when he is attacked by the servants of Rāvaṇa (p.140). He burns Laṅkā but the ignition of his tail is not referred to (p.141). The *TSP* follows the *PCR* and *PCV*. Akṣa is said to have been killed by Hanu after destroying the garden at Laṅkā (IV. p.270).

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* merely refers to Hanumat's going to and coming back from Laṅkā without any details. Here a messenger is sent to Bharata. The latter sends his army to help Rāma.

In the *Anāmakaṃ Jātaka* the nephew monkey sends many monkeys in search of the queen. They meet a wounded bird on a hill, informs them of the whereabouts of the Nāga who had kidnapped the queen. Thereafter no messenger is sent but a direct attack is mentioned.

According to the *Uttarapurāṇa*¹, Aṇumat goes to Laṅkā twice before the slaying of Vāli. During the first mission Aṇumat takes the finger-ring with him (68.293). There is no mention of his fight with Mahendrārāja or the meeting with king Gandharva and Laṅkā-sundarī. Aṇumat assumes the form of a wasp and then searches for Sītā in Laṅkā. Sītā is said to be seated in the Nandanavana of Laṅkā (68.307). Aṇumat secretly observes the arrival of Rāvaṇa and his attempt to coax Sītā. Mandodarī intervenes and saves Sītā from being tortured by Rāvaṇa (68.340) as in the *VR*. Here Mandodarī's natural love of a mother rises in her heart. She sympathises with Sītā, advises her to be firm and goes away (68.363). Aṇumat then assumes the form of a monkey and hands over to Sītā the casket which he brings from Rāma (68.365). Sītā takes out the ring, reads the letter and feels cheerful. She takes food on being requested by Aṇumat (68.374-5). Then Aṇumat returns to Rāma and acquaints him with Sītā's plight (68.376). On the advice of Aṅgada, Rāma sends again Aṇumat to Laṅkā, this time as an envoy to find out the solution peacefully through the good offices of Vibhīṣaṇa (68.392). Vibhīṣaṇa takes Aṇumat to Rāvaṇa but their conference fails for Rāvaṇa gets annoyed and scorns Aṇumat. Vibhīṣaṇa intervenes and sends back Aṇumat to Rāma (68.434). It does not refer to sending of any confidential news by Sītā to Rāma of her genuineness. Aṇumat apprises Rāma of the arrogance and the unwillingness of Rāvaṇa to give up Sītā. Then Rāma along with his army starts towards Laṅkā and halts in the Citrakūṭavana for the time being (68.439).

The *Mahāpurāṇa* agrees with the *UP*. It additionally mentions that at first Sītā does not believe that Aṇumat is a genuine envoy of Rāma. Aṇumat then convinces Sītā of his genuineness by telling her a private incident of her life with Rāma. He tells her about the love quarrel she had with Rāma and Rāma's subsequent efforts in pleasing her. He refers to the applying of 'Tilaka' on her forehead by Rāma (72.26-27). On being convinced she accepts the casket and the letter from Aṇumat.

1. The *UP* and the *MP* refer to the lifting up of Koṭīśilā by Lakṣmaṇa but it is done after rescuing Sītā from Rāvaṇa and after the consecration of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (See Sec. 9B).

SECTION VIII

THE KILLING OF RĀVAṆA

A. March to Laṅkā :

According to the *PCV*, after receiving the news of Sītā through Hanumat, Rāma along with the Vānara army marches towards Laṅkā on the fifth day of the dark Mārgaśīrṣa (54.28). On the way Nala subdues Samudra, the lord of Velandharapura or Suvelapura situated in the valley of Velandhara hill. The defeated lord offers his four daughters to Lakṣmaṇa in marriage. Further they defeat Haṁsaratha, the lord of the Haṁsadvīpa situated in the vicinity of Laṅkāpurī. A fresh message is sent again to Bhāmaṇḍala (54.46) by Rāma.

According to the *VR*, Rāma's army consisting of the Vānaras traversing¹ the Sahya and the Malaya mountains (6.4.94) reach Mahendragiri (6.4.92) and encamp on the seashore (6.4.100). The *VR* does not refer to Velandharapura and Haṁsadvīpa. It is only after crossing the sea that Rāma climbs up a mountain named Suvelaśaila (6.38) to take a view of Laṅkā. There is no king like Samudra, but it is the sea itself which comes in their way. When the sea does not allow a passage, Rāma worships it for three days (6.21.10). Even then the sea is not appeased. Rāma then at first pierces arrows in the sea (6.21.26) and then as soon as he is ready to hurl the 'Brahmāstra', the presiding deity of the sea (Sāgara) appears before Rāma, begs his pardon and advises him to appoint Nala, the son of Viśvakarman (6.22) to construct a bridge over the sea. Sāgara names his country as Drumakulya. Rāma hurls his arrow towards it. That place comes to be known as Marukāntāra (6.22) (36-37). Only the bridge is built by Nala and the sea is crossed. Here before the appearing of the deity of the sea and after the exile of Vibhīṣaṇa from Laṅkā, Śārdūla and Śuka² (6.20) are sent by Rāvana to spy against Rāma (6.25). These references are not found in the *PCV*.

The *TR* does not refer to the hills mentioned above (5.35). Śuka is said to have been expelled by Rāvaṇa when he requested Rāvaṇa to give up Sītā. Śuka then paid homage to Rāma and left for his

1. The Tilaka commentary mentions the eighth or the seventh day of dark Mārgaśīrṣa (6.4.5,6,7) as the date of their march.
2. This spying work by Śārdūla and Śuka is not mentioned in the North West and the Gauḍiya versions-Bulcke, p. 377.

Āśrama (5.57). The deity of the sea here appears in the form of a Vipra (5.58). Nala and Nila both are appointed to construct the bridge (5.59). It additionally states that Rāma installed Śiva-linga at Rāmeśvaram¹ (6.2)

According to the *Rāmopākhyāna*, the sea deity appears before Rāma in his dream and advises him to ask Nala to construct a bridge (MB, 3.283.32-45). It does not mention the specific names of the hills traversed. The *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa (12.66-72) does not refer to the hills and the work of the spies.

Like the *PCV* the following works do not mention the construction of a bridge but unlike the *PCV* some other device is adopted. According to the *Abhiṣeka Nāṭaka*, the sea gives way when Rāma is ready to discharge an arrow (4.16.2). According to the *Padmapurāṇa*, Rāma at the request of Nārada worships Śaṅkara who gives the former a bow which is laid across for crossing the sea. (*Pātālakhaṇḍa*, ch. 112 p. 743). According to its ch. 269 (*Uttarakhaṇḍa*), the water of the sea disappears when Rāma discharges arrows at it. According to the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* when Lakṣmaṇa jumps into the sea, its water gets evaporated (ch. 16). In the Birhora Rāma story Hanumat stretches his tail and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa cross the sea (Bulcke, p. 384).

B. Vibhīṣaṇa's shelter under Rāma :

According to the *PCV*, Vibhīṣaṇa advises Rāvaṇa to desist from war and to release Sītā (55.6). A hot discussion follows between both the brothers. Indrajit intervenes and abuses Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa in wrath draws his sword while Vibhīṣaṇa pulls out a pillar and they are ready for a fierce duel which is stopped by the intervention of Indrajit and Bhānukaṛṇa (55. 20). Then Vibhīṣaṇa with his meagre force takes shelter under Rāma. First Rāma is apprehensive, but after conviction he allows Vibhīṣaṇa to join him. At this time Bhāmaṇḍala arrives there to assist Rāma (54.47).

According to the *VR* Vibhīṣaṇa² takes shelter under Rāma before the latter crosses the sea (6. 9. 16 to 6. 16). He goes to Rāma with his four warriors. No protest or duel with Rāvaṇa is mentioned in this connection. Vibhīṣaṇa is coronated there by Lakṣmaṇa in advance (6. 19. 26). In other respects the *VR* agrees with *PCV*, but there is no reference to Bhāmaṇḍala.

1. It is mentioned in the southern recension of *VR*. (Bulcke, p. 377).

2. According to the Gauḍīya version he is said to have gone to Kailāśa and on being advised by Vaiśravaṇa and Śiva he joined Rāma (Bulcke, p. 379).

In the *TR*, Vibhīṣaṇa asks Rāvaṇa to bow his head to Bhagavān Rāma. Rāvaṇa kicks¹ Vibhīṣaṇa and the latter goes away with his ministers without any protest (5.41).

In the *Bhaṭṭikāya* (12. 80) Vibhīṣaṇa is said to have been kicked by Rāvaṇa. According to the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, Vibhīṣaṇa tells Kumbhakarna in the battlefield that Rāvaṇa had raised his sword to kill him (Vibhīṣaṇa) and had kicked him (6. 8. 10-12).

According to the *Serī Rāma*, Vibhīṣaṇa was thrown into the sea by Rāvaṇa, but he was saved by a crocodile and Hanumat took him to Rāma. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa Kākāvin*, Vibhīṣaṇa goes to Rāma with his army (Bulcke, 383).

According to the *Vasudevahindī* a message is sent to Bharata by Rāma. Bharata sends his army to assist Rāma. Then they cross the sea by constructing a bridge. Vibhīṣaṇa along with his four ministers takes refuge under Rāma (Pt. I. page 244).

C. First casualties in Battle :

According to the *PCV* the Rākṣasa leaders, Hasta and Prahasta become the first casualties in the battle. They are killed by the Vānara chiefs, Nala and Nila (57.34) respectively. Following that incident, Indrajit and Ghanavāhana (sons of Rāvaṇa) capture (59.47) Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala respectively and bind them with the serpent nooses (nāgapāsehim 59.65). Thereafter Bhānukarna, the brother of Rāvaṇa captures Hanumat (59.71), but Aṅgadakumāra's intervention helps Hanumat to get released soon from the grip of the arms of Bhānukarna (59.74). Consequently when Vibhīṣaṇa is ready to fight, Indrajit and Bhānukarna leave the battlefield, because they do not consider it proper to kill their relative (59.79). Having learnt of the discomfiture of Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala and on being advised by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa remembers Garuḍādhipati. The Garuḍādhipati (Mahālocana Sura) soon appears there and favours Rāma with the 'Sīmhavāhinī vidyā' and Lakṣmaṇa with the 'Garuḍavidyā'. He also supplies them with other divine weapons (59.84f).

According to the *VR*, before the commencement of the battle, the following episodes take place which are not found in the *PCV*. The espionage work of Śuka, Śaraṇa and Śārdūla (6.25-30) against Rāma by creation of an illusory severed head and bow of Rāma by Vidyuḥjjihva and with the help of them Rāvaṇa's attempt to frighten Sītā (6.31-32);

1. The Gaudīya and the N. W. Versions of *VR* refer to the kicking of Vibhīṣaṇa by Rāvaṇa.

Saramā's sympathy for Sītā (6.33-84); the efforts of Mālyavat to set right Rāvaṇa (6.35-36); Rāma's climbing on the Suvela to take a view of Laṅkā (6.37-39); the duel between Rāvaṇa and Sugrīva¹ and the sending of Aṅgada for sounding a final warning to Rāvaṇa (6.41). Thereafter a battle ensues between the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas. Herefrom the sequence of events as narrated in the *VR* does not agree with that of the *PCV*, but all of them have their counterparts in the *PCV*. First of all Indrajit having become invisible overpowers Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with his 'nāgamaya saras' and captures them with the power of his māyā (6.44.33-38). Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala are not seized here as in the *PCV*. Here Rāvaṇa takes a flight in the Puṣpaka-vimāna and shows to Sītā wounded Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Trijaṭā consoles Sītā. These episodes are not found in the *PCV*. Suddenly Garuḍa or Suparṇa appears there (6.50.36-41) and the serpent nooses of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa loosen and they get cured by Garuḍa. Following that the Rākṣasa general Prahasta is killed by Nīla (6.38.3f, 52-54), the chief of the Vānara army. Here Hasta is not mentioned, but preceding Prahasta's assassination Dhumrākṣa and Akampana as well as Vajradanīṣṭra are said to have been killed by Hanumat and Aṅgada respectively (6.51-56). So far Kumbhakarṇa (Bhānukarṇa) does not enter the battlefield. Then follows Rāvaṇa's duel with Sugrīva, Hanumat, Aṅgada and Lakṣmaṇa, one after another. Here Lakṣmaṇa is subdued by Rāvaṇa. Ultimately Rāma routes Rāvaṇa out of the field (6.59). Then comes Kumbhakarṇa, first unwilling and abusing Rāvaṇa for his sinful act but being threatened by Rāvaṇa he has to accede. He captures Sugrīva (not Hanumat as in the *PCV*) and takes him away pressing him between his arms (6.67.66f). Sugrīva after some time gets released automatically. He tears off the ears and the nose of Kumbhakarṇa (6.67.84f). Aṅgada and Hanumat are also, before the captivity of Sugrīva, mentioned to have fought with Kumbhakarṇa. Hanumat is said to have thought of helping Sugrīva to get released but he gave up the idea considering that his action might bring humiliation to his master i.e. Sugrīva (6.57.79), who was himself brave enough to subdue Kumbhakarṇa. Ultimately Kumbhakarṇa is shot dead by Rāma (6.67.171). In the *PCV* he is not killed.

The *TR* does not mention any espionage work against Rāma after his crossing the sea and during his sojourn near Laṅkā. Before the beginning of the battle, Mandodarī persuades Rāvaṇa, now for the

1. The Gaudīya and the N.W. versions of *VR* do not mention his duel (Bulcke, p. 377).

second time (6.67), to liberate Sītā. Then follows the request of Prahasta (here as a son of Rāvaṇa) to return Sītā and to fight against Rāma if the latter desires so even after the release of Sītā (6.6-10). There is no reference to the battle with Hasta. Rāma's climbing on the Suvela is referred to, but the duel between Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa does not find any mention (6. 11.). It additionally states that Rāma discharges an arrow (6. 13) and makes the parasol and the diadem of Rāvaṇa as well as the earrings of Mandodarī fall down. Mandodarī again requests Rāvaṇa to give up Sītā (6. 14) and to bow down his head to the feet of Bhagavān Rāma (6. 15). Then follows the mediatory work of Aṅgada who first requests Rāvaṇa to become considerate enough to return Sītā to Rāma, the incarnate God¹ (6. 20). Once more Mandodarī tries to set Rāvaṇa right but in vain (6. 35-37). Then follows the battle. There is no mention of the seizing of Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala. First of all Hanumat inflicts a crushing defeat on Meghanāda (Indrajit 6. 63) Aṅgada's fight is also mentioned (6. 44). Thereafter Mālyavat makes a vain effort to dissuade Rāvaṇa from nursing enmity with Rāma (6. 48). Now Lakṣmaṇa is wounded by a Śakti (6. 54). Then follows Kumbhakarṇa's turn, who is ultimately killed by Rāma (6. 71) as in the *VR*. Here Rāma only and not Lakṣmaṇa gets enmeshed of his own accord with the serpent nooses of Meghanāda (6. 74). On that occasion Garuḍa who is sent by Devarṣi (Nārada) releases Rāma from the serpent-nooses. Thus the *TR* also does not follow the same sequence as found in the *VR*. As stated above Lakṣmaṇa is wounded before the death of Kumbhakarṇa. In the *PCV* also Kumbhakarṇa is captured after the wounding of Lakṣmaṇa (See further).

The *Rāmopākhyāna* agrees with the *VR*, but it does not mention the severing of imaginary head of Rāma, the efforts of Mālyavat to set right Rāvaṇa and the duel between Rāvaṇa and Sugrīva (*MB*, 3. 284-287). Here Vibhīṣaṇa kills Prahasta while Hasta is not mentioned. Prahasta is the first casualty here as in the *PCV*. Then Sugrīva is seized by Kumbhakarṇa (ch. 286).

The *Raghuvamśa* does not mention all the episodes of the *VR*. After referring to the imaginary head of Rāma and Trijaṭā's efforts to console Sītā, it states that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are captured

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1. In the *VR* Aṅgada straightway thunders a warning to Rāvaṇa, but in the *TR* first of all he uses sweet words for the well-being of Rāvaṇa himself. In the *PCV* Hanumat went as a mediator when he took the finger-ring of Rāma to Sītā.

by Indrajit and released by Garuḍa (12.74-76). The duel of Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa, the sending of Aṅgada and the showing of wounded Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Sītā have not been referred to. In the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* on the advice of Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāma remembers Garuḍa (14.65) and as soon as Garuḍa appears the serpent nooses of Lakṣmaṇa loosens.

D. Wounding of Lakṣmaṇa by the hit of a Śakti of Rāvaṇa :

According to the *PCV*, after the release of Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala, Rāvaṇa appears in the battlefield for the first time. He has first a hot discussion with Vibhīṣaṇa who asks Rāvaṇa to give up Sītā, but Rāvaṇa ignores him and makes a direct fight with him (61.14-21). In this all round fight, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma imprison Indrajit and Bhānukaṇa respectively. Ghanavāhana also is captured (61.47-52). Then Lakṣmaṇa turns towards Rāvaṇa who is fighting with Vibhīṣaṇa. Here Lakṣmaṇa, being struck with the Amoghavijayā Śakti hurled by Rāvaṇa, falls down wounded and unconscious on the ground (61.61). Rāma overpowers Rāvaṇa and makes him flee away to Laṅkā (61.71).

According to the *VR*, after the assassination of Kumbhakaṇa there follows the slaying of the four sons of Rāvaṇa, viz. Narāntaka, Devāntaka, Triśiras as well as Atikāya and the two brothers of Rāvaṇa, viz. Mahodara and Mahāpārśva (there are no such reference in the *PCV*). Then Indrajit in his invisible form overpowers Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa who intentionally fall down on the ground to deceive him (6.69-73). Hanumat brings the Oṣadhi-parvata and cures Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (6.74). The Vānaras burn the city of Laṅkā (6.75). Then follows the slaying of Kampana, Kumbha, and Makarākṣa (6.76-79). Thereafter Indrajit kills illusory Sītā, conjured up by his dark powers, before the Vānaras (6.81) and goes away to perform a yajña. He is attacked and killed by Lakṣmaṇa, first destroying his unholy yajña (6.86-90). The *PCV* does not refer to these episodes. In the *PCV* as already stated above, Indrajit is not killed but captured. In the *VR* Rāvaṇa being distressed with the death of Indrajit, tries to kill Sītā but he is checked by Supārśva (6.92.59). Then follows the killing of Virūpākṣa, Mahodara and Mahāpārśva (repetition). Thereafter Rāvaṇa himself fights with Vibhīṣaṇa as in the *PCV*. Lakṣmaṇa intervenes and gets wounded by the hit of a Śakti hurled by Rāvaṇa (6.100.36). Rāma then makes Rāvaṇa flee away from the battlefield as mentioned in the *PCV*.

According to the *TR*, it is before the death of Kumbhakarna that Lakṣmaṇa is wounded by the Śakti and that also hurled by Indrajit (Meghanāda), not by Rāvaṇa (6.54). The Śakti is called Vīraghātini. Lakṣmaṇa gets cured by Suṣeṇa (6.62). Then the *TR* follows the *VR* but the killing of Kumbhakarna is mentioned after the death of the sons and the brothers of Rāvaṇa. Thereafter come the overpowering of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and the timely help of Garuḍa (5.73-74) as already mentioned. Then follows the performance of a Yajña by Meghanāda, its destruction and the killing of Meghanāda by Lakṣmaṇa (6.76). The *TR* does not mention the burning of Laṅkā here again and the killing of any magic Sitā.

The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the power of the Śakti as 'amoghaśaktitah' (i.e. of unfailing power 6.6.8). In the *PCV* it is called Amoghavijayā.

E. Viśalyā's medical aid:

According to the *PCV*, Rāma on being advised by Khecara Candramaṇḍala who happens to come there (63.19), sends Aṅgada, Hanumat and Bhāmaṇḍala to bring the bath-water of Viśalyā before the sunrise¹ for curing Lakṣmaṇa. They all go to Bharata. Bharata sends for Viśalyā but her father Droṇamegha refuses to send her. Kaikeyī then herself goes to Droṇamegha (her brother) and sends Viśalyā to Rāma (64.23). She cures Lakṣmaṇa and other wounded soldiers. Lakṣmaṇa marries Viśalyā. Viśalyā² seems to be an expert military surgeon.

As soon as Viśalyā touches the body of Lakṣmaṇa, the Śakti (Amoghavijayā) gushes out of his body and appears in her personal form. This Śakti was presented to Rāvaṇa by Nāgarāja on getting pleased with the unflinching devotion of Rāvaṇa to the Jinas, for Rāvaṇa had extracted the sinews from his arm to replace the broken strings of Vīṇā while eulogising the Jinas on the occasion of his hostility with monk Vāli (9.88.101) on the Kailāsa mountain.

According to the *VR* Suṣeṇa commissions Hanumat to bring the mahauṣadhi 'Viśalyakaraṇī' from the Oṣadhi-parvata (6.101.29). These herbs are named as 'Viśalyakaraṇī, Sāvarṇyakaraṇī, Sañjivakaraṇī and Sandhānī (6.101.31). As Hanumat is unable to recognise them, he

1. 62.26; 64.16.

2. There are references to Viśpalā in the *Ṛg-Veda* (1.112.10; 1.117.11; 1.118.18). In an obscure way Viśalyā of *PCV* has something to do with Viśpalā of *Ṛg-Veda*. Sāyaṇa explains Viśpalā to be a woman who had lost her thighs in a battle and who was restored to her health by the gods, Aśvinis.

brings the whole peak of the mountain. Suṣeṇa with the help of those herbs cures Lakṣmaṇa. In the *VR* these medicines are referred to for four times. First of all when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are wounded by Indrajit, Suṣeṇa asks for these herbs (Saṁjīvakaraṇīm divyaṁ Viśalyām —6.50.30). The second occasion is the wounding of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by Indrajit after the death of Kumbhakarṇa. Here Jāmbavat points out the place where these herbs grow (6.74.29). On the third time Suṣeṇa cures the injured warriors and Lakṣmaṇa who had been wounded while destroying the Yajña of Indrajit (6.91.25). And the fourth occasion is the wounding of Lakṣmaṇa by the hit of the Śakti hurled by Rāvaṇa as mentioned above.

The places of their availability are mentioned as the Candra and the Droṇa mountains situated in the Kṣīrodadhi (6.50.31). On the other occasion the location is said to be the Oṣadhi-parvata situated in the middle of the Rṣabha and the Kailāśa mountains (6.74.29-31; 6.101.31-32).

According to the *VR*, the military physician (surgeon) Suṣeṇa is said to be the father-in-law of Sugrīva¹ (6.50.23). There is no reference that while taking the medicinal herb Hanumat met with Bharata² and no mention of the inevitability of producing the herb before the sun-rise.

In the *TR* the relation of Suṣeṇa is not mentioned. He is brought from Laṅkā by Hanumat. The former sends Hanumat to bring the oṣadhi, but the name of the oṣadhi and the name of the place of its availability are not specifically mentioned. Here Rāvaṇa tries to foil the plan of Hanumat by employing Rākṣasa Kālanemi, but he is unsuccessful (9.55-58). Here when Hanumat is returning with the Oṣadhi mountain, Bharata³ makes the former fall down by shooting an arrow to foil his journey, considering him to be a Rākṣasa. After knowing the real situation Bharata permits Hanumat to go to Rāma (6.60) so as to reach the destination before the sun-rise. In the final fight with Rāvaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa is said to have been once more wounded by the Śakti (which was given by Brahmā) hurled by Rāvaṇa. As soon as Lakṣmaṇa is taken to Rāma, the Śakti flees away into the sky automatically (6.83-85).

1. At 4.22.13 Suṣeṇa is referred to as the father of Tūrā, the wife of Vāli.

2. The Gauḍīya version contains this episode.

3. The Gauḍīya & the N.W. versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* contain this episode (Bulcke, p. 379).

The Gauḍīya version contains this episode but Bharata does not shoot Hanumat (Bulcke, p. 379).

On this occasion no herb is brought by Hanumat. Lakṣmaṇa rises up and drives away Rāvaṇa from the battlefield.

The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* states that the Śakti fled away to Rāvaṇa because of Lakṣmaṇa's Nārāyaṇatva (6.6.17).

In the *Rāmopākhyāna* (MB, 3.289.4-7) Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma both are injured by Indrajit once only. There is no reference to any Śakti. They are cured with the aid of the Viśalyā-oṣadhi, but there is no mention of bringing it by any person (3.289.6). Vibhiṣaṇa is said to have handed over the specific water brought by Guhyaka. This water was sent by Kubera to be used for washing the eyes, so that invisible persons could be seen by the user of the water. Lakṣmaṇa used it and thereafter killed Meghanāda. There is no mention of performing of any Yajña by Indrajit (3.289.25). Here Avindhya checks Rāvaṇa from killing Sītā (3.289.32).

According to the *Raghuvamśa* the killing of Kumbhakarna (12.81) is mentioned after the incident of the wounding of Lakṣmaṇa by the Śakti (12.77). Not the peak but the medicinal herb is referred to have been brought by Hanumat. In the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (14.50) there is a reference to the washing of the eyes of Sugrīva with the water brought by Vibhiṣaṇa. Thereafter Sugrīva is able to observe Indrajit. He then chases him off.

The conversation of Hanumat with Bharata at the time of his return-journey while carrying the Oṣadhi mountain is mentioned in the *Mahānāṭaka* (13) (Dāmodara Miśra's version: Bulcke, p. 391), but not in (Madhusūdan's version 9). The latter version refers to the bringing of the Oṣadhi before the sunrise (9.72-73). The *Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sūrasāgara*, *Gītāvalī* and *Rāmarahasya* refer to the conversation between Hanumat and Bharata. According to the *Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa*, Hanumat puts the sun under his armpit so that the sun may not rise till he reaches his destination (Bulcke, p. 391).

The *Rāmakiyena* mentions that Hanumat procures the water of the five rivers from Bharata for curing Lakṣmaṇa (Bulcke, p. 392). According to the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, Hanumat brings Droṇagiri (6.5.72; 6.7.33) on which grew many herbs. The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* also mentions the same hill (1.11.23). About the Śakti it is said that it was given to Rāvaṇa by Maya (6.6.5) who had obtained it after great penance. The *Gītāvalī* mentions the bringing of Droṇācala by Hanumat (UK, 9).

F. Rāvaṇa's offer for a peace treaty with Rāma :

According to the *PCV* after the recovery of Lakṣmaṇa from wounds, Rāvaṇa is advised by his ministers to liberate Sītā and to sign a peace treaty with Rāma (65.6). But Rāvaṇa disregards their counsel and offers to Rāma through his envoy some parts of his territory provided he (Rāma) releases his (Rāvaṇa's) relatives and foregoes Sītā's return. Rāma rejects the offer and warns Rāvaṇa of the fatal consequences if Sītā is not released (65.20).

In the *VR* there is no mention of it. In the *TR* it is stated that Prahasta (Rāvaṇa's son) had, before the commencement of the battle, requested Rāvaṇa to give up Sītā for restoring peace (6.9-10) at home.

The *Mahānātaka*¹ refers to the sending of a 'dūta' by Rāvaṇa for making truce with Rāma. Rāvaṇa had demanded the 'paraśu' (Jāmadagnya) for returning Sītā, but Rāma disagreed.

In the *Khotānī Rāmāyaṇa* it is said that Rāvaṇa after having been wounded in the battle offered to pay royal toll to Rāma and for that the latter did not kill the former (Bulcke, p. 395).

G. Acquiring of Bahurupā Vidyā by Rāvaṇa :

According to the *PCV*, Rāvaṇa, after his proposal being turned down by Rāma, starts meditating in the Jina temple to acquire unvanquishable Bahurupā-vidyā for defeating Rāma (66). The Vānaras cause terror in Laukā by torturing the citizens (67). Aṅgada disturbs Rāvaṇa and drags Mandodarī to impede Rāvaṇa's success. But Rāvaṇa remains devoted and attains the desired goal (68).

In the *VR* there is no reference to the performance of any austerity by Rāvaṇa for attaining any supernatural power. The performance of a sacrifice by Indrajit and its destruction by Lakṣmaṇa has already been referred to. The north-west version of *VR* mentions, after the slaying of Indrajit, the meditation by Rāvaṇa, the mischief of the Vānaras to perturb him, the dragging of Mandodarī by Aṅgada and the incomplete sacrifice of Rāvaṇa (Bulcke, p. 380).

The *TR* mentions the performing of a Yajña by Indrajit as in the *VR*. It additionally refers to the sacrifice of Rāvaṇa and its being foiled by Hanumat and Aṅgada who were sent by Rāma after the death of Indrajit to do so (6. 85). Here Rāvaṇa's wives are dragged and Rāvaṇa is kicked.

1. Madhusūdana's version (Bulcke, p. 195).

Obstructing of the sacrifice of Rāvaṇa and his failure to achieve the desired goal is found in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* (6.10.4-35), *Padmaṣurāṇa* (*Uttara*, 269 does not mention the performance of any sacrifice by Indrajit) and the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.11.230-240). The *Khotāṇi Rāmāyaṇa*, Telugu *Dvīpāda Rāmāyaṇa*, Kannarese *Torāve Rāmāyaṇa* (6.42), Gujarātī *Rāmāyaṇa-sāra*, Kāśmīrī *Rāmāyaṇa*, Serī Rāma, Reāma Kera, Rāma Kiyena and the West-Acct. No. 3 also mention (Bulcke, p. 396) Rāvaṇa's unsuccessful sacrifice.

It is important to note that the *Rāmopākhyāna* and the *Raghuvamśa* do not mention either of the sacrifices.

In the RāmaKiyena, Kumbhakaṇa is associated with a sacrifice undertaken for vitalising the power of his lance (*mokṣasakti*), but it is destroyed by Hanumat and Aṅgada (Bulcke, p. 392).

H. Rāvaṇa's plan to set free Sītā :

According to the *PCV*, Rāvaṇa after having achieved the *Bahurupā-vidyā* frightens Sītā saying to her that she would willingly submit to him when her husband is killed by him. Distressed Sītā implores Rāvaṇa to desist from ending the life of Rāma and Bhāmaṇḍala and soon falls down on the ground in swoon (69.29). At the sight of this plight of Sītā, Rāvaṇa becomes remorseful of his cruel deeds and decides to set her free, but after having defeated Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa so that he would escape from being charged as coward. Moreover he thinks that then he would become the sovereign of the whole *Bhāratavarṣa* (69.58).

The *VR* does not refer to any such idea of Rāvaṇa. On the contrary after the death of Indrajit, Rāvaṇa plans to kill Sītā, but *Supārśva* prevents the former from committing such a sinful act (6 92.58f).

The *TR* also does not refer to any such idea of Rāvaṇa.

I. Rejection of Mandodarī's request by Rāvaṇa :

According to the *PCV* Mandodarī reminds Rāvaṇa of the emergence of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as the *Haladhara* and the *Vāsudeva* respectively and his (*Prati-vāsudeva's*) destined death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa. She further requests her husband to release Sītā to escape his ruin. Rāvaṇa does not pay any heed to her words and orders his army to march forth to the battle field (70).

In the *VR* there is no direct reference to any request of Mandodarī. But at the time of bewailing the death of her husband,

Mandodarī utters that she had requested Rāvaṇa after the ruining of Laṅkā by Hanumat, to desist from harbouring enmity with Rāma, but Rāvaṇa did not accept her proposal. Here she is said to have considered Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (6.111.13) and the abduction of Sītā (mentioned as Śrī) as the cause of the death of her husband (ibid 23). In the Gauḍīya and the N.W. versions of the *VR*, Mandodarī is said to have appealed to Rāvaṇa after the slaying of Prahasta, to stop the battle and to give up Sītā saying that Rāma was superior to all the ordinary human beings (Bulcke, p. 378).

In the *TR* Mandodarī is found to be requesting Rāvaṇa not less than four times¹ for giving up Sītā (5.35; 6.6; 6.14&6.37) saying that Rāma was the God incarnate and at 6.6. she reminds Rāvaṇa of the mission of Rāma to relieve the earth from the burden (of the sinners²). At 5.35 i.e. after the ruining of Laṅkā by Hanumat she had requested Rāvaṇa for the first time.

In the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* just after the destruction of the Yajña of Rāvaṇa (6.10.36f) Mandodarī tells Rāvaṇa that Rāma is an incarnation of God and further requests him to give up Sītā. Thereupon Rāvaṇa decides to be killed by Rāma to attain emancipation (ibid 58). The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* also agrees with it (1.11. 241-145).

J. Slaying of Rāvaṇa :

According to the *PCV*, in the final battle, Rāvaṇa fights driving in the Indra-chariot which was constructed by the Bahurupā-vidyā, while Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa fight riding on the Keśarīn and the Garuḍa chariots (supplied by Garuḍādhpati). In the gruesome fight many types of missiles are hurled from both the sides. Lakṣmaṇa severs the head and the arms of Rāvaṇa by shooting arrows, but to his surprise he finds that on account of the effect of the Bahurupā-vidyā they reappear every time increased in geometrical progression (71.16). Rāvaṇa then hurls his disc (cakra) at Lakṣmaṇa (72.36), but instead of obeying his command it obeys Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa is killed, his head being severed off, on the 11th day of dark Jyēṣṭha (73.34).

1. Vide-Sec. 8C.

2. 'Soi avatareu haraṇa mahibhārā'.

In the *VR* Indra sends a chariot, a bow, an armour, arrows and a Śakti to Rāma through Mātali (6.102.12-15¹). Rāma severs the limbs and the head of Rāvaṇa but they reappear as many times as he severs them off. Here Rāvaṇa is not said to have ten faces and twenty arms. Rāma then on the advice of Mātali, shoots Paitāmaha arrow into the (heart) chest of Rāvaṇa (6.108.18) and kills him. This arrow is said to have been given to Rāma by Agastya who had got it from Brahmā (6.108). Rāvaṇa is said to have attained heaven (6.109.24).

The *TR* agrees with the *VR*. It additionally mentions the conjuring up of many counterfeits of himself by Rāvaṇa with the power of his māyā (6.95). Here on the advice of Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāma shoots an arrow in the navel of Rāvaṇa, which was the receptacle of nectar and hurls thirty other arrows to sever his heads and arms. Rāvaṇa then dies (6.103) and attains the 'dhāma' of Rāma (6.104).

According to the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Rāvaṇa creates many illusory Rāmas and Lakṣmaṇas (3.290.8), but it does not mention the reappearing of his limbs and the tendering of any advice by Mātali or Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa is burnt to ashes on being shot by the Brahmāstra of Rāma (32.90.30).

The *Raghuvamśa* also does not mention the reappearing of the limbs or heads of Rāvaṇa.

According to the Birhora Rāma story Lakṣmaṇa is said to have killed Rāvaṇa (Bulcke, p. 395).

From Rāma's march to Laṅkā up to the death of Rāvaṇa (Sub-sections A to J):

The *PCR* generally agrees with the *PCV*. The name of one of the four girls offered to Lakṣmaṇa by Samudra differs from that of the *PCV* (*PCV*, 54.43; *PCR*, 54.68). It additionally mentions the defeating of Khecara Suvela of Suvelanagara before reaching Harisadvipa (54.70). Here Rāma promises the crown of Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa when the latter takes shelter under the former (55.73). According to the *PCS* they cross the sea driving in aerial cars (56.9). Nīla and Nala (56.11) defeat two Vidyādhara, Setu and Samudra who are in service of Rāvaṇa. Setu and Samudra offer five girls to Lakṣmaṇa

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1. According to the *PCV* Garuḍādhipati had supplied the Siṃhavāhini-vidyā, a plough and a pestle (hala-mūsala) to Rāma and the Garuḍa-vidyā and Vijjuvadana club to Lakṣmaṇa. Two Chariots, some weapons & missiles (Āgneya & Vāruṇa) were also supplied to them (59.84).

in marriage. The number of the girls here exceeds that of the *PCR* by one (56.13). Then Rāma reaches the Suvela hill whose ruler Suvela on being advised by Setu and Samudra joins Rāma (53.13.9). When Vibhīṣaṇa advises to release Sītā, Rāvaṇa admits that he is a slave of his senses but Indrajit instigates him for hostility. A duel follows between both the brothers (57. 3-7). It additionally mentions that Rāma challenges Rāvaṇa through Aṅgada and asks for conciliation, but Rāvaṇa ridicules the proposal of Rāma (58).

Rāma himself remembers of the Mahālocana (celestial god) when Bhāmaṇḍala and Sugrīva are captured by the enemies (65.12). The Khecara who puts forth the proposal of the bathwater of Viśalyā is named Praticandra (68.1). Kaikeyī herself goes to Dropamegha and sends Viśalyā asking her to marry Lakṣmaṇa (69.14-15). Here the ministers support Mandodarī when she requests Rāvaṇa to make compromise with Rāma (70.3). Rāvaṇa sends his envoy to communicate to Rāma that he is ready to abdicate his throne for him provided Sītā is left with him (70.7). In other respects it agrees with the *PCR*.

The *RPS* calls Velandhara as an island, not a mountain. It mentions also the defeating of the lord of Suvelapura (p.142). There is no mention of offering of any girls by Samudra. The king of Hamsadvīpa is called Suhaṁsa. Rāma is said to have promised the kingdom of Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa. The Vidyādhara who advises Rāma to bring the bathwater of Viśalyā is named Śaśiprabhā (p.149). Since Viśalyā is already destined to be the wife of Lakṣmaṇa, hence she is sent to Rāma without objection (p. 151). No mention of Aṅgada's interference with Rāvaṇa's meditation is made and no dragging of Mandodarī is referred to (p. 154). Rāvaṇa promises to Sītā that he shall not kill Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa when she makes a request for the same. Rāvaṇa then promises to regard her as his daughter and tells her that he will kill others, capture Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and release her (p. 155). Then follows the request of Mandodarī. Here she discloses to Rāvaṇa that Sītā is their abandoned child. But when she talks of Nārāyaṇa and Partinārāyaṇa, Rāvaṇa gets enraged and declares war (p. 156). Here Lakṣmaṇa is said to have been favoured with Siddhārtha-vidyā by the daughters of Candravardhana of the Vijayārdha mountain (p. 158). In other respects it agrees with the *PCR*.

The *TSP* mentions the crossing of the sea through air. Samudra and Setu, the kings of Velandhara are killed by Nala and Nila. Rāma conquers Suvela, the chief of the Suvela mountain and Hamsaratha of Hamsadvīpa (Vol. IV. p. 273). Vibhīṣaṇa is made the king of Laṅkā (p. 275). The Vidyādhara who advises for Viśalyā's medical aid is called

Praticandra. There is no request of Mandodarī pleading the release of Sītā. Rāvaṇa is said to have assumed many dreadful forms of himself simultaneously at the time of his battle with Lakṣmaṇa. There is no mention of the multiplication of Rāvaṇa's head and arms (p. 296). In other respects it agrees with the *PCV*.

According to the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* Rāvaṇa acquires Sarvavidyācheda-nī-vidyā. Rāvaṇa is killed with the disc hurled by Lakṣmaṇa. Other details are not narrated. (I.p.245).

According to the *UP*, Lakṣmaṇa acquires Prajñapti-vidyā on the Jagatpāda hill. Sugrīva and other Vidyādharaś worship their vidyās and march towards Laṅkā (68.486-72). Here first Kumbhakarna requests Rāvaṇa to give up Sītā. It is followed by Vibhīṣaṇa's request and reminding to Rāvaṇa about the vow taken by the latter and the emergence of Lakṣmaṇa as Nārāyaṇa (68.492). Vibhīṣaṇa being expelled by Rāvaṇa takes shelter under Rāma. Here Hanumat with the permission of Rāma creates an illusory army of monkeys and after crossing the sea spreads terror in Laṅkā, destroys the garden, burns the army of Rākṣasas with the help of a lore called Mahājvāla-vidyā (68.514) and returns to Rāma. Sugrīva and Aṇumat give their vidyās to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. On being advised by Vibhīṣaṇa the Vidyādharaś perturb Rāvaṇa meditating on the Āditya hill. From that time the vidyās cease to obey Rāvaṇa. Then ensues a battle. First the Rākṣasa army is vanquished by Rāma. Here Rāvaṇa conjures up an illusory severed head of Sītā (68.612). Vibhīṣaṇa discloses the reality. Then Lakṣmaṇa is ensnared by Rāvaṇa in Nārāca snares. Lakṣmaṇa destroys them by his magic lore. Rāvaṇa's disc obeys the command of Lakṣmaṇa and severs the head of Rāvaṇa (68.630).

The *MP* follows the *UP* but it does not refer to the request of Kumbhakarna to give up Sītā. It mentions that Aṇumat and other Vidyādharaś assume the forms of monkeys and burn the city of Laṅkā with their fiery tails (76.6-8).

According to the *Anūmakam Jātaka*, the monkey-chief is unable to go across the sea. Indra assumes the form of a small monkey and assists them in crossing the sea by constructing a passage with stones. The Nāga create a poisonous mist by which all the monkeys are overpowered and they fall down on the ground. That small monkey (Indra) cures them with the help of a divine herb. The king (Bodhisattva) pierces, on the advice of the small monkey, an arrow into the lightning which is the Nāga himself and thus the Nāga is killed. The king after retrieving his queen and after learning that his maternal uncle has died, returns to his country.

SECTION IX

THE ABANDONING OF Sītā

A. Back to Ayodhyā:

(i) Last Rites of Rāvaṇa:—Vibhīṣaṇa getting bereaved at the death of his brother, makes an attempt to commit suicide with a dagger, but Rāma intervenes and saves his life. Then follows the mourning of the death of Rāvaṇa by Vibhīṣaṇa and the wives of Rāvaṇa (74). Rāma consoles them. Vibhīṣaṇa performs the final rites of Rāvaṇa. On that occasion Muni Aprameyabala arrives there. He ordains Indra-jit, Ghanavāhana, Bhānukaṇṇa and Mārīca. Mandodarī, Candranakhā and other wives of Rāvaṇa also accept nunhood under Āryā Saṁyamaśrī (75).

(ii) Meeting Sītā:—Rāma goes to Sītā and accepts her (76). He along with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā stays in the palace of Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāma is offered the crown of Laṅkā by Vibhīṣaṇa, but he declines the offer. All the girls who were engaged to them during their journey are then sent for and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa marry them (77).

(iii) Back to Ayodhyā:—Nārada brings a message of Aparājita's suffering and requests Rāma to return to Ayodhyā. Accordingly a messenger is sent in advance to Bharata. Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā driving in Puṣpakavimāna accompanied by the Khecara chiefs and showing the important places of their sojourn to Sītā, returns to Ayodhyā. Bharata and his mothers receive them heartily (78,79).

The *VR* does not mention any attempt of Vibhīṣaṇa to commit suicide (6.10.9). Vibhīṣaṇa denies to perform the last rites of Rāvaṇa on account of the latter's wickedness, but Rāma convinces him to do the same.

First Rāma sends Hanumat to convey the news of his victory to Sītā. Then Vibhīṣaṇa brings Sītā to Rāma (6.112-114).

Vibhīṣaṇa is made the king of Laṅkā by Rāma (6.112.9).

According to the *VR* Indrajit and Kumbhakaṇṇa are killed in the battle. There is no mention as regards the renouncing of the world by the wives of Rāvaṇa and no reference to any other marriage of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

Rāma does not accept Sītā at once. He doubts her character for her long association with Rāvaṇa. Sītā enters the fire¹ and proves her

1. Bulcke is of the opinion that the fire test did not find mention in the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* (Bulcke, p. 398).

purity (6.116.27). At that time many gods appear and announce Rāma as an incarnation of God (6.117.27) and Sītā as that of Lakṣmī. Rāma is also called as eighth Rudra¹ (6.117.8). Here Maheśvara (6.119.4) and Daśaratha who also appear there (6.119.20), request Rāma to go to Ayodhyā to dispel the agony of his mothers and Bharata. Daśaratha tells that fourteen years of his exile have completed. Then appears Mahendra who brings to life all the dead Vānaras (6.120), advises Rāma to go home to console his mothers and Bharata and to accept the crown of Ayodhyā.

Rāma travels in the Puṣpakavimāna. At the request of Sītā he takes with him the Vānara ladies also (6.123). He continues his journey showing to Sītā various places of his sojourn and different incidents. He stays at the Āśrama of Bhardvāja and sends Hanumat to ascertain the mind of Bharata. Hanumat goes there in the form of a human being (6.125). Thereafter Rāma reaches Ayodhyā. At that time the monkeys assume the form of human beings (6.127).

The *TR* generally agrees with the *VR* with the following additions. When Rāvaṇa is killed, his head and arms fall down before Mandodarī (6.103). Here Rāma censures Sītā to obtain real Sītā from the deity of fire. The fire consumes illusory Sītā and the deity offers real Sītā to Rāma (6.109). Various deities praise Rāma as an Avatāra. Hanumat goes to Ayodhyā in the form of a Baṭu (6.121). When Rāma meets Bharata he creates many illusory Rāmas to facilitate his embrace to all the persons who are present there to receive him (7.6). Hanumat remains there and all the other Vānaras go back to their respective places (7.19).

According to the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Rāvaṇa's body gets burnt to ashes on being pierced by the Brahmāstra of Rāma (3.290-30). It does not mention the fire ordeal of Sītā. Rāma gets convinced of the purity of Sītā by the appeals made by various deities. Brahmā tells that he protected Sītā's purity through the curse given to Rāvaṇa by Nalakūbara (3.291,33). Here Brahmā revives the life of the dead monkeys. In other respects it agrees with the *VR*.

The Brahmanical *Mahāpurāṇas* and the *Upapurāṇas* do not mention the fire ordeal (Bulcke, p. 399).

According to the *Anāmakaṃ Jātaka*, the king after retrieving his queen, questions her purity. She answers that she lived with a mean person, but she was not at all polluted just like a lotus, which though living in water has no attachment for the same. She further asks the

1. In the *PCV* he is the eighth Baladeva.

earth to give way if she is chaste. The earth gives way and her purity is proved. Hence there is no abandonment of the queen.

B. Lakṣmaṇa's Ardhaçakravartitva :

(i) Coronation of Lakṣmaṇa :—According to the *PCV* Bharata and Kaikeyī accept asceticism (80-83). Rāma refuses the crown. Lakṣmaṇa is made the king of Sāketapurī (Ayodhyā) and Rāma is also consecrated. Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva, Māruti (Hanumat) Pratisūrya (the son of Mahendrarāja), Nīla, Virādhita, Ratnajātīn and Bhāmaṇḍala are recognised as the lords of Laṅkā. Kiṣkindhipura, Śrīpura, Hanurupura, Rkṣapura, Pātālāṅkārapura, Devopagītanagara and Rathauṇapura respectively (85).

(ii) Occupation of Mathurā by Śatrughna :—Śatrughna demands Mathurā for his kingdom from Rāma. It is under the rule of the son-in-law of Rāvaṇa, namely Madhu who is unconquerable on account of his trident (triśūla) which was given to him by a celestial being, Camara. Śatrughna encamps on the bank of the river Yamunā and when Madhu is away from the city without his trident, he besieges the city, defeats Madhu and kills the latter's son Lavaṇa. Defeated Madhu accepts monkhood (85). The trident flees away to Camara. Angry Camara spreads epidemic in the city and causes death of its people. Śatrughna leaves for Ayodhyā. When seven Munis visit Mathurā, the epidemic subsides and the city prospers again, Śatrughna pays homage to those Munis and installs the statues of those Munis (Rīṣis) in the four quarters outside the city (86-89), to escape further calamity.

(iii) Lakṣmaṇa's war-campaign:—Once Nārada requests Vidyādhara Ratnaratha of Ratnapura of southern Vijayārdha to marry his daughter, Manoramā to Lakṣmaṇa, but the latter turns down his proposal and insults him. Nārada goes to Lakṣmaṇa and instigates him to force marry Manoramā. Lakṣmaṇa attacks Ratnaratha and defeats him. At the request of Manoramā he grants life to her father. Then Ratnaratha marries his daughters Satyadāmā and Manoramā to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (ch. 90). Thereafter Lakṣmaṇa conquers all the lords of the southern range of the Vijayārdha mountain and becomes an Ardhaçakravartin of Bhāratavarṣa (91).

According to the *VR* Bharata hands over the reins to Rāma by returning the latter's sandals (6.127). Vaśiṣṭha coronates Rāma as the king of Ayodhyā. When Lakṣmaṇa refuses to accept Yuvarājatva that authority is bestowed upon Bharata (6.128). Here Bharata does not renounce the world. He attains heaven along with Rāma (7.110). Vibhīṣaṇa and Sugrīva who were already made the lords of Laṅkā and

Kiṣkindhapura respectively, return to their respective places (6.128). It does not refer to any digvijaya of Lakṣmaṇa or his further marriage.

Here Lavaṇa, the son of Daitya Madhu living in the Madhuvana (on the bank of Yamunā) oppresses the hermits with the help of his trident (triśūla) which was presented to him by Rudra for his righteousness (7.61-62). The trident is as powerful as it is mentioned to be in the *PCV*. Here Lavaṇa is the son of Kumbhīnasī, the sister of Kaikasī, the latter being the mother of Rāvaṇa (7.68.14), (7.5.37; 7.61.16). Cyavana along with other Ṛṣis make a complaint to Rāma about the atrocities of Lavaṇa (7.70.4). Rāma sends Śatrughna who kills Lavaṇa when the latter does not have his triśūla with him (7.63-69). The trident flees away to Rudra. The city comes to be known as Śūrasena (i.e. whose army is brave) It becomes a city of plenty after 12 years because the Devas had granted a boon to that effect on the occasion of the victory of Śatrughna (7.70).

About the Saptarṣis the *VR* mentions that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on their way to Kiṣkindha from the Ṛṣyamūka hill, pay homage to the Saptarṣis whose hermitage fell on their way. Sugrīva had told them that those Ṛṣis had performed austere penances and had attained heaven (4.13).

The *TR* mentions the coronation of Rāma. (7.12). On this occasion the Vedas assume human form and eulogise Rāma. Śiva also comes there to pay homage to Rāma. Then all the others depart to their respective places. Hanumat stays there in the service of Rāma (7.20). Then follows the description of the prosperous and happy Rāmarājya

According to the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Rāma becomes the king of Ayodhyā. He performs 'Daśāśvamedha.' The story is finished here (*MB*, 3.291).

In the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* there is an account of the marriage of Madanasundarī with Yūpakuṭu, the son of Śatrughna. King Kambukanṭha of Śivakāntyāpurī of the south invites various kings to the 'svayamvara' of his daughter Madanasundarī but does not send any message to Rāma's sons. Nārada learns it and comes to know of the desire of Madanasundarī to become a daughter-in-law in the family of Rāma. Nārada informs Yūpakuṭu of it. Yūpakuṭu defeats all the candidates and Kambukanṭha also. He grants him life at the request of Madanasundarī and then marries her (6.8). It further (7.7-9) describes the digvijaya of Rāma after the occupation of Mathurā by Śatrughna.

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. According to the *PCS* Vibhīṣaṇa attempts to stab himself, but escapes death on account of suddenly falling into swoon (76.2). Here Vibhīṣaṇa is crowned by Rāma (78.14). It drops the account of the Saptarṣis. The *RPS* agrees with the *PCR*. It mentions the name of the Muni as Subala who ordines Indrajit etc. (p.163). The *TSP* agrees with the *PCV*.

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* follows the *VR*, but Sugrīva is made the king of a part of the Vidyādhara mountain. Rāma becomes the king of Ayodhyā. He conquers the half of Bhāratavarṣa. The story is finished here.

According to the *UP*, Vibhīṣaṇa is consecrated as the king of Laukā (68.633). Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva and Aṇumat bring Sītā and Rāma accepts her without any suspicion (68.642). Then they go to Pīṭhagiri. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa get consecrated there at the hands of the Vidyādhara lords. Lakṣmaṇa lifts up the Koṭīśilā and yakṣa Sunanda offers Sunanda sword to Lakṣmaṇa. Then follows the digvijaya by Lakṣmaṇa and their entry into the city of Ayodhyā. Both of them are enthroned (63.663). The *MP* agrees with the *UP*. It additionally mentions that Vibhīṣaṇa tries to commit suicide with a dagger in grief of the death of Rāvaṇa, but he is saved by his ministers (78.23.1).

C. Banishment of Sītā :

According to the *PCV*, in due course of time Sītā develops a pregnancy longing to visit various Jina-temples. Rāma arranges a religious festivity at the Mahendra-udyāna of Ayodhyā (91). Some officers (mayaharayās, eight in number—Vijaya, Śuradeva, Mahugandha, Piṅgala, Sūladhara, Kāsava, Kāla and Khema-- 93.17) inform Rāma of the public censure of Sītā on account of her long duress under Rāvaṇa. Rāma, despite Lakṣmaṇa's opposition, decides to abandon Sītā under the pretext of sending her on a pilgrimage to Sammēta (holy mountain). Kṛtāntavadana, the general of Rāmā's army takes her in a chariot. He abandons her in the Sindhavināda forest across the river Gaṅgā (94) and returns to Ayodhyā. By chance she is given shelter by Vajrajaṅgha, the lord of Poṇḍarika-pura, treating her as his sister (96.8). Kṛtāntavadana delivers Sītā's consolatory message to Rāma. Rāma gets distressed at this unavoidable calamity and performs the last rites of Sītā (96.45).

According to the *VR*, Rāma while enjoying music in the Aśoka garden learns of Sītā's pregnancy-longing for visiting various hermitages (7.42). In the meanwhile his Vicakṣaṇas inform him of the public

suspicion about the character of Sītā (Vijaya, Madhumatta, Kāśyapa and Kāliya have identical names with those of the *PCV* but the rest of the six bear different names-- 7.43.2). On receiving orders from Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa takes her in a chariot and leaves Sītā alone near the hermitage of Vālmīki, on the other side of the river Gaṅgā on the same pretext as in the *PCV* (7.47). Vālmīki takes her to his Āśrama (7.79). On his way back to Ayodhyā, Lakṣmaṇa abuses Rāma but Sumantra, the charioteer tells him about a prophecy that it was bound to happen (7.50).

The *TR* does not contain the episode of the abandonment of Sītā. According to the *Gitāvalī* of Tulasidāsa, Lakṣmaṇa abandons Sītā in the hands of Vālmīki Daśaratha died before completing his full age. The rest of his age was being enjoyed by Rāma. Rāma after completion of his own age did not consider it proper to remain with Sītā while enjoying the age of Daśaratha. So he abandoned Sītā (Bulcke, p. 441). According to the interpolated *Lavakuśakāṇḍa* of the *TR*, Rāma abandons Māyā Sītā on hearing the report of her censure from a washerman.

The *Rāmopākhyāna* also does not contain this episode.

The *Raghuvamśa* agrees with the *VR* (*Raghu*. 14).

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. The *PCS* does not mention that the river Gaṅgā was crossed. The *RPS* mentions additionally that afterwards a search for Sītā is made by the soldiers commissioned by Lakṣmaṇa (p. 178). The *TSP* gives a different reason for her abandonment. Sītā's cowives are jealous of her. They ask her to draw a portrait of Rāvaṇa. Sītā then draws the legs of Rāvaṇa for she had not seen his face. Her cowives try to instigate Rāma against Sītā with the help of that picture but Rāma does not believe them. They make it known to the public (IV. p. 314). The headmen inform Rāma of the public rumour against Sītā. He himself also overhears the same at night from the people (p. 316). His spies also report the same. Then it follows the *PCV*. Here Lakṣmaṇa sends Rāma to bring back Sītā but she could not be traced out (p. 320).

The *Uttarapurāṇa*, the *Mahāpurāṇa*, the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and the *Anāmakaṃ Jātaka* do not contain this episode.

D. Birth of the sons of Sītā and her fire ordeal :

(i) Birth and Marriage:—According to the *PCV* Sītā in due course gives birth to twin sons, Anaṅgalavaṇa and Madanāṅkuśa on the 15th day of the bright Śrāvaṇa (97.7.9). Cellaka Siddhārtha educates them. Vajrajaṅgha marries his daughter, Śāśicūlā (begot on

Lakṣmīmātī) and other 32 girls to Lavaṇa (98.2). He with the help of the sons of Sītā defeats Pṛthu, the king of Pṛthvīpura and forces the latter to marry his daughter, Kanakamālā to Aṅkuśa (98.57). Thereafter Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa launch a war-campaign and conquer many countries. After Sītā's renouncing the world, Khecara Kanakaratha of Kaiśānanagara invites Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with their sons to attend the 'svayamvara' of his two daughters, Mandākinī and Candramukhī. They choose Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa as their husbands respectively (106.1-12).

(ii) Battle and fire ordeal :—When Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa come to know from Nārada the reckless treatment of Rāma towards Sītā, they attack Śāketaपुरī despite opposition from Sītā (99). Bhāmaṇḍala joins their side. In the ensuing battle the weapons of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa fail to hurt Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa respectively. Siddhārtha intervenes and discloses the identity of Sītā's sons. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa then happily embrace Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa (100).

Further being advised by his well-wishers Rāma sends for Sītā and asks her to undergo a fire-ordeal to prove her purity. As soon as Sītā enters the firepit it gets converted into a reservoir of water and therein Sītā appears seated on a divine throne (101-102). Rāma admits his fault, implores Sītā to excuse him and to live with him happily. Sītā declines to re-entangle herself into worldly affairs and becomes a nun. She observes penances and attains heaven (celestial birth as a Prati-indra —105.9).

According to the *VR* also twin-sons are born of Sītā in the Āśrama of Vālmiki on the Śrāvāṇī rātri. Here the elder is named Kuśa because he is purified with the foreparts of the Kuśa grass and the younger is named Lava for he is purified with the lower part of the grass, called Lava¹. On that occasion Śatrughna² is said to have sojourned at the Āśrama on his way to conquer Mathurā. He visits the Āśrama again after 12 years on his way to Ayodhyā and overhears the Rāmacarita being recited by Kuśa and Lava (7.71). Śatrughna is not mentioned to have informed all that to Rāma.

The *VR* does not refer to the marriage, the world-conquest and the battle of Kuśa and Lava with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. In due course Rāma performs a horse-sacrifice (Aśvamedha) after having killed Śambūka (7.84-92). Vālmiki also attends the ceremony along with Kuśa and Lava. As per instructions of Vālmiki (7.93.4-17), Kuśa and

1. The Tilaka commentary 7.66.7-9.

2. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* does not mention his presence (7.6.26).

Lava recite *Rāmāyaṇa*. There Rāma learns that they are his sons. He sends a message to Vālmiki to bring Sītā there. He further orders that Sītā should prove her purity by taking an oath (7.95). Accordingly Sītā is brought there. Rāma reposes his faith in Sītā but for convincing the public he asks Sītā to prove her purity. Sītā comes forward and asks the earth to give way if she is pure. The earth splits (7.97.17) and a divine throne appears, the earth-deity seated on it. The deity lifts up Sītā and enters back into the earth along with Sītā. The fire ordeal of Sītā at Laṅkā is already mentioned.

The *TR* mentions two sons. The elder is Lava, not Kuśa (7.25) according to the order in which they are mentioned. The interpolated *Lavaśakāṇḍa* of *TR* refers to the ensuing of a battle between Lava-Kuśa and the soldiers of Rāma on account of the sacrificial horse. Both the brothers defeat Rāma's army. Sītā enters Pātāla.

The *PCR* mentions Siddhārtha as a Kṣullaka (100.32) and states that Hanumat also joined Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa in their battle against Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (102.170). The *PCS* does not mention any Kṣullaka. Vajrajaṅgha introduces himself as the husband of the sister of Rāma (81.14). Śaśicūlā is not mentioned. Pṛthu marries his two daughters Kanakamālā and Taraṅgamālā to Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa respectively (82.5). Candramukhī is mentioned as Candrabhāgā (86). Vibhīṣaṇa sends for Trijaṭā and Laṅkāśundarī. They arrive at Ayodhyā and announce Sītā's purity and ask Rāma to arrange an ordeal if he is not satisfied (83.4). In other respects it agrees with the *PCR*. The *TSP* follows *PCV* and additionally mentions the defeating of Vyāghraratha by Vajrajaṅgha on his way to subdue Pṛthu (IV. p.322). The *RPS* agrees with the *TSP* and further mentions Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa marrying eight daughters of the king of Podanapura and three hundred of Kuberakānta on their way to the world-conquest. Here Hanumat is said to have joined Lava and Aṅkuśa in their battle against Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (p.181).

According to the *UP* Rāma begets eight sons on Sītā. The eldest being Vijayarāma and the youngest (68.690 and 706) Ajitāñjaya. The *MP* agrees with it (79.8.12). Sītā accepts nunhood after the initiation of her husband (*UP*, 68.712; *MP*, 79.13) into the ascetic fold.

The test of the retrieved queen as found in the *Anūmakam Jātaka* is already referred to. Like the *PCV* some non-Jaina works also refer to the marriage of the two sons of Sītā.

The *Raghuvamśa* (16.54) refers to the watersports of Kuśa with his wife Kumudvatī who is the sister of a Bhujāṅgarāja (16.86). The

Rāmacarita of Sandhyākaranandi (ch.4) refers to Kumudvatī's marriage with Kuśa (Bulcke, p. 445). The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the marriages of Kuśa & Lava *Vivāhakāṇḍa* Here Kuśa is born of Sītā. Lava is not born of her but produced out of 'lavas' (lower part of the Kuśa grass) by Vālmiki (5.4.70-75). Like the *PCV* (106) here Campikā and Sumatī, the grand daughters of king Bhūrikīrti (6.1.10) select Kuśa (6.2.92) and Lava respectively (6.3.76) as their husbands in a 'svayamvara' ceremony. Then other marriages of the sons of Rāma and their cousin brothers are mentioned. Lava marries Kañjānā, a Nāgakanyā (6.7.2) Here Candravadanā is referred to as the daughter of Gandharvarāja (6.6.15). She is married to Citraketu, the son of Lakṣmaṇa (6.7.4).

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* (9.1.71-85) mentions that Sītā had to undergo a test in the Āśrama of Vālmiki. When the pupils of Vālmiki doubt her character, she herself proposes a test. Sītā enters the Tīṭima lake. The deity of the earth raises her and proves her chastity¹.

The battle of Lava and Kuśa with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa is mentioned in various works :—

According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*², Lakṣmaṇa in search of a male person of auspicious signs, required for the Naramedha Yajña imprisons Lava who was returning from the garden of Kubera. Vālmiki then sends Kuśa. He vanquishes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. When Rāma comes to know the reality, he accepts them as his sons and sends for Sītā (9.1.101-112). Here Lava is elder to Kuśa (9.1.92).

Lava as elder brother of Kuśa is found in Kāśmīrī *Rāmāyaṇa*, Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sinhalese *Rāmakathā* and West Acctt. No. 8 & 17 (Bulcke, p. 447).

According to the *PCV*, Nārada becomes the cause of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa's battle with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (99.1-6). In the *Rāmalingāmṛta* Nārada praises the valour of Kuśa and Lava before Rāma. Then Rāma proceeds with his army to Kuśa and Lava (Ch.14).

In other non-Jaina works the sacrificial horse of Rāma becomes the cause of the battle.

According to the *Uttara Rāmacarita*, Lava fights with Candraketu, the son of Lakṣmaṇa, who guards the sacrificial horse (5.35.1). On that occasion Rāma arrives there. The battle is stopped and they salute Rāma. When Kuśa reaches there he is pacified by Lava

1. Perhaps the Bṛhatkathā might have contained these episodes.

2. Ibid-

(6.19.3). Then a drama on *Rāmāyaṇa* is arranged. Thereupon Rāma accepts Sītā without any ordeal (7.20.1).

According to the *Padmaṣūrah*, Lava seizes the sacrificial horse (IV. 54.25) and defeats the commander. Śatrughna then subdues Lava. Kuśa arrives there and defeats Śatrughna. When Rāma gets information, he sends for Sītā and accepts his sons (IV. 54-67).

The Jaiminiya Aśvamedha agrees with the above account. It further mentions that Kuśa and Lava defeat Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Hanumat as well as wound Rāma. Vālmiki then brings all the soldiers to life (chs. 29-36; Vide Bulcke, p. 451).

According to the *Ananda Rāmāyaṇa*, Lava in his very young age steals golden lotuses from a lake of Ayodhyā after defeating the guards and the soldiers. These lotuses are required by Sītā to get united with her husband. Rāma then invites Vālmiki with his brave pupil. Lava seizes the sacrificial horse and defeats the soldiers. Lakṣmaṇa fights with Lava but the former's weapons do not hurt the latter. He brings Lava with the Brahmāstra and takes him to Rāma. Kuśa goes there to get Lava released. Lakṣmaṇa gives a fight but his weapons do not hurt Kuśa. Then Rāma fights with Kuśa but his weapons also do not hurt him. Next day Vālmiki discloses the identity of his two pupils. Thereupon Rāma accepts them at once (5.6-8). Then follows the ordeal of Sītā. Here Sītā reunites with Rāma and lives with him. Marāṭhī *Bhāṇārtha Rāmāyaṇa* contains a similar account (7.66-69). (Bulcke, 2. p. 711).

The battle in connection with the sacrificial horse is referred to in the following works¹ also. Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivīsa, *Rāmacandrikā* of Keśavadāsa (33-39), Gujarātī *Rāmāyaṇasāra* of Narmadā, Kāśmīrī *Rāmāyaṇa*, Reāma Kera (Cambodia), Rāma Kiyena (Śyāma) West. Accts. No. 7;8 & 14, *Chalita-Rāma*, *Govinda Rāmāyaṇa* of Guru Govinda and *Rāmāyaṇa Masīhī* (Persian).

There are some works² which do not refer to the horse of sacrifice but the battle is mentioned: Sinhalese *Rāmakathā*, Serī Rāma, *Seratakūṇḍa Rāma Jātaka* of Śyāma, West Accts. No. 6 & 17 and *Brāhmacakra* of Laos³.

1. Bulcke, p. 451; I. A. Bulcke, 2. p. 712.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. p. 281.

E. Renouncing the World :

(i) The acceptance of monkhood by the principal eight sons of Lakṣmaṇa:—According to the *PCV*, once Kanakaratha, the Khecara lord of Kañcananagara arranges 'svayamvara' ceremony for his daughters, Mandākinī and Candramukhī. They select Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa as their husbands respectively. The eight principal sons of Lakṣmaṇa out of 250 in all, take it as an affront and fight with Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa. The ministers of Rāma intervene and avert the disaster. Then the eight sons of Lakṣmaṇa accept monkhood under Mahābalamuni (106). The names of these eight sons are : Śrīdhara (of Viśalyā), Prthvītilaka (of Rūpamatī), Maṅgalanilaya (of Kalyāṇamālā), Arjunavṛkṣa (of Vanamālā), Śrīkeśin (of Ratimālā), Vimalaprabha (of Jitapadmā), Sarvakīrti (of Abhayamatī) and Supārśvakīrti (of Manoramā). These eight sons are born of eight queens of Lakṣmaṇa. Viśalyā¹ is the chief queen of Lakṣmaṇa among his 16000 wives (91).

The *VR* does not mention any marriage of Kuśa and Lava. Lakṣmaṇa has one wife only (Ūrmilā). He has two sons, Aṅgada and Candraketu (7.102.2). They are installed as the kings of Aṅgadiyapurī in the Kārupatha country (7.102.8) and Candrakāntapurī in the Malla country (7.102.9) respectively. These countries are said to have been conquered by Rāma for them (his nephews),

The *PCR* mentions Bhagavatī instead of Abhayamatī as one of the eight queens of Lakṣmaṇa. It mentions 17000 (94.17) wives of Lakṣmaṇa (94.23). The *TSP* does not mention any fight between the sons of Rāma and those of Lakṣmaṇa (IV. p. 341). It mentions Vimala, Śrīkeśin and Satyakīrti as the names of the sons of Lakṣmaṇa born of Ratimālā, Jitapadmā and Abhayavatī respectively (IV. p. 313). The *RPS* follows the *PCR* but mentions Hemaratha in place of Kanakaratha (p. 195) and Mṛgalocanā in place of Candramukhī. There is no mention of any quarrel between the sons of Lakṣmaṇa and those of Rāma (p. 195).

The *UP* mentions the same number of wives of Lakṣmaṇa as in the *PCV* (68,666f) and Prthvisundarī as the chief queen (68.704). The *MP* refers to Prthvisundara as the first son of Lakṣmaṇa begot on Prthvisundarī (79.9.8). He is made the king of Vārāṇasī after the death of Lakṣmaṇa.

1. The *PCV* mentions at 20.187 Prabhavatī as the chief queen. The *PCR* also mentions the same name at 20.228.

(ii) Death of Lakṣmaṇa:—According to the *PCV*, in the course of time Bhāmaṇḍala dies on being struck with the lightning (107). Śrī-śaila (Hanumat) enthrones his son and then along with his wives renounces the world. He attains emancipation (108). Once two celestial beings, Ratnacūla and Maṇicūla conjure up a scene of bereavement at Sāketapurī as if the women are mourning the death of Rāma, to test the mutual deep affection of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa gets shocked with the news of the sudden demise of Rāma and dies instantly (109-110). Lakṣmaṇa lived 11975 years¹ (114.29).

According to the *RPS* Hanumat attains emancipation on the Tuṅgagiri (p.196) and only one celestial being creates the scene of Rāma's death (p.196).

The *TSP* mentions Lakṣmaṇa's age to be of 12000 years (IV. p. 347).

There is no mention of Bhāmaṇḍala in the *VR*. Hanumat's marriage is not referred to but at 6.125.44. Bharata is said to have offered 16 girls to Hanumat when the latter took to Ayodhyā the message of Rāma's return from Laṅkā. He is blessed with a boon by Rāma on the occasion of the latter's Mahāprasthāna to the effect that the former should live in the world as long as the Rāma story lasts (7.108.31). As regards the death of Lakṣmaṇa it is narrated that once Kāla, the god of death, goes to Rāma and asks for a secret meeting with him to convey to him the message of Mahārṣi Atibala (7.103.2). There it is decided that if any third person overhears them he should be killed. Accordingly Lakṣmaṇa is installed as the guard on the door to ward off the entry of any third person. At that time Durvāsā Ṛṣi comes there and threatens to curse Rāma and his whole family to death if he is not given permission to see Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa prefers his own death to the destruction of the whole family. So he disturbs Rāma's secret talk (7.105). Rāma does not kill Lakṣmaṇa but exiles him (7.106.13). Lakṣmaṇa then performs meditation on the bank of the Sarayū river. At that time Indra lifts up Lakṣmaṇa and takes him to heaven 'tridivani' (7.106.17). For the son of Hanumat see the story of Hanumat under "Intervening Stories." The interpolated *Lavakūśakāṇḍa* of *TR* agrees with the *VR*.

According to *Brahmapurāṇa* Hanumat learns on the occasion of the horse sacrifice that Sītā has been abandoned by Rāma. He proceeds to Godāvarī to perform penances (ch. 154). According to the *Rāma Kīyena* Hanumat renounces the world. (Bulcke, p. 652, fn. 2).

1. *PCR*, 119.50.

(iii) Accepting of monkhood by Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa:—According to the *PCV*, Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa get dejected with the worldly miseries on account of the sudden death of Lakṣmaṇa and the distress of the whole family. Thereafter they accept asceticism (110.41).

(iv) Attack on Rāma's territory:—Rāma becomes mad on account of being overwhelmed with the grief of the loss of his father and his brother Lakṣmaṇa. At such a time Vajramālin and Ratnarakṣa, who are the sons of Sunda and the grandsons of Candranakhā attack Rāma (113.19). The timely help of two celestial beings (Kṛtāntavadaṇa and Jaṭāyu who had already died) makes the invaders flee away. These two celestial beings also help in removing the madness of Rāma. Rāma realises his folly and performs the last rites of the dead body of Lakṣmaṇa. He offers his kingdom to Śatrughna but the latter declines the offer and wishes to renounce the world along with him (113.68f).

(v) Rāma's Nirvāṇa:—Rāma enthrones the son of Lavaṇa (114.1) and himself accepts asceticism under Suvratamuni (114.15). At that time Śatrughna, Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇa, Nala, Nila and Virādhita also renounce the world. Many ladies also accept nunhood under Āryā Śrīmatī (114.1). Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa are said to have enthroned their sons Aṅgada and Subhūṣaṇa as the kings of Kiṣkindhipura and Laṅkāpurī (114.4) respectively. Śatrughna enthrones his elder son at Mathurā (114.18). Rāma as a mendicant reaches the place of Koṭīśīlā and performs meditation there. The Prati-indra (Sītā as a celestial being) attempts to distract and perturb him in vain (117.5f). Then Rāma attains omniscience on the 12th day of the bright Māgha. In course of time Rāma attains Nirvāṇa, final liberation (118.89). Rāma lived for 17000 years (118.86). He had 8000 wives among them Sītā, Prabhāvatī, Ratnibhā and Śrīdāmā were his queens (91.18).

According to the *VR*, after the death of Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma intends to lead the forest life and therefore (7.107.2) he offers the crown of Kośala to Bharata¹ but the latter declines the offer. Then Rāma installs Kuśa as the king of Kuśāvati (Southern Kośala) and Lava as the king of Śrāvasti (Uttarakośala 7.108. 4 & 5) (7.107.17). It does not refer to Rāma's madness or any attack on his territory.

The *VR* mentions two sons of Bharata viz. Takṣa and Puṣkala (7.100.6). Bharata² conquers the Gandharvas (7.100.10 to 101.2) and

1. According to the *PCV* Bharata renounces the world.

2. The *PCV* does not mention any son of Bharata.

makes his sons the kings of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati, newly established after their names, respectively.

Śatrughna¹ also enthrones his sons Subāhu and Śatrughātī as the kings of Mathurā and Vaidiśā respectively (7.108.10). He leaves Mathurā and goes to Ayodhyā. Sugrīva transfers his kingdom to Aṅgada (son of Vālī 7.108.23) and goes to Rāma. Rāma advises Vibhīṣaṇa to continue as the king of Laṅkā and advises Hanumat to live long in the world. Then Rāma along with Bharata, Śatrughna, the ladies of the harem and many others proceeds towards the river Sarayū on a Mahāprasthāna (7.109). Brahmā appears and eulogises Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (7.110.8). Rāma along with his brothers enters the divine spirit of Viṣṇu (Ibid, 12). The Vānaras and the Rkṣas enter their divine abodes. Sugrīva enters the solar orbit (Ibid, 21). The rest of the people attain heaven (tridivam 7.110.25). Rāma's age is mentioned to be 11000 years (7.104.12). Except Sītā² no other wife of Rāma is referred to.

The interpolated *Laṅkakāṇḍa* of the *TR* agrees in its essentials with the *VR*.

According to *Brahmapurāṇa* (ch 154) Rāma remembers of Sītā and proceeds to the river Godāvarī for observing penances.

The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* though does not mention many wives of Rāma but there are references to many married women who want to establish sexual relations with Rāma. Rāma declines their proposal and promises to marry them in his next birth, when he would be born as Kṛṣṇa. Here Rāma tells that he will have 16000 wives in his future life (7.4.21-47). Four Brahmin girls who were kidnapped by Dundubhi and other 16000 women request for marriage (7.11.52-73 and 7.12), but Rāma declines to marry them now, with the same promise for future.

According to the *Nārada-purāṇa* (Pū. ch. 79) and the *Padma-purāṇa* (Pāt. ch. 100) Vibhīṣaṇa is imprisoned by the Dravadians. Rāma gets him released (Bulcke, p. 415). The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* mentions that when Vibhīṣaṇa is defeated by the grandson of Kumbhakarṇa. Rāma goes to Laṅkā and restores Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa after defeating the grandsons of Kumbhakarṇa (7.4.80-85). According to Rāma Kiyena, Rāvaṇa's son imprisons Vibhīṣaṇa. Bharata and Śatrughna get him

1. The *PCV* does not refer to any son of Śatrughna.

2. In the southern version Mantharā refers to many would-be wives of Rāma, *VRTP*.

released (Bulcke, p. 414). According to the *Seratakāṇḍa* and the *Serī Rāma*, Sītā and Rāma after their reunion perform penances (Bulcke, p. 455).

According to the *Dasaratha Jātaka*, Rāma is said to have ruled for 16000 years.

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. The *PCS* agrees with the *PCR* leaving out some details. The *TSP* (IV, p. 345) mentions that the sons of Sunda, Indrajit and other hostile Vidyādhara attack Ayodhyā. Rāma's age is said to be of 15000 years (IV, p. 352). The son of Lavaṇa is named as Anaṅgadeva (IV, p. 347). According to the *RPS*, Lavaṇa and Aṅkuṣa attain emancipation on Pāvāgiri (p. 197). The sons of Indrajit and Kumbhakarna assist Sunda in attacking Sāketa-purī (p. 197). Rāma attains emancipation on the Tuṅgagiri (p. 200). The son of Lavaṇa is called Anaṅgalavaṇa (p. 198).

According to the *UP* Rāma's age is 13000 years (67.150). The *MP* agrees with it (69.13). The *UP* does not mention Rāma's madness. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa migrate to Vārāṇasī after handing over the reign of Ayodhyā to Bharata and Śatrughna (68.688). Here Rāma after the death of Lakṣmaṇa enthrone the eldest son of Lakṣmaṇa begot on Pṛthvīsundarī (*UP*, 68.704). Out of the eight sons of Sītā, seven become monks while the eighth, the youngest, Ajitāñjaya is made the king of Mithilā (68.706). Thereafter Rāma along with his 180 sons, Sugrīva, Aṇumat and Vibhīṣaṇa take to asceticism (68.711). Rāma and Aṇumat get emancipation on the Sammata (68.721). The number of the wives of Rāma is the same as in the *PCV* (*UP*, 68.666f). The *MP* (79.9; 79.12-14) agrees with the *UP*.

CHAPTER IV

INTERVENING STORIES

1. Introduction :

In addition to the main Rāma-Story the *Paumacariyam* (PCV) contains 64 side stories. Of them some are mere episodes or incidental references to some detached events. They all cover not less than half the volume of the work. Some of them are dealt with in great detail while others are sketched and a few are summarily referred to. The longest story is Rāvana-Carita which runs over 11 cantos—i.e. one-fifth of the whole volume. Next to it is that of Añjanāsundarī which is spread over four cantos. Otherwise generally they range from 7 to 70 verses. However the smaller ones are finished in 5 to 7 verses and the smallest ones are summarily given in 2 to 3 verses. There is one instance when merely the name of the story is referred to.

In course of relating the main story, Gautama, the chief disciple of Lord Mahāvīra, narrates some side episodes¹ or stories either independently or in reply to some point raised by or some information sought by king Śreṇika. Besides him some monks, who come into contact with the characters of the main story or the intervening stories, also relate some of the narratives in reply to the queries made by the latter. Not only that but even the characters of the main or the intervening stories narrate some of the stories to their co-characters to explain one or the other point. Thus we find that generally many sub-stories are fitted into the texture of the main story and sometimes sub-stories also contain further intervening stories. Occasionally this strata of sub-stories may be traced even to the fourth layer. This is generally the form in which we find all our ancient story-books, such as the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsagaṇi (VH), *Samarūccakahā* and the *Mahāpurāṇa*.

These sub-stories can be said to be of two types i.e. (I) Informative and (II) Didactic. The informative stories can be further grouped as (A) the stories of eminent persons, which describe in short or detail the biographies of or some episodes associated with the life of or the advent of some eminent persons of the Jaina Faith, (B) the stories of legendary kings, which narrate the lives of some legendary kings or some episodes or events associated with them; and (C) the stories of genesis, which explain the origin of a class of society or a religious practice or some dynasty. The didactic stories can be grouped as (A) religious-cum-moral stories which support some religious principle or

practice and illustrate some moral point, and (B) stories of general prudence which impart worldly wisdom. The didactic stories of group A are generally the previous-birth-stories in which some instructions are brought home by co-relating the present and the past life of cause and effect or the law of Karma. They explain the truth of transmigration of soul in worldly life. They further bring to light the causes of suffering and happiness, misery and plentifulness, and rise and fall. They preach that one should lead a righteous life and tell us that non-attachment and non-aversion are the *summum bonum* of life. The didactic stories of group B are told to guide the characters in the ways of the world.

I—The informative stories number twenty. They can be accounted as follows :

A. Caritas of eminent persons :

This group contains 11 stories. Nos. 1, 2 and 3 narrate the lives of Rāvaṇa, Añjanāsundarī and her son Hanumat, and Nārada respectively who are associated with the main story.

Stories Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 give in brief the biographies of four Tirthaṅkaras viz. Lord Mahāvīra whose chief disciple Gautama is the narrator of the main story; Lord Rṣabha who is the usherer of the new era and is associated with the origin of social classes, professions and some dynasty; Lord Ajita who is associated with the origin of the Rākṣasa dynasty; and Lord Munisuvrata during whose Tirtha Rāma and Rāvaṇa are said to have lived.

Stories No. 8, 9, 10 and 11 relate the duel between the first Cakravartin Bharata and his brother Bāhubali, the end of 60000 sons of second Cakravartin Sagara, the initiation of the fourth Cakravartin Sanatkumāra and the life of the tenth Cakravartin Hariṣeṇa respectively.

B. Legendary kings of the Ikṣvāku-varṇśa :

This group contains four stories—i. e. Nos. 12, 13, 14 & 15 which explain the causes which led to the initiation of some Ikṣvāku kings and illustrate the crude and wicked ways of worldly life. Thus the story of Vajrabāhu narrates the cause of his initiation. The story of Kīrti-dhara and Sukośala relates how a mother takes her revenge in her next birth by killing her own son. The story of Naghuṣa and Simhikā illustrates that even a faithful, courageous and chaste queen may be censured and deprived of her position by her own husband. The story of Sodāsa explains the possibilities of a king going astray and invading his own son.

C. Stories of genesis :

This group contains five stories—i. e. Nos. 16, 17, 18 and 19 as well as 20, which inform us about the origin of the Brāhmaṇa class, Animal-sacrifice, Vānara-varṇa and the Harivaṇṣa respectively.

II—There are forty-four didactic stories. They can be accounted as follows:

A. Religious-cum-Moral stories :

The first group has thirty-eight stories which illustrate different points viz. the painful consequences of desecrating the Jina-idols (34), of torturing the monks (21 & 32), the Saṃgha (26) or the animals (44 & 51), of punishing others and causing breach of faith (22); the suffering brought about by murdering monks (40) or other human beings (23, 24 & 42); and the good fruits of giving protection to other's life (28 & 39). They further illustrate that abusive speech invites miseries (50); that the act of kidnapping others is retributed (35); that unchastity and unfaithfulness bring about desertation (47) while chastity and faithfulness procure rise and bountifulness (48). They exemplify that enmity intimidates religious advancement (38 & 54) while love and sympathy (25), true friendly help (30) and affection (36) are reciprocally rewarded. They further teach us that too much attachment causes delusion (45 & 53), anger brings about downfall (29) and deceit earns rebirth as an animal (52). They illustrate the fruits of observing vows (49), penances (31, 33, 37, 43, 56 & 58) and offering gifts to monks (57) as well as the harm resulting from forming a 'nidāna' (27 & 46). The story No. 55 illustrates variedly the results of 'nidāna', penances, affection, attachment, censure and confession and the story No. 41 illustrates the crude ways of wordly life.

B. The stories of general prudence :

They are 6 in number and illustrate the benefits of helping the ignorant (59), the futility of too much attachment (60), the veracity of the axiom that only the brave deserve the fair (61). They further establish that greed is the cause of enmity between even one's kith and kin (62 & 63) and emphasise the necessity of prudence in forming family ties (64).

2. INFORMATIVE STORIES.

A—Caritas of Eminent Persons.

1. Rāvaṇa Carita :

According to the Jaina tradition, Rāvaṇa is the eighth Prativāsudeva who is killed by the eighth Vāsudeva, Lakṣmaṇa. A Prativā-

sudeva is a rival of a Vāsudeva. He is equal to Vāsudeva in power and prowess. Rāvaṇa is a Khalanāyaka in the Rāma-story but his place in the Jaina mythology is equally important with that of other 62 (śalākāpuruṣas) illustrious persons of the Jaina Faith. On account of this importance, the *PCV* devotes (15 cantos—5-19 or nearly 80 i. e. 18-95 leaves) one fourth of the total volume (335 leaves) to the description of his Carita. The *PCV* narrates his early life and valorous feats in the beginning of the work i. e. preceding the narration of the main story where his downfall is related.

The *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* deals with Rāvaṇa-carita in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* just before the exile of Sītā. It is narrated to Rāma, on his own request, by Agastyamuni. The *TR* treats of it in the beginning.

It is the *Rāmopākhyāna* which narrates Rāvaṇa-carita in the beginning of the Rāma-story and the same is the case with the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Serī Rāma, the *Seratakāṇḍa* of Indonesia, the Rāma Kiyena and Rāma *Jātaka* of Śyāmadeśa.

(a) *Beginning of hostility between the ancestors of Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa and those of Vidyādhara Indra :*

(i) Losing of Laṅkā by Sukeśa and its re-occupation by Mālin:— According to the *PCV* there existed friendship between the Vānara and the Rākṣasa kings since the time of the Vānara king Mahodadhira¹ of Kiṣkindhipura, the great grandfather of Sugrīva and Rākṣasa king Taḍitkeśa² of Laṅkāpurī, the great grandfather of Rāvaṇa (6.93-97). As the time passed on, there came an occasion when Śrīmālā, a Vidyādhara princess of Ādityapura, in her 'svayaṁvara' ceremony chose Kiṣkindhi, the grandson of Mahodadhirava as her husband. At this selection Vidyādhara prince Vijayasimha of Rathānūpuracakravālapura felt humiliated and so he wanted to subdue Kiṣkindhi. On that unhappy occasion Sukeśa (Sukeśin) a descendant of Rākṣasa Taḍitkeśa of Laṅkā arrived there to help his friend, Kiṣkindhi. When Vijayasimha was killed in the battle, Kiṣkindhi and Sukeśa had to face Aśanivega, who was the father of Vijayasimha and grandfather of Indra, in a further battle. This time Kiṣkindhi and Sukeśin could not survive the fierce attack so, they fled away and took shelter in

1. Mahodadhirava was a very far descendant of Śrīkaṇṭha who was the first lord of the Vānaradvīpa with his capital at Kiṣkindhipura (See ch. 5 Origin of various Vanśas).

2. Taḍitkeśa was a very far descendant of Meghavāhana who became the first ruler of Laṅkāpurī (See Ibid).

Pātālāṅkārapura¹. Aśanivega then put Laṅkāpurī under the rule of Nirghātadānava (6.147-206).

As the time passed Sukeśa's wife Indrāṇī gave birth to Mālin, Sumālin and Mālyavat. When the opportunity came, Mālin killed Nirghātadānava and reoccupied his ancestral town (6.235). Thereafter Mālin married Candramatī, the daughter of Bhogavatī by Himarāja of Hemāṅgapura. Sumālin got wedded to Prītimahāsundarī, the daughter of Prītimatī by Priyāṅkara of Prītipura. And Mālyavat took Kanakāvalī as his wife, who was the daughter of Kanakaśrī by Kanaka of Kanakapura (6.241).

In the *VR* there is no reference to the rendering of any assistance by Sukeśa to any Vānara or no mention of any friendship between their ancestors. Here Sukeśa is the son of Vidyutkeśa (7.4.23) and the grandson of Praheti, the first Lord of the Rākṣasas. Sukeśa's wife is Devavatī (7.5.3) and their first son is Mālyavat, second Sumālin and third Mālin. They pleased Brahmā with their penances and acquired the boon of invincibility (7.5.14 *ajeyāḥ*). Further Viśvakarman granted them the city of Laṅkā for their abode (7.5.26). Thus they occupied Laṅkā for the first time and made it a colony of the Rākṣasas. Thereafter Narmadā, a Gāndharvī, married her three daughters Sundarī, Ketumatī and Vasudā to them respectively (7.5.30-41).

The *TR* does not contain this account and so is the case with the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *MB*.

(ii) Killing of Mālin, the grand uncle of Rāvaṇa, and appointment of Vaiśravaṇa as the Ruler of Laṅkā by Indra:—As the time lapsed, Sahasrāra, the son of Aśanivega begot a son Indra on his wife Mānasasundarī. He was named Indra because his mother, when he was in her womb, had developed a pregnancy longing to have all the paraphernalia of celestial Indra at her disposal. Her desire was duly fulfilled by Sahasrāra with the power of his *vidyās*. In due course Indra's sway began to expand and he established all the paraphernalia like that of the celestial Indra. Indra's (also called as Suravaī-Surapati-7.41) rise could not be tolerated by Mālin, hence the latter along with his two brothers attacked Indra. But he was killed by Indra in the battle. Then Sumālin and Mālyavat made a retreat and took shelter in Pātālāṅkārapura (7.1-50), Thereafter Indra appointed four Vidyādharas namely Soma, Varuṇa,

1. It is called 'Dugga' (7.166) i. e. a well-fortified place for the refuge of the defeated and helpless.

Kubera¹ and Yama as the Lokapālas (rulers) of the East, the West, the North and the South respectively. They were the sons of Ādityakīrti and Makaradhvaja, Varuṇa and Megharatha, Kanakāvalī and Surakhecara, and Śrīprabhā and Kālāgni respectively.

Further Indra appointed Vaiśravaṇa (Vesamaṇa), the Yakṣa prince of Yakṣapura as the ruler (fifth Lokapāla) of Laṅkāpurī. He was the son of Viśvasena (Viśasena) born of Kośikā (Kosiyā), the daughter of Vyomabindu of Kautukamaṅgalapura. He is called Dhanada also (7.53-55).

According to the *VR* on the strength of the boon granted to them by Brahmā, they (Mālyavat etc.) started oppressing the Suras, Devas, Ṛsis, Nāgas and Yakṣas as well as the Indras (7.5.44). The Suras and the Ṛsis then made a complaint to Śiva (God), but the latter sent them to Viṣṇu (God) who promised them to kill their oppressors (7.6.21). When Mālyavat came to know of it, he decided to annihilate the Devas totally (7.6.44). So he along with his two brothers attacked Devaloka (the territory of the Devas), but Viṣṇu assisted the Devas and killed Mālin (7.7.43). At this Sumālin and Mālyavat fled away to Laṅkā. But seeing that the fight was going on, they came back and after a hot discussion with Viṣṇu and Indra they resumed fighting. This time they had to flee away to Pātāla (7.8.22 or Rasātala 7.8.29) for their safety. Laṅkāpurī was given to Dhaneśvara or Vaiśravaṇa by his father Viśravas or Paulastya.

About the advent of Vaiśravaṇa it is said that Pulastya, the son of Prajāpati was a Brahmarṣi. He went to the Āśrama of Tṛṇabindu, a Rājaraṣi to perform penances. Once the latter's daughter, Vedaśruti came into the range of the sight of Pulastya and became pregnant on account of being cursed by the latter to that effect (7.2.13). She was then married to Pulastya by her father. She gave birth to a son who was called Paulastya after his father's name and Viśravas on account of hearing the Vedas recited by her mother (7.2.31). Viśravas married Devavarṇinī, the daughter of Muni Bharadvāja and begot a son Vaiśravaṇa on her. Brahmā being pleased with the penances of Vaiśravaṇa made him the fourth Lokapāla, conferred on him the title of Dhaneśa and presented him with the Puṣpakavimāna (7.3). Here it is said that Yama, Indra and Varuṇa were other three Lokapālas (7.3.17). Thereafter Paulastya made Vaiśravaṇa the ruler of Laṅkā which was already vacated by the Rākṣasas (7.3.25-31), Mālin and Sumālin as mentioned above.

1. Here Kubera and Dhanada are two separate persons. In the *VR* Vaiśravaṇa, Dhanada and Kubera are the same and one person.

The *TR* merely refers to *Laṅkāpurī* as the colony of the *Rākṣasas* (*Niścara*), the killing of the *Rākṣasas* by the *Devas* (*te saba suranha samara saṅghāre* 1.179) and *Laṅkāpurī*'s occupation by the guards of *Yakṣapati* (*Kubera*) with the help of *Śakra*.

According to the *Rāmopākhyāna* (*MB*, 3.274), *Vaiśravaṇa* is the grandson of *Prajāpati* (*Brahmā*) and the son of *Pulastya* born of *Gau*. *Pulastya* himself is said to have become *Viśravas* to take revenge upon his son *Vaiśravaṇa* who had already left his father and gone to *Brahmā*. *Brahmā* had conferred upon *Vaiśravaṇa*, the title of *Dhaneśa* (*Kubera*) and had made him a *Lokapāla*. *Brahmā* further made him the *Adhipati* of the *Yakṣas*, installed him as the king of *Laṅkā* inhabited by the *Rākṣasas*, and provided him with the *Puṣpakavimāna*.

The *PCR* (chs. 6-7) agrees with the *PCV*. It mentions *Viśvasena* as *Viśravā* (*Vaiśravas*) and *Kośikā* as *Kauśikī* (7.127). The *PCS* describes *Indra* (*Vidyādhara*) as celestial *Indra* with all his divine paraphernalia (8). There is no reference to the mother of *Vaiśravaṇa*. The *RPS* states that *Vidyādhara* *Indra* named the *Vijayārdha* territory as 'Svarga' and the *Vidyādharas* as 'Devas' (p.27). The *TSP* refers to the name of the mother of *Indra* as *Citrāsundarī*. *Sahasrāra* assumed the form of the celestial *Śakra* to fulfil the pregnancy whim of *Citrāsundarī* (IV. 113-114).

The *Vasudevahinḍī*, the *UP* and the *MP* do not contain this episode. The *Vasudevahinḍī* merely mentions *Soma*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa* and *Vaiśravaṇa* as step brothers of *Daśagrīva* (*Rāvaṇa*), having sway over the *Vijayārdha* mountain. They were born of *Devavarṇinī*, the first wife of *Vimśatigrīva*.

In the Buddhist Pali *Jātakas* there are references to *Vessavaṇa* as the lord of the 'Yakkhas' but his relation with *Rāvaṇa* is nowhere mentioned.

(b) *Re-occupation of Laṅkāpurī by Rāvaṇa:*

(iii) Birth of *Ratnāśrava* and his marriage :—According to the *PCV*, in course of time *Sumālīn*'s wife *Prītimatī* gave birth to *Ratnāśrava* and other two sons (7.59) at *Pātālāṅkārapura*. *Ratnāśrava* then started acquiring *vidyās* at *Kusuma-udyāna* to restore his ancestral city. At that time *Vyomabindu* left his daughter *Kekasī* (the sister of *Kośikā*) in the service of *Ratnāśrava*. After acquiring *Mānasasundarī-vidyā*, *Ratnāśrava* established the city of *Kusumakāntapura* and married *Kekasī* (7.75).

(iv) Birth of Rāvaṇa and his brothers:—According to the *PGV*, in course of time Kekasī, the wife of Ratnāśrava gave birth to Rāvaṇa, Bhānukarṇa, Candranakhā and Vibhīṣaṇa (7.96-98). The first son of Kekasī, in his babyhood, rolled down the cot and caught hold of a necklace bedecked with nine jewels which had been given to Meghavāhana, the first lord of Laṅkāpurī by Bhīma, the Rākṣasādhipa and it had passed on to Ratnāśrava as a paternal property. When Kekasī out of curiosity put it round his son's neck, she found that the face of her child got reflected in those nine jewels and so he was named Daśamukha¹ (7.96). Bhānukarṇa's other name was Kumbhakarṇa² (8.57). There is a reference to the dreams seen by Kekasī before giving birth to her children. These dreams depicted cruel nature of Rāvaṇa (varakūrakammakārī) and righteousness of other two sons (sucariyāṇubhavaṇam) 7.76-84.

According to the *VR* (7.9), Sumālin while staying at in the Pātāla observes Dhaneśvara (Vaiśravaṇa of Lāṅkā) soaring in the sky in his Puṣpakavimāna with all his splendour. He plans to usher in the rise and prosperity of his own family and then desiring to get a son by Paulastya sends his daughter, Kekasī to marry her to Paulastya i.e. Viśravaś. As she approached the Muni in hard times hence Viśravaś predicted that cruel sons (krūrakarmaṇaḥ) would be born to her. On her imploration the curse was modified to the effect that her last son would be (dharmātmā) religious minded. In course of time Kekasī gave birth to Daśagrīva having ten heads and twenty arms, Kumbhakarṇa having huge body, Śūrpaṇakhā of abominable countenance (vikṛtānā) and Vibhīṣaṇa³ having religious inclination. At 3.17.22 Khara and Dūṣaṇa are referred to as the brothers of Śūrpaṇakhā and at 7.24.37 Khara is called as (māṛṣvaseyas to bhrātā) the cousin brother of Śūrpaṇakhā.

The *TR* merely refers to Rāvaṇa as having ten heads and twenty arms, as belonging to the family of Pulastya (1.176) and mentions Vibhīṣaṇa as the step brother of Rāvaṇa. Śūrpaṇakhā is called the sister of Rāvaṇa, Khara and Dūṣaṇa (3.17 to 3.23).

1. He was called Rāvaṇa on account of making a loud cry for safety (ravo kao-9.78) on the occasion of lifting up the Kailāśa mountain to disturb muni Vālī.
2. At his father-in-law's town Kumbhanagara some one made a sign on account of his big ears, hence Bhānukarṇa was called Kumbhakarṇa (Tatheva kumbhanayare, kena vi saddo kao siṇcheṇam, daṭṭhūṇa pavārakaṇṇe tti).
3. The Gaudīya and the NW versions of *VR* refer to Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa as the sons of Nikaṣā (Bulcke, p. 418).

According to the *Rāmopākhyāna*, when Vaiśravaṇa knew of his father's (Pulastya but now Viśravas) anger he appointed three Rākṣasīs—Puṣpotkaṭā, Rākā and Mālīnī as the attendants (*paricārikāḥ*) of Viśravas who begot Kumbhakarṇa and Daśagrīva on the first, Vibhīṣaṇa on the third and Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā as twins on the second Rākṣasī (*MB*, 3.275).

The *PCR* mentions Ratnāśrava as the only son of Sumālin (7.133). The *PCS* agrees with the *PCR* and mentions the incident of naming of Daśagrīva in his boyhood (9.4). The *RPS* follows the *PCS*. The *TSP* agrees with the *PCR*. According to the *UP* (68.8-13) and the *MP* (70.4) Pulastya is the great grandson of Sahsragrīva. Pulastya begets Rāvaṇa on Meghaśrī. According to the *Vasudevahinī*, Viṃśatigrīva has four wives Devavarṇinī, Vakrajā, Kekasī and Puṣpotkaṭā.¹ Devavarṇinī's sons are Soma, Yama, Varuṇa and Veśravaṇa. Kekasī has Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, Trijaṭā and Śūrpaṇakhā. Vakrajā has Mahodara, Mahāhastā, Mahāpārśva², Khara and Āśālikā; and Puṣpotkaṭā has Trisāra, Duṣṣāra, Vidyutjihva and Kumbhināśa.

(v) Acquisition of vidyās by Rāvaṇa:—According to the *PCV* (7.99-173), once Daśamukha having observed the splendid paraphernalia of Vaiśravaṇa soaring in the sky in the Puṣpakavimāna came to know of the past history of Laṅkā from his mother. Then he decided to regain the lost glory. He went to the Bhīma forest along with his brothers, performed penances there and mastered various vidyās (supernatural powers) such as Ākāśagāminī, Kāmadāyinī, Kāmagāmi etc. (54 in all) Kumbhakarṇa acquired Nidrāṇī etc. (five in all) and Vibhīṣaṇa Siddhārthā etc. (four in all).

At that time the Yakṣa lord established Svayamprabhapura for their habitation. Once Sumālin advised Daśamukha to restore the lost glory and to reoccupy their ancestral Laṅkāpurī.

According to the *VR*, Kaikasī once having observed the splendour of Vaiśravaṇa advised Daśagrīva to attain the prowess like that of Vaiśravaṇa (7.9.43). Then Daśagrīva, Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa went to Muni Gokarṇa's Āśrama and performed austerities. Brahmā granted to Rāvaṇa the boons of immortality from one and all except from the human beings and of changing his shape to his desires (7.10.25). Vibhīṣaṇa was favoured with the boon of

1. In the *VR* Puṣpotkaṭā is the daughter of Sumālin and the sister of Kaikasī (7.5,40) and Supārśva is mentioned as the son of Sumālin.

2. *Ibid*.

immortality and undisturbed devotion to righteousness. Kumbhakarṇa was deluded by Sarasvatī on the advice of Brahmā who was requested by the Gods to do so to get him rid of his habit of devouring men and gods. Therefore, according to his demand Kumbhakarṇa was granted the boon of remaining in slumber for years together (7.10.45). But at 6.61.27 it is said that at the request of Rāvaṇa the boon was modified to six months' duration.

After having obtained these boons they went away to Śleṣmātaka forest and lived there (7.10.49). Thereafter Sumālin encouraged Daśagrīva to recapture their ancestral Laṅkā. First Daśagrīva declined to fight with his stepbrother but at the counsel of Prahasta he decided to restore Laṅkā to his own family (7.11.20).

The *TR* mentions that Daśaśīṣa neglected to demand immortality from the Vānaras and the Manujas. Kumbhakarṇa was favoured with six months' slumber (1.177). The cause of performing penance is not referred to. The deluding of the mind of Kumbhakarṇa by Sarasvatī is mentioned.

According to the *Rāmopākhyāna*, with an envy to equal Vaiśravaṇa, they performed penances. Rāvaṇa was granted immunity from all but human beings. Kumbhakarṇa was favoured with Mahātinidrā (3.275).

The *PCR* (7. 324) agrees with the *PCV*. It has changed the names of some of the vidyās and added two more vidyās to the credit of Rāvaṇa. In the *PCS* (9.12) some of the vidyās differ from those of the *PCV* and the *PCR*. According to the *RPS* (p. 29) Kekasī once observed Kubera's splendour and then wept. On enquiry from Rāvaṇa she narrated the history of Laṅkā. The *TSP* agrees with the *PCR* and mentions a few more vidyās (IV. p. 122). According to the *VH*, Rāvaṇa acquired Prajñapti-vidyā and that also after occupying Laṅkā.

(vi) Marriage of Rāvaṇa and his progeny:—According to the *PCV* Vidyādhara Maya, the lord of Surasaṅgītapura married his daughter, Mandodarī begot on Hemavatī, to Daśagrīva (8.21). Further Rāvaṇa is said to have wedded many Vidyādhara girls by the way of the Gāndharva (8.38) and the Rākṣasa forms of marriage. (6.51).

Kumbhakarṇa married Taḍitmālā, the daughter of Surūpana-yanā and Mahodara of Kumbhapura while Vibhīṣaṇa was wedded to Paṅkajasadrśā, the daughter of Nandavatī and Viśuddhakamala of Jyotiṣprabhapura.

Mandodarī in due course gave birth to Indrajit and Meghavāhana. Indrajit was named as such on account of his having (ruveṇa Indasariso 8.63) countenance like that of Indra.

According to the *VR* also Dānava Maya's daughter Mandodarī was married to Rāvaṇa. But her mother Hemā is said to be a nymph and Maya as the ruler of Hemamayapura (7.12.19).

Rāvaṇa is here also referred to have kidnapped the daughters of various kings, Ṛṣis, Devas, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Pannagas, Asuras, Yakṣas etc. (7.24. 1-6).

Kumbhakarṇa married Vajravālā, grand daughter of Vairocana (7.12.23) and Vibhīṣaṇa was wedded to Saramā, the daughter of Śailūṣa, a Gandharvarājā (7.12.25).

Mandodarī had one son Meghanāda (7.12.28). He was named Indrajit by Brahmā in memory of his conquering Indra (7.30.5).

The *TR* refers to the marriage of Rāvaṇa with Mandodarī and other girls, the latter by force (*TR*, 1.178.182). It does not refer to the wives of Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa.

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. It mentions Maya as a great friend of the father-in-law of Vibhīṣaṇa (8.150). The name of the mother-in-law of Vibhīṣaṇa is Nandamālā. The *PCS* agrees with the *PCV*. The *RPS* follows the *PCR*. The *TSP* follows the *PCV*. Here Vira is the father-in-law of Vibhīṣaṇa (IV. p. 124).

According to the *Vasudevahindī*, Mandodarī's first child was prophesied to be ominous bringing destruction to her parents. But as she was beautiful so Rāvaṇa married her and decided to abandon the first child of Mandodarī. Other marriages are not mentioned. The *UP* (68.18) and the *MP* (70.6) agree with the *VH*.

(vii) Conduct of Kumbhakarṇa:—According to the *PCV* Kumbhakarṇa is religious-minded, trained in various arts, well-versed in traditional knowledge and of enduring character. He takes pure and sumptuous food. His sleep is timely. There is no diabolic and abnormal trait in him (8.58-59). He takes a vow of performing daily worship of the Jinas (14.154). The *PCR* (8.145-148) depicts him in the similar way.

In the *VR* Kumbhakarṇa is said to be dominated by 'Kāma'. He used to take a huge quantity of flesh of boars and buffaloes and was addicted to drinking of wine and blood. He slept six to nine months. His slumber was so deep that it could not be disturbed by drum-beats, or by the strokes of clubs and pestles or even by the trampling of his body by elephants. Even the Rākṣasas could not withstand the force of his

breath. He used to devour living beings, oppress gods and destroy hermitages (6.60,61; 7.10.39f).

In the *TR* the same diabolic traits of Kumbhakarṇa have been mentioned (1.180).

(viii) Defeating Vaiśravaṇa and Yama:—According to the *PCV*, Bhānukarṇa started plundering the territory of Dhanada (Vaiśravaṇa of Laṅkā) by kidnapping women, wealth and domestic animals (8.66). Then Vaiśravaṇa sent an envoy to Sumālin to prevent his grandson from nefarious activities, but Rāvaṇa after insulting the envoy challenged Vaiśravaṇa for a battle. Before the ensuing of the battle on the Guṇjavara mountain, Vaiśravaṇa having realised the futility of a battle with Rāvaṇa, the son of his mother's sister, wanted to avert it, but Rāvaṇa did not agree. In the battle Rāvaṇa routed the Yakṣa soldiers, wounded Vaiśravaṇa and took possession of his Puṣpakavimāna. Vaiśravaṇa was removed by his soldiers to Yakṣapura. After recovery he renounced the world (8.128).

Further Rāvaṇa subdued Bhūvanālaṅkāra elephant in the valley of Sammetaśikhara (8.212-225) and encamped there.

In the meanwhile Vānara Kiṣkindhi who had also taken shelter along with Sukeśa in Pātālaṅkārapura begot two sons namely Ādityarāja and Ṛkṣarāja (6.214). On attaining suitable age they attacked Yama who was the Lokapāla of the South ruling at Kiṣkindhipura, to regain their ancestral kingdom. Unfortunately they got imprisoned and were exposed to hellish tortures¹ by the Yama. Then a Khecara approached Rāvaṇa sojourning on the Sammeta and requested him to assist the release of the Vānara princes. Accordingly Rāvaṇa defeated Yama, installed Ādityarāja and Ṛkṣarāja as the kings of Kiṣkindhipura and Ṛkṣapura respectively. Thereafter Rāvaṇa went to his ancestral Laṅkāpurī (8.227-285) and ruled there.

According to the *VR*, after being favoured with the boons Rāvaṇa was advised by his grandmaternal father Sumālin to take back Laṅkā from Dhanada (Vaiśravaṇa). First Rāvaṇa declined to demand Laṅkāpurī from his own elder stepbrother but on being further advised by Prahasta, he sent him (Prahasta) to Dhanada for the same. Dhanada at the advice of his father transferred Laṅkā's crown to Rāvaṇa and he himself made Kailāsa as

1. Karāviyā ya nirayā Jameṇa Veyaṇṇimāiyā bahave.....naraesu kāya kayanteṇaṁ 8.232-233.

his abode (7.11). Then follows the marriage of Śūrpaṅakhā¹, Rāvaṇa² and his brothers and the birth of the sons of Rāvaṇa (7.12). Thereafter Rāvaṇa started ruining the Devas, Rṣis, Yakṣas and Gandharvas and the Nandanavana etc. (7.13.8-9). Kumbhakarna is here referred to have undergone a long slumber. At 6.61.19 there is a reference to his kidnapping of other's wives (parastrī-haraṇam). Then follows the despatch of an envoy by Dhaneśvara to prevent Rāvaṇa from committing heinous crimes, the killing of that envoy by Rāvaṇa (7.13), Rāvaṇa's attack on Dhanada at Kailāśa (7.14), the killing of the Yakṣa soldiers, the censure of Rāvaṇa by Dhanada (Kubera), the defeat of Kubera, the removal of Kubera to Nandanavana by his soldiers and the occupation of Puṣpakavimāna of Kubera and of Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa (7.15.35). There is no reference to the subduing of any elephant by Rāvaṇa.

According to the *VR*, Nārada instigated Rāvaṇa to conquer Yama (7.20.16) on the one hand and alerted Yama to face Rāvaṇa (7.21.6) on the other. Rāvaṇa then defeated the soldiers of Yama. Yama tried to kill Rāvaṇa but he was immediately prevented by Brahmā (7.22.38-48). Rāvaṇa then entered into the Rasātala for further victory.

The *TR* refers to the extermination of Kubera and the Yakṣas from Laṅkāpuri and the wresting of Puṣpakavimāna from Kubera (1.179). Yama's defeat is also referred to (1.82).

The *Rāmopākhyana* (*MB*, 3.275) refers to the defeat of Kubera and the occupation of Puṣpakavimāna by Rāvaṇa.

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*, but it mentions that Rkṣarāja was made the king of Kiṣkindhipura. The *PCS* does not mention Vaiśravaṇa's request to Rāvaṇa to avoid battle. Here Ucchurāya (Rkṣarāja) is made the king of Yamapuri (12.13). The *RPS* follows the *PCR*, but no battle is mentioned between Vaiśravaṇa and Rāvaṇa. The former renounced the world and Rāvaṇa paid homage to him (IV. p. 126).

According to the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* Rāvaṇa on being oppressed by his stepbrothers Soma, Yama etc. left his father's city and went away to Laṅkā. According to the *UP* and the *MB* Rāvaṇa's ancestor, Sahasragrīva had already occupied Laṅkā on being expelled from his father's city by his nephew.

1. See further.

2. Already described.

(e) *Rāvaṇa's war-campaign and his emergence as a Prativāsudeva or Ardhaśakravartin of Bhāratavarṣa:*

(ix) Abduction of Candranakhā:—According to the *PCV*, Kharadūṣaṇa, the son of Meghaprabha expelled Khecara Candrodara¹ and usurped the latter's capital Pātālaṅkārapura. He abducted Candranakhā when Rāvaṇa was away from Laṅkāpurī to marry Tṛṇakañcu (Taṇukañcu 9.11), daughter of Āvalī. Rāvaṇa prepared to kill Kharadūṣaṇa but Mandodarī prevented him from doing so, to save Candranakhā from becoming a widow (9. 10-23).

According to the *VR*, Khara and Dūṣaṇa are two brothers (3. 17. 22). Khara is called as Mātṛsvaseya bhrātā of Śūrpaṇakhā (7. 24. 37). Here Śūrpaṇakhā marries Vidyujjihva, a Kālakeya Dānavendra. She is not abducted (7. 12. 2). Rāvaṇa is said to have ignorantly killed Vidyujjihva at Aśmanagara on his way to Rasātala (7. 23. 17), on a war campaign. Here during the absence of Rāvaṇa from Laṅkā, Rākṣasa Madhu² of Madhupura abducts Kumbhīnasī (7. 25. 25). She is mentioned as the daughter of Sumālī i. e. she is the sister of the mother of Rāvaṇa (7.5. 40). But at 7.25.23, she is referred to as the daughter of the daughter of Mālyavat, the elder brother of Sumālī i. e. she is the sister of Rāvaṇa from maternal side and so she is called 'bhaginī' (7.25.39) of Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa attacks Madhupura to kill Madhu, but Kumbhīnasī's imploration to save herself from becoming a widow (7. 25. 43) prevents Rāvaṇa from killing Madhu.

The *TR* does not contain this episode.

The *PCV* mentions Āvalī's daughter as Tanūdarī (9.24) and the latter's father as Pravara. Pātālaṅkārapura is called Alaṅkārodayapura. According to the *PCS*, Khara and Dūṣaṇa are two persons (12.3.5) who abduct Candranakhā, and then kill Candrodara. Rāvaṇa sends Mārica and Maya to celebrate the wedding of his sister (12.4). The *RPS* agrees with the *PCR* but mentions the killing of Candrodara (p. 37). The *TSP* mentions Candrodara as the son of Ādityarāja³. At the time of the abduction of Candranakhā by Khara, Rāvaṇa had gone to Meru to pay homage to the Jina shrines (IV. 129). Dūṣaṇa is the younger brother of Khara. Mandodarī even requests Rāvaṇa to make Khara the lord of Pātālaṅkārapura.

1. The text of *PCV* (9, 18) is not clear (See *PCR*, 9, 37).

2. For Madhu of the *PCV* see 'The Occupation of Mathurā by Śatrughna' under intervening stories.

3. Perhaps a wrong reading of the text of the *PCV*, which is not clear in itself, is followed.

(x) Raising the Kailāśa mountain:—According to the *PCV*, Rāvaṇa demands in marriage Śrīprabhā, the sister of Vāli and asks Vāli to accept his suzerainty. Vāli declines. Rāvaṇa attacks him. Vāli crowns his brother Sugrīva and renounces the world to avoid the battle and political degradation (Vāli and Sugrīva are the sons of Ādityarāja of Kiśkindhipura). Sugrīva marries his sister to Rāvaṇa (9.24-50).

Thereafter while proceeding to Nityāloka to marry Ratnāvalī, Daśamukha's aerial car stops suddenly over the Kailāśa mountain. As Muni Vāli had stopped it so Daśamukha lifts up the peak of the mountain upon his arms to perturb the Muni meditating there. Vāli then presses down the peak with his toe as a result of which Daśamukha gets overpowered and makes a loud cry for safety (ravo kao 9.78)¹. Ultimately Vāli rescues Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa begs pardon of Vāli and eulogises the Jinās with his Viṇā. At that time the strings of his Viṇā get discorded. He extracts sinews from his arm and uses them in place of the strings of his Viṇā. At this Dharapendra gets pleased with his (Rāvaṇa's) devotion and courage favours him with the Amoghavijayā-śakti (a weapon 9. 101).

According to the *VR*, Rāvaṇa is first captured by king Vāli and then released with a declaration of friendship (7.34). This episode is narrated after the discomfiture of Rāvaṇa at the hands of Sahastrārjuna. After defeating Kubera, Daśamukha comes down the Kailāśa and as he enters the Saravana his aerial car is stopped by Nandīśvara (Śaṅkara). Daśagrīva laughs at the monkey-like face of Nandīśvara. Śaṅkara curses him to the effect that he would be killed by the monkeys. At this Daśagrīva gets angry and lifts up the Kailāśa upon his arms. Mahādeva (Śaṅkara) presses down the mountain with his toe. Daśagrīva makes an alarm. He eulogises Śiva for 1000 years. The latter gets pleased with his devotion and names him as Rāvaṇa because his loud cry made the three worlds scream. (lokatrayam rāvitam & lokarāvaṇam 7. 16. 37-38). Śiva further favours him with the Candrahāsa² sword. The Amoghavijayā is said to be presented to Rāvaṇa by Maya on the occasion of the former's marriage with the latter's daughter Mandodarī (7. 12. 21).

The *TR* only refers to the raising of the Kailāśa by Rāvaṇa (1. 17. 9) and his fight with Vāli (5. 22).

1. So he was called Rāvaṇa.

2. The *PCV* refers to Rāvaṇa's sword of this name (8.13), but it does not mention how it came into his possession. The *PCR* tells us how it was obtained by Rāvaṇa (8, 36).

The *Rāmopākhyāna* (3. 275. 40) states that Daśagrīva made the worlds weep, hence he was called Rāvaṇa (rāvayāmāsa lokānyatta-smādrāvaṇa ucyate).

The *PCR* mentions that Mandodarī requested monk Vāli to rescue Rāvaṇa (9.157). The *PCS* refers to a personal combat and the humiliation of Rāvaṇa at his being lifted up by Vāli (12. 10) before the latter's renunciation of the world. Otherwise it follows the *PCR*. The *RPS* follows the *PCR* and further mentions that Rāvaṇa assumed the form of Indra and raised the mountain with his one lac arms (p. 38). The *TSP* mentions a battle between the soldiers only. In the combat Vāli first seizes Rāvaṇa (IV. p 131), then releases him and thereafter he renounces the world.

According to the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāvaṇa prepares a lute with various parts of his body, using the sinews of his body as strings and pleases Śiva who offers him Pārvatī to be his wife (1.13.28f).

(xi) Rāvaṇa's conquest-expedition:—According to the *PCV*, thereafter Rāvaṇa conquers the Khecara chief of various islands and encamps at Pātālāṅkārāpura. Here Kharadūṣaṇa greets Rāvaṇa and shows him army of 14000 soldiers (10.19).

According to the *VR*, Rāvaṇa after killing Kālakeya Dānavendra Vidyuḥjihva returns to Laṅkā. Śūrpaṇakhā bewails the death of her husband. Rāvaṇa consoles her and sends her along with Khara who is equipped with a battalion of 14000 Rākṣasas to occupy the Daṇḍakavana (7.24.36).

(xii) Defeat of Sahasrakirāṇa, the Māheśvara king:—Further, according to the *PCV*, Rāvaṇa encamps on the Vindhya hills, on his expedition to conquer Indra. There he performs a worship of the Jaina idol placing it on the dune of the bed of Narmadā. Suddenly a gush of water which was first pooled over by some mechanical devices and then released by Sahasrakirāṇa, the king of Māheśvaranagara, who was playing watersports with the members of his harem in the river, disturbs Rāvaṇa's worship. Enraged Rāvaṇa imprisons Sahasrakirāṇa. Muni Śatabāhu, the father of the prisoner gets his son released. Thereafter Sahasrakirāṇa becomes a monk. When Anaraṇya of Ayodhyā learns it he also renounces the world (10.25-88).

According to the *VR*, Rāvaṇa goes to Māhiṣmatipurī to subdue Arjuna Kārtavīrya. The latter is playing watersports in the river Narmadā by preventing the flow of the water with his one thousand arms (bāhūṇām sahasrasya 7. 32. 4). He suddenly releases

the water which sweeps away the flowers collected by Rāvaṇa, on the bank of the river to worship Śiva. Here Rāvaṇa is captured by Arjuna and released on a request from Pulastya (7. 31-33). Anaraṇya is said to have been defeated by Rāvaṇa (7. 19, 23). Anaraṇya on that occasion cursed Rāvaṇa that he would be killed by Dāśarathī Rāma.

The *TR* merely refers to the fight of Sahasrabāhu with Rāvaṇa (5. 22).

The *PCR*, *RPS* and *TSP* agree with the *PCV*. The *PCS* mentions Sahasrakiraṇa fighting with his 1000 arms (15. 3. 7).

(xiii) Stopping of the Yajña of Marutta:—According to the *PCV*, further Rāvaṇa overpowers king Marutta of Rājagṛha and stops his animal sacrifice. He also saves Nārada who was heckled by the Brahmins when he (Nārada) tried to explain that a true sacrifice did not involve any killing. Marutta marries his daughter Kanakaprabhā to Rāvaṇa (ch. 11).

According to the *VR*, Rāvaṇa challenges Marutta of Uśīrabīja country to fight or to accept his suzerainty. But Marutta at the advice of his priest continued the performance of the Māheśvara-sattra (sacrifice) and withdrew from fighting. Rāvaṇa took it as the defeat of Marutta and went away (7. 18).

The *PCR* (ch. 11), the *RPS* (p. 42 f) and the *TSP* (IV. 141 f) agree with the *PCV*. The *PCS* (15. 8. 9) merely refers to it.

(xiv) Marriage of Manoramā with Madhu:—In due course Rāvaṇa marries his daughter Manoramā¹ (12. 8) begot on Kanakaprabhā to Madhu, the son of Harivāhana and the lord of Mathurā.

In the *VR* this marriage can be compared with that of Kumbhīnasi who is abducted by Madhu, the Rākṣasa king of Madhupura (7.25) and the marriage of Śūrpaṇakhā with Vidyujjihva (*VR*) with that of the abduction of Śūrpaṇakhā by Kharadūṣaṇa (*PCV*, 9.12).

(xv) Defeat of Nalakūbara and rejecting of the love proposal of Uparambhā:—According to the *PCV*, Rāvaṇa after having gone to Aṣṭāpada to pay a homage to the Jina shrines, attacks Nalakūbara (Nalakuvvara²) the Lokapāla of Indra at Durlaṅghyapura. But Rāvaṇa's soldiers do not find it possible to enter the fort which was protected by

1. At 11. 101 she is called Vicitrarūpā Kṛtacintrā.

2. Whether he is the same Kubera who was appointed as the Lokapāla of the North by Indra after killing Mūlin or he is Kubera's son or quite a different person is not clear.

fiery ditches and mechanical contrivances. At that time Nalakūbara's wife, Uparambhā sends a love proposal to Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa uses this opportunity as a strategy and acquires Āśālikā-vidyā from her. By the help of that Vidyā he forces his entry into the fort, defeats Nalakūbara and censures Uparambhā for her unchaste proposal (17.36-72).

According to the *VR*, Rāvaṇa on his way to conquer Suraloka rapes a nymph, Rambhā who was proceeding to her husband Nalakūbara, the son of Vaiśravaṇa (7.26.41). Nalakūbara curses Rāvaṇa to the effect that his head would split into seven parts if he any more tries to rape any unwilling woman (7.26.59).

The *PCR* additionally refers to the seizing of Sudarśanacakra of Nalakūbara by Rāvaṇa (12.145). The *PCS* mentions that Uparambhā had offered the Vidyā and the Cakra along with her love proposal (15.15). The *RPS* follows the *PCR* but does not mention Sudarśanacakra (p. 50). The *TSP* follows the *PCS*.

(xvi) Imprisoning of Indra :—According to the *PCV*, Rāvaṇa attacks Indra at Rathānūpura, the capital of Vijayārdhagiri. Sahasrāra advises his son Indra to marry his (Indra's) daughter to Rāvaṇa and asks him to conclude 'sandhi' with Rāvaṇa. Indra declines it and with the assistance of his Lokapālas fights against Rāvaṇa. Jayanta, the son of Indra kills Śrīmālīn (Sumālīn). Indrajit captures Jayanta while Rāvaṇa imprisons Indra. Jayanta is released, but Indra is taken to Laṅkā as a captive (12.73-144). Sahasrāra proceeds to Laṅkā, accepts to make Indra perform the menial services of Rāvaṇa and gets his son released. Rāvaṇa liberates Indra declaring him as his friend. Indra then accepts monkhood and in due course attains emancipation (ch. 13),

According to the *VR*, Indra demands help from Viṣṇu, but the latter is helpless. In the battle Sumālīn is killed (7.27). Meghanāda fights with Jayanta, but the latter is rescued by his maternal grandfather, Puloma (7.28). Indra is here imprisoned by Meghanāda (7.29). Prajāpati goes to Laṅkā and confers the title of 'Indrajit' on Meghanāda. He further grants the demand of Meghanāda that he would be favoured with a chariot and horses every time he performed a 'homa' and he would not be killed in the battle as far as he drove in it, but if he left the 'homa' unfinished, he would be killed (7.30.11.14). He gets Indra released. Indra thereafter performs the Vaiṣṇava-yajña and attains heaven (tridivam).

The *TR* refers to the defeat of Indra at the hands of Meghanāda (Indrajit).

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. The *PCS* (16-17) depicts Indra completely like the celestial Indra. His ministers Pārāśara, Kauṭilya, Manu etc. advise him to establish friendship with Rāvaṇa and he sends Citrāṅgada to Rāvaṇa for the same. But Nārada incites Rāvaṇa for a battle. Citrāṅgada offers Indra's daughter to Rāvaṇa, but Rāvaṇa demands all the cities situated on the Vijayārdha mountain. There Candra, Yama, Kubera, Keśarin, Kanaka, Agni, Anala, Anila, Sūrya and Jayanta also are taken to Laṅkā as captives. They are released when they agree to perform menial services of Rāvaṇa. The *RPS* agrees with the *PCV*. Indra and his Lokapālas agree to perform menial services (p. 52). The *TSP* agrees with the *PCV*, but Rāvaṇa before attacking Indra, is said to have first asked Indra to accept his suzerainty (IV. 157-9).

(xvii) Accepting of a vow under Muni Anantavīrya:—According to the *PCV*, Rāvaṇa once returning from Meru pays homage to omniscient Muni Anantavīrya and accepts a vow of not molesting any unwilling woman (14.1-153).

In the *VR* the curse of Nalakūbara can be compared with it. The *PCR*, *PCS*, *RPS* and *TSP* agree with the *PCV*.

(xviii) Rāvaṇa's emergence as Ardhacakravartin after the defeat of Varuṇa:—According to the *PCV*, thereafter Rāvaṇa attacks Varuṇapura as Varuṇa declines to accept the suzerainty of Rāvaṇa (16.10). In the battle Kharadūṣaṇa is captured by Rājiva, Puṇḍarīka, Jalakānta and other sons of Varuṇa. Rāvaṇa then sends for the help of Prahlāda. Pavanañjaya prevents his father Prahlāda and he himself goes to the assistance of Rāvaṇa (16.35). He fights with Varuṇa and at last concludes a peace treaty with Varuṇa on behalf of Rāvaṇa. Thereupon Kharadūṣaṇa is released (18.3).

But Rāvaṇa was not satisfied with the 'sandhi' concluded with Varuṇa. He along with his allies and Hanumat, the son of Pavanañjaya reattacks Varuṇapura (also called Rasātalanagara 19.8) captures the sons of Varuṇa and Rāvaṇa imprisons Varuṇa. Ultimately Rāvaṇa releases the captives, reinstals Varuṇa as the lord of Varuṇapuri and returns to Laṅkāpuri. Then the Sudarśanacakra and the divine staff (daṇḍa rayaṇa) appear and come into the possession of Rāvaṇa. The occasion is greeted as the establishment of his suzerainty over the three parts of the Bhārata country (tikhaṇḍāhivai 19.44). Thus he becomes Ardhacakravartin or Prativāsudeva i.e. a rival of Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa.

According to the *VR*, after defeating Yama, Rāvaṇa enters the Rasātala, conquers the Nāgas of Bhogavatīpurī, makes friends with the Nivātakavaca Daityas of Maṇimayapurī, conquers Aśmanagara and kills Vidyujjihva (Śurpaṇakha's husband, already referred to), fights with the sons of Varuṇa and overpowers them. He further challenges Varuṇa, but the latter was not there at that time. Varuṇa's minister Prahāsa admits the defeat of the sons of Varuṇa. At this Rāvaṇa gets elated and returns to Laṅkā. No second fight with Varuṇa is mentioned.

The *TR* merely refers to the vacating of their respective places by the Lokapālas as Rāvaṇa attacks them. He is further said to have subdued Ravi, Śaśi, Pavana, Varuṇa, Dhanadhārī (Kubera), Agni, Kāla, Jama, the Kinnaras, Siddhas, Manujas, Suras and the Nāgas. Rāvaṇa is called the paramount emperor of the whole world.¹

The *PCR* mentions that Varuṇa married his daughter Satyavati² to Rāvaṇa (19. 99). The *PCS* follows the *PCR* and further adds that Hanumat made an attempt to bind the enemies with his magic tail (20. 8 1). The *RPS* follows the *PCS* and refers to the binding of the enemy-soldiers by Hanumat with the help of his 'lāṅgūla' charm (p. 69). The *TSP* follows the *PCV*.

The *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *VR* contains some interpolated chapters. The first five chapters after 7. 33 describe the discomfiture of Rāvaṇa at the hands of Bālī, the former's attack on Sūrya, Candra and Māṇdhātā and his defeat at the hands of Kapiladeva. These descriptions do not find place in the *PCV*.

Out of the next five chapters inserted between 7. 37 and 7. 38, the first chapter describes the birth of Vālī and Sugrīva. This account of the *VR* has been compared with that of the *PVC*.³ The next three chapters describe the purpose of Rāvaṇa's decision to abduct Sītā. It is said that Rāvaṇa kidnapped Sītā to attain emancipation at the hands of Rāma, i. e. Hari or Viṣṇu. This account has been referred to in the 'Comparative Rāma-story' at relevant places. Then the fifth chapter narrates the humiliation and defeat of Rāvaṇa at the hands of the women of Śvetadvīpa. This account has no mention in the *PCV*.

1. Bhujabala bisva basya kari rākhesi kou na sutantra/
Maṇḍalika mani Rāvaṇa rāja karai nija mantra//—1. 182.

2. According to the *PCV* she is married to Hanumat (19. 32).

3. See 'Vānara Vamśa' under 'Origin and Genealogies of various Vamśas'.

The last three interpolated chapters after 7.59, which narrate the complaints made by a dog, a vulture and an owl in the court of Rāma, have no references in the *PCV*.

2. Añjanāsundarī and Hanumat :

Once Rāvaṇa pays homage to omniscient Muni Anantavīrya and listens to a religious discourse from him. On that occasion Hanumat is also there. Listening to the name of Hanumat, Śreṇika enquires about his life. Gautama then narrates the story (15-19).

King Mahendra of Mahendranagara had a young daughter, Añjanāsundarī begot on his wife, Hṛdayasundarī. He declined to betroth Añjanāsundarī to Daśamukha or his sons, or Vidyutprabha of Kanakapura, who were proposed as alternative grooms by his ministers. He decided to marry her to Pavanañjaya, the son of Khecara Prahlāda of Ādityapura and Kīrtimatī. Once he went to the Vijayārdha mountain to worship the Jina idols and there he settled with Prahlāda to perform the marriage on the bank of the Mānasa lake. Both the parties went there. Pavanañjaya, out of curiosity and being oppressed by the cupid, went along with his friend Prahasita to the palace of Añjanā. He developed a dislike for Añjanā as he saw that Añjanā did not at all resent but smiled at the words of Miśrakeśī, a maid-servant of Añjanāsundarī, who had been praising Vidyutprabha and throwing slush on him. He instantly got angry and tried to murder Añjanā and Miśrakeśī, but Prahasita's timely intervention saved the situation. Pavanañjaya dissented to the proposed marriage and fled away. When his father and father-in-law persuaded him, he married Anjanāsundarī but soon abandoned her in a secluded palace.

Once Pavanañjaya while on his way to Laṅkā to assist Rāvaṇa, encamped on the Mānasa lake. There he observed a desperate bird suffering from the pain of the separation from her male mate. His heart melted and he immediately along with Prahasita returned to the palace of Anjanāsundarī. He met her after 22 years of separation and copulated with her. Next morning he handed over to her his finger-ring in memory of their union and departed for Laṅkā.

In course of time the signs of Añjanā's pregnancy became visible. Kīrtimatī suspecting her character banished her without believing in the evidence of the ring of Pavanañjaya shown to her by Añjanā. Vasantamālā a maid-servant and very intimate with Añjanā accompanied the latter to Mahendranagara, but her parents afraid of their own disrepute did not give shelter to her. Then Añjanā along with Vasantamālā entered a forest. There she was consoled by muni Amitagati.

They stayed into a cave and on the Caitrakṛiṣṇāṣṭamī Añjanā gave birth to a male child. As she was bewailing her misfortune, her maternal uncle Pratisūrya, the son of Citrabhānu of Kuruvaradvīpa happened to reach there. He consoled her and proceeded with her to Hanuruhapura driving in an aerial chariot. On the way the child fell down from the chariot. The child was found to be quite safe but the slab of the hill on which he fell down was crushed to pieces, so he was named Śrīśaila. He was called Hanu because he was brought up at Hanuruhapura.

Pavanañjaya after assisting Rāvaṇa in defeating Varuṇa returned home, but he did not find his wife there. Desperately searching for Añjanā in vain he decided to die. Prahasita went to the parents of Pavanañjaya and delivered the sad message. Then Prahlāda went out in search of his son. On the way he met Pratisūrya. Both of them searching further found Pavanañjaya in a forest. There Pratisūrya narrated the birth of Hanu to Pavanañjaya and took him to Añjanā who was staying at Hanuruhapura.

Hanumat was duly brought up there. He was trained in various arts and sciences. When he grew young he assisted Rāvaṇa in defeating Varuṇa. He married Satyavatī, Anaṅgakusumā, Hari-mālīnī and Padmarāgā who were the daughters of Varuṇa, Candranakhā (the sister of Rāvaṇa), Nala and Sugrīva respectively. He further married many other girls of Kinnarapura. Thereafter he ruled at Śrīpura. He is referred to have enthroned his son and to have renounced the world, along with his wives (ch.108).

The *PCR* (15.7) names the mother of Pavanañjaya as Ketumatī, Prahlāda and Mahendra are said to have met on the Aṣṭāpada and there they settled the marriage (15.75). Kuruvaradvīpa of the *PCV* is called Hanuruhadvīpa (17.346). It is additionally said that Hanumat was named Śrīśaila on account of his taking birth on a slab in the cave (17.402). Satyavatī's marriage with Hanumat is not mentioned in it. The *PCS* agrees with the *PCR*. But it mentions that Pavanañjaya abandoned Añjanā for 12 years (18.8.9). Pavanañjaya is said to have given an armlet (kaṅkaṇa) to his wife as token of his secret meeting with her (19.1.4). Hanu's wife Harimālīnī is here mentioned as Śrīmālīnī. His marriage with the girls of Kinnarapura is not mentioned. He is said to have married thousands of other girls (20.12). The *RPS* agrees with the *PCR*. It adds that Pavanañjaya on getting angry with the remarks of Miśrakeśi attacked the city of Mahendra but Prahasita intervened and saved the situation (p.57).

The *TSP* follows the *PCV* with these alterations. The name of the mother of Pavanañjaya is Ketumatī. Prahlāda and Mahendra met on the Nandiśvaradvīpa and there they settled the marriage. When Pavanañjaya was searched out by Prahlāda, he was found to be preparing a pyre for burning himself into the fire (IV. p.162-181).

The *UP* (68.275-280) does not contain the story of Añjanāsundarī. Here Amitatejavāk, the son of Prabhañjana of Vidyutkāntapura born of Añjanā was named as Aṇumāt by the Vidyādhara as he on the occasion of a test being taken of his powers, fixed his right foot on the summit of the Vijayārdha mountain, struck the aerial car of the sun by the stroke of his left leg and soon afterwards he assumed the form like that of a particle of sand (trasareṇupramāṇam). He possessed the Vikriyā-rddhi also. The *MP* (73.8) mentions Makaraketu as the original name of Aṇumāt (Aṇumettu) and his father's name as Pavana who was the Vidyādhara ruler of Khaṇaruikantapura. Aṇumāt is called the twentieth Kāmadeva (73.20.96) and Hanumat also. Some scholars hold that 'Hanumat' is the Sanskrit form of a Dravidian word 'Āṇa Mandi' i. e. Ape who was a Dravidian deity' (see Bulcke, p. 111). The name Aṇumāt in the *UP* though interpreted in a different way seems to have some relation with the Dravidian word.

In the *VR* (4.66) Jāmbavat relates the story to Hanumat to encourage him to take a flight over the sea to reach Laṅkā. Again at 7.35-36 Agastya narrates the story to Rāma on the latter's request as follows :—

Keśarin's wife Añjanā also called as Puñjikasthalā was a very beautiful nymph, the daughter of Vānarendra Kuñjara. She became a Kāmarūpiṇī Vānarī on account of a curse. She used to wander from place to place assuming human form. Once Marut, being enamoured of her figure embraced her. At this Añjanā resented the illegitimate approach of Marut. Then Marut pacified her by telling her that he entered her body mentally only and for that she would give birth to a wise and brave son who would be equal to him in taking high flights. Añjanā gave birth to a monkey child. Considering the sun to be a fruit the child took an upward flight to catch it. Indra became angry with him and struck him with his thunder-bolt, as a result of which he fell down on the summit of a hill and his jaw was broken. Therefore, he was named as Hanumat. At this Vāyu (Marut) ceased to flow. Then the Suras pleased Marut. At that time Brahmā granted to Hanumat the boon of indestructibility from weapons. Indra granted him the boon of dying at his own will. He was acclaimed as the 'kṣetrāja' son of Keśarin, 'aurasa' son of Marut and also as 'Vāyusuta'. He was equal

to them in strength, in speed and in taking flight respectively. At 7.35-36 Keśarin is called the ruler of Sumeru mountain. The monkey-child is said to be hungry and therefore, he is said to have taken a flight to catch the sun. At that time his mother had gone out to collect some fruits. Vāyu is said to have become cool to protect the child from the scorching heat of the sun. The child is said to have chased Rāhu and the elephant of Indra also. Various gods are said to have granted him many boons. In due course Hanumat started destroying the 'āśramas' of Ṛṣis. They all cursed him to forget his own power until he was not reminded of it by some one else. He performed penances and got learned in many Vidyās. The *VR* does not mention his assistance to Rāvaṇa or his marriage. But at 6.125.44 it is mentioned that when Hanumat took the message of Kāma's return from Laṅkā, Bharata offered to him sixteen girls in marriage.

In various non-Jaina works there are references to the sons of Hanumat. The *Jaimini Bhārata* (*Merāvaṇa carita*) and the Gujarātī *Narmakathākoṣa* mention that a fish drank the sweat of Hanumat as he went to the sea to take bath after burning Laṅkā and she gave birth to a son. According to the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1.9.216), Makaradhvaja was born on that occasion. The Marāṭhī *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa*, the Kannarese *Mairāvaṇa Kalaga* and the *Rāmaliṅgāmṛta* also refer to the son of Hanumat (Bulck, p. 402). According to the western accounts No. 7 and 8, Hanumat copulated with a 'makarī'. The Serī Rāma states that his semen fell down at the time of jumping over the sea and the queen of the fishes became pregnant. The Serī Rāma (Pātāni version) and the Hikāyata-mahārāja Rāvaṇa mention that at that time Hanumat begot children on the queen of the fishes.

The Rāma Kiyena mentions that Hanumat begot a son on the daughter of Vibhīṣaṇa (Bulck, p. 401) and another son on the daughter or Rāvaṇa (Bulcke, p. 403).

3. The birth of Nārada :

When Rāvaṇa reaches Rājagṛha on the occasion of the performance of a sacrifice by king Marutta, Nārada also happens to arrive at that place. Hearing the name of Nārada, Śreṇika enquires about Nārada, then Gautama narrates the story (9.49-68).

A Brahmin named Brahmarūci leading the life of an anchorite lived in a forest with his wife Kūrmī. Once some monks on having observed that Kūrmī was pregnant, criticised the anchorite for his attachment to his wife and gave a discourse on the fruits of perverse

conduct. Brahmarūci then accepted monkhood. In course of time Kūrmī gave birth to a son and after abandoning him in a forest, she became a nun. That neglected child was nourished, educated and trained by some celestial beings. He was also granted the supernatural power of faring into the sky. Once having observed her mother living the life of a nun, he accepted the vows of right conduct. Later on he came to be known as Devarṣi. He used to wander from place to place as he liked.

The *PCR* (11. 116-158), the *TSP* (IV. p. 151) and the *RPS* (p. 46) agree with the *PCV*.

According to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (1.5-6), Nārada was born of Brahmā. He was a slave son in his previous birth. He served the followers of Vedas and Yogins and wanted to meet Hari.

4. Lord Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara :

After having given the contents of the text in the first chapter, the author narrates in brief in the following canto the life of Lord Mahāvīra and his sojourn at Vipulagiri where his chief disciple Gautama related the Rāma-story to king Śreṇika (2.21-98).

Siddhārtha reigned Kuṇḍagrāmapura (also called Kuṇḍapura 20.50). His wife Triśalā (also called Priyakāriṇī 20.50) gave birth to a son. He was named Mahāvīra by the Surendras because he had, in his childhood, sportively shaken the Meru mountain with the strike of his toe. At the age of 30, he renounced the world and in due course he attained omniscience. He wandered from place to place delivering sermons in the Ardhamāgadhī language (2.34). Once being accompanied by the Gaṇadharas and the Saṅgha he sojourned on the Vipulagiri (at Rājagṛha). On that occasion king Śreṇika of the Magadha country went there to pay homage to him. Next day the king approached Gautama the chief disciple of Lord Mahāvīra and requested him to clear off his doubts about the Rāma-story. Then Gautama narrated the complete story of Rāma to Śreṇika. At 20.50 it is mentioned that Mahāvīra attained deliverance at Pāvā.

The *Kalpasūtra* (19-20) refers to Siddhārtha as a Jñātra Kṣatriya (nāyāṇam khattiyāṇam) and Triśalā as his wife. It mentions Priyakāriṇī and Videhadinnā (Su. 109) as other names of Triśalā. The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4.549), the *UP* (74.256; 75.8) the *MP* (96.6) and the *HVPJ* (2.16) refer to the name of the mother of Mahāvīra as Priyakāriṇī. The *Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama* (Vol. IX. p. 119ff) and the *HVPJ* (2.18) name her as Triśalā also.

His birth place is mentioned as Khattiyakuṇḍaggāmanayara in the *Kalpasūtra* (19-20) and as Kuṇḍalanayara in the *TP* (4.549). The *Kalpasūtra* refers to the transferring of Mahāvīra's embryo from the womb of Devānandā into that of Trīśalā and the marriage of Mahāvīra, but the *PCV* does not refer to them.

5. Lord Rṣabha, the first Tirthaṅkara :

Gautama commences the narration of the true story of Padma (Rāma) to Śreṇika with a brief account of the Universe, the factor of Time and the advent of the fourteen Kulakaras and thereafter relates the biography of the first Tirthaṅkara (3.61-4.81) with whom is associated the origin of the Ikṣvāku, Soma and the Vidyādhara-varṇsa.

The first Tirthaṅkara was the son of Marudevī and Nābhi, the fourteenth Kulakara. His birth was preceded by a shower of gems and gold (rayaṇavutthī, hiraṇṇavutthī 3.67,68) hence he was called Hiraṇyagarbha. He was named Rṣabha (Usabha 3.106) because at the time of the birth of his embryo the complexion of his mother had become as white as the Kunda flower and the moon (kundasasivanno 3.108). He had a mark of Śrīvatsa on his chest and his height grew up to 500 bows. Dhanada had built a city for his habitation. Rṣabha for the first time established villages, towns and cities. He introduced various sciences and professions. He originated three social orders viz. Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra¹. He had two wives—Sumatīgālā and Nandā, one hundred sons, Bharata and others and two daughters Brāhmī and Sundarī. He for the first time taught politics and other social sciences to his subjects. In course of time on seeing a blue garment (nīlam vāsam datthum 3.122) he proceeded to Vasantatilakaudyāna, seated in the Sudarśana palanquin and after having pulled out five hand-fulls of hair from his head he accepted monkhood (3.136). He along with his four thousand disciples undertook to observe fast for one year. The monks who could not withstand the extremities of the penance left him and became Tāpasas (3.143). He made Nami and Vinami as the first lords of the Vidyādhara-varṇsa (3.161). After the completion of one year he broke his fast at Gaḍapuranagara accepting the juice of sugarcane offered to him by Śreyāmsa, the king of that city. That occasion was hailed as bringing into motion the second wheel of the chariot of Religion (dhammarahassa bīyaṃ cakkaraṃ samuddhariaṃ 4.15). He then absorbed himself in meditation of the right type (pasatthajhāṇaṃ 4.16) in

1. See 4.65-83 for the origin of the fourth social order.

Śakaṭamukhaudyāna and in course of time he became omniscient. He had eighty four apostles (Gaṇadharas), Vṛṣabhasena being the foremost and eighty four thousand disciples (4. 35). He passed the rest of his life delivering sermons on Religion and in due course he attained liberation (nirvāṇa) on the Kailāśa (aṭṭhāvaya-aṣṭāpada 4.88) mountain.

Rṣabha is referred to as the first Tīrthaṅkara in the *Samavāyāṅga* (Su. 24) and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4. 512). The *Vasudevahinḍī* (p. 158ff) gives a detailed biography of Rṣabha. There are some differences also.

The *PCR* (3. 169) and the *PCS* (12. 2. 1) refer that Dhanada built the first city while the *AP* (12. 96) and the *RPS* (p. 3) mention that it was built by Indra.

The *VR* (p. 161), the *PCR* (3. 219), the *AP* (14. 160) and the *MP* (3. 21. 11) all account differently for naming him as Rṣabha.

The Śvetāmbara tradition names his two wives as Sumaṅgalā and Sunandā (*VH*, p. 161) while the Digambara tradition mention Yaśasvatī and Sunandā (*AP*, 15.70; *MP*, 4. 8. 1), but the *PCR* (3.260) and the *PCS* (2. 87) refer to Sunandā and Nandā.

The *Kalpasūtra* (Su. 210) and the *VH* (p. 162) mention one hundred sons of Rṣabha. The *AP* (16. 4-7) and the *MP* (5-13-14) mention 101 sons of Rṣabha.

The *PCR* agrees with the names of the garden and the palanquin associated with the renouncement of the world by Rṣabha (3.277f). That place came to be known as Prayāga (3. 281). The *RPS* (p. 5) follows the same. The naming of that place as Prayāga is referred to in the *PCV* (2.11.4) also. The *Kalpasūtra* (Su. 210) and the *VH* (p.163) name the garden as Siddhārthavana. The *AP* (17.81), the *PCS* (2.11.2), the *TSP* (I.p. 165), the *CJSC* (12.143) and the *Sukhabodhikā Tīkā* (p.147) agree with it.

The *Kalpasūtra* (Su. 210) mentions removing of four-handfulls of hair only. And the *PCV* (4.8) as well as the *PCR* (4.5) mentions that at the time of breaking his fast at Gajapura he had long hair grown on his head. The idol of Rṣabha worshipped by Janaka on the Vijayārdha mountain is referred to as having hair-locks on its head (*PCV*, 29.39; *PCR*, 28.85).

The name of the person who offered alms to Rṣabha at the time of the latter's breaking fast is identical in all the works.

The *Kalpasūtra* (Su.212f), *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, *PCR* (4.32f) and the *RPS* (p.6) agree with the *PCV* as regards the number of apostles and the disciples of Rṣabha.

In the Brahmanical tradition the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (2.1) refers to Rṣabha as the son of Nābhi and Merudevī. He had 100 sons, Bharata being the eldest. Rṣabha performed various sacrifices and observed penances. He attained liberation in the state of nakedness. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (5.6) states that the son of Nābhi and Merudevī was named Rṣabha on account of his various excellent qualities. He was the incarnation of Viṣṇu. He married Jayanti, the daughter of Indra. He taught to the people the lay-man's duties and directed his sons to observe penances, to control senses, to meditate on self (soul) to do away with 'avidyā' and desires, and to have regard for all living beings. He renounced the world in Digambara state. He observed various austerities and then ended his life. Many other *Purāṇas* also refer to Rṣabha. The *Manusmṛiti* mentions him as the first Jina (see p.27, Int. of *Ādipurāṇa*—B.G.K. edition).

6. Ajitasvāmin, the second Tīrthaṅkara :

After having narrated the biography of Rṣabha, Gautama relates the life of the second Tīrthaṅkara, Ajitasvāmin and associates with him the origin of the Rākṣasavamsa (5.48-61, 123 and 167).

Tridaśaājaya, the son of Dharaṇīdhara ruled at Śāketapurī. He begot on his wife Indurekhā (Indalehā) a son called Jitaśatru. Jitaśatru married Vijayā. She was the daughter of king Ānanda of Podanapura born of Kamalamālā. Vijayā gave birth to Ajitasvāmin. Having once observed a withering lotus-garden Ajitasvāmin renounced the world. He broke his fast at Śāketapurī by taking the food offered by Brahmadatta. During the twelfth year of his renunciation he attained Kevala. He had 90 Gaṇadharas and one lac minus nine disciples. Once Vidyādhara Meghavāhana took refuge under him. He was made the first lord of Rākṣasadvīpa by Bhīma, the lord of Rākṣasa gods (5.137). Ajita sermoned on religion and in course of time attained Nirvāṇa on the Sammata mountain.

The *Samavāyāṅga* (Su. 24), the *Kalpasūtra* (Su. 203) and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* refer to Ajitanātha as the second Tīrthaṅkara and his parents as Jitaśatru and Vijayā. There are differences as regards other details in various works.

The *PCR* (5.71), *PCS* (5.3.2) and *RPS* (p. 14) mention that in the fourteenth year of his renunciation Ajita attained Kevala while the *UP* (48.42), the *MP* (38.21) and the *TSP* (II. p 99) agree with the *PCV*.

The *TP* and the *PCR* (5.73) agree with the number of Gaṇadharas mentioned in the *PCV* but they mention one lac disciples. The *PCS*

(5.3.5), the *UP* (48.43f) and the *MP* (38.25) agree with the *PCR*. The *RPS* (p. 14) mentions 80 Gaṇadharas while the *TSP* (II. p. 219) refers to 95.

7. Munisuvrata the twentieth Tirthāṅkara :

After having narrated the Rāvaṇacarita and the origin of the Harivaṁśa, Gautama relates the biography of twentieth Tirthāṅkara, Munisuvratānātha whose congregational period is associated with the advent of Rāma and Rāvaṇa (21.11-28).

Sumitra, who belonged to Harivaṁśa, ruled at Kuśāgranagara. His wife, Padmāvatī gave birth to a son. He was named Munisuvrata because his mother was observing vows when the embryo was growing in her womb. Once having seen a winter-cloud waning away Munisuvratānātha enthroned his son, Suvrata and accepted asceticism. He broke his fast at Rājagṛha by accepting the alms offered by king Vṛṣabhadatta. He performed penances and attained Kevala under the creeper Campaka. After having established the Tirtha he attained deliverance on the Sammata mountain.

The *Samavāyāṅga* (Su. 24), the *Kalpasūtra* (Su. 184f) and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4.545) refer to Muni Suvratānātha as the 20th Tirthāṅkara. The *PCR* (21.10-12) and the *TSP* (IV. p. 79) agree regarding his parentage given in the *PCV*. The *UP* (67.21), the *RPS* (p. 71) and the *MP* (68.3) name his mother as Somā.

The *RPS* (p. 75) names his wife as Sumaṅgalā. The *HVPJ* (16.55) and the *TSP* (IV. p. 81) name her as Prābhāvatī.

The *PCR* and the *HVPJ* mention Vṛṣabhadatta, the *TSP* and the *CVJC* call him Brahmadatta while the *UP* (67.45), the *MP* (68.7) and the *RPS* name Vṛṣabhasena who offered alms to Muni Suvratānātha.

8. Duel between Bharata and Bāhubali :

This episode is narrated by Gautama just following the attainment of omniscience by Rṣabha (4.36-56).

Bharata, the first son of Rṣabha became the sovereign ruler (Cakravartin) of Bhārata, but his brother, Bāhubali who reigned Takṣaśilā did not accept suzerainty of the former. Therefore, Bharata sought a battle with Bāhubali. At the initiative of Bāhubali a sight duel and wrestling took place between them. As Bharata got overpowered so he threw his discus at Bāhubali but the latter was not hurt at all. At that moment Bāhubali developed the feeling of renunciation. Bharata tried in vain to prevent his brother from

renouncing the world. He bowed to Bāhubali and returned to Śaketapurī. Bāhubali performed meditation in the standing posture and duly attained salvation.

The *Uttarādhyayana* (18. 34), the *Jambudvīpaprājñapti* (3. 41.71) and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4. 515) mention Bharata as the first Cakravartin.

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (I. p. 187) agrees with the *PCV* and adds that Bharata before the commencement of the duels had sent his envoy asking Bāhubali to accept his sovereignty. Bāhubali was very proud of himself hence he was not attaining Kevala. It was his sister Brāhmī who reminded and helped him in controlling his passion. The *Āvaśyakacūṛṇī* (I. p. 210) adds wordy duel and boxing. It mentions the efforts of both Brāhmī and Sundarī in helping Bāhubali to control his passion.

The *PCR* (4. 67-78) mentions that Bāhubali ruled at Pautanapura. It does not refer to the efforts of Bharata in dissuading Bāhubali from accepting monkhood. It adds that during the period of his meditation some creepers coiled round and an ant-hill grew around the body of Bāhubali. Many venomous snakes also surrounded him. The *PCS* (ch. 4) refers to Bharata's sending, of an envoy to Bāhubali. It adds water-duel to those mentioned in the *PCR* and states that the duels were arranged by their ministers. Here Bharata helps in subduing the passion of Bāhubali. The *HVPJ* (11.77-102) agrees with the *PCS*. The *AP* (26), the *MP* (12.17) and the *RPS* (p.6) also mention three duels. The *TSP* (I.p. 274) refers to the sending of an envoy. It (I.p. 312) adds a voice-fight to those referred to in the *PCV*. It states that the gods had arranged the duels and mentions both the sisters.

In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (5.7f), Bharata is mentioned as the son of Rṣabhadeva, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. But the story does not agree with the Jaina tradition. After his name the country came to be known as Bhāratavarṣa¹ (5.7.3). At 9.20 another Bharata is mentioned as a Cakravartin who was the son of Duśyanta born of Śakuntalā. He belonged to the Puruvarṃśa. He performed many sacrifices and gave presents to Brahmins.

9. Death of the son of Sagara :

The story is narrated by Gautama after relating the establishing of Meghavāhana as the first lord of Laṅkāpurī and the emancipation of Ajitasvāmin, the second Tīrthaṅkara (5.168-203).

1. See *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 2.1.32.

Sagara (the cousin brother of Ajitasvāmin and the second Cakravartin) had sixty-four thousand wives and sixty thousand sons. Once his sons went to the Aṣṭāpada mountain on a pilgrimage and on being advised by the ministers, they dug a ditch around the mountain and got it filled up with the waters of the Ganges for the protection of the shrines situated on the mountain. At this the lord of the Nāgas bit all of them except Bhīma and Bhagīratha. When their brothers were dead, Bhīma and Bhagīratha returned to Śāketapurī. The ministers prevented them from reporting the news to Sagara and themselves first explained to Sagara the ephemeral nature of the world and then broke the sad news. At this Sagara bewailed and after having enthroned Bhagīratha, the son of Jāhnavī, he renounced the world and in due course attained emancipation.

The *Uttarādhyāyana* (18.35), and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4. 515) refer to Sagara as the second Cakravartin.

The *PCR* (5. 247-283) mentions 96000 wives of Sagara. There is no reference to the advice of the ministers to dig the ditch. The *HVPJ* (13. 27-30) merely refers to the burning of the sons of Sagara. The *PCS* (5. 10-14) states that Bhagīratha took initiative in digging the moat.

The *Vasudevahinḍī* (I. 300-305) and the commentary of Devendra-gaṇī on the *Uttarādhyāyana* mention that at the advice of Jahnū, the moat was dug. At that time the Nāgarāja was pacified. Then the Ganges was diverted to the moat. This caused hostility with the Nāgarāja ferocious sight burnt the sons of Sagara to ashes. A Brāhmin is said to have tried to save Sagara from being afflicted with grief. He went to Sagara with the corpse of his son and requested him to cure his deceased son. Sagara called for a physician who demanded the ash from such a house where no one had died so far. At this demand Sagara realised the law of Karma. Instantly the news of the death of his sons was disclosed to him. Further it is stated that the waters of the Ganges over-flew the ditch and caused peril to the people. Bhagīratha, the grandson of Sagara then diverted the Ganges towards the eastern ocean. Thus the river was first called as Jāhnavī and afterwards as Bhāgīrathī. The *TSP* (II p. 33f) agrees with this account except that the Brahmin went to Sagara with a corpse and asked him to bring, as promised by a deity, the fire from a house where no one had died so far so that the dead could be revitalised.

The *Uttarapurāṇa* (ch. 48) and the *MP* (39) narrate that Mahā-bala and Maṇicūla (as celestial beings) had decided mutually to enlighten one another whoever was born first in the mortal world. Mahā-bala was born as Sagara. Maṇicūla then twice tried to enlighten

Sagara but in vain. When the sons of Sagara dug the moat, Manicūla assumed the form of a snake and brought their end. Again he assumed the form of a Brahmin and reported to Sagara the death of his own son on account of the cruelty of Yama. Sagara advised him to perform penances to kill Yama and save the life of his son. At this stage the Brahmin broke the news of sad demise of the sons of Sagara. Sagara developed aversion towards the world and renounced it. Manicūla revitalised all the dead sons of Sagara. The *RPS* further (ch.3) adds to the above account that Manicūla had deprecated the sons of Sagara for their dependence on the earnings of their father. Sagara then engaged them to the work of digging the moat. The *UP*, the *MP* and the *RPS* mention that all the sons of Sagara afterwards renounced the world.

Of the Brahmanical literature, the *VR* (1.38-44) states that Sagara had two wives, Keśinī and Sumati. Once a sacrificial horse of Sagara was kidnapped by Indra. Sumati's sixty thousand sons dug out the earth in search of the horse. It enraged the Nāgas, Asuras etc. When they complained to Brahmā, he prophesied that Kapila (Vāsudeva) would burn the sons of Sagara. Further in search of the horse, the sons of Sagara reached Rasātala and saw the horse there. When they ran towards Kapiladeva, he burnt them to ashes.

Sagara sent his grandson Amśumat to trace out his sons. On reaching Pātāla, Amśumat was requested by Garuḍa to perform 'jala-kriyā' of the deceased ones. He performed penances on the Himalayas but the Ganges did not descend. His grandson Bhagīratha observed penances for one thousand years and pleased Brahmā. He pleased Śiva also. Then the Ganges descended from the heaven on to the head of Śiva and followed Bhagīratha on the land. In its course the river destroyed the hermitage of Jahnu, a ṛṣi. Enraged Jahnu drank all the water of the Ganges. He released it from his ears only at the request of the Devas, Gandharvas and the Ṛṣis. The stream followed Bhagīratha upto the Rasātala and the deceased ancestors of Bhagīratha attained heaven. Thus the river came to be known as Jāhnavī as well as Bhāgīrathī.

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (4.4) does not contain the intervention of Garuḍa and the penances of Amśumat. Here Kapila had prophesied before Amśumat that his grandson would bring the Ganges on the earth. It does not contain the episode of Jahnu. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (9.8-9), the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Uttarakhaṇḍa*, 21-22) and the *MB* (3.106-109) agree with the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. In the *MB* the names of the wives of Sagara are Vaidarbhī and Śaibyā, the latter having 60000 sons.

10. Sanatkumāra :

At the time of listening to the parentage and the enumeration of the previous births of the sixty-three illustrious persons of the Jaina faith, Śreṇika makes inquiry about the cause of the handsomeness of Sanatkumāra (the fourth Cakravartin). Gautama narrates the story (20.114-132).

Meghabāhu on account of professing the Jaina faith was reborn as a Yakṣa. He served some Sramaṇasaṅgha and after his death was reborn as king Dharmaruci, son of Suprabhā and Tilakasundarī of Mahāpura. He renounced the world and was reborn as a celestial being. From there he was reborn as Cakravartin Sanatkumāra being the son of Sahadeva of Gajapura. Once on being praised by two gods for his handsomeness, he got puffed up and after having taken a bath and having adorned his body with resplendent garments he reappeared before the gods. But this time his countenance had become mild. Being told of it by the gods, he renounced the world, bore hardships suffering from many diseases, performed penances and attained many mystic powers. Once when he went to Vijayapura, his diseases vanished and he was greeted with a down-pour of gems (35.69-70). After his death he was reborn in the Sanatkumāra heaven.

He is referred to in the *Uttarādhyayana* (18.37), the *Sihānāṅgasūtra* (10.718) and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4.515). The *Maṇasamūhi* (410-411) mentions that Sanatkumāra suffered diseases.

The *VH* (p.233) mentions him as the son of Aśvasena and Sahadevī. The two celestials went to see him in the disguise of Brahmins. When Sanatkumāra suffered from diseases, Indra went to him as a physician, but the former refused to take his treatment and preferred to suffer his own karmas though he had powers to cure his diseases. The previous births are not narrated.

The *PCR* (20.137-163) mentions Hemabāhu for Meghabāhu. In the *UP* (61.104-130) his previous births are not narrated. He is the son of Anantavīrya of Vinītanagara (Ayodhyā) born of Sahadevī. He is said to have attained emancipation. The *MP* (59.17) agrees with the *UP*.

The *TSP* (III. p. 167f) describes four previous births of Sanatkumāra but the theme differs. According to it, king Vikramayaśas kidnapped the wife of Nāgadatta. The king after his death was reborn in the Sanatkumāra heaven and thereafter as a merchant Jinadharmā at Ratnapura. Nāgadatta was reborn as a Brahmin. He became a three-stave ascetic and out of previous enmity he took food in a hot dish arranged to be put on the back of Jinadharmā with the help of the

king of Ratnapura. Jinadharmā renounced the world and was reborn as Indra and that ascetic (Nāgadatta) as his elephant. Indra got reborn as Sanatkumāra, his parents being Sahadevī and Aśvasena of Hastināpura. The *TSP* furnishes more details about his marriage. In other respects it agrees with the *PCV*. The two gods came again as physicians to cure monk Sanatkumāra but he did not like to take any treatment and decided to suffer his own Karmas.

Devendraganin, the commentator of *Uttarādhyāyana* narrates the same version of the story as related in the *TSP*. Sanatkumāra is said to have belonged to the Kuruvamśa.

In the Brahmanical literature, Sanatkumāra is said to be one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā. The other three sons are Sanaka, Sananda and Sanātana (Bhāgavatapurāṇa, 3. 12. 4).

They are described as counsellors and companions of Viṣṇu (*MWSD*).

11. Hariṣeṇa :

After defeating Vaiśravaṇa, on his way back to Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa enquires about the patron of the Jina-temples seen on the way. Sumālin narrates to Rāvaṇa the story of the tenth Cakravartin who was the patron of those temples (8. 143-210).

Siṃhadvaja of Kāmpilyapura had two wives, Vaprā and Laxmī belonging to different faiths. Vaprā's son, Hariṣeṇa left his country on being distressed by the quarrel between his mothers on the question of the preference of taking out their chariots in the procession. He reached a hermitage and there on seeing Madanāvalī, the princess of Campāpurī developed love for her. At this the recluses turned him out. He resolved to construct Jina-temples if he got the hand of Madanāvalī. On his way he married the daughters of the king of Sindhunada. Further he married Jayacandā, the daughter of king Indradhanu of Sūryodayanagara. Two Vidyādhara lovers of Jayacandā got disgruntled and attacked Hariṣeṇa. Hariṣeṇa defeated them and emerged as the tenth Cakravartin. He attacked Campāpurī and married Madanāvalī. He returned home and fulfilled the desire of his mother, Vaprā by rotating the Jina-chariots. Further he got many Jina-temples constructed. In course of time he renounced the world and attained emancipation.

The *Sihānāṅga* (p. 544) refers to Hariṣeṇa along with Bharata and Sagara and mentions that he was a king who became a monk. The *Uttarādhyāyana* (18.42) refers to him as Muni who reached perfection. The *Samavāyāṅga* (5.157) and the *TP* (4.515) calls him tenth Cakravartin.

The *PCR* (8.281-400) agrees with the *PCV* and mentions that the chariot was to be moved out on the *Aṣṭāṇhikaparva*. The *PCS* (11.2) gives a brief account of his exploits within a period of eight successive days. The *RPS* (p.33) agrees with the *PCR*. The *TSP* (IV. p. 362) calls him the son of Mahāhari and Merā. He is said to have lived during the life time of Jina Nami, the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara. Here the account does not agree with that of the *PCV*. His Digvijaya and attaining the status of a Cakravartin are narrated. The *UP* (67.61-88) calls him the son of Padmanātha of Bhogapura and Airā. His Digvijaya is narrated but the incidents of the *PCV* do not find mention in it. The *MP* (68.9-11) agrees with the *UP*. Both the latter works mention him to have lived during the congregation of Munisuvratanātha, the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara and in the *PCV* also the story is narrated to Rāvaṇa, hence Hariṣeṇa was at least not born after the congregation of Munisuvratanātha.

B—Legendary Kings of the Ikṣvākuvaṁśa.

After having described the life of Munisuvratanātha and the birth of Janaka, Gautama while enumerating the kings of the Ikṣvākuvaṁśa narrates, to Śreṇika the following episodes and stories associated with the ancestors of Daśaratha (21.41 to 22.95).

12. Vairabāhu's renunciation :

During the congregation of Munisuvratanātha, Vijaya, the ruler of Sāketapurī had two sons, Vajrabāhu and Purandara begot on his wife Himacūlā. Vajrabāhu married Manoharā, the daughter of king Bāhuvāhana and Cūdāmaṇi, of Nāgapura. When Vajrabāhu was returning home after his marriage, his brother-in-law, Udayasundara jokingly asked the former looking at a monk meditating on a hillock whether he intended to become a monk. At this Vajrabāhu instantly accepted asceticism. Consequently Manoharā also became a nun. When Vijaya knew of it, he enthroned Purandara and himself became a monk (21.4 p-77).

The *PCR* (21.73.139) agrees with the episode but it mentions Surendramanyu and Kīrtisamā as the parents of Vajrabāhu and Purandara. Vijaya and Hemacūlinī are their grandparents. The name of the wife of Vajrabāhu is Manodayā and her father's name is Ibhavāhana. Here Udayasundara is taking back his sister along with her husband to his home town and Vijaya and Surendramanyu both renounce the world. The *RPS* (p.81) agrees with the *PCR*. It names

Manoharā as Cārvī and her father as Hastibāhu of Hastināgapura. The *TSP* (IV. p.182) follows the *PCV*. It calls Manoharā as Manoramā and her father as Ibhavāhana.

13. Kīrtidhara, Sahadevī and Sukośala :

Purandara's son Kīrtidhara married Sahadevī, princess of Kuśasthalapura. In course of time when Kīrtidhara was blessed with a son named Sukośala, he renounced the world. Sahadevī was not willing with her husband's renunciation. She banned the entry of her husband Kīrtidhara and other mendicants into the city to prevent her son from being influenced by them. When Sukośala came to learn of it, he approached Kīrtidhara. After consoling his intimidating wife Vicitramālā and declaring their unborn child as the heir to his throne, he also became a monk. In due course Sahadevī died of 'Ārtadhyāna' and became a tigress. Bearing the previous enmity she tore off Sukośala to pieces, but Sukośala on account of his pure meditation attained liberation and Kīrtidhara became omniscient. The tigress remembered her previous birth at the sight of the teeth of her son and lamented over her deeds. She observed fast for three days and thereafter she was reborn as a celestial being (21.78 to 22.47).

The *Bhattapariṇā* (161), the *Maraṇasamāhi* (466-467) and the *Samthāraga* (63-64) say that Sukośala was strangled by his mother, now a tigress. The *PCR* (21.140-22.100), the *RPS* (p.81f) and the *TSP* (IV. p. 184f) agree with the *PCV*.

14. Naghuṣa and Simhikā :

Sukośala's son, Hiraṇyagarbha begot Naghuṣa on his wife Mṛgāvatī. When Naghuṣa was out of his kingdom to conquer the northern region, his wife Simhikā exhibited valour by chasing away the southern kings who had attacked her country. Duly Naghuṣa returned home. He got displeased with such a behaviour of his wife as it was against the custom of the nobles that a queen should appear in the public. He admonished and dethroned Simhikā from the position of a 'mahādevī'. Once Naghuṣa fell ill. No physician could cure him. On that occasion Simhikā with the power of her chastity cured her husband by merely sprinkling some water over his body. At this Naghuṣa restored his wife to her original status and after enthroning his son, Sodāsa he accepted asceticism (22.50-71).

The *PCR* (22.101-130) adds that Simhikā further conquered other kings of the south. The *RPS* (p. 82) follows the *PCR*. The *TSP* (IV. p. 186) agrees with the *PCV*.

The *VR* (I. 70) merely refers to Naghuṣa as the son of Ambarīṣa. The *MB* (5. 11-18) states that Naghuṣa was once made Devarāja (Indra) by the Ṛṣis. He wanted to enjoy with Śacī, the wife of Indra. He rejected the mantras (hymns.) of Brahmā and insulted Ṛṣis, hence he lost his status and was transformed into a serpent. When he came into contact with Yudhiṣṭhira he regained his original form (*MB*, 3. 179-181).

15. Sodāsa :

Sodāsa, during a religious festivity of eight days, desired to take meat. On that occasion the meat was prohibited hence his cook brought him some human-flesh. Sodāsa got addicted to it and for its supply children were killed. His subjects revolted against him and banished him and his cook. They enthroned his son Simharatha. Sodāsa was known as Simhasodāsa because his food was like that of a lion. Sodāsa proceeding towards the south met a monk and accepted vows of a layman. Fortunately he became the king of Mahāpura whose ruler had died heirless. Sodāsa attacked his son who had refused to pay homage to him. He defeated his son but soon restored the kingdom to him and thereafter renounced the world (22. 71-95),

The *Bhattachariṇī* mentions that Sodāsa suffered being a slave of taste.

The *PCR* (22. 132-152) and the *RPS* (p. 83) agree with the *PCV*. But the latter work mentions a city-Kotval in place of the cook. The *TSP* (IV, p. 187) agrees with the *PCV*.

According to the *Vasudevahinī* (I. p. 197), Sodāsa was the prince of Kañcanapura. He started to take the flesh of peacocks when the meat was prohibited in the city by his father. Once his cook served him with the flesh of a dead boy. He found it very tasteful. The human flesh was kept supplied to him by killing children. When the public agitated against this practice, his father banished him. He wandered like a Rākṣasa and reached the Tilavastuka settlement. There he was killed by Vasudeva who had also reached there on his wandering tour. Sodāsa is called as Puruṣādaka (Purīṣāo) also.

The *VR* (2.110.29) refers to Saudāsa as the son of Raghu. He bore four names—Pravṛddha, Puruṣādaka, Kalmāṣapāda and Saudāsa. The Tilaka commentary (1.70 39) refers to the curse given by Vaśiṣṭha and the burning of the legs of Saudāsa. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (4.4.39f) calls him the son of Sudāsa and the grandson of Sarvakāma. He once killed a 'vyāghra' in the forest. That 'vyāghra' became a Rākṣasa. Saudāsa performed a sacrifice which was being presided over by Vaśiṣṭha.

When Vaśiṣṭha went out that Rākṣasa assumed the form of Vaśiṣṭha. He asked Saudāsa to feed him with human flesh and disappeared. Real Vaśiṣṭha was served with it. He cursed Saudāsa to become a Rākṣasa, but at the request of the former the latter moderated efficacy of the curse to the period of twelve years only. Saudāsa wanted to recurse Vaśiṣṭha by sprinkling water over him. But his wife prevented him from doing so. Hence he poured the water on his own feet and as a result of it his feet got burnt. Thus he came to be known as Kalmāṣapāda. In course of time he developed the nature of a Rākṣasa and started devouring the human-beings. Once he devoured a muni copulating with his wife, just like a 'vyāghra' would devour an animal (4.4.63). The wife of that muni cursed the Rākṣasa that he would die the moment he tried to satiate his sexual desire. After 12 years he regained his original nature. His wife Madayantī reminded him of the curse given by the Brāhmaṇī. Saudāsa then never copulated with his wife. It was Vaśiṣṭha who helped the birth of an embryo into the womb of Madayantī. When the child was not born even after the lapse of seven years, her womb was struck with a stone (aśmanā) and the new born child was named Aśmaka.

C—Stories of Genesis.

16. Origin of the Brāhmaṇas :

Following the episode of the duel between Bharata and Bāhubali, Śreṇika requests Gautama to tell him the origin of the fourth Varṇa (caste). Gautama relates the following episode (4. 64-84).

Once Bharata invited the disciples of Ṛṣabha to accept food from his house. Ṛṣabha refused to send them because the food particularly prepared for the monks was not acceptable to them. Then Bharata sent for the lay-votaries. The real votaries did not enter his house with the fear of causing 'himsā' to the living beings of the barley seeds sown in his courtyard whereas the followers of the wrong-faith trampled on them and went to his house. The real followers were marked on their bodies with the Kākiṇīratna to distinguish them from the pretenders. They got puffed up on account of being greeted by Bharata. Matisāgara informed Bharata of the prophecy of the Jina that those who have been honoured by him would later on, after the deliverance of Lord Mahāvīra, compile the Vedas full of lies and propagate animal sacrifices. Bharata then turned out of his city all those lay-followers and got them beaten by the people. They all took refuge under Ṛṣabha and the latter prevented Bharata from torturing them (ma-haṇa). Therefore, they came to be known as the Māhaṇas (Brāhmaṇas).

The *PCR* (4. 92-122) agrees with the account of the *PCV*. The *RPS* (p. 7) mentions that as they were protected by Rṣabha hence they called themselves as born of the mouth of Brahmā (i. e. Rṣabha). It does not use the word 'māhaṇa'. Some other works also do not refer to this incident. According to the *AP* (38. 21) those who did not walk on the germinated seeds were named as Brāhmaṇas. At 41. 54 Rṣabha is said to have told Bharata that they would distract from the right path in future, still as they are righteous at present, they should not be dishonoured. The *MP* (19. 4) agrees with the *AP*.

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* deals with this topic in detail (p.183). It states that when Rṣabha did not accept the food, Bharata invited the Śrāvakas for dining. He further requested them to take food at his house daily and asked them to recite, 'Jito bhavam'. This recitation made him realise that he has been overpowered by the senses which are the real enemies. In due course others, who were not Śrāvakas, also began to take food at his house. He then examined them. The real ones observed the vow of not killing the living beings and it was on account of this principle—'mā haṇaha jive tti tao Māhaṇa tti vuccanti'—that they were called Māhaṇas. Bharata asked them about the layman's vows. The holders of five Aṇuvratas were marked with one line, those of additionally of three Guṇavratas with two lines and those also of Śikṣāpadas with three lines of Kākiṇīratna. In this way the Māhaṇas were originated. They used to study Āryaveda which was composed to guide their conduct. According to the *Ācārāṅgacūrṇi* of Jinadāsagaṇi Varya (p.5) those who warded off the people who caused injury to anyone were called Māhaṇas. The *Āvaśyakacūrṇi* of Jinadasagaṇi Mahattara (p.213f) mentions that they abandoned all the injurious activities, studied the scriptures and took food at the house of Bharata. They were then marked accordingly. They used to recite—'jahā tubbhe jitā aho bhavān vardhate bhayaṁ mā haṇāhitti', i. e. 'You have won (the passions), the fear grows, do not kill'. Hence they were called Brāhmaṇas (māhaṇas). The *TSP* (I. p. 343) agrees with the *Āvaśyakacūrṇi* and further adds that the three lines drawn with the Kākiṇī represented right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. It says that for their study the Veda were purified by the way of including into them the praise of the Arhats and the right practices of the munis and the laymen. Gradually the Māhaṇas became known by the name of Brāhmaṇas and they reached the stage of wearing the sacred thread, though originally there were three lines on their bodies.

In the Brahmanical tradition the *Rgveda* (10.7.90) mentions that the Brāhmaṇas are the mouth, the Rājanyas (Kṣatriya) the arms, the Vaiśyas the thighs and the Śūdras the feet of Prajāpati. The *Mahābhārata* (12.296. 5—6), the *Manusmṛti* (1.31), the *VR* (3.14.30), and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (1.6.6) speak in the same light and declare that Brāhmaṇas originated from the mouth of Prajāpati and they constitute the first and the foremost varṇa of the four-fold society.

17. Vasu, Parvataka and the Origin of the Yajña :

Rāvaṇa while on his war campaign reaches Rājapura (Rājagṛha). There an animal sacrifice was being performed by king Marutta. Listening to the name of sacrifice (Jaṇṇa-yajña) Śreṇika inquires about its origin and Gautama narrates the story (11.6—45).

Kṣīrakadamba, the preceptor of Ikṣvāku king Vasu of Ayodhyā (the son of Ajita or Jiyārīrāya 11.21 born of Surakāntā), had two more pupils, his own son Parvataka and brahmin Nārada. Once on being enlightened by Cāraṇa muni, he became a Jaina monk. In due course there grew a controversy between Parvataka and Nārada about the meaning of 'aja' which was to be used in the sacrifices. They went to Vasu for clarification. He gave his judgement from his bright crystal seat (phalihamaya āsaṇa) in the favour of Parvataka on the recommendation of the latter's mother explaining that 'aja' meant a goat and not the corns which would not germinate as advocated by Nārada. On account of telling a lie the earth split up and absorbed Vasu into it. He went to the seventh hell. Parvataka having been humiliated by the public, performed perverse penances and after his death, he was reborn as a Rākṣasa. He transformed himself into a brahmin and preached animal-killing, taking meat and drinking of wine on sacrificial occasions.

The *Bhattachariṇṇā* states that Vasu went to hell for telling a lie. The *PCR* (11.13-104) mentions Yayāti in place of Ajita. The *PCS* (15.9) refers to Vasu who went to hell on account of telling a lie, but the story is not narrated. The *HVPJ* (ch. 17) agrees with the *PCV*. The *VH* (p. 188-193) describes the topic under the 'Origin of the *Anārya Veda*.' It mentions that Vasu who belonged to Harivaṃśa reigned Śuktimati. Here Kṣīrakadamba is said to have examined the prudence of his pupils through the test of killing an artificial ram. Parvataka killed it while Nārada did not, because there was no place where no body could see his action. Therefore Kṣīrakadamba made him his heir. The crystal slab is said to have been given to Vasu by a hunter. Parvataka was humiliated by the people for enmeshing Vasu to tell a lie. It further states that Madhupīṅgala could not marry Sulasā on account of the

intrigue of Sagara, the king of Śāketa. After his death he became Mahākāla deva. He wanted to take revenge upon Sagara. He met Parvataka and introduced himself as Śaṇḍilya, a friend of the father of Parvataka. He promised to propagate Parvataka's view on 'aja'. He spread epidemic in Śuktimati. Parvataka propagated animal-sacrifice. Thereby the disease was stopped. He spread epidemic in the country of Sagara. The latter sent for Parvataka. He preached animal-sacrifice there too and Mahākāladeva by the power of his māyā exhibited that the sacrificed animals attained heaven. Sagara then performed many animal-sacrifices. Nārada prevented Sagara from killing animals, but the latter was so much influenced by Parvataka and Mahākāladeva that he could not realise as to where lay his own good. Therefore he attained hell. Śaṇḍilya thus popularised his teachings which were incorporated into a book called *Anūrya Veda*.

The *Uttarapurāṇa* (67.212) states that the animal-sacrifice was started by Mahākālāsura. The story agrees with *Vasudevahiṇḍī* with minor changes. Vasu is said to be the son of Viśvāvasu of Suvastikāvati and Śrīmatī. Parvataka is turned away by the monks when he explains 'aja' as a goat. Here Vasu does not decide the controversy. Parvataka meets Mahākāla and propagates animal-sacrifices. Sagara is entangled. A monk tries to prevent Sagara but in vain. Viśvabhū, the minister of Sagara is also involved. Here Nārada appears and tries to interpret the right meaning of 'aja' but Parvataka intervenes and opposes him. Then they go to Vasu who tells a lie. Viśvabhū again starts animal-sacrifices. Parvataka and Viśvabhū go to hell. Mahākāla reappears and confesses his guilt.

The *MP* (69.23) mentions that Vasu was the prince of Śrāvastipura. (otherwise it follows the *UP*. The *TSP* (IV. 143) mentions Abhicandra as the father of Vasu and ruler of Śuktimati. Parvataka is said to have explained the reference to 'aja' in the *Rgveda* as 'meṣa' a goat. Then the account follows the *VR*. Thereafter the Asura prompts Parvataka to propagate drinking, establishing of illicit relations in the Gosava sacrifice, flesh-eating and animal-killing. The *RPS* (6) mentions that Vasu belongs to Suvastikāvati-pura. Further it follows the *UP* up to the acceptance of monkhood by Kṣīrakadamba. Then it follows the version of the *PCV* upto the death of Vasu. Thereafter with the assistance of Mahāsura, Parvataka prepares many counterfeit hymns and inserts them into the Vedas. He instigates Sagara to perform animal-sacrifices. The advice of a monk to abstain from animal-sacrifices is believed by Mahāsura. Sagara takes to animal-sacrifice and goes to the seventh hell.

The *MB* (12.335-337) contains the story as follows:—

Vasu, also known as Uparicara was a great king of the Satya age. He was a disciple of Br̥haspati and a devotee of Viṣṇu. He followed the tenets of Sātvata and the Pañcarātra system. He performed an Aśvamedha without killing any animal. He offered the oblations with the forest-produce. Once he was appointed as an umpire to decide a controversy between the Gods and the sages over the interpretation of the word 'aja'. He showed partiality for the Gods and maintained that it meant a goat and not the grains of corn. Thereupon the sages cursed him to get born in a hellish region. While living in the hell, he was nourished by a stream of clarified butter. It was poured for him by the priests. It was an oblation offered in the sacrifices and was named as 'Nasordhārā'. Being advised by the Gods, he continued to worship Viṣṇu. In due course he attained freedom by the favour of Viṣṇu and ascended to Brahmaloka. The *MB* (13.6.342) also mentions that Vasu attained hell on account of being cursed by the Ṛṣis. The *Matsyapurāṇa* (ch.142) contains the story. Here the controversy is between the Indra and the Ṛṣis. The point is whether the 'jaṅgama' creatures or the 'sthāvara' objects should be obliterated in the sacrifices. Vasu, the son of Uttānapāda advocated 'himsātmaka' yajña i.e. the oblation of living beings. He attained hell on being cursed by the Ṛṣis.

18. Srikanṭha and Puṣpottara :

19. Amaraprabha and Guṇamati :

20. Sumukha and Vīraka :

For stories Nos. 18, 19 and 20 see 'Origin of Vānaravaṁśa', "Adoption of Vāhara-emblem" and 'Origin of Harivaṁśa' in the chapter "Origin and Genealogy of various Vaṁśas".

3. DIDACTIC STORIES

A—Religious cum Moral Stories.

21. Muni Sañjayanta's torture at the hands of Vidyādhara Vidyutdamṣṭra :

While enumerating the names of the kings of the Vidyādhara Vaṁśa. Gautama relates the following episode illustrating the consequences of torturing a muni (5,20-26).

Once Vidyutdamṣṭra (Vijjudaḍḍha), the Vidyādhara lord of the Vijayārdha mountain kidnapped muni Sañjayanta who was meditating

at Aparavideha and carried him to the Pañcasaṅgamaya hill. There he tortured him by pelting stones at him. The monk did not get disturbed at all and attained Kevala. On that occasion Dharaṇendra paid his obeisance to the monk and seized off the supernatural lores of the king. When the king apologised, Dharaṇendra restored the 'vidyās' to him.

The PCR (5. 25-84) agrees with the above account. The *Vasudevahinī* (I. p. 251) gives additionally the names of the parents of Sañjayanta as Sañjaya and Satyaśrī of Vitāśokanagara in the Aparavideha. It further states that the monk was alleged to be the cause of a calamity, hence Vidyutdaṁṣṭra ordered his feudals to kill him. The MP (57) mentions Sañjayanta and Jayanta as the sons of king Vaijayanta of Vitāśokanagara. Both the sons renounced the world. The latter was reborn as Nāgendra. Vidyutdaṁṣṭra is said to have punished muni Sañjayanta because his aerial car had suddenly stopped where the muni was meditating. Then Nāgendra threw away Vidyutdaṁṣṭra into the sea, but he was saved by a celestial being. The RPS (p. 8) names the mother of Sañjayanta as Sundarī and further agrees with the MP.

22. The previous births of Sañjayanta and Vidyutdaṁṣṭra or the story of Śrīvardhana and Jvalanasimha :

The Dharaṇendra who had rescued muni Sañjayanta from tortures of Vidyutdaṁṣṭra requested Kevalin Sañjayanta to tell him the cause of him (Muni's) trouble. The muni narrated the story (5. 26-41) illustrating the consequences of punishing others.

Merchant Hitaṅkara of Śakaṭagrāma was reborn as Śrīvardhana, the king of Kusumāvati. A brahmin of that place was reborn as a celestial being on account of his perverse penances. That celestial being was reborn as brahmin Jvalanasimha and became the priest of the king. He swindled some property belonging to merchant Niyamadatta. It was detected by a courtesan. Śrīvardhana then banished the priest. The latter performed some penances to take revenge and was reborn as Vidyutdaṁṣṭra while king Śrīvardhana and merchant Niyamadatta were reborn as Sañjayanta and Dharaṇendra respectively.

The PCR (5. 34-46) agrees with the PCV. It mentions Kusumāvati as Kumudavati and Jvalanasimha is called Vanhiśikhā. The theft was detected by the king himself while playing the game of dice with the priest. The *Vasudevahinī* (I. p. 253-262) mentions the name of the king as Simhasena and that of his priest as Śrībhūti belonging to Simhapura. The name of the merchant is Bhadramitra. He deposited some valuables with the priest when he was going out on a

mercantile journey. But on his return the priest denied to have kept any deposits. Śirṃhasena appointed his minister to investigate the matter. He invited the priest for playing dice and exchanged his ring for that of the priest. The king sent his door-keeper and procured the deposited wealth of that merchant from the wife of the priest with the help of the ring of her husband. Further various rebirths of them are described till they are born as Sañjayanta, Vidyutdamṣṭra and Nāgendra respectively. The *HVP* (20.20-126) names the characters as mentioned in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*. Here the queen detects the hidden jewels which were deposited by the merchant named here as Sumitradatta. It also describes various rebirths of them. The *RPS* (p.9) agrees with the *HVP*.

23. The previous births of Vidyādhara Pūrṇaghana and Sulocana or the story of Bhāvaṇa and Haridāsa :

On account of the ancestral enmity when Pūrṇaghana was slain in the battle by Sahasranayana, Meghavāhana the former's son fled away and took refuge under Ajitanātha. Sahasranayana chased Meghavāhana and reached there. At that time the Gaṇadhara enquired about the previous births of the fathers of Sahasranayana and Meghavāhana. Then Ajitanātha, the second Tīrthaṅkara narrated the story (5.82-91) explaining the consequences of committing murder.

Haridāsa, a merchant-son of Kīrtimatī and Bhāvaṇa of Ādityaprabhapura, lost all his wealth in the game of dice when his father had gone out on a trade voyage. His father returned home in due course and came to know that his son had gone to commit burglary in the palace. He started meditating in his house to save his son from that vice. In the meanwhile Haridāsa returned home and killed his father under the suspicion of considering him enemy. Haridāsa was then reborn as Sulocana and Bhāvaṇa as Pūrṇaghana. On account of this enmity Pūrṇaghana had killed Sulocana, the father of Sahasranayana. This was the cause of enmity between Sulocana's son, Sahasranayana and Pūrṇaghana.

According to the *PCR* (5. 96f) Bhāvaṇa belonged to Sadṛtupura and his wife is called Ātakī. The rest of the story is identical except that many more previous births of Pūrṇaghana and Sulocana as dogs, jackals, cats, bulls, mongooses, males in Puṣkalāvātī and as celestial beings are mentioned. The *RPS* (ch. 3) follows the *PCR*. Here the town is Marutpura. Bhāvaṇa's wife is Cātakī. Haridāsa killed his father in a tunnel when the latter went there in search of his son. It

adds two more rebirths as crocodiles and he-buffaloes to those of the *PCR*. The *TSP* (II, p. 164) agrees with the *PCV*. Here the losing of wealth in the game of dice is not referred to. Bhāvaṇa returned from his voyage at night. As he entered his house, he was killed by Haridāsa who suspected the former to be a thief. It is mentioned that the father and the son passed through several painful rebirths.

24. The previous births of Vidyādhara Meghavāhana and Sahasranayana or the story of Śaśi and Āvaliya :

Having listened to the preceding story, Cakravartin (Sagara), who had married the sister of Sahasranayana and had helped Sahasranayana, asked the Jina to narrate the previous births of the sons of Pūrṇaghana and Sulocana (Meghavāhana and Sahasranayana respectively). Then the Jina narrated the story (5. 93-111) explaining the consequences of instigating some one to commit murder.

Śaśi and Āvaliya were the pupils of Rambhaka of Paḍmapura. Once Āvaliya purchased a cow from a cowherd. But immediately on being instigated by Śaśi, the cowherd killed Āvaliya and sold the same cow to Śaśi. Āvaliya was reborn as a Mleccha. He killed Śaśi when the latter was proceeding to Tāmraliptinagara. Śaśi was reborn as a bull. The bull on being killed again by that Mleccha was reborn as a cat. The Mleccha was reborn as a rat. The rat was killed by the cat. Thus killing each other they transmigrated as hellish beings, animals, slaves, and lords of demons. Śaśi was reborn as Kulandhara and Āvaliya as priest Puṣyabhūti. The priest wanted to kill Kulandhara but being enlightened by a monk he accepted monkhood and was reborn in Sanatkumāra heaven. Kulandhara was also reborn there. Both of them were further reborn as the servants of king Vṛṣabha of Ariṇjayapura in Dhātakikhaṇḍa. They renounced the world along with the king and became celestial beings in the Sahasrāra heaven. From there Śaśi was reborn as Meghavāhana and Āvaliya as Sahasranayana.

According to the *PCR* (5.113-133) Rambhaka is named as Saṅkhikorambha. He was a wealthy man. He caused disruption between his pupils, Śaśi's journey to Tāmraliptinagara is not mentioned. In place of Vṛṣabha, the king is named as Sahasrasira. The *PCS* (5.7.10) refers to them but the story is not narrated. The *RPS* (ch. 3) calls Saṅkhika a brahmin. It agrees with the *PCR* with minor changes in names and animal lives. The *TSP* (II, p. 164) calls Rambhaka a wandering mendicant. It mentions the enmity between Śaśi and Āvaliya, but does not give details about their further births.

25. The previous birth of Sagara or the story of Rambhaka :

Sagara had helped Sahasranayana in attacking Pūrṇaghana so he further asked as to what was the cause of his sympathy for Sahasranayana. Then Ajitanātha narrated the story (5.112-119) illustrating the good results of having sympathy and love for others.

Rambhaka became a celestial being on account of the offerings made to a monk. He was reborn successively as prince Vakrakīrti at Candrapura, a celestial being and then as the son of Candramatī and Mahāghoṣa of Ratnaśāncayapura in Aparavideha. He renounced the world and was reborn as a celestial being in the Prāṇata Kalpa, and thereafter as Yaśaskīrti, the son of Yaśodhara and Jayā in Pṛthvipura. He renounced the world and was reborn in the Vijaya heaven. From there he was reborn as Sagara. As Āvaliya was very dear to Rambhaka so Sahasranayana was to Sagara.

The *PCR* (5.134-140) names the parents of Vakrakīrti as Hari and Dharādevī. According to the *RPS* (p. 15) Saṅkhika (Rambhaka) was first reborn in Devakuru and then as a celestial being. Vakrakīrti is named Vratakiṛti and Yaśaskīrti as Jayakīrti. The *TSP* (II, p. 165) mentions that Rambhaka passed through various good existences and was reborn as Sagara.

26. The Previous Birth of Bhagīratha or the story of a potter :

Following the episode of the burning of the sons of Sagara, Bhagīrath requests muni Śrutasaṅgara to tell him the cause of his and Bhīma's escape from death. The monk narrates the story (5. 204-216) illustrating the consequences of torturing the Saṅgha.

Once a Saṅgha of the Śramaṇas on a pilgrimage to the Sammata mountain was tortured by all the inhabitants of a village despite the opposition from a potter. In course of time when some villager committed theft, the king burnt the whole village. The potter who was out of the village on that occasion escaped death. That potter was reborn as a rich merchant and all the villagers as the inhabitants of Varāṭaka. The merchant then was reborn as a king while the villagers as (māivāha=matṛvāhakāḥ) worms. Those worms were trampled down to death by an elephant. The king renounced the world and attained heaven. From heaven he was reborn as Bhagīratha while the worms passing through various births became the sons of Sagara.

The *PCR* (5. 285-315) and the *RPS* (ch. 3) agree with the *PCV*. The *TSP* (II, p. 214) mentions the Virāṭa country for Varāṭaka. Jahnu

is mentioned as one of the sons of Sagara. Devendraganin, the commentator of the *Uttarādhyayana* mentions Bhagīratha as the son of Jahnu.

27. The previous births of Rākṣasa Mahārakṣa or the story of Pritinkara :

Following the enumeration of the kings of the Rākṣasa dynasty and the story of the previous birth of Bhagīratha, Mahārakṣa is said to have developed aversion on having seen a bee die in the interior of a lotus. He paid homage to monk Śrutasāgara and asked him about his previous birth. The monk narrated the story (5.227-235) illustrating the results of forming a 'nidāna'. Having listened to this story Mahārakṣa renounced the world.

Pritinkara, the son of Hitaṅkara and Mādhavī of Potanapura once eulogised the Jinas on having learnt that the king of that town had performed a great worship of the Jinas. Thereafter having been reborn as an Yakṣa, he saved a monk from a calamity in Aparavideha. Being again reborn as Uditā, the son of Khecara Taḍitaṅgada and Śrīprabhā in the Vijayardha, he saw the splendour of a celestial being proceeding to perform the worship of the Jinas and resolved (nidāna) to do the same. He performed penances and was reborn as a celestial being in the Īśāna Kalpa. From there he was reborn as Mahārakṣa.

The PCR (5.345-355) contains the same story. The PCS (5.5.16) does not refer to this previous birth story.

The RPS (ch.3) agrees with the PCV.

28. The previous birth of Vānara Śrīkaṇṭha or the story of two merchant brothers :

The previous birth of Vānara Śrīkaṇṭha is narrated following his installing as the first lord of Vānaradvīpa. Once having got enlightened by the splendour of Indra and finding himself unable to reach the Nandīśvaradvīpa, Śrīkaṇṭha enthroned his son, Vajrakaṇṭha and himself renounced the world. Vajrakaṇṭha then requested a monk to narrate the previous birth-story of his father. The monk related it (6.60-65) to him illustrating the fruits of saving other's life.

The wives of two merchant brothers caused dissention between the brothers. The younger one adhered to the wrong faith while the elder one observed the layman's vows. Once the younger one killed a man before the king. The elder saved him by giving some

wealth to the king and further pacified his younger brother. The elder was then reborn as the lord of the celestial beings while the younger one was reborn as a celestial being only. From there the younger one was reborn as Śrīkaṇṭha and that Indra (celestial lord) enlightened Śrīkaṇṭha because of having regard for the younger brother.

The *PCR* (6.155-160) mentions that the younger brother lived the life of a hunter. The elder one through a test found out that the younger one had affection for him. Therefore, the elder one gave some wealth to the younger one and ameliorated the latter's conditions.

29. The previous birth of Rākṣasa Taḍitkeśa or the story of Datta and a hunter :

It is narrated following the adoption of the figure of Vānara (monkey) as the state emblem by Amaraprabha. Once the wife of Taḍitkeśa, the Rākṣasa king of Lankā, was injured by a monkey while sporting in a garden. That monkey was killed by the king. The monkey then being reborn as Udadhikumāra, a celestial being again disturbed the king sporting there. When Taḍitkeśa questioned the celestial being, the latter related the previous incident. At this both of them proceeded to a monk and enquired about the cause of their transmigration. The monk narrated the story illustrating the consequences of nursing the feeling of revenge (6.134-147). Having listened to the story Taḍitkeśa installed his son Sukeśa and himself renounced the world.

Two persons killing each other were reborn one as a hunter in Banaras and the other as Datta, the son of a minister in Śrāvastī, respectively. The latter became a monk and sojourned at Kāśīpura in a garden. When he was meditating, that hunter arrived there. He abused and beat the monk. As the monk became angry and thought of beating the hunter in his turn, he lost the valuable fruits of his penances and was reborn as an inferior celestial being. Therefrom he descended as Taḍitkeśa while the hunter was reborn as a monkey.

The *PCR* (6.227-328) and the *PCS* (6.10-16) agree with the *PCV*. The *RPS* (ch. 4) contains minor differences as regards the places of rebirth. The *TSP* (IV. p. 110) states that the hunter killed the mendicant. The hunter is said to have first passed through the hellish life and then was reborn as a monkey.

30. The previous birth of Madhu and his acquiring the Śūlaratna (trident) or the story of Prabhava and Sumitra :

Rāvaṇa married his daughter Manoramā (Kṛtācitrā 11.101, 12.8) to Madhu of Mathurā, who possessed a divine weapon (Śūlaratna). Hearing this, Śreṇika asked as to how the weapon was acquired by Madhu. Then Gautama narrated the story (12.10-35) illustrating the fruits of true friendship.

Prabhava and Sumitra were very intimate friends. Sumitra on becoming the king raised the status of Prabhava. Once Sumitra was forcibly carried to a forest by a turbulent horse. The Bhilla chief of that place married his daughter, Vanamālā to him. She was very beautiful. Prabhava got attracted to her. When Sumitra learned it, he sent his wife to the house of Prabhava. Prabhava on finding Vanamālā there got surprised. He developed hatred for his life and tried to kill himself. But Sumitra who was secretly observing from out side intervened and saved Prabhava. In course of time Sumitra renounced the world and was reborn as a celestial being. From there he was reborn as Madhu. Prabhava wandering through the life of Śikhin (human being) was reborn as Camara Kumāra, the lord of the Bhavanavāsī Gods. Because of previous friendship Camara presented to Madhu a divine weapon (triśūlaratna).

The *PCR* (12. 21-69), the *TSP* (IV. p. 152) and the *RPS* (p. 48) contain the same story.

The *VR* (7.61) mentions that Madhu was a Daitya. He was righteous and had great affection for the Suras. Śiva presented a Śūla to Madhu on account of the latter's piety and further granted a boon that as long as he maintained friendship with the Suras and the Vipras, the Śūla will remain with him. Madhu further requested Śiva that the Śūla should pass on to his successors, but Śiva promised this much only that it would further remain with his son only.

31. The previous births of king Indra or the story of Sahasrabhāga :

After getting released from the captivity of Rāvaṇa, Indra requested muni Nirvāṇasāgara to narrate to him his previous birth. Then the monk related the story (13.21-31) elucidating the good fruits of performing austerities.

A diseased girl of Śikhipura lost her parents and lived on begging. After her death, she was reborn as wife of a Kimpuruṣa and

again as king Sahasrabhāga, the son of Dhāriṇī by Gomukha of Ratnapura. On account of observing the vows, he was reborn as a celestial being and then as Nandivardhana, the son of Guṇavallī. Having enjoyed the kingdom he renounced the world. He performed penances and in due course died. Having passed through the life of a celestial being in the Graiveyakavimāna, he was reborn as a Vidyādhara king named Indra.

The *PCR* (13.54-66) and the *RPS* (ch. 7) agree with the above story. The *RPS* however calls Nandivardhana as Sāmantavardhana.

32. Indra's another previous birth or the story of Ahalyā :

Continuing the narration the monk advised Indra not to brood over his defeat and reminded him of a sinful incident in his previous life pointing out the dire consequences of censuring, cursing or hurting a monk for which he was humiliated at present (13.33-52) by Rāvaṇa. On having heard the following story, Indra (Śakra) renounced the world and attained emancipation.

Ahalyā (Āhallā), the daughter of Vegavatī and Jvalanasimha of Ariṇjayapura chose Ānandamālin, the king of Candrāvartapura as her husband in her 'svayamvara'. In course of time Ānandamālin renounced the world and sojourned on the bank of the river Hamsāvalī. Indra who had got disgruntled on account of not being selected by Ahalyā developed jealousy for Ānandamālin. He went to the bank of that river and tied the limbs of the monk. On this occasion Muni Kalyāṇaguṇadhara, the brother of Ānandamālin cursed Indra but his (Indra's) wife Sarvaśrī's immediate intervention and imploration pacified the monk and saved Indra from being burnt to ashes.

The *PCR* (13 67-117) agrees with the *PCV*. The *TSP* (IV. 160) mentions the name of Indra in his previous birth as Tādīprabha, the lord of Sūryāvartapura. Indra is said to have tortured muni Ānandamālin on the Rathāvarta mountain. Sarvaśrī is named as Satyaśrī. The *RPS* (ch. 7) names Ānandamālin as Nandamāla.

The *VH* (p. 292) contains the story of Ahalyā and Vāsava (Indra). It is akin to that of the *VR* and has no relation to that of the *PCV*.

The *VR* (1. 48) narrates that Indra assumed the form of Gautama and in the absence of the latter, he committed adultery with Ahalyā, the wife of sage Gautama. When Gautama returned, he cursed Indra, as a result of which the latter's testicles got severed off and thus he

became impotent. Ahalyā was also cursed by Gautama to remain invisible for one thousand years and to return to her original form when Rāma visited the place. At 7. 30. 17f it is said that Indra becomes gloomy on being defeated by Meghavāhana (Indrajit). Then Pitāmaha (Prajāpati) reminds Indra of his previous sin and narrates the above story and further adds that he himself had created Ahalyā very beautiful to look at. Indra had thought that she would become his wife, but she was married to Gautama. At this Indra became angry and committed adultery with her. Then Gautama cursed him to the effect that he would be subdued and humiliated in the battle by his enemy. The present defeat was the result of his 'duṣkṛt'.

33. The previous birth of Śrīśaila or Hanu, or the story of Damayanta:

When Añjanā was banished by his mother-in-law, she entered a forest along with her companion Vasantamālā. There she paid homage to a muni meditating near a cave. Vasantamālā enquired of the monk about the cause of Añjanā's plight and the previous life of the unfortunate child who was still in the womb of Añjanā. Then the monk narrated the following story (17. 43-58) thereby explaining the fruits of observing penances.

Damayanta, the son of Priyanandin and Jayā of Mandarapura, on account of offering some gifts to a monk, passed through the birth of a celestial being and then was reborn as Simhacandra being the son of Priyaṅgulakṣmī and Harivāhana of Varapura. On account of his devotion to the religion, he passed through the life of a celestial being and was reborn as a son of Kanakodari and king Sukaṇṭha of Vijayārdha. He reigned Aruṇapura and in due course renounced the world under Muni Lakṣmīdhara during the tirtha of Vimalanātha. He observed penances and after passing through a celestial life, he was reborn as a child in the womb of Añjanāsundarī.

The *PCR* (17. 141-164) names Varapura as Mṛgāṅkanagara and Harivāhana as Haricandra. The *TSP* (IV. p. 172) agrees with the *PCR* and the *RPS* (ch. 9) agrees with the *PCR*, but it names Priyaṅgulakṣmī as Priyalakṣmī.

34. The previous birth of Añjanāsundarī or the story of Kanakodari:

After narrating the preceding story the monk related the following story (17. 59-70) illustrating the consequences of desecrating a Jina-idol.

Kanakodarī, the wife of Sukaṇṭha had Lakṣmī as her cowife. Once Kanakodarī out of jealousy threw away in the street a Jina-idol which was installed by her cowife. When a nun, Saṃyamaśrī delivered a discourse on the right conduct, Kanakodarī reinstalled that idol in a shrine. She observed vows and was reborn as Añjanā.

The *PCR* (17. 166-196) agrees with the *PCV*. The *PCS* (19. 7. 3) merely refers to the throwing away of the Jina-idol in her previous birth by Añjanā. The *TSP* (IV. 173) agrees with the *PCV*. The *RPS* (ch. 9) adds that the idol was not thrown out but concealed for 22 'ghaṭikās', hence Añjanā had to suffer separation from her husband for 22 years.

35. The previous birth of Bhāmaṇḍala or the story of Madhupiṅgala and Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita:

Having listened to that a celestial being was guarding the embryo (of Bhāmaṇḍala) conceived by the wife of Janaka, Śreṇika enquired as to what was the relation between the god and the embryo. Then Gautama narrated the story (26. 1-73) elucidating the consequences of kidnapping another's wife.

Madhupiṅgala, the son of a Purohita (Dhūmaketu) and Śākhāmahilā fell in love with Citrotsavā, the daughter of king Cakradhvaja of Cakrapura and Mānasasundarī. He absconded with her to Vidagdhanagara. There she was kidnapped by prince Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita. Distressed Madhupiṅgala renounced the world and was reborn as a celestial being. Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita was captured by king Anarāya (of Sāketa) on account of causing upheaval in the latter's territory. Later being pleased with his services Anarāya released him. Then Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita accepted layman's vows under a monk and when he was out to vanquish his foes, he died on the way and his soul¹ descended into the womb of Videhā, the wife of Janaka. The celestial being (Madhupiṅgala) was guarding that embryo (of Bhāmaṇḍala) to take revenge upon him. (When Bhāmaṇḍala was born, he was kidnapped by that celestial being).

The *PCR* (26. 1-119) calls Mānasasundarī as Manasvinī. The *PCS* (22. 6) merely refers to the story. The *TSP* (IV. p. 196f) mentions Madhupiṅgala as the son of Svāhā and Dhūmakeśa.

1. At that time another soul of a celestial female also descended into her womb. That was the soul of Citrotsavā who passing through some other births was reborn as a celestial being (See Story No.36). Thereafter she was born as Sītā.

Citrotsavā is named Atisundarī.¹ The *RPS* (p. 97) names Śakhāmahlā as Svāhā.

36. The previous births of Candragati along with Madhupīṅgala, Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita and Citrotsavā or the story of Vimuci, Sarasā, Atibhūti and Kayāṇa :

After having listened to the religious discourse and the cause of enlightenment of Candragati from monk Sarvabhūtaśaraṇa, Bhāmaṇḍala enquired about the cause of Candragati's affection for him. Then the monk narrated the story (30 60-77) explaining the fruits of nurturing affection for others.

Brahmin Vimuci of Dārugrāma had a son Atibhūti begot on Anukośā. Another brahmin named Kayāṇa kidnapped Sarasā, the wife of Atibhūti. Distressed Atibhūti wandered from place to place. In the meanwhile miserable Vimuci and his wife Anukośā renounced the world and were reborn as celestial beings. Atibhūti and Kayāṇa passing through various rebirths were reborn as a goose and (Madhu-) Pīṅgala respectively. The goose after passing through the life of a Kinnara was reborn as Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita. Sarasā after renouncing the world was reborn as Citrotsavā while Vimuci and Anukośā (the celestial beings) were reborn as Vidyādhara Candragati and Puṣpavatī respectively, the latter being the wife of the former. Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita was reborn as Bhāmaṇḍala who was adopted by Candragati as his son. Candragati had affection for Bhāmaṇḍala on account of their mutual relations in the previous birth.

The *PCR* (30.116-135) adds that Ūrī, the mother of Kayāṇa was reborn as Videhā, the wife of Janaka. It mentions more rebirths of the characters. The *TSP* (VI. 195) calls Vimuci as Vasubhūti. It mentions the names of the parents of Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita as Prakāśasīmha and Pravarāvalī. Atibhūti's more rebirths are mentioned. The *RPS* (p. 86) names Kayāṇa as Kapāṇa, the son of Rudra and Kūrī. Sarasā is referred to as the daughter of Vimuci. Kūrī is reborn as Videhā, the wife of Janaka.

37. The previous births of Daśaratha, Janaka and Kanaka or the story of Upāsti, Bhūri, and Upamanyu :

Having listened to the account of Bhāmaṇḍala's reunion with his

1. The translation in the *TSP* seems to be faulty. Atisundarī should be an adjective of Citrotsavā.

real parents, Sreṇika enquired about the cause of Daśaratha's prosperity. Then Gautama told that once Daśaratha was informed of his own previous birth by Sarvabhūtaśaraṇa as follows (31. 1-35).

Upāsti, a girl who was devoted to the wrong faith and was hostile to the monks, transmigrating through different existences in the form of a hell, sub human, human (as Bhadravarūṇa at Aṅgapura, etc.) and celestial being was again reborn as Nandivardhana, being the son of Prthvī and Nandighoṣa of Puṣkalāvati. Nandighoṣa renounced the world, performed penances and was reborn as a celestial being and from there as Muni Sarvabhūta. Nandivardhana transmigrating through the life of a celestial being was reborn as Sūrañjaya, the son of Vidyutlatā and Vidyādhara king Ratnamālin of Śaśipura in Aparavideha.

Bhūri of the Gandhāra country took vows and again gave them up at the advice of Purohita Upamanyu. That Purohita transmigrating through the life of an elephant was reborn as Arihasana, the son of Bhūri and Yojanagandhā. He renounced the world and became a celestial being. Bhūri'na) passing through the life of Dagakīrtidhara in the Daṇḍakāraṇya and then that of a hellish being was reborn as Ratnamālin as mentioned above. Once Ratnamālin was prevented by that celestial being (Upamanyu) from attacking the king Vajravaranayana of Sīmhapura and was told of his previous life. At this Ratnamālin and his son Sūrañjaya renounced the world.

Sūrañjaya after having performed penances became a celestial being and then was reborn as Daśaratha while Ratnamālin and the celestial being (Upamanyu) were reborn as Janaka and Kanaka respectively.

The *PCR* (31. 1-57) names Bhadravarūṇa as Dhāraṇa born at Candrapura and Bhūri as Bhūti. It mentions Bhūti (mṛga) to have been reborn as a deer in the Mandāraṇya in place of Dagakīrtidhara in the Daṇḍakāraṇya. That deer was reborn as Kliṅja in a low family and then descended to hell. It calls Arihasana as Arisūdana. The *TSP* (IV. p. 208) mentions Bhadravarūṇa as Varūṇa, born at Candrapura. Bhūri is mentioned to have first become a python who got burnt into a forest conflagration and then was reborn as Ratnamālin after passing through the life of a hellish being. Sarvabhūti is named Satyabhūti. The *RPS* (p. 95) follows the *PCR* but in place of king Bhūtimṛga there is a deer.

In the *TR* Manu Svayambhū is said to have pleased Prabhu (Bhagavāna) with his penances. He demanded a boon of

getting a son like him (tumhahi samāna suta). Accordingly Prabhu granted the boon. Manu ascended to the capital of Indra and from there he was reborn as Daśaratha and Prabhu himself as his son Rāma (*Balakāṇḍa*, 142-152). Manu's wife Śatarupā was incarnated as Kauśalyā. At another place (1.186) Kāśyapa and Aditi are mentioned to have been reborn as Daśaratha and Kauśalyā.

38. The previous births of Muni Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa or the story of Udiṭa, Mudita and Vasubhūti :

Following the eradication of the calamity caused to the monks, Kulabhūṣaṇa and Deśabhūṣaṇa on the Vamśagiri hill by a celestial being named Analaprabha, Rāma enquired about the cause of the calamity. Then the elder monk Deśabhūṣaṇa narrated the story (39.36-126) illustrating the consequences of committing murder or adultery and causing betrayal of faith.

King Vijayaparvata of Padminīnagarī once sent his envoy Amṛtasara to another country. Amṛtasara went there along with his Brahmin friend Vasubhūti. The latter had illegitimate connection with Upayogā, the wife of the envoy. He killed Amṛtasara and returned to Upayogā who advised him to kill her sons, Udiṭa and Mudita also. Vasubhūti's wife broke the news of the intrigue. Udiṭa assassinated Vasubhūti. The latter was reborn as a Mleccha. Udiṭa and Mudita renounced the world and while proceeding to the Sammeta hill lost their way in the forest. That Mleccha began to beat them, but the Senāpati (i. e. the chief of the Mlecchas) rescued them. Those monks were reborn as devas and that Mleccha passing through subhuman existences and the life of a Tāpasa became a Jyotiṣkadeva. Udiṭa and Mudita descended from the heaven and were reborn as Ratnaratha and Citraratha respectively, being the sons of king Priyavrata of Ariṣṭapura and his first queen Padmābhā. The Jyotiṣkadeva was born of his second queen, Kanakābhā as Anuddhara. Ratnaratha married a princess, Śrīprabhā. Disgruntled Anuddhara could not tolerate it. He caused upheaval in the territory of Ratnaratha. Then the latter banished Anuddhara. The latter became a Tāpasa. Ratnaratha and Citraratha renounced the world, attained heaven and were reborn as Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa, the sons of king Kṣemaṅkara of Siddhārthanagara and queen Vimalā. Once, on account of developing love unknowingly for their own sister, they became disgusted with the wordly life and renounced the world. Their father also became a monk and got reborn as Garuḍādhipati. That Tāpasa

(Vasubhūti) proceeding on his tour reached Kaumudīnagarī. There he got attracted to the beauty of the princess, therefore, the king of that city punished him. Then that Tāpasa passing through miserable rebirths was reborn as a son in an unfortunate family. His father died at an early age and his mother was abducted by a Mleccha. He again became a Tāpasa and then became a Jyotiṣkadeva, named Analaprabha. When he heard Kevalin Anantavīrya saying that Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa would attain omniscience, he created calamity to intimidate them.

The *PCR* (39.81-225) agrees with the *PCV*. The *PCS* (33) calls the Senāpati as Bhillarāja. Anuddhara's later births are not mentioned and he is directly said to have been born as Amaraketu (Analaprabha). The *TSP* (IV. p. 234) and the *RPS* (p. 112f) agree with the *PCV*.

39. The previous birth of the Mleccha Senāpati or the story of two Farmer Brothers and a Bird :

Padma (Rāma) having listened to the preceding story requested Deśabhūṣaṇa to tell him the reason that led to the rescue of the Senāpati by the two monks (Udita and Mudita) from the tortures of the Mleccha. Then the monk narrated the story (39.67-72) elucidating the fruits of saving one's life.

Two farmer brothers once purchased a bird from a fowler and saved its life. She was to be killed by the fowler for his food. That bird was reborn as the chief of the Mlecchas and those two farmers Udita and Mudita.

The *PCR* (39. 136-143) names the two brothers as Surapa and Karṣaka and not as two farmers.¹ The *PCS* (33. 1) follows the *PCR*. It mentions the Mlecchāddhipati as Bhillarāja. The *TSP* (IV. p. 334) refers to a deer in place of the bird. The *RPS* (p. 113) follows the *PCR* and the *TSP* both.

40. The previous birth of Jaṭāyu or the story of Daṇḍaka:

In the Daṇḍakāraṇya when Rāma enquired about the previous birth of the vulture (Jaṭāyu), Muni Trigupti related the story explaining (41.18-37) the consequences of executing the monks.

1. The *PCV*. 39.68 reads 'Jakkhaṭṭhāṇanivāsī, sahoṃarū karisayā do vi' while the *PCR*, 39.137 reads 'surapaḥ kārṣakaścāstāṃ yakṣasthūne sahodarau'. It is a clear evidence of artificial names adopted by Raviṣeṇa for 'sahoṃarū karisayā'—the farmer brothers of the *PCV*.

Daṇḍaka, the king of Karṇakuṇḍalanagara and husband of Maskarī once threw a dead serpent round the neck of a Śramaṇa monk who was lost in meditation. Next day the king got surprised with the fortitude of that monk who had remained all along undisturbed. He worshipped that monk. At this a mendicant (parivrājaka) developed jealousy against the monk. He disguised himself as a Śramaṇa monk and entered the harem of the king. The king lost his faith in the Śramaṇa monks and eventually got all the Śramaṇas crushed to death. One Śramaṇa monk who had escaped the execution got angry and destroyed the whole city with the fire of his anger. That place was named as Daṇḍakāraṇya and the king was reborn as a vulture (Grddha).

The *PCR* (31.54-97) gives the same account. The *PCS* (35.4) mentions Daṇḍaka as the king of Daṇḍakapura, originally a votary of Buddhism. His wife is named Durnayasvāminī. She became jealous as her husband accepted the Śramaṇa faith. She removed her valuables and threw them into a temple to charge the Śramaṇas with theft. But the king did not believe in it. Then she intrigued a false Śramaṇa monk to sit beside her. This incident enraged Daṇḍaka and he executed the monks. Daṇḍaka and his queen passed through hellish existences. Further the king wandered through several births and was reborn as the bird. The *RPS* (p. 115) mentions Karṇakuṇḍalanagara as Kāryakuṇḍala. Maskarī once charged a monk with infirmity of the flesh when he went to her for alms. Then it follows the *PCV*. The *TSP* (IV. p. 237) gives a different story. Kumbhakāraḥaṭa was the capital of Daṇḍaka. Purandarayaśā, the daughter of king Jitaśatru of Śrāvastī and queen Dhāriṇī was the wife of Daṇḍaka. Pālaka, a messenger of Daṇḍaka started corrupting Jitaśatru because he followed the Arhat-faith (Jainism). Skandaka, the son of Jitaśatru silenced Pālaka in a debate. Skandaka renounced the world and along with his five hundred pupils went to Kumbhakāraḥaṭa to enlighten his sister. Pālaka secretly planned a plot against Skandaka. He convinced Daṇḍaka that Muni Skandaka was not a monk but a hypocrite who along with his pupils had come there to kill him and to usurp his kingdom. To that effect he managed to produce some weapons alleged to be discovered from the place where the monks had stayed. Then by the order of Daṇḍaka, Pālaka crushed all the pupils of Skandaka. At this horror Skandaka made a 'nidāna' to destroy the family and the kingdom of Daṇḍaka. Skandaka also was crushed to death. He became a Vahnikumāradeva. The broom of Skandaka which was, per chance, picked up by a bird fell in the palace of his sister. She apprehended

the murder of her brother. She reviled Daṇḍaka and became a nun. Skandaka (deva) then burned Daṇḍaka, Pālaka and the people of that city to ashes. Daṇḍaka was reborn as the bird¹.

According to the VR (7. 79-81), Muni Agastya narrated the story of the Daṇḍaka forest to Rāma as follows :—

Daṇḍa, the youngest son of Ikṣvāku was a stupid fellow, hence he was granted the kingdom lying between the Vindhya and the Śevāla mountains. Daṇḍa established a capital there. It was named Madhumat. Once Daṇḍa raped Arajā, the daughter of Ṛṣi Bhārgava. Then Bhārgava cursed Daṇḍaka as a result of which Daṇḍaka, his relations and his country were burnt to ashes. After his name that region came to be known as Daṇḍakāraṇya.

About Jaṭāyu, it is said that (VR, 3.14) Kāśyapa married six daughters of Prajāpati Dakṣa. One of them namely Tamrā gave birth to Kroñci, Bhāsi, Śyenī, Dhṛtarāṣṭrī and Sukī. Sukī's daughter, Natā gave birth to Vinatā whose sons were Garuḍa and Aruṇa. Sampātī and Jaṭāyu were the sons of Aruṇa and Śyenī (probably another Śyenī) Jaṭāyu is further introduced as friend of Daśaratha.

The *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka* (V. p. 134) mentions Daṇḍakī as a powerful ruler of the kingdom of Daṇḍaka in the Vindhya region. His capital is said to be Kumbhavatī. The kingdom of Daṇḍakī was destroyed by a natural catastrophe.

41. The story of Rucirā and Pravara:

Following the previous birth story of Jaṭāyu or the story of king Daṇḍaka, Muni Sugupti who along with Trigupti was received by Rāma in the Daṇḍakāraṇya, narrated the (cause of their renouncement) story to enlighten the vulture (Jaṭāyu) (41.40-64) by illustrating the futility of the worldly bonds.

Being requested by Śrī, the wife of king Acala of Banaras, a monk named Sugupti prophesied that she would be blessed with two sons. In course of time two sons were born and they were named Trigupti and Sugupti.

Purohita Soma of Gandhāvatinagarī had two sons Suketu and Agniketu. Suketu became a Jaina monk under Anantavīrya while Agniketu became a Tāpasa at Banaras. Suketu on being equipped with the instructions given by his teacher, went to

1. This story of the TSP is found in the *Niśītha Cūrṇī*, 16. p. 1113.

enlighten his brother. He asked Angiketu to narrate the future of a certain girl who had arrived on the bank of Jāhnavī. Agniketu admitted his ignorance. Then Suketu informed him thus: 'She is Rucirā, the daughter of Pravara, a merchant. She will die after three days and will be reborn as a sheep in the house of Visāla of Kuvvaragrāma. The sheep on being killed by Visāla will be reborn as a she-buffalo and then as the daughter of Visāla, the maternal uncle of Pravara'.

Having listened to it, Agniketu got enlightened. In due course Pravara's marriage was settled with the daughter of Visāla. At that time Agniketu narrated to the girl her previous birth. She got enlightened and wanted to renounce the world. At this development Pravara instituted a case against Visāla in the court of Acala at Banaras. Then the reality was made known. The girl renounced the world. The princes, Trigupti and Sugupti also became monks under muni Anantavīrya.

The *PCR* (41.107-137) mentions Girīdevī as the wife of king Acala. Visāla is referred to as Vilāsa and Kuvvaragrāma as Jākamvaragrama. Vilāsa is called the maternal uncle of Rucirā and the daughter of Vilāsa is named as Vidhurā. One additional birth of Rucirā as a she-goat is mentioned. The *RPS* (p.117) follows the *PCR*. The *PCS* and the *TSP* do not contain this story.

42. The previous births of Hasta, Prahasta, Nala and Nila or the story of Indhana and Pallava :

Following the narration of the killing of Hasta and Prahasta by Nala and Nila in the battle, Śreṇika enquired of Gautama about the former's previous births. Gautama narrated the story (58.1-19) illustrating the consequences of following wrong faith and committing murder.

Indhana (Indhaka) and Pallava, two agriculturist brahmin brothers were votaries of the Jaina faith and used to show due respect to the monks. They were killed by other two brothers who were the followers of wrong faith. The dead ones were reborn in Harivarṣa and thereafter in the celestial abodes. The culprits after their death passed through various subhuman existences, became Tāpasas and then were reborn as Hasta and Prahasta. Those two celestial beings were reborn as laymen, observed the vows and after their death were reborn as Nala and Nila.

The *PCR* (59.1-34) contains the same story. The *RPS* (ch. 23) mentions that Indhaka and Pallava were killed by two Bhillas who

after being reborn as Tāpasas passed through the life of Jyotiṣka devas and then were reborn as Hasta and Prahasta.

43. The previous births of Viśalyā and Lakṣmaṇa or the story of Anaṅgasarā and Punarvasu :

When Lakṣmaṇa received injuries on being hurt by the 'Śakti' hurled by Rāvaṇa there happened to arrive Khecara Candramaṇḍala who suggested Rāma to procure the bath-water of Viśalyā, with which Lakṣmaṇa could be cured because he himself had been cured with it. At this news Rāma enquired about the source of the sacred bath-water. Candramaṇḍala replied that he himself had been told of it by Bharata. Bharata had come to know of it from his maternal uncle Droṇamegha when the latter's family had totally escaped while the whole country was under the peril of epidemic. Their escape was due to the efficacy of the bath-water of Viśalyā, the daughter of Droṇamegha. Bharata enquired of Muni Sarvahita the cause of the curative power of that bath-water. The Muni narrated the story to the former (63.24-70) elucidating the fruits of penances. The story runs as follows in two parts :—

(A) Anaṅgasarā, the daughter of Cakravartin Tribhuvanānanda of Puṇḍarikavijaya was abducted by king Punarvasu of Pratiṣṭhāpura. The abductor was chased and his chariot was broken down. Anaṅgasarā fell down in a forest. She performed penances for several years. Khecara Labdhisāra tried to take her to her parents, but she did not consent to his proposal because of the fear of her vows getting broken. The matter was reported to her father who duly arrived there but found that his daughter who was performing 'sallekhanā' was swallowed by a huge serpent. At this the king renounced the world. Anaṅgasarā was reborn in a celestial abode. Punarvasu died with a resolve (nidāna) to get her again, hence he after passing through the life of a celestial being was reborn as Lakṣmaṇa and Anaṅgasarā as Viśalyā. It was on account of the result of her previous penances that her bath-water proved to be a panacea for various diseases.

(B) A Merchant and a Buffalo :—On further enquiry the monk narrated the cause of the spreading of the epidemic in the whole country.

Vindhya, a merchant of Gajapura, went to Sāketapurī loading heavily one of his he-buffaloes. That buffalo fell sick, died, and was reborn as Pavanāsura-deva. Remembering the previous tortures inflicted on him by the people, that Deva had polluted the air with infectious germs.

The *PCR* (64.49-112) narrates the same stories. In the *PCS* (68. 12-13) Saudāsa is mentioned in place of Labdhisāra. He wanted to kill the python who was devouring Anaṅgasarā, but she stopped him from committing 'himsā'. Then he reported the matter to her father. The second story is dropped from the *PCS*. The *RPS* (ch. 24) adds that it was the foster mother of Viśalyā who first came to know of the effect of the bath-water of Viśalyā, on seeing that a diseased dog got cured with that water. Here Bharata and Droṇamegha both enquired from muni Sarvabhita and in the second story the Pavanāsura is mentioned as Mahiṣāsura. The *TSP* does not give a separate story. It takes up it with the previous birth-story of Rāma.

44. The story of Aridamana

Bhāmaṇḍala related this story to Vibhīṣaṇa to assuage the latter's sorrow on the death of Rāvaṇa in the battle field (74. 31-40). It illustrates how the living beings on account of delusion get too much attached to the environment they live in, however nasty it may be.

When king Aridamana, the son of Lakṣamīdhara of Akṣapūra after vanquishing his foes returned home, he found that his wife was jubilant in advance and the city was gay with decorations. On enquiry he learned that a monk had told her of his victory in advance. Aridamana verified it from the monk who had perceived it by the power of his clairvoyance. On further enquiry the monk prophesied that he (Aridamana) would die after seven days and would be reborn as a worm in his own lavatory. Aridamana went home and asked his son Prīṭīkara to destroy the worm when it was seen there. The king died and was reborn as a worm. When Prīṭīkara tried to destroy it, he found that it was running to the interior of the lavatory. On further enquiry the same monk told Prīṭīkara that one develops great attachment to the environment or the place where one is born.

The *PCR* (77. 57-70) adds that Prīṭīkara thereafter became a monk. The *RPS* (p. 160) mentions that Aridambha (Aridamana) was reborn as a boar and it fled away on seeing Prīṭīkara.

45. The previous births of Indrajit and Ghanavāhana or the story of Prathama and Paścima:

After the death of Rāvaṇa, Muni Aprameyabala arrived in Laṅkā. Indrajit and Ghanavāhana enquired about their own previous births from him. Then the Muni narrated the story (75. 60-75) to illustrate the results of penances.

Two brothers Prathama and Paścima, inhabitants of Kośāmbi became monks after listening to a religious discourse from Muni Bhavadatta. Once Paścima, on seeing the splendour of king Nandi, resolved to become his son in the next life. Accordingly he was reborn as Rativardhana, the son of that king and his queen Induvadānā. Prathama who had become a celestial being once narrated to Rativardhana, the latter's previous birth. On being enlightened Rativardhana became a monk and after his death he was reborn as a Vaimānikadeva. Then both the brothers were reborn as brother kings in Vibuddhanagara in the Vijayadeśa. After observing penances, they passing through the life of celestial beings, were reborn as Indrajit and Ghanavāhana respectively who were possessed of supernatural powers, strength and handsomeness. Induvadānā was reborn as Mandodarī.

The *PCR* (78.63-80) mentions Nandi as a Śreṣṭhin. The *RPS* (p. 161) calls Prathama as Pūrva and Bhavadatta as Śrīdhara. It was Pūrva who resolved. Nandi is mentioned as Śukradyuti, Induvadānā as Nandādevī and Vibuddhanagara as Vijayapura. The *TSP* (IV. p. 298) follows the *PCV*.

Mayopākhyana 46-50.

Following the re-union of Rāma with Sītā at Laṅkā, Gautama refers to the ascetic career of Maya. At that time on some enquiries from Śreṇika, Gautama narrates the story of Maya. This story is a mess of correlated five stories.¹ The first story of Agnilā and Kararuha illustrates the consequences of unfaithfulness of a woman. The second story of Mitrayaśā and Śrīvārdhita explains the good results of a woman having virtue. It is in this story that Maya appears. The third, the fourth and the fifth story which are the previous birth stories of the characters of the second story are narrated by Muni Maya. They illustrate the fruits of observing, vows, the consequences of uttering abusive words and the result of behaving cruelly with the animals respectively (77.67-117).

46. Agnilā and Kararuha:

A certain brahmin fled away along with his wife, Agnilā from his village Dhānyagrāma when an epidemic broke out in the

1. These stories hang loosely without properly explaining the points raised by Śreṇika.

village. Agnilā was stubborn and haughty, hence she was abandoned in a jungle by that brahmin. Per chance Kararuha, the king of Puṣpāvatiṇṇanagara courted her and made her his queen. Proud of the king's favour for her, she once kicked the head of the king. The latter enquired of his counsellors as to what punishment should be given to a person who hurls his leg at the head of a king. All were of the opinion that the person should be made bereft of his leg or sent to gallows. But Hemaṅka who apprehended the incident told that the leg of that person should be worshipped. He further requested the king to excuse his wife. By this answer the king got pleased and he favoured Hemaṅka with valuable presents (77.73-80).

The *PCR* (80.159-167) mentions Nodana as the name of the husband of Agni (Agnilā). The *RPS* (p. 161) which narrates the story at random without connecting it with the preceding narrative mentions that Nodana died in the jungle leaving behind his wife and daughter, named Vahni. In due course Vahni was married to Puṣpa, the king of Pāṭaliputra.

47. Mitrayaśā and Śrīvardhita :

Mitrayaśā, a widowed wife of Bhārgava told of Hemanka's uprise to his son, Śrīvardhita. She further praised her deceased husband's prosperity and learning before him. Being inspired by his mother Śrīvardhita went to Vyāghrapura and learned there various arts and sciences under a teacher. In due course of time Śrīvardhita absconded with Sundarā, the princess of that town. He was chased by Simhendu, the son of king Sukānta but the latter was subdued by the former. Śrīvardhita duly returned to his own town and exhibited his achievements in the presence of king Kararuha. The king got pleased with Śrīvardhita and made him the king of Poḍananagara. It so happened that after the death of Sukānta, some enemies troubled Simhendu hence he absconded along with his wife to take refuge under his sister, Sundarā. On the way he accompanied the betel-leaf-merchants. Suddenly being frightened by the thieves he fled away and unfortunately he was bitten by a snake. Then his wife carried him to Muni Maya who was sojourning outside Poḍanapura. She first touched the feet of the monk and then rubbed with her hands the body of her husband. By this process her husband got cured. Next morning Vinayadatta, a lay-votary informed Śrīvardhita of the arrival of Simhendu and his wife. Śrīvardhita then prepared himself for a fight but on being pacified by his wife, he went to pay homage to the monk and received his brother-in-law with pleasure (77. 81-98).

The *PCR* (80.168-186) mentions *Sundarā* as *Śilā*. It is said that *Simhendu* and his wife while fleeing away from their town had to carry the load of the betel-leaf-merchants. Thereafter when he was left alone during the night, he took shelter in some thickets and there he was bitten by a snake. The *RPS* (p. 162) mentions *Amogha* instead of *Bhārgava* and follows the *PCR*.

48. The previous birth of Śrīvardhita or the story of king Sumāla:

Śrīvardhita thereafter enquired of the monk about his own and his relatives' previous births. Then the monk narrated the stories as follows:—

King *Sumāla* of *Śobhapura* once went to pay homage to *Muni Bhadrācārya*. There he saw a woman suffering from leprosy and her body emitting very filthy smell. The king suddenly retraced to his home while that woman accepted vows under that monk. After her death she became a celestial being and then was reborn as *Sundarā*, the wife of *Śrīvardhita*. King *Sumāla* annointed his son and kept a few villages for himself. He followed 'Śrāvaka-dharma'. Therefore, he was reborn as a celestial being and then as *Śrīvardhita* (77.99-105).

In the *PCR* (80.189-195) *Sumāla* is named as *Amala*. He is said to have returned to his house because he could not bear the bad smell coming out from the body of that woman suffering from leprosy. The *RPS* (p. 162) mentions that the woman suffering from leprosy was the wife of king *Amala*. She was exiled by the king.

49. The previous birth of *Mitrayaśā* or The story of a hungry traveller:

A certain traveller, on not obtaining food in a certain village, expressed in anger that the whole village should get burnt to ashes. By chance the village caught fire and got destroyed. All the village people threw away that man into the burning flames of the fire. After his death, he was reborn as a cook of a king, thereafter as a hellish being and again as *Mitrayaśā*, the mother of *Śrīvardhita* (77.106-110).

The *PCR* (80.196-199) and the *RPS* (p. 162) contain the same account.

50. The previous births of Simhendu and Rativardhanā or The story of Gohāṇika and Bhujapatrā:

Govāpih (Gohāṇio) and his wife Bhujapatrā of Padmanagara after their death were reborn as Simhendu and Rativardhanā respectively, i. e. Śrīvardhita's brother-in-law and the latter's wife¹ (77.111-112) respectively.

The *PCR* (80.200-201) mentions that on account of previously torturing the donkeys etc. by heavily loading them, both were forced to bear the same drudgery of carrying the load at the time of fleeing away from Vyāghrapura. The *RPS* (p. 262) follows the *PCR*.

51. The previous births of Bharata and Tribhuvanālaṅkāra Elephant or The story of Sūryodaya (Ramaṇa) and Candrodaya (Vinoda):

Following the agitation and thereafter the automatic pacification of Tribhuvanālaṅkāra elephant, Lakṣmaṇa enquired of Muni Deśabhūṣaṇa about the cause of the disturbance of the elephant. Then the muni told that the elephant got pacified on remembering his previous life at the sight of Bharata who was associated with the elephant in his previous birth (82.17-121). The story is narrated elucidating the consequences of leading a wicked and deceitful life.

Candrodaya and Sūryodaya, the sons of Prahādanā by Suprabha gave up the discipleship of Lord Rṣabha, and became the disciples of mendicant Marīci who himself was formerly a disciple of Rṣabha. Candrodaya, after his death became king Kulaṅkara of Nāgapura in the family of Harimati and Prahādanā while Sūryodaya was reborn as Kulaṅkara's Purohita, named Śrutirata in the family of Viśvabhūti and Agnikuṇḍā. Kulaṅkara once on his way to pay homage to a Tāpasa came to see that a snake which was his own grandfather in some previous birth as forecasted by Muni Abhinandana, was hiding inside a hollow log of wood which was being burnt by that Tāpasa. At this sight Kulaṅkara wanted to become a monk but Śrutirata prevented him from giving up his hereditary Vedic faith. Śrīdāmā, the wife of Kulaṅkara who was illicitly attached to that Purohita finding her husband not renouncing the world, poisoned Kulaṅkara to death with the help of the Purohita. Kulaṅkara's soul transmigrating through the lives of a rabbit, a peacock, a snake, and an osprey was reborn as a frog.

1. The *PCV* is not clear. See the *PCR*.

Śrutirata having been reborn as an elephant trampled down the frog to death. The frog was reborn as a fish and then was reborn as a cock for three successive times. The cock was, all the three times, killed by a cat. The cat was nobody else but the elephant who got reborn as a cat for the same number of times. Then the cat and the cock were reborn as a fish and a crocodile respectively. Both of them were slaughtered by a fisherman and were reborn as two brothers Ramaṇa and Vinoda, in the family of a Brahmin at Rājagṛha. Ramaṇa once while returning home from his Vedic teacher stayed in a Yakṣagṛha. Śākhā, the wife of Vinoda entered that house to meet her paramour, Aśokadatta, there as decided before. Unfortunately Ramaṇa was caught with the suspicion of having illicit connection with her. He was seized by the policemen. Vinoda killed Ramaṇa in a hurry without knowing the truth because it all happened in the pitch-dark night. Both the brothers then passing through the lives of he-buffaloes, bears, hunters and antelopes successively werereborn as two stags. King Svayambhū took them to his house. There they felt delighted on seeing a monk who was being offered alms by the king. After their death they became celestial beings and then passing through various subhuman existences, Vinoda became a very rich merchant namely, Dhanada in Kāmpilyapura and Ramaṇa became his son, namely, Bhūṣaṇa. Bhūṣaṇa once proceeding to pay homage to the Jinas was bitten by a snake and was reborn first in the Mahendravimāna and thereafter as Jagadyuti, the son of Mādhavi and Prakāśayaśas of Candrādityapura in the Puṣkaradvīpa. From there he was reborn in Devakuru and then in the Īśāna Kalpa. Descending from there he was born as Vibhu of Dhārīnī and Cakravartin Acala of Ratnapura in the Aparavideha. Knowing his inclination towards asceticism his father forcibly wedded him to many beautiful girls, but he kept himself engaged in observing penances and after his death he was reborn in the Bramhottara Kalpa. Dhanada on the other hand after transmigrating through various births became Brahmin Mṛdumati, the son of Śakunāgnimukha and Sāvitrī at Podanapura. On account of his vagabond nature he was expelled from the house. In due course he became a famous dice-player and master of various arts. He kept two courtezans, became very rich and ameliorated the miserable conditions of his parents. Once while attempting to commit burglary in the palace, he overheard king Nandivardhana (Śrīvardhana) of Śaśāṅkanagara praising before his queen the Jina-religion and he desired to become a monk. Being thus enlightened Mṛdumati renounced the world and wandering from place to place, he reached a hill where lived a very famous monk namely Guṇanidhi who was greatly revered

by the local people. Guṇanidhi left that place. The people then took Mr̥dumati as Guṇanidhi and praised him exceedingly. But Mr̥dumati did never try to unfold the truth and stayed there practising deceit. After his death he also ascended to the Brahmottara Kalpa. From there Mr̥dumati was reborn as an elephant on account of his 'māyā' while the other celestial being was reborn as Bharata, i. e. Candrodaya or Vinoda became elephant while Sūrodaya or Ramaṇa was reborn as Bharata.

The *PCR* (85.28-173) names Harimati as Haripati and his wife Prahlādanā as Manolutā. Here Kulaṅkara and Śrutirata both are killed by Śrīdāmā and both are mentioned to have transmigrated together through the lives of rabbits, frogs, rats, (the latter two births being additions to those of the *PCV*) peacocks, snakes and stags (instead of the osprey of the *PCV*) and thereafter they were reborn as a frog and an elephant respectively. Here the frog regained life after the rainy season and then was reborn as a cock. The cock is reborn as a fish¹ and the cat as a crocodile. It mentions the names of the parents of Vinoda and Ramaṇa. Śākhā is here named as Samidhā. Vinoda is reborn as a he-buffalo while Ramaṇa as a bear (and not both as buffaloes) and thereafter as bears. After being born as hunters they are reborn as stags for one time only. Vibhu of the *PCV* is named as Abhirāma. Thereafter the story is identical with that of the *PCV*. In the *PCR* Candrodaya is reborn first as Ramaṇa and thereafter as Bharata while Sūryodaya as Vinoda and then as elephant.

The *PCS* (79.13.9) merely says that the previous births of Bharata and the elephants were narrated to Rāma, but no details are given.

The *TSP* (IV. p. 304) does not refer to the account of Marīci. It mentions Candrodaya and Sūryodaya as the sons of two different kings, Prahlādana and Suprabha. It gives the name of the mother of Kulaṅkara as Candralekhā. The grandfather of Kulaṅkara is named Kṣemaṅkara. The intervening rebirths of Kulaṅkara and Śrutirati up to their being reborn as Ramaṇa and Vinoda are dropped. (Here it follows the *PCR*). It mentions that Śākhā had addressed Ramaṇa considering him to be

1. The *PCR* has corrected the mistake of the *PCV* because Sūryodaya should remain, throughout his various rebirths, wicked and deceitful to acquire the Karma of getting reborn as an animal. This point is missed in the *PCV* at the time of describing the rebirths of a cock and a cat.

(Aśoka) Datta. Vinoda who was following Śākhā observed the incident and killed Vinoda. Here Vinoda is also killed by Śākhā. Thereafter their rebirths are not mentioned up to the stage they become Dhana and Bhūṣaṇa. It mentions Mṛdumati as a son of Agnimukha and Śakunā. It refers to only one courtesan of Mṛdumati. It has taken the theme both from the *PCV* and the *PCR*.

The *RPS* (p. 167f) does not refer to Marīci's account. It mentions Suprabha as Sūprajā, and Sūrya and Candra as his sons. Harimati is mentioned as Simbapati and his wife as Manolutā (*PCR*). Then it follows the *PCR*. But it shows acquaintance with the *PCV* when it mentions that Kulaṅkara was reborn as a crocodile and then as Vinoda. It mentions that Vinoda and Ramaṇa were reborn as two Bhillas before their being born as stags. It does not mention their rebirth as hunters, but mentions that the stags were frightened by some hunters and therefore, they were separated from the rest of the flock. It mentions only one courtesan of Mṛdumati just like the *TSP*. At one place (p.168) it mentions that Purohita Śrutarati, Brāhmaṇa Vinoda, and merchant Dhanada were the different lives of the same person (soul of elephant). It goes against the story itself narrated in it, which mentions that Kulaṅkara was reborn as Vinoda.

52. The previous births of Śatrughna and Kṛtāntavadana or The story of Acala and Aṅka :

On being requested by Śreṇika, following the narration of the calamitous epidemic in Mathurā, Gautama narrated this story to explain the cause of Śatrughna's persistent demand from Rāma for the kingdom of Mathurā (88,1-43). It illustrates the results of too much attachment to a particular thing.

Cruel Yamunādeva of Mathurā transmigrating through the lives of a boar, a crow, a he-buffalo, a worm (jalavāha), a wild-buffalo (gavalo) and then six times a buffalo became a poor brahmin named Kuliśadhara. He was devoted to the service of the monks and was handsome to look at. When Aśāṅkita, the king of Mathurā was away from the city, his wife Lalitā being enamoured of Kuliśadhara called him inside the harem to dally with him and made him sit very close to her. Incidentally the king returned and saw him there. The queen in an effort to escape the accusation betrayed that brahmin. The king then ordered his servants to mutilate his limbs. By chance a monk saved his life by initiating him into the ascetic order. Passing through the life of a celestial being after his death, he was reborn as Acala of Kanakābhā, the second wife of king Candrabhadra

of Mathurā. On being oppressed by his three stepbrothers born of Varā, the first wife of Candrabhadra, Acala fled away. While traversing the Tilaka forest a thorn pierced into his foot. Aṅka who was living there on the profession of gathering wood helped Acala by extracting the thorn from his foot. Then Acala requested Aṅka to go and meet a person named Acala if he ever heard of a person bearing that name. Acala then proceeded to Kośāmbī. There he pleased king Indradatta and Viśikhācārya with performing some feats in archery. The king married his daughter, Mitradattā to him and favoured him with the offers of a territory. He came to be known as a famous teacher of archery. After conquering Aṅga etc. he attacked Mathurā. Candrabhadra then received him with honour and made him the king of Mathurā. Once Aṅka was noticed there by Acala. The former was immediately called for by the latter and was made the king of his own birth place, Kośāmbī. In due course both of them became monks and after passing through the celestial abodes, they were reborn as Śatrughna and Kṛtāntavadana.

The *PCR* (ch. 91) mentions one more rebirth of Yamunādeva as a goat and Kuliśadhara is called Kulandhara. Candraprabha's first wife is named as Dharā who is said to have eight sons. It was Apa, the son of Kampa and Aṅgikā, who helped Acala in the forest. Apa was on account of his immodesty, expelled from his house by his father. The *TSP* (IV, p. 309f) commences the story from Brāhmaṇa Kulandhara who is called Śṛidhara. It mentions eight stepbrothers of Acala. Acala demonstrated his skill in archery at Kośāmbī before king Indradatta and his teacher Siṃha. Acala imprisoned his stepbrothers when he attacked Mathurā. The *RPS* (p. 171) mentions that an infant elephant transmigrating through the life of a man of lower and poor family was reborn as Kulandhara. King Aśaṅkita is named as Candramukha. Then it follows the *PCR*. Further it mentions that Acala had helped king Indradatta in making him immune from the effect of poison. Mitradattā is called Indradattā.

53- The story of Muni Sakalabhūṣaṇa and Kiranamaṇḍalā :

Following the preparation of a fire-pit for the ordeal of Sītā, it is narrated that Muni Sakalabhūṣaṇa who was sojourning in one of the gardens of Ayodhyā, was disturbed by Rākṣasī Vidyutvadanā to obstruct him from attaining Kevala. The following story explains the cause of that disturbance explaining the consequences of harbouring enmity. (101.54-69).

King Sakalabhūṣaṇa, the son of Śrī and Vidyādhara-king Sīmḥavikrama of Guṇjavidhānanagara, had Kiraṇamaṇḍalā as his chief queen among his eight hundred wives. She had illicit relations with Hemasīmha. First of all she was warned but next time she was expelled from the territory by the king. Thereafter the king (Sakalabhūṣaṇa) became a monk. That queen after her death became Vidyunmukhī, a Rākṣasī. She assuming various forms such as those of an elephant, the fire and the thorny-path, tried to trouble the muni but in vain. By her manipulations she charged him with theft, dacoity etc. She further created many hobgoblins, and then beautiful women to distract the muni but he did not swerve at all and in due course he attained Kevala.

The *PCR* (104.102-129) and the *RPS* (p. 184) contain the same story while the *TSP* (IV. p. 332) mentions Jayabhūṣaṇa in place of Sakalabhūṣaṇa as the son of Harivikrama.

54. The previous births of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Rāvaṇa, Sugrīva etc. or The story of Dhanadatta, Guṇamatī Vasudatta, Śrīkānta, Vṛṣadhadvja etc :

Following the fire ordeal of Sītā, her initiation and the delivering of a religious discourse by Kevalin Sakalabhūṣaṇa to Rāma, Vibhīṣaṇa enquired as to why Rāma attained such a 'Māhātmya' great prowess, why Sītā was kidnapped by Rāvaṇa, why Rāma was deluded, why Rāvaṇa was attracted to Sītā and why Rāvaṇa was killed by Lakṣmaṇa? The Kevalin narrated the following story (103.1-123) (136-152) elucidating the results of forming 'nidāna' and observing penances and to show the consequences of committing murder, harbouring enmity, censuring monks and to exemplify the fruits of affection, love and confession.

Vaṇik Sagaradatta of Kṣemapura had begot on his wife Ratnaprabhā a son, Guṇadhara and a daughter, Guṇamatī. He betrothed Guṇamatī to Dhanadatta who was the son of Nayadatta and Sunandā. But Ratnaprabhā being allured by the offer of some wealth betrothed Guṇamatī secretly to a Śreṣṭhin Śrīkānta. Brahmin (Jaṇṇavakka) Yājñavalkya broke this news to his friend Vasudatta, the younger brother of Dhanadatta. Vasudatta at once went out to kill Śrīkānta and in the following encounter both of them were killed by each other. They were reborn as antelopes in the Vindhya hills and Guṇamatī was also reborn as a doe at the same place. Both the antelopes killed each other for that doe and then wandered through the existences of boars, elephants, he-buffaloes, oxen, monkeys, stags,

Rurus (a species of deer) and many other existences of earth and water beings. Dhanadatta who had left his country on being afflicted with the sorrow of the death of his brother Vasudatta, met a monk and became a lay-devotee. After his death he became a celestial being and from there he descended as Padmaruci being the son of Śreṣṭhin Meru and Dhāriṇī of Mahāpura. Once an old and diseased bull got enlightened on hearing the Namaskāra formula from Padmaruci. The bull then was reborn as Vṛṣabhadhvaja, being the son of Śrīkānta and king Chatrachāyā of Mahāpura. He once remembering his previous birth got constructed a Jina-temple on the spot where he had died as a bull and decorated it with a painting depicting the incident of his enlightenment. Padmaruci on observing it began to pause over it. He was reported to Vṛṣabhadhvaja. Then the latter bestowed the former with prowess and prosperity. Both of them became lay-devotees and were reborn as celestial beings in Īśāna Kalpa. From there Padmaruci became Nayanānanda. After renouncing the world he became a celestial being in the Māhendra Kalpa. From there he was reborn as Śrīcanda. After having renounced the world he performed austerities. He was reborn as the Indra of Brahmaloḥa. Śreṣṭhin Śrīkānta was reborn as Svayambhū (Sambhū), being the son of Vajrakañcu and Hemavatī of Mṛṇālakunḍa (nagara). Vasudatta was reborn as Śrībhūti being the Purohita of Svayambhū. Guṇamatī after transmigrating through various births was reborn as she-elephant and then as Vegavatī, being the daughter of the Purohita. Once she laughed at a monk and being reproached by her father she became a lay-devotee. On account of her beauty she was demanded by Svayambhū and various other kings in marriage. But Śrībhūti rejected their demands, because he did not like to marry his daughter to a person who was wrong faithed. Then Svayambhū reverted to the use of force. He killed her father and raped her. Vegavatī cursed Svayambhū to the effect that she would be the cause of his death in future. Thereafter she became nun and after performing severe penances she ascended to heaven. Svayambhū transmigrating through hell and other subhuman existences was reborn as Vipra Prabhāsakunda. He became a monk, observed austerities and resolved on seeing the prosperity of a Vidyādhara king Kanakaprabha, to become a Khecara lord. He ascended to Sanatkumāra heaven and from there he was reborn as Rāvaṇa. Dhanadatta (Indra), Vasudatta (Purohita Śrībhūti), Guṇadhara (the brother of Guṇamatī), Yājñavalkya and Vṛṣabhadhvaja were reborn as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bhāmaṇḍala, Vibhīṣaṇa and Sugrīva respectively. Vegavatī was coveted by Svayambhū hence she as Sitā was kidnapped by the latter

as Rāvaṇa. Śrībhūti (Purohita) who was killed by Svayambhū was reborn as a celestial being and from there as Khecara Punarvasu¹ who died with a resolve to get a certain girl.² Svayambhū was the enemy of Śrībhūti, hence the latter as Lakṣmaṇa killed Rāvaṇa. Vegavatī had once falsely blamed Muni Sudarśana of keeping company with a woman, but ultimately she had to admit her fault to free the monk from the false charges. Therefore, she as Sītā was first censured and then she was proved to be pure and faultless on account of her confession.

The *PCR* (106. 10-184, 207-231) mentions Kṣemapura as Kṣetranagara, Yājñavalkya as Yajñavali. While describing the rebirths of Vasudatta and Śrīkānta it refers to their two more rebirths viz., as leopards and wolves in place of deer. Guṇamatī is mentioned as Guṇavatī, Vajrakañcu, Svayambhū and Vegavatī are called Vajrakambu, Śambhū and Vedavatī respectively. It mentions that the woman about whom Vedavatī spread false news was really the sister of Muni Sudarśana. She was being instructed in the religion by the muni and Vedavatī took her to have been illicitly associated with the monk. The *PCS* (84. 2-22) agrees with the *PCR*, but cuts short the story by dropping some rebirths viz. Padmaruci as Nayanānanda and a god, Śrīcandra as Indra and Śrībhūti as Prabhāsakunda. It does not refer to some animal-births of the characters.

The *RPS* (ch. 31) follows the *PCR* it mentions the name of the mother of Viṣṇubhadrahvaṇa as Śrīdattā. Here Vedavatī resolved to be reborn as Śambhū's daughter to take revenge upon him. It calls Sudarśana of the *PCR* as a nun. The *TSP* (IV p. 336) mentions Guṇamatī as Guṇavatī. It does not mention various animal-rebirths of Vasudatta and Śrīkānta. It gives here the story of Anaṅgasundarī (Viśalyā) and Punarvasu (Śrībhūti Lakṣmaṇa).³ Guṇavatī's brother, Guṇadhara is said to have been reborn as Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita⁴ and thereafter as Bhāmaṇḍala.

The *Uttarapurāṇa* and the *Mahāpurāṇa* relate different stories about the previous births of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Rāvaṇa as follows :—

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa :—Prajāpati, the king of Ratnapura had begot on his wife Guṇakāntā a son, Candracūla. He and his friend Vijaya, the son of a minister were notorious. Once when

1. See Viśalya's rebirth-story.

2. Ibid, Anaṅgasarā.

3. See the story of the previous birth of Viśalyā.

4. See the story of the previous births of Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita.

Kuberadattā, the daughter of merchant, Kubera was being betrothed to Śrīdatta, the son of Vaiśravaṇa and Goutamā, Candracūla along with Vijaya made an attempt to kidnap her. The king, on being reported by Kubera, ordered his guards to punish both of the culprits to death. The chief minister intervened and took them to the Vanagiri. There he met Muni Mahābala who predicted that the culprits would be reborn as Balabhadra and Nārāyaṇa. The minister then saved their lives by initiating them into the ascetic order. Once Muni Candracūla on seeing the prowess of Nārāyaṇa Puruṣottama resolved to have the same prowess. After their death Vijaya and Candracūla were reborn as Suvarṇacūla and Maṇicūla in the Sanatkumāra heaven. From there they descended and were reborn as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively (UP, 67.89.147). The MP (69.4-12) mentions that Śrīdatta was the son of Gautama and Vaiśravaṇa. Kuberadattā is said to have been kidnapped by Candracūla.

Sitā's previous birth:—The story of Sitā's previous birth is narrated separately. Princess Maṇimatī, the daughter of king Amitavega of Alakāpurī was performing penances on the Vijayārdha mountain. Rāvaṇa reached there and tried to seize her Vidyās (supernatural powers). She resolved to be reborn as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and to become the cause of his death in future (UP, 68.13-17). Therefore she was reborn as the daughter of Mandodarī. The MP (70.6) agrees with it.

Rāvaṇa's previous birth:—King Naradeva of Nāgapura once met Gaṇadhara Ananta and got initiated under him. On seeing the prowess of Capalavega, a Vidyādhara king, he resolved to enjoy the same prowess. After his death he was reborn in heaven and from there he descended as Daśānana being the son of Pulastya and Meghaśrī of Laṅkā (UP, 68.1-12). The MP (70.2) agrees with it.

The previous birth of Sitā in the VR:—The *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* (7.17) states that Vedavatī was the daughter of Brahmaṛṣi Kuśadhvaṇa, the son of Bṛhaspati. She was demanded in marriage by the Devas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and the Pannagas, but her father refused their proposal because he wanted to marry her to Viṣṇu. Śambhū, the lord of the Daityas got enraged by this refusal and he killed her father. Her mother also died along with her father. Then Vedavatī commenced to observe

penances for accomplishing the desire of her father. Once Rāvaṇa came there and wanted marry her. Vedavatī narrated her story and expressed her unwillingness. Rāvaṇa could not control his carnal desire, hence he forcibly seized her braid. She at once cut off her braid and entered the fire cursing him that she would be reborn as 'ayonijā', particularly to bring about his end.

The *TR* (*Bāla*, 122-139) contains stories to explain the cause of incarnation of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. They are based on the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*.

(i) It mentions that Viṣṇu was born as a human being on account of the curse of Jalandhara's wife whom he had deviated from the path of virtue. Jalandhara was reborn as Rāvaṇa.

(ii) Nārada had cursed Hari and the Gaṇas of Śiva on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Viśvamohinī, hence Hari became a human being and the Gaṇas as Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa.

(iii) It also narrates the story of Pratāpabhānu who had fed the brahmins upon animal-flesh. He was cursed by them, so he was reborn as Rāvaṇa, his brother as Kumbhakarṇa and his minister as Vibhīṣaṇa (I.153-176).

55. The previous birth of Vāli or The story of Maghadatta :

Following the account of the previous births of Rāma etc. Muni Sakalabhūṣaṇa narrated this story on enquiry from Vibhīṣaṇa (103. 129-131) to illustrate the fruits of penances.

After having transmigrated through various existences a certain living being was reborn as a deer in the Daṇḍakāraṇya. On hearing the religious words from a monk, it was reborn in the Eravatadeśa as Maghadatta, a rich son of Vihita and Śrīmatī. On account of his devotion to the Jinas and observing vows, he became a celestial being and then was reborn as Suprabha, the son of queen Ratnāvalī and king Kāntāśoka of Mattakokilarava situated near Vijayāvati in the Pūrvavideha. He renounced the world, performed penances and after his death became a celestial being and then was reborn as Vāli, the son of Ādityaraja.

The *PCR* (106.185-197) mentions Vṇḍāraṇyasthala in place of Daṇḍakāraṇya, Śivamatī for Śrīmatī, Meghadatta for Maghadatta and Ratnākini for Ratnāvalī. The *PCS* (84.22-23) and the *RPS* (p. 190) follow the *PCR*.

**56. The previous births of Lavaṇa, Aṅkuśa and Siddhārtha or
The story of Priyaṅkara, Hitaṅkara and Sudarśanā :**

Following the account of the previous births of Rāma, Sītā and Vali, Muni Sakalabhūṣaṇa narrated this story in reply of the further inquiry made by Vibhīṣaṇa (104.1-34) to illustrate the fruits of having affection for others and the results of offering gifts to the monks.

Two brahmin Vasunanda and Sunanda, the sons of Vāmadeva of Syāmalinagara on account of offering gifts to a certain monk were reborn in the Uttarakuru then as celestial beings in the Iśāna Kalpa and then as Priyaṅkara and Hitaṅkara, being the sons of Rativardhana and queen Sudarśanā at Kākandīpura. Rativardhana was approached by Vijayāvalī, the wife of his minister Sarvagupta to enjoy with her, but the king refused to transgress the laws of moral conduct. Sarvagupta suspecting her wife's infidelity set fire to the palace of Rativardhana, but the latter along with his wife and sons escaped the consequences by stealthily disappearing from the palace. He went to Banaras where Kāśyapa reigned. Sarvagupta occupied the whole territory of Rativardhana and attacked Kāśyapa. He wanted to bring the latter under his suzerainty. Rativardhana and Kāspaya having allied together subdued Sarvagupta and made him flee away into a forest. Rativardhana occupied his ancestral territory and in due course he became a monk. Vijayāvalī who had been already divorced by Sarvagupta became a Rākṣasī and disturbed Muni Rativardhana, but the monk remained calm and absorbed in meditation and he attained Kevala. Priyaṅkara and Hitaṅkara after having renounced the world were reborn in the Graiveyaka Vīmāna and descending from there they were reborn as Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa. Sudarśanā, the wife of Rativardhana after passing through various existences was reborn as Siddhārtha, the teacher of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa. Siddhārtha then made them proficient in various arts on account of his previous affection for them.

The *PCR* (108. 1-52) mentions Vāmadeva as Dāmadeva. The *PCS* (85. 1-2) drops the story of Vijayāvalī and Sarvagupta and does not narrate the rebirth of Sudarśanā. It mentions Sudeva for Sunanda, Kākandīpura for Syāmalinagara and names the wife of Vāmadeva as Syāmālī. In other details it agrees with the *PCV*. The *RPS* (p. 191) mentions Vāmadeva. The *TSP* (IV. 340) follows the *PCV*, but does not give the episodes of Sarvagupta and Rativardhana and the obstruction caused by the Rākṣasī (Vijayāvalī) to muni Rativardhana.

57. The previous births of Madhu and Kaiṭabha or the story of Śikhībhūti and Vāyubhūti :

Having completed the preceding story, Gautama refers to Sītā's rebirth as Prati-Indra in the Acyuta Vimāna. Then Śreṇika enquired if any one else had enjoyed that high position. Gautama narrates the story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha who had attained the same position and were reborn as Śāmbha and Pradyumna, the sons of Kṛṣṇa (105.17-114). The story illustrates the fruits of observing severe penances.

Two brothers Śikhībhūti and Vāyubhūti who were the sons of brahmin Somadeva and Agnīlā of Śāligrāma in the Magadha country, professed Vedic religion and boasted of their learning. They approached Muni Nandivardhana and challenged him to a debate. The monk asked them if they knew anything about their own past births. At this they were taken aback. Then the monk told them that they were jackals in their previous births and used to take flesh. He narrated their previous birth story as follows :—

Once (pāmaraka) a farmer of Vanasthaligrāma left his implements behind in the farm. Two jackals devoured them and died there. They were reborn as the sons of Somadeva i.e. Śikhībhūti and Vāyubhūti. The farmer was reborn as the son of his own daughter-in-law. On account of perceiving his previous birth, the boy was observing silence because of his embarrassment in calling his son as his father. That boy was called for on the spot and the two Brahmins got convinced of the truth. Thereafter the people started ridiculing and denouncing the Brahmin-brothers and extolled the Śramaṇa monk. At this humiliation they planned a plot and proceeded to the cemetery ground to kill the monk. But some Yakṣa caught hold of them. At the request of Somadeva they were released. Then they gave up the Vedic faith and accepted the Jaina layman's vows and after their death they were reborn as celestial beings. Thereafter they were born as Nandana and Natānanda, being the sons of Dhāriṇī and merchant, Samudradatta at Sāketa and then on account of following the 'sāgāradharma' they became celestial beings and from there they were reborn as Madhu and Kaiṭabha, being the sons of Hemaṇābha and Amarāvati of Vinītāpurī. In due course they succeeded the throne. Vīrasena of Vaḍanagara requisitioned the help of Madhu to ward off the atrocities of a hilly chief, Bhīma. When Madhu went there to subdue Bhīma, he was enamoured of the beauty of Candrābhā, the wife of Vīrasena. He returned to Sāketa and sent for Vīrasena. When Vīrasena went there his wife was kidnapped and put into his harem by Madhu. She was

made the chief queen. Distressed Virasena became a monk and was reborn as a celestial being. Once the case of a 'paradārika' or adultery was instituted in the court. Madhu sought advice of Candrābhā. She said that the adulterer should be worshipped. It was a slur on the character of the king himself. The king realised his sin and renounced the world along with his brother, Kaiṭabha. Candrābhā also accepted nunhood. After performing severe penances Madhu and Kaiṭabha ascended to the Acyuta Kalpa and became Indra and Prati-Indra respectively. Candrābhā also became a goddess.

The *PCR* (109.35-173) and the *RPS* (p. 192f) mention the name of the sons of Samudra and Dhārīṇī of Ayodhyā (Sāketa) as Pūrṇabhadra and Kaiṇanabhadra (109-130). They further mention Nyagrodhanagara for Vāḍanagara. The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (I. pp. 85-91) mentions them in their previous births as jackals; as Agnibhūti and Vāyubhūti; as celestial beings; as sons of Arhaddāsa, a merchant of Gajapura and Puṣpaśrī named as Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra; and then as Madhu and Kaiṭabha being the sons of king Viśvasena and Surupā of Gajapura. The king of Vāḍapura is named as Kanakaratha. Madhu and Kaiṭabha are said to have become Indras in the Mahāśukra Vimāna. The story agrees with that of the *PCV*. The *HVP* of Jinasena (ch. 43.99-218) contains this story which agrees with that of the *PCR* and mentions Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra as the sons of Samudradatta and Dhārīṇī of Ayodhyā. The wife of Hemanābha is mentioned to be Dharāvati. After descending from Āranācyuta Kalpa, Madhu and Kaiṭabha were reborn as Pradyumna and Śāmba, being the sons of Kṛṣṇa begot on Rukmiṇī and Jāmbavatī respectively.

In the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra (72. 1-48) their previous births in the form of jackals are not found. Agnibhūti and Vāyubhūti were defeated by a monk in a theological dispute. Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra's parents are mentioned as merchant Arhadāsa and Vapraśrī of Ayodhyā in place of Samudradatta and Dhārīṇī of the *PCV*. Madhu and Kṛṣṇa are the sons of king Arhadāsa and Kāśyapā of Hastināpura. When Madhu was enthroned, lord Kanakaratha of Amalakakaṇṭhanagara along with his wife Kanakamālā visited Madhu. At that time Kanakamālā was kidnapped by Madhu. On having once listened to a religious discourse Madhu reproached his own behaviour and repenting over his own misdeeds became a monk along with Kṛṣṇa. Both were reborn as Indras of Mahāśukra. Further they were reborn as Pradyumna and Śāmbhava, sons of Rukmiṇī and Jāmbavatī respectively. The *MP* (91. 1-6) agrees with the *UP*. It names Amalakakaṇṭhanagara (92. 5. 8-9) of the *UP* as Aparakampapura or Amarakalpapura (91. 6. 2).

In the *Mahābhārata* (12. 347) Madhu and Kaiṭabha are said to be two Mahāsuras. They steal away the Vedas from Brahmā. Brahmā requests Hari (Bhagvān) to recover them. Hari becomes Hayagrīva (horse-headed) and goes to the Rasātala. He starts singing. Hearing the sweet voice those Asuras go there. In the meanwhile Hari removes the Vedas and restores them to Brahmā. The Mahāsuras attack Hari. Hari kills them. According to the *Padmapurāṇa* (5. 37) and *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (3. 13) these Mahāsuras are said to be the embodiments of Tāmasa and Rājasa. They challenge Brahmā who is engaged in creation of Śrīṣṭi by the help of Satva. Brahmā explains the reality and sends them to Hari. There they request that when they are killed, they should be reborn as his (Hari's) sons. Hari accepts their request and kills them. In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (10. 55), Pradyumna is called as an incarnation of Kāmadeva who was previously burnt by Rudra. Pradyumna is kidnapped in his childhood by Asura Śambara and the latter is slain by the former. Here Pradyumna and Śambara are not brothers and they are also not related to Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Thus these are independent stories.

B—Stories of General Prudence

58. Yakṣadatta and Mitramatī :

While reminding Sugrīva of his duty and cautioning him to become alert on his work of tracing out Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa refers to the instance of the assistance rendered by a Yogin to Yakṣadatta. Hearing this Śrēṇika requested Gautama to narrate the story of Yakṣadatta. Then Gautama related the story (48. 12-32) illustrating as to how a timely and selfless help can avert indecent act and can bring about the union of the separated persons.

Yakṣadatta, the son of king Yakṣasena of Krauñcapura (Kuñcapura) and queen Rājilā (Rāillā), was enamoured of a certain lady. Once while proceeding to meet her he was prevented by a monk and told that she was his own mother. The monk further narrated that Bandhudatta, the merchant son of Kanaka and Dhanyā of Mṛttikāvatī married Mitramatī. Once Bandhudatta was away from the city on some trade voyage. His father became suspicious of the pregnancy of Mitramatī and exiled her. In course of time she gave birth to a son and moved away to clean her body leaving the child behind. Unfortunately the child was stolen away with the blanket covered round him by a dog and taken away to the king of that city. The child was duly brought up by the king. On the other hand Mitramatī was given shelter by some worshipper of deities (devārcika).

She lived along with him as his sister. The monk further revealed that the child was no body else but Yakṣadatta himself. Yakṣadatta went to the king and after making an enquiry about his birth got re-united with his real parents.

The *PCR* (46.34-60) and the *RPS* (ch. 22) agree with it.

59. Vinayadatta and a man mad after a Peacock :

Jāmbavat narrated this story to make Rāma drop the idea of recovering Sītā. He requested him not to become mad after Sītā when so many Khecara girls were put at his disposal to make him happy (48.63-76). It illustrates the futility of demanding a thing which is lost beyond recovery.

Brahmin Vilāsabhūti of Vennātaṭa (Venṇāyaṭa) had illegitimate connections with his friend Vinayadatta's wife. Once on being advised by her, Vilāsabhūti took Vinayadatta to a forest. The former tied the latter there to a tree and enjoyed with the latter's wife. After some time a wayfarer released Vinayadatta and accompanied him to his house. The brahmin fled away from there. By chance the peacock of the wayfarer was stolen by the prince. That wayfarer was offered in exchange another peacock, jewels and gold by Vinayadatta but the former insisted upon getting the same peacock in exchange of the help he had rendered to him. Jāmbavat further explained how foolish it was on the part of the wayfarer that he demanded a thing which was beyond recovery.

The *PCR* (48. 137-156) and the *RPS* (ch. 22) contain the same story.

60. Ātmaśreyas and the Mystic ring :

Lakṣmaṇa narrated this story in reply of the preceding story to clear of Jambūnada's (Jāmbavat) apprehensions and to convince and encourage the Khecara soldiers to fight and recover Sītā (48.77-96). It illustrates that the brave deserves the fair.

Ātmaśreyas (Appaseo) on account of his previous 'śubha' karmas enjoyed his life without doing any labour while his two elder brothers worked hard. At this extravagancy of Ātmaśreyas, his parents banished him from home. On his way as he was contemplating to commit suicide, he met an exiled prince namely, Bhānu who had obtained from his preceptor at Kusumapura a mystic ring which could cure diseases and could destroy calamities. According to a prophecy Bhānu was going to re-acquire his kingdom,

hence he gave away the ring to Ātmaśreyas. The latter returned to his home town. There he cured, with the help of the ring, the queen who was bitten by a snake. Being pleased with this performance the king of that place favoured him with great presents. Once he put the ring under a tree and went away to take his bath in a lake. A lizard (gohero-godhero) removed that ring and after entering into the 'bila' (hollow) made great noise. The people got frightened at this noise, but Ātmaśreyas uprooted the tree, killed that lizard and ultimately recovered the ring. Thus his reckless courage triumphed. Rāma, Rāvaṇa and Sītā are compared with Ātmaśreyas, the lizard and the mystic ring respectively.

The *PCR* (48.157-182) mentions no other brother of Ātmaśreyas. Bhānu is called Subhānu, the prince of Pṛthusthāna. Kūrmapura is mentioned instead of Kusumapura while Kusumapura is said to have been the town of Ātmaśreyas. The ring is mentioned to be made of iron. The *RPS* (ch. 20) follows the *PCR*. It mentions many brothers of Ātmaśreyas.

61. Giribhūti and Gobhūti:

(1) When Vibhīṣaṇa seeks refuge under Rāma, Matisāgara, one of the counsellors of Rāma apprehends some intrigue. But another counsellor Matisamudra pleads for Vibhīṣaṇa and narrates two stories to ward off the suspicion about Vibhīṣaṇa (55.34-44). They illustrate that avarice can create enmity even between brothers or sons and mother.

Two Brahmin brothers, Giribhūti and Gobhūti were once favoured with some secret presents offered by Mātī, the wife of king Sūryadeva. Neither of the brothers knew the contents of each others' gifts. Giribhūti became suspicious as well as greedy so he turned out to be an enemy of his brother, Gobhūti.

The *PCR* (55.57-59) mentions that Gobhūti killed his brother on account of avarice.

62. Ahideva and Mahideva.

(2) Ahideva and Mahideva, the sons of merchant Mahāghana and Kuruvindā, after the death of their father left Kośāmbī on a mission. In due course they returned with a costly gem. Their mother who was greedy wanted to kill them to get possession of the gem. When both the brothers knew about it, they threw away the gem into the river Yamunā. A fisherman, by chance, found it in the

river and returned it to them. The two brothers crushed it to pieces to bring an end to the cause of evil and enmity and they renounced the world.

The *PCR* (55.60-68) mentions the river by the name of Kālindī.

The *RPS* (ch.23) has mixed up both the stories into one story taking the names of the characters from the first story and the theme from the second story.

63. The battle between the sons of king Śrīṣeṇa.

The battle is merely referred to by a counsellor when king Mahendra discusses with his counsellors regarding the marriage negotiations of his daughter, Añjanā (15.19). The battle referred to illustrates that a father should be very cautious in selecting the life partner of his daughter. No other details about it are given in the *PCV*. This story is traced in the *Vasudevahinḍī* (I.p. 320f). It is as follows.

King Śrīṣeṇa of Ratnapura had two wives, Abhinandiyā and Simhanandiyā. Abhinandiyā had two sons, Indusena and Bindusena. In due course king Bala of Kauśāmbī married his daughter Śrikāntā born of Śrīmatī to Indusena. On the occasion of bidding farewell and sending his daughter to her father-in-law's house, king Bala favoured his son-in-law with a courtesan Anantamatī. She duly departed for Ratnapura along with Śrikāntā. That 'gaṇikā' was very beautiful, hence a fierce battle ensued between Indusena and Bindusena for her. King Śrīṣeṇa tried to stop the battle by various ways but in vain. He could not tolerate this sort of family-feud, hence he along with his wives committed suicide to bring an end to his grief.

CHAPTER V

ORIGIN AND GENEALOGY OF VARIOUS VARṢAS

The *PCV* after narrating the biography of Lord Rṣabha and the origin of the 'Brāhmaṇas' deals with the origin of various Varṣas and their genealogical lists. In the following lines an attempt has been made to see how far it stands in agreement or at variation with the Brahmanical tradition

The fifth chapter of the *PCV* refers to four great Varṣas (cattāri mahāvarṇasā 5.1), viz. Ikṣvāka (Ikṣvāku), Soma, Vijjāhara (Vidyādhara) and Hari. The origin of the first three is given in the same chapter while that of the fourth one is dealt with in the twenty-first chapter just before narrating the life of Munisuvratanaṭha. Two more Varṣas—Rākṣasa and Vānara are treated of in the fifth and the sixth chapter while narrating the life of Rāvaṇa.

It is mentioned in the *PCV* that the (5.3-9) Ikṣvāku, the Soma (5.10-11) and the Vidyādhara (3.144-161) Varṣas originated during the congregation of Lord Rṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. The Rākṣasa Varṣa (5.77, 122, 251) came into vogue during the era of Lord Ajita, the second Tīrthaṅkara. The Hari Varṣa (21.2-10) came into existence during the Tīrtha of Śītala, the tenth Tīrthaṅkara and the Vānara Varṣa (6.90) was established during the period intervening Śreyāṇsa and Vāsupūjya, the eleventh and the twelfth Tīrthaṅkaras respectively.

1. Ikṣvāku Varṣa :

According to the *PCV* the Ikṣvāku Varṣa originated with Ādityayaśa (Āiccasāisambhavo varṇso 5.9), the first son of Cakravartin Bharata and grandson of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Rṣabha.

The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV* and calls it as Āditya Varṣa also (5.2-10). The *HVPJ* also agrees with it (13.1-12). Hemacandra mentions Rṣabha as belonging to the Ikṣvāku line (*TSP*, vol. IV, page 182). According to the *PHV* (p. 161) Rṣabha's Varṣa was named Ikṣvāku because he desired to take sugar-cane (ikkhu)

from Indra who had gone to Nābhi when Rṣabha was one year old¹. The *AP* (19.264) states that Rṣabha² was the first person who taught his subjects how to collect the juice of sugar-cane (ikṣu) hence he was named as Ikṣvāku. According to the *MP*, Rṣabha's Vamśa was called Ikṣvāku because he was the first person who quenched the thirst and the hunger of the people with the juice of sugar-cane. The *RPS* has combined together the traditions of the *AP*, the *TSP* and the *PCR*. In the beginning (p.4) it mentions Rṣabha to have established himself as the king of the Ikṣvāku line and to have made others as the kings of the Ugra, Kuru, Nātha and the Hari Vamśas. Then he (p. 8) follows Raviṣeṇa and mentions that the Ikṣvāku, Soma, Hari and the Vidyādhara Vamśas came into existence after the death of Rṣabha.

Vimalasūri, Raviṣeṇa, Jinasena and Somasena commence the list from Bharata and stop at Mṛgāṅka. They state that after a long period of time during the congregation of twentieth Tīrthāṅkara (Munisuvratānātha), Vijaya became the king of Sāketapura in the Ikṣvāku line (*PCV*, 21.41; *PCR*, 21.56 & 73; *RPS*, 13.p.81). From Vijaya onwards, they except Jinasena resume the list of further descendants. Hemacandra omits the preceding list and starts from Vijaya only. His list also is given below.

So far as the Brahmanical sources are concerned, the *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* contain a complete genealogy of the Ikṣvāku Vamśa. But all the names supplied by these two works are not essentially the same in sequence and much less in number. The *VR* (1.70;2.110) mentions Ikṣvāku as the progenitor of this lineage (1.70.21). He is said to be a grandson of Vivasvat (the sun). After him the lineage came to be known as the Solar-race as the Puranic tradition records. According to the *VR*, Ikṣvāku is the fifth descendant in the line of Brahmā. The *Purāṇas* (*Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 9.1.11-12; *Matsya-purāṇa*, 11.1-2) also corroborate this account.

Genealogy of Ikṣvāku Vamśa:—The following is the genealogical list of Ikṣvāku kings as referred to in various Jaina & Brahmanical works:—

1. See *Sukhabodhikā Tīkā* on *Kalpasūtra*, p. 144.
2. He is said to have established the Hari, Nātha, Ugra and the Kuru Vamśas also. Puṣpadanta agrees with it in his *Māhāpurāṇa*.

JAINA WORKS

<i>PCV, 5</i>	<i>PCR, 5</i>	<i>HVP, 13.7-11</i>	<i>RPS, 2</i>
1. Uśaha	Rṣabha	Rṣabha	Rṣabha
2. Bharaha	Bharata	Bharata	Bharata
3. Āiccajaśa	Ādityayaśas	Ādityayaśas	Arkakīrti
4. Sīhajaśa	Sitayaśas	Smitayaśas	Sitakīrti
5. Balabhadda	Balāṅka	Bala	Balāṅka
6. Vasubalamahābala	Subala	Subala	Subala
...	Mahābala	Mahābala	Mahābala
...	Atibala	Atibala	Atibala
7. Amiyabala	Amṛta	Amṛtabala	Amṛta
8. Subhadda	Subhadra	Subhadra	Subhadra
9. Sāyarabhadda	Sāgara	Sāgara	Sāgarabhadda
...	Bhadra	Bhadra	...
10. Ravitea	Ravitejas	Ravitejas	Sūryakānta
11. Sasipahapabhūyateā	Śaśi	Śaśi	Śaśikānta
...	Prabhūtatejas	Prabhūtatejas	...
12. Teyassi	Tejasvin	Tejasvin	...
13. Tāvaṇa	Tapana	Tapana	...
14. Payāvi	Pratāpavat	Pratāpavat	...
.....	...	...	Pavanavīrya
15. Aivīria	Ativīrya	Ativīrya	Ativīrya
16. Mahāvīria	Suvīrya	Suvīrya	Suvīrya
17. Uīyaparakkama	Uditaparākrama	Uditaparākrama	Uditaparākrama

PCV, 5	PCR, 5	HVP, 13.7-11	RPS, 2
18. Mahindavikkama	Mahendravikkama	Mahendravikkama	Mahendravikkama
19. Sūra	Sūra	Sūra	Sūryavikkrama
20. Indrajūṇa	Indradyumna	Indradyumna	Indradyumna
21. Mahāindai	Mahendrajit	Mahendrajit	Mahendrajit
22. Pabhu	Prabhu	Prabhu	Prabhu
23. Vibhu	Vibhu	Vibhu	Vibhu
24. Aridamaṇa	Aridhvaṁsa ? (Aridhvaṁsa)	Aridhvaṁsa ? (Aridhvaṁsa)	Aridamaṇa
.....	Vitabhī	Vitabhī	...
25. Vasahakeū	Vṛṣabhadhvaja	Vṛṣabhadhvaja	Vṛṣabhadhvaja
26. Garuḍaṅka	Garuḍaṅka	Garuḍaṅka	Garuḍaṅka
27. Miyaṅka	Mṛgāṅka	Mṛgāṅka	Mṛgāṅka
(and others)	(and others)	(and others)	(and others)
PCV, 21-22	PCR, 21-22	TSP, IV p. 182-189	RPS, 13
28. Vijaa	Vijaya	Vijaya	Vijaya
...	Surendramanyu	...	Śakramanyu
29. Purandara	Purandara	Purandara	Purandara
30. Kirtidhara	Kirtidhara	Kirtidhara	Kirtidhara
31. Sukosala	Sukośala	Sukośala	Sukośala
32. Hiraṇṇagabbha	Hiraṇyagarbha	Hiraṇyagarbha	Hiraṇyaruṇi
33. Naghuṣa	Naghuṣa	Naghuṣa	Naghuṣa
34. Sodāsa	Saudāsa	Saudāsa	Saudāsa
35. Siṅharaha	Siṃharatha	Siṃharatha	Siṃharatha
36. Bāmbharaha	Brahmaratha	Brahmaratha	Brahmaratha

<i>PCV, 21-22</i>	<i>PCR, 21-22</i>	<i>TPS, IV. p. 182-189</i>	<i>RPS, 13</i>
37. Caumuha	Caturvaktra	Caturmukha	Caturvaktra
38. Hemaraha	Hemaratha	Hemaratha	Hemaratha
39. Jasaraha	...	...	...
40. Paumaraha	...	...	...
41. Mayaraha	...	...	...
...	Śataratha	Śataratha	Śataratha
...	Prithu	Udayapṛthu	Udayapṛthu
...	Aja	...	Aja
...	Payoratha	Vāriratha	Payoratha
...	Indraratha	...	Indraratha
42. Sasiraha	...	Induratha	...
43. Raviraha	Dinānātharatha	Ādiyaratha	Suryaratha
44. Mandhāa	Mādhātṛ	Mādhātṛ	Mādhātṛ
45. Udayaraha	...	...	...
46. Naravasaha	...	...	...
47. Virasuseṇa	Virasena	Virasena	Virasena
48. Paḍivayapa	Pratimanyu	Pratimanyu	Pratimanyu
49. Kamalabandhu	Kamalabandhu	Pratibandhu	Kamalabandhu
50. Ravisattu	Ravimanyu	Ravimanyu	Ravimanyu
51. Vasantatilāa	Vasantatilaka	Vasantatilaka	Vasantatilaka
52. Kuberadatta	Kuberadatta	Kuberadatta	Kuberadatta
53. Kunthu	Kunthubhakti	Kunthu	Kunthabhakta
54. Saraha	Śarabharatha	Śarabha	Śarabharatha
55. Viraha	Dviradaratha	Dvirada	Dviradaratha

<i>PCV, 21-22</i>	<i>PCR, 21-22</i>	<i>TSP, IV. p. 182-189</i>	<i>RPS, 13</i>
56. Rahanigghosa			
57. Mayāridamaṇa	Mṛgeśadamaṇa	Simhadamaṇa	Simhadamaṇa
58. Hiraṇṇanābha	Hiraṇṇakaśipu	Hiraṇṇakaśipu	Hiraṇṇakaśipu
59. Puñjathala	Puñjasthala	Puñjasthala	Puñjasthala
60. Kakuha	Kakutstha	Kakutstha	Kakutstha
61. Raghusa	Raghu	Raghu	Raghu
62. Aṇaraṇṇa	Anaraṇṇa	Anaraṇṇa	Anaraṇṇa
63. Daśaraha	Daśaratha	Daśaratha	Daśaratha
64. Rāma	Rāma	Rāma	Rāma
(Pauma)	(Padma)	(Padma)	(Padma)

BRAHMANICAL WORKS

<i>VR, 1. 70 & 2. 110</i>	<i>Bhāg. Pu, 9. 1-10</i>	<i>VR, 1.70 & 2.110</i>	<i>Bhāg. Pu, 9. 1-10</i>
Brahmā	Svayambhu	7. Trīśaṅku	Candra
Marici	Marici	8. Dhundhumāra	Yuvanāśva I
Kāśyapa	Kāśyapa	9. Yuvanāśva	Śabasta (Śrāvasta)
Vivasvat	Vivasvat	10. Mādhātṛ	Brhadāśva
Manu	Manu	11. Susandhi	Kuvalayāśva or Dhundhumāra
1. Ikṣvāku	Ikṣvāku	12. Dhruvasandhi	Dṛḍhāśva
2. Kuṣi	Vikuṣi	13. Bharata	Hāryāśva I
3. Vikukṣi	Purañjaya or Kakutstha	14. Asita	Nikumbha
4. Bāṇa	Anenā	15. Sagara	Barhaṇāśva
5. Anaraṇṇa	Pṛthu	16. Asamañjaśa	Kṛśāśva
6. Pṛthu	Viśvarandhi		

VR, 1.70 & 2.110	Bhāg, Pu, 9.1-10	VR, 1.70 & 2.110	Bhāg, Pu, 9.1-10
17. Amśumat	Senajit	38.	Amśumat
18. Dilpa	Yuvanāśva II	39.	Dilpa I
19. Bhagīratha	Trasaddasyu I or Mādhātā	40.	Bhagīratha
20. Kakutsha	Purukutsa	41.	Śruta
21. Raghu	Trasaddasyu II	42.	Nābha
22. Kalmāṣapāda or Saudāsa	Anarāya	43.	Sindhuvīpa
23. Saṅkhaṇa	Haryāśva II	44.	Ayutāyu
24. Sudarśana	Aruṇa	45.	Ruparṇa
25. Agnivarṇa	Tribandhana	46.	Sarvakāma
26. Śrīghraga	Satyavrata	47.	Sudāsa or Mitrāsaha or
27. Maru	Hariscandra	48.	Kalmāṣ (aṅghri) apāda
28. Prāsūsruka	Rohita	49.	Āsmaka
29. Ambarīṣa	Harita	50.	Mūlaka
30. Nahuṣa	Campa	51.	Daśaratha I
31. Yayāti	Sudeva	52.	Eḍavida (Alivila)
32. Nābhāga	Vijaya	53.	Viśvasaha
33. Aja	Bharuka	54.	(Dilpa II) ¹ Khatvāṅga
34. Daśaratha	Vṛka	55.	Dirghabāhu ²
35. Rāma	Bāhuka	56.	Raghu
36.	Sagara	57.	Aja
37.	Asamarījasa	58.	Daśaratha
			Rāma

1. Khatvāṅga as Dilpa (*Puranic Chronology*, p. 349-D. R. Mankad).

2. Ibid, p. 350; Dirghabāhu is taken as an adjective of Raghu (see *Harivamśapurāṇa* 15.25).

The following is a consolidated picture of relative positions of those kings who are identical in the *PCV*, the *VR* and the *Purāṇas*:—

<i>PCV</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>Purāṇas</i>
2. Bharaha	13. Bharata	
28. Vijaya,	...	32. Vijaya
33. Naghusa	30. Nahuṣa	
34. Sodāsa	22. Saudāsa	47. Sudāsa.
44. Māndhātā	10. Māndhātā	19. Māndhātā.
60. Kakuha	20. Kakutstha.	3. Kakutstha.
61. Raghusa	21. Raghu.	55. Raghu.
62. Anaraṇya	5. Anaraṇya.	22. Anaraṇya.
63. Daśaraha	34. Daśaratha.	57. Daśaratha.
64. Rāma	35. Rāma.	58 Rāma.

A comparison of the genealogical lists as found in the *PCV* and the *VR* shows that in all eight persens—Bharata, Naghuṣa, Saudāsa, Māndhātā, Kakutstha, Raghu, Anaraṇya and Daśaratha are common though their places in the line differ. While there are only seven persons in the *PCV*, who find mention in the Puranic list also. They are Vijaya, Saudāsa, Māndhātā, Kakutstha, Raghu, Anaraṇya and Daśaratha. Hiranyanābha of the *PCV* is found in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (18 25) and the *Purāṇas* (*Bhāg*, 9.12 3). But he is mentioned to have been born after some generations in the line of Rāma and not as an ancestor of Rāma as found in the *PCV*. The relative places of these seven kings mentioned in the *PCV* differ from those of the Puranic list also. There are only six kings who are common to all the three lists. They are Saudāsa, Māndhātā, Kakutstha, Raghu, Anaraṇya and Daśaratha.

According to the *PCV*, Kakutstha appears some generations after Māndhātā. This sequence agrees with the *VR* though the exact place in the line does not agree. In the Puranic list Māndhātā is mentioned some generations after Kakutstha. The *PCV* and the *VR* refer to Raghu as the son of Kakutstha but in the Puranic list Raghu is a descendant of Kakutstha after many generations. If we start from Vijaya then the place of Rāma as found in the *PCV* comes to be thirty-seventh which is nearer to the *VR*, but the total number of descendants from Rṣabha to Rāma as found in the *PCV* are 64. In the Puranic list the number is 58 from Ikṣvāku to Rāma. In this respect the *PCV*'s list is nearer to that of the Puranic one. Moreover Vijaya is mentioned in the Puranic list, his place being thirty-second and mark, how close it is to his place in the *PCV*

which is 28th. On the whole Nos. 44, 60, 61 and 62 of the *PCV* can be compared in the same order with No. 19 of the *Purāṇas*, 20 & 21 of the *VR* and again 22 of the *Purāṇas* as given in the above consolidated list.

Now we compare the list of the *PCV* with the lists of other Jaina works so as to find out how far they are identical. In all there are 27 kings from Rṣabha to Mṛgāṅka in the *PCV*. Vasubalamahābala should be taken as two persons then the total number comes to $27+1=28$. The *PCR* mentions 32 kings and the *HVPs* agrees with the *PCR*. Out of them Prabhūtatejas and Vītabhī should be taken as adjectives, and 'Sāgara' and 'Bhadra' should be taken as the parts of one name as Sāgarabhadra. Thus the total number comes to $32-2=30$. Out of them 27 names agree with those of the *PCV*. Sitayaśas of the *PCR* is mentioned as Sīhajasa in the *PCV* and as Smitayaśas in the *HVPs*. Atibala is the only name in the *PCR* which does not find mention in the *PCV*. If Atibala and Amṛta of the *PCR* are taken together as one person i. e. Atibala-amṛta then the person becomes identical with Amiyabala of the *PCV*. Thus the *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. Bh. Somasena agrees with the *PCR* except that he mentions Pavanavīrya additionally and does not refer to Tejasvin, Tāpana and Pratāpavat. The name of Amṛtabala (9) in the *HVPs* indicates the influence of the *PCV* on the *HVPs*.

Now we take up the ancestors of Rāma from Vijaya to Daśaratha. Commencing from Vijaya, Rāma's place is 37th, 36th, 34th and 36th, in the *PCV*, *PCS*, *TSP* and *RPS* respectively. Naravasaha (46) of the *PCV* may be dropped as an adjective. In all 29 names of the *PCV* (excluding nos. 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 55 & 56) agree with those of the *PCR* and the *TSP*. In the latter work No. 49 does not agree but that loss is replaced by No. 42—Induratha who, is just identical with Śaśiratha of the *PCV*. In all 33 names of the *TSP* are identical with those of the *PCR*. The additional four kings, viz. Śataratha, Udayapṛthu, Vārinātha and Dvirada are taken by the *TSP* from the *PCR* because they are not mentioned in the *PCV*. So it may be concluded that Hemacandra has followed both the *PCV* and the *PCR* while it is quite apparent that Bh. Somasena completely agrees with Raviṣeṇa and he is influenced by Hemacandra's *TSP* (See Udayapṛthu between Nos. 41, 42 and 57 also) as well as the *PCV* (See No. 9 & 24). The *PCR* additionally mentions Aja and Pṛthu who find place in the Brahmanical tradition.

(2) **Soma Vamśa**

About its origin it is said in the *PCV* that it came to be known as Soma Vamśa after the name of Somaprabha who was the son of Bāhubali. Bāhubali was the son of Rṣabha and the younger brother of Bharata (5.10). The *VH* (p. 164) mentions Somaprabha in the same relation. The *PCR* (5.11), the *RPS* (p. 8) and the *HVPJ* (13.16) agree with the *PCV*. It is called Śaśi Vamśa also (*PCV*, 5.13).

According to the Brahmanical tradition Candramas, the grandson of Brahmā and son of Atri (a Prajāpati) once kidnapped Tārā, the wife of Brhaspati, the Preceptor of the Devas and begot a son on her. Then there issued a battle between the two parties, one assisted by the Asuras and the other by the Devas. Brahmā intervened and stopped the battle and restored Tārā to Brhaspati. Her son begot by Candramas was named Budha. Then from his (Budha) procreator's (Candramas) name the line came to be known as Soma or Candra Vamśa (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, 4.6.5f; *Bhāgavatpurāṇa*, 9.14.1-14). Thus according to both the traditions, Soma Vamśa originates with the grandson of the first Yuga-puruṣa (the first Tirthaṅkara in the case of the Jaina tradition and the creator, Brahmā in the case of the Brahmanical tradition).

The details of its genealogy are lacking in the *PCV*.

(3) **Vidyādhara Vamśa**

According to the *PCV*, Rṣabha after distributing his kingdom among his sons, becomes a monk. Nami and Vinami approach him for their share in the kingdom. At that time Dharaṇendra, the lord of the Nāgas (Nāgarāya) establishes Nami and Vinami as the first kings of the southern and the northern parts of the Vijayārdha mouniaṇ, Rathanūpuracakravālapura and Gaganavallabhapura being their respective capitals (3. 144-152). On the same occasion Dharaṇendra confers on them many Vidyās (superhuman powers or lores). On account of their hold on those Vidyās they are known as Vidyādharas (*Vijjāharāṇa vijjāe* 6. 88). They are also called Khecaras (5. 257) because they fared in the sky by the power of their Vidyās.

The *Vasudevahinḍī* agrees with the *PCV* and further tells us that Nami and Vinami were (sambandhikumāras) some relatives of Rṣabha. It also mentions that the Vidyās conferred on them were helpful in soaring them in the sky (gaganagamana joggāo vijjāo p. 163). The *PCR* agrees with the *PCV*. It adds that Dharaṇendra assumed the form of the Jina (Rṣabha) and then favoured them with kingdoms and Vidyās (3. 308). The *HVPJ* also mentions that Nami and Vinami

established Vidyādhara vamśa (9. 128-134). Svayambhu mentions Nami and Vinami as the sons of Kaccha and Mahākaccha (*PCS*, 2. 13. 7). Hemacandra agrees with Svayambhu in this respect (*TSP*, I. p. 170f). The *RPS* also refers to Nami as the first lord of the Vidyādhara Vamśa. It further mentions that Kaccha and Mahākaccha were father-in-laws of Rṣabha (p. 4). Thus Nami and Vinami become the brother-in-laws of Rṣabha. But the *Sukhabodhikā Tika* (p. 148) on the *Kalpasūtra* informs us that Kaccha and Mahākaccha had filial (putratayā) relation with Rṣabha.

In the *VR* there is no information about the origin and the genealogy of the Vidyādharas. However there are stray references to them. They are mentioned as superhuman beings along with the Nāgas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Devas, Asuras, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Uragas, Siddhas, Patatris, Dānavas, Bhujaṅgas, Pannagas, Rkṣas and the Cāraṇas at different places.¹

A comparison of the genealogical tables given below shows that they are generally identical except that Raviṣeṇa has made alteration in some of the names of the *PCV* and added some new kings. Similarly Somasena has also altered some of the names of the *PCR*. He has added only one name more to the list of the *PCR*, i. e. Vajrajaṅgha between the fifth and the sixth king. However he has closed the list at Mrgavarman whose place is fortieth in his own list.

The *PCV* has given the names of 66 descendants while the *PCR* mentions 73. The name of Vaidyuta between 28th and 29th names of the *PCV* is additional in the *PCR*. Further the *PCR* gives eight more names between Āyudha and Raktoṣṭha, i. e. 48th and 49th of the *PCV*. Thus his total number comes to 66+9=75. But it has not mentioned Naravarindu (57) and Caucūḍa (61) of the *PCV*. Hence according to the *PCR* the total number is 75 - 2=73.

The names Vajradhara and Vajrasundara i. e. 15th and 19th in the *RPS* are identical with those of the *PCV* and not with those of the *PCR* which names them as Vajrabhṛt and Vajrasamjñaka respectively. Further Vajrapāṇi follows Vajrāsya in the *PCV* and the *RPS*; and unlike the *PCR*, it shows the direct influence of the *PCV* or through the *HVPJ* on the *RPS*. The name of Vajrasundara (18) and the place of Vajrapāṇi (20) in the *HVPJ* indicate that Jinasenāsūri seems to have consulted the *PCV*.

A comparative genealogy of the Vidyādhara king as found in the various Jaina works may be arranged in three groups as follows:— kings referred to in the (A) *PCV*, *PCR*, *HVP* and *RPS*, (B) *PCV*, *PCR* and *RPS*; and (C) *PCV* and *PCR*.

1. *VR*, 1. 17 ; 4.67.45 ; 5.51.40 ; 6. 61.10 ; 7. 26.8.

(A)	PCV, 5. 14-46	PCR, 5. 16-54	HVP, 13. 20-24	RPS, p. 8 & 13
1.	Nami (3. 152)	Nami	Nami	Nami
2.	Rayanamālin	Ratnamālin	Ratnamālin	Ratnamālin
3.	Rayanavajja	Ratnavajra	Ratnavajra	Ratnavajra
4.	Rayanaraha	Ratnaratha	Ratnaratha	Mapiratha
5.	Rayanacitta	Ratnacitra	Ratnacihna	Ratnacitra
	...	...	...	Vajrajaṇagha
6.	Candaraha	Candararatha	Candararatha	Candararatha
7.	Vajja (Saigh) jangha	Vajrasaṅgha	Vajrajaṅgha	Vajrasaṅgha
8.	Seṇa	Vajrasena	Vajrasena	Vajrasena
9.	Vajjadatta	Vajradatṭha	Vajradatṭha	Vajradatṭha
10.	Vajjaddhaa	Vajradhvaja	Vajradhvaja	Vajradhvaja
11.	Vajjauha	Vajrayudha	Vajrayudha	Vajrayudha
12.	Vajja	Vajra	Vajra	Vajra
13.	Suvajja	Suvajra	Suvajra	Suvajra
14.	Vajjandhara	Vajrabhṛt	Vajrabhṛt	Vajradhara
15.	Vajjābha	Vajrābha	Vajrābha	Vajrābha
16.	Vajrabāhu	Vajrabāhu	Vajrabāhu	Vajrabāhu
17.	Vajjāṅka	Vajraṅka	Vajraṅka	Vajraṅka
18.	Vajjasundara	Vajrasamjāṇka	Vajrasundara	Vajrasundara
19.	Vajjāsa	Vajrāsa	Vajrāsa	Vajrāsa
20.	Vajjapāṇi	Vajrapāṇi	Vajrapāṇi	Vajrapāṇi
21.	Vajjasujanhu	Vajrabhānu	Vajrabhānu	Vajrabhāna
22.	Vajja	Vajravat	Vajravat	Vajravat
23.	Vijjumukha	Vidyumukha	Vidyumukha	Vidyumukha

<i>PCV, 5.14-46</i>	<i>PCR, 5.16-54</i>	<i>HVP, 13.20-24</i>	<i>RPS, p. 8 & 13</i>
24. Suvayaṇa	Suvakra	Suvakra	Suvakra
25. Vijjudatta	Vidyudamṣṭra	Vidyudamṣṭra	Vidyuddamṣṭra
26. Vijju	Vidyudvat	Vidyudvat	Vidyudvat
27. Vijjutea	Vidyudābha	Vidyudābha	Vidyudābha
28. Taḍivea	Vidyudvega	Vidyudvega	Vidyudvega
...	Vaidyuta	Vaidyuta	Vaidyuta
29. Vijjudāḍha	Vidyuddamṣṭra (Vidyuddrḍha)	(And others)	Vidyuddrḍha
30. Daḍharaha	Drḍharatha		Drḍharatha
(B) <i>PCV, 5.14-46</i>	<i>PCR, 5.16-54</i>		<i>RPS, 1.8</i>
31. Āsadhamma	Āśadharmā		Rathāśva
32. Assāyara	Āśāyu		Āyudhavāhana
33. Āsaddhaa	Āśadhvaṇa		Āśvadhvaṇa
34. Paumaniha	Padmanabha		Padmaprabha
35. Paumamāli	Padmamālī		Padmamālī
36. Paumaraha	Padmaratha		Padmaratha
37. Sihavāha	Sirihayāna		Sirihayāna
38. Mayadhamma	Mṛgavarman (Mṛgadharma ?)		Mṛgavarman
39. Mehasiha	Meghāra		(And others)

(C) PCV, 5. 14-46	PCR 5. 16-54	PCV, 5.14-46	PCR, 5.16-54
40. Sambhūa	Simhasaprabhu	50. Haricanda	Haricandra
41. Sīhaddhaa	Simhaketu	51. Puracanda	Pumścandra
42. Sasaṅka	Śaśaṅkāśya	52. Puṇṇacanda	Pūṇṇacandrama
43. Candaṅka	Candrahva	53. Valinda	Balendu
44. Candasaṅhara	Candraśekhara	54. Candacūḍa	Candramaścūḍa
45. Indaraha	Indraratha	55. Gayapindu	Vyomendu
46. Candaraha	Candraraṭha	56. Durāṇaṇa	Uḍupātana
47. Sasaṅkadhamma	Cakradharma	57. Naravarindu	...
48. Āuha	Āyudha.	58. Egacūḍa	Ekacūḍa
...	Cakradhvaja	59. Docūḍa	Dvicūḍa
...	Maṇigriva	60. Ticūḍa	Tricūḍa
...	Maṇyaṅka	61. Caucūḍa	...
...	Maṇibhāsura	62. Vajjacūḍa	Vajracūḍa
...	Maṇisyandana	63. Bahucūḍa	Bhūricūḍa
...	Maṇyāśya	64. Sīhacūḍa	Arkacūḍaka
...	Bimboṣṭha	65. Jalapaṇaḍi	Vahnijatin
...	Lavitāḍhara	66. Akkatea	Vahnitejas
49. Rattaṭṭha	Raktoṣṭha	(And others)	(And others)
(Rattotṭha ?)			

4. Rākṣasa Varṁśa :

According to the *PCV*, the Rākṣasa Varṁśa is a branch of the Vidyādhara Varṁśa. It is said to have originated during the congregation of Ajitanātha, the second Tīrthanāra.

Sahasranayana, the prince of Gaganavallabhapura (northern Vijayārdha mountain) once attacked Meghavāhana, called Ghanavāhana also, the prince of Rathanūpura (southern Vijayārdha, mountain) on the issue of the marriage of the former's sister. Meghavāhana then fled away and took shelter under Ajitanātha, the second Tīrthanāra (5.64-77). On that occasion Bhīma, the lord of demons (Rakkhasavaiṇā Bhīmeṇaṁ 5.123-132) made Meghavāhana first lord of Laṅkāpurī and Pātālaṅkārapura. Laṅkāpurī is said to have been situated in the valley of Trikūṭaśikhara which stood in the middle of the Rākṣasadvīpa. Further it is said that after the name of Rakkhasa (5.251), a descendant of Meghavāhana, his Varṁśa came to be known as Rakkhasa Varṁśa (tassaya nāmeṇaṁ imo, Rakkhasavarṁso yayammi vikkhāo 5.252).

The author of the *PCV* remarks that originally they were Vidyādharas but as they protected the Rakkhasaddiva hence they were called Rakkhasas. They were neither the devas nor the demons (43.14). The Rākṣasas are also called as Khecaras (Khayarāṇaṁ Rakkhasanāmaṁ kayāṁ loe 5.257) also.

The *PCR*¹ completely agrees with the *PCV*. The *PCS*² mentions Toyadavāhana in place of Meghavāhana. The *RPS*³ follows the *PCR*. The *TSP*⁴ of Hemacandra agrees with the *PCV*.

According to the *VH* (p.240), Rāvaṇa was born in the line of Vidyādhara Sahasragrīva. His brothers developed hostility with him, hence he established his kingdom in the Laṅkādvīpa. The *UP* (68.8-9) mentions Vidyādhara Sahasragrīva, a descendant of Vinami as the first lord of Laṅkāpura. He fled away to Laṅkāpura on being expelled by his nephew (brother's son) from Meghakūṭapura, situated on the southern Vijayārdha mountain. The *MP* (70.2) agrees with the *UP*.

According to the *VR* when Prajāpati created the water, he created living beings also for the protection of the water. These living

1. *PCR*, 5.76-93, 149-165, 378-386; 48.33.

2. *PCS*, 5.6-8; 6.1.

3. *RPS*, Ch. 3, p. 16.

4. *IV*, p. 107; *II* p.p. 158, 165.

beings who were suffering from hunger and thirst ran to the Prajāpati and asked him as to what they should do. Prajāpati instructed them to protect the water. Some of them said "We protect (rakṣāmaḥ)" while the others said "We worship (Yakṣāmaḥ)". Thus the former were called Rākṣasas and the latter as Yākṣas (Rakṣāma iti yairuktaṁ Rākṣasāste bhavantu vaḥ/Yakṣāma iti yairuktaṁ Yakṣa eva bhavantu vaḥ 7.4.13).

According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* those creatures ran towards Brahmā to devour him. At that time some of them said "Do not do like that, he should be protected". Those who told like that were called Rākṣasas (Maivān bho rakṣyatāmeṣa yairuktaṁ Rākṣasāstu te —1.5.43, See *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, 3.20.21).

The *VR* mentions Heti and Praheti as the first lords of the Rākṣasas (7.4.14). Heti's son was Vidyutkeśa. Vidyutkeśa's son was Sukeśa who was favoured with a 'Puramākāśagam' or 'Khagampuram' (7.4.32) by Śiva. Sukeśa is further referred to as resembling the lustre of clouds and making noise like the thundering clouds (ghanagarbhasamaprabham and ghanasābdasamasvanḥ 7.4.23-25).

Further it is said that Sukeśa's sons namely, Mālyavat, Sumālin and Mālin, on account of their penance, were favoured with Laṅkānagarī as their permanent abode by Viśvakarman (7.6.25). Thus we find that Heti and Praheti were the first Rākṣasa lords. Heti's grandson Sukeśa was favoured with a connivance to fare in the sky and his sons occupied Laṅkāpurī. Laṅkāpurī is called Khepurī (6.38.10). It indicates that the inhabitants of Laṅkāpurī were the Khecaras. Compare the adjectives of Sukeśa with the name Meghavāhana or Ghanavāhana of the *PCV* (5.77,133).

Thus according to the *PCV* and the *VR*, they came to be known as Rākṣasas on account of their duty of protection. Both the works call them Khecaras and mention Laṅkāpurī as their first capital. But about their ancestral history, the Jaina and the Brahminical traditions differ.

The following is the genealogical list of the Rākṣasa kings as found in various Jaina and Brahmanical works :

<i>PCV, 5.65-270</i>	<i>PCR, 5.77-404</i>	<i>PCS, 6</i>	<i>RPS, 3</i>
Pūṇṇaghana (5.65)	Pūṇṇaghana (5.77)	Meghavāhana (5.6)	Pūṇṇacandra
1. Meghavāhana (5.137)	Toyadavāhana (5.87)	Toyadavāhana (Ghana- vāhana 5.8)	Meghavāhana
(Ghaṇavāhana 5.77)			
2. Mahārakkhasa (5.139)	Mahārakṣas (5.183)	Mahārakṣas	Mahārakṣas
3. Devarakkhasa (5.166)	Devarakṣas (5.361)	Devarakṣas	Devarakṣas
...	...	...	Mahārakṣas
4. Rakṣhasa (sua ?)	Rakṣasa (5.378)	Rakṣas	Rakṣasa
(5.251)	...	...	...
5. Aiccagai	Ādityagati	Āditya	...
6. Bhīmaraha	Bhīmaprabha	Ādityarakṣas	Sūryagati
7. Pūyāraha	Pūjārha	Bhīmaprabha	Bhīmaprabha
8. Jiyabhāṇu	Jitabhāskara	Pūjārha	Pūjārha
9. Saṃparikīrti	Samparikīrti	Jitabhāskara	Jitasūrya
10. Suggīva	Sugrīva	Samparikīrti	...
11. Hariggīva	Harigrīva	Sugrīva	Sugrīva
12. Sirīgīva	Śrīgīva	Harigrīva	Harigrīva
13. Sumukha	Sumukha	Śrīgīva	Śrīgīva
14. Suvvanta	Suvyakta	Sumukha	Sumukha
15. Amiyavega	Amṛtavega	Suvyakta	Suvyakta
16. Āiccagai	Bhānugati	Mṛgavega	Amṛtavega
...	...	Bhānugati	Bhānugati
...	Indra	...	Chintāgati
...	...	Indra	Indra
		...	Sūra

PCV, 5. 65-270	PCR, 5.77-404	PCŚ. 6	RPS. 3
17. Indraprabha	Indraprabha	Indraprabha	...
18. Indameha	Megha	Megha	Megha
19. Mayāridamapa	Mīgāridamana	Simhavadana	Simhadatta
20. Pahia	Pavi	Pavi	Vajradanta
21. Indai	Indrajit	Indraviṭu	Indrajit
22. Subhāpudhamma	Bhānuvarman	Bhānudharmā	Bhānuvarman
...	Bhānu	Bhānu	Bhānu
23. Surāri	Surāri	Surāri	Surāri
24. Tijaḍa	Trijaṭa	Trijaṭa	Trijaṭin
...	Bhīma	Bhīma	Bhīma
...	...	Mahābhīma	...
25. Mahāṇa (Mohana ?)	Mohana	Mohana	Mohana
26. Aṅārāa	U(dddha)dvāraka	Aṅāraka	Uddhāraka
27. Ravi	Ravi	Ravi	Ravi
28. Cakkāra	Cakkāra	Cakkāra	...
29. Vajjamaḷḷha	Vajramadhya	Vajrodara	Vajramadhya
30. Pamoya	Pramoda	Pramoda	Pramoda
31. Sihavāhaṇa	Simhavigrama	Simhavigrama	Simhavigrama
32. Sūra	Cāmuṇḍa	Cāmuṇḍa	Cāmuṇḍa
33. Cāuṇḍarāvaṇa	Māraṇa	Ghātaka	Māraṇa
34. Bhīma	Bhīṣma	Bhīṣma	Bhīṣma
35. Bhayavāha (Ibhavāha ?)	Dvipavāha	Dvipabāhu	Dvipavāha
36. Riumahāṇa	Arimardana	Arimardana	Arimardana

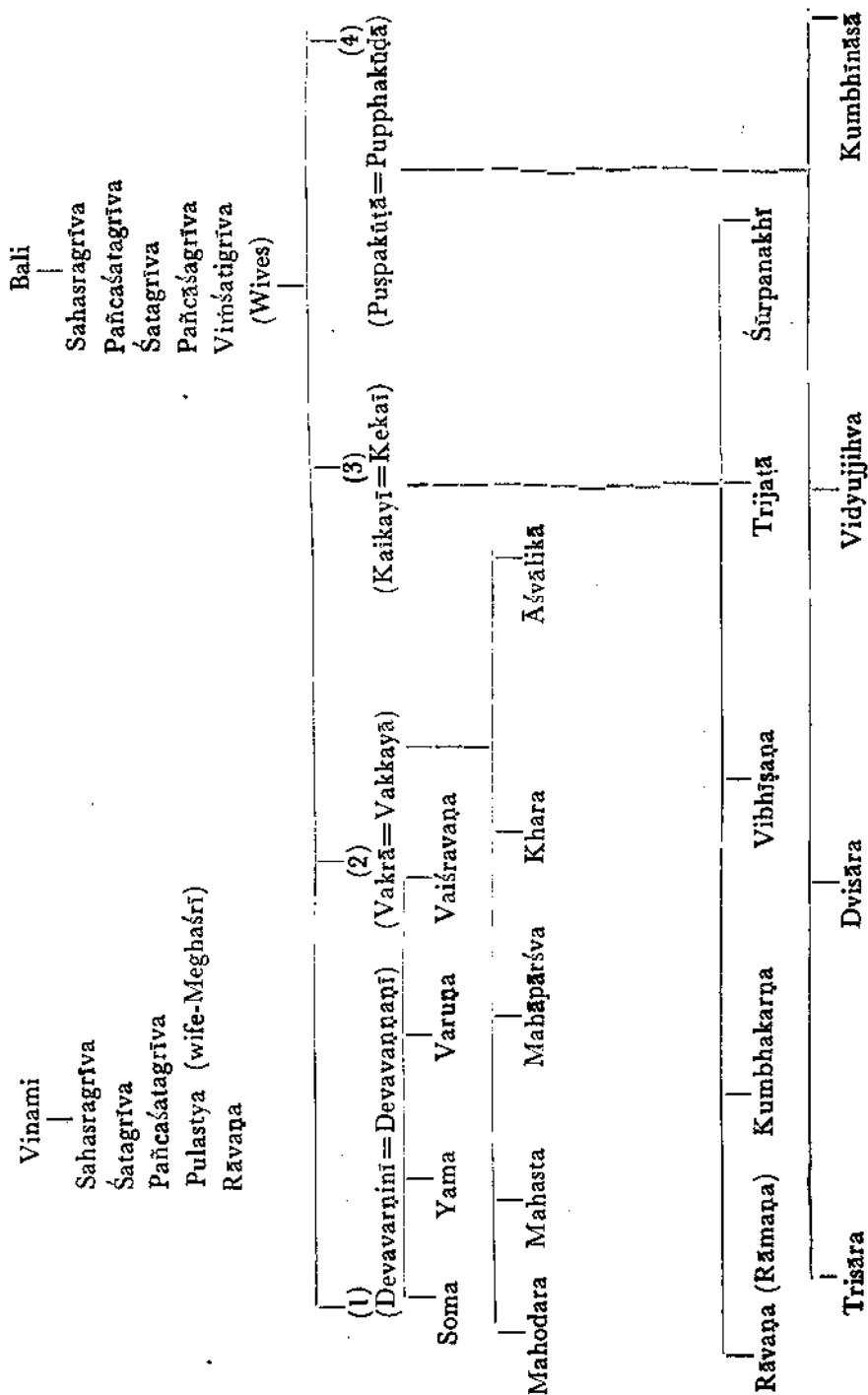
	PCV	PCR	PCS	RPS
37.	Nivṇābhāttimanta	Nirvāṇabhakti	Nirvāṇabhakti	Nirvāṇabhakti
38.	Uggasiri	Ugrasī	Ugrasī	Ugrasī
39.	Aruhabhāttimanta	Arhābhakti	Arhābhakti	Arhābhakti
40.	Pavanuttargai	Anuttara	Anuttara	Anuttara
41.	Uttama	Gatābhūma (bhrama)	Gatyuttama	Gatābhūma
42.	Anila	Anila	Anila	Anila
43.	Caṇḍa	Caṇḍa	Caṇḍa	Candra
44.	Laikāsoga	Laikāsoka	Laikāsoka	Laikāsoka
	...	...	...	Śoka
45.	Maūh	Mayūravāk	Mayūra	Mayūravāk
46.	Mahābāhu	Mahābāhu	Mahābāhu	Mahābāhu
47.	Manorama	Manorāmya	Manorama	Manorama
48.	Ravitea	Bhāskarābha	Bhāskara	Sūryakānta
49.	Mahagai	Vṛhadgati	Vṛhadgati	Vṛhadraṭi
50.	Mahakantajasa	Vṛhatkānta	Vṛhatkānta	Vṛhatkānta
51.	Arisantāsa	Arisantrāsa	Arisantrāsa	Aritrāsa
52.	Candavayaṇa	Candrāvarta	Candrāvarta	Candrāvarta
53.	Maharava	Mahārava	Mahārava	Mahārava
54.	Mehajjhāṇa	Meghadhvāna	Meghadhvani	Meghadhvāna
55.	Gahakṣobha	Grahakṣobha	Grahakṣobha	Grahakṣobha
56.	Nakṣatradamaṇa	Nakṣatradamaṇa	Nakṣatradamaṇa	Nakṣatradamaṇa
	(Crores of kings passed)	(Crores of kings passed)	...	(Closed here)
57.	Mehappabha	...	Tāraka	...
58.	Kirtidhavaḷa	Ghanaprabha	Meghanāda	Meghaprabha
	(Closed)	Kirtidhavaḷa	Kirtidhavaḷa	Kirtidhavaḷa
		(Closed)	(Closed)	(Closed)

(During the tirthakala of Munisuvratanaṭha, the twentieth Tirthankara).

<i>PCV, 6-8</i>	<i>PCR, 6-8</i>	<i>PCS, 6.10-5 f</i>	<i>RPS, p. 22 f</i>	<i>TSP, IV. p. 110 f</i>
Taḍikeśa (6.96)	Vidyutkeśa or Taḍikeśa	Taḍikeśī	Vidyutkeśa	Taḍikeśa
Sukeśa (6.148)	Sukeśa	(Identical with the <i>PCV</i>)		
Māli	Sumāli			
	Malavanta (6.220)			
	Rayanāśava (7.59) (Wife-Kekasī 7.22)	Mālin	Sumālin	Malyavat
Rāvaṇa (Daḥamuha 7.96)	Bhānukarṇa (7.97)			
	Candanaha (7.98)		Ratnāśrava (Wife-Kaikasī)	
(Wife-Mandodari) (8.94)		Vibhisaṇa (7.98)		
	Rāvaṇa (Daśanana) (Wife-Mandodari)	Bhānukarṇa	Candranakha	Vibhisaṇa
Indai (8.63)	Mehavāhaṇa (8.64)			
		Indrajit		
			Meghavāhaṇa	

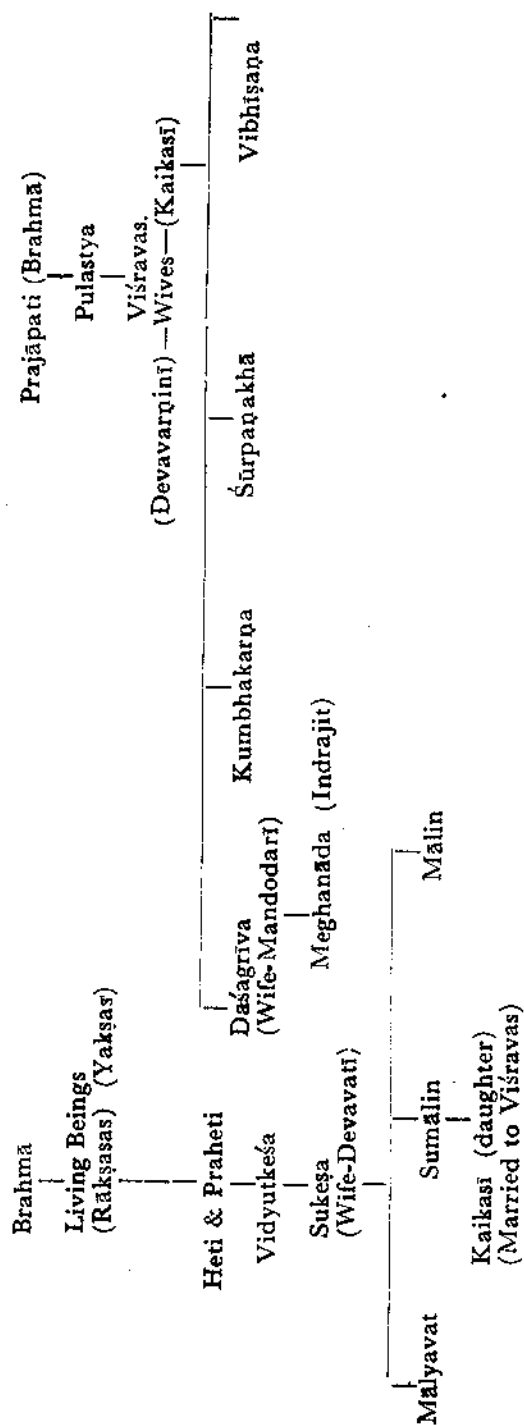
Vasudevahindī, I. p. 240

UP 68. 7-12 and MP 70. 2-4



VR, 7.4

VR, 7.2 & 9



A comparison of the *PCV* and the *VR* shows that the list of the *PCV* is independent of that of the *VR*. The *PCV* enumerates a large number of ancestors of Rāvaṇa while the *VR* only a few. Further the names are not identical except the immediate three ancestors of Rāvaṇa i. e. Sumālin, Sukeśa and Taḍitkeśa. But these three persons belong to the maternal side in the *VR*. Even the name of the father of Rāvaṇa is not common in both the works.

The *PCV*, *PCR*, *PCS* and the *RPS* have given long lists of the Rākṣasa kings while the *TSP* has not mentioned all the kings. The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and the *Uttarapurāṇa* refer a few ancestors of Rāvaṇa. They are not identical with those of the *PCV* and thus represent a different tradition. In the *UP*, Pulastya who finds mention in the Brahmanical tradition, is also mentioned. The *PCV*, *PCR* and the *RPS* discontinue their lists at two places, first at Nakṣatradamana and then at Kīrtidhavalā, but the *PCS* breaks once at Kīrtidhavalā only.

The *PCV* mentions in all 63 kings from Meghavāhana to Rāvaṇa while the *PCR* 66 (the three more being Indra, Bhānu and Bhīma) kings. The names of 56 kings are identical in the *PCR* and the *PCV*, having here and there either equivalents or some alterations in names. The remaining seven names in the *PCR* are different (Nos. 20, 26, 32, 35, 40, 41 & 45) from those of the *PCV*.

The *PCS* mentions in all 69 names (the three more being Āditya, Mahābala and Tāraka over those of the *PCR*) which are identical with those of the *PCR* except No. 15. The influence of the *PCV* is also clear on Nos. 22 & 26. The *RPS* mentions in all 67 kings. Mahā-Rākṣasa, Cintāgati, Śūra and Śoka of the *RPS* do not find mention in the *PCR*, while Nos. 9, 17 & 28 of the *PCR* are not referred to in the *RPS*. Only Vajradanta (20) and Candra (43) are different names from those of the *PCR*. Then Laṅkā and Śoka can be counted as one person Laṅkāśoka (45) as found in the *PCV* and the *PCR*. Indra and Śūra can also be mingled into one to have its equivalent with Indraprabha of the *PCV* and the *PCR*. Thus in all there will be 65 kings only—i. e. one less than the *PCR* and two more than the *PCV*. So to say the above mentioned Jaina works are generally in agreement.

5. Vānara Vamśa:

According to the *PCV*, Śrīkaṇṭha, a Vidyādhara prince of Meghapura develops enmity with Puṣpottara, the Vidyādhara lord of Ratnapura on account of the former's refusal to marry his sister to the latter's son. Śrīkaṇṭha once elopes away with Padmā, the daughter of Puṣpottara. Then Puṣpottara invades Śrīkaṇṭha. Śrīkaṇṭha flees

away and takes shelter under Kīrtidhavalā, the lord of Laṅkāpurī and the husband of the sister of Śrīkaṇṭha. The intervention of Kīrtidhavalā and Padmā's willingness to marry Śrīkaṇṭha halts Puṣpottara from waging a battle. Thereafter Kīrtidhavalā prevents Śrīkaṇṭha from going back to his original country and makes him the first lord of the Vānaradvīpa, Śrīkaṇṭha enjoys there the company of monkeys infesting the Vānaradvīpa (6.1-59) and establishes Kiṣkindhipura as his capital on the Kiṣkindhi hill.

The *PCR* (6.121,123) and the *RPS* (ch. 4) agree with the above account but name the hill as Kiṣku and the capital as Kiṣkupura. The *RPS* mentions Kīrtidhavalā as Kīrtiśubhra. The *TSP* (IV. p. 109) agrees with the *PCV* and mentions Vānaradvīpa along with Barbarkula and Simhala (IV. p. 108). The *PCS* follows the *PCR*, but mentions Śrīkaṇṭha as the lord of Ratnapura (6. 1. 3) and Puṣpottara as the lord of Meghapura (6. 2. 3).

According to the *PCV*, Amaraprabha, the ninth king in the line of Śrīkaṇṭha marries Guṇamatī, the princess from Trikūṭa (Laṅkā). She gets terrified when she sees the pictures of monkeys which were drawn on the floor to grace the occasion of marriage. Amaraprabha gets angry with those drawings and gives orders to execute the artists. His ministers explain to him that the monkeys are being held in great esteem and their pictures are being regarded auspicious since the time of Śrīkaṇṭha. At this explanation Amaraprabha adopts the picture of monkey as the emblem of his state and his dynasty comes to be known as the Vānara Vamśa¹ (6. 69-91).

The *PCR* (6. 163-218), the *PCS* (6-8-9) and the *RPS* (ch. 4) contain this episode as well. It mentions that the Vānara-dynasty was established by Śrīkaṇṭha and the Vānara emblem was also adopted by him (IV. p. 109).

The *VR* gives quite a different account about the origin² of the Vānara Vamśa. Once Brahmā while performing meditation on the Meru mountain threw down some of the drops of his tears on the ground. From those drops a monkey came into being. He was named Rkṣarāja and was made the first lord of monkey infesting Kiṣkindhapurī.

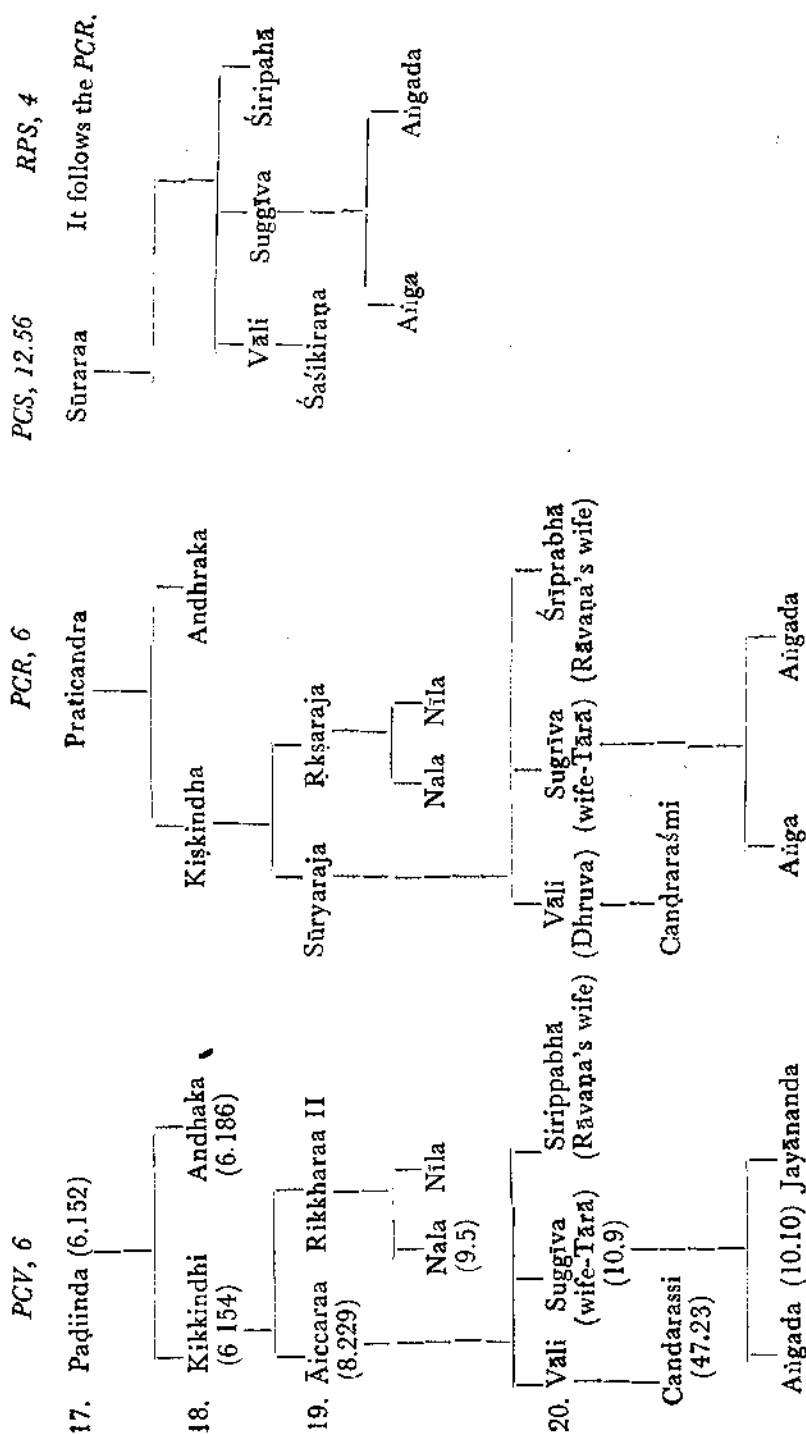
At another place (1. 17) the *VR* mentions that Brahmā enjoined upon the Devas to begot monkeys on Apsarās; Gāndharvīs; the Yakṣa, Pannaga, Rkṣa and the Vidyādhara women; Kinnarīs and Vānarīs (Putrānvānararupiṇaḥ 1. 17. 8). Then the Devas, Rṣīs, Siddhas, Vidyādharas, Urugas and the Cāraṇas produced many monkeys to help Rāma, the incarnation of Viṣṇu. Here we find that the Vidyādharas are also associated with the procreation of monkeys.

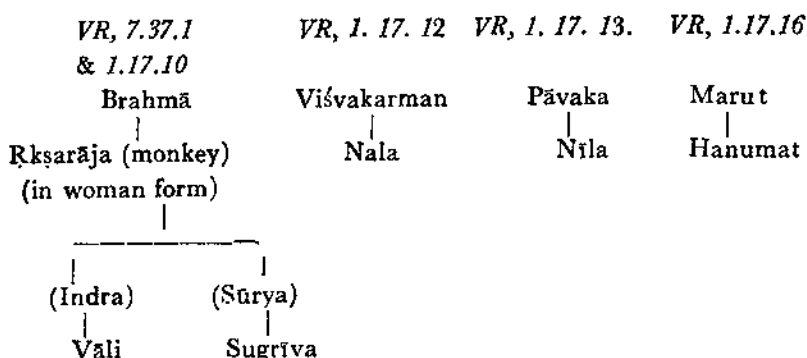
1. Taha Vāṇarāṇa-vamśo vāṇaracindheṇa nivvaḍḍio—6. 88.

2. *VR*, 7. 1st interpolated chapter after ch. 37.

The following is the genealogical list of the Vānara kings as found in the Jaina works:

<i>PCV</i> , 6	<i>PCR</i> , 6	<i>PGS</i> , 12. 5f	<i>RPS</i> , 4
1. Sirikaṇṭha (son of Aindā, a Vidyādhara Lord)	Sirikaṇṭha (son of Aindra)	Sirikaṇṭha	Sirikaṇṭha
2. Vajjakaṇṭha	Vajrakaṇṭha		Vajrakaṇṭha
3. Indāuhappabha	Indrāyudha		Indravajra
4. Indāmaunandaṇa	Indramat		Śakramat
5. Maruyakumāra	Meru		Meru
6. Mandara	Mandara		Mandira
7. Pavaṇagai	Samirapagati		Pavanagati
8. Ravippabha	Raviprabha		Raviprabha
9. Amarappabha (wife-Guṇavatt)	Amaraprabha (wife-Guṇavatt)	Amarapaha	Amaraprabha
10. Kaiddhaa	Kapiketu	Kaikeyana	Kapiketu
11. Rikkharāa I	Vikramasampanna	—	—
12. Aibala	Pratibala	Paḍivala	Pratibala
13. Gayaṇāṇanda	Gaṇaṇanda	Navaṇāṇandayara	Vimāla
14. Kheyaraṇarinda	Khecarāṇanda	Khayaraṇanda	(And others)
15. Girinanda (and others)	Girinandana (and others)	Girikimveravala (?)	×
16. Mahoyahirava (6.93)	Mahodadhirava	15. Uvahiraa —	Mahodadhi (It follows the <i>PCR</i>)
		16. Kikkindha	(It follows the <i>PCR</i>)





The *PCV* gives quite an independent list of the kings of Vānara Vamśa from that of the *VR* which mentions only a few ancestors of Vāli and Sugrīva. According to the *PCV*, Ādityarajas and Rkṣarajas are brothers and Vāli and Sugrīva are said to be the sons of Ādityarajas (or Sūryarajas). But according to the *VR*, Indra (the celestial lord) and Sūrya (the Sun) procreate Vāli and Sugrīva respectively on Rkṣarajas in the female form. Thus the account of the *VR* is mythological while that of the *PCV* is devoid of mysterious elements.

The *PCV*, *PCR* and *RPS* disconnect their lists before Mahodadhirava, but the *PCS* maintains the continuity. According to the *PCV* there are in all 20 kings from Śrīkaṇṭha to Vāli. The *PCR* agrees with this number and contains identical names except Nos. 5 and 11 leaving aside little alterations in some of the names. All the names in the *RPS* are identical with those of the *PCR* except Nos. 6 and 13. It omits No. 11 and disconnects at Vimāla (13). The *PCS* contains in all 18 kings omitting Nos. 11 & 17. It does not mention the specific names of the kings from Nos. 2 to 8. The names in it are also identical with those of the *PCR*. Thus on the whole the four Jaina works are generally in agreement.

6. Hari Vamśa

The *PCV* narrates that during the congregation of Śītalānātha, the tenth Tirthaṅkara, Sumukha, the king of Kośāmbī kidnapped Vanamālī, the wife of a weaver, Viraka by name (Virayakuvinḍo) and put her into his harem. In due course both of them, being struck with the lightning, died and were reborn in the Harivamśa country (Harivāsa). Viraka was distressed by the separation from his wife. He took to asceticism under Muni Poṭṭilaka (21. 5). After his death he was reborn as a celestial being. By the power of his

clairvoyance he perceived the existence of the couple in the Harivarṣa country. He kidnapped that couple and brought it to Campānagara (The couple was made the king and the queen of that city). The new king came to be known as Harirāja, because he was born in the Harivarṣa (Harivāsasamuppanno) and was kidnapped from there (hariūṇa āpīo). Thus the Hari Vamśa originated at Campānagara after the name of Hari (21-2-7). In this line was born Janaka, the father of Sītā (21. 33).

In the *RCR* (21. 2), Vīraka is a merchant. The cause of their death is not mentioned while the pair was reborn in Haripura of Haritakṣetra (21. 7). Then they repaired to the 'Bhogabhūmī' of the southern part of the Rukmagiri. From there they were kidnapped to the Bhārata country. The name of the town is not mentioned (21. 2-7).

Vasudevahiṇḍī agrees with the *PCV* and further mentions that Candrakīrti, the Ikṣvāku king of Campā died heirless. In his place the kidnapped person was enthroned and named as Hari (I. p. 356). His wife is named Hārīṇī. According to the *Harivamśapurāṇa* of Jinasenasūri (Chs. 14 & 15), Vīraka is a merchant. A maid-servant (dūtī) Ātreya is said to have been sent by king Sumukha to seduce Vanamālā. Sumukha is reborn as a son of a Khecara in Haripura situated on the Vijayārdha mountain and Vanamālā as a Khecara-daughter in Meghapura. Both of them got married. They are kidnapped to Campāpura. The heirless king who died in that city is called Amṛtadhidhikīrti (i.e. Candrakīrti 15. 53). The kidnapped couple who succeeded the throne there gave birth to Hari. After him the line came to be known as Hari Vamśa.

The *TSP* (Vol.IV.p 73) has introduced a minister, Sumati by name, who through a nun named Ātreyaikā seduced Vanamālā for Sumukha. The twins born at Harivarṣa are named Hari and Hārīṇī. The name of the king of Campā is Candrakīrti who belonged to the Ikṣvāku line. The celestial being (Vīraka) is said to have inspired the minister to make Hari as the king of Campā. Amaracandrasūri also gives the same account¹. According to the *RPS* (p. 70) the minister of Sumukha sent Vīraka to some distant country and then procured his wife through a dūtī. It follows the *PCV* when it mentions that Vīraka became a monk under Proṣṭhila Muni. Further it tells us that Sumukha

1. *Caturviṃśati Jinendra Saṃkṣipta Caritāni*, Ch. 20. 4-28.

was reborn as *Simhaketu* in the house of king *Prabhāñjana* of *Hari Varṇa* and queen *Mṛtkaṇḍā* hailing from *Bhogapura* situated in the *Haripura* country of the *Bhārataśetra*. *Vanamālā* was reborn as *Vidyutmālā* being the daughter of *Vajraghoṣa*, the king of *Śilapura* and his queen *Subhāmā*. Both of them got married. An elephant is introduced to select *Simhaketu* to succeed the throne of the heirless king of *Campāpurī*. The new king was renamed as *Mārkaṇḍeya*. As his father belonged to *Hari Varṇa* hence this line was also known as *Hari Varṇa*. It has been stated elsewhere that according to the *RPS*, the *Hari Varṇa* was already established by *Rṣabha* and the first king of this line was *Harikānta* of *Campāpurī* (p. 4). Thus *Somasena* has mingled the traditions of the *PCV*, the *AP* and the *TSP*.

According to the *Ādipurāṇa* (16. 259) and *Mahāpurāṇa* (5. 22. 6) *Rṣabhadeva* had established *Hari Varṇa* and made *Harikānta* as the king of that *Varṇa*.

According to the Brahmanical tradition *Janaka* did not belong to the *Hari Varṇa*. The *Purāṇas* tell us that *Śrīkrṣṇa* was born in the Lunar dynasty (*Candra Varṇa*). He was known as *Hari* so his lineage came to be known as *Hari Varṇa*. There is a *Purāṇa* which deals with the life of *Śrīkrṣṇa* and it is named as *Harivarṇapurāṇa*, because *Hari* and *Śrīkrṣṇa* are made identical. But in the *Paumacariyam*, the *Soma* (Lunar) and the *Hari Varṇas* are two different dynasties (5-2) without having any relation to each other.

As regards the *Varṇa* to which *Janaka* belonged, the *VR* states that he was born in the line of *Nimi* (1.71), the twelfth son of *Ikṣvāku* (7.55.4). The *Purāṇas* also agree with this account (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 4. 5. 1). It is said that after the name of *Janaka* (son of *Nimi*) the line came to be known as *Janaka Varṇa* in which, after many generations, was born *Janaka II*, the father of *Sītā* (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 4. 5. 32).

Thus the *Jaina* and the *Brahmanical* traditions differ as regards the name of *Varṇa* to which *Janaka* belonged and also about the origin of *Hari Varṇa*.

The following is the genealogical list of the kings of the *Hari Varṇa* as found in the *Jaina* works:—

PCV, 21.1-33

TSP, IV. p. 78

PCR, 21

RPS, p. 71 & 81

1. Hariṛāya ¹	Hari	Hari	Markandeya
2. Mahāgiri	Mahāgiri	Prthivpati	Mahāgiri
3. Himagiri	Himagiri	Himagiri	Hemagiri
4. Vasugiri	Vasugiri	Vasugiri	Vasugiri
5. Indagiri	Indragiri	Giri	(And others)
6. Rayanāmāli	Ratnamāla	Mitragiri	
7. Sambhūta	Sambhūta	(And others)	
8. Bhuyadeva	Bhūtadeva		
9. Mahādhara (and others)	Mahādhara (and others)		
10. Sumitta ²	Sumitra	Sumitra	Sumitra
11. Munisuvvaya	Munisuvrata	Munisuvrata	Munisuvrata
12. Suvvaya	Suvrata	Suvrata	Vijaya
13. Dakkha	Dakṣa	(and others)	Dakṣa
14. Ilavaddhaṇa	Ilavardhana		Ilavardhana
15. Sirivaddhaṇa	Śrīvardhana		Śrīvardhana
16. Sirivakkha	Śrīvṛkṣa		Śrīvṛkṣa
17. Sañjayanta	Sañjayanta		Sañjayanta
18. Kuṇima	Kuṇima		Kuṇima
19. Maharaha	Mahāratha		Mahāratha
...	Puloman		Puloman
(and others)	(and others)		(and others)

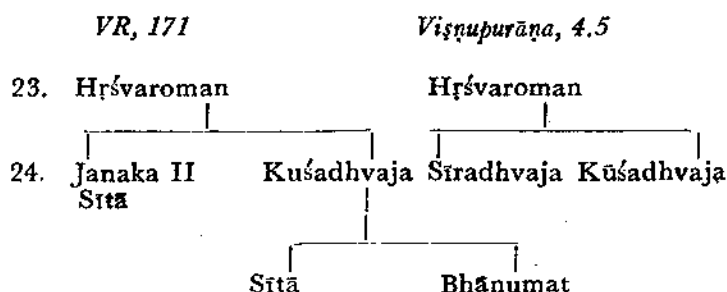
1. Hari of Campānagara (21.6).
2. Sumitra of Kuśāgrānagara (21.11).

PCV, 21.1-33	PCR, 21	TSP, IV, p. 78	RPS, p. 71 & 81
20. Vāsavakeu ¹ (Indakeu) (28.15) (wife-Ilā)	Vāsavaketu (Indraketu) (wife-Vipulā)	...	Vāsavaketu (wife-Vipulā)
21. Janaka (wife-Vaidehī)	Janaka (wife-Vaidehī)	Janaka	Janaka

Sītā	Bhāmaṇḍala	Identical with the PCV	
The following is the list of the ancestors of Janaka as found in the Brahmanical works:—			
VR, 1.71	Viṣṇupurāṇa, 4.5	VR, 171	Viṣṇupurāṇa, 4.5
1. Ikṣvāku (7.55.4)	Ikṣvāku	11. Dhṛtimat	Sudhṛti
2. Nimi	Nimi	(Sudhṛti)	Dhṛṣṭaketu
3. Mithi	Janaka, or Mithi or Vaideha	12. Dhṛṣṭaketu	Haryaśva
		13. Haryaśva	Manu (Maru) ³
		14. Maru	Pratika
4. Janaka I	...	15. Pratindhaka	Kṛtaratha
5. Udāvasu	Udāvasu	16. Kīrtiratha	Devamīḍha
6. Nandivardhana	Nandivardhana	17. Devamīḍha	Vibudha
7. Suketu	Suketu	18. Vibudha	Mahadhṛti
8. Devarāt	Devarāt	19. Mahādhṛaka	Kṛtarāta (Kṛivāta ²)
	Bṛhaduktha	20. Kīrtirāta	Mahāroman
9. Bṛhadratha	(Bṛhadratha) ²	21. Mahāroman	Suvarṇaroman
10. Mahāvira	Mahāvīrya	22. Svarṇaroman	

1. Vāsavaketu of Mithilā (21.32). Thus their capitals shifted from place to place.

23. Bhagavatapurāṇa.



The *VR* and the *Purāṇas* are generally in agreement as regards the names and the number of the ancestors of Janaka. Mithi and Janaka I are two persons in the *VR* while in the *Purāṇas* they are one and the same person. Then Janaka II, the father of Sītā is called Siradhvaja in the *Purāṇas*.

A comparison of the account of the origin and the genealogical list of the Brahmanical tradition with that of the *PCV* indicates that the *PCV* is giving quite an independent version. The *PCV* mentions that Janaka belonged to Hari Vamśa while the *VR* states that he is a descendant of Ikṣvāku.

The line of continuity breaks at two places in the *PCV* while in the *VR* it is continuous and there is not a single name preceding Janaka (the father of Sītā) which may be common to the Jaina and the Brahmanical traditions.

As regards the genealogical lists found in other Jaina works, the *PCR*, except one additional name of Puloman, agrees with that of the *PCV*. The *TSP* gives very few names and the names of Pṛthvīpati, Giri and Mitragiri are not found in the *PCV*. Pṛthvīpati is mentioned in the *VH* (p. 307). The *RPS* mentions the name of the first king as Mārkaṇḍeya and then follows the *PCR* leaving out many successors after Vasugiri and it has different name for No. 12. It is a common feature of all the Jaina lists that they are not complete and continuous.

CHAPTER VI

SOURCES, CONTRIBUTION AND INFLUENCE OF PAUMACARIYAM

SECTION 1. SOURCES OF PAUMACARIYAM

A. Critical Examination of Author's Statement.

Vimalasūri, the author of *Paumacariyam* gives three statements in connection with the sources of his work. He tells us that he is narrating the traditional Padma or Rāma-story which was narrated to Ākhaṇḍalabhūti (Indrabhūti, the first Gaṇadhara of Lord Mahāvīra) by Lord Mahāvīra. From Indrabhūti it passed on to the posterity through his successive disciples (*PCV*, 1.90; 118.102). The Jaina tradition holds that the discourses and preachings of Lord Mahāvīra have been preserved in the Jaina Āgama (canonical) literature so we shall try to trace out the sources of the Rāma-story of Vimala in it.

He further states that his work is based on the biographies (Caritas) of Nārāyaṇas and Baladevas (Sīrin) preserved in the *Pūrvagata* (Puvvagae nārāyaṇasīricariyāim 118.118). *Pūrvagata* formed the third section of *Dīṣṭivāda*, the 12th Aṅga of the Jaina Āgama but it is nowhere mentioned in the Jaina scriptures that *Pūrvagata* which consisted of 14 Pūrvas, contained any narrative material. The *Nandisūtra* (56) tells us that the fourth section of *Dīṣṭivāda*, called *Anuyoga*, contained biographies of Tirthaṅkaras, Cakravartins, Baladevas, Vāsudevas and other religious personages. Shri H. R. Kapadia (See *HCLJ*, p. 11) while discussing the order of the composition of 12 Aṅgas and various sections of the *Dīṣṭivāda* surmises that the 14 Pūrvas should also mean *Dīṣṭivāda* as a whole, in a broader sense. Prot. J. Charpentier (*Uttarā*, Int. p. 22) also holds that the *Dīṣṭivāda* or the Pūrvas is much the same thing. In that light Vimalasūri's reference to the *Pūrvagata* should mean the *Dīṣṭivāda* as a whole and the *Dīṣṭivāda*, says Dr. A. N. Upadhye, contained some Kathānakas as it appears from certain references in the *Niryuktis* (See *Bṛhatkathakośa*, Int. p. 31).

We should have sought for the source of *Paumacariyam* in the relevant sections of *Dīṣṭivāda*, but the Jaina tradition (See *HCLJ*, Ch.4) holds that it was lost long ago and our author also emphasises this point (Evaṃ paramparāe parihāṇī puvvaganthaatthāṇam 1.11).

J. Charpentier also upholds the Jaina tradition and concludes that the Pūrvas gradually went into oblivion (See *Uttarā*, Int. p. 24). There are references to Sītā and Tārā in the tenth *Aṅga*, namely, *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra* (No. 16). Here we can seek for the source of the Jaina Rāma-story but the above *Aṅga* is regarded as a later work because its contents do not correspond to the table of contents given in the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Nandisūtra* (See *HIL*, II. p. 452).

Vimalasūri once again states that he is narrating the story of Padma that has come down traditionally in the form of 'series of names' (nāmāvaliyanibaddham āyariyaparaṃparāgayam 1.8). Such series of names are given in the *Samavāyāṅgasūtra* (157-158) and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4.421 ff). The points, bearing on the Padma-story, mentioned in the *Samavāyāṅgasūtra* (158) are as follows:—

Padma and Nārāyaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa) were the sons of Daśaratha born of Aparājita and Kaikeyī respectively. They were the eighth Baladeva and Vāsudeva respectively. Nārāyaṇa killed Rāvaṇa, the eighth Prativāsudeva. Padma attained Mokṣa. Padma was Aparājita and Nārāyaṇa was Punarvasu in their previous birth. At that time their preceptor was Samudra. Punarvasu observed some one's prowess and made a resolution 'nidāna' at Mithilāpurī. Vimalasūri's Padma-story agrees with the above points except the following: The birth name of Lakṣmaṇa's mother is Kaikeyī (different from Bharata's mother) but her popular name is Sumitrā. Padma is nowhere mentioned as Aparājita in his previous births and there is no reference to Samudra as his or Punarvasu's preceptor. Punarvasu belonged to Pratiṣṭhānapura and he had resolved (made a 'nidāna') to marry a certain girl in his next birth (See *Supra*, Ch. 4, story Nos. 43 and 54).

The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4.1411-14.38) names the eighth Baladeva as Rāma and the ninth one as Padma (i.e. the brother of Kṛṣṇa). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are said to have lived 17000 and 12000 years respectively (See *PCV*, 118.86; 114.27, 29). The former attained Mokṣa and Rāvaṇa went to hell. The *PCV* agrees with the above points except that of the name of the eighth Baladeva.

Then in the *Sthānāṅgasūtra* (672) there is a list of the names of the fathers of the Baladevas and Vāsudevas. There Daśaratha is mentioned as the father of eighth Baladeva and Vāsudeva.

Thus we find that the facts noted in the *Samavāyāṅga*, the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* are generally in agreement as far as they go in our work. Whatever variations are found, they can be explained as due to oral tradition which should have differed in its details with

various preceptors. This fact is widely observed in the *Caritas* of illustrious persons of the Jaina faith, composed by various Jaina authors. The 'nāmāvalis' were the memory verses which served as an aid to teachers in their expounding the narratives handed over to the successive pupils by the oral tradition.

So far as the present evidences go Vimalasūri seems to have composed his epic on the basis of 'nāmāvalis' and the details he traditionally inherited from his preceptor.

B. Influence of VR and PCV's Counter Influence on the VR.

1. Vimalasūri's Acquaintance with the VR :

Vimalasūri emphasises the point how he was inspired to compose *Paumacariyam*. His inspiration is expressed through king Śrenika. He entertains some doubts in the story popular in the 'loyasattha' i. e. *lokaśāstra* (PCV, 2.105-107). He feels that the popular *Rāmāyaṇa* which contains many inconsistencies is composed by liars (PCV, 2.116-117). He approaches Gautama, the first Gaṇadhara of Lord Mahāvīra and requests him to narrate the true story of Padma (PCV, 3.3). The unbelievable elements incorporated in the popular *Rāmāyaṇa* are mentioned by the author. They are (PCV, 2.105-117; 3.8-13) as follows:—

A. Rāma killed a golden deer. B. Rāma stealthily assassinated Vālī for the cause of Sugrīva and Sūtārā. C. The Vānaras were monkeys. D. The monkeys built a bridge. E. The monkeys fought and killed the Rākṣasa warriors though the latter were far superior in valour. F. The celestial Indra was imprisoned and was taken over to Laṅkā. G. The Rākṣasas used to take flesh and wine. H. Kumbhakarṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa slumbered continuously for six months. He never woke before that period, even if, elephants trampled over his body or ears were filled with (boiling) oil measuring many pots or drums were beaten sounding very loudly. On being tormented by severe hunger, he used to swallow elephants, buffaloes, human beings and the Suras (Devas).

The earliest work which contains all these inconsistencies as alleged by our author, is the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. The following portions of the VR contain the respective inconsistencies:—

(A) 3.42-44 (B) 4.8-26 (C) 5.10.54; 5.33; 6.4.63-67 (D) 6.23. (E) 6.40, 43-44, 52-56, 59, 69-70, 77, 82, 93, 96-99. (F) 7.29-

30 (G) 2.116.11-12; 3.2.13-14; 3.19.19-20; 3.38.3; 5.22.9; 7.10.37 (H) 6.60.31-63; 6.61.27. Only the point No. B is at some variance. According to the *VR* Rāma killed Vāli for restoring Sugrīva to his original political status and for recovering his wife Rumā who had been kidnapped by Vāli. Afterwards Vāli's wife, Tārā accepted Sugrīva as her husband. So to say, Rāma killed Vāli for the cause of Sugrīva, not for that of Tārā. Still the presence of the above mentioned topics in the *VR* proves that Vimalasūri was well-acquainted with the story of *VR*.

2. Elements of Agreement Between Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and Paumacariyaṇ :

A comparative study of the *PCV* and the *VR* reveals that in its outline the Rāma-story is similar in both the works, but in details there are many differences.

The following elements of the *PCV*, which form the outline of the Rāma-story are in agreement with those of the *VR*:

Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā had of his three queens—Aparājītā (Kauśalyā), Sumitrā and Kaikeyī—four sons, namely Rāma (Padma), Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. Rāma married Sītā in a 'svayamvara'. Kaikeyī on the strength of a boon installed her son Bharata on the throne of Ayodhyā as a consequence of that Rāma along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa went into exile. Bharata tried in vain to persuade Rāma to return and accept the crown of Ayodhyā. Rāma in his exile sojourned in the Daṇḍaka forest. There the sister of Rāvaṇa approached him with a proposal of marriage, but he rejected her offer. Then she manoeuvred to excite Rāvaṇa to take revenge upon Rāma. Rāvaṇa, on getting enamoured of the beauty of Sītā, kidnapped her by fraud and kept her at Laṅkā. Vibhīṣaṇa attempted in vain to get Sītā released from Rāvaṇa. Rāma helped Sugrīva in recovering his wife and won him as his ally. At the instance of Sugrīva, Hanumān went to Laṅkā and brought the news of Sītā and her braid-jewel. Rāma with the help of Sugrīva and the latter's army invaded Laṅkā. In the battle Lakṣmaṇa got wounded by the Śakti hurled by Rāvaṇa, but he duly got cured. Ultimately Rāvaṇa was killed in the battle. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa returned home. On account of public scandal Rāma exiled Sītā. She gave birth to Lava(ṇa) and (Aṇ)kuśa. Finally she proved her purity by undergoing an ordeal.

3. Point of Difference :

As regards the details of the Rāma-story there are numerous differences between the *PCV* and the *VR*. They have been dealt

with systematically in the preceding chapters. Here we shall summarise them for the sake of clarity. All these differences can be arranged under four categories as follows:—

(a) *Points of alteration:*

1. *PCV*—Nārada hears the prophecy made by Sāgaravidhi and learns about the plot of Vibhiṣaṇa to assassinate Daśaratha for saving Rāvaṇa who is destined to be killed at the hands of the would-be son of Daśaratha. He goes to Daśaratha and alerts him for safety. *VR*—Anaraṇya cursed Rāvaṇa that he would be killed by Rāma (7. 19. 30).
2. *PCV*—Jaṭāyu (a bird) is entrusted to Sītā by certain monks, for protection. *VR*—Jaṭāyu offers to help Rāma.
3. *PCV*—Śambūka, the son of Candranakhā is killed by Lakṣmaṇa. *VR*—Śambūka is a Śūdra. He is killed by Rāma because a Śūdra was not entitled to observe penances.
4. *PCV*—Kharadūṣaṇa is the husband of Candranakhā, the sister of Rāvaṇa. *VR*—Khara is brother of Śurpaṇakhā and Dūṣaṇa is the chief of the army of Khara (3. 22. 7). At 3. 17, 22 both are mentioned as her brothers.
5. *PCV*—Virādhitā, a Vidyādhara prince of Jātālāṅkārapura assisted Lakṣmaṇa in killing Kharadūṣaṇa and took Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to a safe place. *VR*—Virādha, a Rākṣasa who had snatched away Sītā, was killed by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.
6. *PCV*—Ratnajaṭin of Kambudvīpa obstructed Rāvaṇa from kidnapping Sītā, but he was overpowered by Rāvaṇa. *VR*—Supārśva obstructed Rāvaṇa, but ultimately he gave the way.
7. *PCV*—Aṅgada is the son of Tārā by Sugrīva. *VR*—Aṅgada is the son of Tārā by Vālī.
8. *PCV*—Sugrīva was at hostility with sham Sugrīva for his wife Tārā. He was turned out of his city by his ministers (Vālī had voluntarily renounced the world in favour of his brother, Sugrīva). *VR*—Vālī is at hostility with Asura Māyāvin for a certain woman. Vālī kidnaps Sugrīva's wife and turns him out of his city.
9. *PCV*—Sugrīva is in search of Rāma for seeking his help. *VR*—Rāma is in search of Sugrīva.
10. *PCV*—Ratnajaṭin of Kambudvīpa informs Sugrīva that Rāvaṇa has kidnapped Sītā. *VR*—Kabandha, a Rākṣasa is killed by Rāma. He also advised Rāma to go to Sugrīva for the recovery of Sītā. Sampātī informed Hanumān of the kidnapper of Sītā.
11. *PCV*—Lakṣmaṇa's test is taken for his fitness in killing Rāvaṇa. *VR*—Rāma's test is taken for his fitness in killing Vālī.
12. *PCV*—Hanumān is sent as an envoy to reconcile with Rāvaṇa. *VR*—Hanumān is sent to discover Sītā, Aṅgada is sent to give a final warning to Rāvaṇa.
13. *PCV*—Hanumān meets king Gandharva of Dadhimukha island and sends him along with his daughters to Rāma. *VR*—Dadhimukha, maternal uncle of Sugrīva and a gardner of Madhuvana fights

with Hanumān and reports the mischief of Hanumān to Sugrīva. 14. *PCV*—Mandodarī requests Rāvaṇa to use force on Sītā. *VR*—Mahāpārśva requests Rāvaṇa to use force. 15. *PCV*—Hanu intervenes when Mandodarī tries to beat Sītā. *VR*—Dhānyamalīnī (at another place Mandodarī) intervenes when Rāvaṇa tries to beat Sītā. 16. *PCV*—Celestial Garuḍādhīpati helps Bhāmaṇḍala and Sugrīva in getting released from the snake-nooses in the battlefield. *VR*—Garuḍa or Suparṇa releases Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa from the snake-nooses. 17. *PCV*—Kumbhakarṇa captures Hanumān in the battle. *VR*—Kumbhakarṇa captures Sugrīva. 18. *PCV*—Aṅgada helps Hanumān in getting released from Kumbhakarṇa. *VR*—Hanumān thinks of helping Sugrīva to get him released from the captivity of Kumbhakarṇa. 19. *PCV*—Rāvaṇa acquires Bahurūpavidyā for becoming unconquerable. *VR*—Indrajit performs a sacrifice for becoming unconquerable. 20. *PCV*—Nārada delivers the message of Aparājītā's agony and requests Rāma to return to Ayodhyā. *VR*—Daśaratha's spirit and God Mahendra advise Rāma to return to Ayodhyā to assuage the agony of his mothers. 21. *PCV*—King Vajraṅgha gives shelter to abandoned Sītā. *VR*—Muni Vālmiki gives shelter to her. 22. *PCV*—Śatrughna kills Lavaṇa, defeats Madhu and usurps his kingdom of Mathurā. *VR*—Śatrughna kills Lavaṇa to make the hermits immune from his atrocities. 23. *PCV*—Fire-ordeal of Sītā takes place after her banishment. *VR*—It takes place at Laṅkā immediately after the death of Rāvaṇa.

The points given below are from the side stories forming an essential part of the Rāma-story.

Rāvaṇa-Carita and Hanumat's Story:—1. *PCV*—The seniority of the sons of Rākṣasa Sukeśa of Laṅkā is Mālin, Sumālin, and Mālyavanta. *VR*—The seniority is Mālyavanta, Sumālin and Mālin. 2. *PCV*—Sundarī is the wife of Sumālin. *VR*—She is the wife of Mālyavanta. 3. *PCV*—Rāvaṇa is the grandson of Sumālin. *VR*—He is the son of a daughter of Sumālin. 4. *PCV*—Rāvaṇa observes the splendour of Vaiśravaṇa and on being informed of the ancient glory of his own family by Kekasī, he undertakes to acquire Vidyās. *VR*—Kekasī observes splendour and advises Rāvaṇa to acquire Vidyās. 5. *PCV*—Candranakhā is abducted by Kharadūṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa is prevented by Mandodarī from killing Kharadūṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa's daughter, Manoramā is married to Madhu of Mathurā. *VR*—Kumbhīnasī, the cousin sister of Rāvaṇa is abducted by Rākṣasa Madhu of Madhupura. Rāvaṇa is prevented by Kumbhīnasī from killing Madhu, Sūrpaṇakhā is married to

Dānavendra Vidyūjjihva. 6. *PCV*—Vidyādhara king Indra is captured by Rāvaṇa and is set free at the request of the former's father, a monk. *VR*—God Indra is captured by Meghanāda and is set free at the request of Prajāpati. 7. *PCV*—Rāvaṇa obtained Amoghavijayā Śakti from Dharaṇendra on the Kailāśa mountain and he acquired Candrahāsa sword prior to his marriage with Mandodarī, the daughter of Maya. *VR*—Amoghavijayā Śakti was presented to Rāvaṇa by the father of Mandodarī while Candrahāsa sword by God Śāṅkara on the Kailāśa mountain. 8. *PCV*—Hanu in his babyhood falls down on a rock. It crumbles to pieces so he is named Śrīśaila. He is named Hanu for he was brought up at Hanuruhapura. *VR*—When he falls down on a rock, his jaw gets broken so he is named Hanu.

(b) *Deviating Points:*

1. One boon is granted to Kaikeyī (*VR*—Two boons). 2. Śatrughna is the son of Kaikeyī (*VR*—of Sumitrā). 3. Rāma's preceptor is Airakucchi (*VR*—Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra and Sudhanvā). 4. Janaka's brother is Kanaka (*VR*—Kūśadhvaja). 5. Sītā is born of the womb of the wife of Janaka (*VR*—divine birth from land). 6. Nārada's manipulation causes Vidyādhara Candragati to compel Janaka to put the bow as the test for Sītā's 'svayamvara' (*VR*—divine origin of the bow and Janaka puts it voluntarily). 7. In the *PCV* Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna do not marry any girl belonging to the great family of Janaka. 8. Bharata is at Ayodhyā when Daśaratha proposes to crown Rāma (*VR*—He is not there). 9. Kaikeyī's demand for crowning Bharata is backed by a mother's love to detain her son with her and to escape separation from her husband and son (*VR*—by jealousy and selfishness). 10. During his exile-journey Rāma ameliorates the sufferings of various kings, devotees of Jainism (*VR*—The sole purpose is to annihilate the Rākṣasas who destroy the Yajñas of munis). 11. Jaṭāyu is a bird (*VR*—It talks like a human being). 12. Vālī renounces the world (*VR*—Vālī is at quarrel with Sugrīva). 13. Hanu is the son-in-law of Sugrīva as well as of Rāvaṇa's sister (*VR*—Hanu is the minister of Sugrīva. He is in no way related to Rāvaṇa's family). 14. Laṅkāśundarī is the daughter of the Rākṣasa-guard of the fort of Laṅkā (*VR*—She is the deity of the city itself). 15. Samudra is a king (*VR*—the sea itself in the form of a deity). 16. Viśalyā is a lady surgeon, sister of Droṇamegha (*VR*—It is a medicinal herb growing on the Droṇa mountain whose peak is brought by Hanumān). 17. Rākṣasas such as Kumbhakarna, Indrajit etc. renounce the world

(*VR*—All are killed). 18. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīva, Hanumān etc. accept Jina-dīkṣā (*VR*—All enter divinity). 19. The Rākṣasas and the Vānaras are some human races (*VR*—They are semi-divine beings, the former as demons and the latter as monkeys).

Rāvaṇa-carita and Hanumat's story:—1. *PCV*—The story of Indra, his Lokapālas, killing of Māli by Indra, fleeing of Mālyavanta to Pātālākārapura etc. are realistic. (*VR*—All mythological). 2. *PCV*—Hemavatī, wife of Maya is a Vidyādhari. (*VR*—Hemā is a nymph). 3. *PCV*—Kumbhakarna is religious. (*VR*—Kumbhakarna is of diabolic character). 4. *PCV*—Monk Vāli humiliates Rāvaṇa on the Kailāśa. (*VR*—Śaṅkara, the God humiliates Rāvaṇa). 5. *PCV*—Animal sacrifice of Marutta is stopped by Rāvaṇa. (*VR*—It is left undisturbed by Rāvaṇa). 6. *PCV*—King of Māheśvara is captured by Rāvaṇa. (*VR*—Māheśvara king captures Rāvaṇa). 7. *PCV*—Uprambhā's love proposal is rejected by Rāvaṇa (*VR*—Rāvaṇa rapes Rambhā, a nymph). 8. *PCV*—Rāvaṇa takes a vow not to have sexual relations with any unwilling woman. (*VR*—Nalakubara curses Rāvaṇa for the same). 9. *PCV*—Añjanā is a Vidyādhari. (*VR*—Añjanā is a nymph). 10. *PCV*—Vāli, Sugrīva and Hanu's birth is natural and quite human. (*VR* states their divine origin).

(c) *Elements Absent:*

The following points of the Rāma-story of the *VR* are not found in the *PCV*.

1. Aśvamedha and Putreṣṭi Yajña of Daśaratha. 2. Rāma as incarnation of Viṣṇu to bring about an end of the Rākṣasas. Rāma's brothers as the (Aśvās) parts of Viṣṇu. 3. Protection of the Yajña of Viśvāmitra and many Puranic intervening stories of the 1st and the 7th Kāṇḍa. 4. Deva-Asura battle and Daśaratha's association with it. 5. Giving of sandals to Bharata by Rāma. 6. Atrocities of Rākṣasas to disturb the Ṛṣis performing austerities. 7. Disfiguring of Śūrpanakhā. 8. Golden deer. 9. Magnifying of his body by Hanu, his jumping across the sea, his conversation with Maināka mountain and his entering into the mouth of Surasā Rākṣasi. 10. Hanu's assuming the form like a cat while entering Laṅkā. 11. Igniting the tail of Hanu and setting fire on Laṅkā. 12. Construction of a bridge across the sea (by the monkeys). 13. Conjuring up of an illusory severed head of Rāma and the bow of Rāma. 14. Killing of illusory Sītā. 15. Bringing of the mountain by Hanu. 16. Bringing

all the dead monkeys to life by God Mahendra. 17. Rāma's horse-sacrifice. 18. Splitting up of the earth and Sītā's entry into it. 19. Granting of the boon of immortality by Brahmā to Rāvaṇa. 20. Deluding of the mind of Kumbhakarṇa by Sarasvatī and former's demand from Brahmā of a boon for sleeping in slumber.

(d) *New elements:*

1. 'Svayamvara' of Kaikeyī and driving the war-chariot of Drśaratha by her. 2. Bhāmaṇḍala as brother of Sītā his abduction by a Vidyādhara. 3. Sītā's betrothal with Rāma for the latter's valour in defeating the Anāryas. 4. Sītā's 'svayamvara' in the presence of various candidates. 5. Another 'svayamvara' for Bharata. 6. Rāma's voluntary exile. 7. Kaikeyī's attempt to call back Rāma from exile. 8. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa's marriages with various girls. 9. Conjuring up of divine colony called Rāmapurī by a Yakṣa. 10. Ativīrya's hostility with Bharata and the defeat of the former at the hands of Rāma. 11. Rāvaṇa's request to Māṇḍodarī to persuade Sītā to accept him as her husband. 12. Episode of sham Sugrīva. 13. Overpowering of Mahendrarāja by Hanu. 14. Rāma's messages to Bhāmaṇḍala for securing his assistance and the latter's help to Rāma in fighting against Rāvaṇa. 15. Rāvaṇa's proposal for peace treaty with Rāma. 16. Rāvaṇa's intention of returning Sītā after defeating Rāma. 17. Vibhiṣaṇa's attempt to commit suicide at the time of the death of Rāvaṇa. 18. Numerous wives of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. 19. Renouncement of the world by Bharata and Kaikeyī. 20. Many sons of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. 21. Marriage of Sītā's sons, their 'digvijaya' and battle with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. 22. Some additional details about the ancestral history of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras. 23. Hanu's several marriages and his progeny.

The above analysis reveals that the Rāma-story of the *PCV*, in its outline, agrees with that of the *VR*, but in details there are generally many differences.

4. Obvious influence of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa on Paumacariyam:

Despite these differences with the *VR*, we have certain evidences to prove that Vimalasūri was well-acquainted not only with the story of the *VR* but even with the text of the *VR*. This conclusion is based upon certain elements of the *PCV*, which reveal a strong influence of the *VR* on them in the form of adopting very popular proper names, of having basic similarities in some points, of creeping in of some elements sub-consciously, of having striking resemblances in the

planning of some episodes and of having used words and phrases on identical situations. (i) Some proper names which were very popular in the *VR* could not be foresaken by Vimalasūri though they sound peculiar in the *PCV*.

Aparājita's son is named Padma but he is addressed as Rāma also and that too for many times more than Padma. Further he is called Rāghava, Raghunātha, Raghuttama and Raghupati, though for a very few times.

Anaṅgalavaṇa and Madanāṅkuśa are the birth-names of the sons of Rāma, but these names occur four and five times respectively, whereas Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa for 37 and 49 times and Kuśa for 21 and 6 times respectively.

Bhānukarṇa is often called Kumbhakarṇa.

Hanu and Śrīśaila are the two names of Hanumān but he is often called Māruti, Pavanaputra, Pavanasuta, Pavanatanaya, Vāyukumāra, Marutsuta and Marutnandana. He is called Plavaga and Kapi also. His speed is compared with a fiery gale (caṇḍāpila-sarisajavo 52.28).

Hanu's father Pavanañjaya is called Pavanagati, Pavanavega and Pavana also. The name Añjanāsundarī occurs thrice only whereas Añjanā for many times.

Sugrīva is called Kapivṛṣabha also though once only (48.33).

Sutārā, wife of Sugrīva is addressed as Tārā also.

Vidyādhara Maya, the father-in-law of Rāvaṇa, is twice addressed as Maya-Dānava (75.7; 77.66).

Rāvaṇa is a Vidyādhara Rākṣasa but at 69.10 he is called Danujendra (Daquinda).

The Rākṣasas are sometimes called as Niśācaras and Rajanī-caras.

Indra is a Vidyādhara king, but he is often called as Surapati, Surādhipa, Surendra, Suranātha and Śakra and his army as Surasainya and Surāṅka (Chs. 12-13).

Sāhasagati who claims Tārā is a Vidyādhara, but he is called Duṭṭha-māyāvi-dānava also (10.3; 46.13). (In the *VR* a certain Māyavi Dānava had enmity with Vāli for a certain woman).

(ii) Certain points of some episodes have basic similarity in both the works:—

The way Kaikasī became the wife of the father of Rāvaṇa.

The prophecy about the nature and the traits of Rāvaṇa and his brothers.

Encouragement to Rāvaṇa by Sumālin to reoccupy Laṅkā from Vaiśravaṇa.

The killing of Sumālin in the battle between Rāvaṇa and Indra.

The particular number 14000 of the soldiers of Khara.

Exposing of the Vānara prisoners to hellish tortures by Vidyādhara Lokapāla Yama and the description of the Vaitaraṇī river (8.232-233) (*VR*—Description of the punishments inflicted upon the denizens of hell by Yama, Lord of Death and the description of the Vaitaraṇī river). The occasion in both the works is of Rāvaṇa's attack on Lord Yama.

The lord of the Yakṣas offered Rāma and Sītā some presents on the occasion of latter's departure from Rāmapurī (*VR*—Anuśūyā's presents to Sītā while her departure from the Āśrama).

Hanu offered to take Sītā along with him while departing from Laṅkā.

Lakṣmaṇa was hit with the Śakti while intervening in the battle to save Vibhīṣaṇa from Rāvaṇa.

The reappearance of the severed head and arms of Rāvaṇa in the battlefield.

Sending of some messengers to Ayodhā in advance of Rāma's return from Laṅkā (*VR*—Sending of Hanumān).

Pointing out of various places of their sojourn to Sītā by Rāma while returning to Ayodhyā.

Resemblance in the names of some persons who informed Rāma of the public scandal of Sītā.

The pretext on which Sītā is abandoned in the jungle.

Raising of Sītā on a divine throne on the occasion of her ordeal at Ayodhyā.

(iii) Some elements are peculiarly similar in both the works though minor in importance:—

Vāli is said to be circumambulating the whole Jambūdvīpa, encircled by the ocean (causāgaraperantam Jambuddīvam) and to be returning to Kiṣkindhipura after paying his homage to the Jina shrines (9. 3), (In the *VR* Vāli is mentioned to be going to all the four oceans (caturbhyo api samudrebhyaḥ) for performing 'Sandhyā'-worship (7. 34. 6).

(iv) Some elements of *VR* are presented in the *PCV* in a different garb:—

Kumbhakarṣa is said to have acquired the Nidrānīvidyā (*VR*—He is cursed to slumber).

Daśānana was named Rāvaṇa because he made a loud cry (ravokao) on the Kailāsa mountain (*VR*—because he made the three worlds to weep).

Hanumān, on his way to Laṅkā, fetches the waters from the sea for extinguishing the conflagration to save some monks (60. 6). (In the *VR* Hanumān takes a jump across the sea).

(v) Some elements of *VR* have crept into the *PCV* sub-consciously though contradictory in the latter work:—

Rāvaṇa is depicted as a noble character but at the time of his birth he is prophesied to be a 'varakūrakammakāri' (*VR*—He is depicted as he was prophesied to be a 'krūrakarmaṇaḥ').

(vi) At some places Vimalasūri's sub-conscious memory of *VR* has left its impression on the *PCV*:—

Rāma does not entertain any doubt in the character of Sītā while reuniting with her at Laṅkā, but still the celestial beings are mentioned to be declaring that Sītā is pure (Sāhu tti sāhu devā bhaṇanti Siyāe nimmalāṇi sīlāṇi 76.17-18). (In the *VR* Rāma entertains doubt. Devas eulogise Rāma (6.117) and the deity of fire declares Sītā pure and beyond reproach (6.118).

(vii) It is highly striking that both the works contain the same details bearing not only upon the theme, but even upon the descriptions falling between Rāma's entry into the Daṇḍakāraṇya and the Candranakhā-episode in the *PCV* and Rāma's arrival at Pañcavaṭī and the Śūrpaṇakhā-incidence in the *VR*. The *PCV* devotes three cantos 41-43 while the *VR* four cantos 3.15-18. All the events and descriptions are present in both the works, only with a small difference in their order.

According to the *PCV* Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā enter the Daṇḍakāraṇya. They take bath in the Karṇaravā river. Lakṣmaṇa prepares various household articles with the bamboo plants (41.4). Then after meeting Jaṭayu, they proceed further into the interior of the forest. It follows a description of the flora and fauna. Then comes the watersports of Rāma and Sītā in the Kroṣṭicaravā river, which follows a description of the rainy-season. They narrate various stories among themselves. Then the winter-season is described (43.1-4). Then follows the incidents of Śambūka and Candranakhā.

According to the *VR* Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā reach the Pañcavaṭī (3.15.1). Then the vegetation of the forest is described (3.15.16-18). Lakṣmaṇa erects a cottage (paṇṣālā) with the leaves, bamboos and the mud (3.15.21). The winter passes away. Hemanta befalls. It is described (3.16). They proceed to the Godāvārī and take bath in it (3.16.41). Various stories are then narrated among themselves (3.17.4). Then follows the incident of Śūrpaṇakhā.

There is some similarity in the description of the forest at 42.6-13 in the *PCV* and at 3.15.16-18 in the *VR*.

(viii) There are striking resemblances in essence, words and phrases at some places on certain similar occasions. They can be mentioned as follows :—

Rāma's lamentation during his frantic search for Sītā in the Daṇḍakāraṇya¹. Rāvaṇa's imploration to Sītā while carrying her to Laṅkā in his Puṣpakavimāna (in the *PCV* at 46.3,10) and his request to Sītā at Laṅkā (in the *VR* at 3.55.35,36²).

- (१) एहेहि इम्रो सुन्दरि, बाया मे देहि मा चिरावेहि ।
 दिट्ठा सि रुक्खगहणे, किं परिहासं चिरं कुणसि ॥ पउम० ४४।५३॥
 भो भो मतमहानय, एत्थारण्णे तुमे भमन्तेणं ।
 महिला सोमसहावा, जइ दिट्ठा किं न साहेहि ॥ पउम० ४४।५७॥
 तरुवर तुमं पि वच्चसि, दूरुन्नयवियडपत्तलच्छाय ।
 एत्थं भ्रुव्वविलया, कहं ते नो लक्खिया रण्णे ॥ पउम० ४४।५८॥
 दिट्ठा दिट्ठा सि मए, एहेहि इम्रो इम्रो कउल्लावो ।
 धावइ तओ तओ च्चिय पडिसइयमोहिओ रामो ॥ पउम० ४४।६४॥
 गज सा गजनासोरुयं दि द्ढा त्वया भवेत् ।
 तां मन्ये विदिसां तुभ्यमाख्याहि वरवरण ॥ बा० रा० ३।६०।२४॥
 किं धावसि प्रिये नूनं द्ढासि कमलेशणे ।
 वृक्षैराच्छाद्य चात्मानं किं मां न प्रतिभाषसे ॥ बा० रा० ३।६०।२६॥
 तिष्ठ तिष्ठ वरारोहे न तेऽस्ति करुणा मयि ।
 नात्यर्थं हास्यशीलासि किमर्थं मामुपेक्षसे ॥ बा० रा० ३।६०।२७॥
- (२) जइ दिट्ठिपसायं मे, न कुणसि वरकमलपतदलनयणे ।
 तो पहणमुत्तिमं, इमेण च्चलणारविन्तेणं ॥ पउम० ४६।३॥
 ताहे लंकाहिवाई, निययसिरे विरइऊण करकमलं ।
 पाएसु तीए पडिओ, तणमिव गणिओ विदेहाए ॥ पउम० ४६।१०॥
 आर्षोऽयं देवि निष्यन्दो यस्त्वामभिभविव्यति ।
 एतौ पादौ मया स्निग्धौ शिरोभिः परिपीडितौ ॥
 प्रसादं कुरु मं क्षिप्रं वश्यो दासोऽहमस्मिने ।
 इमाः शून्यमया वाचः शृण्वमासेन भाषिताः ॥ बा० रा० ३।५५।३५।३६॥

The columns of the army of Mālin, Sumālin and Mālyavanta when they attack Indra (PCV, 7.14) and in the VR (7.6.49) when they attack the Devas and their protector Viṣṇu³.

The phenomenal occurrences depicting the defeat of Mālin, Sumālin, etc. in the PCV at 7.16-17 and VR at 7.6.53,55,57,58.

Sītā's retort to Rāma on the occasion of her fire-ordeal⁴.

Rāma's consolation to Vibhīṣaṇa after the death of Rāvaṇa⁵.

Benedictory verses at 118.93-96 in the PCV and at 6.128.100.107, 111. 114 & 121 in the VR.

As far as the above discussion goes we can say that the VR has exercised considerable influence upon the PCV.

5. Particular Version of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa that Influenced Paumacariyaṁ & Counter Influence of Paumacariyaṁ :

It is held by the scholars that the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa has its two recensions—Southern and Northern. Further it is held that the Northern recension has two versions; the North-Western and the Gaudīya or the North-Eastern. Dr. Bulcke (see VRTP) has systematically arranged the contents of the three different versions of the VR,

(३) गयतुरयवसभकेसरि-मयमहिसवराहवाहणारूढा ।

वचन्ति रक्खसमडा, छायन्ता अम्बरं तुरिया ॥ पउम० ७.१४ ॥

सिहैवर्षाघ्नैराहैश्च सुमरैश्चमरैरपि ।

त्यक्त्वा लंकौ गताः सर्वे राक्षसा बलगविताः ॥

खरैर्गोभिरथोष्टैश्च शिशुमारैर्भुजंगमैः ।

मकरैः कच्छपैर्मैत्रेविहगैरुडोपमैः ॥ बा०रा० ७।६।४९-४८ ॥

(४) सीया पइ पवुत्ता, तुह सरिसो नत्थि निदुत्तुरो अन्नो ।

पाययपुरिसो व्व जहा, ववससि पइ दारुणं कम्मं ॥

डोहलछम्भेण अहं, जंसि तुमे छड्डिया महारण्णे ।

तं राहव अणुसरिसं, किं ते अइनिदुत्तुरं कम्मं ॥ पउम० १०.१।३१-३२ ॥

किं मामपदशं वाक्यमीदृशं श्रोत्रदारुणम् ।

रूक्षं श्रावयसे वीर प्राकृतः प्राकृतामिव ॥ बा०रा० ६।११६।५ ॥

त्वया तु नृपशार्दूल रोषमेवानुवर्तता ।

लघुनेव मनुष्येण स्त्रीत्वमेव पुरस्कृतम् ॥ बा०रा० ६।११६।१४ ॥

(५) अह भणइ पउमनाहो, मरणन्ताइं हवन्ति वेराणि ।

लंकाहिवस्स एतो, कुणह लहुं पेयकरणिज्जं ॥ पउम० ७.५।१ ॥

मरणान्तानि वैराणि निवृत्तं नः प्रयोजनम् ।

क्रियतामस्य संस्कारो ममाप्येष यथा तव ॥ बा०रा० ६।१०९।२५ ॥

which are held to have originated at different dates. Our *Paumacariyam* contains some such points which have their counterparts with slight variations either in the one or two versions of *VR* exclusively. A critical examination of those points reveals that Vimalasūri was influenced most probably by the (Northern-Udīcya) recension of *VR* and in some cases the *PCV* seems to have counter-influenced some versions of *VR*.

(a) Portions found exclusively in the Northern recension i. e. the *Udīcya-pāṭha* or the common recension of the N-W. and the *Gauḍīya* till they were not separated into two different versions :

(i) The order of certain episodes in the *Rāvaṇa-Carita* in both the works is similar as follows:—*PCV*—Raising of Kailāśa mountain by Rāvaṇa, his discomfiture at the hands of Muni Vāli, the episode of Rāvaṇa's hostility with the king of Māheśvara, the destruction of the sacrifice of king Marutta, then many other episodes.

Udīcya *VR* :—Raising of Kailāśa, Rāvaṇa's encounter with the king of Māheśvara and Vāli, Rāvaṇa's challenge to Marutta and then many other episodes. (But in the Southern version, Rāvaṇa's encounter with the king of Māheśvara and Vāli are narrated in the last. (*VRTP*, 150).

(ii) *PCV*—Preceding the exile of Vibhīṣaṇa from Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa in fury tries to have a duel with him (55.20). Udīcya *VR*—Rāvaṇa in fury kicks Vibhīṣaṇa (*Gauḍīya*, 6.87, N-W, 6.90=*VRTP*, 123.)

(iii) *PCV* :—After the killing of Hasta and Prahasta and the recovery of Lakṣmaṇa, Rāvaṇa is advised by his ministers to sign a pact of Sandhi with Rāma (*PCV*, 65.7).

At one place Rāvaṇa decides to give up Sītā but only after defeating Rāma so that he would not be regarded by the people as coward (69.29f). Before the commencement of the final battle Mandodarī requests Rāvaṇa to give up Sītā because Lakṣmaṇa is a Prativāsudeva and his (Rāvaṇa's) death is destined at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa (70.8-37).

The above points bear similarity with those of the Udīcya version of the *VR* as follows:—

Udīcya *VR*—When Rāvaṇa demands help from Kumbhakarṇa, the latter says that he has come to learn from Nārada that his (Rāvaṇa's) assassination is being arranged at the hands of the Avatāra of Viṣṇu. Nārada had learnt it at the meeting of the Devatās. Kumbhakarṇa further tells that Rāma has come here to kill us all, so we should sign a pact of Sandhi with him (*Gauḍīya*, 6-40; N-W, 6.41).

Then Rāvaṇa replies that if he returns Sītā to Rāma, he would become an object of ridicule. He thinks why should he fear Viṣṇu, when he has conquered many Devatās (*Gauḍīya*, 6.41; N-W, 6.42; *VRTP*, 132). Rāvaṇa prepares for entering the battlefield after the killing of Prahasta. At that time Mandodarī along with the ministers requests Rāvaṇa to sign a pact of Sandhi with Rāma because he is not an ordinary person (*Gauḍīya*, 6.33; N-W, 6.35). Then Rāvaṇa replies that he has previously defeated the Devatās and now he will defeat Rāma also (*Gauḍīya*, 6.34.; N-W, 6.36; *VRTP*, 131).

It is held by Dr. W. Ruben that the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* started bifurcating into two recensions, the Southern and the Northern during the first or the second century A. D. The topics which are not found in the Southern recension but are present in both the *Gauḍīya* and the N-W. versions should be regarded as forming the original 'pāṭha' of the Northern recension or the Udīcyā 'pāṭha' only. The Udīcyā recension went on swelling with interpolations uptil approximately before the sixth century A.D. (See *VRTP*, p. 30-31).

Now as far as the above points are concerned it is more probable that the *PCV* is influenced by the Udīcyā recension of the *VR*, but nothing definite can be said and it may be vice-versa also in some cases.

(b) *Portions found exclusively in the Southern recension:*

(i) Hanumān's fight with Laṅkādevī (S. *VR*, 5.3.20-51; *VRTP*, 82).

(ii) Mandoparī's advice to Rāvaṇa to force Sītā to yield to him and Rāvaṇa's refusal to do the same because of his vow of not establishing sexual relations with any unwilling woman (*PCV*, 46.29-32). Mahāpārśva's advice and Rāvaṇa's refusal on account of the curse of Pitāmaha (*VRTP*, 110).

It is held by Dr. W. Ruben that the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* started bifurcating into two recensions—i. e. the Southern and the Northern (Udīcyā) by the time of the first or second century A. D. (*VRTP*, p. 30). Thus the portions which are exclusively found in the Southern recension are interpolated later. As regards the above mentioned points we cannot be sure about the influence of the *VR* on the *PCV* or vice-versa. It is also probable that Vimalasūri was acquainted with the Udīcyā recension and he came into contact with the Southern recension also or vice-versa as far as the similarity of the points of the Udīcyā and the Southern recension with those of the *PCV* reveal.

(c) *Portions found exclusively in the Southern recension and the N-W. version :*

(i) Abusing of Vibhīṣaṇa as coward by Indrajit (*PCV*, 55.9; *VRTP*, 110).

(ii) *PCV* (Ch. 23) Nārada once went to Laṅkā to worship the Jinas. He heard a prophecy there. Sāgaravidhī told Rāvaṇa that he would be killed by Daśaratha's son Vibhīṣaṇa then plotted to kill Daśaratha. Nārada went to Daśaratha and alerted him of the impending danger to his life. *S.VR*—It contains a somewhat similar story in the interpolated chapters 2-4 after Ch. 37 of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Southern version of *VR*. In the N-W. version they are placed in footnotes after Ch 39 of *Uttarakāṇḍa*. In the Gauḍīya version they are absent. It shows that these chapters did not form the part of the original *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *VR* but they are interpolated later. The story is as follows:—

“On enquiry from Rāvaṇa, Sanatkumāra told him that one who is killed by Prabhu (Hari-Nārāyaṇa) attains the abode of Hari (emancipation). Sanatkumāra further prophesied that Hari would soon take birth in the form of the son of Daśaratha and would go in exile. Thereupon Rāvaṇa decided to kidnap Sītā so that he would attain emancipation on being killed at the hands of Rāma.” When Nārada came to know about this episode he went to Muni Agastya and made him acquainted with it. Muni Agastya narrated it to Rāma.

The striking similarities are Sāgaravidhī in the *PCV* and Sanatkumāra in the *VR*, prophecy in both the works, learning of it by Nārada and then passing it on to Daśaratha in the *PCV* and to Muni Agastya in the *VR*.

It is held that as regards the topics which are found in the Southern recension as well as in the N-W. version of *VR*, there is influence of the Southern recension on the N-W. version (*VRTP*, p.31). As regards the above mentioned point (a) we cannot be sure whether the Southern version has influenced the *PCV* or the *PCV* has influenced both the versions of *VR*, but on the point (b) the influence of the *PCV* is very obvious as it will be clear from the following discussion.

Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar¹ says that Rāma's identification with Viṣṇu had become popular in the early centuries of Christian era, but his worship i.e. Rāma-bhakti originated very late, probably in the 11th century A.D. (See Bulcke, p. 150). The oldest works which refer to Rāma-bhakti belong to Tamil Alvaras from the 8th century A.D.

1. See Collected works of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV, p.66.

Rāma-bhakti became very popular with the sect of Rāmānuja. The *Rāma-Tāpanīya Upaniṣad* of the 11th century. A.D. reveals this fact. Dr. Bulcke (p. 339) says that it is the first work which mentions that Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā for his own emancipation. We find that the same idea is echoed in the above mentioned interpolated chapters of the Southern version of *VR*. Thus it becomes clear that these interpolations must be dated at least not before the 8th century A.D. The points of similarity between the *PCV* and the *VR* are striking. Hence, the influence of the *PCV*'s tradition on the *VR* is quite certain. It shows that the *PCV*, as regards this point, has influenced both the Southern recension as well as the N-W. version.

Here we will like to add something more which has come to our light recently. Prof. G H Bhatt¹ mentions that there exists also a Western (comprising the territory ranging from Jodhpur to Broach) version of *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. This is the third version of the Northern recension of *VR*, the other two being N-W. & N-E. He further states that there are portions in the N-W. version which are missing in the N-E. (Gauḍīya) version but are found in the Southern recension as well as in the Western version. In such a case it may be probable that some points of Western version might have passed on to the Southern recension as well as to the North-Western version. We cannot say definitely about it until the critical edition of complete *VR* is published and a critical examination of such common portions is thoroughly made. In case some points having similarity with our *Paumacariyam* are found in the western version, it can be presumed that the *PCV* has influenced the Western version and then from that version the respective points passed into the Southern recension and the N-W. version. Then it would be possible to assign a particular region to which our author belonged.

(d) *Portions found exclusively in the Gauḍīya version:*

(a) *PCV*—Rāma sends Hanumān, Aṅgada and Bhāmaṇḍala to Bharata for bringing the bath-water of Viśalyā for curing Lakṣmaṇa who was wounded by the Śakti hurled by Rāvaṇa (64.1-20). Gauḍīya (6.82)—Hanumān while bringing the medicinal herb meets Bharata and holds a discussion with him (*VRTP*, 134 A).

(e) *Portions found exclusively in the N-W version:*

(i) Disturbing of Rāvaṇa's religious ritual and dragging of Mandodarī by Aṅgada (*PCV*, 68.38; N-W. *VR*, 6.82; *VRTP*, 133).

1. See The *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, Critical Edition, Vol. I Int. p. xxx.

(ii) *PCV*—Kaikeyī is trained in various arts. She drives the war-chariot of her spouse and thus helps him in subduing the hostile candidates (24.23). N-W. *VR*—(2.11.42) Kaikeyī is said to have acquired some Vidyā from a certain Bhrahmin hence she became successful in protecting her husband in the battle of the Devas and the Asuras (*VRTP*, 32).

(iii) *PCV*—The story of Daṇḍaka is narrated to Rāma by two monks whom he meets in the Daṇḍaka forest (41.19-35).

N-W. *VR* (3.17)—Muni Agastya narrates the story of Daṇḍakavana to Rāma before he proceeds further to the south. This story has been placed here by the compiler. In the Southern version it is narrated in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* 79 81 (*VRTP*, 65).

It is held by Dr. S. Levi that the Udīcya-pāṭha (Northern recension) of *VR* was bifurcated into the N-W. and the Gauḍīya versions by the 6th century A.D. (*VRTP*, p. 33). Thus it is clear that the points which are exclusively found in either of the versions of Udīcya-pāṭha are interpolated since approximately the sixth century A.D. (See Bulcke, p. 32). In that case it is the traditions of the *PCV* that has influenced the N-W. and the Gauḍīya versions of *VR* as far as the above mentioned points are concerned.

As regards the point (i) under the N-W. version it can be definitely held that the source of the *VR* is the tradition of the *PCV* as follows :

Indrajit and Kumbhakarṇa are captured, and Rāvaṇa's proposal for a 'Sandhi' is rejected by Rāma, Rāvaṇa undertakes to aquire the Bahurupāvidyā for becoming unvanquishable (*PCV*, 65.5), and for inflicting a defeat to the enemies (*PCV*, 68.48). At 72. 15-18 it is mentioned that as soon as the 'Bahurupāmahāvidyā' was invoked by Rāvaṇa, his head and limbs reappeared as many times as they were severed of by Lakṣmaṇa. Thus we find that there was two-fold purpose of acquiring the Vidyā, firstly to emerge as unvanquishable and secondly to manifest imaginary limbs and heads.

In the *VR* Indrajit performs the sacrifice for becoming unvanquishable (*VR*, 6.84.14). Then there is the episode of the reappearance of the head and the limbs of Rāvaṇa as many times as they are severed of by Rāma.

It indicates that the above two episodes in the *PCV* have parallels in the *VR*.

In the Southern and the Gauḍīya versions Rāvaṇa's sacrifice and its disturbance by Aṅgada is not found as there was no necessity of it.

At the time of demanding boons from Brahmā, Rāvaṇa asks for immortality from all other beings except the human beings, for he is confident of himself that the human beings can never vanquish him (7.10.20). Whereas in the *PCV* Rāvaṇa's meditation to acquire Bahurupāvidyā is purposeful, for he is not granted any boon of immortality or unvanquishableness and again it is felt necessary to explain the reappearance of his head and limbs. In these circumstances the episode of Rāvaṇa's meditation and its disturbance by Aṅgada have originality in the *PCV* while in the N-W. version of the *VR* it has crept later.

Thus on the whole we find that the *PCV* bears more similarity with the Northern recension of the *VR* and specially with the N-W. version rather than the Southern recension of the *VR* as regards either being influenced by or having exercised its influence on the *VR*. Does it not indicate that the author of the *PCV* belonged to North India? As already mentioned above when the *VR*'s critical edition is complete, we may be able to find out the particular region of North India to which our author belonged and perhaps it might come as the Western part of North India. (The region ranging from Jodhpur to Baroch i. e. the area of *VR*'s Western recension).

C. Influence of Rāmopākhyāna of Mahābhārata on PCV.

The description of Rāvaṇa's palace and Aṅgada's exploring into it at 68.9-15 in the *PCV* bears resemblance with that of the Mahābhārata at 2.47.1-15 (See *Infra*, Ch. 11., Sec. 3F 'Sentiment of Humour') It shows that our author was conversant with the Mahābhārata. There is Rama-story in the *Mahābhārata*. It is titled as *Rāmopākhyāna*. Let us see if it has exercised any influence on the *Paumacariyam*

In the following points (See *Supra*, Ch. 3 & 4 for details) we find some resemblances between the *Rāmopākhyāna* and the Rāma-story of *PCV*.

1. Sītā is called the daughter (Ātmajā) of Janaka but her mother is not mentioned.
2. Pitāmaha is held responsible though Gāndhārvī Dundubhi for Rāma's exile. Thus Kaikeyī is to some extent exonerated from the charge (*PCV*-Rāma's exile is voluntary).
3. Kaikeyī does not mention any specific period of Rāma's exile at the time of demanding a boon. It is at Laṅkā that Daśaratha's spirit reminds Rāma that the period of 14 years has completed.
4. No reference to manifestation of any huge form while entering Laṅkā.
5. No references to the severing of imaginary head of

Rāma, the efforts of Mālyavān to set right Rāvaṇa, the duel between Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa and killing of imaginary Sītā. 6. In the battle Prahasta becomes the first casualty, thereafter Sugrīva is captured by the enemy as in the *PCV*. 7. No bringing of any mountain peak by Hanumān. 8. The order of the incidents which took place with Sītā in Laṅkā before the arrival of Hanumān agrees with that of the *PCV*. 9. Rāvaṇa-carita is narrated in the beginning as in the *PCV*.

There are very few points of resemblance. The *Rāmopākhyāna* does not contain the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of Rāma-story i.e. the banishment of Sītā and Lava-Aṅkuṣa-Carita whereas the *PCV* contains them therefore, the *Rāmopākhyāna* cannot be considered as the source of *PCV*'s Rāma-kathā. However, the points Nos. 6, 8 & specially 9 reveal that the planning of the *PCV* is influenced by it.

D. What do the Peculiarities of Paumacariyam Reveal ?

Vimalasūri was, as discussed in the preceding pages, not only well-acquainted with the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* but was also influenced by it. A comparison of Rāma-story of both the works has revealed that the *Paumacariyam* has many differences with the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* as regards the details. How we shall systematically arrange those differences and try to find out whether the differences have been willfully affected by Vimalasūri to mould the Rama-story in a way different from that of *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* or he had backing of some other tradition.

The differences reveal the following peculiarities in the *PCV* :

There is largely absence of (1) Wonderful elements; (2) Divine elements; (3) Exaggerations and (4) Unbelievable things. (5) The story sounds realistic. (6) Under various circumstances the characters have been elevated and (7) there is total absence of Brahmanical atmosphere. (8) The story moves in the Jaina atmosphere; and (9) there are some other elements fitting in with the story of Vimalasūri's plan and pattern.

1. Absence of Wonderful Elements :

No golden deer. No magnifying of his body by Hanumat. No talking with the Maināka mountain. No reference to Hanumat's assuming the form like a cat. No attempt of Hanumat to grab the sun.

2. Absence of Divine Elements :

Rāma and his brothers are born in a natural way. No Deva-Asura battle. Samudra is not the deity of the sea but a ruler. Laṅkāśundarī is not the deity of the city but a Rākṣasa woman. Appearance of Daśarahta's spirit and God Mahendra etc. at the time of Sītā's fire-ordeal at Laṅkā is not found. Indra is not the celestial Lord but a Vidyādhara king. Añjanā is a human Vidyādhari and not a nymph. Vāli, Sugrīva and Hanu all are born in a natural way. No grant of immortality to Rāvaṇa. No entry of Sītā into the splitted earth.

3. Absence of Exaggerations :

No burning of Laṅkā. No construction of a bridge across the sea by the monkeys. No diabolical character of Kumbhakarṇa. No cruelties of the Rākṣasas.

4. Absence of Unbelievable things :

No wonderful birth of Sītā. Depiction of Jaṭāyu as a bird only and not as a semi-human being. No creation of illusory severed head of Rāma or assassination of illusory Sītā. No bringing of any mountain by Hanumat. No reviving of the dead Vānaras to life.

5. Realistic Exposition :

The Vidyādharas, Vānaras and the Rākṣasas are depicted as human races and not as divine or semi-divine being or demons. Vāli, Sugrīva, Hanu etc are born in a natural way. Realistic exposition of the story of Indra and his Lokapālas. No ten faces of Rāvaṇa. Daśaratha's battle with the disgruntled candidates at the 'svayamvara' of Kaikeyī in place of Deva-Asura battle. Sītā is the legal daughter of the parents, Janaka and Videhā.

6. Characters Elevated :

For details see Infra, 'Characterisation' under Ch. 11. Sec. 3E.

7. Absence of Brahmanical Atmosphere :

No reference to Aśvamedha and Putreṣṭi Yajña of Daśaratha. No incarnation of Rāma as Viṣṇu. No reference to the protection of the Yajña of Viśvāmitra by Rāma. No promise of Rāma to annihilate the Rākṣasas who used to destroy Brahmanical Yajñas. Śambūka is not a Śūdra and he is not killed by Rāma. Śatrughna's battle with Lavaṇa and Madhu is purely political and not for helping hermits.

Muni Vālmiki is replaced by king Vajrajaṅgha. No horse-sacrifice of Rāma. No God Śaṅkara's encounter with Rāvaṇa on the Kailāśa. Various Brahmanical tales incorporated in the first and the seventh kāṇḍas of *VR* are not found in the *PCV*.

8. **Jaina Environment :**

Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa are eighth Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva of the Jaina mythology respectively. During his journey Rāma ameliorates the conditions of devout Jaina rulers and pays respects to Jaina monks. Many wives of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are in accordance with the Jaina Mythology that more the number of wives more the glory of Baladeva and Vāsudeva. All the characters are devout Jains. They renounce the world in the ending days of their life. Most of the intervening stories and religious discourses are introduced to propagate Jaina doctrines and ethics.

9. **Some other Elements to suit the story of the PCV :**

Prophecy about Rāvaṇa's death at the hands of a son of Daśaratha. Daśaratha's disappearance and attending the 'svayamvara' of Kaikeyī. Bhāmaṇḍala-episode and the bow. Killing of Śambūka by Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa's appearance on the scene. Episode of Ratnajaṭin. Episode of Virādhita Viśalyā as a surgeon. Aparājita's message to Rāma through Nārada.

E. **The Basic Foundation of PCV, Jaina and Popular Tradition.**

1. **Critical Examination of three Probabilities :**

In view of the above analysis Dr. V.M. Kulkarni¹ has come to the conclusion that the origin of the *PCV* is the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki and Vimala was prompted to effect various changes in his Rāma-story on account of the following three aims or motives :

(a) Purging the story of its exaggerations and elements divine, wonderful and unbelievable to give it a realistic form based on rational outlook.

(b) Emptying the story of its Brahmanical elements and infusing it with Jaina atmosphere to propagate Jainism.

1. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 199 ff, 204 ff. 'The Origin and Development of the Rāma-story in Jaina Literature'.

(c) Re-shaping the story or introducing some new elements for elevating the characters and for making the story befitting to his own plan and pattern.

The above theory seems at first to be fairly convincing, but a closer scrutiny establishes something else, and for that we will have to take into consideration the Rāma-story of *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, which reveals many differences with the story of the present inflated versions of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. Dr. Kulkarni has not considered the story of *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa*. A glance at the tables of contents of the *Rāmāyaṇa* given at two places in the *Bālakāṇḍa* (Ch. 1 & 3) shows as to what extent the *Rāmāyaṇa* has got inflated during the subsequent period. It is held by Dr. Jacobi (*Das, Ram*, p. 10) that the contents given in the first chapter of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *VR* form the nucleus of the oldest form of the *VR*. Besides that, we shall examine the traditions presented in other early non-Jaina works on Rāma-story¹ and the views of scholars to find out whether the *PCV* has some traditional backing or Vimalasūri has merely remoulded the Rāma-story of the *VR* to suit his own purpose.

As far as the first aim is concerned one cannot claim that the *Paumacariyaṃ* has been totally emptied of all unbelievable elements for there are still instances in it which can be mentioned as follows:—

Conjuring up of a town by a Yakṣa for the sojourn of Rāma in exile (35.23). Converting of the fire-pit into a reservoir of water during Sītā's ordeal (102.19). Reappearing of the head and the limbs of Rāvaṇa as many times as they were severed of by Lakṣmaṇa (72.16-18). Raising of the peak of Kailāsa mountain by Rāvaṇa (9.69). Rāvaṇa's and Sāhasagati's (sham Sugrīvās) supernatural powers of assuming any form of their liking (8.25; 47.43). Conjuring up of hobgoblins by Rāvaṇa to frighten Sītā (46.52). Assistance of celestial Garuḍādhipati to Rāma in the battlefield (59.83). Hanumat's feat of bringing the waters of the sea to extinguish the conflagration (51.6). Powers of Vidyādhara Sahasrāra to conjure up the paraphernalia of the celestial Lord (7.6). Nourishment of Nārada by celestial beings (11.64). And above all bestowing the Vidyādharas with supernatural powers.

We shall see further that many such elements of *VR*, which are not found in the *PCV*, were not the part of the original *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* and some of them are not found even in the earlier non-Jaina works.

1. Dr. Kulkarni has not examined these traditions too.

As regards the second aim, it is important to mention that the scholars hold that the story of *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* was that of an ideal Kṣatriya. The Brahmanical colouring to it was given by the later interpolators.

For the third aim the consequent discussion will show how far there was backing of some tradition and to what extent Vimalasūri gave a new shape to the story.

Now we shall quote evidences from *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* as well as from other early Brahmanical and Buddhist works on Rāma-story and the validity of the alleged probabilities and the value of our contentions.

(a) In criticism of the first aim the following points are worth consideration:—

The *PCV* mentions that Sītā was the legal daughter of Janaka. It is supported by the *Rāmopākhyāna* of *MB* and the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (9.1.60) also Sītā is not referred to as Ayonijā but as Janakātmaajā. Not only that but even in the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* i.e. the contents given in the first chapter of *Bālakāṇḍa* of *VR* (1.1.27), she is said to be 'Janakasya kulejātā (See Supra, Ch. 3. Sec. 28).

The *PCV* does not refer to any device of deer for abducting Sītā. The Buddhist as well as some Brahmanical works also do not refer to it. The *Anāmakaṃ Jātaka* and the *Kūrmapurāṇa* are such instances. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* (9.1.62) mentions that Rāvaṇa kidnapped Sītā deceitfully (māyā). There is no reference to any deer. Even in the *VR* at (1.1.52) i.e. in the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* it is mentioned that deceitful Mārīca led away Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa but there is no reference to the deer. Mr. C. V. Vaidya holds that the episode of deer is a later interpolation in the *VR* (See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 5D)

The *PCV* does not mention that Hanumat manifested his huge form while crossing the sea and changed his form while entering the city of Laṅkā. It is supported by the *Rāmopākhyāna* (*MB*, 3. 282. 59-60). Not only that but even the *VR* (1.1.72) i.e. *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* does not refer to these two incidents

The *PCV* does not refer to setting Laṅkā on fire by Hanumat. This episode, as held by Dr. Jacobi, is interpolated later in the *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* (Vide Bulcke, p. 366 .

The *PCV* has no reference to the constructing of bridge to cross the sea. The *Abhiṣeka Nāṭaka*, the *Hindu Padmapurāṇa* and the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* also do not refer to the bridge. They mention some other

devices (See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 8A). There is a general reference in the *PCV* that Rāma and his Vānara army reached Laṅkā driving in their Yānas, Vāhanas and Vimānas (54. 37) after defeating Samudra a chieftain (54-40-45). It indicates that Samudra guarded the sea frontiers of Laṅkā. The *Abhiṣeka Nāṭaka* mentions that the sea gave way when Rāma was ready to discharge an arrow from his bow. The *Padmapurāṇa* (*Pātālakhaṇḍa*) mentions that with the help of the bow of God Śaṅkara, the sea was crossed; its *Uttarakhaṇḍa* mentions that when Rāma discharged an arrow the waters of the sea disappeared and the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* mentions that when Lakṣmaṇa jumped into the sea, the waters got evaporated and the army crossed the sea. These accounts may be taken as allegorical references to the defeat of the guard who was protecting the sea-frontiers. Similarly the appearance of the deity of the sea as mentioned in the *Rāmopākhyāna* and the *VR* may be taken as an element of divine touch. In the *Rāmopākhyāna* itself it is mentioned before the construction of the bridge that someone advised Rāma to cross the sea by the available boats (*Kecinnaubhirvyavasyanti kecicca vividhaiḥ plavaiḥ*—*MB*, 3. 283. 26), but Rāma did not accept the proposal because in his view the available boats were not enough to accomodate all the army and further he did not consider it advisable to mar the commerce by engaging those boats for crossing the sea (*MB*, 3. 283-28). It indicates that boats were available for crossing the sea. This reference in the *Rāmopākhyāna* and the absence of constructing of bridge in the above mentioned works reveal that the boats were most probably used for crossing the sea but for introducing the element of wonder or exaggeration the bridge or some other device has been mentioned in several works. The Yānas and Vimānas mentioned in the *PCV* are various types of vehicles plied for crossing the sea.

The *PCV* does not refer to bringing of any mountain peak by Hanumat. The same is the case with the *Rāmopākhyāna* and the *Raghuvamśa*. Even in the *VR* this episode is regarded by Dr. Jacobi as interpolated (Bulcke, p. 381; See Supra, Ch. 3. Sec. 8E).

In the *PCV* Rāma is depicted as a man only. No divinity is attached to him. In the *VR* he has been raised to the level of a divine being, but it is held by Dr. Jacobi that in the five genuine books of *VR* Rāma is a man and man only (*Das. Rama*, p. 50).

In the *PCV*, Rāvaṇa is depicted as one-faced while in the *VR* as ten-faced. But there are statements in the *VR* itself, that prove that he was one-faced. (See Infra, 'Daśamukha, Ch. 10 Sec. 6).

In the *PCV* the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras are depicted as human beings. In the *VR* they are depicted as semi-divine beings. The Rākṣasas are said to be cannibals and the Vānaras as monkeys. But there are in the *VR* various spots where the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras are depicted as quite human like. These contradictory descriptions bring out that originally they were not so, but it has been done in the *VR* with the purpose of undermining them and finding fault with the Rākṣasas who were against the cult of sacrifice. Whereas the Vānaras are so depicted to create the sentiment of wonder (See *Infra*, 'Rākṣasas and Vānaras', Ch. 10 Sec. 6).

In the *PCV* Rāvaṇa is depicted as a noble man except that of his defect of passion for Sītā. It was on account of this vice—lust for another man's wife (*paranārī-saṁsa* (ga) yaṁ' 118.108), that he brought about his own annihilation. He is not depicted as cruel. Whereas in the *VR* he is depicted as cruel. It is held by Dr. Bulcke that this cruelty is exaggerated in the *VR* (Bulcke, p. 113). Thus we find that originally he was not so cruel (See *Supra*, Ch. 10. Sec. 6 'Rākṣasas and Daśamukha').

The *PCV* depicts Hanumat just like an average human being without any exaggeration. While in the *VR* his physical powers are described in an exaggerated form. But it is held that such descriptions did not form the part of the authentic *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* (Bulcke, p. 112).

It is all about the wonderful elements, exaggerations etc. It shows that Vimalasūri had not merely the aim of emptying the story of all these elements but he must have been backed by some tradition. It is held that the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* did not contain these things to that extent. It was the work of the rhapsodists who went on adding such things keeping in view the taste of the audience (*Vide* Bulcke, p. 140-141), Dr. Jacobi remarks that comic matters and burlesque scenes were later interpolated by the rhapsodists for the applause of the listeners (*Das. Rama*, p. 49). The sentiment of wonder and the exaggeration about the Vānaras, Hanumat, Daśagrīva and Rākṣasas are later additions in the *VR* (See Bulcke, p. 118).

(b) The second aim should be reviewed in the following perspective:—

In the *PCV* Rāma is described as eighth Baladeva, Lakṣmaṇa as eighth Vāsudeva and Rāvaṇa as eighth Prativāsudeva. They are religious minded and devout Jains, whereas in the *VR* Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are the arms of Viṣṇu. Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu,

and Sītā that of Lakṣmī. Rāvaṇa is also depicted as a devotee of Brahmanism.

Other characters in the *PCV* are also followers of Jainism whereas in the *VR* as followers of Brahmanism.

There are in the *PCV* various intervening stories which propagate Jainism whereas in the *VR* there are Puranic stories in the *Bālakāṇḍa* and other stories in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* which uphold Brahmanism.

In the *PCV* Rāma during his journey in exile ameliorates the sufferings of devout Jaina kings, pays homage to Jaina Munis and thus works for the cause of Jainism. In the *VR* Rāma meets various Ṛṣis, followers of Brahmanism and promises to help them and protect them from the atrocities of the Rākṣasas. He resolves to annihilate the Rākṣasas for the cause of Brahmanism.

In the *PCV* there is no divine birth of Rāma whereas in the *VR* Rāma's birth is divine and the Putreṣṭi Yajña is associated with it, which is exclusively Brahmanical.

Thus we find that the *PCV*'s story moves in Jaina atmosphere whereas the *VR*'s story in the Brahmanical environment.

These differences can be easily explained. The purpose of both the works is different on account of the different faiths they represent.

Dr. W. Ruben holds that *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki depicted Rāma as an ideal Kṣatriya. The ideal was to attain Svarga and for attaining that ideal the help of the Brahmins was not necessary. It is gradually that the whole work has been given a Brahmanical colouring (Vide Bulcke, p. 138).

The *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* which was based on ancient ballads did not contain Putreṣṭi Yajña or Avatārvāda or the meeting of various Ṛṣis in the forest and Rāma's promise to annihilate the Rākṣasas.

The contents of the first chapter of *Bālakāṇḍa* do not refer to Rāma as an Avatāra. Even in the *Bālakāṇḍa* it was added at the time when it was given a final shape (See Bulcke, p. 124, 130, 256).

The contents in the first chapter of *Bālakāṇḍa* of *VR* does not mention Putreṣṭi Yajña. Even in the *Bālakāṇḍa* it is held to be an interpolation (See Bulcke, p. 256). The *Rāmopākhyāna*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Vāyu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Kūrma* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas* also do not refer to it. The *Daśartha Jātaka*, and the *Daśaratha Kathānam* also do not mention any wonderful birth of Rāma. It reveals that Putreṣṭi Yajña was introduced in the *VR* to give a Brahmanical colouring.

In the *VR* meeting with Muni Atri, (2. 117-118 ; See also Bulcke, p. 312), the killing of Virādha, meeting with Sarabhaṅga, Sutikṣṇa and Agastya (3. 1-14) all are interpolated (Bulcke, p. 330). They have been introduced to furnish with an account of the period of 12 years duration in the forest. These portions contain Rāma's promise to uproot the Rākṣasas.

Various Puranic stories interpolated in the first and the last *Kāṇḍa* of *VR* reveal clear Brahmanical influence on the *VR* and the effort to prove Brahmanical superiority (See Bulcke, 143).

Thus we find that the original Rāma-story was devoid of any sectarian taint. It was gradually that the *VR* was heavily interpolated with sectarian element to give it a Brahmanical colouring. The same way we find that the Rāma-story in the *Jātakas* is coloured with Buddhism. So naturally the Jainas gave it their own religious colour for the purpose of propagating Jainism.

(c) In support of the third aim the following facts are worth notice:—

The *PCV* maintains that Bharata was younger brother of Lakṣmaṇa. It is supported by the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, *Daśaratha Kathānam*, *Pratimā Nāṭaka*, the *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma Purāṇas*. Even the Gaudīya version of *VR* and a verse in the Southern version of *VR* support it (See Supra, Ch. 3. Sec. 1D)

The *PCV* mentions that Sītā had a brother. It is supported by the *Viṣṇu*, *Vāyu* and the *Kalikā Purāṇas*. Dr. Bulcke holds that the *PCV* in this respect preserves a historical element (Bulcke, p. 293). (See Supra, Ch. 3. Sec. 2 A).

The *PCV* mentions that Rāma defeated the Anāryas. It is corroborated by the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa. (See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 3c).

The *PCV* mentions that Rāma had more than one wife. There is an indication at least to the custom of polygamy prevalent in the family of Daśaratha. Daśaratha himself had many wives. In the Southern version of *VR*, Mantharā tells Kaikeyī that Rāma's wives will live a glorious life when Rāma is made the ruler of Ayodhya (2.8.12). It is held by the scholars that this reading is later on changed in other versions of *VR* (*VRTP*, No. 45. and p. 33, See also Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 1 fn. 2).

The *PCV* mentions that Kaikeyī was granted one boon only. It is supported by the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, *Daśaratha Kathānam*, *Padma-purāṇa* (Gaudīya version, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*; Vide Bulcke, p. 323). Not

only that but even the *Rāmopākhyāna* and the first chapter of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of *VR* itself (i.e. *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa*) refer to one boon only and Kaikeyī demands two things on the strength of that single boon (See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. B).

The *PCV* mentions that Bharata's mother did not demand Rāma's exile. It is supported by the *Dasaratha Jātaka* and *Daśaratha Kathānam* (See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 3B).

The *PCV* mentions that Rāma preferred a voluntary exile. It is supported by the *Anāmakam Jātaka* (See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 3B).

The *PCV* does not mention any definite period of Rāma's exile. It is supported by the *Anāmakam Jātaka*. Even in the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Kaikeyī does not mention definite period of Rāma's exile (*MB*, 3.277. 26). It is at Laṅkā that the spirit of Daśaratha asks Rāma to return to Ayodhyā as the period of fourteen years has completed (*MB*, 3.291 29) (See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 3B).

The *PCV* unlike the *VR* does not refer to any spying work by Rāvaṇa's men. It is held that even in the *VR* it is a spurious portion (Bulcke, p. 380).

The severing of the head of imaginary Rāma, the duel between Rāvaṇa and Sugrīva before the commencement of the battle are not mentioned in the *PCV*. The same is the case with the *Rāmopākhyāna*. It is held that these two episodes did not form part of the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* also. They are later interpolations (Bulcke, p. 380; See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 8 A).

In the *PCV* Rāma is said to have lived for 17000 years while in the *VR* for 11000 years. But the *Dasaratha Jātaka* mentions that Rāma lived for 16000 years. Thus the reference in the *PCV* is to some extent supported by the old tradition (See Supra, Ch. 3 Sec. 9. E. V).

The *PCV* refers to Hanumat's wives. In the whole of the *VR* there is no mention that Hanumat was married. But at one place it is said that Bharata offered 16 girls to Hanumat in marriage (*VR*, 6. 126. 44). Thus the account in the *PCV* has some traditional basis.

According to the *PCV* Hanumat, a Vānara scion was the son-in-law of Sugrīva as well as of Rāvaṇa's sister. The Vānaras and the Rākṣasas formed two branches of the Vidyādhara lineage. In the *VR* there is no such reference but some scattered references in the *VR* and the *Mahābhārata* reveal that Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa were filially related (See Infra, Vānaras under Ch. 10).

Vimalasūri tells us that in the popular *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma is said to have killed Vāli for the cause of Sugrīva and Tārā. But according to the *VR* Rāma kills Vāli for the cause of Sugrīva and his wife Rumā who was kidnapped by Vāli. Tārā, the wife of Vāli after the death of her husband voluntarily accept Sugrīva as her husband. The *Rāmopākhyāna* and the *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa* throw some light on this point of Vimalasūri. In the *Rāmopākhyāna* (*MB*, 3. 280) Rumā is not mentioned and Tārā is referred to as the wife of Vāli. Once Vāli is found to be suspecting the integrity of Tārā when she tries to prevent him from holding a duel with Sugrīva. Though Rāma is informed by Sugrīva, that his wife has been kidnapped by Vāli yet after the death of Vāli it is nowhere mentioned that Sugrīva gets back any other woman than Tārā. This episode indicates that either Tārā was formerly the wife of Sugrīva or Sugrīva wanted to make her his own wife and she had inclination for him. In the *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa* (Ch. 50), Tārā clearly appears to be the wife of Sugrīva whom she is restored from Vāli. These facts go to prove that Vimalasūri's information was based on some such tradition.

All these points show that some of the differences the *PCV* has with the *VR* are supported traditionally not only by Buddhist works but by Brahmanical works and even by the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* itself. It proves that Vimalasūri was backed by some tradition and he did not merely brought about changes in the Rāma-story of the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*.

2. Jaina as well as Popular Tradition as the Basic Foundation :

The most important point in the *PCV* is that Rāvaṇa is killed because of his passion for Sītā.

In the *PCV* it is depicted that Rāvaṇa brought about his own annihilation on account of kidnapping Sītā. This motto is outlined in the *PCV* in the ending colophon (18.104-105). In the *VR* Rāma meets various Munis and promises to annihilate the Rākṣasas. In the *Bālakāṇḍa* it is said that Viṣṇu took birth in the form of Rāma to annihilate Rāvaṇa. But as the authentic story goes, neither there is any indication that Rāma is proceeding with the sole aim of annihilating Rāvaṇa, nor that the Rākṣasas are disturbing the Munis and Rāma undertakes to annihilate them. The portions, referring to Rāma as Viṣṇu's incarnation, Rāma's meeting with the Munis and his promise to annihilate the Rākṣasas, are all later interpolations. Therefore, only the ignoble act of kidnapping of Rāma's wife by Rāvaṇa causes the annihilation of Rāvaṇa at the hands of Rāma. Thus the *VR* in its original form and the *PCV* agree as regards this fundamental point of the Rāma-story.

Thus we find that several points of the *PCV* though somewhat different from the *VR* are supported by *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* and other old works. It seems that the source of our *PCV*'s Rāma-story was some old tradition, somewhat other than the *VR* in its present inflated form. For the point is how Vimalasūri knew that the things alleged as unbelievable and the lies found in the popular *Rāmāyaṇa*, did not form the part of the true Rāma-story ? There must have been some basis on the ground of that he criticised such elements. It is improbable that Vimalasūri would have come across some version of *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* so late as the 5th century A.D. or he would have been able to distinguish between the original and the interpolated portions when the *VR* had been so much inflated by that time. Therefore, the basis of his story could not have been other than the Jaina tradition and some popular tradition also written or oral. The earliest evidence of the Jaina tradition can be traced in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, *Samavāyāṅga* and the *Sthānāṅga*. We have already discussed above in the beginning that the 'series of names' contained in these works were the basis of the Rāma-story of *Paumacariyam* as pointed out by our author. The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* is composed after the beginning of Christian era though it contains many things based on old tradition. The date of *Sthānāṅga* and *Samavāyāṅga* fall prior to the beginning of Christian era they are the third and the fourth *Āṅgas* of the cononical literature and are principal works of the Jaina Āgama. Dr. Jacobi speaks of the great age of the *Āṅgas* and Prof. J. Charpentier trusts it (*Uttarā*, Int. p. 25). Dr. Winternitz (*HIL*, vol. II p. 442) quotes Weber and says that the *Samavāyāṅga* in its present form is either a late work or that it contains some portions of later date. Prof. J. Charpentier meets the general criticism of Weber. He (*Opp. Cit.*, p. 32) says that in certain cases interpolation are there but the original dates back from the 3rd century B. C. to the beginning of our era. Therefore, we can say that most probably the tradition of Rāma-story was present with the Jainas during the 3rd cent. B. C., a date which coincides with the composition of the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* by *Vālmiki*. Dr. Bulcke after examining the arguments of various scholars—A. Schlegel, G. Gorressio, H. Jacobi, A. A. Macdonell, A. B. Keith and M. Winternitz, who assign different dates to the composition of *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* ranging from 12th cent. B. C. to the 3rd century B. C. (See Bulcke, p. 37) holds that *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* was composed in 3rd century B. C.

Further Dr. Bulcke holds that the main story of the whole *VR* has a historical basis and there should be no doubt about it (See Bulcke, p. 113). The *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmiki* which contained the

the main Rāma-story is held to be based on the ancient Gāthās. These Gāthās and the Ākhyāna Kāvya of Rāma-story, says Dr. Bulcke (p. 135), had very presumably originated during the 6th century B. C. The Buddhist Tripiṭaka Gāthās concerning the Rāma-story are also held to be based on the old Ākhyāna Kāvya. (Bulcke, pp. 98. & 134). Brief Rāma-stories found in the *Droṇaparva* and *Śāntiparva* of *Mahābhārata* seem to be based on the same Ākhyāna Kāvya, says Dr. Bulcke (p.135). He further states that this Gāthā literature of Rāma-story originated in the Kōśala country and spread towards the west also when the *Mahābhārata* was composed. He holds that by the time of the 4th century B.C., the Rāma-story (Ākhyāna Kāvya) had considerably become popular. Pāli Tripiṭaka was being composed during that period (Bulcke, p. 135) and some matter of the Ākhyāna Kāvya of the Rāma-story entered into the Pāli Tripiṭaka also (Bulcke, p. 98). Thus we can be sure that Rāma-story in its original and basic form was gaining popularity in North India by the time of the 4th century B. C. Jainism was also popularising during that period in north India and gradually spreading towards the west and south hence there is every possibility that the basis of Rāma-story of the Ākhyāna was known to the Jaina tradition. It will be quite worthwhile here to record the view of Prof. Winternitz about the ancient popular narratives and how they were utilised by different religions of India. He says that as early as the time of Buddha there was in existence an inexhaustible store of prose and verse narratives Ākhyānas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Gāthās, forming as it were literary public property which was drawn upon by the Buddhists and the Jains, as well as by the epic poets (HIL, I. P. 314). In view of this opinion the 'nāmāvalis' in the *Sthānāṅga* and *Samavāyāṅga* indicate that the Rāma-story in its basic form was known to the Jaina tradition. The 'series of names' formed the nucleus of the Rāma-story and its details remained with the precetors in the oral form. These details passed on to the successors by tradition i. e. 'āyariya paraṇparāgayam' as Vimalasūri also mentions in his work at I. 8. To this we can add the Popular Tradition from which Vimalasūri seems to have drawn a lot, as evidenced in the above analysis to compose his *Paumacariyam*.

3. Rāma's name as Padma :

Now the question arises why Dāśarathī Rāma is called Padma in the *Samavāyāṅga* as well as in the *Paumacariyam* when he is not known by this name either in the Brahmanical or in the Buddhist literature. The *Samavāyāṅga* names Dāśarathī Rāma as Padma and Kṛṣṇa's brother

Balarāma as Rāma while the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* names them as Rāma and Padma respectively. Both of them are recognised as the 8th and 9th Baladevas in the Jaina tradition. Now why one of these two Baladevas is named Padma. The only plausible explanation seems to be that the similarity in their names might have necessitated to distinguish one from the other and one of them was named Padma. Why this particular name was preferred? We see that Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are regarded as the incarnations of Viṣṇu in the Brahmanical tradition. Viṣṇu is called Padmanābha i.e. from his navel sprang the lotus which contained Brahmā, the future creator. As a Padmanābha is an epithet of Viṣṇu, and Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are incarnations of Viṣṇu, so this epithet has most probably influenced the Jaina tradition in naming either Rāma or Kṛṣṇa as Padma to distinguish between the two Rāmas, Dāsarathī Rāma and Balarāma. In the Hindu *Padmapurāṇa* (*Ādikhaṇḍa*, 1.23-24; 2.31-32) it is said that since the universe descended from the great lotus (mahāpadma) which sprang from the navel of Viṣṇu, and the universe itself is the embodiment of Viṣṇu, and there is description of the same in it so the work is named *Padmapurāṇa*. This fairly explains the association of the name Padma with Viṣṇu, i.e. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

Thus as far as the matter goes we here by conclude that the Rāma-story of *PCV* has its basic foundation on the Jaina tradition preserved in the form of 'series of names' which was aided with oral details that remained with the preceptors who augmented from time to time by accepting elements of their choice from popular tradition. In this way Vimalasūri seems to have inherited the subject-matter of Rāma-story from his predecessors and on that basis he composed *Paumacariyam* of his own plan and pattern, notwithstanding the fact that the *VR* too has considerably influenced the details of *PCV* and it was quite imperative in view of the great popularity the former had gained by the time of the composition of the latter. Therefore the Rāma-story of *PCV* is not wholly dependent on the *VR*.

F. Two Jaina Traditions of Rāma-kathā.

1. Tradition of *Paumacariyam* :

The *Paumacariyam* represents its own tradition of the Rāma story.

Now we shall deal with the Rāma-stories of two other works namely, *Vasudevahinḍī* and *Uttarapurāṇa*. They make out a different tradition of the Rāma-story depicting two currents of the same tradition.

2. Other Jaina Tradition of Rāma-Story:

(a) Current of Vasudevahindī's Rāma-story:

It is discussed following in the section G (i) that the *Vasudevahindī* of Saṅghadāsagaṇi was composed probably earlier than the *Paumacariyam*. If it is not so then both the works belong to a somewhat contemporary period and it will be worth while to compare the Rāma-stories of both the works so as to find out the points of their agreement and disagreement. A comparative study of them (for details See Supra Ch. 3 and 4) reveals that there are some points of agreement in both the stories but they seem to follow different traditions.

(i) Points of Agreement :—

1. Bharata and Śatrughna as the sons of Kaikeyī. 2. No Devāsura battle. Kaikeyī helps Daśaratha in his fight with some kings. The prominence of chariot. *PCV*—She drives Daśaratha's war-chariot. 3. On the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Sītā many candidates are present. 4. Daśaratha himself informs Rāma of his promise to Kaikeyī and her demands (*VR*—Daśaratha is silent). 5. Kaikeyī's attempt to call back Rāma from exile. 6. No hiding of Rāma while killing (Vālī in the *VH* and sham Sugrīva in the *PCV*). 7. No burning of Laṅkā by Hanumān. 8. Bharata sends his army to help Rāma on receiving a message from the latter (*VH*). Rāma sends messages to Bhāmaṇḍala (the brother of Sītā) twice (48. 34; 54. 46). Bhāmaṇḍala goes to help Rāma (*PCV*). 9. Vibhīṣaṇa joins with Rāma when the latter reaches the other side of the sea (*VR*—before crossing the sea). 10. Rāvaṇa, Vālī and Sugrīva are said to be belonging to the Vidyādhara race (*VH*). Rākṣasa and Vānara races are the branches of Vidyādhara race (*PCV*). 11. Rāma etc. are called land-farers (Dharaṇigoyara *VH*, I. p. 243; Bhūmigoyara *PCV*, 28. 66).

(ii) Points of disagreement:—

In spite of the above mentioned similarities the Rāma-story of the *PCV* widely differs from that of the *VH* as follows:—1. The *VH* does not refer to Rāma as Padma. 2. *VH*. Sītā is born of Mandodarī by Rāvaṇa. She is abandoned in her babyhood by her parents. Janaka and his wife Dhārīṇīdevī adopt her as their daughter. *PCV* Sītā is the daughter of Videhī by Janaka. 3. The *VH* does not contain the device of Bow in the 'svayamvara' of Sītā. 4. *VH* Two boons are granted to Kaikeyī on two different occasions. *PCV*—One boon only. 5. *VH*—Mantharā abets Kaikeyī for crowning Bharata

and for exiling Rāma. PCV—No Mantharā. Rāma's exile is voluntary. 6. VH—Rāma's period of exile is twelve years. PCV—No period mentioned. 7. VH—Bharata is away at his maternal uncle's home when Kaikeyī demands the boons. PCV—Bharata is at Ayodhyā. 8. VH—Bharata brings Rāma's 'pādukās'. PCV—No reference to them. 9. The details of Rāma's journey and his exploits till he enters the Daṇḍakāraṇya are missing in the VH. 10. The VH refers to Rāma's entry into Vijanasthāna and his passing by of various Tāpasa-āśramas. PCV—No reference to the Vijanasthāna. 11. VH It does not mention various marriages of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. 12. VH—Khara and Dūṣaṇa are two sons of Sūrpaṇakhā. PCV—In place of Sūrpaṇakhā there is Candranakhā. Kharadūṣaṇa is one person and husband of Candranakhā. 13. VH—Rāma disfigures Sūrpaṇakhā. PCV—No disfiguring. 14. In the VH there is the device of the golden deer. PCV—No deer. 15. VII—Jaṭāyu is a Vidyādhara. PCV—It is a bird. 16. VH—Vāli and Sugrīva are hostile to each other for a certain woman. Rāma kills Vāli. PCV—Vāli has no hostility with Sugrīva. He long ago became a monk. Sugrīva and Sāhasagati quarrel for obtaining Tārā. Rāma kills Sāhasagati. 17. VH—Construction of a bridge over the sea is mentioned. PCV—No bridge. 18. VH—Hanumān is the minister of Sugrīva. PCV—The son-in-law of Sugrīva. 19. VH—Rāma is enthroned as king of Ayodhyā. PCV—Lakṣmaṇa becomes the king of Ayodhyā. 20. VH—Exile of Sītā and details about Rāvaṇa-carita are lacking. 21. VII—Four wives of Rāvaṇa's father and their many sons and daughters. PCV—One wife, three sons and one daughter only. 22. Rāvaṇa's parentage and his ancestors are at variance from those given in the PCV.

The above analysis reveals that:—

The Rāma-story in the VH is akin to the *Rāmopākhyāna* of *Mahābhārata* with certain minor alterations in points Nos. 4, 12, 13 & 15, under sub-heading (ii).

Point No (ii) 2, is quite new while point No. (ii) 6 agrees with the *Dasaratha Jātaka* and the *Dasaratha Kathānam*. Point No. (ii) 21 is more akin to *Kūrmapurāṇa* than the *Rāmopākhyāna* (See Supra, Ch. 5).

Though some elements are common in the PCV and the VH, yet both the works constitute different Jaina traditions of the Rāma-story.

(b) Current of Uttarapurāṇa's Rāma-Story:

An analysis of the story of *Uttarapurāṇa* (for details See Supra Ch. 3 and 4) reveals some traits of Buddhist Jātakas, *Rāmopākhyāna*,

Vasudevahinī, *Paumacariyam* and *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and still it has several elements which are quite peculiar to it. Therefore the *Uttarapurāṇa*'s Rāma-story represents an independent current of the second Jaina tradition of the Rāma-story.

Traits of Dasaratha Jātaka :—1. Daśaratha as the king of Banārasa

Traits common to Anāmaka Jātaka :—2. Sugrīva's enmity with Vālī for his being only deprived of his political right by the latter.

Traits of Rāmopākhyāna :—3. No reference to the wounding of Lakṣmaṇa by a Śakti. And no reference to the bringing of Oṣadhi by Hanumān. 4. Accepting of Sītā without suspicion and no abandonment of Sītā.

Traits of *Vasudevahinī* :—5. Circumstances leading to the migration of Rāvaṇa (in *VH*) or his ancestors (in *Uttarapurāṇa*) to Laṅkā. Ancestors of Rāvaṇa (See Supra, Ch. 6). 6. Bharata and Śatrughna as sons of the third queen (in the *PCV* also). 7. Sītā as daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, her abandonment and adoption by Janaka. 8. Rāvaṇa's sister's name as Śūrpaṇakhā. 9. No reference to wounding of Lakṣmaṇa by a Śakti. 10. Details of battle not mentioned. 11. Accepting of Sītā without suspicion. 12. No abandonment of Sītā. 13. Name of Janaka's wife (in somewhat altered form *UP*—Vasudhādevī; *VH*—Dhārīṇīdevī).

Traits common with the *Paumacariyam* :—

14. *UP*—Kaikeyī as second wife of Daśaratha. *PCV*—Sumitrā's birth-name is Kaikeyī. 15. Bharata and Śatrughna as sons of the third queen (In the *VH* also). 16. Sītā was married to Rāma because he protected the Yajña of Janaka (*PCV*—She was betrothed to Rāma because he saved Janaka's territory from the attack of the non-Aryans). 17. Appointment of Mañjarikā to persuade Sītā (*PCV*—Mandodarī is appointed for this work). 18. Sītā breaks her fast and takes food in Laṅkā at the advice of Aṇumān (Hanumān). 19. Aṇumān once again went to Laṅkā for finding solution through the good offices of Vibhīṣaṇa (*PCV*—before handing over the finger ring to Sītā he consulted Vibhīṣaṇa). 20. Lifting of Koṭīśilā by Lakṣmaṇa after rescuing Sītā (*PCV*—before sending Hanumān to Laṅkā). 21. No setting of Laṅkā on fire by Hanumān, (*UP*—He is referred to have only destroyed the Rākṣasa soldiers of Rāvaṇa with the power of his lore called Mahājvālavidyā). 22. Renouncing of the world by Rāma, Sītā etc. 23. Same number of wives of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

Traits common with the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* :—24. device of golden deer for abducting Sītā. 25. Aṇumān's assuming the form of a

wasp while searching for Sītā in Laūkā (*VR*-as a cat). 26. Handing over of Rāma's ring to Sītā by Aṇumān in the disguise of a monkey. 27. Aṇumān conjures up an army of monkeys and destroys the garden. 28. Rāvaṇa's sister is called Śūrpaṇakhā. 29. Slaying of Vālī by Lakṣmaṇa (*VR*—by Rāma). 30. Disturbance by Vidyādharas and ceasing of the Vidyās to obey Rāvaṇa. 31. Conjuring up of illusory severed head of Sītā. 31. Molesting of Maṇimatī by Rāvaṇa and her curse as the cause of the death of Rāvaṇa (*VR*—Vedavati's molestation). 33. Aṇumān, the son of Añjanā struck the aerial-car of the sun (*VR*—Hanu wanted to catch the sun).

Points peculiar to Uttarapurāṇa:—

34. Daśaratha's first wife named as Subālā. 35. No boon granted to the mother of Bharata. 36. Janaka's wife's name Vasudhādevī, no reference to the brother or son of Janaka. 37. No betrothal of Sītā with Rāma, No 'svayaṁvara' and the Bow. She was married to Rāma because he protected the Yajña of Janaka. 38. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were appointed as the king and heir-apparent of Banārāsa respectively. 39. No exile of Rāma. No Journey of Rāma. 40. No disfiguring of Śambūka. 41. Once Rāma sojourned in the Citrakūṭa garden. 42. Nārada instigated Rāvaṇa to kidnap Sītā. Rāvaṇa wanted to put an end to the rising glory of Rāma and he was angry also because he was not invited by Janaka on the occasions of performing a Yajña and the marriage of Sītā. 43. Śūrpaṇakhā was sent to ascertain the wishes of Sītā. 44. No Jaṭāyu. 45. Daśaratha's dreams indicated that Rāvaṇa kidnapped Sītā. 46. Mandodarī's sympathy and her advice to Sītā refrained her from yielding to Rāvaṇa. 47. Hanumān is called Aṇumān (his father's name is Prabhañjana). 48. On the advice of Nārada, Aṇumān and Sugriva went to help Rāma. 49. Vālī's offer to help Rāma, Vālī's challenge for a battle and then his killing by Lakṣmaṇa. 50. Mandodarī's motherly love for Sītā. 51. Sītā's sons named as Vijayarāma and Ajitañjaya. 52. No detailed ancestral history of Rāvaṇa. 53. There is no story of Añjanāsundarī. 54. The son of Añjanā by Prabhañjana was named Aṇumān because he once assumed the form like a particle of sand (aṇu).

As regards the intervening stories of the *PCV* which are found in the *UP*, their sources are different, not the *PCV* while the stories of Hariṣeṇa (No. 11), and 'Origin of Brāhmaṇas' (No. 16) are specially at variance with those of the *PCV* (See *Supra*, Ch. 4).

There is one striking similarity between the *PCV* and the *UP* in the description of the water-sports of Rāma and Sītā. The *PCV* is the

first work which mentions the water-sports of Rāma and Sītā (42. 20-22). Rāma and Sītā play water-sports in the river Kroñcaravā in the Daṇḍaka forest. Sītā hurls at the face of Rāma lotuses infested with bees. No sooner Rāma wipes them off, the bees rush towards the face of Sītā considering it to be a lotus flower. Sītā gets frightened and immediately embraces Rāma. This particular incident of the bees rushing towards the face of Sītā is not mentioned in the *PCR* (42. 78-84) though their water-sports in the river are described. The *PCS* (36.2) does not refer to their water-sports in the river. But in the Rāma-story of *Uttarapurāṇa*, Rāma while sojourning in the Citrakūṭa garden at Banārasa, is mentioned to be playing water-sports in a lake there. A similar description of the bees rushing towards the face of Sītā, considering it to be a lotus flower is found in it.

Aha te tattha mahuyarā, Rāmeṇa samāhayā paribhameuṃ
 Siyāe vayanakamale, nilanti paumāhisankhāe (*PCV*, 42.21)
 Bhramarāḥ kañjakam muktva kāntāsyābje-apatansamam
 Tairākulīkṛtāṃdrṣṭvā khedī hlādī ca so abhavat [*UP*, 68.147].

The above analysis reveals that the Rāma-story of *Uttarapurāṇa* is not based upon that of *Paumacariyam*. Two most important features of the story are common in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and the *Uttarapurāṇa*. They are :—Sītā as the daughter of Mandodarī and Rāvaṇa and her adoption by Janaka & the absence of *Uttarakāṇḍa* i.e. the abandoning of Sītā. It shows that both the works represent two currents of a common tradition but different from that of the *Paumacariyam*.

(c) *VH and UP Represent some Earlier Stage of Rāma-kāthā :*

Just as some of the elements of the *PCV* are backed by an old tradition different from the *VR*, similarly some of the elements of the rest of the two Jaina Rāma-kathās are supported by the old tradition different from the *VR*.

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* refers to three wives of Rāvaṇa's father and their progeny too. This account does not agree with the *VR* but it is partly supported by the tradition of *Rāmopākhyāna* (Supra. Ravaṇa-carita Ch. 4 and 'Rākṣasa Varṇaśa' Ch. 5).

That Rāma remained in exile for 12 years is supported by the *Daśaratha Jātaka* and *Daśaratha Kathānam*.

There is no reference in the *VH* that Hanumān took a flight over the sea. It is held by C.V. Vaidya that even in the *VR* this episode of Hanumān is based on some wonderful jumping (See *VR*, p. 160).

There is no reference to the fire-ordeal of Sītā. The *Rāmopākhyāna* also does not refer to it. Scholars hold that it was not a part of the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* (Bulcke, p. 328).

Then the following points of the *VH* are supported by some old tradition :—

Absence of references to :

- (1) Setting Laṅkā on fire by Hanumān.
- (2) Spying work of Rāvaṇa's men.
- (3) Manifestation of huge form by Hanumān.
- (4) Changing of his form by Hanumān while entering Laṅkā
- (5) Fire-ordeal of Sītā.

In the *Uttarapurāṇa* Hanumat is through out named as Aṇumat. Dr. Bulcke¹ (Vide Bulcke, p. 11) holds that Hanumat of the *VR* is adopted from an old Dravidian name Āṇa-mandi i.e. Nara-kapi and the word Hanumat is the Sanskrit form of the Dravidian word. In the old Ākhyāna Kāvya Hanumat was an aboriginal whose lineage was Vānara. The original meaning of the word Āṇa-mandi has been lost in the *VR* as well as in the *UP*. In the *VR* Hanumat is named so because his jaw was broken while in the *UP* he is named so because he assumed the form like a particle of sand (See Supra, Ch. 4 No. 2). Further we find that in all the Rāma-stories Hanumat hails from the south. The name Aṇumat in *UP* is more akin to the word Āṇa-mandi than to Hanumat. It indicates that the *UP* preserves some ancient tradition earlier than that of the *VR* in the name of Aṇumat.

The following points of the *UP*'s Rāma-story are supported by old tradition:—

Absence of references to :

- (1) Setting Laṅkā on fire by Hanumān.
- (2) Spying work of Rāvaṇa's men.
- (3) Manifestation of huge form by Hanumān.
- (4) Construction of a bridge.
- (5) Fire-ordeal.

VH and the *UP* moreover represent an old stage of the Rāma-story because they do not refer to the abandonment of Sītā i.e. the *VR*'s *Uttarakāṇḍa* story. The *Rāmopākhyāna* also does not refer to the abandonment of Sītā. The same is the case with the Rāma-stories of *Aranyaparva*, *Droṇaparva* and *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (Bulcke, pp. 43-44). The *Harivaṃśa*, *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu* and *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇas* as well as the *Anāmakaṃ Jātaka* also do not contain the abandonment of Sītā.

1. Dhīrendra Varma *Viṣeṣāṅka*. p. 344.

In both the works the Rāvaṇa-carita, as described in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *VR* and the *PCV*, is lacking. It is merely at its preliminary state. Lava-Kuśa-Kāṇḍa is totally absent as in the *Rāmopākhyāna*. It is held by the scholars that even *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* did not contain the whole of *Uttarakāṇḍa* which is said to have originated in the second century A. D. (See Bulcke, p. 35).

The *Samavāyaṅga* and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* give the names of Rāma, Rāvaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa etc, but these works or any other cononical work do not refer to Lava and Kuśa.

It indicates that the *Uttarakāṇḍa* was not known to the earlier Jaina tradition on which the *VH* and the *UP* are based. It should have gradually entered the Jaina tradition as was the case with the Brahmanical tradition or the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*.

3. Nucleus of Rāma-Story of the Jaina Traditions:

Now we shall trace out the salient features of the Rāma-story which are common to all the three stories of the Jaina tradition. They can be mentioned as follows:—

(i) Daśaratha had three wives and four sons. Rāma of the first, Lakṣmaṇa of the second and Bharata, Śatrughna of the third queen. (ii) Rāma married Sītā. (iii) Rāvaṇa the Lord of Laṅkā deceitfully kidnapped Sītā. (iv) Sugriva along with Hanumān sought help from Rāma in recovering his lost position. Rāma helped him by killing the miscreant. (v) Hanumān was sent to Laṅkā to bring the news of Sītā. (vi) Vibhīṣaṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa joined hands with Rāma. (viii) Rāvaṇa was duly attacked and was killed by Lakṣmaṇa. (ix) Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā returned home and conquered half of the Bhāratavarṣa. (x) The Vidyādhara, Vānara and the Rākṣasas were human races. (xi) Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa formed the eighth trio of Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva respectively.

One is likely to think that when the Jainas had their own tradition of the Rāma-story, why variations are found in the Rāma-story of *Paumacariyam*, *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and *Uttarapurāṇa*? The plausible answer to this question is that the story and that also with its oral tradition, is bound to undergo changes with different authors, belonging to different places and different periods.

This is the case not only with the Rāma-story. Even in the biographies of Tīrthaṅkaras and other eminent personages of the Jaina tradition (See Story Nos. 10, 11 and 15 particularly), we find certain differences (See Supra, Ch. 4). These biographies are based on the 'series of names' given in the canonical works. The details remained

with the preceptors and they were handed over orally to the successive disciples. During the course of time some changes were bound to creep in them (See also *JSI*, p. 95, fn. 2. and pp. 95-97). If two or three authors are supplied with a set of salient features of the same story as mentioned above for developing them into a full story they are bound to differ as far as the details of the story are concerned.

This case is not with the Jainas only. The Brahmanical and the Buddhist works also tell us the same thing¹.

Let us take the case of the Rāma-story of the Brahmanical tradition. We find that in several works there are differences on various important points of Rāma-story such as birth and parentage of Sītā; seniority of Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata; intentions of Kaikeyī; parentage of Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa; deer incident; building of a bridge across the sea; killing of Śambūka; and progeny of Hanumān.

We cannot altogether reject the influence of one tradition on the other and the influence of one work on the other, may be, belonging to different sects and religions. So the influence of the *VR* which had become so popular, cannot be denied on the Jaina works such as *Paumacariyam*, *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and the *Uttarapurāṇa*.

G. Sources of Intervening Stories.

A detailed comparative study of the intervening stories of *Paumacariyam* has been made in the fourth chapter. Before we deal with their sources let us discuss over the date of the *VR* which contains a number of similar stories.

(i) Probable Priority of Vasudevahiṇḍī :

Vasudeva, hero of the theme of *Vasudevahiṇḍī* narrates to his grandsons his experiences in the form of a number of stories. Among these stories there is a Rāma-story also. Some of the intervening stories of in the *PCV* are also found in this work. A comparative study of them and some other elements show that *Vasudevahiṇḍī* was composed earlier than the *Paumacariyam*. Professor. B. J. Sandesara on the evidence of the *Viśeṣaṇavatī* of Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (609 A. D²), which refers to *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, says that the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*

1. For clarification see details in Supra, Chs. 3 and 4 as well as the book 'Rama Kathā' by Dr. C. Bulcke.
2. An old palm-leaf manuscript of *Viśeṣaṇavatī* of Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa notes the year 531 of Śaka Era. On this basis the date of 609 A. D. is assigned to its author. But Muni Puṇyavijayaṇi considers 609 A. D. as not the date of composition of *Viśeṣaṇavatī* but regards it as the date of presentation or of writing a new manuscript of the works (Vide personal talk with him at Ahmadabad-July, 1961).

was composed certainly not later than the 6th century of Vikrama era. i. e. between 443 and 543 A. D. He further on the linguistic evidence of the work surmises that it would not be surprising if the work dates probably one or two centuries still earlier because its Mahārāṣṭrī language inherits some traits of Pāli and many more of Ardhamāgadhī¹.

A survey of *Paumacariyam* reveals that its language is well developed Mahārāṣṭrī with some influence of Apabhraṃśa on it. The date of *Panmacariyam* is fixed as the last quarter of the 5th century A. D. Therefore, it is possible that *Vasudevahindī* was composed earlier than *Paumacariyam*.

Besides that we find that certain intervening stories of *PCV* have their source in the *Vasudevahindī* because some points in these stories of the *PCV* are not clear and are left out as well-known to the readers as follows:—

The Ikṣvāku Varṇa is said to have originated with Ādityayaśas but it is not mentioned why it was called Ikṣvāku Varṇa. The *VH* explains this point.²

Vimalasūri merely refers to the episode of the battle between the sons of king Śrīṣeṇa at 15.19 considering as it was well-known. This story is fully narrated in the *VH*.³

In the story of the origin of Hari Varṇa, it is not stated expressly that Hari became the king of Campānagarī and the circumstances under which he, who had no relations with Campānagarī, was installed as the king of that city. These two missing points are clear in the *Vasudevahindī*.⁴

In the story of Sañjayanta, and Vidyuddamaṣṭra, the *PCV* does not mention the causes which led to the torturing of the former by the latter. This point is clear in the *VH*.⁵

Besides that, the stories of the 'Origin of Brāhmaṇas'⁶ and the 'Origin of Animal Sacrifice'⁷ seem to be in their original setting in the *VH* while the *PCV* has borrowed them from there and affected some alterations and omissions. In the former story the introduction of the

1. *Vasudevahindī* (Guj. Tr.), Int. pp. 2. & 15-30.

2. See Supra, *Origin of Various Dynasties*, Ch. 5.

3. See Supra, Ch. 4 no. 63.

4. Ibid, no. 20.

5. Ibid, no. 21.

6. Ibid, no. 16.

7. Ibid, no. 17.

device of germinated seeds for testing the real Śrāvakas indicate that the author of the *PCV* was well-informed of the episode that there were some Śrāvakas who were wrong-faithed. Further the *PCV* does not explain as to what was the significance of marking the real Śrāvakas with the Kākiñīratna. In the *VH* these two points are in their original form. Therein the real Śrāvakas are called Brāhmaṇas (māhaṇas), because they did not cause injury to any living being. Cakravartin Bharata took their test when he came to know, that there were some unreal Śrāvakas who posed themselves as real ones. Then he marked the real Śrāvakas with the Kākiñīratna as many times as the sets of vows were observed by them. Our *PCV* has given a fanciful mould to this point by telling us that Lord Rṣabha asked Bharata not to beat the Śrāvakas 'māhaṇa' hence, they were called Brāhmaṇas i. e. Māhaṇas.

In the story 'Origin of Animal Sacrifice' it is not mentioned as to what sort of Āraṇyakas were being studied by Parvataka, Nārada and Vasu, whether the Aryan or non-Aryan (Arya or Anārya). It has been left understood that they were studying Aryan Vedas. But one cannot understand what were these Aryan and non-Aryan Vedas. Secondly it is said that Rākṣasa Parvataka composed wrong śāstras for propagating animal sacrifice. They were composed during the Tīrthakāla of Munisuvratanātha (11. 39), but at 4.80 it is said in the story of the 'Origin of Brāhmaṇas' that false Vedas and hymns advocating animal-sacrifice would be composed after the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvira. This is a contradiction. In the *VH* there is a systematic and well-planned exposition of the subject which gives an impression of its originality. It describes the 'Origin of Animal Sacrifice' under the 'Origin of non-Aryan Vedas.' The story in its details gives a clear picture of the cause of the origin of Anārya-Vedas and Animal sacrifice. Hence the story in the *PCV* is a summary of the same given in the *VH* and Vimalasūri has affected some changes in the story.

All these points establish that the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* belongs to a period earlier than that of the *Paumacariyam*.

As discussed above, the Rāma-story of *VH* is not followed by Vimalasūri, but the influence of *VH* is quite apparent on the *PCV* as we shall discuss below. And if the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* is not an earlier composition then it is sure that both the works belong to a contemporary period and they might have a common source as regards the following stories and features.

The motive of the whole theme and the planning of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* have resemblances with the *Paumacariyam*:—

The hero of the *VH* is depicted as a romantic character who wanders from place to place and marries various girls. In the *PCV* also Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, during their journey, are depicted as romantic, exhibiting their exploits and marrying various girls (In the *VR* there are no such marriages).

The *VH* (p. 1) is divided into five main divisions called *Adhikāras* (tattha ime ahigārā). Our *PCV* is also planned into seven divisions called *Adhikāras* (satta purāṇettha ahigārā l. 32). (In the *VR* they are called *Kāṇḍas*). The *VH* is further divided into many *Lambhakas* each dealing with a separate episode or story and having a separate title. Our *PCV* also contains many cantos with their separate titles. (The *VR* has no separate title for each canto).

In the story of Pradyumnakumāra we find that he is kidnapped on the very day of his birth and he unites with his parents after a long time (*VH*, p. 82 f). The motif of this story has its counterpart in the *PCV*'s story of Bhāmaṇḍala.

The story of Citravegā of (*VH*, p. 215) in which she is transformed into a male by some medical treatment and is again brought to her original condition at the time of her marriage, seems to have its counterpart in the *PCV* in the story of Kalyāṇamālā who lives as a disguised prince and discloses her identity when she meets Lakṣmaṇa with a desire to marry him.

Then we have striking similarities in a few descriptions and phrases.

The descriptions of Magadha, Rājagṛha and king Śreṇika are based on the same pattern in both the works (*PCV*, 2. 1-10; 3. 1; *VH*, p. 2). Compare¹ the opening verse of the 'stuti' in the *PCV* (1. 1) with that of the first line following the first verse of the *VH*.

On the basis of the above evidences it can be regarded that certain intervening stories of the *PCV* have their sources in the *VH* or both the works might have common sources.

(2) Sources of Respective Intervening Stories of *PCV* :—

The sources of the intervening stories can be briefly stated as follows :—

(A) Jaina Sources :

(i) The 'nāmāvalī' sūtras in the *Samavāyaṅga* and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* as well as the oral Jaina tradition are the sources of the biographies

1. Siddhasurakinnaragadaṇuvaibhuvāṇindavanda parimahiyam.—*PCV*.
Namo viṇayaṇayasurindavindavandiyakamāravindāṃ Arahaṇtāṇaṃ—*VH*.

of Tīrthaṅkaras Mahāvira (4) Rṣabha (5) Ajita (6) Munisuvrata (7) and Cakravartin Hariṣeṇa (11). There is influence of the *Kalpasūtra* and the *VH* on the biography of Rṣabha (5).

(ii) Sources in the *Paiṇṇas*.

(a) *Kīrtidhara and Sukośala* (13):—

The *Bhattapariṇṇā* (16). *Marāṇasamāhi* (466-67) and *Santhārāga* (63-64) refer that Sukośala was strangled by his mother, now a tigress.

(b) *Saudāsa* (15):—

The *Bhattapariṇṇā* (145) mentions that Saudāsa suffered being a slave of taste. In the *PCV*, there is clear influence of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* on this story.

(c) *Vasu and Parvataka* (17):—

The *Bhattapariṇṇā* (101) states that Vasu went to hell for telling a lie. In the *PCV*, the story seems to be based on the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*.

(d) *Cakravartin Sanatkumāra* (10):—

The *Marāṇasamāhi* (410-11) refers that Sanatkumāra suffered diseases. In the *PCV*, the story seems to be based on *VH*.

(iii) Sources in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*:

The following stories appear to have their sources in the *VH*. Various minor changes are affected in them by the way of abridgement omissions, alterations and additions or changes in proper names. If the *VH* is not earlier than the *PCV*, then both the works have their sources of the following stories in the common Jaina tradition:

Rṣabha (5); Bharata and Bāhubali (8); Sagara (9); Origin of Brāhmaṇas (16); Origin of (yajña) Animal Sacrifice (17); Origin of Hari Vamśa (20); Muni Sañjayanta (21); Śrīvardhana and Jvalanasimha (22); Madhu and Kaiṭabha (57); Battle between the sons of Śrīṣeṇa (63).

(B) *Brahmanical Sources*:

(i) *Valmīki Rāmāyaṇa* (*VR*) as the Source:

Rāvaṇa-carita (1):—In details there are various differences.

Añjanāsundarī and *Hanumat* (2):—This story stands on an independent line. Mythological aspect of the *VR* is absent and it has got a realistic touch.

Madhu and the Śūlaratna (30) :—The *PCV* gives an independent story but the seeds of its motif are in the *VR*.

Story of Ahalyā (32) :—It is quite an independent story in the *PCV*. It counteracts the superstitious and divine elements of the mythological story found in the *VR*.

King Daṇḍaka (40) :—It is quite independent of the *VR*. Only the burning of the capital of king Daṇḍaka is a common element.

Dhanadatta and Guṇamatī (54) :—The *PCV* gives a very detailed story and a number of characters play part in it. The basis of it is the story of Vedavatī in the *VR* but there are in the *PCV* a number of additions and differences.

(ii) Stories found in the *Mahabhārata* but the *PCV* narrates them in quite a different way :

(a) Naghuṣa and Simhikā (14).

(iii) Stories found in the *Purāṇas* but the *PCV* narrates them on different lines :

Nārada (3), Saudāsa (15).

(C) Popular Sources :

The sources of nearly 35 stories are not traceable. It is quite probable that the author of the *PCV* might have invented some of them with his genius and he might have inherited some stories through the oral tradition of his predecessors. At least the five stories (46 to 50) coming under *Mayopākhyāna* very clearly reveal that some floating popular stories have been introduced in the *PCV*, because the purpose or the point the author wants to explain is not served by them.

SECTION 2. CONTRIBUTION OF VIMALASŪRI

The preceding section I B (3) (d) of Chapter VI clearly brings out the elements which have been contributed anew by Vimalasūri. Of them the prominent ones are: 'Svayamvara' of Kaikeyī; Sītā's brother as Bhāmaṇḍala; Rāma's betrothal with Sītā on account of his valour; Rāma's success among various candidates contesting for the hand of Sītā; voluntary exile of Rāma, especially for the favour of Bharata; Kaikeyī's unsuccessful efforts in preventing Rāma from going into exile; many wives of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; marriage of Sītā's sons, their 'digvijaya' and battle with Rāma; Hanumat's character depicting general human traits and some details about the ancestral history of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras. Vimalasūri's historical, cultural and literary contribution consists in bringing these elements into light.

The *Paumacariyam* has its originality in re-establishing the fact that Sītā was the daughter of Janaka born of his wife. In the *Mahābhārata* she is mentioned as 'Janakasya ātmajā' (MB, 3. 274.9), but in the absence of any reference to the mother of Sītā this 'ātmajā' term is not safe enough for concluding that Sītā was the legitimate daughter of Janaka. Similar is the case with the references in the *VR* such as 'duhitā Janakasya' (3. 47. 3), 'Janakātmajā' (5. 13. 15) etc. There are references in the *Raghuvamśa* such as 'duhitṛśulka' (11. 38), 'Māithilī (11.93), 'Videhādhipateḥ sutā' (12.26), in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* as 'mayātmajā' (1.6.20) and so forth in the *Padmapurāṇa* also, but in all these works she is clearly said to be born of the furrow. In the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* also Sītā is called Janayatanayā (I. p. 242), but there she is the legitimate daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī. Therefore, it is Vimalasūri who tells us in very clear terms that Sītā was the daughter of Janaka and his wife and thus removes all doubts about her birth.

The *Paumacariyam* has further preserved a historical element in telling us that Sītā had a brother.

About the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras the *Paumacariyam* has preserved some semi-historical material in stating that they were some original tribes of south India.

Having not given prominent place to many supernatural elements which had grown around the original Rāma-kathā in later times, Vimalasūri has preserved some realistic traits of the story. Of these supernatural elements the most important ones are the strange birth of Sītā; episode of golden deer; Rāvaṇa as a ten-headed monster; Kumbhakarṇa, a diabolical character; the Rākṣasas as demons; the Vānaras as animals and Hanumat as a super-being.

Vimalasūri has assigned respectable place to Rāvaṇa, the hero of an aboriginal tribe and thus has voiced tolerance for other races. Rama's and Lakṣmaṇa's various marriages with the girls belonging to different races convey a message of tolerance and free racial miscegenation, though the ideal of monogamy emphasised in the *Vālmūki Rāmāyaṇa* has been obliterated.

He has further removed the shortcomings of the characters like Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Vālī and specially Kaikeyī and has elevated them.

He made Rāma-story popular among the Jains by creating Jaina environment around it and by assigning Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa a respectable place among the sixty-three illustrious persons of the Jaina faith.

On the whole the story has a realistic pattern and Vimalasūri has made the greatest contribution to the Prakrit Literature in the form of the first Rāma-epic in Prakrit.

SECTION 3. INFLUENCE OF PAUMACARIYAM

A. Influence of Jaina Works.

The tradition of *Paumacariyam* is generally followed by subsequent Jaina authors such as Raviṣeṇa, Svayambhu, Hemacandra, Bh. Somasena etc. The tradition of *Vasudevahiṇḍī* remained only with it, scarcely any subsequent author has been found to have followed its story, Guṇabhadra's tradition of Rāma-story is followed by a few authors namely, Puṣpadanta etc. It is the tradition of Vimalasūri's *Paumacariyam* which became very popular among the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras alike.

1. Raviṣeṇa's Indebtedness to Vimalasūri:

(a) *Vimalasūri, Predecessor of Raviṣeṇa:*

There has been some controversy over the precedence of Vimalasūri and Raviṣeṇa. We shall now examine the question as to who is earlier of the two.

Even a casual glance at the *PCV* and the *PCR* shows that either of them is a mere translation of the other. When we examine them in details we find that both the works are planned on the same pattern. Every corresponding chapter of the *PCV* and the *PCR* bears the same heading, commences with the same topic, follows the same sequence and ends with the same topic. In the ending verse of every chapter both the authors employ their own name as test words.

The *PCV* contains in all 118 cantos while the *PCR* has 123 cantos. The five additional cantos in the *PCR* do not contain any thing new but whatever topics are dealt in canto Nos. 56, 66, 103 and 108 of the *PCV* are found to be bifurcated in the canto Nos. 56 & 57; 67, 68 & 69; 106 & 107 and 112 & 113 of the *PCR* respectively.

There are some glaring instance which prove beyond doubt that one is the copy of the other. Both the works while enumerating the queens of Vāsudevas in the canto No. 20 mention Prabhāvatī as the queen of Lakṣmaṇa, the eighth Vāsudeva (*PCV*, 20.187; *PCR*, 20. 228). But in both the works there is no reference to Lakṣmaṇa's marriage with Prabhāvatī. The *PCV* at 91. 14-16 and the *PCR* at 95.20-23 while referring to the eight queens of Lakṣmaṇa mention Viśalyā as his chief queen, but there is no reference to Prabhāvatī. The *PCV* (105.16)

mentions that a period of 64000 years lapsed between *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and at 20.81 it is said that eleven lakh years intervened between two Tirthaṅkaras, Munisuvrata and Nemi. The *PCR* (20.89;109.28) contains similar defect. The order in which the 14 Kulakaras are mentioned in the *PCV* (3.50-55) does not agree fully with the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara tradition (See *Infra*, Ch.7.Sec.1). Raviṣeṇa, though a staunch Digambara, puts them in the same order (3.75-87). The *Mayopākhyāna* (77.66ff) narrated in the *PCV* does not seem to be properly connected with the previous context and the enquiry made by Śreṇika. The same inconsistency is found in the *PCR* (80.149ff.).

The *PCV* contains in all 8651 verses (Aprox. 10000 granthāgras) while the *PCR* (123.186) has 18023 verses. The descriptive portions¹ such as geographical places, physical beauty, natural objects, love scenes, ceremonies, battles, religious discourses etc. are larger in the *PCR*. There are very rare instances in the *PCR*² when a similar topic of the *PCV* comparatively occupies shorter portion in the *PCR*. Generally the length of all the cantos of the *PCR* varies with those of the *PCV*. The cantos (1-90), 20 (1-208), 73 (1-35), 75 (1-85), 87 (1-20) and 88(1-43) are roughly equal in size to the *PCR*'s cantos (1-102), 20(1-250), 76(1-43), 78(1-95), 90(1-29) and 91(1-51). On the whole it appears that either the *PCV* is a contracted version of the *PCR* or the *PCR* is an enlarged version of the *PCV*.

Pt. Nathuram Premi observes that there are various instances of reproducing Prakrit works into Sanskrit, but there is scarcely any example vice-versa. He further says that in both the works the origin of Brāhmaṇas has been associated with the etymological meaning of the word 'mā-haṇa=do not kill'. Mā-haṇa is a Prakrit equivalent of Sanskrit Brāhmaṇa, therefore, the episode of the origin of Brāhmaṇas befits the Prakrit word Māhaṇa. In Sanskrit no-where the Brāhmaṇas are called Māhaṇas. In his opinion Raviṣeṇa has copied and reproduced *Paumacariyaṃ* into Sanskrit (See *JSI*, p. 90). Now we propose to bring out some other points which support the fact that Raviṣeṇa has recast Vimalasūri's work.

1. Education and Training of Kaikeyī *PCV*, 24.5-8; *PCR*, 24.6-83; Qualities of Marudevi *PCV*, 3.58; *PCR*, 3.91-100; Description of Krauñcaravā river *PCV*, 42.15-16; *PCR*, 42.62-74; Rāma's mourning after the kidnapping of Sītā *PCV*, 45.57-66; *PCR*, 45.105-149. Laṅkāśundarī's love for Hanumān *PCV*, 52.17-20; *PCR* 52.46-58; Battle between Kiṣkindhī and Aśnivega *PCV*, 6.176-201 *PCR*, 6.428-501; Watersports of Sahasrakiraṇa *PCV*, 10.37-44; *PCR*, 10.37-84.
2. Heavenly abodes—*PCR*, 105.173; *PCV*, 102.149-166; cemetery ground. *PCR*, 109.54; *PCV*, 105.53-61.

In the previous birth story of Bharata and Bhuvanalaikāra elephant there is a lapse in the *PCV*. The soul of the elephant should have been generally deceitful in all his previous births for earning the karmas of being reborn as an animal. This point is missed at one place in the middle of the story and so the previous births of the elephant have been assigned to Bharata in the later half of the story and thus Bharata also becomes deceitful in some of his previous births. This error has been rectified by the *PCR* (See Supra, Ch. 4 no. 51).

There is one specific instance as to how Raviṣeṇa while copying the *PCV* forgets the name of a king mentioned by him earlier and gives another name on the basis of the Prakrit word occurring in the *PCV*. In the story of Muni Sañjayanta and king Vidyutdamṣṭra, the *PCV* regularly refers to the king as Vijjudāḍha (5.20-41). The *PCR* mentions him as Vidyuddamṣṭra at 5.25. Even in the contents given in the first canto the king is named as Vidyuddamṣṭra (*PCR*, 1. 51). But further at 5.30, 34 and 47 we find that the same person is called Vidyudṛḍha, the name being a new but faulty Sanskritisation of Vijjudāḍha of the *PCV*.

In the story of a Senāpati and two farmer brothers, the words 'Sahoyarā Karisayā' occur in the *PCV* for two farmer brothers. In the *PCR* they are named as Surapa and Karṣaka. It is an example of how Raviṣeṇa has changed 'Sahoyarā Karisayā' to Surapa and Karṣaka.

Jakkhatṭhāṇanivāsī sahoṃyārā karisayā do vi *PCV*, 39. 68l

Surapaḥ karṣakaścāstāṃ yakṣasthāne sahodarau, *PCR*, 39-137//.

Then in the genealogical lists of the dynasties, we find that some kings' names have been altered in the *PCR*. These alterations are done in the *PCR* for the purpose of regulating the 'varṇas' of the concerned metre. If Sanskrit names of the *PCR* are Prakritised, the number of morae remain the same, therefore, in such cases the *PCV* had no necessity in altering these names. It is the *PCR* which has altered them to reduce or increase the number of Varṇas.

(*PCV*) Aridamaṇo 5.7.=(*PCR*) Avī (ri) dhvaṃśo 5.8; (*PCV*) Jalanaḥaḍī 5. 46=(*PCR*) Vahoṃjaṭī 5. 54; (*PCV*) Riumahaṇo 5.263=(*PCR*) Arimardanaḥ 5.396; (*PCV*) Akkateo 5. 46=(*PCR*) Vahnitejāḥ 5.54.

The *PCV* (5. 145-157) enumerates the names of all the 63 illustrious persons of the Jaina faith and calls Padma as the eighth Baladeva and Rāma (Balarāma) as the ninth Baladeva. The Śvetāmbara tradition¹ has Padma as the eighth and Rāma as the

1, See *Samavā. Su*, 159. (Abhaya). *Pravacanasūrodhāra*, Gāthā-1211; *AG*, 698.

ninth Baladeva, but the Digambara tradition¹ mentions Rāma as the eighth and Padma as the ninth Baladeva. Raviṣeṇa's work reveals that he is a staunch Digambara. Had this work been original there was no reason in naming it as *Padmacaritam*, because according to the Digambara tradition Padma is the ninth Baladeva and Raviṣeṇa was relating the story of the son of Daśaratha, who is the eighth Baladeva. At 5.212-226 he gives the name of Tīrthaṅkaras and Cakravartīs but altogether omits to mention the names of Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Prativāsudevas, though the *PCV* has mentioned all the names. Then the *PCV* in Ch. 20 and at 70.35 enumerates the names of Baladevas, but the *PCR* in Ch. 20 and at 73.99 enumerates Vāsudevas etc. but leaves the Baladevas. Whenever there has occurred an occasion for enumerating the Baladevas, the *PCR* has kept silence (25.34). Had he mentioned the names of the Baladevas in the traditional Digambara chronology, his statement would have gone against the title of his own work and this fact proves that he kept silence on such occasions and went on following the story of the *PCV* without stating anything which would have gone against the Digambara tradition.

All the above evidences prove beyond doubt that *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa is an enlarged reproduction of Vimalasūri's *Paumacariyam*.

Vimalasūri says that he is narrating the traditional story handed down from Mahāvīra to Indrabhūti and other ācāryas, having himself based it upon the 'nāmāvalinibaddha' sūtras. Raviṣeṇa also mentions the tradition through which he inherited the story: Mahāvīra to Indrabhūti, Sudharman, Jambū, Prabhava, Kīrtidhara and Anuttaravāgmin (*PCR*, I. 41-42; 123. 166). He additionally tells us that he based his work on the written work of Anuttaravāgmin *PCR* I. 42. The various meanings of Anuttaravāgmin are: the chief spokesman, principal author, the chief who spoke well in the sense that he was the first to put something in writing in a systematic form or an unparalleled author. The *PCV* is the first systematic and detailed work which has treated the Jaina Rama-story so eloquently. Therefore, it is most probable that Raviṣeṇa's reference to the work of Anuttaravāgmin is to the *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri and he has used Anuttaravāgmin perhaps as an adjective of Vimalasūri because he was the first author who pointed out the unreliable points of the popular *Rāmāyaṇa* (*VR*) with firmness and spoke eloquently of the Jaina Rāma story. Dr. H.C. Bhayani is also of the opinion that Anuttaravāgmin is perhaps a reference to Vimala (See *PCS*, I. Int).

1. See *TP*, 4.517; *HVPJ* 60.290; *UP* and *MP*. also.

(b) *Padmacaritam of Ravisēṇa :*

Ravisēṇa's *Padmacaritam* composed in Sanskrit in 678 A. D., is a thorough and word to word copy of *Paumacariyam*. It agrees with the *PCV* in all its essential points but reveals Digambara traits throughout the work. It affects the following, especially minor, additions and alterations (For details see *Supra*, Ch. 3, 4 & 5).

Main Rāma-Story.

Additions:—

(1) Suprabhā is the fourth queen of Daśaratha and her son is Śatrughna. (2) Janaka receives two bows, Vajrāvarta and Sagarāvarta. Lakṣmaṇa strings the latter bow. (3) Vibhīṣaṇa destroys also the statue of Janaka. (4) Rāvaṇa utters 'Rāma, Rāma' in his lion like roar to deceive Rāma. (5) Vibhīṣaṇa promises Hanumān to reapproach Rāvaṇa for rescuing Sītā. (6) Hanumān changes his form when he drops Rāma's finger-ring before Sītā, (7) Khecara Suvela of Suvelapura is also defeated by Rāma before attacking Laṅkā. (8) Rāma promises the crown of Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa when the latter takes shelter under the former. (9) Hanumān also joins Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa in their fight against Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. (10) Lakṣmaṇa has 17000 wives (*PCV*—16000).

Alterations :—

* (11) Kaikeyī's mother is named Pṛthuśrī (*PCV*—Pṛthvīśrī) (12) Janaka's mother is Vipulā (*PCV*—Ilā). (13) Bharata's wife is Loka-sundarī (*PCV*—Subhadrā). (14) The place where Rāmapurī is conjured up by the Yakṣa is specifically called Vanasthalī. (15) Sītā is entrusted to an Āryā when Rāma proceeds to capture Ativīrya. (16) Sītā refuses to accompany Hanumān because Rāma has not given him orders to that effect. (17) Bhagavatī is mentioned in place of Abhayamatī as one of the eight chief queens of Lakṣmaṇa.

Dynastries.

(18) Generally in all the genealogical lists there are a few additional kings. (19) In the Ikṣvāku Vamśa Pṛthu and Aja, ancestors of Rāma, are important additions.

Intervening stories.

Rāvaṇa-Carita.

(20) Ratnāśrava is the only son of Sumālīn—In the *PCV* there are three sons of Sumālīn. (21) Two more Vidyās are acquired by

Rāvaṇa. (22) Mandodarī requests monk Vāli to forgive Rāvaṇa. (23) Sudarśanacakra which is acquired by Rāvaṇa belonged to Nalakūbara. (24) Varuṇa marries his daughter, Satyavatī to Rāvaṇa. According to the *PCV* she is married to Hanumān.

All the intervening stories of the *PCV* are found in the *PCR* and they agree with the former. Digambara traits are observed especially in the stories of the illustrious persons of the Jaina faith. On the whole there are very minor changes. The *PCR* rarely drops any point (story no. 9). In a few cases it has improved upon the stories of the *PCV* for the sake of clarity (Nos. 47, 48, 50). It affects sometimes alterations in proper names and in a few cases in other points (Nos. 20, 61, 62). It makes minor addition in some points (Nos. 14, 25, 41, 44) and in a few cases it mentions more previous births of some characters (Nos. 23, 51, 52, 54). In two cases (Nos. 22, 58) the point of similarity can be traced in the *Vasudevahinī*.

There is a clear evidence of the influence of the *VR* on the *PCR* as regards the point No. 4, 6, 8, 14 and 19. As regards the fourth queen of Daśaratha and her son the *PCR* agrees somewhat with the *Daśaratha Kathānam*.

2. Svayambhū's Paumacariu :

Paumacariu is an Apabhraṃśa work composed in the later half of the ninth century (840-920 A. D.; See *PCS*, Vol. III Int.). Svayambhū (*PCS*, 1.2.9) expressly mentions that he composed his work through the favour of Raviṣeṇa (puṇu Raviṣeṇāyariya pasāem *PCS*, 1.2.9). His work is more poetic and attractive in style. He has not slavishly imitated Raviṣeṇa. He has affected several omissions, abridgements, alterations, modifications, divergences and additions especially as regards the intervening stories. In the main story there is no far-reaching change except that Kaikeyī is jealous at heart, Vajrajaṅgha is the husband of the sister of Rāma and Indra is painted as if he is a celestial lord. The influence of *VR* on the *PCS* can also be traced. (For details see *Supra*, Ch. 3, 4 & 5).

Main Rāma-Story.

Omissions:—

(1) Rāma's teachers. (2) Brother of Janaka and his daughter's marriage with Bharata. (3) Ratimālā and Vijayasundarī's marriage with Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata respectively. (4) Reference to the Ganges on the occasion of banishing Sītā. (5) Kṣullaka, the teacher of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa.

Alterations:—

(6) The boon was offered to Kaikeyī at Kautukamaṅgalapura (*PCV-PCR*—at Ayodhyā). (7) Janaka's father's name is Candraketu (*PCV-PCR*—Indraketu). (8) Viśalyā is offered to Lakṣmaṇa in marriage on the occasion of Sītā's 'svayaṁvara' (*PCV-PCR*—in the battlefield). (9) Khara and Dūṣaṇa are two persons and husbands of Candranakhā (*PCV-PCR*—Kharadūṣaṇa as one person; *VR*—Two persons but not husbands of Śūrpanakhā). (10) Rāvaṇa was tempted by the beauty of Sītā in advance through the message of Dūṣaṇa (*PCV-PCR*—He was tempted on the spot). (11) Hanumān destroys the park to tease Rāvaṇa (*PCV-PCR*—When the men sent by Rāvaṇa besiege him, he ruins the park). (12) Rāvaṇa is ready to abdicate his throne for possessing Sītā (*PCV-PCR*—He offers some parts of his territory to Rāma).

Modifications:

(13) Vidyādhara Śaśivardhana marries his eight daughters to Lakṣmaṇa, other ten to Bharata and Śatrughna (*PCV-PCR*—All married to Lakṣmaṇa). (14) Virādhita was enthroned as the king of Pātalaṅkārapura during Rāma's sojourn at that place, immediately after having killed Khara-Dūṣaṇa (*PCV-PCR*—after returning from Laṅkā). (15) Hanumān concealed himself in the sky when he dropped the finger-ring before Sītā (*PCR*—He changed his form). (16) Suvela is not defeated but he joins Rāma (*PCR*—He is defeated *PCV*—No mention). (17) Vibhīṣaṇa escapes from stabbing himself to death for he falls into a swoon (*PCV-PCR*—Rāma saves him). (18) Vibhīṣaṇa is crowned as the king of Laṅkā after the death of Rāvaṇa (*PCV-PCR*—After Rāma's returning to Ayodhyā). (19) Vajrajaṅgha is mentioned as the husband of the sister of Rāma (*PCV-PCR*—No relation with Daśaratha). So the marriage of his daughter with Lavaṇa is dropped. (20) Here king Pṛthu marries his two daughters, Kanakamālā and Taraṅgamālā to Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa respectively (*PCV-PCR*—Only Kanakamālā to Aṅkuśa).

Additions:

(21) Śatrughna also was married to some Vidyādhara girls on the occasion of Sītā's 'svayaṁvara' (*PCV-PCR*—His marriage not mentioned). (22) The period of Rāma's exile is 16 years. (23) Triśiras also was killed by Lakṣmaṇa on the occasion of the latter's battle with Khara and Dūṣaṇa. (24) Two Cāraṇa munis consoled Rāma following the abduction of Sītā and Jaṭāyu's death. (25) Trijaṭā's dream and Akṣayakumāra's killing are mentioned. (26) The sea is crossed in aerial-cars (*PCV-PCR*—No specific mention). (27) Setu, an additional lord also is

defeated before encamping near Lañkā. (28) Samudra and Setu jointly offered five girls to Lakṣmaṇa in marriage (*PCV-PCR*—Samudra only offered four girls). (29) Rāma challenged Rāvaṇa through Añgada before the commencement of the battle. (30) Here Trijaṭa and Lañkāśundarī spoke for Sītā's purity after the battle between Rāma and his sons. They further asked Rāma to arrange an ordeal if he was not convinced with Sītā's chastity. (*PCV-PCR*—Rāma asks Sītā to adduce proof, then Sītā offers for fire-ordeal.

Divergences:—

(31) Kaikeyī is jealous at the proposed Rāma's coronation, Bharata abuses Daśaratha, Lakṣmaṇa becomes furious and is ready to imprison Bharata. (32) Bharata goes to call back Rāma of his own accord. Kaikeyī follows him but does not speak. She is here also jealous at heart, (33) Rudrabhūti commissions his warriors to snatch away Sītā, but after having learnt that Rāma is a Baladeva, he surrenders to Rāma. (34) Candranakhā assumed her hideous form and Lakṣmaṇa raised his sword to threaten her men if they dared to put him in danger.

Dynasties.

Omissions:—

(35) The origin of the Ikṣvāku and the Hari Vamśas as well as the genealogical lists of Ikṣvāku, Vidyādhara and Hari Vamśas are dropped. Abridgement:—

(36) The genealogical list of Vānara Vamśa is curtailed (37) The genealogical list of Rākṣasa Vamśa seems to be influenced by the *PCV* (See *Supra* Ch. 5).

Intervening Stories.

Rāvaṇa-Carita.

Omissions:—

(38) Request of Vaiśravaṇa to Rāvaṇa for avoiding a battle.

Abridgement:—

(39) number of Vidyās acquired by Rāvaṇa is curtailed. There is a mere reference to the destroying of the Yajña of Marutta by Rāvaṇa. (40) Some of the Vidyās have their counterpart in the *PCV*, but not in the *PCR*.

Alterations:—

(41) Indra is depicted as the celestial lord. (42) Sahasrakiraṇa of Māhiṣmatī fought with his one thousand arms. (43) Hanumān tried to fasten the soldiers of Varuṇa with his magic tail,

Modification:—

(44) Rāvaṇa was named Daśamukha in his boyhood (*PCV-PCR*—when he was a babe). (45) Uparambhā herself offered the Sudarśana-cakra along with the lore to Rāvaṇa (*PCR*—Cakra came into the possession of Rāvaṇa when Nalakūbara was defeated).

Additions:—

(46) Rāvaṇa sends his men to celebrate the marriage of Candranakhā with Khara and Dūṣaṇa. (47) Personal combat between Vāli and Rāvaṇa and humiliation of Rāvaṇa on being lifted up by Vāli. (48) Pārāśara, Kauṭilya and Manu also mentioned as ministers of Indra. (49) Sending of an envoy by Indra to make friends with Rāvaṇa, offering of his daughter to Rāvaṇa in marriage and inciting of Rāvaṇa by Nārada for a battle with Indra. (50) Vidyādhara lords Candra, Yama, Kubera, Keśarin, Kanaka, Agni, Anala, Anila and Sūrya all taken as captive by Rāvaṇa (51) As regards the marriage of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, the *PCS* agree with the *PCV*, not with the *PCR*.

Other Intervening Stories.

Previous birth stories are generally dropped or abridged. In the rest of the stories, leaving aside sectarian differences there are minor droppings, alterations, modifications and additions.

Omissions:—

Caritas: Story Nos. 3, 4, 7 & 10.

Legendary kings: Story Nos. 12, 13, 14 & 15.

Stories of Genesis: Nos. 16 & 20.

Didactic stories: Nos. 21-23, 25-28, 30-33, 36-37, 41-42, 43-50, 52, 53 & 57.

Stories of General Prudence: Nos. 58 to 63.

Abridgement:—

Story no. 11, 38 & 54 are curtailed and No. 17, 24, 34, 35 & 51 get merely a passing reference.

52. There are some minor points which reveal that *Paumacariu* is influenced by the *PCV* (See also *PCS*, I. Int. p. 50-51).

An analysis of various changes affected by Svayambhū reveals that he has cut short the volume of (the epic) his work by dropping altogether many intervening stories.

Though he has followed Raviṣeṇa yet he seems to have consulted Vimalasūri's work (See above points No. 37, 40, 51 & 52) as it is brought out also by the description of the Rākṣasa soldiers marching to fight Rāma's army (59.7). Its similarity with that of the PCV at 53.107-113 is striking. The PCC does not contain this short of description. Similarly the description of the palace of Rāvaṇa in the PCV at 68.1-17 and in the PCS at 72.2f can be compared.

He has been influenced by the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* also for he divides his work into five Kāṇḍas of which four are named as in the VR (Ayodhyā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara). Further see. points Nos. 9, 10, 11, 15, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 31-34, 41-43, 47 & 50. These points do not bear complete identity with those of the VR. There are alterations and modifications, but the influence of the VR is apparent.

Calling Rāma as Rāmacandra seems to be an influence of Bhavabhūti.

There are many other points which differ from the PCV and PCR. For their source he might have followed some other tradition or might have affected innovations. Dr. Bhayani proposes that in such cases his source was Caturmukha's *Paumacariu* (See PCS, I. Int.).

(3) Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣa-caritam :

The TSP is a work of the 12th century A. D. It contains Rāma-story and other intervening stories also. It generally follows the PCR. Minor changes, omissions and additions are traceable in the Rāma-story as well as in other stories. The influence of PCV and PCS is apparent on the Rāma-story as well as other stories. It adds the picture of Rāvaṇa which became the cause of Sītā's exile. A few of the intervening stories have their sources in other works (For details See Supra, Ch. 3, 4 & 5).

Main Rāma-Story

Omissions:—(1) Only one fight between Sugrīva and the imposter. (2) No request of Mandodarī to give up Sītā. (3) No multiplication of the head and arms of Rāvaṇa in the final battle with Lakṣmaṇa.

Alterations and Modifications:—(4) Kalyāṇamālā is offered to Lakṣmaṇa in marriage at Kūbarapura. (5) Rudrabhūti is named Rudradeva. He is called a Kāka, the lord of the Kirātas. (6) River Tāptī is specifically mentioned to have been crossed by Rāma. (7) Candranakhā herself requests Rāvaṇa to help Khara and Dūṣaṇa. (8) In the final battle Rāvaṇa conjures up many counterfeits of himself. (9) Rāma's age is 15000 years (PCV-PCR, 1700 years).

Additions:—(10) Padma and Lakṣmaṇa were born at Rājagṛha when Daśaratha was sojourning there after marrying Kaikeyī. (11) Daśaratha sends his officers to bring back Rāma from exile but in vain. (12) Kaikeyī takes permission of Daśaratha to call back Rāma. (13) Picture of Rāvaṇa drawn by Sītā, becomes the cause of her banishment. (14) Lakṣmaṇa sends Rāma to search for banished Sītā but in vain. (15) Lavaṇa's son is named Anaṅgadeva.

Though Hemacandra has followed the *PCR* but he has consulted the *Paumacariyam* and *Paumacariu* also.

Influence of *PCV* on *TSP*:—(16) Kaikeyī's mother's name is Prthivīśrī. (17) Janaka's mother's name is Ilā. (18) Bharta's wife is named Subhadra.

Influence of *PCS* on *TSP*:—(19) The boon was offered to Kaikeyī at Kautukamaṅgalapura (20) Rudradeva (bhūti) tried to snatch away Sītā. (21) Triśiras and Trijaṭā are mentioned. (22) Virādhita was appointed the king of Pātālankārapura before attacking Laṅkā. (23) Hanu kills Akṣakumāra also. (24) The sea was crossed in aerial-cars.

Influence of *FR*:—(25) Candranakhā excites Rāvaṇa referring to the beauty of Sītā. (26) Sītā compells Rāma to go to assist Lakṣmaṇa fighting against Khara.

Dynasties:—(27) There is influence of *Vasudevahindī* on the genealogical list of the Hari Vamśa and that of the *VH* and *Harivamśapurāṇa* on the origin of Hari Vamśa. (28) The origin of Rākṣasa Vamśa and the genealogical list of Ikṣvāku line is influenced by the *PCV*. (29) The origin of Vidyādhara Vamśa is influenced by the *PCS*.

Intervening-Stories.

The following alterations are found in the Rāvaṇa-Carita:—(30) Indra's mother is named Citrasundarī (*PCR*—Mānasasundarī) (31) Sahasrāra assumed the form of the celestial Indra to fulfil the pregnancy longing of his wife (*PCR*—No change of form). (32) Vīra as father-in-law of Vibhīṣaṇa (*PCV-PCR*—Viśuddhakamala). (33) Battle between Rāvaṇa and Vaiśravaṇa is dropped.

Hemacandra agrees with the *PCV* as regards the following points:—(34) Marriage of Rāvaṇa and his brothers. (35) Installing of Ādityarajas and Rākṣarajas as kings of certain places. (36) Varuṇa's battle with Rāvaṇa.

Hemacandra is influenced by *Svayambhū* also :—(37) Khara and Dūṣaṇa are two brothers (Khara is the husband of Candranakhā). (38) Humiliation of Rāvaṇa by Vālī in the battle. (39) Uparambhā-episode.

As regards other intervening stories Hemacandra seems to have consulted both *Paumacariyam* and *Padmacaritam*. Minor droppings, alterations, modifications and additions are affected. Some stories are altogether dropped, some are abridged and a few have quite different sources.

40. The following stories are not found in the *TSP*:—Nos. 19 (it is mixed with No. 18); 21-22, 27-28, 31, 41-42, 43-44, 46-50, 55.58-63).

41. The following stories are abridged :—Nos. 23-25, 54 & 56.

Story No. 43 is included in the story No. 54.

42. The source of story No. 17 (Origin of Animal sacrifice) is probably *Vasudevahinḍī*.

43. The sources of story No. 8 (Bharata and Bāhubali) and No. 16 (Origin of Brāhmaṇas) are probably *Vasudevahinḍī* and *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*.

44. The sources of story No. 9 (Death of the sons of Sagara) and No. 10 (Sanatkumāra) are probably *Vasudevahinḍī* and Devendragaṇi's commentary on *Uttarādhyayana*.

45. The source of story No. 40 (King Daṇḍaka) is probably cūrṇi.

46. Story No. 20 (Sumukha and Viraka) is influenced by the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasenāsūri.

47. Story No. 56 (Priyaṅkara and Hitaṅkara) is influenced by the *PCS*.

48. The sources of story No. 57 (Madhu and Kaiṭabha) and No. 11 (Cakravartin Hariṣeṇa) are quite different.

(4) **Rāmapurāṇa of Bhaṭṭāraka Somasena :**

The *RPS* is a Sanskrit work of the 17 th century A. D. (*RPS*, Int. p. 6). The author Somasena mentions that he has followed Raviṣeṇa. He seems to have consulted various other Jaina works composed by the Śvetāmbaras, Digambaras and the Yāpanīyas. He has taken some elements from the Rāma-story of Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* and *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta. There are very minor omissions, alterations, modifications and some additions also.

Main-Story.

Omissions :—(1) Offering of girls in marriage to Lakṣmaṇa by king Simhodara of Ujjeṇī, Vajrakarṇa of Daśapura and Samudra of Velandharapura. (2) Disturbing of Rāvaṇa's meditation and dragging of Mandodarī by Aṅgada.

Alterations and Modifications :—(3) River Bāhu in place of Gambhīrā. (4) Nalakacchapura in place of Kūvavadda. (5) Valikkhilaya's appointment of Rudrabhūti as his minister. (6) Land of Tāpī called Khānadeśa. (7) Locating of Koṭṣilā at Nābhigiri. (PCV—Sindhuddesa, PCR—No place mentioned). (8) Fastening of Mahendrarājā by Hanumān with his Lāṅgūlavidyā. (9) Manifestation of his Kāmadeva-rupa by Hanumān to attract Laṅkāśundarī. (10) Sending of Viśalyā for curing Lakṣmaṇa without any objection because she was destined to become his wife.

Additions:—(11) Kaikaya, as one more brother of Kaikeyī. (12) Birth place of Suprabhā, queen of Daśaratha as Ratnapura. (13) King Mahādhara also accompanied Rāma to subdue Ativīrya. (14) Rāvaṇa's promise to regard Sītā as his daughter (and to return her to Rāma after subduing him when she requested Rāvaṇa not to kill Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa). (15) Disclosure by Mandodarī to Rāvaṇa that Sītā is their daughter. (16) Offering of the Siddhārtha Vidyā to Lakṣmaṇa by the daughters of Khecara Cakravardhana. (17) Marriage of Lavaṇa and Ankuśa with the eight daughters of king of Podanapurā and 300 of Kuberaśānta. (18) Tuṅgagiri as the place of emancipation of Hanumān and Rāma and Pāvāgiri as that of Lavaṇa and Ankuśa.

Influence of PCV :—Pṛthvīmātī as the name of the mother of Kaikeyī.

Influence of PGS :—Appointment of Virādhita as the king of Pātālāṅkārapura before attacking Laṅkā.

Influence of TSP :—Lakṣmaṇa commissions soldiers to search for exiled Sītā (TSP—Lakṣmaṇa sends Rāma). Lavaṇa's son named Anaṅgalavaṇa (TSP—Anaṅgadeva).

Influence of Guṇabhadra's Rāma-story :—(1) Rāma's date of birth. (2) Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī (When Bhāmaṇḍala is lost, Sītā who was found abandoned in a field is adopted by Janaka as his daughter). (3) Mandodarī's motherly love for Sītā gushes forth (When she tries to persuade Sītā to accept Rāvaṇa as her husband), She promises Sītā to help her preserving in chastity. (4) Hanumān's assuming the form of a monkey (when he is attacked by Rāvaṇa's soldiers in the garden).

Influence of Puṣpadanta's Rāma story :—(5) The reference to the burning of Laṅkā by Hanumān is an influence of Puṣpadanta's Rāma-story.

Influence of VR :—(1) Rāma becomes so furious that he is ready to kill Sugrīva for his negligence in searching for Sītā, but Lakṣmaṇa

intervenes (*VR*— Lakṣmaṇa warns Sugrīva that he will be killed by Rāma. Tārā intervenes and pacifies Lakṣmaṇa). (2) Hanumān climbs up the tree (having changed his form) and drops the ring before Sītā.

Dynasties:—(1) The origin of Ikṣvāku Vamśa is influenced by the *Ādipurāṇa* and *TSP* and its genealogical list is influenced by the *PCV* and the *TSP*. (2) The origin of Vidyādhara Vamśa is influenced by the *PCS* and its genealogical list is influenced by the *PCV* and *HVPJ*. (3) The origin of Hari Vamśa is influenced by the *HVPJ*, *TSP* and *AP*.

Intervening-Stories.

The following alterations are affected in the Rāvaṇa-Carita:—
(1) Indra designated his territory as 'Svarga' and the Vidyādhara as Devas (It is an influence of the *PCS* and the *VR*). (2) Rāvaṇa assumed the form of Indra and raised the peak of Kailāśa with his one lakh arms.

3. There is influence of the *PCV* also :—It does not mention that Sudarśanacakra was seized by Rāvaṇa from Nalakūbara.

4. There is influence of the *PCS* also :—Naming of Daśamukha in his boyhood. Agreeing of by Indra's Lokapālas also to perform menial services in Laukā. Fastening of Varuṇa's soldiers by Hanumān with his 'Laṅgūla' charm.

Other Stories:—As regards other intervening stories which are based on those of the *PCR* there are minor droppings, alterations, modifications, and additions also. A few stories are altogether omitted. A few have different sources. Generally the influence of other works is also there.

1. The following stories are omitted :—No. 10 (Sanatkumāra), 28, (Previous birth of Śrīkaṇṭha) & 63 (sons of Śrīṣeṇa), Story No. 61 and 62 are mixed, taking characters from the former and the theme from the latter.

2. There is influence of the *PCV* :—Story No. 56 (previous birth of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa) and 60 (Ātmaśreyas and the Mystic ring).

3. There is influence of the *PCS* :—Story No. 8 (Bharata and Bāhubali).

4. There is influence of the *TSP* :—Story No. 35 (previous birth of Hanu) and 39 (previous birth of Mleccha Senāpāti).

5. There is influence of the *Uttarapurāṇa*:—Story No. 17 (Origin of Animal Sacrifice). Story No. 16 (Origin of Brāhmaṇas) is modified in the light of *Uttarapurāṇa*.

6. Mixed Influence:—Story No. 20 (Sumukha and Viraka) is influenced by the *PCV*, *AP* and *TSP*. Story No. 51 (previous births of Bharata) is confusive. It is influenced by the *PCV* and *TSP*. Story No. 54 (previous births of Rāma and Sītā) is influenced by the *TSP* and (Maṇḍimati's resolve) by the *Uttarapurāṇa*.

7. Other Sources:—Story No. 9 (Sagara's sons) is based on Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, No. 21 (Mūni Sañjayanta) on Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* and No. 22 (Śrīvardhana and Jvalanasimha) on the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasenāsūri).

(5) Influence on Jinasenāsūri and Hastimalla :

The *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (*HVPJ*) of Jinasenāsūri is a work of 783 A.D. The author of this work remembers his predecessors and mentions Raviṣeṇa (1.34), but there is no reference to Vimalasūri. Various lists of dynasties given in his work resemble those of the *PCR*. While writing on the *Paumacariyaṇ*, Shri Nathuram Premi in his book *JSI* proposes that it is probable that the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* is based on the work of the same name composed by Vimalasūri as referred to in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri. The *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Vimalasūri has not been discovered so far, still the influence of the *PCV* is visible on the genealogical list of the Ikṣvāku and the Vidyādhara Vamśas of the *HVPJ* (See Supra, Ch 5). It indicates that Jinasenāsūri had consulted the *Paumacariyaṇ*.

Story no 22 (Previous births of Sañjayanta and Vidyuddamṣṭra) and No. 57 (Madhu and Kaiṭabha) in the *HVPJ* reveal that their source is the *Vasudevahindī*.

Hastimalla (13th century A. D. has adopted in his *Maithilī Kalyāṇa* the incident of Rāma's success among various candidates in stringing the bow (Supra, Ch. 3.2E) from the tradition of the *PCV* and has based his Añjanā-Pavanañjaya-Nāṭaka on the tradition of the *PCV*.

(6) Minor Influence of Paumacariyaṇ on the Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta :

Puṣpadanta was a poet of the 10th century A. D. He followed the Rāma-story of *Uttarapurāṇa*. His main contribution is the changing of the prosaic form of Rāma-story of Guṇabhadra into a highly artistic style of poetry.

Main changes affected over the story of the *UP* are as follows:—(1) Śatrughna as the son of the fourth queen of Daśaratha. (2) Rāma is called Padma also. (3) Naming of Lakṣmaṇa after his

qualities. (4) Rāma is said to have strung his bow to dispel the fear of enemies while protecting the Yajña of Janaka. (5) Rāvaṇa decides to kidnap Sītā because she was previously promised to him by Janaka. (6) Śūrpaṇakhā is called Candranakhā. (7) Mandodarī recognised Sītā by the marks on her feet. (8) Hanumān convinces Sītā of his genuineness by referring to her love-quarrel with Rāma and applying of a Tilaka on her forehead by Rāma. (9) Aṇumān and other Vidyādharas burn the city of Laṅkā with their fiery tails. (10) Vibhīṣaṇa tries to stab himself but in vain.

The above analysis reveals that in point No. 3 there is influence of the PCV exclusively. In the points Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, & 10 there is influence of the PCR or the tradition of the PCV. In point No. 8 the reference to a lovequarrel shows the influence of the PCV-PCR tradition.

The reference to the applying of Tilaka (point No. 8) and the burning of Laṅkā (Point No. 9) is indicative of the influence of the VR.

B. Influence on Non-Jaina Works

Now we shall arrange, according to their age, the non-Jaina works which have been influenced by the tradition of *Paumacarīyaṃ*.

1. Works composed in India :

(a) Sanskrit works :

(i) *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa* (5th cent. A.D. ?) :—It is an '*Upapurāṇa*' (1) Stringing of the bow by Rāma in the presence of many candidates on the occasion of Sītā's 'svayamvara' (See Supra, Ch. 3.S.E). (2) Tārā originally the wife of Sugrīva (See Supra, Ch. 3.6 G). (3) Prophecy that the piercer of the trees would be the killer of Vālī (In the PCV the prophecy is to the effect that the lifter of the Koṭiśīlā would be the killer of Rāvaṇa. (See Supra, Ch. 3.7 B).

Dr. R. C. Hazra (See Bulcke, p. 160) holds this Purāṇa to be of the 5th century A. D. But it is an *Upapurāṇa* and the date of *Upapurāṇas* is always posterior to that of the principal 18 Purāṇas which are generally held to have been composed up to the 5th century A. D. Therefore, its date should very probably fall later than the 5th cent. A. D. If it is not so, then the *Paumacarīyaṃ* and *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa* belong to a contemporary period, hence all the above points should have some common source.

(ii) *Bhaṭṭi Kāvya* (6th-7th century A.D.) :—Appearance of Garuḍa when he is remembered by Rāma (See Supra, Ch. 3.8C).

According to the *VR*, When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are noosed by Indrajit, Garuḍa appears suddenly. It is in the *PCV* that the Garuḍādhipati appears when Rāma asks Lakṣmaṇa to remember of him. Therefore, it is the influence of the *PCV*'s tradition on the *Bhaṭṭi Kāvya*.

(iii) *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (6th to 7th century A.D.):—Rāma's success among various candidates in stringing the bow (See Supra, Ch. 3.2 E).

(iv) *Mahāvīracarita* of Bhavabhūti (8th century A.D.):—1. Rāma's success in stringing the bow in the presence of various candidates (Supra, Ch. 3.2. E). 2. Kaikeyī's complete exoneration from the charge of exiling Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3.3. B).

(v) *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti (8th century A.D.):—1. The episode of an agile elephant and Sītā's request to Rāma to subdue it (Supra, Ch. 3.7 E). 2. Lava's battle with the son of Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3.9 D).

(vi) *Chalītarāma* (9th cent. A.D.):—1. Battle of Lava and Kuśa (Supra, Ch. 3.9 D)

(vii) *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda (9th century A.D.):—1. Vānaravarasundarī's love proposal to Hanumān (Supra, Ch. 3.7 C).

The above mentioned three works are titled on the style of Jaina works on Rāmakathā, called *Paumacariyam*, *Padmacaritam* or *Paumacariu*. In the Jaina tradition works on the life of great persons are generally titled as caritas.

(viii) *Anargha Rāghava* of Murāri (9th—10th century A.D.):—1. Rāma's success in stringing the bow in the presence of various candidates (Supra, Ch. 3.2. E). 2. Kaikeyī's complete exoneration from the charge of exiling Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3.3. B).

(ix) *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa* of Rājasekhara (10th century A. D.):—1. Failure of other candidates and Rāma's success in stringing the bow on the occasion of Sītā's 'svayamvara' (Supra, Ch. 3.2. E) 2. Kaikeyī's complete exoneration from the charge of exiling Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3.3. B).

(x) *Brahmapurāṇa*:—The Gautamī Māhātmya section in the *Brahmapurāṇa* (Ch. 70-175) which contains Rāma-story, is held to be composed not earlier than the 10th century A.D. The influence of the tradition of the *PCV* is apparent on the following points:—

1. Episode of war-chariot and granting of boon to Kaikeyī (on the occasion of Daśaratha's taking part in the Devāsura battle (See Supra, Ch. 3.1. b). 2. performing of penances by Hanumān and Rāma after the abandonment of Sītā (Supra, Ch. 3.9 E (ii) & (iv).

(xi) *Kathāsaritsāgara* (10-11th century A.D.):—1. Lava is Kuśa's senior (Supra, Ch. 3. 9D). 2. Lava and Kuśa's fight with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 9 D). 3. Sītā enters a lake to prove her purity in the Āśrama of Vālmiki (In the *PCV* the fire-pit gets converted into a reservoir of water—Supra, Ch. 8. 9 D).

The source of *Kathāsaritsāgara* is Guṇāḍhya's *Vṛhatkathā* whose date is regarded as earlier than the 6th century A. D. (A. B. Keith. *HSL*, p. 266). It is not possible to say how far the *PCV* or *Vṛhatkathā* has influenced vice-versa or both the works may have their common source. But as far the *Vṛhatkathā* is not recovered, we cannot be sure about its originality as regards the above points.

(xii) *Mahānāṭaka* (10 th to 14 th century A. D) :—1. Failure of others and Rāma's success in stringing the bow (Supra, Ch. 3 2.E). 2. Elevating the character of Daśaratha by mentioning the presence of Bharata on the occasion of his decision to crown Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. A). 3. Meeting of Hanumān with Bharata while taking the medicinal herb and his reaching Laūkā before the sun-rise (Supra, Ch. 3. 8 E). 4. Sending of an envoy by Rāvaṇa to affect truce with Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3. 8 F).

(xiii) *Śrīmaddevī Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (11th century A.D.):—1. Rāma's success in stringing the bow in presence of many candidates (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. F).

(xiv) *Jaimini Bhārata* (12th century A. D.):—1. The Jaiminiya Aśvamedha portion contains Lava and Kuśa's battle with the army of Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3.9 D). 2. The *Merūvanacarita* portion contains reference to the son of Hanumān (Supra, Ch. 4.2).

The *PCV* is the earliest work which refers to the wives and the son of Hanumān. Therefore, the influence of *PCV*'s tradition is apparent on the subsequent works.

(xv) *Prasannarūghava* of Jayadeva (12th century A. D.) :—1. Failure of other candidates and Rāma's success in stringing the bow (Supra, Ch. 3.2, E).

(xvi) *Padmapurāṇa*:—The *Pātālakhanda* and the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of *Padmapurāṇa* containing Rāma-stories are held to be composed in the 12th and the 15th century A.D.

1. Names of the third and fourth wife of Daśaratha (*Pātālakhanda* specially *PCR*'s influence). 2. Episode of war-chariot and granting of boon to Kaikeyī (Bengali version) (Supra, Ch. 3. 1. B). 3. Cause of naming Lakṣmaṇa as such (*Pātālakhanda*—specially *PCR*'s

influence). 4. Sītā's betrothal with Rāma, Nārada's intervention and introduction of the Bow (Pātāla; Supra, ch. 3.2.C & D). 5 Failure of others and Rāma's success in stringing the bow (Pātāla khaṇḍa; Supra, ch. 3. 2. E). 6. Performing of a sacrifice by Rāvaṇa to acquire invincibility and its disturbance (Uttarakhaṇḍa; Supra, Ch. 3.8 G). 7. Battle of Lava and Kuśa (Pātālakhaṇḍa; Supra, ch. 3.9. D).

Striking similarity of the *Padmapurāṇa* with Raviṣeṇa's *Padmacaritam* as regards points Nos. 1 & 3 indicate that the author had consulted Raviṣeṇa's work.

(xvii) *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* of the Rāmānanda sect (14th cent. A.D.):—1. Episode of war-chariot and granting of boons to Kaikeyī (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. 1. B. 2. Christening the name of Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 1. D). 3. Rāma's success among various candidates in stringing the bow (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. E). 4. Exonerating Kaikeyī from the charge of cruelty by introducing Rāma's decision to go in exile rather than accepting kingship, at the advice of Nārada (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. B): repentance by Kaikeyī for her folly of exiling Rāma and her request to Rāma on the Citrakūṭa hill to pardon her (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. C). 5. Virādha is a vidyāhara and not a Gandharva as in the *VR* (Supra, Ch. 3. 5 C). 6. Hanumān's request to Sītā to carry her on his shoulders (Supra, Ch. 3. 7. E, fn. 3). 7. Raising of his sword by Rāvaṇa while kicking and exiling Vibhīṣaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 8B). 8. Automatic fleeing away of the Śakti by which Lakṣmaṇa was wounded (Supra, Ch. 3. 8E). 9. Disturbing of Rāvaṇa's sacrifice and dragging of Mandodarī (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. G).

For the first time so much influence of the tradition of the *PCV* on a Brahmanical work like the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* is seen. Elements No. 1 and 3 & 9 had already become popular with the earlier Brahmanical works. The striking similarities in such minor points as Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7 & 8 reveal that the author of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* had studied well some of the Jaina works on Rama-story. It is possible that the Sanskrit works of Raviṣeṇa and Hemacandra might have been consulted. But the resemblance in the point No. 2 exceptionally reveals as if the *PCV* was before the author of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.

(xviii) *Ananda Rāmāyaṇa* (15th century A.D.):—1. Kauśalyā's father's name as Kośala (Supra, Ch. 3.1. A). 2. Rāvaṇa's vain efforts in foiling the marriage of Daśaratha and Kauśalyā, and in killing Daśaratha to escape his own death destined at the hands of the former's son (Supra, Ch. 3. 1.B). 3. Episode of war-chariot as the cause of granting boon to Kaikeyī (Supra, Ch. 3. 1.B). 4. Janaka's wife (Sumedhā) introduced specifically for the first time (Supra, Ch. 3.2.A).

5. Failure of various princes and Rāma's success in stringing the bow (Supra, Ch. 3.2.E). 6. Exonerating Kaikeyī from the charge of exiling Rāma by Rāma's decision to enter forest rather than accepting kingship (Supra, Ch. 3.3.B), repentance of Kaikeyī for her folly and her requests to Rāma on the Citrakūṭa hill to pardon her (Supra, Ch. 3.3.C). 7. Killing of Śūrpaṇakhā's son, Śāmba by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3.5.B). 8. Association of Lakṣmaṇa with the test of Rāma taken by Sugrīva, and the prophecy about the destined killer of Vālī (Supra, Ch. 3.7.B). 9. Hanumān's seeing of Vibhīṣaṇa during his mission to Laṅkā (Supra, Ch. 3.7.D). 10. Hanumān's proposal to carry Sītā on his shoulders (Supra, Ch. 3.7.E). 11. Disturbing of Rāvaṇa's sacrifice (Ch 3.8.G). 12. Rāma's Digvijaya (Supra, Ch. 3.9.B). 13. Madanasundarī's marriage with Yūpaketu, the son of Śatrughna (Supra, Ch. 3.9.B). 14. Kuśa and Lava's marriage in a 'svayamvara' (Ch. 3.9.D). 15. Chandravadanā's marriage with a son of Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3.9.D). 16. Kuśa and Lava's battle with Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3.9.D). 17. Rāma's fight with the grandsons of Kumbhakarna (Supra, Ch. 3.9.E iii). 18. Preparing a lute with the parts of his body by Rāvaṇa for eulogising Śiva (Supra, Ch. 4.1.x). 19. Son of Hanumān (Supra, Ch. 4.2).

Here for the first time in a Brahminical work the father of Kauśalyā and the wife of Janaka are introduced (Nos. 1 & 4) specifically. Point No. 2 is influenced by the episode of Nārada and Kaikeyī's marriage; No. 12 by the Digvijaya of Lakṣmaṇa; Nos. 13, 14, 15 by the marriages of Lakṣmaṇa and the sons of Rāma and No. 17 by the attack of the grandsons of Chandranakhā on Rāma.

This work describes Rāma's water-sports with Sītā. The PCV is the earliest work in the whole of the Indian Literature, which describes the water-sports of Rāma and Sītā (PCV, 42. 18-24) in a river flowing in the forest of Daṇḍaka.

In the PCV (102. 29-31) on the occasion of her fire-ordeal Sītā is raised on the divine throne, and she is saved. Then she renounces the world. In the VR (7. 97) the throne on which Sītā is seated enters the earth and Sītā disappears for ever. But in the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* the deity of earth raising Sītā on the throne offer her to Rāma and Sītā gets reunited (5. 8. 77) with Rāma.

In the PCV (6. 165) on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Śrīmālā Vidyādhari, her foster-mother Sumaṅgalā introduces to her various princes who came there to seek her hand. Similarly in the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Campikā, her foster-mother named Sunandā introduces to her various princes (6. 2. 31).

There is a striking resemblance in the name of the foster-mother and the method of introduction.

Points No. 3, 5, 6, 10, 11 & 16 are already found in the older Brahmanical works but the rest of the thirteen reveal that the author of *Ananda Rāmāyaṇa* had studied some Jaina works on the Rāma-story.

The above analysis reveals that it is this work among the Brahmanical works, on which there is the greatest influence of the tradition of the *PCV*.

(xix) *Dharmakhaṇḍa* (Considered as a part) of *Skandapurāṇa* (15-16th Cent. A. D.):—1. Kaikeyī's request to Rāma in exile to come back (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. C).

(xx) *Satyopākhyāna* (16th century A. D.):—1. Kaikeyī's love marriage with Daśaratha and Nārada's association with it (Supra, Ch. 3. 1. B). 2. Introduction of the bow specially for the purpose of Sītā's 'svayamvara' (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. D). 3. Rāma's success in stringing the bow in the presence of various candidates (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. E). 4. Rāma's water-sports with Sītā (see Bulcke, p. 479; *PCV*, 42. 18-24).

Point Nos. 2, 3 & 4 have their presence in the earlier Brahmanical works. Point No. 1 is a special introduction and it is based with variation on the pattern of the tradition of the *PCV*.

(xxi) *Rāmarahasya* of Mohanaswāmī (17th century A. D.):—1. Stringing of the bow by Rāma in presence of many other candidates (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. E). 2. Meeting of Hanumat with Bharata while bringing the medicinal herb (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. E).

(xxii) *Rāmaliṅgāmṛta* (17th century A. D.):—1. Rām's success in stringing the bow in the presence of many candidates (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. E). 2. Exonerating Kaikeyī from the charge of exiling Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. C). 3. Nārada as the instigator of a battle between Rāma and his sons (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D). 4. Son of Hanumat (Supra, Ch. 4. 2).

Point No. 3 shows specific influence of the tradition of the *PCV*.

(xxiii) *Tattvasaṅgraha Rāmāyaṇa* (17th cent. A. D.) of Rāma Brahmananda:—1. Kaikeyī's approach to Rama in exile and a request to him to come back. (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. C).

(b) *Works in Modern Indian Languages:*

(i) *Tamil Rāmāyaṇa* of Kamban (10th century A. D.):—1. Rāma's success among various candidates in stringing the bow (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. E).

(ii) *Telugu Dvīpāda Rāmāyaṇa* (12th century A. D.):—1. Rāma's success among various candidates in stringing the bow (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. E.). 2. Killing of the son of Rāvaṇa's sister by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 5. B). 3. Rāvaṇa's unsuccessful sacrifice (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. G).

(iii) *Assamese Rāmāyaṇa* of Mādhavakandaḥi (14th cent. A.D.):—'Svayamvara' of Kaikeyī (Supra, Ch. 3. 1. B).

(iv) *Oriyā Mahābhārata* by Sāralādāsa. (15th cent. A.D.):—Killing of the son of Sūrpaṇakhā by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 5. B).

(v) *Marāṭhī Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* (16th century A. D.):—1. Bharata and Śatrughna as real brothers (Supra, Ch. 3. 1. D). 2. Observing of Vibhīṣaṇa by Hanumat (Supra, Ch. 3. 7. D). 3. Rāma's success in stringing the bow in the presence of various candidates (Supra, Ch. 3.2. E). 4. Killing of the son of Sūrpaṇakhā by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch 3. 5 B). 5. Son of Hanumān (Supra, Ch. 4. 2). 6. Battle of Lava and Kuśa with Rāma (Supra. Ch 3. 9. D.)

(vi) *Kannarese Torāve Rāmāyaṇa* of Narahari (16th century A. D.):—1. Exonerating Kaikeyī from the charge of exiling Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. C). 2. Killing of Śambūka, the son of Rāvaṇa's sister by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 5. B). Rāvaṇa's unsuccessful sacrifice (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. G)

(vii) *Kannarese Mairāvaṇa Kalaga* of Narahari (16th century A. D.):—1. Son of Hanumat (Supra, Ch. 4. 2).

(viii) *Bengali Kṛtīvāsa Rāmāyaṇa* (16th century A. D.):—1. 'Svayamvara' of Kaikeyī (Supra, Ch. 3. 1. B). 2. Meeting of Hanumat with Bharata while taking the medicinal herb and putting the sun under his armpit to reach Laṅkā before the sun-rise (Supra, Ch. 3.8. E). 3. Lava and Kuśa's battle (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D).

(ix) *Rāmācaritamānasa* of Tulasīdāsa or *Tulasi Rāmāyaṇa*:—We shall deal with it in the following pages separately.

(x) *Rāmācandrikā* of Keśavadāsa (16th cent. A. D.):—Lava-Kuśa-Battle (Supra. Ch. 3. 9 D).

(xi) *Govinda Rāmāyaṇa* of Gurugovindasingh (17th cent. A. D.):—1. Battle of Lava-Kuśa.

(xii) *Rāmāyaṇa Masīhī* of Mullā Masīhī (16-17th cent. A. D.):—Lava-kuśa Battle (Supra, Ch. 3.9.D).

(xiii) *Gujarātī Rāmāyaṇa* of Premānanda (17th century A. D.):—1. Rāma's success in stringing the bow in the presence of many candidates (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. E).

(xiv) *Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa* (18th century A. D.):—1. Introduction of the bow specially for the purpose of Sītā's 'svayamvara' (Supra, Ch. 3. 2. D). 2. Exoneration of Kaikeyī by introducing Nārada's advice and Rāma's decision to go in exile rather than accepting kingship (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. B). 3. Hanumān's encounter with Bharata while taking the medicine to Laṅkā (Bulcke, p. 391 & Supra, Ch. 3. 8. E). 4. Disturbing of the sacrifice of Rāvaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. G). 5. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa and their battle with Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D).

(xv) *Oriyā Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa* of Mādhavadāsa (18th Cent A.D.):—Killing of the son of Śūrpaṇakhā by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 5. B).

(xvi) *Gujarātī Rāmāyaṇa-sāra* (19th century A. D.):—1. Observing of Vibhīṣaṇa by Hanumat on his mission to discover Sītā (Supra, Ch. 3. 7. D). 2. Rāvaṇa's unsuccessful sacrifice (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. G). 3. Lava and Kusa's battle (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D).

(xvii) *Gujarātī Narmakathakośa* (?) (Bulcke, p. 432):—1. Son of Hanumat (Supra, Ch. 4.2).

(xviii) *Birhor Rāmakathā*:—1. The influence of the Jaina tradition that Lakṣmaṇa killed Rāvaṇa is found even on the stories popular among the Birhors, the aboriginal people of Bihar (Bulcke, p. 215).

(2) Works composed outside India :

(a) South Asia :

(i) *Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa* (9th Century A. D.):—1. Voluntary exile of Rāma specially for favouring kingdom to his younger brother and no intrigue of stepmother as in the Dasaratha Jātaka (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. B). 2. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa (Supra, Ch. 3.9. D).

(ii) *Khotānī Rāmāyaṇa* (9th century A.D.) :—1. Rāvaṇa's unsuccessful sacrifice (Supra, Ch. 3.8. G).

(iii) *Simhalese Rāmakathā* (15th cent. A. D.) :—1. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D). 2. Lava and Kuśa's battle (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D).

(iv) *Rāmāyaṇa Kāvya* of Jāvā (12th cent. A.D.) :1. Vibhīṣaṇa's going to Rāma for shelter along with his army (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. B).

According to the *VR* Vibhīṣaṇa approaches along with his ministers. According to the *PCV* Vibhīṣaṇa goes along with his army.

(v) *Brahmacakra* of Laos (earlier than 16th cent. A. D.)—1. Presence of various candidates on the occasion of Sītā's 2. Battle

of Lava and Kuśa (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D). 'svayamvara' (Supra, Ch. 3. 2 E).

(vi) *Serī Rāma* of Malaya (15th century A.D.) :—1. Wrecking of Daśaratha's litter (for war-chariot incident in the PCV) and granting of a boon by Daśaratha to Bharata's mother for saving him from falling down (Supra, Ch. 3. 1. B). 2. Bharata and Śatrughna as real brothers (Supra, Ch. 3.1. D). 3. Rāma's success at the 'svayamvara' of Sītā in the presence of many candidates (Supra, Ch. 3.2. E). 4. Voluntary exile of Rāma specially for favouring kingdom to Bharata and no intrigue of stepmother as in the Dasaratha Jātaka (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. B). 5. Son of Śūrpaṅkhā killed by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 5. B). 6. Lakṣmaṇa's association with the test of Rāma taken by Sugrīva (Supra, Ch. 3. 7. B). 7. Rāvaṇa's unsuccessful sacrifice (Supra, Ch. 3. 8, G), 8. Lava and Kuśa's battle (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D). 9. Performing of penances by Rāma and Sītā (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. E. V). 10. Son of Hanumān (Supra, Ch. 4. 2).

(vii) *Hikāyata Mahārāja Rāvaṇa* (popular story based on *Serī Rāma*):—

1. Wrecking of Daśaratha's litter (Supra, Ch. 3. 1. B). 2. Rāma's success at the 'svayamvara' of Sītā in the presence of various candidates (Supra, Ch. 3.2. E). 4. Sons of Hanumān (Supra, Ch. 4.2).

(vii) *Serata Kāṇḍa* of Jāvā (16th century A.D.):—1. Rāma's success at the 'svayamvara' of Sītā in the presence of many candidates (Supra, Ch. 3.2. E). 2. Son of Śūrpaṅkhā killed by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3.5. D). 3. Lava and Kuśa's battle with Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3.9.D). 4. Performing of penances by Rāma and Sītā (Supra, Ch. 3.9.E.v).

(ix) *Reāma Kera* of Cambodia (16th cent. A.D.):—1. Rāma's success among various candidates in stringing the bow (Supra, Ch. 3.2.E). 2. Lakṣmaṇa's association with the test of Rāma taken by Sugrīva (Supra, Ch. 3.7.B). 3. Rāvaṇa's unsuccessful sacrifice (Supra, Ch. 3.8.G). 4. Battle of Lava and Kuśa with Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3.9.D).

(x) *Rāma Kīyen* of Śyāma (16th cent. A.D.):—1. War-chariot episode for the boon granted to Kaikeyī (Supra, Ch. 3.1. B). 2. Son of Śūrpaṅkhā killed by Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3.5 B). 3. Procuring of the water specially from Bharata for curing Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3.8.E). 4. Rāvaṇa's unsuccessful sacrifice (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. G). 5. Captivity of Vibhīṣaṇa at the hands of Rāvaṇa's son and his rescuing, by Bharata and Śatrughna (Supra, Ch. 3.9. E. v). 6.

Battle of Lava Kuśa (Supra, Ch.3.9.D). 7, Hanumat's sports with Puṣpamālī (Supra, Ch. 3.7.C and Bulcke, p. 363) and various love episodes of Hanumat (Bulcke, p. 363). 8. Sons of Hanumat (Supra, Ch. 4.2.). - 9. Renouncing of the world by Hanumat (Supra, 9. E. (ii)).

In point No. 4 there is influence of *PCV* through *Ananda Rāmāyaṇa* point No. 17. In point Nos. 6 and 7 there is specific influence of the tradition of *PCV*.

(xi) *Rāma Jātaka* of Śyama (16th cent. A. D):—1. Lava and Kuśa's battle (Ch. 3. 9. D).

(b) *Western Europe:*

Missionaries and travellers from Western countries visited India and wrote some works relating to India (for specific works see Bulcke, p. 246). In these works written from the 17th to the 18th century A. D. we find material about Rāma-story. The influence of the tradition of *PCV* can be observed as follows:—

Western Accounts No. 1:—1. Lakṣmaṇa's association with Rāma's test taken by Sugrīva (Supra, Ch. 3. 7. B).

Western Account No. 3 :—1. Rāma's success at Sītā's 'svayamvara' in the prepresence of many candidates (Supra, Ch. 3.2. E). 2. Unsuccessful sacrifice of Rāvaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. G).

Western Account No. 4:—1. Rāma's success at Sītā's svayamvara in presence of many Candidates (Supra. Ch. 3-2. E).

Western Account No. 6:—1. Lava and Kuśa's battle (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D).

Western Account No. 7:—1. Rāma's success at Sītā's 'svayamvara' in the presence of many candidates (Supra, Ch. 2. 3. E). 2. Battle of Lava and Kuśa (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D). 3. Son of Hanumān (Supra, Ch. 4. 2).

Western Account No. 8:—1. Rāma's success at Sītā's 'svayamvara'. 3. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa and their battle (Supra, Ch. 3.9.D.). in the presence of various candidates (Supra, ch. 3. 2. E). 3. son of Hanumān (Supra, Ch. 4. 2.).

Western Account No. 13—1. Rama's success at Sītā's 'svayamvara' in presence of many candidates (Supra. Ch. 3. 2. E) 2. Prophecy that the piercer of the trees would be the destined killer of Vālī (Supra, Ch. 3. 7. B). 3. Seeing of Vibhiṣaṇa by Hanumān during his mission to Laṅkā (Supra, Ch. 3. 7. D).

Western Account No. 14:—1. Voluntary exile of Rāma for the favour of Bharata (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. B). 2. Battle of Lava and Kuśa (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D).

Western Account No. 17:—1. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa and their battle (Supra, Ch. 3. 9. D).

Western Account No. 19:—1. The episode of cursing Śūrpaṅakhā's son and his emancipation at the hands of Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3. 5. B).

(3) A Note on the Previous Birth Stories of Daśaratha, Rāma and Rāvaṇa :

Previous birth stories of Daśaratha, Rāma, Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa do not find place in the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The *Purāṇas* and subsequent Brahmanical works on Rāma-story contain stories of their previous births. All these works are later than the *Paumacariyam* which systematically deals with their previous births (Supra, Ch. 4). Though Brahmanical works contain independent stories yet the indirect influence of the tradition of *Paumacariyam* can be presumably seen on the Brahmanical works as in the line with the *Paumacariyam* explain the causes of Daśaratha's fortune, Rāma's separation from Sītā, kidnapping of Sītā by Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa's good character.

Previous Birth of Daśaratha:—For the first time the *Skandapurāṇa* (*Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 24) narrates that Brahmin Dharmadatta on account of his devotion to Viṣṇu was reborn as Daśaratha (Bulcke, p. 274). The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* also contains this story (1.4.117 to 1.5.28).

The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* (1.2.25 and 1.4.14) and the *TR* (1.186.3) narrate that Kaśyapa on account of his penances was reborn as Daśaratha.

The *Padmapurāṇa* (*Uttarakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 246) and the *Rāmarahasya* (canto 1; Bulcke, p. 274) as well as the *TR* (1.141) narrate that Svayāmbhu Manu was reborn as Daśaratha.

Kidnapping of Sītā by a Rākṣasa and her Separation from Rāma:—The episode of the curse cast on Viṣṇu by Bhṛgu is found in the *Brahmāṇḍa*, (Ch. 73), *Vāyu* (Ch. 97) and *Matsya* (Ch. 47) *Purāṇas* ranging from the 4th cent. A. D. to 6th century A. D. (Bulcke, p. 274) but therein Rāma, Sītā and Rāvaṇa are not connected. The same episode is narrated in the Southern version of *VR* (*Uttara*, 51. 12-18) Here Bhṛgu cursed Viṣṇu to suffer separation from his wife, but still the abduction of his wife by any Rākṣasa is not referred to. It is in the *Skandapurāṇa* of the 9th century A.D. (*Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 20-21) that

the Rākṣasas are introduced. It narrates that Viṣṇu once with the help of Jaya and Vijaya beguiled the chastity of Vṛndā, the wife of Daitya Jalandhara. Then Vṛndā cursed Viṣṇu to be reborn as a human being and suffer separation from his wife who would be kidnapped by Jaya and Vijaya in the form of the Rākṣasas. This story is found in the *Śivamahāpurāṇa* also (*Rudrasaṃhitā—Yuddhakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 23; Bulcke, p. 275). The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (1. 4. 82-110) also narrates this episode. We find further development in the *TR* (I. 122. 139). It mentions that Jalandhara was reborn as Rāvaṇa and on account of his previous enmity with Viṣṇu he abducted the wife of Rāma.

One other episode is narrated in the *Śivamahāpurāṇa* (*Rudrasaṃhitā—Śṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, Ch. 3-4). Nārada wanted to marry a particular girl but Viṣṇu contrived to marry her. Then Nārada cursed Viṣṇu to suffer separation from his wife and cursed two attendants of Śiva who had laughed at him to be reborn as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna (Bulcke, p. 276). The *TR* (I. 122-139) also contains this episode.

The *TR* additionally introduces the previous birth of Vibhīṣaṇa in the story of Pratāpabhānu (Supra, Ch. 4. story No. 52).

(4) Influence on Tulasidāsa :

The *Rāmacaritamānasa* was composed by Tulasidāsa in 1574 A.D. (Vide M.P. Gupta, p. 276). Its sources are various works of Brahmanical tradition on Rāma-story and specially it is based on the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*. Tulasidāsa has completely deified Rāma and his work depicts the cult of Rāmabhakti. There are certain elements in it which show influence of the tradition of *Paumacariyam*'s Rāma and that of the style of the Jaina-carita works.

The following elements reveal the tradition of *PCV* on the *Rāmacaritamānasa*. As they had become popular with the Brahmanical works composed before the *TR*, hence they should be regarded as indirectly influenced by the tradition of *PCV*:—

1. Rāma's success among various candidates in the 'svayamvara' of Sītā (Supra, Ch. 3.2.E). 2. Exonerating Kaikeyī from the charge of cruelty by (i) introducing goddess Sarasvatī (Supra, Ch. 3.3, B), (ii) Kaikeyī's implicit repentance twice on the Gītrakūṭa hill for exiling Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3.3. C), (iii) clear statement of Muni Bharadvāja that Kaikeyī is not at all guilty. It was the Sarasvatī who beguiled her mind (Supra, Ch. 3.3.B) and (iv) Nārada's advice and Rāma's decision to forego kingship for exile. Point No. (iv) is found only in the interpolated portions of the *TR* (Supra, Ch. 3.3.B). Point No. (iii) is not found in the earlier Brahmanical works. It is

a new point in the *TR*. 3. Hanumān's encounter with Bharata while taking the medicinal herb and his reaching Lañkā before the sunrise (Supra, Ch. 3.8. E). 4. Disturbing of the sacrifice of Rāvaṇa and dragging of Mandodarī (Supra, Ch. 3.8.G). 5. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa (Supra, Ch. 3.9.D). 6. Battle of Lava & Kuśa (Gītāvalī and interpolated portions of *TR*; Supra, Ch. 3.9.D). 7. Christening of the name of Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3.1.D). 8. Mentioning of the name of Janaka's wife (Supra, Ch. 3.2.A). 9. Automatic fleeing away of the Śakti by which Lakṣmaṇa was hurt in the battlefield (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. E.)

Now we deal with such elements which are found exclusively in one or two versions of *VR* but we are not definite about *VR*'s or *PCV*'s originality (See preceding section I. B. 5):—

10. Insulting of Vibhīṣaṇa by Rāvaṇa by kicking him while exiling him from Lañkā (Supra, Ch. 3 8. B). 11. Mandodarī's request to Rāvaṇa four times to bow down to Bhagavān Rāma and return Sītā to Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. C & J).

In addition to the above the following elements of the *TR* are directly influenced by the tradition of *PCV* :—

12. Hanumān's approach to Vibhīṣaṇa while on his mission to search for Sītā (Supra, Ch. 3. 7. D). 13. Prahasta's advice to Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāma and then to fight with Rāma if he so liked (Supra, Ch. 3. 81. C). Compare it with the *PCV*'s Rāvaṇa's decision to release Sītā after subduing Rāma (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. H). 14. According to the Gauḍīya and the N-W. versions of *VR*, Lakṣmaṇa erects two cottages for their temporary sojourn on the Cītrakūṭa hill (Bulcke, p. 316). According to the *Rāmacarītamānasa* these cottages are conjured up by gods. The *Rāmacarītamānasa* seems to be influenced by the tradition of *Paumacariyaṇ* in which a Yakṣa (divine being) conjured up Rāmapurī for the temporary sojourn of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā (Supra, Ch. 3. 3 C; Supra, Ch. 3. 4. C). 15. There is influence relating to the sequence as regards the episode of killing of Kumbhakarṇa. He is shot dead after the wounding of Lakṣmaṇa by the Śakti (in the *VR* Kumbhakarṇa is shot dead before the wounding of Lakṣmaṇa (Supra, Ch. 3. 8. C). 16. There is an all round effort of dropping some of the defects associated with the main characters of the Rāma-story. Daśaratha's suspicion on Bharata has not been brought into light when he decides to enthrone Rāma as the king of Ayodhyā (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. A). Further he is ready to enthrone Bharata but he does not want that Rāma should depart to the forest in exile (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. B). For Kaikeyī see above (No. 2). Sītā does not

abuse Rāma when initially he does not permit her to accompany him to the forest (Supra, Ch. 4.3. 3. B). Lakṣmaṇa does not become furious and does not abuse Daśaratha for exiling Rāma. He even says that it is all due to misfortune (Supra, Ch. 3. 3. B). The *TR* drops down the reference to Śūrpaṇakhā's desire to devour the blood of the culprits (i.e. Rāma & Lakṣmaṇa) as narrated in the *VR* (Supra, Ch. 3. 5. C). Virādhā is not referred to have snatched away Sītā from Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as narrated in the *VR* (Supra, Ch. 3. 4. C).

Influence on the Style and Pattern of Tulasī's works:

Now we take up the influence of the general style and pattern of the Jaina Rāma caritas as well as the particular works which have influenced Tulasīdāsa.

The pattern of the previous birth stories of Daśaratha, Rāvaṇa, Rāma and Sītā in the *TR* resembles that of the Jaina works on Rāma Kathā. The missing link of enmity between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is furnished by Tulasīdāsa in his *Rāmacaritamānasa* (see the Preceding section B- 3).

The very title of the work *Rāmacaritamānasa* shows an influence of the Prakrit works, the first being the *Paumacariyam* which is titled as caritam. Whereas the earlier or later Brahmanical works are generally titled as *Rāmāyaṇa*.

It is the style of the Jaina poets that they in the beginning pay obeisance to all great persons. Tīrthaṅkaras, Mahārṣis, Gaṇadharas and Anāgata sādhus. (See *PGV*, 1.1-7; *PCR*, 1.1-15; *PCS*, 1.1-2). On the same pattern we find that Tulasīdāsa in the beginning of his *Rāmacaritamānasa* remembers in his salutations not only one or two but a number of deities and great persons. He pays obeisance to Sarasvatī, Bhavānī, Śaṅkara, Sītā, Rāma, Vālmīki, Hanumān, Hari, Gaṇeśa, Nārāyaṇa, Teachers (Gurus) Santasamāja (saints), etc. (*TR*, 1.1-3).

Thereafter he salutes the wicked persons (*Tr*, 1. 4-5):—

Bandaum khala jasa seṣa saroṣā
Sahasa badana baranai para doṣā (I. 4. 4)
Bacana bajra jehi sadā piārā
Sahasa nayana para doṣa niharā (1. 4. 6)

Compare it with the *PCV* at 1. 12 where Vimalasūri before commencing to narrate the story ridicules the fault-seekers:—

Atthetha visamasīlā kevi narā dosagahanatallicchā/
Tutṭhā vi subhaṇiehim ekkam pi gūṇam na genhanti//

Svayambhū also in the beginning of his *PCS* contrasts the saints and the wicked (1. 3. 12-14).

Ehu sajjaṇa loyaho kiu viṇau/ Jāṁ avuhu padarisiu appaṇau//
Jai ema virūsai ko vi khalu/ Taho hatthutthalliu leu chalu//

Pisunem kim abbatthiṇa, Jasu ko vi ṇa rucchai/
Kim chaṇa candu mahāgaheṇa, Kampantu vi mucchai//

Tulasīdāsa has further developed it and has written a number of verses in the praise of saints and the wicked alike (See *TR*, 1. 4-7).

Tulasīdāsa in his *Rāmacaritamānasa* at the end of every *kāṇḍa* gives one or two verses which express blessings to the readers of the story (See *TR*, 1. 261; 2. 326; 3. 46k; 4. 30k, 5. 60; 6. 12k; & 7. 130).

In the *VR* it is only at the end of the work that such blessings are expressed. It is in the *Paumacariyam* and *Padmacaritam* that closing verses of many of the cantos either praise religion or express wishes for the emancipation of the readers. The *PCS* does not contain them at the end of every Sandhi. It seems that this style has its origin in the *PCV* and the *PCR*, which has passed on to the *TR* through the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* which bestows blessings generally for prosperity in the worldly things while the *TR* blesses for Virāga, Rāma bhakti and Mukti like the *PCV* and *PCR* which bless for emancipation.

Works Probably Consulted by Tulasīdāsa:

There are some similarities in descriptions of *TR* and the *PCV* as the *PCR* on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Sītā. These descriptions are not found in the *PCS*.

According to the *TR* when some candidates observe Rāma there they think of returning to their respective places.

Binu bhañjehum bhava dhanuṣu bisālā, Melihi Siya Rāma ura mālā/
Asa bicāri gavanahu ghara bhāi, Jasu pratāpu balu teju gavāmī//
(*TR*, 1. 245. 2).

According to the *PCV* the candidates who could not be able to string the bow thought of returning to their homes.

Kei bhaṇanti tṭhāṇaṁ, jai vi hu jīvantayā gamissāmo/
To dāṇamaṇeyavihaṁ, dāhāmo dīṇakiviṇāṇaṁ//
(*PCV*, 28. 110; See *PCR*, 28. 230 also).

In the *TR* Rāma is said to have strung the bow sportively like an elephant:—

Sahajahiru cale sakala jagasvāmī/
Matta mañju bara kuñjara gāmī//
(*TR*, I. 255. 3).

Guruhi pranāma manahim mana kinhā /
Ati lāghavarī uṭhāi dhanu līnhā / (TR, 1. 261. 3)

Now see the *PCV* and the *PCR*:—

Paumo gayavaragāmī allīṇo dhaṇuvāranteṇaṁ / *PCV*, 28. 113b.
Dhaṇuyampi vigayajālāṁ, gahiyāṁ Rāmeṇa sahasatti /
PCV, 28. 114b.

In the *PCR* the wordings are somewhat different:—

Dhuḍhauke ca mahānāgamantharāṁ gatimudvahan / *PCR*, 28. 234b.
Tato viśrabdhamādāya dhanurudveṣṭya cāmśukam / *PCR*, 28. 236a.

Similarly we can compare the description of the chaotic situation and the divine elements appearing after the raising of the bow by Rāma. (TR, 1. 261. 3 to 1. 262; *PCV*, 28. 115-120 & *PCR*, 28. 230-244).

According to the *TR* after the success of Rāma in stringing the bow, Sītā approaches him and sits by him:—

Satānanda taba āyasu dīnhā /
Sītāṁ gamanu Rāma pahim kinhā—TR, 1.263.4.
Gavanī bāla marāla gati suṣamā aṅga apāra—TR, 1.263.

Now see *PCV*:—Ullasiyaromakūvā, siṇhasambandhajaṇiyapariśā/
Līlāe sañcarantī, Rāmassa avatṭhiyā pāse// 28.122.
See *PCR*, 28.243-244 also.

Tulasidāsa seems to have consulted not only the *PCV* or *PCR* but some other Jaina works also. The influence of Raviṣeṇa, Svayambhū and Hemacandra can be seen on the following points of *TR*:

Influence of Raviṣeṇa's Padmacaritam:—According to the *TR* (5.16), Hanumān while on his mission to Laṅkā tells Sītā that he can take her along with him to Rāma but he is unable to do so in the absence of Rāma's explicit orders for the same (Abahim mātumaiṁ jāum lavāi/ prabhu āyasu nahiṁ Rāma dohāi). This idea for the first time appears in the *PCR* at 53.146. Here Sītā refuses to accompany Hanumān in the absence of any order from Rāma (Antareṇa prabhorājñāṁ gamanaṁ me na yujyato) (See Supra, Ch. 3.7 E). It shows that Tulasidāsa was definitely acquainted with the *PCR*.

Influence of the TSP of Hemacandra:—According to the *TR* Sumantra asks Rāma to return to Ayodhyā as Daśaratha had ordered him to request him to do so. According to the *TSP* Daśaratha sends his officers to bring back Rāma from exile before Kaikeyī and Bharata go there to call him back (See Supra, Ch. 3.3.C).

Influence of Svayambhū's Paumacariu:—The *TR* in its Rāvaṇa-carita mentions that Rāvaṇa had subdued celestial Indra as well as Ravi, Śaśin,

Pavana, Kubera, Agni, Yama etc. In the *VR* there is reference to the defeating of Indra, Ravi & Śaśin only. It is in the *PCV* that others are also referred to have been subdued by Rāvaṇa, though there they are Vidyādhara chiefs (See Supra, Ch. 4.1.xvi & xviii).

In the *TR* it is depicted that on the Citrakūṭa hill gods in the form of the Kols and Bhils offer their services to Rāma (2.135-136). It is in the *PCS* for the first time that before reaching the Cirtakūṭa hill, Rāma enters the Dhanuṣkavana. He sojourns there happily amidst the Bhils. (*PCS*, 24.12).

According to the *TR* (3.12-14) Rāma delivers a sermon to Lakṣmaṇa on the nature of Jīva and Līvara in the forest after meeting Jaṭāyu. Tulasīdāsa purports to say that Bhakti (devotion) to God leads to Jñāna and Vairāgya which bring Mokṣa. This new element in the *TR* is influenced more probably by the *PCS* according to which Muni Gupta and Sugupta while narrating the story of Daṇḍaka to Rāma delivered a sermon on philosophy (See Supra, Ch. 3.5 A & *PCS*, 45.5 also).

In the *TR* the munis who were killed by the Rākṣasas and were later on observed by Rāma in the forest are described as follows:—“Asthi samūha dekhi Raghurāya” 3.9. It is strikingly similar with the phrase in the *PCS*. The candidates wishing to marry Jitapadmā fail to withstand the test and are consequently killed by her father. The heap of their bones is shown to Lakṣmaṇa “so ghippai tam haḍḍairi ehu” 31.5.8. The *VR* describes the concerned incident as follows:—(Śarīrāṇi munīnām bhāvitātmanām—*VR*, 3.6.16).

Influence on Other Works of Tulasīdāsa:

The influence of the tradition of *PCV* can be marked on even some other works of Tulasīdāsa.

In his *Rāmalaṭā Nahachū* (Vide M.P. Gupta, p. 230) there is a reference to the wife of the elder brother of Daśaratha:—

“Kausalyā kī jēṭhī dīnha anusāsasana ho

Nahachū jāi karāvahu baithi sīmhāsana ho” (*RLN*, 9.)

In the whole of the Brahmanical literature there is no reference to any brother of Daśaratha. It is in the tradition of the *PCV* that Daśaratha's elder brother Anantaratha is mentioned (*PCV*, 22-101).

According to the *Cītāvalī*, in the beginning of the exile journey Sītā feels thirsty. Then Lakṣmaṇa proceeds to bring water for her (2.14.1). In the *PCV* also after crossing the Vindhya forest when Sītā feels thirsty Rāma goes along with her and Lakṣmaṇa to the house

of Brahmin Kapila in the village of Arunagrāma and quenches there her thirst (35. 1-6).

In the *Gītāvalā* just before conveying of in advance by Hanumān the news about Rāma's return to Ayodhyā from Laṅkā. Kauśalyā is depicted as suffering from the agony of separation from her sons. She looks around in the directions waiting for the return of Rāma. She requests a crow to tell her as to when her son will return to Ayodhyā. She promises to offer milk and rice (gruel) to the crow when she meets her sons and Sītā (*Laṅkākāṇḍa*. 18-10)

“Baiṭhī saguna manāvati mātā/

Kaba aihem mere bāla kusala ghara kusala ghara kahahu kāga
phuri bātā/

Dūdha bhāta kī doni daihauṁ sone coñca maḍhaihaihauṁ/

Gītāvalī, 6. 19. 1-2).

A similar description on the identical occasion is found in the *PCV* also. Here Aparājītā (Kauśalyā) promises to offer pāyasa to the crow.

“Taṁ bhaṇai vāyasam sā. jai me puttassa tattha gantūṇaṁ/

Vattaṁ ānehi lahuṁ, dehāmi ya pāyasam tujjha/” *PCV*, 78. 3.

A similar reference is there in the *Paumacariu* of Svayambhū. A comparison with it—“gharapaṅgaṇe vāyasu kulakulai, ṇaṁ bhaṇai Rahuvai milai” (*PCS*, 78. 15. 3) indicates that Tulasīdāsa has either drawn upon the *Paumacariyam* or *Padmacaritam*.

The above discussion shows that Tulasīdāsa was acquainted with the Jaina works on Rāma-story. He has expressly admitted in his *Rāmacaritamānasa* that he had consulted also the works which were outside the pale of Brahmanism.

Nānāpurāṇanigamāgamasammataṁ yad,

Rāmāyaṇe nigaditaṁ kvacidanyatoapi/ (*TR*, 1.7).

Now what remains after consulting the *Vedas*, *Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is an implicit reference to the Jaina works on Rāma-story. Not only that but he pays his homage to the Prakrit poets who composed works on Rāma-story:—

Je prākṛta kabi parama sayāne, bhāṣāṁ jinha hari carita bakhāne/

Bhae je ahahim je hoihahim āgerṁ, pranavaum sabahi kapaṭa saba
tyāgerṁ//

TR, 1.14.3.

Thus he praises Prakrit poets for all time to come and that also with a pure heart, without any deceit.

He also praises the importance of the spoken dialect i. e. in a wide sense the Prakrit language of his time. It shows that the influence of the Prakrit works was so great on him that he avoided to compose his work in the traditional way i. e. in Sanskrit, but he preferred to adopt the colloquial language of his time, i. e. a dialect of modern Prakrits. And as it was the spoken language, the impact of it was considered to be more strong and permanent on the people. Tulasīdāsa says:—*Syāma surabhi paya visada ati gunada karahim saba pāna/Girā grāmya Siya Rāma jasa gāvahim sunahim sujāna//TR, 1.10 (kha).*

Hereby we can conclude that Tulasīdāsa was acquainted with the Jaina works on Rāma-story. He has adopted some elements of Rāma-story of the tradition of *Paumacariyam* without disturbing in any way his allegiance to the Brahmanical Rāma-story. The influence of *PCV*'s tradition is seen on the characterisation as well as on the pattern of the previous birth story and specially on the style of his *Rāmacaritamānasa*.

C. CONCLUSION

It would be appropriate now to designate the influence of *Paumacariyam* as the influence of the tradition of *Paumacariyam* because there cannot be on several works a direct influence of the *Paumacariyam*. Its influence has been spreading through subsequent Jaina works based on it and through the Brahmanical works which were initially influenced by either the *PCV* or by the Jaina works based on the former.

The elements of *PCV*'s tradition which have influenced non-Jaina works are generally concerned with the upgrading of the valour of characters and the elevation of characters. According to the proportion of their influence they can be arranged in the following descending order¹:—

1. Rāma's success among various candidates at the 'svayamvara' of Sītā.
2. Battle between Rāma and his sons.
3. Disturbing of Rāvaṇa's Yajña.
4. Progeny of Hanumat.
5. Association of Kaikeyī with the war-chariot of Daśaratha, Exonerating of Kaikeyī from the charge of exiling Rāma and her request to Rama to come back, Śambūka as the nephew of Rāvaṇa and his death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa, Lava as elder brother of Kuśa.

1. See also the Table attached in the end of the work.

6. Meeting of Hanu with Bharata while bringing the medicine to cure the wounded Lakṣmaṇa.

7. Hanu's meeting with Vibhīṣaṇa during his mission to Laṅkā.

8. Bow introduced specially for the 'svayamvara' of Sītā, Voluntary exile of Rāma (specially a favour for Bharata), Prophecy about the destined killer of Vāli (Rāvaṇa in the *PCV*), Association of Lakṣmaṇa with Rāma in the episode of killing of Vāli (sham Sugrīva in the *PCV*), Bringing of the medicine by Hanumat before the sun-rise, Performing of penances by Rāma.

9. Bharata and Śatrughna as real brothers, Elevating the character of Daśaratha (on the occasion of declaring Rāma as his heir to the throne), Hanumat's love episode, Performing of penances by Sītā.

10. Rāvaṇa's attempt to foil the birth of any son to Daśaratha, Kaikeyī's love marriage with Daśaratha, Initial betrothal of Sītā with Rāma, Taking of Shelter under Rāma by Vibhīṣaṇa along with his army, Appearance of Garuḍa in the battlefield at the request of Rāma, Procuring medicinal water particularly from Bharata, Sending of a peace proposal to Rāma by Rāvaṇa through his envoy, Killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa, Digvijaya by Rāma (or Lakṣmaṇa in *PCV*), Marriages of Lava and Kuśa, Nārada as the instigator of the battle between Rāma & his sons, Association of water-reservoir with Sītā's ordeal, Performing of penances by Hanumat, Continuation of the enmity of both Rāma and Sītā with Rāvaṇa from the previous births.

Details as discussed in the preceding pages and Chs. 3 and 4 show that the tradition of the Rāma-story of *PCV* has been influencing non-Jaina works up to the recent century, belonging to the Buddhist as well as the Brahmanical fold. The Buddhist work are a few i.e. the *Khotānī Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāma Jātaka* of Śyāma whereas the Brahmanical works are numerous—religious and secular or ornate. The religious ones are the *Purāṇas*, sectarian *Rāmāyaṇas* and other religious works whereas the ornate ones are poems, dramas and narratives composed in Sanskrit, various modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. In India the influence of Vimalasūri's tradition holds from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Gujarat to Bengal. Outside India also Vimalasūri's tradition has exercised influence on the works hailing from Tibet, Eastern Turkeystan, Ceylon and South-East Asia and even on the western accounts written by some foreign travellers.

The greatest influence of the tradition of PCV is marked on the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, Tulasī *Rāmāyaṇa* and his other works, *Śerī Rāma* of Malaya and *Rāmakiya* of Śyāma. According to the largeness of the influence they can be arranged as *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, Tulasī's works on Rāma-story, *Śerī Rāma*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and *Rāmakiya*.

Generally such works have been influenced greatly which belong to a period later than the TSP of Hemacandra. He was a great poet and scholar. His TSP is composed in Sanskrit. Therefore, its popularity among the non-Jaina circle must have been wider than that of any other Prakrit work. Hence it is all the more probable that the tradition of PCV has influenced non-Jaina works through Hemacandra's TSP as far as the non-Jaina works composed not earlier than the 12th century A. D. are concerned and they are not small in number.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

SEC. 1. SOCIAL EVOLUTION, CASTES AND STAGES OF LIFE

A. Social Evolution

Utsarpiṇī and Avasarpiṇī (Cycles of Time) —Every religion has tried to solve the riddle of the Universe in its own way and the Jaina seers did not lag behind in this sphere. The Jaina tradition (*PCV*, 3.18, too *aṇṇinihaṇo*; *Mulā*, 8.22) holds that the Universe (*loka*) is natural, uncreated and beginningless (*sāsao sahāvattho logo*—*PCV*, 102-63) while the factor of time is divided into certain parts for practical purposes. The biggest division of time (*kāla*) is called 'kalpa' (*AP*, 3.15) which consists of two eras of ascending and descending orders. The *Paumacariyāṇ* mentions that the factor of time is differentiated into two eras, viz. *Utsarpiṇī* and *Avasarpiṇī* (*Ussappiṇī* and *Avasappiṇī* 3.49). Both these eras form a complete cyclic order (*Kalpa*) which goes on repeating itself for ever. During the *Utsarpiṇī* era there is all round gradual prosperity and progress in age, strength and height (20.92-93). This cyclic process is explained by comparing it with the periodical waxing and waning of the moon (3.49) and so it can be designated as Evolution and Devolution. It is further stated that this change is experienced in the regions *Airavata* and *Bhāratavarṣa* whereas the rest of the countries in the *Jambūdvīpa* enjoy static conditions for ever (3.33).

The *PCV* (20.67-72) states that *Avasarpiṇī* is further subdivided into six periods of *Aisusamā* (*Atisusamā*), *Susamā* (*Suṣamā*), *Susamādūsamā* (*Suṣamāduṣṣamā*), *Dūsamā* (*Duṣṣamā*¹) and *Accantadūsamā* (*Atyantaduṣṣamā*) which are of the duration of four, three, two and one (minus forty-two thousand years) *koṭṭakoṭi sāgara* years respectively, and the last two periods twenty-one thousand years each. The *Utsarpiṇī* is calculated vice-versa. Thus the total period of time of a complete cycle (*Kalpa*) comes to twenty *koṭṭakoṭisāgara* years. The number of years² in a 'sāgara' is so large

1. It is the name of the current period (*PCV*, 89.42).
2. A *Sāgara* measures ten *koṭṭakoṭi palyopama* years. A 'Palyopma' corresponds to innumerable years i.e. the time spent in vacating a dench one *yojana* wide and one *yojana* deep, full of the foremost part of the hair of a new born child, at the rate of removing one hair-part every one hundred years (*PCV*, 20.66). See the *Tilayapaṇṇatti* (1.116.130) which mentions a ram of the age of one to seven days in place of a new born child.

that it is beyond the capacity of human mind to reckon it. The *TP* (4.313-319) and the *AP* (3.14-21f) give the same account in corroboration of that of the *PGV*.

The Brahmanical tradition (*Viṣṇupurāṇa* 1. 2. 61-67) maintains that Hari is the cause of creation, maintenance, and destruction of the Universe at the end of every Kalpa. A Kalpa consists of one thousand Mahāyugas and every Mahāyuga is divided into four Yugas, viz. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali. In the first age (Yuga) all men are equal and good. There is no evil. In the second age evil appears still men are much happier than in the third age. In the the third age good and evil are equal and in the fourth age evil dominates over the good. Thus the conditions and the prosperity of the people deteriorate gradually in every age. At the end of the fourth age (Kali-yuga) there comes the end of the world by deluge or fire and again the Universe is created and followed by the end. This chain is maintained for one hundred years of Brahmā whose one day is equal to one Kalpa. Chaos or 'pralaya' succeeds every 'Kalpa' (or a day of Brahmā) when Brahmā goes to sleep and when he wakes up (after a Kalpa), the order is again restored. Again on the completion of the age of Brahmā (100 years of Brahmā) there is a greater chaos when the Universe is engulfed into Mahāpralaya which lasts for one hundred years of Brahmā during which all gods, demons and human beings and the other living beings are destroyed.

The measurement of the Kalpa given by the Brahmanical tradition is however reckonable. It is said that a Kalpa is equivalent to 4, 32, 00, 00, 000 years and every Mahāyuga consists of 17, 28,000; 12, 96, 000; 8, 64, 000 and 4, 32, 000 years of the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and the Kali-yuga respectively. Every Kalpa gets repeated and thus the cycle continues through creation, preservation and destruction for ever.

Kulakaras (Law-givers):—As mentioned above the second age of Avasarpinī (Susmā) is marked with all round good, therefore up to that age there arises no necessity of any law and punishment. It is during the third age (Susamā-dūsamā) of good and bad that the imperative need of law-givers is felt when people gradually become victims of evils. The *Paumacariyam* mentions that in the last part of the third age fourteen patriarchs (Kulakaras) or law-givers are born in succession (3.50) They

(1) See P. Thomas—'Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners,' p.1; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 1. 2-3; *Manu*, 1. 64-86.

are experts in laws (nīkusal¹) and affectionate to the people (loyassa vi piyasamā 3. 56). They are the chief guardians of the people and they maintain order and law. They are named as follows: Paḍisui, Sammui, Khemañkara, Khemandhara, Sīmañkara, Sīmandhara, Cakkhunāma, Mahappā, Vimalavāhana, Abhicanda, Candābha, Marudeva, Paseṇai and Nābhi.

These names are corroborated by other Jaina works except some differences in their order. The *PCR* (3. 72-88) mentions Yaśasvin and Vipula for Mahappā and Vimala. The *TP* (4. 421-494) and the *AP* (3. 62f) give seventh place to Vimalavāhana. The *JP* (Su, 28) puts them in quite a different order while the *TSP* (I. p. 96-110) mentions only seven Kulakaras¹ starting from Vimalavāhana, agreeing with the order given in the *JP* but it leaves out Candābha.

The *TP* (4. 452, 474) reveals that with the deterioration of the public life the institution of punishment also grew up. It states that the first five Kulakaras promulgated the punishment of 'hākāra' i. e. expressing disgrace at crime. The next five Kulakaras enacted the punishment of 'mākāra' i. e. ordering non-repetition of the crime. The *JP* (Su, 29) adds that the last Kulakaras brought into force the punishment of 'dhikkāra' i. e. repudiating the crime². The *AP* (3. 216) mentions that Bharata, the first Cakravartin prescribed fourth kind of punishment namely, 'sarīraḍḍanam' i. e. corporal. It indicates that with the increase of crimes the punishment became more severe.

The Kulakaras are variously called as Yugāḍipuruṣas because they were born in the beginning of the Yuga, Kulakaras because they established the institution of family (family-life), Kuladharas because they taught how to maintain the family life, and Manus because they discovered the means of livelihood³.

Fourteen Manus are recognised in the Brahmanical tradition⁴ also. It is said that every Manu is born after regular interval of seventy-one Mahayugas i. e. 30,67,20,000 years (approx). But their names

1. See *Sthānaṅga*, 7. 556. Śāntiendra, the commentator on *JP* states that the Āvaśyakaśūtrī also mentions seven names. He further explains that it is a practice to describe more and more ancestors of the meritorious and eminent persons. According to different traditions their number is seven, ten or even fifteen. (See *AvaN*, 151, *Sthānaṅga*, 556, 767; *Samavā*, 157 and *JP*, 40).

2. See also *AvaN*, 148, 166.

3. Prajānām Jīvanopāyamananānmūnavo matāḥ, Āryaṇām kulasaṁstyaṇyakte Kulakārā ime

Kulānām dharaṇādeti matāḥ Kuladharā iti,
Yugāḍipuruṣāḥ proktā yugāḍau prabhaviṣṇavaḥ (*AP*, 3.211-212).

4. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 1.3.16-18; *Manu*, 1.61-63.

differ from those of the Jaina tradition, only the name of Cākṣuṣa being common to both the traditions. They¹ are Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa, Vaivasvata. The next seven² are Sāvārṇi, Dakṣasāvārṇi, Brahmasāvārṇi, Dharmasāvārṇi, Rudrasāvārṇi, Ruci and Bhauma. Manu. (8.129) states that a king should successively resort to warning, public censure, fine & corporal punishment (vāgdaṇḍam, dhigdaṇḍam, dhanadaṇḍam and vadhadaṇḍam).

Bhogabhūmi:—A picture of the way in which the wants of the early society were fulfilled is drawn in the Paumacariyam. It states that before the dawn of 'Kṛtayuga' (Kayajuga) there was all round prosperity in Bhāratavarṣa. At that time it was called Bhogabhūmi because the people did not make any efforts for their maintenance. Their wants were fulfilled by the wish-trees which were of ten kinds (3.37f) and they bore the desired articles. These wish-trees (Kalpadrumas) were called Tuṇḍiāṅga (Truṭitāṅga—of music), Bhojāṅga (Bhojanāṅga—of food), Vihūṣaṅga (Vibhuṣaṅga—of ornaments), Mayaṅga or Cīttarasa (Madāṅga or Citrasasāṅga 102.122—of intoxicant), Vatthaṅga (Vastrāṅga—of coitumes), Giha (Gr̥ha—of dwelling), Joi (Jyotiś—of natural light), Dīviyaṅga (Dipikāṅga—of lamps), Bhāyaṇa (Bhājana—of utensils) and Mallāṅga (Mālyāṅg or Kusuma 102.115—of flowers) tree which provided all the requirements of life without undergoing any labour. People enjoyed according to their wishes and remained happy. They were endearing to one another and were good-looking. They were fearless. The beasts were not ferocious and they strolled freely. People were born in couples consisting of a male and a female (husband and wife) and every couple gave birth to a fresh couple just before its own death. There was no social distinction because the society was uniform. There was complete absence of the rulers and the subjects. No body was disfigured and crippled. There were no poverty and misery. There was no complaint of any disease and all lived like gods (102. 126-132).

The above account is corroborated by the *TR* (4. 340-342) and the *AP* (3. 39).

The above picture of Yugala-dharma i. e, taking birth in the form of couples as husband and wife reveals that in the primitive

1. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 3.2.

2. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, 8.15,13. It mentions Devasāvārṇi and Indrasāvārṇi for Ruci and Bhauma. 8.13 (30,33).

society there was possibly a custom of marrying one's own sister. Some stray evidences of the practice can be traced out. The 'śūkta' of Yamayamī (R̥gveda, 10-10) reveals that sexual relation between a brother and a sister was in vogue. The Ambaṭṭha Sutta (*Dīgha Nikāya*) refers to the Śākya princes marrying their own sisters for preserving the purity of blood. The *Dasaratha Jātaka* mentions that Rāma and Sītā were brother and sister and they were married to each other. Instances of the wedlocks of brothers and sisters are known in the history of the royal families of Egypt and Persia and these occurred also among the Incas of Peru. In recent times the marriage of brother and sister is, or has been, the custom in Siam, Burma, Ceylon, Uganda and the Hawaiian islands¹. In the Muslim society the custom of marriage between a stepsister and a stepbrother is still prevalent.

This was the picture of the society, as the *PCV* reveals, before the dawn of the Kṛtayuga which was ushered in by Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jaina faith. It throws light on that primitive stage of society when the civilization had not made strides. At that time the life was simple. The complication of rules and laws, manners and customs, politics and religion, and agriculture and commerce had not grown. People lived chiefly on natural products. There was a common kingdom of the animals and the humanity. They were endearing to each other. Both lived as friends. There was no advancement in arts. Various social institutions had not originated and the society was classless and creed-less.

Kṛtayuga (Era of Sweat and Toil):—The *PCV* further mentions that as the time passed, the conditions began to change gradually. The 'wish-trees' (Kalpavṛkṣas) disappeared and the sugar-cane juice became the chief food of the people (3. 111). At that time Ṛṣabha was born of Marudeī by Nābhi, the last Kulakara. He was the first Tīrthaṅkara and the enunciator of Kṛtayuga²—an age of strife, sweat and toil. He was the first person to establish settlements for the habitation of the people. He introduced sciences and arts which became the means of livelihood of the people³. It was at this stage of Kṛtajuga that the professional classes (castes) were established.

1. *Ency. Religion & Ethics*, Vol. 8, p. 425.

2. Jeṇa ya jugam̐ nivṛtṭham̐ puhaṇe sayalasattasuhajaṇaṇam̐ teṇa u jagammi juṭṭham̐ tam̐ kayajugam̐ nāma-*PCV*, 3. 118.

3. Gāmāgarapattāṇanivesa kallāṇapayaraṇāṇi ya sayam̐ ca sippāṇa uvaiṭṭham̐-*PCV*, 3. 114.

B. Castes : Origin, Duties, Occupation and Position

Origin of Castes:—Varṇa and Jāti (class and caste) meant the same thing to our author.¹ It was divided on the basis of labour. The *PCV* mentions that those who were strong and powerful, were appointed by R̥ṣabha to protect the people and were called as 'Khattiyas' (3. 115). Those who took to the profession of trade, agriculture and animal-husbandry came to be known as 'Vaisas' (3. 116) and those who performed menial work and served others were known as 'Suddas' (3. 117). He taught the science of statecraft (rāyanfi) to the Sāmantas, Bhaṭas, Purohitas, Senāpatis, Śreṣṭhins and the Bhogikas further imparted to the people instructions in secular knowledge (logassa vi logasambandham 3. 121). Thus we find that the Kṣatriyas are given the first place in the society and the Brāhmaṇas have been left out here altogether.

These accounts of sciences and arts are corroborated by the *JP* (Su. 30) and the *Kaṭṭhāsūtra* (209-10). The *AP* states that R̥ṣabha was Yugādi Brahmā (3.119) and his era came to be known as Kṛtayuga. It relates that R̥ṣabha enunciated six professions² of Asi (sword), Masi (writing), Kṛsi (agriculture), Vidyā (science), Vāṇijya (trade) and Śilpa (arts). On account of these professions which involved labour, the 'Bhogabhūmi' of Bhāratavarṣa came to be known as 'Karmabhūmi'³.

Brāhmaṇas:—The *PCV* (4.65-84) relates that once Bharata, the first son of R̥ṣabhadeva honoured the lay votaries who were righteous and drew (three) lines on their bodies with the Kākīṇīratna to distinguish them from the pretenders. But as soon as he came to learn that the persons honoured by him would pretend in future and preach animal-sacrifices, he punished them and turned them out of his city. These victims took refuge under R̥ṣabha, The latter prevented Bharata from beating them declaring 'mā haṇasu putta ee'. Therefore, they came to be known as 'Māhaṇas' (Brāhmaṇas).

This is a fanciful account of the origin of the Brāhmaṇas upon the capricious etymology of the word 'Māhaṇa' which in reality is only the Parkrit form of 'Brāhmaṇ'.

1. Jāṇa ya uppatti 1. 38; Uaṇṇāna samuppatti tiṇhaṃ pi suyā-4. 65 & Cāvaṇṇaṇa ca jaṇaṇa āpuccheṇa niggaṇ Rāmo-31. 103.

2. *AP*, 16.179.

3. *Ibid*, 16.146.249.

Other Jaina works except the *PCR* (4.92-122) do not support this origination of the 'māhana' class.¹ They mention that those who were righteous were called 'Māhanas' because they did not cause 'himsā' (injury) to any living being and kept themselves engaged in studying the sacred scriptures.

Jinasena (*AP*, 16.243f) has further associated the origin of the four Varṇas with the limbs of the Ādi-Jina. He mentions that Rṣabhadeva himself took up weapons in his arms and trained the people in wielding them, hence they (Kṣatriyas) were called as created by his arms. He taught the people how to travel by thighs for earning livelihood by trade, hence they (Vāṇijakas) came to be known as created from his thighs. He taught with his own feet how the people should serve others therefore they (Śūdras) were said to be created from his feet. Then the Brāhmaṇas were taught with the mouth of Bharata how to study, teach and perform rituals, hence they were known to be created by mouth. This account reminds us of the Brahmanical theory of the origin of four Varṇas. It is a rational attempt to explain the theory that refers to the divine origin of the four Varṇas. The *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Rgveda* mentions that the Brāhmaṇas were the mouth, the Rājanyas the arms, the Vaiśyas the thighs and the Śūdras were the feet of Prajāpati or Brahmā (10. 7.90). The same theory is echoed in the later Brahmanical works² which state that the four Varṇas are born from the respective parts of the body of Brahmā.

Duties:—The *PCV* (4.65; 11.39,98) refers to the Brāhmaṇas as 'suttakaṇṭhas'. That is to say they were recognised by the thread they used to wear. It was a mark of their distinction (*Manu*, 2.63). The *PCV* categorically mentions their six-fold duties (chakkammarayā 105.21). These duties are referred to by *Manu*, (10.75-76) as study, sacrificing, offering of gifts, teaching, officiating at sacrifice and accepting of alms. Various references in the *PCV* indicate that these duties were being duly performed by them.

The *PCV* refers to the Brāhmaṇas as learned in the Vedas (82. 45) and their auxiliaries (saṅgovaṅge Vee), as the followers of the Vedaśruti (Veyasui 105. 80) and as the students of Āraṇyakas (sattham Āraṇṇayam 11.10). The study of religious scriptures was their main duty, but the study of secular subjects (loiyasui 58. 6) was not altogether neglected (savvakalāgamakusalo 82. 86). Learned Brahmins are called Paṇḍiyamāṇī (105. 21).

1. See 'Origin of Brāhmaṇas' under 'Interviewing Stories'.

2. *MB* (Śānti), 296. 5-6; *VR*, 3. 14. 30; *Manu*, 1. 31; *VnPu*, 1.66.

Baṭuka Kapila was a typical orthodox Brahmin. He used to bring fruits and sticks of wood (samihā) to perform daily scrificial rites. The sacred fire remained kindled in his house (aggihottagharam). He would daily go to the forest, bring the darbha grass, holding a Kamaṇḍalu in his hand¹. He would not allow improper persons to enter his house to avoid impurification of his residence (35.5.27).

Two Vipra brothers, Indhana and Pallava are said to be devoted to the duty of accepting alms and offering gifts 'bhikkādāpujjayā' (58. 5).

Kṣīrakadamba is mentioned to be a teacher who taught the Āraṇyaka śāstras (11. 8-9). Airakucchī was the teacher of the sons of Daśaratha (25. 18-24).

Purohitas formed a distinct class among the Brahmins because of their duty of officiating at sacrifices. They are referred to be descending to the hells on account of officiating at animal-sacrifices (purohiyā homakaraṇapujuttā 14. 16). Many Brahmins are mentioned to be vouchsafing and liberally taking part in the ceremony of an animal sacrifice which was being performed by king Marutta (11. 47).

Vimuci wandered from place to place for receiving alms (dakkhiṇākāṅkhī 30. 63). Giribhūti and Gobhūti were favoured with gifts by a queen (55. 36).

The above mentioned Baṭuka Kapila is a typical example of a greedy Brāhmin (Ch. 37).

Occupations and position :—The primary means of their livelihood were (bhikkhā) begging-alms, receiving presents from kings and other persons when they officiated at sacrificial ceremonies. They also worked as counsellors to the kings. Hemaṅka was bestowed with gifts on account of his intelligent advice to the king (sāmpāvio ya riddhi aṇegadāṇābhimaṇeṇaṁ 77.80). Daśaratha offered valuable presents to the teacher of his sons and honoured him greatly (sammāṇadāṇa-vibhaveṇa 25.36). Bhārgava on account of his learning held a position of respect among the kings and became abundantly rich (dhanariddhisampauto savvanarināṇa apujjo 77.83). They also held the eniviable position of royal priests (5.31;26.6;82.37;41.45;5.105). The learned Brahmins used to hold debates on religion with their opponents

1. Manu lays down that a Brahmin snātaka should always keep with him a bamboo-staff, a Kamaṇḍalu of water, sacred thread, Vedas, golden earrings, a girdle and a deer-skin (4. 36; 2. 64),

(105.26). In the religious field the Brahmins are referred to as following Tāpasadharmā (Piṅgala 30.52; and one other Brahmin 5.30). Brahmaruci and his wife Kūrmi are referred to have been leading the Tāpasadharmā in the forest (11.54).

The respectable position they held in the society can be inferred from such general remarks that even if they commit any guilt they should not be killed (35.15) and the noble persons never slay a Brahmin or a Śramaṇa (65.30). Thus the Brahmins occupied an equal position with the Śramaṇas. But the *PCV* criticises those Brahmins who bore deplorable conduct. It mentions that there was no paucity of pretending Brahmins who were really unchaste, sensuous and characterless (105.46). They injured living beings, acted contrary to the practice of a true ascetic and demonstrated undue pride. True Brahmins in the opinion of the author were those who devoted themselves to penances, who were of good conduct, who maintained purity, who observed vows of forbearance and forgiveness, who did not give vent to the passions and stuck to the path of liberation (105.46-48). It indicates that those who led the life of renunciation, simplicity and high-thinking deserved to be called as Brahmins.

There are several instances to show that vices had crept into the life of the Brahmins. The reverence and the privileges which were granted to them by the Brahmanical Sūtras and Smṛtis were not wholly enjoyed by them. The *PCV* refers to the Brahmins committing murder and adultery with the wife of a gṛhapati (48.64), or with the woman of his own caste (30.61) or with the wife of an ambassador (39.42). Mṛdumati was immodest, criminal, very cruel and was addicted to the vice of gambling. He attempted to commit burglary and used to keep company of courtezans (82.79,79). Purohita Satyavādi was expelled from the country on account of swindling the wealth of a merchant (5.34). A Vipra was, though on account of being betrayed by a queen, punished to the severity of mutilation of the limbs of his body (88.12). Rudrabhūti on account of committing theft was awarded the death penalty (34.46). These examples sufficiently prove that they were not immune from proper punishments. In this light the injunction of the Brahmanical Sūtras¹ that a Brahmin must not be subjected to corporal punishment, must not be imprisoned or fined or exiled or reviled or excluded, was not rigidly followed. The heckling of rude behaved Kapila by Lakṣmaṇa (35.13) and the beating of Brahmins by Rāvaṇa (11.90) belie the dictum that he who in anger

1. *Gautama*, 8. 12-13 Vide *OGCI*, Vol. I p. 158, and also *Avadhyo Brāhmaṇo daṇḍairiti sūtravido viduḥ*—*VR*, 7. 59 2. 34.

raises his arm against a Brahmin, will be banished from heaven for a hundred years and he who strikes, for a thousand years.¹ The orthodox Kapila's bowing down to Rāma for gaining economic favour (35. 62) goes against the pronouncement that a Brahmin shall not rise from his seat to receive a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, however learned and superior he may be.² The instances of the insulting of Brahmins by the public (105. 44), the plundering of the house of a Brahmin (30. 62), the kidnapping of the wife of a Brahmin by a king (26. 12) and the raping of a Brahmin girl by a king (103. 99) indicate that they occupied the same position as the average people did. Making allowance for a certain amount of exaggeration in these accounts, the stratum of truth at the base is obvious.

Kṣatriyas:—The Kṣatriyas are called Rājaputras also. The *PCV* mentions (89. 36) Śatrughna as a 'rājaputra' (Sattuggha-rāyaputteṇaṃ). The first and the foremost duty of the Kṣatriyas was to govern and protect the people from internal disorder and external enemies (rakṣaṇakaraṇaniuttā 3.115). *Manu* (10.79) mentions that the wielding of arms was the means of their subsistence and their duty was to protect the people. The *AP*³ (16. 243) defines Kṣatriyas as saviours and protectors of the wounded. There are several instances of Kṣatriya kings who ruled over various parts of India, viz. Daśaratha of Sāketa (22. 103), Janaka of Mithilā (21. 33), Śrenika of Magadha (2. 15) etc. The institution of punishment was controlled by them to maintain internal peace and order. There are a number of examples when kings are found to be punishing the criminals and breakers of law.⁴ They possessed a large army to protect the people from external attacks (caturāṅgabala 24. 28; 26. 29; 33.76; 37. 5 & 56. 1). There are several occasions when they defeated the Mlechas (27. 40) or the notorious chief of a wild tribe (34. 44), or an oppressive king (33. 118), or the invaders (37. 60; 22.60) or imprisoned and chased off the rebels (26. 29; 105. 92). Thus they were responsible for the destiny of the country and in exchange of their services they were entitled to get sixth part of the income of their subjects by way of tolls and taxes.⁵

According to the Brahmanical preaching as received in the *PCV* (11.72) the Yajña was prescribed for three Varṇas i.e. the Brahmins,

1. *Gautama*, 21.17-20, Vide *OGCI*.

2. *Āpastamba*, II 2. 4. 18 Vide *OGCI*, Vol. I p. 150.

3. Kṣatātrēṇe niyuktā hi Kṣatriyaḥ śastrapānyah; See *Raghu*, 2.53 (Kṣatātkila trāyata ityudāgrah kṣatrayasya śabdo bhuvaneṣu rūḍhaḥ).

4. See 'Punishment' under 'Polity and Administration'.

5. *VR*, 2.75.25; *Manu*, 7.131; 8.307-308.

Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas. King Marutta of Rājagṛha is stated to have been performing a great sacrifice (11.5). No other example of performing sacrifices by the kings are available. It is due to the fact that the Jainas never approved of these sacrifices. In its place the 'bali karma'—offering of oblations (of corns and fruits) in the temples (7.157; 32.83) is mentioned, which was meant for all who followed the Jaina faith.

The other duties of the Kṣatriyas consisted of study, officiating at coronation ceremony and offering alms. Thus the *PCV* reveals that the sons of Daśaratha (25.23-24) received instructions in archery and other sciences. References to the education of various other princes and princesses are not lacking, viz. Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa (97.22), Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa (39.88), Kaikeyī (24.4) and Atisundarā (26.5). Kaikeyī (24.85) and Simhikā (22.59) were well-trained in the art of warfare. As regards officiating at the coronation-ceremony it is said that on receiving orders from king Daśaratha many warriors attended upon Rāma with golden pitchers to coronate him (26.14). Thereafter Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were coronated by many kings (85.20) and Rāma and Somitti (Lakṣmaṇa) had formally coronated Bharata as the king of Śāketa in the forest (32.53). The duty of offering of presents was duly performed by the kings and princes by favouring teachers, Brahmins and miserables with wealth (25.26; 58.7; 55.36; 33.86). Mahīdhara gave presents to the person who brought him the news of the arrival of Lakṣmaṇa (36.35). Rāma favoured Ratnakeśin with presents when the latter acquainted him with the whereabouts of the kidnapper of Sītā (48.45). Rākṣasa kings (77.24), Vānara kings (7.19) and Vānara queens (49.14) also offered alms on happy occasions. Rulers' hospitality to guests was very liberal and thus we find that Rāma was received and entertained with due respect during his exile-journey by Vajrakarṇa 33.91, by Kalyāṇamālā 34.12-13, and the king of Vamśasthalapura. This hospitality was extended to householders (4.77) as well as to monks (4.12; 21.42; 115.197) and hermits (82.29).

Thus we find that on account of being a ruling class they occupied the rank of the nobles and wielded power and wealth.

The teachings of the monks prepared many royal persons to renounce the world and get initiated in to the Jaina ascetic order for the upliftment of their spiritual life (Daśaratha 32. 27, Bharata 82. 5, Rāma 114. 15, the sons of Lakṣmaṇa 106.46, Ativīrya 37. 68, Ratnaratha and Citraratha 39. 85, Indra 13-51, Kaikeyī 82. 12, Mandodarī 75. 82, Sītā 102. 49, Śatrughna, Vibhiṣaṇa, Sugriva

114. 20 & many other queens 114. 22). Then there were others who became Tāpasas viz. prince Anuddhara (39. 84) etc.

Vaiśyas :—The Sanskrit Dictionary mentions that the word 'Vaiśya' is derived from 'Viś'. 'Viś' means the people who settle on the soil and 'Vaiśya' means the working man (*MWSED*). Thus the Vaiśyas were the producers of wealth in various ways. On them depended the prosperity of the country. The Aryan society as a whole is called 'Viś' and their king as 'Viśāmpati' in the Vedic literature (*MWSED*). Out of this universal society the other castes developed on account of their specialised pursuits (learning—Brāhmaṇa, arms—Kṣatriya and service—Śūdra). Thus the Vaiśyas constituted the real society, the backbone of all the other three castes whose subsistence depended upon the wealth produced by the former class. Therefore, the Vaiśya class becomes the most important one of all the four castes.

The *PCV* mentions that the Vaiśyas consisted of the people who were engaged in the profession (*vāvāraparāyaṇa*) of trade, agriculture, or cattle-breeding (*vāṇijjakarisaṇāim gorakkhaṇapālāpesu ujjuṭṭā* 3.116). Manu also corroborates it (*vāṇikpaśukṛṣiḥ* 10.79). They must have been highly esteemed because they constituted the productive and the economic strength of the state and the complete material prosperity of a nation depended on them. The *Paumacariyaṃ* states that the *sārthavāhas*; *śreṣṭhins*; *grhapatīs* (66. 8) and *kauṭumbikas* (80. 12) enhanced the prosperity of the Magadha country (2. 3). There is also a reference to the 'jyeṣṭhakas' who enhanced the Śrī of Śāketanagara (80. 12) and the city of Rājagṛha was adorned with the activities of the merchants from various neighbouring states (2.10). These were the financiers, merchants and the agriculturists of those days who held prominent position in the society. The 'Satthāha' was the chief merchant leader of the Caravan, who controlled extensive trade inside and outside the state. The 'Setṭhis' were the Aldermen of guilds (probably merchant¹). About a 'gahavai' it is mentioned in the *PCV* (48.79) that his sons were engaged in the work² of agriculture and cattle-breeding. Its mention along with the 'Setṭhis' (66.8) and the 'Satthāhas' (2.3) indicates that the 'grhapatīs' were the persons of wealth. In the Buddhist Jātakas they are forming a land-owning and mercantile class³. The 'koḍumbiyas' have been explained as the representatives of the middle class which had the duty of offering to the

1. *BI*, p. 50.

2. *Gihapasukhetṭāsu-kūṇai kammaṃ*.

3. *OGCI*, Vol. I, p. 269.

king voluntary presents and taxes¹. They are also explained as the heads of the families of cultivators and merchantile people by D. R. Bhandarkar². Gahavai and koḍumbiya is synonymous to Bhandarkar³ and to N. K. Dutta⁴ who mention that they were also engaged in trade and money-lending. The 'jeṭṭhakas' were the Aldermen or presidents of the guilds of handicrafts⁵. They were the headmen of professional guilds who looked after the enforcement of rules and regulations in their respective groups⁶. The Vaṇīks seem to be the average tradesmen and merchants. All these merchants were the pillars of economy. They went to the capitals of neighbouring countries (2. 10; 33. 66) or distant countries (5. 83) by land route or water route (48. 21; 55. 39).

The rich persons were called 'dhaṇī' (10. 3. 7). Their richness can be inferred from references to a dealer in gems (5. 32), to a very rich merchant (bahudhhaṇāṇṇo 41. 54), to an owner of wealth worth four crore (5. 82) and to another owner of thirty-two crore (82-56).

Kings used to consult prominent merchants for the welfare of the state. The *PCV* (114. 5) states that Rāma had enquired about the conditions of the people of his state from Śreṣṭhī Arhadāsa. It indicates that prominent merchants or guild-presidents held high position in the state and they were consulted by the king on important matter relating to the administration of the country and its economic policies.

Hospitality was the most sacred duty of this class Arhadāsa of Sāketa (89.12) became very remorseful of not offering alms to certain monks. He took rest when he could follow them to Mathurā and felt happy when he could pay his homage to them (89.32). His daughter-in-law had duly accorded hospitality to those monks (89.17). Hitaṅkara is referred to as 'susādhupratīṣevin' (5.28).

Besides these merchants, the farmers have been referred to (Karisaya 39. 68), Karisao 105. 32) as going to their fields for agricultural purposes. A cow-herd (govāḷao 5.96) is mentioned to be maintaining a big cow-pen and dealing in their sale.

1. Jinist Studies, pp. 79-82.

2. Ibid. p. 79-82.

3. Ibid. p. 80.

4. *OGCI*, p. 270.

5. *BI*, p. 50.

6. *OGCI*, p. 273.

The *PCV* refers to some other professionals without mentioning their caste. They were the interpreters (nemittiya 5.68;48.86) of marks and omens, the expositors of dreams (sumiṇe-nemittio 7.80), the astrologers (nakkhatta pādhaya & gaṇiyanū 17.106, 112) and the physicians (vejjā 65.42;110, 27). By their very professions it can be inferred that they belonged to the higher grade of society. The *Buddacarita* refers to the interpreters of nimittas as Brahmins (Vipraśca nimittāni vicārya, 1.31) who prophesied the future of lord Buddha and they were offered presents of wealth by the king (1.46).

Śūdras:—The Śūdras are mentioned to be constituting the lowest class of the society. They pursued the professions of lower grade and served the other classes (nīyakammaṇirayā parapesaṇa-kārayā 3.117). The *AP* (16.185-186) states that the Śūdras were assigned the duty of serving other three classes and they were divided into two classes, viz. Kāru and Akāru. The artisans and craftsmen came under the Kāru class and those who lived by performing services constituted the Akāru class. Manu lays down that if the Śūdras are not able to serve the higher castes, they may live by the means of Kārukarma. The Kārukarmas are said to be various artisan and craft-works (śilpāni 10.99-100). According to the above definitions the following professionals, mentioned in the *PCV* can be put under this lower grade. The weaver (kuvinda 21.2), the potter (kumbhāra 5.207), the painter (cittayāra 1.21), the mason (sippi 78.48), the garland-maker (sippi yakayamālā 6.175); and along with these the acrobats, dancers and bamboo-players (naḍanaṭṭachattalaṅkhayā 2.5) also belonged to the lower caste. Then there were the betel-leaf dealers (tamboliya 77.90) the fowlers (loddhaya 49.26), pāraddhifandiya 6.140), the hunters (vāhā 82.52), the fishermen (dhīvara 55.42; 82.43), macchabandhā (14.15), the trappers (vāuriya 14.15), the wood-gatherers (taṇadārujīviyā 31.44; 103.30), and the charcoal-makers (āliviyā = ādīpikāḥ 14.15) who lived on lower type of professions.

The kūṅkaras (mentioned as bath-givers 90.7; and menial servants 35.34) and kammakāras (17.7. working as cart drivers) can be taken as performing services under the people of higher castes.

The slaves are referred to as Dāsas. They were put to the service of the Jaina temples (jīṇa-hara-nioga-karaṇe 5.102). Their status can be inferred from a simile. It is said that Bharata, Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa had subjugated the land like a slave-girl (dāsīvavastikayā 5.179; 99.18). It indicates that they were completely dependent at the mercy of their masters.

The *PCV* refers to Caṇḍālas (26. 64) and grants them the right of attaining deliverance. Kauṭilya lays down that they should live in the vicinity of the cemetery grounds (2. 4. 31).

Caste-flexibility:—The professional (caste) rigidity was not observed in its extremity as there are instances of persons following the pursuits of other castes. Vaivasvat as the name indicates was a Brahmin who was a teacher of archery (25. 18). Under him thousands of pupils from various parts of India received training in the science of archery. Bhārgava is referred to as an adept in archery (isatthāgamakusalo 77. 83) and his son Śrīvārdhita was a valorous fighter. His (viṇṇāpalāghava) academic attainments were so high that he was made the king of Potanapura by Kararuha, the ruler of Puṣpāvatiṛṇanagara (77. 75-88). Rudrabhūti, a notorious Brahmin became the chief of the Kāgonanda tribe of the Vindhya forest (34.37). Brāhmaṇa Indhana and Pallava are mentioned to be following the pursuits of a farmer (58.4). Madhupīṅgala, a Purohita son, after having eloped with a princess lived on the profession of a wood-gatherer (26. 9). All these instance indicate that the Brāhmaṇas followed other pursuits also. Mere receiving of gifts and begging alms would not have fulfilled the necessities of the Brahmins, hence they took to other professions also. These types of Brahmins are called as Kṣātra-brahmins and Vaiśya-brahmins in the *Dharmaśāstras*¹ and Manu has openly sanctioned that Brahmins can, if the circumstances so require, live by the means of a Kṣatriya or Kṛṣigorakṣam (10. 81-83).

Ātmaśreyas, a gr̥hapati's son (i. e. Vaiśya) was on account of his idleness expelled from his house. He obtained a medical ring and with the help of it he earned his livelihood. He cured a queen and acquired great favour from the king (48. 90). Aṅka whose caste is not mentioned (but not Brāhmin or Kṣatriya) was expelled from his home town by the people. He then lived on the profession of a wood-gatherer but later on his friend king Acala made him the ruler of Śrāvastī (88. 18; 22, 34).

These are the literary evidences which indicate flexibility in following the professions of other castes. How far it was true in actual life of the society of our period can be corroborated by the inscriptional evidences of the Vākātaka-C Gupta-age. It is recorded that Brāhmaṇas became rulers, entered army, followed trade, worked as architects and government servants. Kṣatriyas followed commercial and industrial pursuits also. These are the cases of accepting those professions

1. *History of Dharmaśāstras*, Vol. II, Pt. VI, p 130

which were inferior to those of their own caste. The same was true vice-versa. Gupta rulers were Vaiśyas. Vaiśyas and Śūdras took to military career and became even captains and generals (*VGA*, pp. 316-218).

Thus what the *PCV* reveals can be actually observed in the life of the people as evidenced in the inscriptions. Similarly intercaste and inter-racial marriages (See Section on Marriage) were prevalent in those days and therefore there can exist no doubt about inter-caste dining.

C. Stages of Life.

According to the Jaina concept, the life was divided into two categories, viz. layman's life and monk's life (*grhastha* & *muni*). Generally the kings¹ and the queens² are referred to be accepting monkhood in their old age. Accepting monkhood is called as entering *Tapovana* also (113.69). But the factor of age was not very important. It was the inclination or the strong feeling of aversion towards the worldly life that impelled one to renounce the householder's life and to get initiated into the ascetic life. It did not matter whether a male or a female was young in age (80.26), or of marriageable age (106.46; 39.97; 41.63; 103.102), or recently married (21.72), or was not still blessed with a son (20.21-22), or was of middle age (30.70; 88.13; 105.110).

According to the Brahmanical concept the life was divided into four stages on the factor of age. There are references to the *Tāpasas* (8.159; 41.48) in the *PCV*. Brahmin Brahmaruci and his wife Varakūrmī are said to be following *Tāpasadharmā*, residing in a hermitage (*tāvasanilaya* 11.51). The *Tāpasas* are mentioned to be wearing the barks of trees and huge lockets of hair (39.75, 84). At 32.2-3 it is said that the *Tāpasas* used to collect fruits (for their food), '*samidhā*' (the sticks of wood for sacrificial purposes) and received the guests with due respect. All these descriptions about *Tāpasas* indicate that they were the followers of third stage of life i.e. *Vānaprastha* as defined by Manu (6.2-22). There is a single reference to a *Parivrājaka* (41.27). This word is never used for a Jaina monk in the *PCV*. It means that he was a mendicant who was detached from all the worldly things. He is further said to be jealous of the Jaina monks. Therefore, he should be a non-Jaina ascetic. He can be taken as a *Sanyāsin* of the Brahmanical order—i.e.

1. 5.238-241; 9.6-7; 29.34; 30.66; 32.27-28; 108.47; 114.15, 18, 20.

2. 75.82-84; 83.12; 102.46.

one who followed the fourth stage of life. Manu states that a Sanyāsin should wander from place to place (*nirapekṣaḥ parivrajat* 6.33). The other two stages, which preceded the above mentioned stages, were those of studentship and householder (*Brahmacarya & Gārhasthya*). These were the four stages of life as defined by the Brahmanical works.

But still the orthodoxy or the strictness in observing the four stages of life is not evidenced in the *PGV*. Prince Anuddhara (39.84) became a Tāpasa without marrying and Purohita Agniketu (41.48) became so before attaining the prescribed age for entering the third stage. Further each and every non-Jaina Vipra is not mentioned to be regularly entering all the four stages of life. Hence the observations of B. S. Upadhyaya (*IK*, p. 174) are correct when he says that the four-stages of life were actually not observed in practice. So it can be surmised that one's inclination to renounce the world was more important than the mere consideration of the factor of age.

SECTION 2. FAMILY AND RELATIONSHIP

A. Family

The family, the fundamental unit of society is denoted by *kuṭumba* (99.8; 5.184), *parivāra* (6.36; 66.16), and *kula* (53.17; 14.145). All the members of a family bore affection for one another, performed their respective duties, helped in strengthening social bonds and thus paved the way for the advancement and happiness of one another. The family was paternal in constitution and therefore, the father was the master and all in all of the whole family. His orders were obeyed by all, so he has been called 'gṛhapati' (48.77). His wife was the mistress of the house. She is called 'gṛhiṇī' (*gṛhiṇī* 45.33 or *ghariṇī* 71.1). She remained faithful to her husband.

Father the sole authority.—The father had full control over his sons and daughters. He selected their life partners (27.41; 15.35-39; 8.1-21; 12.1-8; 38.28). He saw to the utmost well-being of his daughter while selecting her husband (10.1-8). There is a case of a mother (*Kaikeyī*) who took initiative and got her son (*Bharata*) married to the girl (*Subhadrā*) of her choice through the consent of her husband (28.130). The word of father were binding on his son in the matters relating to marriage and the latter did not violate them (15.89-91). The father was the final authority in distributing his property to his sons (48.77-80). A father could expel his sons from home if they behaved contrary to the social custom (25.17; 82.79;

88.19). On the death of the father and in absence of a major son, the mother became the head guardian of the family (17.82-84).

It was the sole concern of the father to appoint his political heir. Daśaratha had to instal Bharata though Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were elder to him (31.73-75).

Faithfulness of wife:—The wife was a faithful follower of her husband. Sītā preferred following her husband to the forest to remaining at home to pass a comfortable life. Aparājītā did not oppose her husband from installing of Bharata (31.99) as the king of Ayodhyā. Though Añjanā was abandoned by Pavanañjaya still she remained faithful to her husband despite of various sufferings (15-18). Sītā had to carry out the orders of Rāma and had to suffer exile. When a recently married husband renounced the world nothing was left for a young wife except following her husband and becoming a nun (21. 72-73). Co-operation and living together affectionately of co-wives was necessary. Kaikeyī caused affliction for his co-wives. When Aparājītā and Sumitrā could not bear the separation from their sons, Kaikeyī's heart melted and she made her best efforts to recall Rāma for the well-being of her son, herself and the whole family (32. 36-53).

It was the son who maintained the continuity of the family therefore his necessity was ever felt by the parents (91. 122). Mother consulted monks for the birth of sons (41.41-42) and kings postponed the renunciation of the world till a son was born (21. 28). Janaka and his wife got afflicted when their son, Bhāmaṇḍala was kidnapped by Candragatī. Candragatī had kidnapped him to adopt him as his own son because his wife was issueless (26. 82-88).

Responsibilities of parents:—It was the duty of the parents to nourish, educate and marry their sons and daughters properly. Foster-mothers were engaged for children (26.98; 97.11). Añjanā (17.91-122) did not forget to take proper care of her son though she was in great distress. At the proper time parents duly arranged for the education of their sons and daughters¹. Sītā though abandoned by Rāma yet she duly arranged for the education of her sons (97.22). When the daughters attained puberty the parents got worried for their marriage and it was only after their marriage that they got relieved of the responsibility².

The sufferings of the sons brought about great anxiety to their parents (31.97; 18.20; 63.4-6; 5.88). It was an occasion of great joy

1. 25.23; 39.88; 24.4-9.

2. 15.13-14; 36.39; 24.9; 12.1-8.

for the parents when their separated sons met them again¹. The natural affection of the parents gushed forth and they celebrated such occasions with great enthusiasm.

Duties of sons and daughters :—The daughters and sons showed due modesty and obedience to their parents. It was the duty of the sons to keep their parents happy and give them due assistance in their old age. As far as the daughters are concerned, they remained with their parents only up to the time of their marriage and there is no instance that any girl would have disobeyed her parents in marrying the person selected by them. The greatest responsibility lay on the sons and they were always obedient to their parents and elders. Rāvaṇa on being advised by his mother, started acquiring great powers for rejuvenating his ancestral glory. He determined to recapture Laṅkā as soon as he was advised to do so by his grandfather (7.158-172). Rāma forwent the crown of Ayodhyā because he did not like to cause slightest agony to his father and he did not want to blacken the repute of his father². Lakṣmaṇa did not interfere because he thought that whatever the elders had done, must be proper (31.109). Pavanañjaya obeyed his father and decided not to refuse his marriage with Añjanā (15.91). Non-obeyance of a father who was considered to be socially and politically a ripe person, brought about adverse results. On that account Indra got humiliated in a battle with Rāvaṇa (12.75-82, 139-140). One who followed his mother's advice won glory and kingdom (77.82-88). A loyal son suffered himself than angering even her step-mother (8.143-210). A faithful son never tolerated any undue insult and humiliation of his mother at the hand of even his elders (50.2-14; 99.20-23). It should be noted that in both the cases the sons ultimately pay their due respects to their elders after taking revenge upon them. This is a sign of their due modesty towards their elders. A son duly revenged himself by killing the murderer of his father (39.46). Whenever the sons departed from their home they paid their due respects to their parents and took their due permission. In exchange they received blessings from their parents³. It was the sacred duty of the sons to assist their fathers in their old age. When the princes attained full youth, they prevented their fathers from entering the battle and prepared themselves to fight against the enemies (27.16-21;

1. 8.206; 18.42; 30.94-95; 97.29-32.

2. na ya bhogakāraṇaṁ me tujjha akittie loḡammi, jāṇa suṇa paḁu cinte-
yavvaṁ hiyaṁ niyaya-kālaṁ, jēṇa piyā na ya soḡaṁ gaecchai cgaṁ pi ya
muhuttaṁ 31.76-77.

3. 31.93-100; 16.35; 19.13; 27 21; 86.14-23; 98.24.

16.30-34; 19.3-12). It was a general desire of the sons that their father should take rest and remain at ease while they themselves should shoulder the works of greater responsibilities and risk.

Elder brother's responsibility:—On the death of the father, the responsibility befell on the eldest brother. At the time the eldest brother acquired the responsibility of a father and he looked after the well-being of the whole family. Thus he became the head of the family. According to the rule of primogeniture, the eldest son became the king. It was the eldest son who was married first and thereafter followed the marriages of the younger ones. The elder brother was obeyed as the guardian (9.27-50; 38. 17). In accordance with Rāma's wishes after his return from exile Lakṣmaṇa accepted the rulership of Ayodhyā (85. 14-20).

Mutual affection between Brothers and Sisters:—Brothers had unbound love for one another. Bharata did not like to transgress the right of his elder brother, Rāma to the throne of Ayodhyā but he had to accept the crown when Rāma completely refused to become the king and accepted voluntary exile (31. 90-92; 82.44-53). It was Lakṣmaṇa's unfettered affection for his elder brother that he accompanied Rāma in exile and fought for him against Rāvaṇa. As a younger brother Lakṣmaṇa considered it his duty to prevent Rāma from exiling Sītā but his efforts did not prevail (94. 5-20). It was the affection of Rāma for Śatrughna that Rāma installed the latter as the king of the city of the latter's preference (86. 1). Vibhīṣaṇa wanted good of his brother Rāvaṇa. Therefore, he often advised the latter to release Sītā but Rāvaṇa's own misconduct brought about his own end (See 7. 15-35; 103. 10-15 also).

Brothers and sisters bore deep affection for each other. Brothers were prepared to take any risk for the safety and well-being of their sisters. (54.46; 55. 47). It was out of regard for his sister that Bhāmaṇḍala immediately ran to the assistance of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa fighting with Rāma (99. 35-44). Whenever a sister was kidnapped, abducted or seduced, her brother took immediate measures for her safety, security and well-being¹. In distress a brother hoped to get shelter under his sister (77. 90). Similarly a sister sought help from her brother (64. 19-20). Sister's affection for her brother always remained alive. Sītā knew that her brother was kidnapped but when she suddenly heard of his presence she could not believe it and wept on remembering the unfortunate incident (30.33-35). It was an occasion of great

1. 9. 10-19; 77. 85-87.

happiness for her when she met her brother (30. 80). Sindhendu's sister prevented her husband from attacking her brother and thus paved the way for the safety of her brother¹.

Place of daughter-in-law:—A daughter-in-law duly observed the customs of the family and a mother-in-law duly endeared the former. Sitā first bowed to her father-in-law, then to her mother-in-law and after having obtained their permission, she accompanied Rama in exile (31.103-104). Aparājita did not forget Sitā when she made a sorrowful review of the possible sufferings of Rāma (78.5). Añjanā duly obeyed her mother-in-law and left home when she was blamed and exiled by the latter (17.8). Vimuci and his wife got duly distressed with the kidnapping of their daughter-in-law (30.63).

Thus the *Paumacariyam* reveals that the members of the family constituted the nucleus of the society in which all were bound by mutual affection and love. The safe running of the family depended upon the fact how the members discharged their duties and remained sincere to their responsibilities. This primary unit of society i.e. the family trained its members to make them play active part in society for their social and political welfare. It was here that the members learned discipline, and formed their character, shaped their conduct and made their life beneficial. The individual saw himself as a son, a brother, a husband and a father or a daughter, a sister, a wife and a mother. Every one gained knowledge by his own experiences and thus could see to his and his fellow's advancement. Further the individual contributed towards the welfare of society by developing the qualities of affection, love, friendship, respect, reverence, faithfulness, sincerity, liberality, spendthriftiness, modesty, courage, temperance and freedom. Here one suffered and enjoyed, fell down and rose up and thus prepared for developing himself into a complete social and political personality.

Joint family-system:—The joint family was the characteristic feature of the ancient Indian society. The *PCV* reveals that Daśaratha's family consisted of his wives, sons and daughters-in-law and they lived together. After the return of Rāma from Lañkā, he and his brothers, lived together with their sons and daughters-in-law. All the members shared jointly the weal and woe of their family on different occasions.

B. Relationship.

The following family relationships are referred to in the *Paumacariyam*:—

Whenever there is an opportunity of joy or sorrow in the family on occasion of some social function or religious festivity or political

1. 77, 96-98.

occasion, the *PCV* refers to some combined relationship taking part in them¹. That relationship is denoted by 'Svajana'=kinship relations; 'Parijana' or 'Parivarga'=dependent members of the family, 'Bandhujana' or 'Bandhuvarga'=brethren in general and 'Pariyara=Paricara' (28. 105)=attendants and servants.

A wide sphere of various individual family-relations mentioned in the *PCV* are as follows:—

Relations:—Mother=Māyā (Mātā 50.20) Māi (99. 41), Jananī (Jananī 45. 44); Father=Vitta (Pitā 50. 20), Pii (45. 44), Piu (99. 41), Tāya (Tāta 110. 32), Piyara (Pitā 53. 17; 34. 56; 31. 110); Parents=Piyara (Pitā 99.39); Grandfather=Piyāmaha (Pitāmaha 7.152); Son=Putta (Putra 4.5.9), Suya (Suta 50. 11), Nandana (Nandana 45. 40); the elder son as Jetthaputta (Jyesthaputra 77. 104) and the younger one as Kaniṭṭha (Kaniṣṭha 47. 43); Daughter=Duhiyā (Duhitā 95. 18), Tanayā (Tanayā 80. 54), Dhūyā (Duhitā 98. 20), Nandiṇī (Nandini 63. 7), Suyā (Sutā 95.16); Brother=Bhāi (Bhrātā 45. 44), Bhāyā (21. 45); Bandhu (46. 14), Bandhava (111. 1), Bhāyara (99. 40); the uterine brother as Ekkoyara (Ekkodara 11.23) or Sahoyara (Sahodara 49. 7); the elder one as Jettha (38. 48; 45. 17; 63. 9) or Gurava (Guru 45.23); Sister=Bahiṇī (Bhagini 99.42), Bhaiṇī (10.80), the uterine sister as Ekkoyarā (Ekkodarā 30. 55) or Sahoyarī (Sahodari 9.10); Husband=Bhattāra (Bhartā 8.33; 31. 125), Kanta (Kānta 10.38), Daia (Dayitā 49. 4; 80. 56), Piya (Priya 77. 93; 56.14), Dhaṇiya (Dhanika 42.22); Wife=Pattī (Patnī 14.14), Bhajjā (Bhāryā 21.43), Kantā (Kāntā 45. 9), Daiā (Dayitā 68. 37), Piya. (Priyā 77. 99), Gehiṇī (Gṛhiṇī 45. 33), Gharinī (77. 1), Mahiliyā (Mahilā 45. 23); Father-in-law=Sasura (Śvasura 71.45; Son-in-law=Jāmāuya (Jāmātr 24. 20); Daughter-in-law=Suphā (Snuṣā 95.20); Wife's brother=Sālā (Śyāla 77. 98; 88. 29); Husband's brother=the younger as Deyara (Devara 63.12); Mother's father=Māyāmaha (Mātāmaha 50.14); Ajjaa (Āryaka 50. 2); Mother's parents=Māyāmaha-juvalaya (99.46); Mother's brother=Māma (99.46), Māmaya (Māmaka 63.28); Father-in-law also addressed as Māma (24. 22); and Sister's son=Bhāinejja (Bhāgineya 99. 30).

Friends:—The wider social circle included the friends also as relations. They are called Mitta=Mitra (12.10; 15.52) and Sahī=Sakhī (48.21) or Sahiyā=Sakhikā (31.104; 17.8), as female-friend.

1. sayana 17. 27, pariyaṇa 4-10, 94-95, pasumantisayana pariyaṇa 63. 27, māyāpiyāputtasayana parivaggam 3. 135, pariyaṇasāmantabandhujana 38. 51, sesabandhavajana 30, 81, bandhuvagga 6. 235.

Guest (Atihi):—They included the guests and the strangers to whom hospitality was to be accorded in a befitting manner. Hospitality is prescribed to be one of the religious duties of a householder (14.115). Providing seat, wishing of one's good health and arranging for the bath and meals were the traditional manners that a host was required to show to a guest (15.34, 35; 19.17, 18; 33.3; 91; 34.8, 13; 36.38).

SEC. 3. CEREMONIES OF BIRTH, CHILDHOOD AND MARRIAGE

A. Birth and Childhood.

Care of the Expectant Mother:—The birth of a child was an occasion of great joy and merriment for the parents, because it was the child who maintained the continuity of the family. Therefore it became necessary for the elders to look after and take proper care of the expectant mother for the safety of the foetus. Thus it was the duty of the husband to see that her pregnant wife remained cheerful and healthy. The pregnancy of a woman was known by certain physical changes in her body. Besides that some psychological developments were also marked in her. Thus the *PCV* reveals that with the conception of the embryo of Rāvaṇa in the womb of Kekasī, her speech became harsh and her body turned stiff. She did not fear battle, she liked to command the lord of the Suras and preferred to look her image in a dagger in spite of the presence of a mirror (7.86). The nature of the psychological developments depicted the nature of the would-be child. Thus the *PCV* tells us that in the case of Kekasī a cruel son was born to her, in the form of Rāvaṇa. One important psychological development was the pregnancy-craving of the expectant mother. It was the duty of the husband to satiate that longing of his wife otherwise it might have brought about adverse effects on the health of the woman and the child¹. Thus the *PCV* states that the pregnancy longings of Sītā, Kekasī and Mānasasundarī were duly fulfilled by their husbands Rāma (92.14; 94.27), Ratnāśrava (7.89) and Vidyādhara Sahasrāra (7.6) respectively.

Besides the mental care, the physical care was also duly taken of a pregnant woman. Thus we are told that pregnant Añjanāsundarī was supported physically by her friend and taken to the cave for the protection of the unborn child from miscarriage (*gabbhassa māvivattī hoi* 17.39). Various references to 'sūyāhara'='sūtikāgṛha' (7.91; 26.85; 30.34) indicate that a special apartment i.e. the lying-in-chamber was

1. See *Su. Sāh.* 3.15-16. It further states that the nature of the longing considered the type, a child would be born of.

provided for the pregnant woman who was confined to it during the last days of her pregnancy. The *Suśrutasamhitā* gives directions for it (10.2). It was considered to be essential for the security and the welfare of the foetus and the pregnant woman.

Curiosity for the Birth of a Son :—The parents always had a great desire to be blessed with son (41.41). The joy of the parents started even before the actual birth of a son. Mere prediction that a son would be born to them (3.66) was enough for their joy, not to talk of the actual birth. Thus the *PCV* reveals that Nābhī was in mirth when Ṛṣabha was born (3.70). The son used to receive immense love and caress from his parents. Videhā regarded her son as her very eyes and a valuable treasure (26.89). The sudden kidnappiṅg of her son was considered to be a great misfortune (26.89). Añjanāsundarī considered her son as the very source of her existence in her woeful days (17.93). Amśumatī was not living cheerfully because she had no son (26.83). For Amśumatī and her husband it was a day of great joy when they adopted a son (26.84). The relatives also felt happy on the occasion of the birth of a male child (7.89). The father as far as possible never liked to send his son to war (27.18; 16.32) and killing one's own son was considered to be a great sin (14.14).

Birth Ceremonies and other Rites :—With so much importance attached to a son it was natnral that with the birth of a male child the happiness of the parents grew immensely. Various functions were performed in connection with the cermonies of the birth and gradual growth of the child and due care was taken for his healthy nourishment. The first thing to be noted was the day and the time of the birth of a son and to get the planetary postiiion recorded to asceratain the future happiness of the son (25.7.97; 7.17.106-112).

Then the birth ceremony was performed with great pomp and show accompanied by the playing of musical instruments (3.70; 7.90; 17.119; 25.8-14; 97.8). Thereafter the name of the son was christened according to his physical qualities¹ (Padma—because he was lotus-eyed 25.8) or intrinsic merits² (Lakhkaṇa=Lakṣmaṇa—because he was possessed of many qualities 25.11) or in association with some incident³ (Daṣamukha—because his face reflected in the nine jewels of his necklace 7.96) or in association with the particular condittons developed by

1. 97.9.

2. 2.26; 63.29

3. 3.68; 9.78; 17.120; 22.56; 26.87; 3.106; 21.21.

the mother¹ during her pregnancy (Indra—because his mother longed to see the paraphernalia of Indra 7.8).

Some rites were performed for the safety of the child. Sītā is said to have thrown mustard seeds and put round the necks of her sons strings of the nails of tiger, embedded with gold (97.10). It might have been performed to ward off the effects of evil spirits.

The *PCV* mentions that Padma and Lakṣmaṇa (25. 12) as well as Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa were growing gradually through the stage of crawling and walking (riṅkhaṇacaṅkamaṇayāi kuṇamāṇā 97. 11). No ceremony is referred to here in this connection. The Bhagavatī Sūtra tells us that the ceremonies of crawling (paraṅgāmaṇaṁ) and walking (payacaṅkamaṇaṁ) were held in connection with prince Mahābala (11. 11. 429).

Nurses:—The parents paid due attention to the proper growth and nourishment of their children. For that purpose nurses were appointed in case of the noble and royal children. (dehasuha-lālaṇaṭṭhe 26.88). There is a reference to five foster-mothers of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa (pañcasu dhāisu sannahiyā 97.11). They² should have been the wet-nurse (khīradhāi), bath-nurse (majjaṇadhāi), toilet-nurse (maṇḍana dhāi), play-nurse (kilāvaṇa-dhāi) and the lap-nurse (aṅkadhāi). The *PCV* refers to a well educated Dhāi (Dhātṛi) of princess Śrīmālā (savvatthasatthakusalā 6.165). It indicates that a female child was not ignored and the nurses were well educated so that they could look after the mental development of the children properly. Thus they can be called the first teachers of the children. The nurses were accorded due respect of a mother (22.8) by the children.

Thereafter at due time the children were educated³ and after the completion of their education the occasion arrived for their marriage.

B. Marriage

The marriage was an important event in the life of a person. With it commenced the 'gārhasthya' life, the foundation of the family life. Therefore, necessary consultations as regards the 'kula', 'carita', 'yaya' and 'rūpa' i. e. family, conduct, age and charming physique were made before contracting a marital alliance, but rigidity in the field of inter-caste and inter-racial marriage was not observed.

1. *Nāyā*, I, P. 20.

2. *Bhag. Sūt*, 11. 11.529. (Abhaya.) See *AP*, 14.165. It mentions majjana, maṇḍana, stanya saṁskāra and kṛiḍaṇa nurses,

3. See *Infra*.

Guardian's Responsibility:—The act of marriage is often denoted by the term 'pāṇiggahaṇa' (7.75; 24.33; 98.56). It was a symbol of 'sva-karaṇa'¹ which entailed the transfer of the authority of the parents over the girl to the husband and for that the offering of the bride to a bride-groom is indicated by the word 'dinnā' (15.38). Thus the responsibility of marriage lay with the guardians. King Mahendra was worried for the marriage of his daughter, Añjanā (15.36). Vānara Sugrīva was in anxiety for getting a suitable husband for his daughter Padmarāga (19.37; See also 51.18; 36.11). In these cases the initiative is taken by the fathers of the girls and they get success in negotiations. Sometimes the father of a boy took initiative. Vidyādhara Puṣpottara had demanded the sister of Vānara Śrīkaṇṭha for his son (6.6). In the absence of the father, the elder brother was responsible for the marriage of his younger ones (6.6; 9.28, 50). In the case of Lavaṇa and Anikuśa the two sons of Śītā, their guardian king Vajrajaṅgha arranged their marriage (98.1). In the absence of any guardian the suitor himself made demand for a bride from her guardian (10.4-8). Thus the *PCV* reveals that generally the guardians settled the marriage of their sons and daughters. In the case of contest type of 'svayamvara' marriage the father of the bride proposed a feat and in the selection type too it must have depended upon the father of the bride to invite or not a to invite a particular candidate. Further the accompanying of the parents with the promising candidates in a 'svayamvara' indicates that the consent or the wishes of the parents prevailed in the 'svayamvara' marriage also. Kaikeyī's initiative and then Daśaratha's consent to the marriage of their son, Bharata with Subhadrā the daughter of Kanaka, the brother of Janaka of Mithilā (28.131) indicates that generally the father and the mother both were unitedly responsible for the marriage of their children. One thing is to be noted that though the marriage of the children dependend on the wishes of their parents but in no case the marriage was a failure.

Wishes of the Children:—It is true that the parents settled the marriage of their children but the wishes of the latter were not altogether neglected. King Mahīdhara betrothed his daughter to some other person when he lost all hopes of getting Lakṣmaṇa who was greatly cherished by his daughter. But when Lakṣmaṇa went there per chance Mahīdhara gladly gave his consent to his daughter to marry him (36.9-40). Vidyādhara Candragati tried his best to accomplish the wish of his adopted son Bhāmaṇḍala who wanted to marry Śītā (28.9-75),

1. 'Pradhānam svāmya karaṇam'—*Manu*, 5.152.

but in vain. Vānara Sugrīva, in accordance with the wishes of his daughter, Padmarāga married her to Hanumat (19.40). It was because of the request of Vidyādhari Padmā that her father withdrew from attacking Śrīkaṇṭha and allowed her to marry Śrīkaṇṭha (6.24-26). There is a single instance when king Acala forcibly married his son to many girls in order to prevent him from renouncing the world (82.69).

Due Consultations:—Guardians of the brides held due consultations and after having considered various factors, they selected bridegroom. King Mahendra took advice of his ministers and on the ground of merits he rejected others and selected Pavanañjaya for his daughter, Añjanā (15.14-27). Similarly Maya (8.3) and Rāvaṇa counselled with their ministers before settling their daughters' marriage (12.1). Whenever the father was unable to decide for himself, he sought help from others. Thus when Tārā was simultaneously demanded by Vidyādhara prince Sāhasagati and Sugrīva, her father took advice of a monk. He predicted short span of life of Sāhasagati. Then the choice fell to Sugrīva, (10.4-8).

Considerations in Marriage-alliance:—The status of family, conduct, good-looking features and parity in age were the main considerations for contracting marriage-alliances. King Pṛthu was not willing to offer his daughter to Añkuśa, because the former was quite ignorant of the family of the latter (na ya najjai kulavaṁso 98.8). It was on account of the noble family and noble qualities (sundarakula sambhūo guṇehi dūraṁ samuvvahaṁ 8.6) of Rāvaṇa that Maya married his daughter Mandodarī to him. King Puṣpottara was requested by the envoy of Kīrtidhavalā to marry his daughter to Śrīkaṇṭha because Śrīkaṇṭha belonged to 'uttamakula' and possessed 'uttamacarita' (6.17) as well as 'uttamarūpa' (6.18). Rāvaṇa married his daughter to such a person who belonged to a noble family 'visuddhakulavaṁsa' (12.2), who was dear to people (vinaya guṇadharo logassa ya vallaḥo 12.4) and possessed decorum as well as good qualities (lakkhaṇovaveo 12.3). Minister Sumati had advised Mahendra to marry Añjanā to Vidyutprabha because he possessed both 'guṇa' and 'rūpa' (15.21). Vajrajaṅgha was in search of such a bride for Añkuśa that she could stand equal to Añkuśa in 'rūpa' (ruveṇa aṇusariccharaṁ 98.3). Pavanañjaya was preferred to others as a bridegroom of Añjanā because he surpassed even the cupid in beauty and health (ruveṇa jovvaṇeṇa kāmassa sirim viḍambeṁ 15.27). Therefore, it is said in the PCV that both the parties should have parity in status, character and physique.¹

1. Uttamapurisūṇa jae samjogo hoi uttamehi samāṇ, ahamāṇa majjhimāṇa ya sariso sarisehi vā hojjā-PCV, 6.19,

Among the ruling classes chivalrous qualities, power and other attainments were also considered in selecting a bridegroom (jovvaṇabalavīriyasattisaṃpañño 12. 3, vijjāsahassadhārī atuliyabalavikkamo 8. 6). The contest type of 'svayamvara' marriages indicate that bold and gallant bridegrooms had their success. Further the *PCV* reveals that the guardians did not select such candidates who were likely to die (10. 7) or renounce the world at an early age (15. 24). There are instances of suitors who were rejected on account of their being quarrelsome, hostile and polygamous (15. 12-18).

It is corroborated by Jātaka No. 200, that candidates having noble birth, sound character, good health and due reverence for elders were considered to be suitable bridegrooms.

Parity in Age:—Parity in age was also an important factor. Therefore, the terms like "doppi vi vayasāṇuruvassohāri eyāṇa samāga—6. 21" and 'aṇusarisa jovvaṇāṇaṃ saṃjoo 15.22' have been used. No specific age of marriage is mentioned, but the terms like 'jovvaṇa 90. 3', 'navajovvaṇujjātāo—77.53; 'navajovvaṇa saṃpannā—8. 2', navajovvaṇa ciñcaiyā—15. 13; 'jovvaṇāpuṇṇā 12. 1', 'laliyajovvaṇapunnā 8. 160'; 'udārakīlaṇajogā 98. 2'; and 'raiguṇasāravahantō 77. 53' denote that marriage was performed when the candidates had attained full youth, adolescence and capacity to understand well the various aspects of love. Sītā was betrothed to Rāma when he had already completed his education and also defeated the Mlecchas in a battle (27. 41). Lavaṇa was married after having completed his education (98. 2). Aṅkuśa had already fought a battle when his marriage took place (98. 56). Rāvaṇa married Mandodarī after having acquired many supernatural powers which must have entailed a severe penance on his part (7. 130; 8. 21), and to endure that hardship he must have been a grown young man. Hanu completed his student-career, helped Rāvaṇa in defeating Varuṇa and thereafter he got married (18. 56; 19. 32; 34. 40). Vaṇik Dhanadatta was betrothed to Guṇamati but the latter's mother secretly rebetrothed her to Śrīkānta. At this breach of contract Dhanadatta's younger brother became furious and killed Śrīkānta (103. 15). This incident shows that when Dhanadatta's younger brother was able to kill a man, Dhanadatta must have been an adolescent. Kaikeyī had completed her education and she had exhibited valorous traits while helping her husband in overpowering the disgruntled candidates before her marriage took place (24.2f). All these instances of the people of different races and belonging to different strata prove that marriage was performed when the candidates were quite mature in age and were able to shoulder the responsibilities of household life. However the marriage of Lakṣmaṇa with

Manoramā was solemnised when a long time had passed after his return from Laṅkā (Ch.90). It shows that in cases of rulers, the *PCV* does not refer to any child-marriage.

Other factors :—Prophecies and political motives also played an important part in bringing about marital-alliances. Rāma's marriage with the daughters of Gandharva (51.15-17), Lakṣmaṇa's with Viśalyā (64.18) and Cakravartin Hariṣeṇa's with Madanāvalī were performed in accordance with the prophecies.

It was on account of political considerations that the defeated kings married their daughters to the conquerors. Thus king Siṃhodara of Ujjenī married his daughters to Lakṣmaṇa (33.139). Vijayaratha, the son of king Ativīrya married his sisters, Ratimālā and Vijayasundarī to Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata respectively (38.1,7). Similar were the cases of the Vidyādhara, Vānara and the Rākṣasas. Defeated Vidyādhara king Samudra married his four daughters to Lakṣmaṇa (54.42). Discomfited (kṣatriya king), Maruta married his daughter to Rāvaṇa (11.100). Vidyādhara king Indra was advised by his father to marry his daughter to Rāvaṇa for the same political reason (12.78). Routed king Varuṇa married his daughter to Hanumat (19.32). King Vajrakarṇa of Daśapura offered his daughters to Lakṣmaṇa because he was rescued by Lakṣmaṇa from the tyranny of king, Siṃhodara (33.138).

Site of Marriage ceremony :—Generally marriages were solemnised at the residences of the brides. It did not matter whether one hailed from the Aryan (Kṣatriya 28.130; 21.44; 24.33), Vānara (6.217; 19.40) or the Rākṣasa family. (8.56, 62; 12.8). Among the Rākṣasas marriages were performed at the residences of the bridegrooms also (8.9; 7.75)¹. Sometimes the marriage was performed at quite a different place. The marriage of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya took place on the banks of the Mānasa lake (15.40). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa during their exile married various girls at Laṅkā, though they belonged to different places (77.51). The *PCV* reveals that marriages were performed at auspicious time (nakkhatte sohaṇe 5.27; sunakkhatta-karaṇalaggammi 15.95),

Other Jaina literary sources corroborate the fact that sometimes marriages were solemnised at the residences of bridegrooms also. Poṭṭila's marriage with Teyaliputta (*Nāyaka*, 14. p. 149) and that of Mahābala with eight princesses² are such examples.

1. This custom is still prevalent among the Gonds. Vide *Nāyaka*. Ca, p. xxvii

2. Bhagavati Sutta 11. 11. 430 See *Nāyaka*. Ca, 1. 17. 1 and 5. 2,13-14.

Types of Marriages:—It has been already stated that parents contracted the marriages of their children. Whenever the father offered his daughter to a suitable candidate, it fell under the 'prājāpatya' type of marriage. The betrothal of Sītā with Rāma (27. 41), the marriage of Añjanā with Pavanañjaya (15. 38), that of Mandodarī with Rāvaṇa (8. 18) and Kekasī's with Ratnāśrava (7. 72) fall under this group. Marriage alliances made on political considerations can also be put under this head. This type of marriage was widely prevalent in those days.

There were cases when parents were not consulted and on account of mutual love, the concerned candidates formed their own wedlocks. This type of marriage is termed as Gandharva¹. The wedlocks of Rāvaṇa and many Vidyādhara girls (8.38), Vānara Hanu and Rākṣasī Laṅkāśundarī (52.2) and Vidyādhara Śrīkaṇṭha and Padma (6.9) are the instances among the non-Aryans. This form of marriage was prevalent among the Aryans also. The unions of (Brahmin) Airakucchī with the daughter of his teacher (25.22) and that of Purohita Piṅgala with the princess of Krapura (26.8) come under this type. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa also performed love marriages.² Lakṣmaṇa performed love wedlocks with princesses Kalyāṇamālā (34.3; 77.48) and Vanamālā (Ch. 36). Padmarāgā, out of many portraits, selected that of Hanumat. Her father Sugrīva invited Hanu and married her to him (19.40). This is also a Gāndharva-vivāha according to the definition "the father of the girl without consulting his own wishes gives away his daughter to a person whom the daughter likes and who reciprocates her sentiments" given in the *Mahābhārata*.³ Vanamālā and Kalyāṇamālā were married by their fathers in accordance with their wishes, hence their marriages can be assigned to this class.

There were occasions when girls were forcibly carried away and married. This type of marriage is termed as Rākṣasavivāha. Rāvaṇa married many girls seizing them by force (akkamiya vikkameṇaṃ 9.51). His sister was kidnapped and married by Kharadūṣaṇa (9.12). This type of marriage was largely prevalent among the Rākṣasas. The Aryans are also found to be following this practice. Brahmin Śrīvardhita

1. The Kṛtsūtra speaks very highly of this type of marriage in which the basis is mutual love which is the correct foundation and goal of marriage (3. 5. 29-30).
2. Manu regards this type of marriage legal in the case of Kṣatriyas (3.26).
3. MB (Ādiparva), 44.10—Vide *Hindu Social Organisation*, p. 178, by P. N. Prabhu (1954).

kidnapped a princess (77.85) and made her his wife. The Kṣatriyas demanded girls in marriage and on refusal they defeated the fathers of the girls concerned and forced them to marry their daughters to them. Such instances can be put under the Rākṣasa type of marriage. Lakṣmaṇa's marriage with Vidyādhari Manoramā (90), Aṅkuśa's with Kanakamālā (98) belong to this type.¹

On some pecuniary benefits Ratnābhā, a merchant lady betrothed her daughter, Guṇamatī to Śreṣṭhin Śrīkānta, though she had been already betrothed to Dhanādatta by her father (103.12). This is an example of Āsura-vivāha². But in this case the results were fatal and the marriage could not be performed.

The Jātakas (219 & 458) corroborate this type of marriage in which a wife is purchased. In the *Raghuvamśa* (11.39) of Kālidāsa there is an indirect reference to this type of custom.

Svayamvara.—The *Paumacariyam* reveals two forms of 'svayamvara' marriage, viz., the selection-type and the contest-type. In the former case many candidates are invited by the father of the bride and the bride then chooses any one of her liking as her husband. Kaikeyī's (24.10) marriage with Daśaratha, Subhadrā's³ (29.136) with Bharata, Khecarī Candramukhī's with Lavaṇa and Mandākinī's with Aṅkuśa (106.9), Vidyādhari Śrīmālā's with Vānara Kiṣkindha (6.159) and Khecarī Ahalyā's (Āhalla) with Ānandamālin belong to this category. On such occasions bitterness was created and the disgruntled candidates made a row and sometime waged a battle (6.176; 24.19; 106.14). It will not be out of place to mention here that the 'svayamvaras' of two sisters Candramukhī and Mandākinī were held simultaneously at the same place and the 'svayamvara' of Subhadrā was arranged immediately after that of her cousin sister Sītā. The former was a selection-type and the latter a contest-type. In the contest type candidates had to perform the proposed feat and whoever became successful, won the hand of the bride. In the case of Sītā the bow was to be strung up (28.104) while in the case of Jitapadmā the 'satti=śakti' hurled by the father of the bride was to be withstood (38.25). In the former case many candidates assembled on the proposed day and tried their might while in the latter case one by one came and went away unsuccessful. Days passed and when Lakṣmaṇa happened to come there he emerged successful.

1. Manu approves of this type of marriage for the Kṣatriyas - 3.24.26.
2. Manu gives his consent to this type of marriage for the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras, 3.24.
3. It was a mock 'svayamvara' in the case of Subhadrā because it was pre-settled that Subhadrā should choose Bharata.

In the contest type of 'svayamvara' wishes of the bride did not get any consideration. It was the father who proposed the test and offered his daughter to the successful candidate. He had the choice of not inviting the candidate who was not liked by him. Therefore, it can be affiliated to the Prājāpatya type of marriage. But in the selection type the bride was free to select the candidate of her own choice and it must have depended on the individual candidate whether to attend the ceremony or not. Thus the willingness of both the parties was the deciding factor and it can be associated with the Gāndharva type of marriage¹.

Marrying Maternal Uncle's Daughter:—There are some instances of sons-in-law who address their fathers-in-law as 'māma' (24. 22; 38. 46). It reminds us of the custom of marrying the daughter of a maternal uncle and this custom was so widely prevalent that 'māma' became almost a term of address to the father-in-law. Lakṣmaṇ's wedlock with Viśalyā who was the daughter of the brother of Kaikeyī was of this type though Lakṣmaṇa was a stepson of Kaikeyī (64. 17, 45; See also 41. 56, 59). This type of marriage is corroborated by an instance in the *Nāyakumaracariu* (7. 9. 9). It is still prevalent in South India. This custom is popular among the Gonds². The *Āśāyakaśūtrā* (II. p. 81) mentions that this type of marriage was prohibited in the Uttarāpatha. Manu (11. 171) does not approve of this type of marriage but Āpastamba³ is said to have enunciated this custom.

Polygamy and Dowry:—Polygamy was quite sufficiently prevalent among the rulers whether they were the Kṣatriyas (10. 36; 91. 12, 17; 107. 4; 98. 2), Rākṣasas (74. 12) or the Vānaras (108. 49).

There is no reference in the *PCV* to the custom of demanding dowry.

Inter-caste marriages:—The *Paumacariyam* clearly reveals that in those days inter-caste marriages did take place.

It has been already discussed that the 'kula', 'carita' 'rūpa' and 'āyu' were the main factors upon which depended the marital-union. There is no instance to show that only the Varṇa was considered as primary factor in forming wedlocks. The following examples of 'anuloma' and 'pratiloma' marriages indicate that inter-castemarriage was prevalent. Purohita Piṅgal's love marriage with a princess (26. 8) and (Brahmin)

1. See *AIU*, p. 560.

2. Vide *Nāyaka. Ga*, p. xxvii.

3. *Ibid*.

Śrīvardhita's Rākṣasa-marriage with princess Sundarā (77.85) fall under 'anuloma' type. A Brahmin woman though abandoned by her husband was accepted by king Kararuha as his honoured wife (77. 75). King Svayambhū and some princes (103.97) did not hesitate in demanding the hand of the girl of a higher caste (Brahmin girl Guṇamati) These two instances are of 'pratiloma' type.

Inter-racial Marriages:—As regards inter-racial marriages there were no restrictions among the non-Aryan people. The Aryans also did form wedlocks with the non-Aryans. Inter-racial marriages were very common with the non-Aryans. Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa married many Vidyādhara (Mandodarī 8.18, and others 8.38;9.51), Khecara (9.53), and Vānara (Śrīprabhā, the sister of Sugrīva 9.50) girls. Khecara or Vānara Hanumat married Vidyādhara (Satyamati 19.32), Rākṣasa (Anāṅgakusuma 19.34 and Laṅkāśundarī 52.21), Vānara (Harimālīnī 19.36, Padmarāga 19.41) and Kinnara (19.36) girls. Vānara Sugrīva's wife, Tārā was a Khecarī (10.2). Vānara Kiṣkindha was the husband of Vidyādhari Śrīmālā (6.175). Khecara Pavanañjaya formed marital-union with Vidyādhari Añjanā (15.38). The non-Aryans did like to form wedlocks with the Aryan girls. Rāvaṇa kidnapped Sītā and requested her to marry him. He himself married the daughter of king Maruta of Rājagṛha (11.100) and many other Aryan girls (Vijjāharamaṇuyāṇam¹ kannāo.....parīcei Dasāṇaṇo 9.51). Vidyādhara Candragati demanded Sītā for his adopted son Bhāmaṇḍala (28.56). Rākṣasi Candrapakhā wanted to marry Rāma (43.45). The Aryan people did not hesitate in forming wedlocks with the non-Aryan girls and the kings made them even one of their chief queens. Rāma had married three daughters of Vidyadhara Gandharva² (51.25) and one more Vidyādhari, namely Śrīdāmā (90.28). Lakṣmaṇa married four daughters of Khecara Samudra³ (54.42) and also Vidyādhari Manoramā (90.28). Vidyādhari Manoramā was one of the eight principal queens of Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa (91.16) while Vidyādhari Śrīdāmā was one of four chief queens of Rāma (91.13). Lavaṇa and Aikuśa married Khecara girls in a 'svayamvara' type of marriage (106.9). King Sumitra was married to Vanamālā by the latter's father who was a Bhilla, also called as an Anārya chief of the Mlecchas (12.13-14).

Other literary evidences also corroborate inter-caste marriages. According to the *Mahābhārata* sage Cyavana married princess Sukanyā

1. Here the reference to the 'manuyāṇam' is to the Aryan girls.

2. See PCR, 51. 46.

3. Ibid, 54-66.

(anuloma) and Duṣyanta married Śakuntalā presumably the daughter of a priest (pratiloma)¹. The Buddhist *Jātaka* No. 250 refers to a marital-union between a Brahmin and the chief wife of a king. Shri Gokuldas De observes that caste rigidity was not observed because the term 'sama-jātibhāriyā' is not used in verses and its use in prose betrays its later age in the *Jātakas*. The word 'sadiśi' i.e. 'the same type' denoted age 'tulavayā' and not the caste². The 'varṇāvaraḥ' as mentioned in the *Mālatīmādhava* is a reference to an inter-caste marriage³. Prince Nāgakumāra is said to have married dancing girls and his father supported him saying that a woman-gem could be accepted without any consideration of family (akuliṇu vi thīrayaṇu laijjai)⁴. Certainly these are mere literary evidences, but the actual events of the time of Vākāṭaka-Gupta age show that 'anuloma and pratiloma' marriages took place in the society. A record describes the marriage of a Brahmin groom with a Kṣatriya bride as perfectly in consonance with the rules of Śruti and Smṛti⁵. Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena, a scion of an orthodox Brāhmaṇa family married Prabhāvatī Guptā of the Vaiśya Gupta family⁶. The Kādamba rulers who were Brāhmaṇas by caste had married their daughters to the Vaiśya Guptas.⁷

Manu (3.4) and Vātsyāyana (*Kāmasūtra*, 3.1.1) declare that marriage should be performed in the same 'Varṇa'. Still we find that caste-flexibility is maintained and therefore the 'anuloma' (*Manu*, 3.12-13) and the 'pratiloma' (*Yājñā*, 1.93) marriages are recognised by the Smṛtis also.

As regards the inter-racial marriages we find that the Ikṣvāku Brāhmaṇa kings accepted a bride from the Śaka royal family of Ujjayini and the Sātavāhanas had done the same in an earlier period. The preponderance of inter-racial-marriage-instances in the *PCV* point out the miscegenation of various tribes going on in those days and certainly since before the Vākāṭaka-Gupta age it has been an important way by which foreign tribes have been absorbed in Indian society.

SECTION 4. POSITION OF WOMEN.

In the *Paumacariyaṇ* of Vimalasūri there is ample material to determine the position of women of ancient India in various fields of

1. MB, 3.122 f; 1.71, -Vide HAI.

2. SIJ, p. 112.

3. IK, p. 185.

4. Nāyaka. Ch, 3.7.8.

5. VGA, p. 315.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

life. Thus their place in family and society as well as in the political and the religious world will be worth studying for deciding their status which is, in one way, the reflection of the state of civilization of a particular age.

A. Family status or Women inside the House.

Normally a woman in the family was treated under three capacities—maiden, wife and mother.

Maiden :—As a maiden she is called 'bāliyā' (bālikā) 39.109, 'kannā (Kanyā) 24.4 or 'kumārī' 15.38. The maiden stage of a woman ended with her marriage when she became a wife. As long as she remained a maiden the whole responsibility of her guardianship fell upon her parents for whom it was necessary to make proper arrangements for her nourishment, growth, education and marriage.

We are told that for the nourishment of the royal sons, foster-mothers were engaged (22.5; 96.11). Then why not the same facilities to the royal maidens? The mention of the 'dhārī'=dhātrī of a Vidyādhara princess, Śrīmālā (6.165) indicates that the maidens were not neglected in this respect. Śrīmālā's 'dhārī' was not an ordinary nurse. She was well-educated (savvatthasatthakusalā=sarvārthasāstrakuśalā) so that she could look after the physical as well as the mental development of her ward. This instance shows that the parents had equal consideration for their sons and daughters. In the absence of a son the affection and love of the parents increased for their daughter. Thus it is said that when Bhāmaṇḍala was kidnapped, his sister Sītā became the sole object of consolation to her parents who gradually annihilated the sorrow of the loss of their son (soyassa moyanaṭṭham 26.98). With the advancement of the age of a girl it was necessary that open air, suitable company and proper freedom were allowed to her for her physical growth. The *PCV* reveals that Añjanā used to play with a ball (kilanti tendueṇa varabhavaṇe 15.13); Sītā used to play in the company of her girl friends (26.103); and the Vidyādhara girls used to play and enjoy water-sports in gardens (8.31, 37).

Mere physical nourishment is not enough. With it the mental nutrition is also necessary, otherwise a human being cannot develop his personality to its fullness. The *PCV* refers to princess Atisundarā who was getting her education in the house of a teacher (26.5). The education of girls was manifold. Kaikeyī is mentioned to have studied various subjects of both arts and science, viz. literary—scripts, grammar and prosody; fine arts—music, dance, drawing, painting, dressing,

perfumery and modelling of leaves; sciences—arithmetic, domestic, prognosticating and distinguishing of gems, flowers, elephants and horses; and many other secular subjects and arts (24.4-8). Being a Kṣatriya girl she must have obtained training in military science otherwise how could have she been able to drive the war-chariot of Daśaratha (24.25). One more example of a girl trained in military science is of queen Sindhikā who courageously fought and defeated the invaders (22.59). All these references at least suggest that girls were not neglected totally but were suitably educated and trained. It is not that only the princesses were favoured with education. The above quoted example of a foster-mother who was 'savvattha-satthakusalā' indicates that girls other than the princesses, presumably of other classes were duly educated. Sītā's dance recital before some monks (39.32), Gandharvī Citramālā's musical recital to console Añjanā in the forest (17.85), the musical and dance recitals by the daughters of Sugriva to please distressed Rāma (48.1) and the musical and dance-performances by the wives of Lakṣmaṇa (110.16-18) sufficiently prove that it was customary to train girls in the art of music and dance. Kaikeyī's educational qualifications indicate that as far as possible a variety of subjects were taught and manifold training was given to the girls. It must have depended upon the parents as to what training and education should be given to their daughters, viz. pertaining to literature or arts or sciences or profession. To attain all that, girls are expected to have enjoyed freedom of movement and their education might have lasted for a considerable period of years. Princess Atisundarā's going to the house of her teacher, her co-study there with the son of a Purohita, the development of mutual love between them and finally their elopement—all these things tell us that the girls did not remain closed in the houses and they received education up to a considerable age i. e. up to the age of their marriage.

That the girls were suitably educated can be corroborated by other evidences. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra* (Su. 209) refers to 64 subjects of study which were thought to the girls. The Brahmanical *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*¹ states that women were provided with instructions in all the branches of studies. References to Kauśalyā² and Tārā³ as Mantravit while Draupadī as Paṇḍitā⁴ show that

1. 11.19.12-Vide Indra.

2. *VR*, 2.20.15.

3. *VR*, (*Ki.*), 16.12.

4. *MB*, 3.27.2.

they were educated in the Vedas and other branches of knowledge.¹ The *Kāmasūtra* lays down that the wife of a 'nāgaraka' should keep accounts of daily house-hold and it also speaks of 64 subsidiary sciences meant for women and their knowledge in belles letters.² That the girls were permitted to receive education out side their home is evidenced in the *Uttara-Rāmacarita* which mentions female students studying with brother pupils at the residence of their teachers.³

The parents took due care in marrying their daughters to proper persons. The preceding section on 'marriage' reveals the following facts in this connection parents did their best in selecting a suitable husband for their daughter. The future happiness and well-being of a girl depended solely upon the type of the bridegroom to whom she was wedded. Therefore the parents⁴ first considered the family, character, health and the attainments of the candidate and then married their daughter to him. Maturity and full youth were the proper qualifications for a marriage; the wishes of the daughter were respected; and the guardians readily opposed those who wanted to marry their daughters forcibly.

The parents are referred to be in anxiety for the marriage of their daughters (15.36; 35.11). But this anxiety was for selecting proper candidates and not that they considered the presence of a daughter to be a misfortune. The comparison of a daughter with the wealth of wicked person, and the disparaging remarks about her at 6 20 really do not undermine her position and abuse the character of girls but they convey the idea that whatever affection and love one may bestow on his daughter⁵, after all she will become useful and helpful to some other person. Therefore it is said that to serve some other family is the very nature of the women. And it is true that one cannot keep one's daughter with him for ever. One has to marry and send her to some other house. The Rākṣasa and Āsura type of marriage speak of the kidnapping of and selling of girls to other persons. These practices sound indigent on the part of the kidnapper and the seller. Moreover they belittle the position of girls in the society. But really speaking these were the prevailing customs of marriage in those days

1. See Indra, p. 140f.

2. Chakladar, pp. 175-81.

3. See Indra, p. 134.

4. *Suṭṭhu vi rakkhijjanti, thuthukkiyaṃ rakkhiyā pāyattenāṃ/ hohi parasovathā, khalayaṇariddhi va varakanā/-6: 22.*

5. *Paragehasevanaṃ cicya, esa sahāvo mahiliyāṇaṃ 6, 22*

The kidnapping and purchasing of girls were not done for pushing the girls into slavery or extracting any inhuman service from them. Śrīvardhita kidnapped the daughter of Śrīkānta and married her. She became his dear wife and there was no resentment from her (77.85-97). Kharadōṣaṇa kidnapped Candranakhā and married her. He gave her the due respect a wife should expect (9.12: 44.9-11). The position of girls is undermined when they are enjoyed and left in lurch. But when they are married and given the rights of legally married wives, they are not the losers. It becomes disparaging when the married girls are intentionally put to sufferings by the behaviour of their husbands or the society. Here it will be interesting to note that in some cases the boys of Kṣatriya landlords¹ are still kidnapped and married to the Kṣatriya girls to escape the burden of dowry and get good bridegrooms. In that case the marriage is regarded as binding by custom and it is given legality. This is just the opposite of kidnapping a girl and then marrying her. The dowry system of today is just like the purchasing of a bridegroom. Now a days that type of marriage is not regarded as illegal. So to say the importance is of particular custom and not the way in which the marriage is performed.

Generally marriages of girls were happy. There is no case on record in the *PCV* to note that any girl was forcibly married by her parents or that the marriage of a daughter performed by her parents proved unhappy afterwards on account of dissension, quarrel or disunion between the husband and the wife or culminated into the complete ruining of the life of a girl.

Thus the *PCV* reveals that a girl enjoyed equal status with a boy in the matters of nourishment, education and marriage. Along with the boys the girls also enjoyed the special privilege of immunity from murder even if they committed some offence².

Wife :—The wife was the mistress of the house (gharīṇī 48.64, gehīṇī 8.61 = gr̥hīṇī). It indicates her highest authority in managing the domestic affairs. *Pattī* = *Patnī* (14.14) denotes her capacity of partnership with the lord husband and *Bhāryā* = *Bhājā* (103. 7) signifies the right of being maintained by her husband, *Pai* = *Pati* (46. 18) means the guardian of the wife and *Bhattāra* = *Bhartṛ* (8. 33) denotes the maintainer. These terms indicate that the wife and husband were complementary to each other. The responsibilities of

1. This custom is prevalent in some parts of the Jodhpur Division of Rājasthān.

2. *Samaṇā ya Bambhaṇā vi ya, go pasu itthi ya bālayā vuddhā /
Jai vi hu kunaṇṭi dosaṇ taha vi ya ee na hantavvā //*— 35.15.

both were combined. It was the duty of the husband to look after his wife's well-being whereas the wife was required to assist her husband in discharging his duties to the family. Therefore, it was necessary that the husband accorded due respect to his wife. Thus the *PCV* reveals that when the wife of Vibhīṣaṇa requested Rāma to become her guest Vibhīṣaṇa immediately consented to her by taking Rāma to his residence (77. 19-20). The wife had equal voice in family-matters. When Kaikeyī wanted to marry Bharata to Subhadrā, Daśāratha quickly favoured her decision (28. 134). Rāvaṇa was ready to kill Kharadūsaṇa who had abducted his sister, Candranakhā, but Mandodari's request prevailed and the former desisted from killing. (9. 15)

The wife is also called Piyā=Priyā (37. 32). Kantā=Kāntā (105. 97) and Vallahā=Vallabhā (68. 39) which indicate that she received love and affection from her husband. The duty of the husband was not only to maintain his wife but to keep her happy. In moments of difficulty he was required to sympathise with his wife. For that she is called Daiyā=Dayitā (60. 39). It was on account of this relation of love that a husband is found to be fulfilling the pregnancy wishes of his wife (7. 3; 92. 12). Rāma readily plays water-sports with Sītā when she requests for the same (42. 17). The bond of love were so deep that the husband had to do his best for the safety and happiness of his wife. When Sītā is kidnapped Rāma gets distressed in her separation (44. 51-66). He undertakes the hazardous task of helping Sugrīva in restoring the latter's wife (47. 30). He does not feel happy in absence of Sītā though many other girls come to his rescue (47. 57). He rejects all land and wealth which are offered by Rāvaṇa (65. 16-19). He feels happy only when he gets back his beloved wife (76. 15) and he did not mind all the sufferings and pains that he underwent in his attempt to regain Sītā. The story of Rāma is a theme of the faithful duty of a husband to his wife. Sugrīva's wife was deceptively claimed by a sham Sugrīva. Sugrīva became ready to suffer for Rāma the pains of tracing Sītā because it was his duty to take help from Rāma in restoring Tārā and making her happy. Sugrīva undertook to perform the most severe task of fighting Rāvaṇa for rescuing Sītā because he was previously helped by Rāma in getting reunited with his own wife. Pavanañjaya was ready to commit suicide in separation from his wife when he could not trace his exiled wife (18. 14). Purohita Madhupīṅgala (26.18) and weaver Vīraka (21.5) were greatly pained when their wives were kidnapped by some ones. They did their best to retrieve them.

The wife is further called *Baṇaiṇī*=*Praṇayinī* (15.76). It indicates the duty of the wife that she should love and keep her husband happy. There are various references to love sports and husbands rejoicing in the company of their wives (10.34-35; 70.48-57). Whenever the husband was away the wife used to await his return with enthusiasm and on his return she happily celebrated the occasion (74.32-33). It was a day of great anxiety for a wife when her husband went out for fighting in a battle. The soldier's duty demanded his departure from home. Therefore his wife's duty was to encourage him. Temporarily she may feel desperate but the ultimate national duty was before her. Hence a soldier's wife considered his departure as a work of nobility and bravery. She encouraged her husband to fight with full life and vigour and considered it better for him to die in the battle than to retreat (56.14-12). In times of difficulty a wife helped her husband. When *Siṃhendu* was bitten by a snake in the jungle, his wife carried him on her back and got him cured with the help of a monk (77.92). *Lakṣmaṇa*'s eight *Vidyādhara* wives, out of their deep affection for him presented themselves at the battlefield to share the fate of *Lakṣmaṇa* (72.10). The true affectionate bonds of oneness demanded that the wife should be faithful to her husband. Thus the *PGV* reveals that *Sītā* despite her persecutions did not like to marry *Rāvaṇa*. She was ready to die for *Rāma* (46.43) but was not willing at all to accept *Rāvaṇa* as her husband. In separation from her husband she gave up food (46.14) and even various royal allurements could not seduce her (69.25-28). *Añjanā* was abandoned by *Pavanañjaya* immediately after marriage on account of some misunderstanding on the part of *Pavanañjaya* but she never forgot her husband. Ultimately *Pavanañjaya* realised the mistake and accepted her. Suddenly another misfortune befell *Añjanā*. She was exiled by her mother-in-law when her husband was away. She suffered a lot but here also she remained devoted to her husband and the day came when she got united with him again. On account of this affectionate bond a wife was duly respected and admired by her husband, therefore she is addressed as *Devī* (29.13) and *Sundarī* (29.14). Further she is considered to be like a gem (*mahilā-ṛayaṇam* 44.62). Here lies the honour of the wife. She enjoyed the special privilege of immunity from being killed by her husband (35.15). It was considered to be a great sin to kill one's wife (*caṇḍakammakāri* 14.14). Not only the wife but the woman-class in general was granted this privilege¹ (15.75). Thus some sanctity was associated with the wife and the woman-class.

1. *Bahudosāṇa vi dhīrā, mahilāṇa śmaṇ na vāhinti.*

It was the consideration of equality that the wife was also consecrated when her husband was crowned as king (85.22-23). In religious matters she was equally respected. It was Mandodarī who was given by Rāvaṇa the complete responsibility of managing the celebrations of a great religious festival (bhāro samappio savvo 66.7).

Polygamy was the prevailing custom among the nobles (82.59) and specially the rulers whether they were the Aryans¹, the Rākṣasas² or the Vānaras.³ There are many instances of the Aryan and the non-Aryan kings having one wife only.⁴ Candragati had one wife only. She was barren still he did not marry any other woman.

In the case of polygamy it was natural that some wives were specially favoured. The chief queen was respected more because she was the most privileged wife. Rāvaṇa manifested greater sympathy and consideration for Mandodarī than for others before his departure to the battlefield (70. 60). The chief queen used to get coronated (85. 22-23). The multiplicity of wives became the cause of occasional jealousy and rivalry. The elder queen of Daśaratha, on not getting the ablution simultaneously with her cowives, got ready to commit suicide because she thought that she was disrespected (29. 12). There was occasional religious rivalry also. Vaprā and Lakṣmī, the two queens of king Siṃhadvaja of Kāmpilyapura were followers of two different religions. They developed a great controversy over the point of preference in rotating their respective chariots (8. 144f). For that prince Hariṣeṇa had to leave his house for some time. Kanakodarī could not tolerate her cowife's worshipping of the Jina idol, hence she threw it out (17. 62). The above two instances additionally show that the religion did not become a bar in marrying girls following different faiths and usually the life went on harmoniously.

Sexual urge, political considerations and social prestige were the chief considerations which encouraged polygamy among the noble classes.

Mother:—Whenever there is a reference to the parents⁵ or the members of the family⁶ the mother is mentioned first. It indicates that mothers enjoyed great respect in the society. The naming of the

1. 22.106, 108; 23.71; 91. 12-28. 136; 32-85; 88. 15-17; 21.3; 105-95.

2. 74.12.

3. 19.42; 108.49.

4. 74.33; 15.6; 15.11; 26.83.

5. 28. 96.

6. 14. 14.

children after the names of their mothers prove that the mothers held the position of honour (Somitti 22. 108 for Lakṣmaṇa; Videhā 46. 65 or Vaidehī 100. 28 for Sītā). Whenever the sons went out¹ on some important work or renounced the world², they paid respects to and took due permission of their mothers. The same was the case when they returned³. The stepmothers were also accorded the same respect.⁴ The mother was given the respect of a teacher along with the father (8. 152). It was considered to be a great sin to kill one's mother (14. 14). A son considered it improper to give slightest pain to his mother or step-mother (8. 152) and for that Hariṣeṇa left his country and after attaining the competent position, he returned home and fulfilled the desires of his mother. Rāma's voluntary exile to the forest was in compliance with fulfilling the wishes of his mother, Kaikeyī, though a stepmother (31. 76). Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa could not tolerate the humiliation of their mother in the form of her exile at the hands of Rāma. They took rest only after giving a fight to Rāma and bringing him to realise his mistake, though they were opposed by their mother (99. 21; 100. 34). Hanu overpowered Mahendra, the father of his mother to take revenge upon him, because Mahendra had not given shelter to his mother when she was wrongfully exiled by her mother-in-law (50. 5). Thus the *PCV* reveals that the mother held a position of honour and respect in the family and the society.

Widow:—The *PCV* reveals that widow-remarriage was not permitted. It is said that the life of a woman became graceless and unhappy with the death of her husband. Śrīvardhita's widow-mother is said to be living a miserable and unhappy life (77. 82). Añjanā's marriage with Vidyutprabha was not advised, because he was prophesied to be having a short span of life and his early death would have made Añjanā's life charmless (pabbhaṭṭhalāyaṇṇa 15. 69). The Rākṣasa soldiers were gripped with terror when they saw that they would be killed and their wives would become widows (vihavāo 59. 17). Mandodarī prevented Rāvaṇa from killing Kharadūṣaṇa because his death would have made Candranakhā's life quite miserable (vigayasohā 9. 17). Thus it is revealed that the position of widows was not good in the society.

This state of widows can be corroborated by other evidences. The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* mentions that the widows were not associated

1. 16. 35; 31. 95.

2. 3. 135; 13. 51.

3. 79. 28; 8. 246.

4. 31. 101.

with the marriage ceremony (11. 11. 430). The *Kumārasambhava* alludes to widows in affliction (4. 1.) Manu does not sanction widow-remarriage. He prescribes life of complete celibacy for her (9. 65; 5. 151, 160) and permits her to earn her livelihood by means of the noble handicraft. Vātsyāyana also does not allow remarriage but permits her to live as a concubine¹.

Dependency of Women:—Widowhood brought about a great contrast in the life of woman. Similarly permanent separation from husband was also a great misfortune for woman. The *PCV* reveals that all the queens of Daśaratha were pained to learn that their husband would leave them for ever by renouncing the world (31. 58).

When Añjanā was exiled by her mother-in-law on the false allegation of infidelity she went to her parents to seek shelter but her parents and brother did not show sympathy for her. Being hopelessly afflicted with the sorrow of helplessness, she cried out that a woman was respected by her kith and kin as long as she was not abandoned by her husband; her prosperity, happiness and esteem were great as long as she remained affectionate to her husband; otherwise she became despicable and helpless². On account of such a position of woman, it was natural that she should regard permanent separation from her husband as the most unhappy and miserable affair,

With the separation from or the death of her husband the happiness of a woman did not vanish altogether. She saw a ray of hope in her son, because he was considered to be her true support in absence of the husband. Thus the *PCV* reveals that Añjanā on being neglected by her kith and kin, had to lead a woeful life in the forest, still she saw a ray of consolation in the hope of soon getting a son. On the happy occasion of the birth of a son to her, she could not hold back from saying that she was still living on the earth only with the hope and grace of her son³. But a woman's condition becomes pitiable if she loses her son also. Then her very existence becomes burdensome. Thus the *PCV* reveals that Mandodarī who was already suffering from the sorrow of her husband's death, suddenly swooned to learn that her sons were renouncing the world. She had also cried out "How sinful am I that the sons who are the only support of a mother

1. Chackladar, p. 183

2. Tāva sirisohaggaṃ, tāva ya garuyāu honti mahilā /
Jāva ya paī mahaggaṃ siṇhapakkhaṃ samuvvahaī—17. 34.

3. Tujjha paṣāyena ahaṃ, puttaya jivāmi natthi sandeha /
pāsaṇaṇavippamukkā, jūhapaṇaṇṭhā mai ceva—17. 93.

on the death of her husband are also abandoning me¹". The same state of helplessness is evidenced by Aparājita when her son, Rāma goes into exile². Kaikeyī had demanded the coronation of Bharata for the same reason. Bharata wanted to renounce the world along with his father. Kaikeyī could not face this unhappy situation. She got gripped with severe agony. She thought of a plan to avert the situation. She demanded the coronation of Bharata so that she would not be separated at least from her son³. Daśaratha himself told Rāma that Kaikeyī was likely to die in separation from Bharata⁴. The above evidences prove that women lived in dependency. After the loss of her husband, her son could prevent her from falling victim to a miserable life, but the real happiness of her life depended on her husband, therefore we find that a woman regarded her husband as her lord and address the husband as 'Svāmin' and 'Nātha'.

B. Social status or Women outside the House.

Inherent traits of Women :—A very intensive trait of fickle-mindedness (capalatā) is associated with the character of woman. Thus Sītā though faultless yet at the time of being abandoned in the forest tells Kṛtāntavadana that women are fickle-minded (94.74). On account of her frailty a woman loses her far-sightedness and becomes the slave of her natural instinct. Kaikeyī's demand of coronating Bharata was of this type. She was promised a boon and it was duly fulfilled by Daśaratha with the consent of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. But Kaikeyī had not that wisdom and farsightedness to think in advance as to what would be its consequences. She wanted to keep Bharata along with her and by the pretext of the boon she became successful. When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa went into exile their mothers got distressed and even Kaikeyī could not bear the agony of her co-wives. Therefore, she had to send Bharata and had to proceed herself to call them back. But the promise was promise, the words were words and Rāma did not return inspite of Kaikeyī's entreaties. There she⁵ had to admit her fickle-mindedness and lack of foresight.

1. Bhattāravirahiyāe, putta ālambāṇam mahiliyāe, honti iha jīvaloe, cattā tehiṃ pi pāvāh aṃ—75.80.

2. Puttaya kim me pariccayasi.....hosii puttālambo, pāroho ceva sāhāe 31.96, 97; paiputtavirahiyā iha kaṃ saraṇamahaṃ pavajjāmi 31.99.

3. 31.63-64.

4. Tassa viogammi kegaī marai 31.75.

5. Mahilā sahāvacaṇalā, adihapehī sahavamāññā, tam me khamāhi puttaya, jaṃ paḍikūlam kayāṃ tujjha —32.51.

The instances of rivalry among the queens already quoted above exhibit the trait of jealousy for one another.

The defect of greediness is also found with women. Ratnaprabhā, on account of being allured to the wealth, overrode the decision of her husband and secretly betrothed her daughter to another person though she was previously betrothed to Dhanadatta by her husband (103.12). It was with the motive of covetousness that the mother of Ahideva and Mahideva wanted to poison her sons for securing a gem from them (55.41).

Weaknesses :—Certain inherent weaknesses to which the human beings are prone to fall victims are well depicted in connection with the woman-class. Thus the *PCV* reveals that women fell victims to manifold vices on account of being motivated by sexual urges. There are examples of women who failed or got success in their attempts to commit adultery, but in both the cases the results proved to be dangerous. How a woman, on being overpowered by the sexual urge, falls victim to baser instincts and unholy ways can be evidenced in the character of Candranakhā. She angrily searches for the culprit who killed her son, but as soon as she observes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, she gets enamoured of their handsomeness. She forgets her filial love for her son and adopts deceptive ways to win the heart of the princes. She assumes the form of a beautiful girl, fabricates that she is an orphan and invites Rāma to marry her (43.36-44.39). But when her request is rejected, her heart boils with the feeling of revenge. She does not hesitate in reporting false things to her husband alleging that she was manhandled by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Thus she paves the way for the battle of Kharadūṣaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa and becomes an indirect cause of the kidnapping of Sītā. Nalakūbara's wife, Uparambhā did not hesitate in bringing about the downfall of her own husband by giving out the secrets of the strategy of war to Rāvaṇa, merely for the sake of establishing sexual relations with Rāvaṇa who was the very enemy of her husband. Ultimately her husband was defeated by Rāvaṇa but she was admonished by the latter for her immoral avertures (12.53-71). Queen Lalitā entrapped an innocent handsome Brahmin for committing adultery with him, but as soon as she was caught by the king, she betrayed the Brahmin and the king inflicted a severe corporal punishment upon the concerned Brahmin (81.11). The wife of a minister failed in seducing a king, but the result was dangerous. The apprehending minister set fire to the palace of the king. The king had to flee away with his family for safety and had to fight a battle to reoccupy his capital (104.120). Śākhā, the

wife of a Vipra could not meet her paramour at the appointed place, but unfortunately the brother of that Vipra was killed, who happened to go to that place (82.47). Śrīdāmā, the queen of Kulañkara become successful in establishing illicit connection with a Purohita and for that she become merciless to the extent of causing the murder of her husband (82.37). Queen Kiraṇamaṇḍalā, though warned by her husband, did not prevent herself from meeting her paramour again. And for that she was exiled by her husband (101.60). The wife of an envoy caused the death of her husband at the hands of a Vipra who was her paramour. Further she did not hesitate in hatching a plot to get her sons murdered, but the plot was unearthed and the Vipra was killed by her sons (39.42). The wife of a Grhapati got her husband tied to a tree in the forest at the hands of her Vipra paramour and freely enjoyed with the latter (48.65). In addition to these instances of women who belonged to different strata of the society, there is an allegorical reference to a corrupt woman (padutthamahilā 15.66) who would freely move from house to house. There is a further mention of a harlot (svairiṇī 5 105) who became the cause of enmity between two friends.

These evidences support the disparaging remarks made about the character of woman by the author through the mouths¹ of Rāvaṇa and Rāma.² But the statements are circumstantial. Rāvaṇa invites calamity by his own misconduct. His brother and sons get captured by the enemy, his mission fails in sending back Rāma without Sītā and Sītā also does not like to become his wife. Thus the only course left open to him was that of the war. At such a time Rāvaṇa gets desperate and blames the woman-kind. It was on account of his being motivated by the sexual urge that Rāvaṇa did the ignoble deed of kidnapping Sītā and for that Rāvaṇa is further found to be blaming himself and confessing his guilt³ (69.32-33). Thus Rāvaṇa being compelled by the situation made such derogatory remarks about women otherwise Sītā was so chaste that she upheld the glorious position of women. Rāma accepts Sītā after killing Rāvaṇa. He is not suspicious of her virtue.

1. Narayassa mahāvihī, kaḍhinā saggaḡgalā aṇayabhūmī, Sariyā vva kuḍilahiyyā, vajjeyavvū havai nārī-69.34. Sī Paḍhamadiṭṭhasanti amaṇa va majjha phusai aṇḡmū, Sī paramasattacittā, ucciyaṇijjā iham jāyā 69.35.
2. Ahavū ko juvainaṁ, jūṇai cariyaṁ sahāvakuḍilāṇaṁ, Dosāṇa āgāro cciya, jāṇa sarīre vasai kūmo. 93-35. Mulaṁ duccariyūṇaṁ, havai ya narayassa vattaṇī viulā, mokkassa mahāviggahaṁ, vajjeyavvū sayā nārī-93.36.
3. Niyayakulaṁ uttamaṁ kayāṁ malīṇaṁ...vammahaṇiyattacittaṇaṁ 69.32. Dhiddhi aho akajjaṁ...ibhūṇiyā mayāṇaṁūḍheṇaṁ--69.33.

It is the public censure which creates in his mind an apprehension about the character of Sītā. It is on account of public censure that Rāma expresses disparaging words about women. Lakṣmaṇa on the other hand supports Sītā. He charges people with wickedness and blames them for making situations against women (94.6). Otherwise why should Rāma later on admit before Sītā that she is chaste and he abandoned her only to convince the people (101.37; 102.37-38).

It should not be forgotten that the above mentioned human weaknesses are not peculiar to women alone but are found with men also.

Male-Excesses and Women's Lot :—Man's polygamous habits show that he is more unsteady in love. Further the special instances of not only his infidelity but of his excesses over the fair sex can be mentioned as follows. It has been already stated that Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā though she was the legitimate wife of Rāma. King Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita snatched away the wife of a Purohita and harassed him (26.12). King Madhu kidnapped treacherously the wife of his vassal (105.94). Brahmin Kayāṇa abducted the wife of another Brahmin, Atibhūti (30.61). Sāhasagatī wanted to establish sexual relations with Tārā (47.14-19), the wife of Sugrīva and some Mlecchas forcibly removed away a woman (30.118). These instances clearly indicate how the male-class also fell victim to sexual urges. Further in the cases which are mentioned above in connection with the infidelity of women, the corresponding males also are responsible for the guilt. In those cases there were both the unmarried and the married males and as far as the married males are concerned they can be charged with unfaithfulness to their own wives. Svayambhu forcibly raped a virgin girl despite of her opposition (103.100). We find that the rulers, on being refused by the parents of the girls, attacked them and after defeating them married the girls. These cases are not of infidelity but those of male-excesses from a certain point of view.

Divorce :—Further we find that women are dishonoured, exiled or divorced on mere suspicion. Añjanā was exiled by her mother-in-law in absence of her husband. She did not find place even at the house of her parents, because she was suspected to be infidel (17.7-20). A Vanik woman Mitramatī was exiled by her father-in-law for the same reason. In the above two cases their husbands were the cause of their pregnancies, hence ultimately Añjanā and Mitramatī were united with their husbands, but for the time being they had to suffer. Sītā was exiled by Rāma on a mere doubt that she might not have remained chaste on account of her long association with Rāvaṇa. She was accepted

when her chastity was proved before the public. It means that a satisfactory proof was required on the part of the women to prove her purity and on production of such a proof she was accepted by her husband. The chief queen *Simhikā* was dishonoured by her husband merely on the doubt of her character and that doubt had arisen on account of her open fight in a battle against the enemy-kings when her husband was away from the capital. When her purity was proved she was restored to her original status (22.62,70).

Those who were proved to be unchaste were permanently divorced by their husbands. *Brāhmaṇī Agnilā* was abandoned by her husband on account of her unchastity (77.74). Similar was the case with the queen *Kiraṇamaṇḍalā* who in spite of being warned by her husband did not give up her bad habits (101.60). The *Nārada Smṛti* says that a wife who commits adultery should be divorced (12.90,92). *Agnilā* is said to have been later on accepted by king *Kararuha* as his wife (77.75). It indicates that the infidel wives were divorced and it was just possible that such women could find place in the harems of kings.

This was the lot of the woman-class but the male-class remained unaccused or undivorced for infidelity. May be it, but the male-class was equally responsible. *Varāhamihira* has equally blamed men for vices. He in his *Brhatsamhitā* (Ch.74) rebukes males for their sexual urges while praises women for their forbearance. He says that men talk of love to their wives while they go astray outside. He further remarks that women have more qualities than men possess.

Consciousness of Self-Respect :—The *PGV* further reveals that women were not altogether submissive. They were conscious of their self-respect and on occasions they duly exhibited it. It was due to circumstances or the conditions of the society that even married women were kidnapped and they had to become the wives of the kidnappers. Similarly they had to suffer exile, dishonour and abandonment of the slightest doubt on their character and they were unable to oppose such impositions. But it was not true everytime. There were occasions when their self-respect revolted against these severities and they emphasised that they were not merely the commodities of market. Thus the *PGV* reveals that *Candrābhā*, the wife of a ruler, who was deceitfully separated from her husband and was forcibly made his wife by an overlord *Madhu*, did not hesitate and feel shy in rebuking *Madhu* for enjoying another man's wife

when a similar case of 'paradārika' was referred to her by Madhu (105.105-6). Sītā takes great courage in emphasising her self-respect. In course of her discourse with Vajrajaṅgha she abuses Rāma for his improper act of abandoning her when she was quite innocent (uttamakulassa loe na ya evaṁ khattiyassa aṇusarisam 95.45). At the time of her ordeal Sītā rebukes Rāma on his face by calling him a cruel, low and vulgar person (natthi niṭṭhuro anno pāyayapuriso 101.31). After her being proved as chaste Rāma begs her pardon and is ready to accept her but Sītā who had suffered so many ups and downs in life, considers it quite immaterial to reunite with her husband. She gives up the worldly life and joins the ascetic-order for her spiritual emancipation (102.36-46).

Outdoor Activities:—After examining this general position of woman in the society, a survey of their activities outside the house becomes necessary as the true evaluation of their status can be made after seeing as to how far they were free to take part in the outer circle. The *PCV* throws fairly good light on this aspect. It reveals that they were not debarred from following the pursuits of the highest status whether social or political.

Servants:—She lowest position of woman is inferred from the word 'dāsī' (99.18) alluding that there were slave women who were dependent on their master. Then there are references to maid-servants who were engaged by the noble and well-to-do families for the performance of various types of services. The *PCV* refers to the lady-attendants in general Kīṅkaranārī 4.60) of Cakravartin Bharata. Ceṭīs and Dūtīs are found to be attending upon and carrying the orders of princesses, queens and kings. Ceṭīs are mentioned to be accompanying the princesses to gardens and carrying messages (6.11; 88.9). The courtezans also employed Ceṭīs (5.33). Uparambhā's love message was conveyed to Rāvaṇa through a Dūtī (12.53). Dūtīs also worked as flatterers to please their masters by performing dances and music. On such occasions they are called as Cātukārīs (46.78-80). Women Dvārapālīs are referred to be working as the guards of the palace of Sītā (28.4). Women were engaged by the royal house for cooking purposes also (Sūyāriṇī 77.109).

Artists:—Then there were the independent professional lady musicians, singers and dancers who catered to the amusement of the public. They used to give performance on some happy social occasions (36.39) or marriage-celebrations (106.16). They are referred to as coquettish girls (vilāsinījaṇa). They were the persons of high training in the fine arts of amusement.

Public Women:—Then there were the public women who (Vesā=Veśyā 33. 06) used to entertain the willing citizens. Well-to-do persons, used to visit them and spend lavishly on them. Sometimes the visitors turned peniless on account of this vice and did not hesitate in committing burglary for fulfilling the desires of their favourite prostitutes. These were the common harlots who would have been accessible to even ordinary citizens. Among them there were some who were called Gaṇikās (courtezans). They enjoyed higher status and respect in the society on account of their personal attainments. The *PGV* refers to a courtesan playing dice with a minister (5. 32). The context of the above reference indicates that they occasionally helped in detecting the cases of theft and reported them to the king. Two princes are mentioned to have fought a battle for the possession of a certain courtesan (15. 19). A Brahmin dhūrta (82.87) who was a veritable master of arts and sciences, who was the leader of all the crafty and knavish persons, who lived on royal favour and was invincible in the game of dice and was fabulously wealthy, had connections with two courtezans. Thus noble and highly accomplished persons were the visitors of these courtezans. Kautilya (11. 27) lays down rules for appointing a state Gaṇikā, and mentions her rights and duties and the protection the state should give to her. It was her coveted beauty and high accomplishments which won for her such a great position. All harlots could not win the title of Gaṇikā. It was conferred on one who was trained and educated in 64 arts and 64 fine manners of pleasing a lover.¹ The *Nāṭyaśāstra* reveals that she was a person of great education and culture².

Nurses:—The profession of higher grade followed by the women was that of serving as foster mothers or nurses (Dhāīs). The noble and royal families used to engage them for the nourishment of their sons and daughters. We are told that five nurses were appointed for Lavaṇa and Añkuśa (77.11). They were treated like mothers and were accorded high respect by the children fondled by them. They were highly educated persons and looked after the proper mental development of the children belonging to noble families. The 'savvatthasatthakusalā' adjective used for a Dhāī denotes that in one way they were the primary teachers of the children of the noble class (6.165). When the 'svayaṃvaras' were held they led the princesses in the assembly of the prospective candidates and introduced the latter

1. Chakladar, p. 198.

2. 17.37-38.

to the brides by announcing their respective qualifications and the status of their families (6.165). This function of the Dhāis indicates that they were well informed persons and enjoyed a high social status among the rulers. Their functions suggest that they were employed by those who were financially very sound. Thus they would have obtained high salaries and privileges from their employers.

Doctors :—It seems that the women followed the medical profession also. Viśalyā who was a princess was called for to treat Lakṣmaṇa who had been wounded in the battlefield by the śakti of Rāvaṇa. She seems to be an expert surgeon having a number of lady assistants following her (64.21). It indicates that female physicians and surgeons were available in the society.

C. Political Status.

Warriors :—In the political field also women were not neglected. Kaikeyī's expertness in driving the war-chariot of Daśaratha in his battle with the disgruntled candidates on the occasion of her 'svaya-mvara' denotes that women did take part in fighting (24. 23). There is a reference to Rāma who along with some soldiers disguised as a dancing and panegyric girl (cāraṇakannā 37. 59) captured the enemy-king in the battlefield. It alludes to the fact that girls were employed for a political-strategy and they probably even knew how to wield weapons. Further the *PCV* reveals that Laṅkāśundarī in defence of the fort of Laṅkā fought with Hanumat. She drove in a war-chariot and handled various kinds of weapons as an expert fighter¹ (52. 12-15). That the women took part in fighting is corroborated by other evidences. Patañjali uses Śāktikī (on Paṇinī, 4. 1. 15) which denotes female spear-bearers. Kauṭilya records that the king is received by the women armed with bows at the time of getting up from his bed (1. 21. 1). Megasthenese refers to women in chariots, on horses and elephants and equipped with weapons.²

Administrators :—The women worked not only in the military but they worked even as administrators. These were the posts of highest order in the political world and were the most honoured positions in the society. Thus the *PCV* mentions that king Nahuṣa on the occasion of his departure from the capital on a war-campaign handed over the reigns of government to his queen Simhikā (22. 57). In the absence of

1. Muñicai sare, pesai satti 52.14; vijjabalasannihiyā moggarasarajhasarabhi-ndamālāim muñicai.....vijju va calahathā-52.15.

2- *AIU*, p. 564.

her husband the country was invaded by enemies but *Simhikā* fought bravely and chased off the invaders and their forces. This incident speaks of the capacity and ability of the woman-class in carrying the administration of the country. *Kalyāṇamālā*, the princess of *Kūbarānagara* (*Kūvvaranayara* 77. 48) was ruling the country in the disguise of a prince when the king, her father was kidnapped by some *Mlecchas* (34. 18-23). All these examples indicate that women were not considered to be unfit for higher responsibilities but whenever the occasion arose they were duly appointed to discharge the functions of the most upgraded post of rulership.

D. Religious Status.

Jainism provides equal opportunities to men and women. There is no distinction as regards the code of rules to be followed by men and women as lay followers and as ascetics. Both the types of women-disciples are evidenced in the *PCV*. As lay-disciples they are called *Śrāvikās* (103.96) and as ascetics they are known as *Śramaṇīs* (108.49) or *Sādhvis* (108.44). In performing rituals women enjoyed the same privileges as men did. No caste or age distinctions were made between males and females in entering the ascetic order. Women-ascetics i.e. nuns functioned as teachers as well as initiators. From laymen nuns received the same respect as monks did (103.17-173). Nuns were entitled to become the leaders of organisation of nuns. Women are equally said to be attaining heavens and getting liberated. Thus it is clear that the status of women in the religious field (Jaina fold) was quite equal with that of men and they were given a very bright and encouraging opportunity for their spiritual uplift. Their position in this field was never despicable on account of their belonging to fair sex.

As regards the Brahmanical fold there is a reference to a woman leading the life of an anchorite with her husband who was also a *Tāpasa* (11.50). No other evidence is available as regards the religious status of women in the Brahmanical fold. *Indra* says that in the *Upaniṣads* the religious status of women was that of equality with men and certainly not of inferiority which became later on. We do not hear much about the existence of lady *Rṣis* in any other period. The only religious duties allotted to them was faithful obedience and constant devotion to their husbands whether in the household or in the forest retreats practising austerities¹. It is to be noted that this (the position of women in Brahmanical order) is really a position of contrast with that

1. *Indra*, p. 129 ff.

of the women under the Jaina order. On account of this dissimilarity it is well said that in contrast to this Buddhism and Jainism offered a more honourable career to women. No wonder a large number of them became nuns and some of them became famous preachers.¹

E. Freedom of movement and the system of Purdah.

The *Paumacariyam* reveals that the women did move freely outside their houses and contacted the male society. It is further interesting to note that there is no reference to the purdah system.

First of all we find that the maidens moved freely in the outer circle. The *PGV* mentions that when Hariṣeṇa reached the city of Sindhunadanagara, many young and grown up girls started gazing at him without a single wink (aṇimisacchā 8.109). Further it refers to many grown up Vidyādhari maidens freely sporting in the gardens. There they met Rāvaṇa and married him by the Gāndharva system of marriage (8.31). Rucirā, the daughter of a Vanik is referred to have gone to the bank of the Ganges in the afternoon along with many other ladies (41.51). The princess of Cakrapura used to go to the house of her teacher and receive co-education with the son of a Purohita (26.5). There both of them developed love and got married. These instances sufficiently throw light on the freedom of movement allowed to maidens and even the maiden princesses.

Similarly the house-wives were also allowed to move outside the house. They contacted unacquainted males. There is no mention of putting on any veil by them. Sarasā, the daughter-in-law of a certain Brahmin went to the river-side and therefrom she was kidnapped by another Brahmin (30.61). When Sitā was thirsty, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa went along with her to the house of a Brahmin. There the housewife, in absence of her husband quenched the thirst of Sitā in the presence of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (35.6-8). When Rāma was sojourning at Rāmapurī, that Brāhmiṇī along with her husband went to them and they were welcomed there by Rāma (35.64). The pleasure garden of Laṅkā was often visited by the women of the city (53.75). The Samsatakusuma-udyāna of Laṅkā had different divisions of which some were meant exclusively for women and some for the males (46.69-70).

Whenever the king or the princes entered the city in a procession, the ladies stood at the windows of their houses and observed the grandeur of the occasion (8.276;100.50). On these occasions the

1. *AIU*, p. 565.

curious women of Laṅkā and Ayodhyā are referred to be asking one another to take aside their heads because the braids of their hair obstructed the view (8.279; 100.52). It indicates that housewives were bare-headed and thus there arises no question of putting veil on their faces. When Hariṣeṇa entered Sindhunadanagara, he was observed by many ladies of the city (naranāṛisaesu tattha dīsanto 8.180). It indicates that men and women were moving outside their houses or that women had come outside their house to see him.

The house-ladies are further mentioned to be appearing on the roads and streets, offering and honouring monks with the presents of various kinds and performing sports and dances (105.6-10).

Besides the ladies, we have already mentioned the women working or serving in the houses of others, or following the pursuits of dancing and amusement, and providing entertainment to the public. The medical profession must have demanded their movement in the public. The women who fought the battle and administered the country must have enjoyed the liberty of moving outside without putting on any veil.

Now let us see how the female members of the royal families lived in their palaces; to what extent they moved outside; and whether they observed purdah or not.

There are several references to the harem 'anteura' of the kings whether Aryan or non-Aryan (Daśaratha's 31.58; Lakṣmaṇa's 110.21; Rāvaṇa's 70.60). The 'antaḥpura' was a special apartment meant for the residence of the royal wives. Its significance as revealed in the *PCV* is merely of a residential apartment in a royal palace. There were no rigid restrictions as regards the entry of other male person in it. Further the movement of the royal wives were not restricted to the harem only. They moved out of doors and contacted other males also. The *PCV* mentions that when the wives of Lakṣmaṇa were mourning the death of their husband in their 'antaḥpura', Rāma entered the harem unrestricted (110.21). Further it is said that at the order of Rāma after his return from Laṅkā, his wives and the wives of his brothers surrounded Bharata and requested him to play sports with his wives (80.49-54). It indicates that the royal males and females were not prohibited from mixing freely. The same seems to be the case with outsiders. The *PCV*'s reference to one of Daśaratha's chief queen talking with the store-keeper indicates that they did not feel bashful or shy or were not restricted in contacting male-officers of the state (29.11). Similarly the wife of Vibhīṣaṇa called as Mahādevī, personally went to Rāma, bowed down to his feet and requested him to

visit her house (77.19). There seems to be no rigid restrictions in permitting the royal women to go outside the house. The wives (antaḥpura) of Rāvaṇa are referred to have gone to the battlefield to mourn the death of their husband (74.6) and there Rāma is said to have consoled them (75.3). Even the wives of Daśaratha visited the temple in the city where Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā had stayed for the night before their departure to the forest. It is said that on that occasion many other people also had gathered there (31.121-122). They are further mentioned to have paid their homage to a monk staying in the garden where many citizens had gone for the same purpose (82.8). Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā meet various persons and kings during their journey. They are welcomed and received by them with respect and honour. But on no occasion there is any slightest clue to maintain that Sītā put veil or felt shy in the presence of unacquainted males. During her long stay in Laṅkā, she is never said to have observed purdah whenever Rāvaṇa approached her. When Vibhiṣaṇa met her, she freely talked with him (46.56-47). Sītā conversed freely with Hanumat, who was quite an unknown and unacquainted person to her (53.12-74). Mandodarī had free discussion and then verbal duel with Hanumat. Further we find that on the Vamśagiri hill Rāma played on a flute and Sītā danced there to pay their respects to the monks who were sojourning there (39.22). Thus the *PCV* reveals that no veil was put on by the ladies. And for that the observations made by Lakṣmaṇa on the occasion of Rāma's decision to abandon Sītā, are noteworthy because they support our conclusion. He tells that women should not be charged with (dosa-doṣa) infidelity on account of their being seen by other persons (94.22)¹.

Thus on the whole women were not rigidly restricted from moving out of doors and there was no custom of putting on veils as far as the *PCV* reveals.

This freedom of women can be corroborated by other evidences. Shri Gokuldas De summing up the conditions found in the *Jātakas* says that women lived under seclusion and they were guarded hence they were called Orodha (lit. living in guarded house). But on occasions they were free to move about like men and excursions to public places were also not forbidden². The *Buddhacarita* refers to "antaḥpura" (8. 19) as well as to women engaged in various works on the royal roads

1. Parapurisadarisaṇṇaṃ na ya doso havai nāha juvaṇaṃ.

2. *SIJ*, p. 117.

(10. 7). Kālidāsa refers to women taking bath in a river publicly¹ and women going to their fields and singing in chorus². But the other contemporary literature refers to the putting on of veil and confinement to harem too. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra* refers to the curtain put between Trīśālā and the interpreter of dreams (4. 69. or 68³). Pāṇini refers to royal ladies as 'asūryampaśyā' (3. 2. 39) i.e. throwing veil on their faces⁴. The *VR* (2. 33. 8) refers to Sītā's seclusion who was not seen by the people because of her confinement to harem. The *Pratimānātaka* refers to the putting on of veil by Sītā (I. v. 28f). It also permits unveiling of face on emergency (I. V. 29). The *Raghuvamśa* refers to 'avarodha' (1. 32; 4. 68) and 'antaḥpura' (16.59) i. e. restricted harems and the *Śakuntalam* refers to the putting on of veil (5. 13). These both sided references point out that women were not completely secluded but limited restrictions were imposed on them. Shri B. S. Upadhyaya in this connection observes that the society at the time of Kālidāsa led a free and outdoor life but purdah was not entirely discarded⁵, while it was also true that women were not shut up in Zenana as now⁶. Whatever may be the evidences of other literature but as far as the *PCV* is concerned there is no mention of putting on of any veil by the women either of ordinary or royal classes.

SECTION 5. GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS.

Sport is denoted by 'kilā' (krīḍā 16. 32) 'kilaṇaya' (4. 107), 'keḍḍa' (khela 8. 37) and 'līlā' (103. 43). The act of sporting is indicated by 'kilanti' (15. 13). 'līlayanta' (8. 29) and 'ramai' (26, 103; 6. 100; 15. 95). Sports of the young ones are called 'kumāra-līlā' (Kumārālīlāṃ aṇuhavamāṇo (103. 43) and they are said to be hundreds (kilaṇayasayesu 3. 107) in number.

A. Outdoor-Games.

Ball-play:—The games which have been clearly mentioned are as follows:—Añjanāsundarī is referred to be playing with a ball (tendueṇa 15. 13) and this must have been a very common game for the boys and girls as we know from other sources.

Water sports:—Another popular game for the girls was the water-sport (udayakheḍḍa 8. 87) which is mentioned to be played by many

1. *Pūrva Meghadūta*, 33.

2. *Raghu*, 4. 20.

3. See *Nāṭya*, I. p 8.

4. Vide *IP*.

5. *IK*, p. 180.

6. *Ibid*, p. 196.

royal girls in the water-reservoirs (vāvi) in garden. These water-sports were so common in ancient India that the kings (princes along with their damsels usually took delight in visiting the gardens and sported there in water-reservoirs. Thus the *PCV* mentions Mahārakṣasa, the king of Laṅkā (5. 218) playing water-sports with damsels in a garden. Prince Aṅgada indulged in water-sports with his beloved in a lotus-pond at Laṅkā (78. 24). Perhaps it did not matter for them whether they were at their home or somewhere in a foreign land. This practice was so deeply cultivated by the kings and the princes that not only the garden-sites but even the rivers were utilised for water-sports. Rāma and Sītā even during their exile journey did not miss to play water-sports. When Sītā found that river Kroñcaravā was a good site for water-sport, she took initiative and requested Rāma for the same (jalamajjanam ramāmo 42. 17). Their sport has been compared with that of a pair of elephants (karivva samayam kareque 42. 18). The water was used as a tabor (jalamuravam) and it was beaten to produce pleasing sound. They threw lotuses at each other. King Sahasrakirāṇa of Māheśvara is described to be libidiously playing water-sports with his damsels in the waters of Narmadā. So great was his fondness that some mechanical devices were used to swell the stream (10. 34-45). This sport was sometimes used as a device to allure a person to worldly life when he developed a feeling detachment (80. 54). Gardens were very popular sites where men and women belonging to different strata of life enjoyed sports. Besides the kings, princes and their wives (28. 8; 86. 34; 6. 100); the common people are also mentioned to be enjoying sports in the gardens (17. 48; 8. 169). Further it may be noted that in Laṅkā separate parks were maintained for the male and female citizens (46. 69-70), and many sport houses were provided for them (kilaṇaharesu-kriḍāgrheṣu 46. 76).

Boxing:—The reference to the duels of sight and boxing (diṭṭhijujham mutṭhijujham 4. 43) which ensued between Bharata and Bāhubali can be taken as an allusion to these sports which were patronised by the young men. In the former duel the competitors were required to stare constantly at one another's eyes and one who winked first was declared defeated. The other duel consisted of the striking of the first at one another's body. One who was overpowered and made to fall down on the ground was declared defeated. In this game the foreparts of the hands of the fighters were fitted with leather-coverings (4. 46).

Princely Sports or Subduing the elephants and horses:—It seems that the princes of ancient India were trained in the art of subduing agitated and turbulent elephants. The *Paumacariyam*

reveals that prince Hariṣeṇa sported with an agitated elephant of Sindhunadanagara. He challenged the elephant who while moving his trunk to and fro ran towards him. Hariṣeṇa without missing a single moment climbed over his tusks and sported with him in many ways, clapping his hands together. No sooner was the elephant subdued, he caught hold of his ears and rode over his back. His dexterity was hailed by the public and the king of that town was so much pleased with him that the former offered many girls to him in marriage (8. 168-182). Princes are found to be usually taking delight in challenging such elephants. Rāvaṇa on observing a great elephant in the valley of Sammetapārvata blew his conch and challenged him for a fight. As soon as the elephant ran towards him he took off his Uttariya and threw it before the elephant who got entangled with that cloth and started striking it with his tusks, bending on the ground. When the elephant was engaged in tearing away the Uttariya to pieces, Rāvaṇa struck his temples with his hands. Thus sporting with him he caused him to move in circulations for many times and ultimately when the elephant was overpowered. Rāvaṇa climbed over his back and brought him under his control. The seizing of this elephant, named Tribhuvanālaṅkāra was celebrated by beating the drums and playing upon other musical instruments (8. 214-224).

It was the hobby of some kings to go to the forest for seizing elephants. Thus king Vajrajaṅgha of Poṇḍariyapura is said to have seized many elephants (94. 103). Janaka's readiness in attempting to seize an elephant (28. 31-34) indicates the fondness of the kings in this noble sport.

Horse-riding was also a pastime of the princes. Sometimes they lost control over the horses because they were so turbulent and the princes were led away in forests by these turbulent horses (5.73; 28.34; 116.3). Kings had special interest in subduing the turbulent horses (28.27-28) also.

Hunting :—Kings and princes derived pleasure in hunting and shooting the birds. King Vajrakarṇa of Daśapura is described as wandering in the forest for this purpose and he is called 'pāraddhifandio' (hunter—33.30).

B. Indoor-Games.

Dice :—Dice-playing was a very popular game and Gaṇikās (courtezans) and Veśyās (prostitutes) encouraged this game in their houses. Purohita Satyavādin's theft was caught while he was playing

the game of dice with a courtesan (5.32). Thus this game was helpful in detecting the thefts also. A merchant's son Haridāsa lost all his property in the game of dice and thus was compelled to commit burglary in the royal palace. Thus this game proved to be a great vice. A Brahmin son was addicted to this vice. It was not considered to be a good habit by his parents and so he was expelled from home (82.79). After some time he turned to be a veritable master of this game and became the teacher of knaves (82.86). He enjoyed profusely the company of the courtezans and was accorded respect by the state.

Prostitutes formed an institution of amusement for the rich and the nobles as mentioned else where. A merchant of Kundanagara, who had gone to Ujjeni on a trade-mission was allured by a beautiful prostitute of that place. He enjoyed company with her and within six months he lost all his property worth innumerable coins of money. He was not content with that much. His attachment to her was so deep that he did not consider it bad in attempting to commit theft in the royal house (33.65-73) for procuring the earrings of the queen for that prostitute.

C. Amusements.

Story-telling :—Besides these popular amusements, story-telling was also a sort of recreation during the time of relaxation. These stories or tales were of various kinds (nāṇākahā 79.31). In the Jaina literature there are regular references to four kinds of stories. They are about women, food, country and king and the monks are prohibited from hearing them (*Thāṇa Sū*, 282).

Welcome-celebrations :—Other occasions of amusements were associated with the return of the victorious kings and princes from war or with the visit of great persons. Return of kings was greeted with the playing of instrumental music. People flocked on roads to have a Darśana of the king, the buildings were decorated with flags and festoons and other artistic strings of pearls and gems (8.281-283; 74.33; 76.2; 78.50-51). On such occasions pavilions and arches were raised to welcome them (78.48—52). The welcoming ceremony of Sītā performed by king Vajrajaṅgha was celebrated by playing instrumental music and vocal music (95.6). The arrival of monk Rāma in the city of Syandanasthali was greeted by the people by performing sports (ukkīliya-utkriḍaṇa) such as dance (naccana), hopping and jumping (vaggapaṇi 115.6).

Madanotsava :—The *Paumacariyam* mentions that the people of Lāṅkā celebrated the festivity of cupid (mayanussave 70.50) on the

preceeding night of the final battle with Rāma. The Rākṣasas freely used wine and intoxicated their beloved with it. Thus the intoxicating effect of wine made their wives care free and made their shyness disappear. They took recourse to amorous gestures. Flowers, perfumes, unguents, ointments and aloes as well as betel-leaves were profusely used. The occasion was made graceful by the playing of musical instruments (70.51-61) also.

Spectacles:—The *Paumacariyam* particularly mentions that the people of the country of Magadha used to delight themselves with the performance of acrobats (naḍa), dancers (naṭṭa), umbrella-players (chatta) and dancers on bamboos (laṅkhaya). The people were gay and joyous with the dance and music (2. 5 niccamnaccantagiyasaddālo). Music and dance have been separately dealt under the section of fine arts. Besides these amusements the junctions of the roads of the towns were the sites where various spectacles could be seen (caccaracaukka maṇaharapecchapaṇayamahantamahuranigghosaṃ 2. 13).

SECTION 6. MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

A. Manners.

The society consists of elders, equals and inferiors. In the daily business one has to contact persons of various trades. Therefore the first thing which automatically come out of one's mouth is to address a person in a particular way and to behave with him in a particular manner. Thus the *PCV* reveals as to how the ancient Indian people behaved with one another on such occasions. It mentions that in addressing one another some particular words were used which denoted either respect, honour and reverence or modesty, sympathy, regard and love. It was followed by a salute to the elders or the superiors and blessings to the younger or inferior ones. Thus the state of affairs proves that the people whether low or high, inferior or superior occupied a worthy position in the civilization of ancient India.

Addresses:—The elders used to address the younger ones as follows. The sons were addressed by their parents as 'kumāra' (99. 21) or 'putta' (putra 31. 81; 98. 21) or 'puttaya' (putraka 31. 96; 100. 36). In the endearing terms they were addressed as 'vaccha' (vatsa 31. 73) or 'vacchaya' (100. 37). The maternal grandfather is said to be using the same term for his nephew (50.15). An elder brother would call his younger brother by his name (112. 12) or by endearing terms 'vaccha' or 'vacchaya' (45. 20; 111. 10; 37. 8). Sometimes

honorific word 'deva' (111. 15) and admiring words 'sundara' (111. 18) or 'supurisa' (supuruṣa 14. 16) were used. The elder brother's wife addressed her younger brother-in-law by his name (63.11), or by relation 'devara' (80. 54) or used an auspicious term 'bhadda' (bhadra 76. 20).

The younger ones generally addressed their elders as below. The children used to address their father as 'tāya' (tāta 31.76), 'mahājasa' (mahāyaśaḥ 27.17), and to their mother as 'ammo' (ambe 31.95; 98.22), the younger brother to his elder brother as 'sāmi' (svāmin 45.18), 'pahu' (prabho 55.5), 'mahājasa' (44.50), to the elder sister as 'devī' (99.42), and to the wife of elder brother as 'bhadde' (bhadre 37.37). The maternal grandfather was addressed as 'ajjaya' (āryaka 50.17) and the maternal-uncle as 'māmaya' (māmaka 99.31). The latter term was used by the son-in-law also in addressing his father-in-law (24.22; 38.46), on account of marrying the daughter of the maternal-uncle.

In the case of the equals the following terms were used. The husband used to address his wife with an auspicious term 'bhadde' (30.35) or an admiring term 'sundari' (16 74; 26.83; 31.71), while the wife addressed their husband as 'nāha' (nātha 16 75; 68.41), 'sāmi' (46.28), 'sāmiya' (94.65), 'pahu' (68.42) or 'mahājasa' (94.66; 31.125). It is noteworthy that a wife did not feel shy in mentioning the name of her husband. Sītā while requesting Rāvaṇa to save her husband from being killed, mentions her husband's name—Padma (69.27). The young girl-friend was addressed as 'bāle' (17.15) and the woman friend as 'halā' (hale 100.52) or 'bahine' (bhagini 100.54).

The king would call the wife of another king by addressing her as 'laacchi' (lakṣmi 95.18) or 'bhadde' (95.60). At the time of showing sympathy to her, the minister of another king is said to have been addressing her as 'vacche' (vatse 95.17).

The person inferior in status addressed their superior as follows. A king was addressed as 'sāmi' 'pahu' or 'deva' by his feudal-lords (45.19; 45.2; 95.5), ministers, warriors (81.8; 81.14), spies (86.23) or messengers (45.33; 27.11; 6.24). The queen was addressed as 'sāmini' (svāmini 94.58) or 'devī' (94.62). These terms indicate the authority of the royal pair over the subjects. A woman of very high status was addressed by the king's servants as 'bhadde' (95.6), 'sundari' (95.9), 'devī' (95. 13) and 'suyaṇu' (sutanu 63 13). The members of the royal

family addressed her as 'kallāṇi' (kalyāṇi), 'suhakamme', (śubhakarme) and 'mahāpūjje' (mahāpūjye 96. 9).

The king used to address his feudal-lord as 'vaccha' (45.4; 45. 24). Reverential persons such as monks etc. were addressed as 'mahājaśa' (30. 57).

These addresses were used as far as the relations were unrestrained. Otherwise they took an abusive turn and the persons, to whatever status they may belong, were addressed in insulting terms. Añjanā while being censured by her mother-in-law was addressed as 'pāve' (pāpe 17. 3), 'duṭṭhasile' (duṣṭasile 17. 6). In the battlefield Dūṣaṇa calls Lakṣmaṇa as 'pāva' pāpa (45. 9); Bhāmaṇḍala to the envoy of Rāvaṇa as 'pāvadūya', 'kolhuya', 'duvvayaṇāpāvāsa' (durvacanāvāsa 65. 26), 'duṭṭhapasu' (duṣṭapaśo) and 'acāritto' (acāritra 65. 27). On the occasion of reproaching anyone the term 'adhama' was used (dhiddhi te Rakkhasāhama 68. 25).

If any male person attempted to force talk with an unwilling woman, then she usually turned her face away and then talked with him (46. 6).

Salutes:—The above mentioned terms were the expressions through speech. Besides these addresses, the expression to one's feeling of reverence, modesty, sympathy or love was further manifested by some physical acts. Obeisance was a necessary form of accost on the part of a inferior when he met a superior and on the part of the superior it was necessary to endear or bless the inferior. Thus the *PGV* reveals that on occasion of any meeting, an inferior paid his respects by bowing his head to the superior whether he was a father (34. 56), mother (79. 28; 98. 71-72), elder brother (79. 14; 38. 50; 94. 2), or elder sister (76. 22). The same manners were displayed when a king was paid respects by his ministers (5. 177), envoys (6.16), messengers (8. 227), or a woman of high status or other inferiors (76. 26). Another method was to raise the joined palms on the head and then to bow to the superior (32. 46), or to prostrate and touch the feet of the superiors (6. 24; 16. 71; 76. 19; 100. 32; 55. 46; 65. 11; 6. 23; 63. 18) of various circles.

The younger ones or the inferiors saluted the elders or the superiors by prostrating at their feet and took their due permission (16. 35; 31.93, 101, 103, 104; 19.13, 34, 59; 16.89; 71.1; 31.102), before departing from them on any expedition. On the occasion of renouncing the world one used to take formal permission of the relations as well as the servants (3. 135; 5. 57).

On departure of the younger ones, the elder kissed on their forehead (86. 14) and blessed them for the success of the work (16. 34; 86. 15).

The departing person before commencing their journey used to visit the temple to pay their homage to the Jinas (89. 13) or used to recite the Namaskāra-formula (97. 23).

On the occasion of any meeting after a long time, the elders used to embrace the younger ones (30. 88; 32. 49; 98. 72; 30-80; 76. 22; 76. 19; 30. 81) or kissed on their forehead (34. 56; 79. 29; 98. 72; 79. 14). On such occasions the breasts of the mothers let loose some drops of milk when they met their sons (30.94; 79 30). It was quite a natural flow.

The Jaina monks were paid obeisance by circumambulating additionally (3. 5, 10; 3.102; 41. 7). The monks on their part blessed the devotees (3. 6). The devotee bowed his head each time he enquired something of him (13. 42). At the time of going back the devotee recircumambulated the religious person (5.40) and then took his leave.

The inferior sometimes hailed some superior of extraordinary merits by expressing 'svasti' (satthiñ karei 35 62) and by offering a handful of flowers.

B. Customs.

The *PCV* mentions the following customs which were prevalent in the society of that time.

For the safety of the departing person a handful of flowers were offered in the air by the person who remained behind at home and he uttered 'let the planets be favourable (53.148) to the departed one'.

Whenever a person in trouble approached a superior one and requested him for help, the latter sympathised with the former by putting his hand over the former's head as a mark of protection (45.4).

On getting orders from the master the servants had to perform the work even if it was very cruel. But they prayed for excuse for the same after performing their duty. The cart-driver on getting orders from his master abandoned Añjanā in the forest, but he duly begged her to forgive him (17.9). Similarly Kṛtāntavadana abandoned Sītā in a solitary and terrible forest, but he abused himself for that mean work (94.79-84).

It was a practice that the person who received happy news used to offer liberally some presents to the messenger concerned. King Kīrtidhara presented the messenger with the diadem and a village, on receiving from the latter the news of the birth of a son to him, (21.91). Janaka offered ornaments to the persons who brought the news of the restoration of his son (30.85). Rāma gave away his waist-girdle to the person who informed him about the conditions at Ujjeni and Daśapura (33.86).

Hospitality :—To show hospitality to a guest was the sacred duty of an ancient Indian. Thus 'atithisaṁvibhāga' was one of the twelve-fold duties prescribed for a lay-follower of Jainism while the follower of Brahmanical faith was required to perform 'pañca-mahāyajñas' of which one was to entertain the guest. Thus the *PCV*¹ reveals that a guest was received with due respect and was duly entertained by the host. First of all the host got up from his seat and welcomed the guest by receiving him cordially (abbhuttiho and kayaviṇayapīi). Then a suitable seat was offered to the guest (dinnāsana). Thereafter followed the asking of the welfare of the guest (sarīrāi pucchio kusalam). Then the betel leaves and perfumes were offered to the guest (tambola sugandha 78.44), or he was honoured in other ways. Due arrangements for the bath and feeding of the guest were also made by the host. The *PCV* tells us that it was a prevailing custom among the people of the Magadha country to honour the travellers with flowers and food (2.5). Occasionally when various kings or people were invited to witness any function, the host-king provided the invitees with food, drinks, betel-leaves, flowers, sandal-perfumes and other amenities for their comfort (101.8).

Even those who had renounced the house-hold life used to receive the guests with honour and respect. Thus the *PCV* states that the Tāpasas living in Āśrama had welcomed Hariṣeṇa and provided him with a seat as well as fruits and bulbs for his food (dinnāsaṇovaviṭṭho, phalamūlāi kayāharo 8.155). Rāma was similarly received by the Tāpasas. He was shown due respect, provided with a seat, and was asked about his welfare ('āsaṇaviṇaovayārakusalehim' sambhāsiyā 33.3). Thus we find that to show hospitality to a guest was the sacred duty of an ancient Indian.

Death-rites :—It was a prevailing custom to perform the last rites of the deceased person and to mourn his death. 'peyakamma' (23.

1. 15.34-35; 19.17-18; 28.13; 78.8; 33.91f; 34.12-13; 36.38.

24; 49.1) or 'peyakaraṇijja' (75.1) denotes the performing of the final rites of a dead person. Before its final disposal, the body of the dead person was consecrated by besmearing in with the gośirṣa, candana, aguru, karpūra and other fragrant substances (75.4). Then it was carried to the 'vappa' which denotes the bank of a lake or a river or some raised ground level or a mound. There are references to 'masāṇa' (śmaśāna 105.62) and 'ciyā' (cītā 105.53) i. e. the cemetery ground where the dead bodies were burnt. The *PCV* further mentions that the people after disposing of the dead body of Rāvaṇa took bath and then went away to their respective places (75.12).

The death of a person was mourned by his relatives by weeping (74.2). The wives of the dead person generally wept bitterly. They are said to be throwing away their ornaments, beating their breasts and bodies and getting fainted on account of the deep sorrow (74.12-13, 15; 110.30,36; 65.22). How necessary it was to mourn the death of a person is revealed in the mourning of the artificial death of Daśaratha by his wives just to pretend before Vibhīṣaṇa that Daśaratha was really dead (23.23).

C. Beliefs.

The evidences available in the *PCV* reveal that the people of ancient India had great faith in astrology, fatalism, prophecies, omens, auguries, portents, dreams and supernatural elements and their life was immensely influenced by these things.

Astrology:—Astrology was based on astronomical calculations. There are references to astronomical terms such as 'tithi', 'lagna', 'karaṇa', 'yoga' and 'muhūrta' (25.7; 8.8). They were all calculated on the particular position of planets and nakṣatras. They played an important part in the daily life of the people. It was the faith of the people that a particular time was either auspicious or inauspicious. The auspicious time was considered to be good and profitable while the inauspicious one was regarded as harmful and disadvantageous. Therefore any new work was started accordingly. Thus *PCV* mentions that marriages were performed on auspicious occasions (nakṣhatte sohaṇe 6.27; sutiḥisuṇakṣhattakaraṇalaggammi 15.95). Journey for marriage (subbhalaggakaraṇajoe 8.8) or trade (suhanakṣhatte karaṇajutte 5.84) was commenced on the same consideration. Rāma is said to have marched to Laṅkā on an auspicious occasion (suhakaraṇalaggajoe 54.28) and he became victorious. On the other hand Rāvaṇa commenced his march to the battlefield when the stars were adverse

adverse (nakkhattabalavimukko gahesu accantakuḍilavantesu 69.54), therefore, he brought about his own doom.

The birth-time i. e. the planetary position of the new-born child was recorded to calculate in advance the future of the child. Thus Rāma is said to have taken birth on 'sohaṇetithimuhutte' (25.7) and in the case of the birth of Hanumat, the complete horoscope of his birth time is given in the *PCV* (17.106-112).

The benedictory remarks also indicated how the people had faith in the efficacy of the position of planets and stars.²

Fatalism:—Some painful event or calamity was generally assigned to some divinity or fate by the people. Thus Vaidehī blames divinity (daiva) or fate (vidhi) when her daughter Sītā is forcibly demanded in marriage by Candragati for his son (28.89, 91). Añjanāsundarī considers that it was on account of her own fate (vidhi) that she was exiled by her mother-in-law (17.31). Candranakhā attributes the case of the death of her son, Śambūka to fate (pāvavihi 43.32). Sītā finds fault with fate (vidhi 101.12) and says that it was the cause of her public censure and exile.

Prophecy:—The prophecies made by the soothsayers and the monks had great influence on the social and political life of the people. Thus the *PCV* reveals that a certain mother becomes very happy to learn that two sons would be born to her (41.42). A queen celebrates in advance the occasion of her husband's return (74.34). Añjanā gets some solace when she learns that she would reunite with her separated husband (17.73). Many marriages are performed in accordance with some prophecies (5.68; 8.161; 10.64; 51.16.8). With a mere apprehension of being reborn in hell, according to a prophecy, one renounced the world and became a monk (11.12). In the political field it was on account of the belief in prognostications that Rāvaṇa reoccupied Laṅkā (7.169), Lakṣmaṇa lifted up 'kotiśīlā' (48.99) and Vibhīṣaṇa attempted to assassinate Daśaratha (23.10)³.

Nimitta and Sakuṇa:—There are regular reference to aṭṭhaṅgani-mittadhara (51.16) i.e. the interpreters of signs, omens and dreams, who were consulted by the people on various occasions and their predictions were believed by them. These eight nimittas are said to be the

1. See 79.7 also.

2. gahānukulā hotu 53.148; rakkhantu bhaviyaloyam, surāiyāgahā aparisesa 118.115.

3. See 48.86 also.

earthquake, portentous phenomena, dreams, various colour and forms of the sky, throbbing of the limbs, chirping of the birds, characteristics of the parts of body and the signs of distinction¹ on body. The *PCV* records that they were of two types i. e. auspicious (pasattha sauṇā 54. 32) or inauspicious (dunnimittāim 70. 5; 94. 36; avasaṇṇa 6. 140; pāvasaṇṇa 44.38; sauṇṇā vivariyā 7.17). If somebody observed auspicious ones, it was considered that they brought success in any undertaking or victory in the battle while the inauspicious ones were the signs of failure, defeat or death. Therefore, the people before undertaking any new work or commencing their journey did not forget to observe whether the omens were favourable or adverse.

These omens and auguries were associated with various factors such as birds, animals, human beings, worldly objects and natural phenomena.

The *PCV* mentions the following good omens which indicated success and victory.

The crowing of a crow on a resinous tree (khīrarukkha) on the left side (34. 37) and flapping its feathers (54. 31) denoted victory and success². The sight of a white horse of good breed and the neighing of a horse was an auspicious augury (54. 29-30)³. The sight of a woman wearing ornaments (54. 29) was regarded auspicious.⁴ The sight of a parasol (chatta), or a pitcher (kalasa) or a new arch (ahinava toraṇa 54. 30) was considered to be favourable.⁵ The hearing of the sound of a drum (bherī) or a conch⁶ was an auspicious augury (54. 31). The blowing of fragrant breeze⁷ (54. 30) or the sight of the fire without any smoke and its flames bending towards the right side (dāhiṇavatto 54. 29) was considered to be advantageous.

The following have been referred to in the *PCV* as inauspicious omens.

The crowing of a crow on a dry tree and flapping its wings on the right side (94. 35) was considered to be inauspicious. If a crow made

1. 'Bhōme uppāte suviṇe antalikkhe aṅge sare lakkhaṇe vaṇṇaṇe' *Sthānaṅga*, 8. 608.
2. See *Bṛ-Saṃh.* 95. 1. 33; 86. 17 and *Suśruta Saṃhitā* (*Sūtrasthānam*), 29. 30. 31).
3. *Bṛ-Saṃh.* 86. 45; *Su-Saṃh.* (Sut. 29. 27, 28).
4. *Su-Saṃh.* (Sut. 29. 26).
5. *Ibid.* (29. 25).
6. *Ibid.* 29. 28) & *Bṛa. Saṃh.* 86. 23).
7. *Su-Saṃh.* (Sut. 29 16-28).

sound on a bitter tree (kaḍuyarukkha) on the left side, it indicated a quarrel (34.36).¹ The sight of a crane (sārasa), a śatapatra bird, a crow, an ass, a horse, a bull or a jackal making noise on the right side indicated defeat (7.16). The crossing of one's path by a black serpent² (70.6) was regarded inauspicious and foreboded defeat. The sight of a weeping women with her hair undressed and looking up at the sun was a bad omen (94.36)³. The obstruction of one's movement by the strike of another's leg (70.6) or the falling down of upper garment or breaking down of the parasol⁴ (70.8) of the king were regarded as inauspicious and they indicated defeat. The throbbing of the right eye of a woman prognosticated some trouble⁵ (93.2). In Sītā's case this augury came true as she was exiled.

It depended on the mental attitude of a person whether he considered some thing auspicious or inauspicious. Thus the *PCV* tells that the sight of a Jaina monk was regarded to be auspicious by Rāma when he commenced his march to Laṅkā from Kiṣkindhipura (54.30), but a hunter who despised Jaina monks considered the seeing of a Jaina monk as inauspicious (6.140). The latter belief is corroborated by the *Suśruta Saṁhitā* (Sūtrasthānam 29.46). The *Bhadrābāhu Saṁhitā* observes that the result of seeing a monk depended upon the out look of the person who saw him (13.76).

Besides these the *PCV* mentions some dreadful phenomenal occurrences (uppāyādārunā 69.47-53). They were observed on the occasion of Rāvaṇa's final march to the battlefield. These occurrences foreboded defeat and death of a king (desāhivassa maraṇam) and so Rāvaṇa was killed in this battle. They⁶ are indicated below :

1. The sun turned intolerably scorching (akko āuhasariso);
2. The sky was observed to be variegated or a shaggy halo surrounded the sun (pariveso ambare pharusavaṇṇo);⁷
3. The moon suddenly disappeared;
4. The fire-brands of the hew of blood lighted the eastern direction⁸;

1. See *Bṛ-Saṁh.* 95. 56; 95.37 & *Su. Saṁh.* (Sut. 29. 32-33).

2. See *Bhad-Saṁh.* 13.62.

3. See *Su-Saṁh.* (Sūt, 29.12).

4. See *Bhad-Saṁh.* 14.55.

5. See *Śākuntalam*, p. 161, vide, *IK*, p. 330.

6. These occurrences & their efficacy can be corroborated from other works as follows .

7. *Bṛ-Saṁh.* 34.5-9; *Bhad-Saṁh.* 4.13.

8. *Idid*, 43. 14-10; *Bhad-Saṁh.* 3. 16-19.

5. There was a shower of blood.¹
6. There occurred a sudden earthquake² and
7. A terrible storm.³
8. Big trees were uprooted;⁴
9. Peaks of mountains were falling down and
10. The lakes were drying up⁵.
11. The crows were crowing (*vāsanti karayararavam*) harshly looking up at the sun⁶;
12. The jackals were howling in the north emitting fire sparks from their mouth;⁷
13. The horses were neighing harshly and were trembling their necks;⁸
14. The elephants were trumpeting fright-fully and striking the earth⁹ with their trunks and finally,
16. The idols of the deities were shedding tears.¹⁰

Dreams.—Similarly the ancient people had great faith in the efficacy of dreams. The traditional belief was that the birth of a great person was associated with some auspicious dream-visions and the mothers of the sixty-three illustrious persons of the Jaina mythology saw some dream-objects infallibly at the time of conceiving the embryos of those persons.

It is mentioned in the *Paumacariyam* that Marudevī and Padmāvatī at the time of conceiving the embryos of Tīrthaṅkara Rṣabha and Munisuvrata respectively saw fourteen dreams. (*caudasasumiṇe* 21.1) The objects of those dreams were an elephant (*gaya*), a bull (*vasaha*), a lion (*sīha*), the Lakṣmī (*abhiṣeya* or *varasiri*), a flower-garland (*dāma*), the moon (*sasi*), the sun (*diṇayara*), a flag (*jhaya*), a pitcher (*kumbha*), a lotus-lake (*paumasara*), the sea (*sāgara*), a heavenly palace (*vimāṇa-bhavaṇa*), a heap of gems (*rayaṇuccaya*) and the fire (*sihi*) (3.62 and 21.13). Aparājitā (25.2) at the time of conceiving in her womb, the embryo of Padma (Rāma), the eighth Baladeva, had the dream-visions of four objects viz. a bright-flower

1. *Bṛ-Saṃh*, 46, 40, 43.

2. *Ibid*, 32.32; *Bhad-Saṃh*, 13.70; 14, 49.

3. *Ibid*, 39.2; *Ibid*, 13.70; 14, 49.

4. *Ibid*, 46.25; *Ibid*, 14, 42;

5. *Ibid*, 46, 50; *Ibid*, 13.121.

6. *Bṛ-Saṃh*, Ch, 95.

7. *Ibid*, Gh, 90.

8. *Ibid*, 93. 5; *Bhad-Saṃh*, 14 157.

9. *Bhad-Saṃh*, 13. 161.

10. *Bṛ-Saṃh*, 46. 8.

(varakusumakundavaṇṇam), a lion the sun and the moon. Sumitrā (25. 4) on the occasion of conceiving the embryo of Lakṣmaṇa, the eighth Vāsudeva, saw in her dream four objects viz. Lakṣmī holding lotuses in her hands, the moon, the sun and further found herself seated on the peak of a hill wherefrom she could observe the land stretching up to the sea. Kekasī (7. 78), the mother of Rāvaṇa, the eighth Prativāsudeva saw in her dream-visions a lion entering her belly and the rising moon and the sun.

These accounts of the *Paumacariyaṃ* are corroborated by the evidences from other Jaina works. The *Bhagavatīśūtra* (16. 6. 579) and the *Nāyādhammakahāo* (I. p. 9) mentions that the mothers of Tīrthaṅkaras or Cakravartins saw fourteen dreams out of the thirty great dreams (tisāmahāsuviṇṇam). The *Nāyādhammakaho*,¹ the *Kalpasūtra*² and the *TSP*³ agree with the names of the fourteen objects mentioned in the *Paumacariyaṃ* as quoted above. But the Digambara tradition holds that sixteen dream-objects were seen by the mothers of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Two more objects in addition to the fourteen objects (except a flag for which the Digambara works mention a fish—jhaṣa) mentioned above are royal seat (seṃhāsanam) and a palace of the king of snakes (Phaṇḍrabhavanam)⁴.

It has been already stated above that the *Paumacariyaṃ* (25. 4) mentions four objects in connection with the dream-visions of the mother of a Vāsudeva. These objects are—Lakṣmī, the moon, the sun and the sea. This number of four does not agree with the *Bhagavatīśūtra* (16. 6. 579) and *Nāyādhammakahāo* (I. p. 9) which mention seven objects. Hemacandra⁵ also mentions seven objects viz. an elephant, a lion, the sun, the moon, the fire, Śrī and the sea. As regards the Digambara tradition the *Uttaraṇṇa*⁶ attributes five objects, i. e. a rice-field and a lion in addition to those of the *Paumacariyaṃ* except Lakṣmī. Raviṣeṇa⁷ refers to five objects viz. a lion being sprinkled by Lakṣmī, the sea, the sun and a wheel decked with jewels. Puṣpadanta⁸ mentions one object only, i. e. a lion while in the case of Trpṛṣṭha Vāsudeva⁹ two objects viz. the moon and the sun are mentioned.

1. I. p. 9.

2. *Kalpa Su* 4, & 32-47 or 4. 66-87 ?

3. Vol I, p. 100 & 148 of *TSP*.

4. *AP*, 12. 103f; See also *MP*, 3. 6, for Rṣabha and 38. 12 for Ajita.

5. *TSP*, IV. p. 193.

6. Guṇabhadra, 67. 151.

7. *PCR*, 25. 13.

8. *MP*, 69. 12.

9. *Ibid*. 50. 12. 9. & for Dvipṛṣṭha-54. 8. 7.

According to the *PCV* the mother of Baladeva (Rāma) Padma saw four objects viz. a flower, a lion, the sun and the moon. The number of objects agree with the *Bhagavatsūtra*¹ and the *Nāyādharmakāhā*², but the flower is not mentioned in those works. Hemacandra³ mentions an elephant in place of the flower. The Digambara author Raviṣeṇa⁴ agrees with the *Paumacariyam* as regards the number of the objects, but mentions an elephant in place of the flower. Puṣpadanta⁵ refers to three objects only, viz. the sun and the moon with the birth of other Baladevas namely, Vijaya⁶ and Acala⁷.

As regards the dream-visions of the mother of a Prativāsudeva, the *Paumacariyam* has mentioned three objects, viz. a lion, the moon, and the sun. These objects also indicated that two more sons would be born, besides Rāvaṇa.⁸ Hemacandra⁹ mentions a lion in the dream-vision of Mandodarī. Raviṣeṇa¹⁰ agrees with the *Paumacariyam* while Puṣpadanta¹¹ refers to Lakṣmī and the sun.

The above evidences prove that the Svetāmbara and the Digambara works differ as regards the number and the name of the objects of dream-visions. But it can be strongly maintained that the ancient people had their implicit faith in the dream-visions which were believed to be associated with the sixty-three illustrious persons of the Jaina mythology.

Besides the illustrious persons the birth of some other great persons was also indicated by some dreams. Thus it is said in the *Paumacariyam* that the birth of Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa was indicated by the vision of the moon and the sun to Kekasi (7.78f). Sītā's beholding of two Śarabhas in her dream indicated that she would give birth to two great handsome sons (92.2). That some dream was associated with the birth of a great person can be corroborated by the *Bhagavatsūtra*¹²

1. *Bhag. Su.*, 16. 6. 579.

2. *Nāyā*, I. p. 9.

3. *TSP*, Vol. IV. p. 193.

4. 25. 3.

5. *MP*, 69, 12.

6. *Ibid.* 50. 12. 9.

7. *Ibid.* 54. 8. 7.

8. 7. 81.

9. *TSP*, IV.

10. *PCR*, 7. 80.

11. *MP*, 70. 4: 6.

12. 16. 6. 579.

and the *Nayādharmakāṇḍo*¹ also which state that the mothers of Māṇḍalikas see one of the fourteen great dreams.

The dream-visions of Marudevī, Padmāvatī, Aparājita and Kekasī are called auspicious (pasattha 3.61; pavarasumīṇe 25.1) because they signified the birth of illustrious persons. There were dreams which depicted evil consequences also. For example the dream-objects observed by Kekasī signified that her first son would be a cruel one (kūrakammakārī 7.83). In the case of Sītā the falling of the Śarabhas from the heavenly abode was interpreted to be not well and agreeable (na ya sundaram 92.5).

The traditional belief of the people in the dreams can be corroborated by some non-Jaina works also. The Buddhist *Jātakatthakathā* (*Nidāna*) reveals that Māyā saw in her dream a white elephant entering her womb on the occasion of conceiving the embryo of Lord Buddha². The Mahāsupiṇa (No. 77) Jātaka records that king Pasenadi propitiated to do away with the evil consequences of dream depicting a great danger.

The Hindu *Padmapurāṇa*³ refers to the dreams of the queens of Daśaratha. After taking the 'pāyasa' they saw Hari in their dream (Janārdana pītavāsa) which indicated the birth of great sons. The *Raghuvamśa*⁴ mentions that the queens of Daśaratha on the occasion of the birth of the parts of Viṣṇu in the form of embryos in their wombs dreamt that a dwarf holding a lotus, a sword, a mace, a bow and a discus was guarding them; that they were being dragged away in the sky by an eagle, that Lakṣmī was serving them with a fan made of lotuses and the Saptarṣis were attending upon them. All these visions signified that Viṣṇu would be born in the form of four sons of Daśaratha.

Other Beliefs :—Some other beliefs which were in vogue at that time can be mentioned as follows :—

The placing of a lamp, the bull and the elephant on the occasion of marriage was believed to be supremely auspicious (10.8).

Catching hold of the ancestral magic necklace by a new-born child was considered to be auspicious and it indicated that the child would become a great man (7.194).

1. I. p. 9.

2. I. p. 50ff. See *Buddhacarita*, I.4. also.

3. *Uttarakhaṇḍa* Ch. 269,

4. *Raghu*, X. 60-63.

Mustard seeds were thrown in the four quarters to offset the effect of evil spirits for the protection of the new-born children (97.10). For the same purpose a string of the nails of tigers was worn by the children (97.10). Jaina worship was performed to avert the consequences of a bad augury (93.6). Deities were invoked for the safety of life (63.1).

It was a general belief that some deities spread epidemic (63.68) and it could subside by the mere arrival of pious monks (89.40) in the affected area. The poisonous effect of a snake-bite could be nullified by touching the feet of a pious monk possessing some supernatural powers (77.93). Bath water of a woman born with some divine qualities could cure diseases (63.29-31). Fever could be cured by the mere sprinkling of water by a chaste woman (22. 67). It is stated that the effects of snake bite, evil spirits and diseases (*gahabhūyora-gapisāyavāhīo nāsei* 48. 85) could be cured by a medicinal bracelet (*vejjaḥaḍaya*). The (mantras) chants were also used as a means of treating the ailing persons (22. 64; 81. 12; 110. 27).

It was believed that one possessed some superhuman power on account of the penances performed in his previous life (64.31, 49). Deeds of the past life were considered to be responsible for the consequences of the present life and even the deities could not undo them (45.35).

D. Lucky Physical Characteristics

In the *PCV* (2. 15-18) some lucky physical characteristics of king Śreṇika are given. It was believed that great men possessed these characteristics. Rāvaṇa is also said to have 32 such characteristics (*battisāsulakkhaṇasamaggo PCV*, 11. 105-6). Further the residents of Bhogabhūmis are mentioned to be possessing 64 auspicious physical characteristics (*Causatthilakkhaṇadharā PCV*, 102.130). The *JP* (Su. 29) also corroborates it. In the *Jivāṇīvābhigama* (Su. 111, 147) one can find details about these characteristics.

SECTION 7. SUPERNATURAL ELEMENTS.

The people of ancient India had great faith in the existence and efficacy of supernatural elements. They are dealt with in this section.

The *PCV* furnishes ample information as regards the faith of people in supernatural element. It is through these elements that righteousness and moral virtues are glorified by providing attraction for heavenly existence, pleasure, happiness and extraordinary physical

and mental powers. On the other hand misconduct and moral vices are discouraged by associating with them the fear of hellish existence, sufferings and physical debilities. These elements awaken people to develop their divine and virtuous qualities and guide them to subdue their evil and devilish inclinations. Thus the central idea behind these elements is to fortify religion and general morality of people.

These elements can be dealt under four different heads viz :

- A. Supernatural beings and their abodes.
- B. Supernatural elements associated with the 63 illustrious persons of the Jaina faith.
- C. Supernatural occurrences effecting day to day life of the people and
- D. Superhuman powers of munis and ordinary persons

A. Supernatural Beings

Supernatural beings are said to be of two kinds viz. the infernal or hellish beings and the heavenly beings.

Hellish Beings :—The *Paumacariyam* states that wrong conduct, killing of living beings (26.58), non-observance of vows (vratas), addiction to greediness (75.46;102.74) and the taking of honey, meat and wine (26.58) cause the souls to transmigrate into the hellish regions. These causes can be corroborated by the *TP* which deals with them in detail (2.293-301; 2.356-66).

The hellish regions are told to be seven in number namely, Ratnaprabhā, Śarkarī, Bālukā, Paṅka, Dhūma, Tama and Mahātama-Prabhā (26.43-44; 75.47) which are situated below the Meru mountain (26.42) or in the middle world, one under the other in the Adholoka or the lower world of the Universe (102.64-66). This is the traditional account of the number and the situation of the Narakas. The *PCV* further informs us about the layers (paṭalas 102.69) and abodes (bilas 75.48; 102.67-68) in these Narakas and the age of the beings of each Naraka loka (102.83). It is a traditional account.

These hellish abodes are said to be completely dark and devoid of any sun or moon. They smell very filthy and are unagreeable to the sense of touch (24.66). Those who are born in these regions constantly suffer from the tortures of fire, thorns, weapons and mechanical devices. Crows and vultures prick their bodies. Their limbs are maimed. Severe cold, burning heat, thirst and hunger make their life miserable. They are boiled in cauldrons. Whenever they run to the Vaitaraṇī river to quench their thirst they find that it is full of blood, marrow,

hair and pus. Whenever they seek shelter under some shade, the Asipatravana with its thorns and weapons cause great pain to them. Thus their life is full of sorrow, pain and innumerable sufferings (26.46-57; 102.76-85; 118.3-8). This account of suffering can be corroborated by that of the *TS* (3.3-5) and the *TP* (2.29-36; 2.308-335).

Heavenly Beings :—Those who perform meritorious deeds in their previous births are said to be re-born as heavenly beings with numerous pleasures at their disposal.

The heavenly beings are divided into four classes—viz. Bhavana-vāsīs, Vyantaras, Jyotiṣkas and Vaimānikas (26.43; 75.32-35 72; 102.87, 140, 142-146; 105.99). This is the traditional four-fold division.

The Bhavanavāsi gods are said to be occupying the first two¹ of the three parts of the Ratnaprabhā Naraka-bhūmi which is situated below the Mandara mountain (26.42-43) or the middle world. At 102.87 it is mentioned that they reside in the upper part of the first Naraka (Rayanappabhāe bhāge uvarille). These gods are of ten types, viz. the Asura, Nāga, Suparṇa, Dvīpa, Samudra, Diśā, Vāta, Agni, Vidyut and Stanitakumāras (75.32). The *PCV* further mentions the number of their abodes (102.89). It is a traditional account.

The Vyantara gods reside in the Madhya-loka (middle world) which consists of many continents and oceans such as Jambudvīpa etc. (102.91). They are of eight types, viz. the Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Garuḍas (Mahoragas), Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Bhūtas, Piśācas, and Rākṣasas (75.33; 102.92).

The Jyotiṣka gods exist up above the Vyantara gods. They reside in the luminous bodies. They are of five types, the Candras, Sūryas, Grahas, Nakṣatras and Tārakas. They rotate round the Meru mountain and are bustrous by their very nature (75.34; 102. 141).

The Vaimānika gods reside up above the Jyotiṣka gods (i. e. in the upper world). They are divided into the Kalpavāsins and the Kalpātītas. The Kalpavāsins reside in different Kalpas while the Kalpātītas reside in Graiveyakas and five Anuttara Vimānas (or Anudīśas and Anuttaravimānas or four Vimānas in four quarters and one in the centre). Above all of them there is the Rṣiprāgbhārabhūmi (Isipabbhāra-puḍhavi 102.147) where the liberated souls reside. This abode is of the shape of an open umbrella.

1. Rayanappabhā tisu bhāgesu vihattā, Bhavanavāsi devā nivasanti dosu bhāgesu taṁ puṇa neraiyā.

The Kalpas are 12 in number namely, Saudharma, Isāna, Sanatkumāra, Māhendra, Brahma, Lāntaka, Mahāśukra, Sahasrāra, Ānata, Prāṇata, Āraṇa and Acyuta (102.143-144). This account is corroborated by the Śvetāmbara tradition¹. The Digambara tradition mentions 16 Kalpas, the four more being Brahmottara, Kapiṣṭha, Śukra and Śatāra. But the *TP* (8.120-121, 127-128) records both the traditions and the *Sarvārthasidhi* (4.19) mentions that there are 12 Indras only. It is in agreement with the Śvetāmbara tradition. The *PCV* though enumerates 12 Kalpas, yet it has a stray reference to Brahmottara (82.76) also.

Above these Kalpas there are situated nine Graiveyakas followed by 4 Anudiśa and one Anuttara Vimānas. The four Anudiśas are called Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita vimānas while the Anuttara is called Sarvārthavimāna (102.146). These five are said to be Anuttaravimānas in the Śvetāmbara tradition³ while the Digambara tradition differentiates them into Anudiśa and Anuttaravimānas⁴. But the *PCR* states them as five Anuttaravimānas (105.170). At 102.171 of the *PCV* also there is no separate mention of the Anudiśavimāna but the Anuttaras are mentioned just after the Graiveyakas.⁵ At 2.84 the Anuttaravimāna is referred to in plural. Thus it is clear that four vimānas are called Anudiśas because they are situated in four different quarters and the fifth one is situated above them in the middle. Thus to call all those five as Anuttaravimānas or separately as Anudiśas and Anuttaravimāna makes no difference, because beyond them there is no more vimāna.

The *PCV* further gives the number of vimānas in each Kalpa (102.152). The Graiveyakas have in all 318 vimānas (102.153) and then there are the separate five Anuttara or four Anudiśa and one Anuttara (*Sarvārtha*) vimānas (102.146). The *TP* (8.153-154) also mentions that the Graiveyakas, Anudiśas and Anuttara have in all 323 vimānas.

The *PCV* mentions in general that the span of life of the gods increases from 2, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 20, to 22 Sāgaras successively

1. *Uttarā*, 36.209-210; *TS*, 4. 20.

2. *TS*, 4. 19.

3. *Uttarā*, 36.215; *TS*, (Bhāṣya)-4. 20.

4. *TP*, 8. 117f.

5. 'Gevejagāṇa tatto ahiyaṁ tu anuttarāṇa devāṇaṁ,
Sokkhaṁ anantyaṁ puṇa siddhāṇa sivalayatthapaṁ.'

and it further increases by one Sāgara in every successive Graiveyaka (i. e. $22+9=31$ Sāgaras) and the rest (Anudīśa and Anuttara) have 32 & 33 Sāgaropama years of age (102.165). It can be clarified with the help of other works. The *Uttarādhyāyana* (36.221-243) mentions that the first two Kalpavasin have 2 Sāgaropama of age, the next two have 7 Sāgaropama, the fifth to eight have 10, 14, 17 and 18 Sāgaropama years respectively. Then the next two have 20 while the last two have 22 Sāgaropama years. In every successive Graiveyaka the age is from 23 to 31 Sāgaropama respectively and the rest have 33 Sāgaropama years. The *Bhāṣya* on *Tattvārthasūtra* (4. 33-37) agrees with the *Uttarādhyāyana*, but it elucidates that in the four Anuttaravimānas the age is 32 while in the *Sarvārtha* it is 33 Sāgaropama years.¹ The *TP* (8. 458) mentions 16 Sāgaropamas in place of the 17 as mentioned in the *PCV*.

There is a contrast between the conditions of the infernal (Nārakīya) and heavenly beings (Devas). The former suffer innumerable pains as already stated above, but the latter enjoy many pleasures. They have very decent buildings. They have all the comforts and luxuries at their disposal. They lavishly enjoy music and dance being performed by the nymphs or Amaravadhūs (14. 89-98). The pleasures of the Devas increase with their position (102. 179-171) in the higher Devalokas. The objective happiness lessens with the upper vimānas while the internal and natural happiness increase (14. 99-100; 102).

B. Supernatural elements associated with the 63 illustrious persons of the Jaina faith

The *PCV* reveals that some particular supernatural occurrences, qualities and objects are associated with the Tirthaṅkaras, Cakravartins, Vāsudevas, Prativāsudevas and Baladevas of the Jaina faith. The Kevalins are also mentioned to have been associated with these elements. In the following lines an account of the same as recorded in the *PCV* has been given.

(1) *Tirthaṅkaras*:—The *PCV* states that the Tirthaṅkaras are graced with some supernatural events on the occasion of five important incidents of their life viz. conception of the embryo, birth, renunciation of the world, attainment of Kevalajñāna and emancipation. This is a traditional account.

1. See *TS* 4. 33-38 (Svet).

Conception:—The *PCV* (3.59-67; 21.15-17) mentions that at the time of the conception of the embryo of a Jina various goddesses serve his mother and there is a shower of gems in his house¹.

Birth:—The celestial beings take the new-born child to the Meru mountain and perform his ablution ceremony (3. 71-103; 21.18) called *Abhiṣeka* (5. 54)².

Renouncement:—This occasion is called *Nikkhamamaṇamahimā* (3. 138). The *Lokāntika* gods strengthen the inclination of a Jina to renounce the world (3. 127-130). Celestial beings carry him in a divine litter when he renounces the world (3.132). They further immerse his five-handfulls of hair extracted by himself from his head into the *Kṣīrodadhi* (3. 137). The *AP* calls the ceremony *Pariniṣkrāntimahākalyāṇaka* (17. 74)³.

Omniscience:—When a Jina attains omniscience, the Indra, the Suras and the Asuras pay homage to him, sign in his praise (2. 47; 4. 20), listens to his first sermon and then returns to their respective places⁴.

Other monks who attain omniscience are also said to have been hailed by the celestial beings (39.34; 101.69). At that time the quarter appear to be red-bright and divine music is heard (14. 1-7)⁵.

Emancipation:—In the case of the Jinas the ceremony associated with this event is not mentioned in the *PCV*. But the occasion of monk Kosala's emancipation is said to have been graced by the Devas by making a worship of and offering perfumes and flowers to the body of that monk. This ceremony is called *Nirvāṇagamanamahimā* (22. 46)⁶.

The *AP* calls these five occasions 'Kalyāṇakas' i. e. auspicious occasions⁷. The *TS* (4. 22)⁸ also refers to these auspicious occasions and the work of the Devas on these occasions.

Pārāṇa:—The occasion of breaking a fast by a Tīrthaṅkara or a great muni is hailed by five *Atiśayas* (21. 25 supernatural occurrences) viz. flow of cold breeze, downpour of precious stones and flowers,

1. See *AP*, 12. 84, 97; 163-211; *TSP*, I. pp. 105-130.

2. See *AP*, 13. 176, 213; *TSP*, I. p. 109-130.

3. See *TSP*, I. p. 159-66; *AP*, 17. 47-209.

4. See *AP* 22. 18, 74f; 23. 191-194; *TSP*, I. p. 188f.

5. *AP*, 20; 269 f; *UP*, 48. 79-80.

6. See, *AP*, 47. 343; *TSP*, I. p. 360, 363.

7. *AP*, 25. 222.

8. See the *Bhāṣya* also.

sound of divine drums and hailing words of Devas (4. 12-14).¹ These are called Āścaryas² also.

Samavasaraṇa:—When a Tīrthaṅkara after having attained omniscience delivers a Sermon, a divine assembly hall (Samosaraṇa) is erected by the Devas. His religious discourse is listened to by the gods, monks, human beings and animals all alike. The *PCV* (2. 47f) further gives the details of the assembly hall with its three ramparts, big gates (Gopuras) banners etc. At every entrance eight dance-dramas (atthaṭṭhanāḍayāim) are performed. The Tīrthaṅkara seated in the centre is attended by some Prātihāryas (see infra). The twelve divisions of the hall (aha? dāha? donṇi ya vakkhārā) are occupied by the monks, nuns, goddesses, gods, nobles, men, women and even animals. This description of the Samosaraṇa can be corroborated by other works³ with certain details and minor differences. The *TSP* mentions three ramparts, but the *TP* (4. 733) and the *AP* (22. 81 f) refer to one more rampart which is made of mud (dhūlisāla). Both these works mentions dance and music performances, not dramas.

Atiśayas and Prātihāryas:—The *PCV* further associates 34 Atiśayas and 8 Prātihāryas (cottisaṃ ca aisayā atṭhamahāpaḍiherā ya 5. 60) with the Tīrthaṅkaras. The eight Prātihāryas which appear when a Tīrthaṅkara attains omniscience are:—a divine throne, a parasol, a high parasol, a chowry, a halo of light, a sacred tree, the sound of divine drum and the shower of flowers (Uppaṇṇammi ya nāṇe uppajjai āsaṇaṃ jīṇindassa/Chattāichattacāmara taheva bhāmaṇḍalaṃ vimalaṃ// Kappaddumo ya divvo dunduhighosaṃ ca pupphavarisaṃ ca 4. 18-19). The *PCR* refers categorically to 34 Atiśayas and eight Prātihāryas at 5. 72, but at 4. 23-29 it enumerates only seven Prātihāryas by omitting 'atichatra'. Further in place of 'chatra' it mentions 'chatratrayam' i. e. three umbrellas, The 'atichatra' is not mentioned in the *Samavāyāṅga*,⁴ the *TP*⁵ and the *AC*⁶. The *Samavāyāṅga* mentions one umbrella (āgāsagayaṃ chattaṃ), but the *TP* and the *AC* mention three (chatratrayam). The *PCR* (4. 27) mentions two chowries, while the *TP* mentions 64 chowries. The *Samavāyāṅga* and the *AC* refer to the chowry in plural. Further the *TP* mentions the Gaṇas attending upon the

1. *TP*, 4. 672-674; *AP*, 20, 102-105; *TS*, P. I, p. 181.

2. *UP*, 48. 41.

3. *TP*, 4. 710-895; *AP*, 22 & 33. 72-112; *TSP*, I. p. 190-193.

4. *Su*. 34.

5. 4. 915-927.

6. *Abhidhānacintūmaṇikoṣa* by Hemacandra (1-57-64). In the *VII*, (I. p. 5) there is a reference to 'chattāichatta'.

Jina in place of the 'Atichatra'. The *Samavāyāṅga* and the *AC* do not mention eight 'Prātihāryas' separately. They are included in the 34 'Atiśayas', therefore the substitute for the 'Atichatra' cannot be marked out. It is to be noted that on the one hand some of the *Atiśayas* mentioned in the *Samavāyāṅga* and the *AC* do not agree between themselves and on the other hand some of them mentioned in both the works differ from those of the *TP*. Further sometimes two and some times three *Atiśayas* of the *TP* are grouped together and they are counted as one in the *Samavāyāṅga* and the *AC*. Some of the groups of the *Atiśayas* mentioned in the *Samavāyāṅga* vary with those of the *AC*.

The *PCV* does not enumerate all the 34 'Atiśayas'. It mentions some of them and those also at different places. Most of them are mentioned in association with Lord Mahāvīra (Ch. 2) while a few are referred to in connection with Lord Rṣabha (Ch. 4). A general reference to them is also made (Ch. 75). Thus the *Atiśayas* enumerated in the *PCV* (2.31-37) can be given as follows :—

(1) The blood of a Tirthaṅkara is like milk (ruhiramkhīrasavaṇṇam); His body is free from (2) dirt, (3) perspiration and is (4) full of fragrance (malaseyavivajjiyaṁ surabhiḡandham deham); His body bears (5) auspicious marks and (6) qualities (7) and it is lustrous like the sun—(salakkhaṇaḡuṇam ravippabham ceva aivimalam); (8) His eyelids are motionless (nayaṇā phandaṇarahiyā); (9) His nails and hair are smooth and growthless (nahakesavaṭṭhiyā ya niddhā ya); His surroundings up to one hundred Yojaṇas (10) are free from any pestilence (joyaṇasayaṁ samantā māriivivajjig deso), (11) sickness etc;¹ That much region (12) is free from any enmity between kings, (13) there the sky is bright (14) the blowing of the wind is pleasant (15) and the land is free from any phenomenal upheaval (75. 25-26)²; (16) Wherever the Jina wanders that area assumes heavenly³ form; (17) A Jina walks on lotuses (jatto ṭhavei calaṇe tatto jāyanti sahasapattāim); (18) The trees bend with the heaviness of the fruits appearing on them, (19) the land becomes prosperous with fresh crops (phalabhāraṇamiyā ya dumaṁ sāsasamiddhā mahi hoi) and (20) it shines like a mirror (āyarisasamā dharaṇī jāyai, (21) The quarters look bright and dustless (sarae va nimmalāo disāo rayareṇurahiyāo and (22)

1. 'Rogādivivajjio rammo' 4.34.

2. Joyaṇasayaṁ aṇūṇam jatthacchai kevali samuddesa/
Verāṇubandharahiyā havanti niyayaṁ ṇaravarindā//
Gayaṇam jāhā aruṇam calo ya vāu thira havaibhūm/
Tahā Kevalissa niyamā esa sahāvo ya loyahio//

3. Viharai jattha Jīṇindo so deso saggasanniho hoi -4.34.

The Ardhamāgadhī language emerges from his mouth (iha Addhamāgahī vāṇi). Further at 2,61 it is said that the Ardhamāgadhī language is understandable to all the kinds of living beings (To Addhamāgahīe) bhāsāe savvajivahiyaṇṇam).

These 'Atiśayas' can be corroborated by the *Samavāyāṅga*, the *TP* and the *AC*. The latter two works arrange them under three different heads. Thus the *TP* associates ten 'Atiśayas' with the birth and eleven with the attainment of omniscience by the Tīrthaṅkara. Then the rest of the thirteen are mentioned. The *AC* associates four with the birth, eleven with the omniscience and then the remaining nineteen are mentioned. Before a comparison of these 'Atiśayas' with those mentioned in other works, it should be noted that the names of the 'Atiśayas' are generally not in literal agreement. The terminology is not specific but general, hence a 'Atiśaya' of one work can be accommodated under one or the other of another work. Further there are differences as regards their details in all the three works.

The *TP* mentions all these 'Atiśayas' (4.896-914) of the *PCV* except two i. e. No. 6 'qualities' which are not specifically referred to in the *TP*, the *PCR* refers to it (aparamēya guṇāgāram 2.90) and No. 17 i. e. 'walking on flowers' which is also not mentioned in the *TP*, the *PCR* refers to it (2.98). The *TP* does not only mention one language (i. e. Ardhamāgadhī-bhāsā-No 22) but it refers to eighteen Mahābhāsās, 700 Kṣudrabhāsās and many other languages of all the creatures with the faculty of mind. It describes the speech of Tīrthaṅkara as divvabhāsitaṃ and divvajhuṇi (4.902, 903-905) whereas in the *PCV* there is no reference to the divine speech. The *PCR* does not refer to any language at the time of describing the 'Atiśayas' of Lord Mahāvīra. But with Ajitanātha it associates the Ardhamāgadhī language (5.190).

The *Samavāyāṅga* does not refer to No. 5, 6 and 8 of the *PCV* specifically whereas the *AC* does not refer to No. 5, 6, 8 and 15 specifically. The *Samavāyāṅga* refers to Ardhamāgadhī-bhāsā and further says that it is understandable by all kinds of living beings (Addhamāgahībhāsā bhāsijjamāṇi tesin savvesin.....appappaṇohiyasivasuhadāyabhāsattāe¹ pariṇamai). The *AC* does not refer to Ardhamāgadhī. It mentions in general that the language of the Tīrthaṅkaras is understandable by all kinds of living beings.

The *PCV* states, as already mentioned above, that the effect of certain occurrences spread over 100 Yojanas. But in the *TP* some of

1: Compare 'appappaṇohiya.....' with 'savvajivahiyaṇṇam' of the *PCV*.

those occurrences have been associated with numerous Yojanas (4.907), in the *Samavāyāṅga* with twenty-five Yojanas and in the *AC* with 200 Gavyūtis.

(2) *Cakravartins*:—The *Cakravartin* kings are said to be the masters of fourteen great gems or excellent things and nine treasures (coddasa ya mahārayaṇanava nihao 461, 8.201)¹.

(3) *Baladevas*:—The *PCV* states that Baladeva Rāma possessed three divine weapons, namely, a bow, a ploughshare and a pestle (100.8). It also mentions the presenting of a chariot to him by Garuḍādhīpati (59.85). It is not counted as a Ratna. The *TP* (4. 1435) associates with the Baladevas four gems but mentions a string of gems (Ratnāvalī) in place of a bow. The *UP* (57.93) refers to a mace and a string of gems in place of a bow and a chariot in the case of Rāma.

(4) *Vāsudevas*:—The *PCV* mentions that Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa was the master of seven gems (divvaraṇāim 91. 8). They are mentioned as a disc, a parasol, a bow, a spear, a mace, a precious stone and a sword (cakkam chattam ca dhanuṃ satti ya gayā maṇi asi ceva). The *TP* mentions a conch and a staff in place of a parasol and a precious stone (4. 1434). The *Uttarapurāṇa* (57. 92) follows the *TP*.

(5) *Prativāsudevas*:—The *PCV* refers to the Sudarśanacakra (10.24) and a staff (19.44) of Rāvaṇa. He is killed by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa with the cakra (72. 36; 73. 27). The *TP* mentions that Prativāsudevas are killed by Vāsudevas with the former's disc (4. 1423).

The *PCV* further mentions that Cakravartins are immune from the effects of any Vidyā operated against them by any other person (68. 48). Similarly Vāsudevas are not at all harmed by the Cakra hurled at them by the Prativāsudevas (72. 36)² and the divine weapons of Cakravartins or Vāsudevas and Baladevas do not harm their own kith and kin (4. 48; 100. 8, 19-21)³.

(C) Supernatural occurrences

The *PCV* reveals that supernatural occurrences affected the day to day life of the people. They can be dealt under four heads—viz.

- (1) Supernatural occurrences connected with the life of great persons;
- (2) Favourable or unfavourable disposition of celestial beings towards

1. See for details *Ṭhāṇaṅga*, 7. 558; *TP*, 4. 1.77-86 and *JP*, (3. 66).

2. See *UP* (58, 59, 115).

3. See *AP* (36. 66).

the righteous and the wicked respectively; (3) Celestial being's assistance to their friends or their causing obstruction to their enemies of this life or the previous life and (4) work of the evil spirits.

1. *Supernatural occurrences connected with the life of great persons :—*
The PCV reveals that many incidents in the life of great persons are hailed with some supernatural occurrences or with the pouring of flowers and the beating of divine drums by the celestial beings.

Hanu's birth (17.90) was hailed with favourable phenomenal occurrences. On the occasion of Rāma's success in stringing the bow (28.106-121) there occurred many phenomenal changes such as the trembling of mountains, agitating of the sea, reversing of the currents of the rivers etc.

Celestial beings then poured flowers and beat divine drums. Similarly the occasions like the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (71.20), the reunion of Rama and Sītā at Laṅkā (71.20), the triumph of Muni Vāli in subduing Rāvaṇa (9.80) on the Kailāśa mountain, Lakṣmaṇa's success in withstanding the Śaktis hurled by king Aridamaṇa (38.42), queen Sindhikā's success in proving that she was chaste (22.69), Bharata's initiation into monkhood (83.7) and the success of monks in observing meditation (50.3,7) or penances (117.2) were graced with pouring of flowers, sounding of divine drums and hailing words from celestial beings.

2. *Disposition of celestial beings towards righteous and wicked persons :—*
The PCV reveals that those who were righteous or of irreproachable conduct or were devoted to the religion of the Jina were assisted by the celestial beings in critical times. The converting of the fire-pit into a pond of water on the occasion of Sītā's fire-ordeal (102.19.33), the advance information given to Śatrughna about the coming calamity on Mathurā (87.17), the conjuring up of Rāmapurī for Rāma in the forest (35.25-36), sentinels guarding the temple in which Rāvaṇa was meditating (67.49f) and saving a monk from a calamity (5.231) were the works of divine beings for assisting the righteous persons.

Those who were wicked and disrespectful to the righteous ones and the true religion were punished by the celestial beings or some untoward phenomenal occurrences damaged their life. The absorption of king Vasu by the earth on account of telling a lie (11.34) and the paralysing of two Brahmins (105.65) who wanted to kill monks are such examples.

(3) *The assistance and the intimidation of the celestial beings:*—The *Paumacariyam* reveals that the celestial beings, in various ways, helped those human beings who were the benefactors of the former or their relatives in this or the previous birth. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa had saved two monks from the tortures of a celestial being (39.98), hence the Garuḍādhīpati (Sura) who was the father of those two monks in his previous birth helped Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with many divine weapons (59.78; 60.2) to set free Bhāmaṇḍala and Sugrīva from the enemy. When some Rākṣasa princes attacked the country of Rāma, two celestial beings (Jaṭāyu and Kṛtantavadana) who were associated with Rāma in their previous life, chased off the enemies and thus helped their master (113.22). Camara, a celestial being favoured king Madhu with a very powerful divine weapon, because in their previous birth the latter had helped the former (12.7-34).

On the other hand the celestial beings harassed and punished their enemies. Analaprabha, a Jyotiṣika god who in his previous birth was killed by Kulabhūṣaṇa and Deśabhūṣaṇa, created scorpions and snakes to frighten and obstruct the latter from attaining Kevala (39. 16-17; 46.119). Similarly Dharapendra snatched away the Vidyās from a king who was his enemy in his previous birth (5. 25-38). Rākṣasī Vidyunmukhī oppressed Muni Sakalabhūṣaṇa falsely charging him with theft and causing various disturbances to him (101. 54-68) because she was expelled by him, his husband in her previous birth. A Bhavanavāsin Deva tortured a king because he as a monkey in his previous birth was killed by that king (6. 102-111). Celestial Camara spread epidemic and caused many deaths to oppress Śatrughna, because the latter had killed the former's friend king Madhu (87.17).

(4) *The work of evil spirits:*—Evil spirits such as the Grahas, Bhūtas the Piśācas, the Vānavyantarās, the Dakinīs, the Brahmarākṣasas are said to be frightening and obstructing persons acquiring supernatural powers (7.66) or the monks devoted in meditation (105.33) by conjuring dreadful animals and terrorising scenes (39.24-28). Those who did not get disturbed by them emerged successful.

(D) Superhuman powers

The *PCV* reveals that the people of ancient India had great faith in the efficacy of superhuman powers. These powers are called *Ṛddhis* and *Vidyās*. The former were the potentialities of the souls spiritually advanced. The latter were supernatural powers which could be acquired even by ordinary persons. The possessors of the *Ṛddhis* and the *Vidyās* performed miracles and affected the day to day life of the people.

Ṛddhis :—The *PCV* mentions that various types of supernatural powers could be attained by practising proper penances and meditation (*nāṇāḷaddhisu sattisaṃpannā* 86.7). Monks are said to have acquired (soul powers) *Ṛddhis* on account of self-contemplation, self-discipline and austerities (*uppannā riddhivihavā* 14.82) and with their help they performed miracles (*abbhuyakammāṇi kuvvanti*). Some *Ṛddhis* have been specifically named in the *PCV* while in some cases merely their efficacy is described. They can be mentioned as follows:—

(1) The *Ṛddhis* of Koṣṭhabuddhi, Padānūsāri and Sambhinna śrotṛtva (14.85). (2) The *Vikriyālabdhi* (70.29), the powers of making the sun lustreless, covering the moon, causing rain (14.83) and shaking the Mandara mountain (14.84). (3) The power of faring into the sky (15.84), and the *Cāraṇa* (3.156) or the *Caturaṅgula Cāraṇa Śramaṇas*¹ who moved speedily from place to place (84.9). (4) The power of producing fire (41.34). (5) The power of curing a disease by the mere touch of dust of the foot. (14.84) and (6) the *madhu-Kṣīrasarpis-amṛtasravi-Riddhis* (14.45). These various spiritual powers can be compared with the *Riddhis* mentioned in the *Titoyāpaṇṇatti* which (4.967-1091) associates with the *Gaṇadharas* of the *Tirthaṅkaras* eight classes of *Ṛddhis* with their 64 sub-kinds. These eight classes of *Ṛddhis* are described as follows:—(1) *buddhi* (learning and enlightenment). (2) *Vikriyā* (capacity to change physical body at one's will), (3) *Kriyā* (capacity to move in the sky, water, fire, smoke, air etc.), (4) *Tapa* (power of austerities), (5) *Oṣadhi* (capacity of healing disease), *Rasa* (capacity to change the elements in to liquids) (7) *Bala* (capacity of exhibiting miraculous strength) and (8) *Kṣīti* (capacity to make a thing inexhaustible). The powers quoted above from the *PCV* fall under the first six classes of *Ṛddhis* the *TP* respectively.

Vidyas:—*Vidyās* are mentioned to have been mastered by men (7.73) and women (5.1.8) alike to get fulfilled their desire which entailed performance of extraordinary feats on the part of the desirous one. They are said to be presided over by some female deities (7.73.130; 47.43; 64.27; 68.46). These deities presented themselves before their masters whenever the latter remembered them and then the deities helped their masters in accomplishing their works.

These *Vidyās* are said to have been mastered by performing meditation in solitary places such as caves (10.13), forests (51.14;

1. The *Caturaṅgula-cāraṇas* are called *Jaṅghācāraṇa Śramaṇas* in the *TP*, (4.1037).

43. 19-22; 7. 104). groves (7. 65) or temples (66. 31). Thousands of 'japas' were chanted (7. 107, 88; 66. 31) and an undisturbed meditation on the Vidyās was essential to accomplish the desired object. At times such meditators were disturbed by evil spirits (7. 115-129) or human beings (68. 44-45) but the formers' success lay in not getting perturbed at all. When the course of meditation was completed, the presiding deity of the Vidyā appeared before the meditator and promised him to help whenever he desired (68. 47-49).

Occasionally these Vidyās are said to have been bestowed upon some persons by some superhuman beings (Devas) as a pleasure gift (31.49; 11.65) or in recognition of the latters' devotion to the Jinas (9.101; 64.27) or in acknowledgement of the latters' services to the monks (39.130; 59.84). In such cases no meditation or penance was performed by the recipient.

A large number of Vidyās have been mentioned in the *PCV*. They were possessed by various persons. A number of them which were mastered by Rāvaṇa are as follows :—

Āgāsagāmiṇī (Ākāśagāmiṇī)¹, Kāmadāiṇī (Kāmadāminī), Kāmagāmi (Kāyagāminī). Duṇḍivārā (Durnivārā), Jayakammā (Jagatkampā), Paṇṇatti (Prajñapti), Bhānumāliṇī (Bhānumālinī), Aṇima, Laghimā, Manathambhaṇī, Akhoḥā (Kṣobhyā), Saṁvāhiṇī, (Saṁvāhini), Suraddhaṁsī (Suradhvaṁsī) Komārī (Kaumārī), Vahakārī (Vadhakārīṇī). Suvihāṇā (Suvindhānā), Tamoruvā (Taporupā), Viulārī (Vipulodarī). Dahanī (Dahanī), Suhadāiṇī (Śubhapradā), Raoruvā (Rajorupā), Dīṇarayaṇikārī (Dīṇarātrividhāyini), Vajjoyarī (Vajrodarī), Samādītṭhi (Samadrṣṭi), Ajarāmarā, Visannā (Adarśanī), Jalathambhiṇī (Toyastambhaṇī), Aggīthambhaṇī (Analastambhaṇī), Giridāriṇī (Giridarāṇī), Avalovaṇī (Avalokaṇī), Arividdhaṁsī (Aridhvaṁsī). Ghorā, Virā (Dhīrā), Bhuyaṅgiṇī (Bhuyaṅgini), Varuṇī (Vāruṇī), Bhuvāṇa (Bhuvana), Dāruṇī (Dāruṇa), Mayaṇāsaṇī (Madanāśiṇī) Raviteyā (Bhāskari), Bhayajaṇaṇī (Bhayasambhūti), Īsāṇī (Aiśāṇī). Jayā. Vijayā. Bandhanī, Vārāhī, Kuṭilākitti (Kuṭilākṛti), Vāubbhavā (Cittodbhavaṇī), Satti (Śānti), Koberi (Kauveri), Sankarī (Vaśakārīṇī), Jogeśī (Yogeśvari). Balamahaṇī (Valotsādī) Caṇḍālī (Caṇḍā) and Varisiṇī (Pravarṣiṇī *PCV*. 7. 143. Rāvaṇa had mastered Bahurupāvidyā also (64.46). Then Savvaruha (Sarvabhā), Raividdhi (Ratisaṁvardhanī, Āgāsagāmā (Vyomagāminī), Jambhaṇī (Jrmbhiṇī). Niddāṇī (Nidrāṇī) and Siddhatthī (Siddhārthā); Aridamaṇī (Śatrudamanī), Nivvāghāyā (Nirvyāghātā) and Khagāmiṇī

1. In the brackets the names are from the *PCR*. Generally they are Sanskrit equivalents, occasionally they are quite different Vidyās.

(Khagāminī) are said to have been mastered by Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa respectively (7.144-145). Sāhasagati mastered Ruva-parivattanakarī (Rupaparivartanakarī) (10. 13) or Veyālī (Vaitālī) Vidyā. (47. 43) Ratnāśrava acquired Mānasasundarīvidyā (7. 73). Three daughters of king Gandharva mastered Managāminī (Manasa-gāminī) Vidyā (51. 19).

Besides these, the Vidyās which were bestowed by some persons are as follows:—

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were bestowed with Simhavāhinī and Garuḍa Vidyās by celestial Garuḍādhipati (59.84). Rāvaṇa was bestowed with Āśāliṇī (Āśālikā) Vidyā by Uparambhā, the wife of Nalakūbara (12. 64). Nārada was bestowed with the Āgāsagāminī Vijjā (11. 65) by some celestial beings. Nami and Vinami were bestowed with several Vidyās by celestial Nāgarāja (3. 149). Nami and Vinami possessed various Vidyās hence their dynasty was known as Vidyādhara Vamśa.

Some of the above mentioned Vidyās can be compared with the Vidyās which were attained by Jitaśatru and then assigned over by him to prince Nāgakumāra.¹

The Ṛddhis and Vidyās are said to be playing an important part in the social and political life of the people.

With the help of these powers monks fared in the sky (17. 74; 41. 5; 89.1; 97.13). They could cure snake-bites (77. 91), press down the peak of a mountain (9. 76) and could burn towns to ashes (41. 34).

By the power of these Vidyās even laymen brought about miracles. Vidyadhara Indra created the paraphernalia of the celestial lord (7. 6); Rāvaṇa raised a peak, the Kailāśa mountain (9. 67-69), conjured up ferocious animals, demons, hobgoblins and snakes (46.52-53), and became invisible (9. 12-13); Sāhasagati changed his form (43. 38); Vāli circumambulated the whole world daily (9. 3); Hanu warded off the calamity of fire (51. 6); Rāvaṇa conjured up many counterfeits of himself, produced sun-heat, moonlight, fire, and rain (8. 26-29) and Ratnāśrava created a city of his liking (7. 74). girls also could move to the place of their liking within no time (51. 8).

The following are the political events which were influenced by the Vidyās. Sāhasagati by the power of his Rupaparivartanakarī (10.

1. See *Nāyaka*, Ca, VI. 6.

13) or *Vetālī* (47.43) *Vidyā* assumed the form of *Sugrīva* to establish sexual relations with the latter's wife. This incident forced *Sugrīva* to seek the help of *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa*. Thus *Sugrīva* became a strong and prominent ally of *Rāma* and helped the latter in rescuing *Sītā* from the clutches of *Rāvaṇa*. It was with the help of the *Avalokanī Vidyā* that *Rāvaṇa* could ascertain the identity of *Rāma*, *Lakṣmaṇa* and *Sītā* in the *Daṇḍakāraṇya* and then he could also know *Lakṣmaṇa*'s secret signal of a lion's roar. By the help of that signal he managed to kidnap *Sītā* (44.22-39), *Sītā-harṇa* is the main incident of the theme of the *Rāma*-story. *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa* by the help of their *Simhavāhinī* and *Garuḍa Vidyās* got *Bhāmaṇḍala* and *Sugrīva* released from the captivity of *Rāvaṇa* (59.84; 60.2). *Rāvaṇa* created many heads and limbs on his person by the help of *Bahurūpā mahāvidyā* as a result of which *Lakṣmaṇa*, for some time remained unsuccessful in slaying *Rāvaṇa* (72.15-24).

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION, LITERATURE, SCIENCES, ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE.

SECTION I. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

In the *PCV* there are very general statements about the system of education. It lacks details about the various aspects of the educational system. Even then a treatment of the data available in it will provide us with sufficient information about the educational activities in those days.

A. Teacher and Pupil.

Teacher :—The teacher is called Guru in general sense (12.11; 25.26; 77.83; 82.45). The other terms used for the teacher are Uvajjhāya=Upādhyāya and Āyariya=Ācārya. Manu (2.141) tells us that an Upādhyāya took to the profession of teaching for his livelihood and taught only a portion of the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*, whereas, an Ācārya did not charge fees and taught the *Vedas* along with *Kalpasūtras* and *Upaniṣads* (2.140). In the *PCV* the terms are used without any such distinction. Here the teacher of the *Āraṇyakas* (11.10), or Vidyās (traditional learning) (39.90) or archery (14.20) is equally called Upādhyāya and even the teacher of medical science or spells is called Ācārya (48.84).

The student is called 'Sisa = Śiṣya' or Antavāsī=Antevāsin (11.10; 25.19; 25.20). Great respect was accorded to teachers by their pupils. An indirect reference to that effect is found in the *PCV*. Hariṣeṇa says that the parents are also 'gurus' and they should not be pained even slightly (8.152). The teacher is mentioned as being always agreeable and affectionate to the pupils. A teacher should not cause even slightest anxiety to his pupil as the sun glitters without giving any pain to the eyes. To good pupils a teacher is very useful, while to bad ones he is like a scorching sun to the owls (97.23-24).

Remuneration of teachers:—There is no mention of fixing any remuneration for a teacher whether he was appointed by the parents of the pupils or he belonged to some distant place where the pupils went for their studies. The only remuneration paid to the teacher was to present him with gifts and to accord due reverence to him at the time of completing the education (*sammāṇa dāṇa vihavaṇa gurussa pūyaṃ kareṃ*

25.26; sampūio 39.90). Manu lays down that a pupil should not pay any fees to his teacher before he finishes his education (2.245) and teachers charging fees are condemned (3.156) by him. It is further said that a pupil should give to his teacher such presents as he can afford—such as field, gold, cow, horse, umbrella, shoes, grain, vegetables or cloths (2.246).

Age of studentship:—It is said that when boys became capable of grasping and retaining the meaning of subjects or became able to learn arts, they were entrusted to a teacher for their studies (Kalāgahanadhāraṇasahe 25.15; 97.12). Their education got completed when they attained full youth (sampatto jovvaṇaṃ savva kalāsu sāhiyavijjo puṇo jāyo balavīriya sampanno (18.56). The ancient literature reveals that the education commenced at the age ranging from five¹ to eight² years³. The full youth indicates the marriageable age and on the attainment of that age the education got completed (24.9; 97.25; 98.1).

As regards the education of girls⁴ it will be sufficient to recapitulate that they were suitably educated in literature, arts and sciences. There are glimpses that co-education also prevailed and girls were sent out to the residence of the teacher for their studies.

Places of study:—The *PCV* reveals that the boys received their education at home town or were sent out to some other places. Rāma and his brothers (25. 23) and Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa (97.22) received their education at their home towns at the feet of the teacher specially appointed for them. A princess of Cakrapura and a son of a purohita of the same place studied together at the residence of a common teacher (25. 4, 6). Kśīrakadamba taught a prince, his son and a Brahmin boy in the forest (II. 9) in the vicinity of their home town. Princes Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa went to a place which was far away from their birth-place. They were completely entrusted to the teacher and when they returned after completing their education, they could not recognise even their kith and kin (39. 87-95). There were also renowned places where students flocked to from various parts of the country for their education. At Rājagṛha Vaivasvat was training no less than 1000 pupils in archery. The teacher of Rāma had been trained there (25. 18). Śrīvārdhita went to Vyāghrapura for learning sciences and arts (77.84). Kusumapura seems to be alluded to as a

1. See *AIU*, p, 582.

2. See *Bhag Su*, II 11. 429.

3. See *EAI* pp 266, 274.

4. See *Supra* The position of Woman.

good centre of learning medical science or spells (48.83-85). Vipra Ramaṇa of Rājagṛha is mentioned to have gone to some other place for his studies and he returned home after a long time (82. 44-46),

Other agencies :—No less part was played by the wandering mendicants who regularly gave sermons to the public on religion and indoctrinated the principles of morality and righteousness. They were the mobile teachers and roaming libraries. There were occasions when religious debates were held and on such occasions people got good opportunities to learn many things about religion, philosophy and ethics (11.25; 105.26).

Besides that the society was based on Jāti or Varṇa i. e. the professional classes hence the respective families would have been good schools of training in different learnings, professions and crafts.

B. Subjects of study and Literature.

The general references in connection with the education of children indicate that the education was manifold. Instructions were imparted in the Śāstras, Vijñānas, Kalās and the Śilpas. In support of the above the following general references can be quoted :—

Satthāpi sikkhaveum 11.65, savvasatthavisārao 25.3, nāpā vihāi satthāim 97.22, bhusattha paṇḍio 74.29; bahuviHAVINNĀPALADDHAM²-happā 25.25, vinnāṇasipparahiyā 3.112; sikkhanti kalāgamaṃ sayalam 12.11, savvakalāgama kusala 97.25, kalāsu kusala 25.26, savvaṃ kalāgamagunaṃ sikkhai 77.84, savva kalāsu sāhiyavijjo 18.56; sayam ca sippāna uvaitṭhaṃ 3.114. The reference to Śāstra is not necessarily to the sacred scriptures. It means also treatises on various secular subjects. Thus the *PGV* mentions 'nayasattha (8-5)=nyāyaśāstra. Further a Dūta=envoy is stated to have learned various Śāstras (39.39). Here Śāstras denote treatises on polity. Śāstras can be taken as works relating to arts and sciences also. The military science or archery is also called Isattha (25.24) or Isatthāgama (77.83)=Iṣuśāstra.

The following were the subjects which were studied in those days:—Script, Grammar, Prosody (livisattham, saddalakkhaṇam, chandaṃ 24. 6), Jinaśāsanaśruti (Jinavarasāsaṇammisuipunnā 1. 19), Vedas (4. 80), Vedāṅgas, Upāṅgas (saṅgovaṅge vee 82. 45), Āraṇyakas (11. 10), Rāmāyaṇa (2. 116), Bhārata i. e. the great epic (105. 16), treatises on polity (nayasattha 8. 5) and Dhanurveda (12. 125; 25 18).

The Jinaśruti denotes the Jaina canonical literature which consists of 45 Āgamas i. e. 12 Aṅgas, 12 Upāṅgas etc. There is a specific reference to the Pūrvas and Aṅgas which were studied by the monks

(114.23). The *Vedas* which are four in number are well-known as *Rgveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda*. The *Vedāṅgas* are six¹ in number. They are *Śikṣā* (phonetics), *Kalpa* (ritual), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (exegesis), *Chanda* (metres) and *Jyotiṣ* (astronomy). The *Upāṅgas* are the supplementary or additional works such as the *Purāṇas*, the *Nyāya*, *Mīmāṃsā* and the *Dharmaśāstras*².

In connection with the education of Kaikeyī it is mentioned that she was educated and trained in *Laukikajñāna* (*loyaṁ nāyaṁ* 24.8). It is also called as *loiyasui* (58.6) and *loyasattha* (2.107). As regards the popular learning (*laukika śruta*) the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* and the *Nandisūtra* mention the following works: *Bhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhīmāsurukka*,³ *Koṭillaya* (*Kauṭilya*), *Ghodayamuha* (mentioned as a politician in the *Arthaśāstra* and *Kāmasūtra*), *Sagaḍibhaddiāu*, *Kappāsia*, *Nāgasuhuma*, *Kaṇagasattari* (according to H. R. Kapadia it is the same as *Saṅkhyakārikā* of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*), *Vesiya*, *Vaisesiya*, *Buddhasāsana*, *Kavila*, *Logāyata*, *Ṣaṭṭhiyanta*, *Mādhara*, *Purāṇa*, *Vāgarāṇa*, *Nāḍaga*, seventy two arts, four *Vedas* with *Aṅgas* and *Upāṅgas*. The *Nandisūtra* adds to them *Terāsiya*, *Bhāgava*, *Pāyāñjali* and *Pussadeva*.⁴

The references to *Akkhāṇa* = *Ākhyāna* (48.77), *Jiṇḍaniggaṇ thakahā* (32.97), *Dhammakahā* (96.10), *Parihāsakahā* (74.20) and *Gandhavvakahā* (53.20) denote the existence of narrative literature of various kinds. Some sciences and arts which have been specifically mentioned in the *PCV* (24.5-8). are :—

Sciences :—Writing and Scripts (*livisatthaṁ*), Military science (*Dhaṇuvveda* or *Isattha* already mentioned). Arithmetic (*Gaṇiyam*), Astronomy and Astrology, Medical science⁵, Domestic sciences such as Cooking (*Bhoyanavihi*), the science of Prognostication (*Nimittam* or *Atthaṇṇanimitta* (7.80) which included eight branches relating to earthquake, portentous phenomena, dreams, various colours and forms of the sky, movement of limbs, voice of the birds, marks of the body and signs of distinction⁶) and the sciences of distinguishing

1. See *Pradīpa Tikā* on *Pāṭaṅjala Mahābhāṣya* by Kaiyaṣa-Aṅnikā I, p. 25 (*Nirṇayasāgara* press-1951).
2. *MWSED*, p. 213. See also *Nandi. Sū*, 42; *Anuyoga. Sū*, 41. Vide p. 29 of the Canonical literature of the Jainas by H. R. Kapadia.
3. *Āsurakkha* in the *Mūlāsūtra* at 5. 60.
4. Vide *LAI*, p. 171.
5. The reference to *Vaidyas* is enough to establish that medical science was studied (see the section-Diseases and their cure).
6. See *Sthānaṅga*, 8.608 and *TP*, 4.1002-1016.

gems, flowers, elephants and horses (rayaṇavisesaṁ kusumavisesaṁ, gayaturayalakkhaṇaṁ). There is a reference to the Garuḍaśāstra (15.45-48). It dealt with charms against snake bites.

Arts :—Dressing and ornamentation (Āharaṇavihi), Music, Dance and Drama (Gandhavaṁ, Naṭṭaṁ and Nāḍaya); Drawing, Painting, Plastering (Ālekkhaṁ, leppamayaṁ) and Sculpture; Architecture; Perfumery and Modelling of leaves (Gandhajjutti and Patta-cchejjaṁ).

Further general statements are made about other Kalās (anuāsu kalāsu 24.8). The *Kalpasūtra* refers to 72 and 64 subjects of learning or arts for men and women respectively.¹

SECTION 2. SCIENCES

A. Writing.

The *PCV* clearly mentions that writing (livi sattha 24.6) was taught to the students. A princess is referred to be learning alphabets with a pen in her hand (sā paḍhai akkharāṇi lehaṇihatthā payatteṇaṁ 26.5). Kings are said to be sending written messages (leha 26.94; 98.13-14). King Ativīrya sent a long letter to king Mahādhara calling him for his assistance with his forces. The letter is spread over 12 (gāthās) lines of the *PCV* (37. 3-14). Private and confidential letters (lehe sāhinnāṇe 77.45) are said to have been sent by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to call for the girls offered to them (77.53) in marriage.

B. Astronomy.

A fair glimpse, in the *PCV*, of the division of time and the components of the solar system speaks of the developed stage of the science of astronomy. The time in general is denoted by the words 'kāla' (3.33, 8.10; 15.99; 20.66) and 'samaya' (16.50) and in particular as 'velā' (14.128) and its division is called 'kālavibhāga' (3.17). The time is divided into 'rātri' (rattimdivaṁ 75.85. rayāṇi 8.154, nisā 12.19 rāi 14.116) 'dina' (aha 22.74, diyaḥa 14.30, dina 7.138, divasa 14.55); fortnight (pakkha 42.4), the dark (bahula 10.107) and the bright (suddhapakkha 6.27 or sukka 20.68); month (māsa 15.96) which was based on lunar cycle as it is stated that the moon wanes and waxes in the dark and the bright fortnight respectively (bahulasukkapakkhe osarai pavaḍḍhai cando 20.68); and year (varisa 14.24, vāsa 20.71, saṁvacchara 107.8; 114.27).

1. For their details see *Sukhabodhikā Tika*, p. 146-147 and *LAI*, p. 172-173. See *Samavāyāṅga* for 72 Kalas.

The middle of the day is called 'majjhaṇḥa (22.1) which indicates that the day was further divided into forenoon and afternoon. The division of a full day into eight Yāmas can be inferred from the reference to the last Yāma of night (pacchimajāma 25.1). Time of the union of day and night i. e. the dusk is referred to as 'sañjhāsamaya' (16.50). Besides that, the time of the union of night and day i. e. the dawn as well as the middle of the day i. e. the noon are also mentioned as 'sandhyā' (tiṇṇisañjhāo 7.14). Viyāla = vikala indicates the time after the sun-set (14.14), during that a Jaina is prohibited to take meals. Pradoṣa-samaya is also mentioned (paosasamaa 70.50) in the sense of the night. The division of the day into 'muhūrtas' was also known (14.125).

The fortnight consisted of nearly fifteen days and some of the 'tithis' are specifically mentioned in the *Paumacariyam*. They are viz. 'Pañcamīdivasa'—54.28; Malasattamī—89.31, Bahulaatṭhamī—17.107 Dhavalaatṭhamī—29.1; 66.14; Egārasī—73.34 and Pañcayasi—65.14 or Pañcadaśī 97.7. The Pūrṇimānta basis of reckoning the lunar was prevalent. Thus there is mentioned that the day on which the moon entered the Śravaṇa-nakṣatra, was called as Śravaṇapañcadaśī (Sāvaṇasaṅgae cande sāvaṇapañcadaśī 96.7) The names of the following months have occurred in the *Paumacariyam*:—Cetta 6.36; 17.107; Jetṭha—73.34; Āsāḍha—29.1; Sāvaṇa—97.7; Kattigī—89.30 (i. e. Kārtika Pūrṇimā) and Maggasira—6.28; 54.28. As far as the seven days are concerned only one of them i. e. Sunday is mentioned (diyaho vibhāvasū=ravi-vasara 17.107).

The year was divided into six seasons. They were Nidāha 11.111 or Gimha 29.21; Jalaya 22.31 or Ghaṇa 35.28. or Pāusa—29.40; Saraya—43.1; Hemanta—31.41; Sisira 26.21 and Vasanta—21.46.

The knowledge of the people about solar astronomy was well advanced as it is testified by the evidences available in the *Paumacariyam*. There are categorical references to the planets (savve gahā 17.110); constellations = nakṣatras (nakkhattā 69.54) and stars (tāragā 75.34).

The solar bodies which have been specifically mentioned are:

Planets :—Sūra—14.115 or Ravi—17.108; Canda—12.137 or Sasi—17.108; Āra (Maṅgala)—17.108; Buha—17.109; Gura—12.109; Bhaggava (Śukra) 17.108; Saṇi—17.109; and Rāhu—12.137. There is reference to the lunar eclipse when the moon is devoured by Rāhu (Cando iva Rāhugahaṇammi 12.137).

Constellations:—The following nakṣatras are mentioned. Aśvinī (Aśvinī) 20. 55, Bharanī 20. 42, Kṛttikā (Kṛttikā) 20. 43, Rohiṇī 20. 44, Puṇarvasu (Punarvasu)—20. 30; Pūṣa (Pūṣya 20. 41); Maghā 20. 31, Hata (Hasta) 20. 50. Cittā 20. 32, Viśākhā (Viśākhā—20.49), Anurādhā (Anurādhā 20. 34), Inda (Aindra or Jyēṣṭhā) 20. 29, Mūla 20. 35, Pūrvāṣāḍha and Uttara āṣāḍha 20.36; 20. 27; 97. 7; Samāna Savaṇa (Śrāvaṇa) 17.107; 97. 7; Sayabhisā (Śatabhiṣaj) 20. 38; Uttarabhaddavayā 20. 39 and Revai (Revati) 20. 40. Thus nineteen of the twenty-seven nakṣatras have been mentioned. Some of the months are specifically mentioned. They themselves indicate the corresponding nakṣatras—viz. Maggasira for Mṛgaśīrṣa, Phagguṇa for Phalguṇa and Jyēṣṭha for Jyēṣṭhā (6.27; 66. 14; 74. 34).

Zodiacs :—The zodiacs which have been referred to specifically are Meṣa (Mesa—17.108), Vṛṣa (Vasabha—17.108), Karka (Kulira 17.108), Kanyā (Kaṇṇā 17.109), Makara (Mayara 17.108) and Mīna (Mīṇa 17.109).

C. Astrology.

The art of judging the influence of stars upon human affairs is called astrology. The *PCV* reveals that people had great faith in astrology. On various social and political occasions people took into consideration the timely planetary position to find out whether the particular time was auspicious or inauspicious. This subject has already been dealt under popular beliefs. Here it is to be noted that astrologers (gaṇiyān 17.107 or nakkhastapāḍhaya 17.112) were consulted on various occasions. The *PCV* states that on the occasion of the birth of Hanu, an astrologer read out the planetary position and foretold after calculation that Hanu would be a great person (balabhogarajja sāmiddhi) and would attain liberation (17.111-118). Thus the *PCV* reveals that astrology had developed greatly and it had become a pseudo-science.

D. Medical Science.

Diseases and their cure :—The act of curing or healing the diseases was called Tigicchaṁ (Cikitsam 110.27). The physician was called Vaidya (Veṇja 22.64). Roga or Vāhi (Vyādhi) denoted the general disease (3.124; 13.33). Osahi (Oṣadhi 3.158) denoted the herb while Osaha (Auṣadha 22.46) meant the medicine compounded of several ingredients. The engaging of Vaidyas for making a diagnosis of the disease of an elephant indicates that veterinary doctors were also available (81.12).

The *PCV* refers to *Jvara* (22.63), the fever (63.36); *Dāhajvara*=the hot fever or inflammatory fever (63.26); *Pittajvara*=the bilious fever (37.22); *Kuṣṭha vyādhi*=the leprosy (77.101); *Upaghāta*=the morbid affection; weakness or mental sickness (63.26); *Sphoṭaka*=the swelling, boil or tumour (63.26); *Aruci*=the want of appetite (63.26); *Śūla*=the shooting of acute or sharp pain in the body (63.26); and *Māri* (2.7.32)=the epidemic or pestilence which is fatal in form. The reference to 'vāyūna vilāṅghiyā' 109.2 (*vāyunā vastkṛtā PCR*, 114.2) indicates the disease of rheumatism or paralysis.

On the occasion of a break of epidemic there were large scale death. It is said that an epidemic spread due to the air which was infected with (germs of) diseases (*bahurogasamubbhavaṁ vāum* 65.68).

Disabled persons such as the blind (*andha*), the deaf (*badhira*), the dumb (*mūka*), the lame (*paṇḍu*), men having one arm withered (*Kuṇi* 2.77), the dwarf (*vāmaṇa*) and the hunch-backed (*khuḍja*=*kubja*) 14.31 are referred to in the *PCV*.

Patients were cured by administering drugs (81.12). Taste of medicines differed. There is a reference to *Kaḍuosaham* (70.10), the pungent drug.

Sandal-wood was very commonly used for curing men who fell in swoon. Its water was sprinkled (30.14) or its paste was applied on the body (64.37) for the same.

The very name of *Viśalyā* indicates that surgery was prevalent in those days. *Viśalyā* cured *Lakṣmaṇa* who was wounded in the battlefield. Many other wounded soldiers also were healed by her treatment (64.63).

On the sudden death of *Lakṣmaṇa*, *Rāma* became quite mad. He used to do incoherent work just as carrying the dead body of *Lakṣmaṇa* on his shoulders, feeding him etc. This madness was cured by showing to him the same type of incoherent works. This is an instance of psychological treatment. (Ch. 113).

Besides the administering of drugs, two other practices were in vogue for curing the diseased persons. One was the enchanting of some spell or charm (*manta-mantra* 32.64; 81.12; 110.27). There is a reference to the charmers who used to acquire charms on the cemetery ground. They are called *Jaṅguliyaṭāra* (105.57). The

term 'Āhāra' is used also in the sense of solid food (āhārapāṇa 3. 60, 110; 81. 13).

Categories of food:—The two categories of food—solid and liquid, are further subdivided into four kinds (cauvihāhāraṃ 5.241: 14.125). They are termed as 'Asaṇa, Pāṇa, Khāima and Sāima'. (asaṇa=rice etc. pāṇa=gruel etc; Khāima=fruits etc; and sāima=betel leaf etc). The commentary of Vasunandī Śramaṇa on the *Mūlacāra* (1.20) mentions bhaktādi=rice etc; dugdhādi=milk etc; laḍḍukādi=sweets etc; and ailādi=cardamom etc. as the articles of four different categories respectively. The *Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvaka-cāra* mentions 'anna' i. e. food of grains under Asaṇa and 'lehyam' i. e. articles to be licked, under Sāimaṃ¹. The *Mūlacāra* at 9.54 calls 'lehyam' and 'svādyam' as the same but adds two more categories, viz. bhojam=bhojyam and pejjam=peyam. Bhojyam is explained as 'bhakṣyam=i. e. to be chewed while 'peyam' is said to be 'stokabhaktapānabāhulam' i. e. a mixture of less solid and more liquid. In the Sanskrit literature² five categories are referred to. They are 'Bhakṣya' (to be chewed and eaten i. e. flour preparations), 'Bhojya' (eaten without chewing, i. e. rice etc.) 'Lehya' (to be licked i. e. liquid condiments), 'Cūṣya' (to be sucked i. e. mango pickles etc). and 'Peya' (to be drunk i. e. milk, wine etc). The *PCR* (24.53-55) mentions that 'Bhakṣya' is 'Āsvādyā' i. e. for taste, 'Bhojya' meant for quenching the hunger (kṣudhā) and it consisted of eatables such as Yavāgu and rice; Peyam included cool-drinks, water and wine, the other two categories were Lehya and Cūṣya.

Cereals:—The following cereals are mentioned in the *PCV*. The corns in general are denoted by dhaṇṇa=dhānya³ (3.158; 5.163; 26.41). Śali (99.29), Vrihi (4.76), Tandula⁴ (33.16), and Kodrava⁵ (103.11) are the different varieties of rice. The reference to 'dhaṇṇam' at 41.4 (dhaṇṇam ca raṇṇajāyam) is to the wild corn growing in the forest. Java 4.76; 11.25) is the barley, Caṇaka (gram), (Mudga—kidneybean) and Māṣa (horse-bean) are the pulses (33.16). Tila (sesame) and Sarsapa (mustard) are the oil seeds (33.16; 97.10).

Spices:—There is a reference to the Lavaṅga (6. 41) and it must have been used as an ingredient of spices.

1. *Sthānāṅga*, 4.295 with Abhayadevasurī's commentary; *Bhag. Sū.*, 3.1.134.

2. Vide *Jaina Ācārya kā Sāṅgabheda* by J. K. Mukhtāra p. 26. *Sam.*, 1985.

3. *India in Kālidāsa*, pp. 165-6.

4. See *Sthānāṅga*, 3.155; *Tiloyaṇṇatti*, 4.500.

5. *Bṛ-Saṃh.*, 77.2.

6. *Ibid.*

Milk:—The Milk (khīra=kṣīra 3.46:26.1 or dugdha 115.8) of cows and buffaloes is said to be very nutritive article of food. Pāyasa (115.8 rice gruel), Dadhi (115.8. curd). Sappi=Sarpis (14.85 clarified butter) and Ghaa (3.158 Ghṛta=ghee) were the different preparations of milk.

Sugar:—The sugar and jaggery are called Sayara or Sakkara (Śarkarā) and Gula (115.8,9) respectively. Modaka (115.9) and Laḍḍuga (84.4) are the sweets. Maṇḍa (Maṇḍa 84.4) seems to be the rice-gruel or a sort of pastry or baked flour. Madhu (honey 3.158;14.85) is also referred to. The use of sugarcane-juice (Ikkhurasā=Ikṣurasa 3.111;41.31) was very common.

Fruits:—The use of fruits was very common specially with those who lived in forest (33.10). At times leaves were also used for food (pattaphalāhārīṇī 63.45;65.40). Recluses depended on fruits and roots (phalamulāi kayābhāro 8.155). The following fruits have been mentioned: mango (42.7), pomegranate (42.6), rose-apple (20.39), wood-apple (42.6), and grapes (53.79). Relishing rice-gruel prepared with the chips of orange, bread-fruit, terminatia catappa, bannana, datefruits and coconut (41.9) have also been referred to.

The betel leaves were chewed fondly by the people (46.72;70.50;80.30),

Kitchen, Cook and Food preparations:—Well-to-do and noble families engaged cooks for the management of their kitchen (Sūvayāra=Sūpakāra 113.7). Sūvayāravaī denotes that under him many assistants worked (22.73). These food specialists prepared testeful, fragrant and relishing plates (mīsurahisaukaliyam 77.33). It is further said that the preparations were pleasant and agreeable to the five senses and the mind (pañcapāṇam iridiyatthāṇam itṭam suham maṇojjam 77.33). Thus it reveals that the food was made as pleasant as possible so that it provided wholesome satisfaction to the mind and body. Even the water used for drinking was saturated with fragrance (surabhiḡandhajala 115.11). There are categorical references to various kinds of food preparations (nāṇāviha bhattam 77.32; bhoyaṇam bahuviyappam 69.15). Thus the PCV refers to 108 kinds¹ of preparations of eatables (aṭṭhasayakhajjayajuttam 69.16), 64 varieties of dainties (causatṭhivaṇṇajaviyappam 99.16) and 16 kinds of rice preparations (solasa oyaṇa bheyam 69.16).

1. See *Tiloyaṇanattī*, 4.347 also.

Utensils:—Generally the utensils were called bhāyaṇas=bhājanas (3. 37; 115. 13). Utensils of gold or set with jewels are mentioned (sovaṇṇiyabhāyabhāyaṇesu 20. 165; kañcanarayaṇamayāim 102.20). The PCV refers to the following specific utensils : Bhiṅgāra (Bhṛāgāra 69.14; 102. 120) was the small pitcher with a slender neck and a spout attached to it. It was water receptacle used at the time of dining. Thāla (sthāla 102; 120; 115. 10) was a big plate. A small plate or dish was called Thalliyā (sthālikā 20. 166). Piḍhara is referred to in the sense of an earthen plate (Piṭhara 33. 85). Vaṭṭaa (102.120; 115. 10) was a round cup type vessel. Pattī (Pattī 115. 10) was a round and deep vessel. Then there was the bowl (Khappara = Karpāra 20. 166). Vaddhamāṇaya (Vardhamāṇka 102. 120) was a saucer. Kaccōlya (Kaccōlaka) 102.120) was a kind of vessel round and deep. Kandu (118. 6) was the cauldron, a boiling vessel. The earthen pot was called Ghaṭa (20.166) or Kumbha (69. 8). The Kalāśa was the pitcher. Golden pitcher is also referred to (kaṇṇaya kalasa 115.11). In forests the purpose of utensils was served by leaves and bamboos.

Dining:—The royal families are referred to be maintaining separate dining halls (bhoyaṇa-maṇḍava 69.13, Bhoyaṇaghara 77.32 or Āhāramaṇḍava 81. 6). It is often mentioned that the lunch was taken after taking a bath (69.11-13; 77.31-32; 34.13). The procedure of dining is worth noting. The PCV reveals that as soon as Rāvaṇa entered the dining hall, he was provided with a seat. The warriors accompanying him also duly occupied their respective seats. Their seats consisted of low couches of cane shining with gold-work. They were equipped with cushions and coverings of cloth sheet (attharaya-varamasūraya¹—vettāsaṇakañcaṇamaesu 69.14). First of all they were provided with pitchers or jugs of water (bhiṅgāravīhi) and then they were served with food-articles of various kinds. Thus the procedure indicates that the people had developed good aesthetic sense.

Meat :—The PCV refers to taking of meat by lower classes and the Mlecchas. Meat-takers are referred to be attaining hell (26.36). This non-vegetarian diet is called Āmiṣāhāra (3.15). The meat is called Māmsa (26.37; 22.74). It refers to 'Pisita' = Piṣita, flesh also. It means the meat which is cut up or prepared. The life killed for obtaining the flesh consisted of animals, birds, and fishes. The taking of the flesh of bull (5.100) and sheep (41.55) is referred to. The PCV further

1. Masūraka is explained as a linted i.e. thin piece of timber or stone that covers an opening and supports a weight above it (EHAP, 414). In the PCV it may mean a support for holding dining plates.

mentions another work which mentioned that the elephants and buffaloes were used for the food of the Rākṣasas (2.111,116). In the same context it refers to the taking of marrow and blood of animals. The aquatic animals and birds were killed for food (26.40; 39.60). The slaughtering of Sumsumāra=Śiśumāra is mentioned. It is further stated that in the Atiduṣṣamākāla the reptiles would be also used for food (20.92). King Saudāsa is mentioned to be taking human flesh (22.75). The story of Saudāsa reveals that slaughtering houses were in existence and on religious days they remained closed (22.74).

Drinks :—Eating meat and drinking wine are looked down in the *PCV* (26.47). Wine is denoted by Surā (26.47), Madirā (70.51) and Āsava (11.43). The *PCV* reveals that the liquors were distilled and saturated with various kinds of fragrant juices for making them pleasant to drink (102.122). Nine sources of distilled spirits referred to in the *Carakasamhitā* are paddy, fruits, roots, pith, flowers, stalks, leaves, barks and sugar¹. The *Carakasamhitā* calls the distilled spirits as Āsava². The *Arthaśāstra* mentions Āsava as a variety of wine.³ The *PCV* mentions the following varieties of liquors :—Kādambarī (102.122; 113.10), Prasannā (78.51; 102.122), Madhu, Sīdhu (70.53, 34). The Kādambarī was prepared out of the fruits of Kādamabara tree.⁴ The Prasannā's preparation is described in the *Kautilya Arthaśāstra*.⁵ The Madhu was prepared from the juice of grapes.⁶ The Sīdhu was a product of the juice of sugarcane.⁷ The *Nāyādharmakahāṇa* refers to Surā, Maeya, Prasannā and Sīdhu as different varieties (16. p. 179). In the works of Kālidāsa⁸ we find mention of the Madhu, Madirā, Kādambarī, Sīdhu, Madya and the Āsava. The wine glass or drinking peg is referred to as Caṣaka (113.10) in the *PCV*. It refers to the Rākṣasa couples who took wine and enjoyed (70.51-36) the night before the final battle. Rāma, in the state of his madness is said to have offered Kādambarī to the dead body of Lakṣmaṇa (113.10).

1. *Caraka Samhitā Sūtraśāhānam* 6.48. Also See its Translation by Avinashachandra Kaviratna.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Kautilya*, 2. 25. 19.

4. R. L. Mitra, *Indo. Aryan*, Pt. I. p. 426 Vide J. C. Jain's *LAI*, p. 125.

5. 2. 25. 18.

6. *Ibid.* 2. 25. 14.

7. Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa*, 16.52.

8. See *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 196-197.

F. Flora and Fauna.

It has already been mentioned that the sciences of distinguishing flowers, horses and elephants formed the subjects of education (24.6, 7). The rich data regarding the flora and the fauna available in the *PCV* indicates that the author had good knowledge of the various kinds of vegetations and animals found in the country.

Flora :—The general idea conveyed by the *Paumacariyam* about the rich vegetation is that the country was covered with large belts of forests in the north as well as in the south. Rāma is said to have passed through various forests lying through-out the country. The *PCV* reveals that not only the hilly regions and the southern plateau but even the alluvial plains of today were rich with forests. The towns abounded in gardens and groves and in their vicinity there could be seen woodlands. Today we find that the natural vegetation has been cleared off by the growing population of the country in order to cultivate the land for the supply of food grains and commercial commodities, still the hilly regions and some other areas retain the heredity of natural woodlands.

The forest is called Aḍavi=Aṭavi (32.10) and Mahāvaṇa=Mahāvana (32.42). Mahāḍavi=Mahāṭavi meant a big forest. It is also (39.1) called as Raṇṇa (Araṇya). There is no distinction between an Aḍavi=Aṭavi and a Raṇṇa (94.40; 38.21.22). Some of the forests were so terrific that they have been called Ghora (18.28) or Bhīma (32.42). In the rainy season when the wild vegetation cropped up abundantly, the sight of the forest became alarming (Uttāsaṇa 22.35) on account of the dense trees and the movement of wild beasts and animals. Sometimes the vegetation was destroyed by conflagration (94.40). Besides these forests, the gardens (Ārāma), parks (Ujjāna=Udyāna) and groves (Kāṇaṇa=Kānana) situated outside the towns were also full of rich vegetation (8.267; 15.50; 33.20; 86.33). Sea-shore abounding in vegetation is also referred to (8.261). Then there were the lakes and ponds which abounded in flowery-plants (5.55f; 15.50).

The general term used for the entire kingdom of vegetation is 'Vanaspati' (102.93) which can be divided into several classes such as, the trees called as Pāyava=Pādapa (8.26), Taru (33.148) or Rukkha=Vṛkṣa (21.54); the plants or shrubs (Duma=Druma 15.28) and the creepers (Valli, Layā=Latā 39.1). Duma is not strictly used to denote the plants only but it meant the trees also (20.36, 44.47). According to their taste the trees have been divided into Titta=Tikta (punjent), Mahura=Madhura (sweet), Kaḍuya=Kaṭuka (bitter 14.43) and

Loṇarukkha = Lavaṇavṛkṣa (saltish 42.7). The juicy tree is called Khīra-rukkha = Kṣīra-vṛkṣa (34.37). Various parts of tree are referred to as Viḍava=Viṭapa (twig or branch); Pallava=leaves (350; 33.18); Puṣpa=flowers (92.6); Phala (fruits 2.33); Pavāla (Pravāla 92.6); Kisaḷaya (new shoots).

The vegetable kingdom may be dealt under different heads, namely trees, plants, climbers or creepers, grass, reeds and aquatic plants.

Trees.—A large variety of trees have been mentioned in the PCV. Some of them whose fruits big or small were commonly used as food articles were the Mango: *Magnifera Indica* (Amba=Āmra 42.7, Sahayāra=Sahakāra 21.49, Sahāra and Cūya=Cūta 53.79) which grew richly in Laṅkā, Daṇḍakāraṇya and on the Vasantagiri; the Bread fruit: *Artocarpus Integrifolia* (Phaṇasa=Paṇasa) which grew in the Daṇḍaka forest (41.9), Pāriyātra 33.2 and Laṅkā (46.74); the Orange (Nāraṅga) which grew in the Daṇḍaka (41.9) and Laṅkā (46.74); the *Pomegranate* (Dāḍima) which grew in the Daṇḍakāraṇya (42.6) and the Gangetic-highlands (21.48); the Rose-apple: *Eugenia Jambolana* (Jambu 20.39); the Banana: *Musa Sapientum* (Kayali=Kadalī) which grew wildly in the Daṇḍaka (42.9); the Wood-apple: *Aegle Marmelos* (Villa=Bilva) which was found in the Daṇḍaka (42.6) and Laṅkā (53.79); and the Clove—(Lavaṅga) which grew largely in the Vānaradīva (6.41).

The trees of the saltish soil which generally grew in the belts of forests lying in the vicinity of the sea-coasts were the different species of the palm-tree; the Coconut-tree (Nāliera or Nālierī=Nālikera) and the Date: *Phoenix sylvestris* (Khajjūra or Khajjūrī=Kharjūra) grew in the Daṇḍaka forest (41.9; 42.9) and Laṅkā (53.79); the Tan-palm: *Borassus flabelliformis* or the *Palmyra* (Tāla) grew richly in the Daṇḍaka forest (42.9); the *Areca-catechu*: Pūyapphalī=Pūgaphalī grew abundantly in Laṅkā (53.79); and the Punnāga, *calophyllum* grew in Laṅkā and Daṇḍakāraṇya (6.101, 53.79; 46.74; 42.6).

The fig-trees belong to the class of the trees having bigger girth. They are resinous and there is a reference to the Khīra-rukkha (Kṣīra-Vṛkṣa 34.37) in the PCV. They were the Vaḍa (Vāṭa or Nyagrodha 53.79; 36.29; 33.18)—*Ficus Indica* or Banyan tree; the Udumbara: *Ficus Glomerata* which were very common in the Pāriyātra (33.2), Avantideśa (33.18), Daṇḍakāraṇya (42.6.7), the Deccan plateau and Laṅkā (36.29); and the Āsattha (aśvattha): *Ficus religiosa* which grew in Daṇḍakāraṇya (42.6). All these trees are mighty and provide abundant shade. They bear fig fruits and their bark yields a resinous

milky juice. They are regarded as sacred and are called Caitya trees in the Indian literature.

Then there was a large number of other trees which grew in wild forests or in the cultivated gardens. They may be dealt with according to the places where they grew in abundance:—

The Padmaudyāna of Laṅkā (53. 79) and the Daṇḍaka (42. 6) forest abounded in the Kujjaya (Kubjaka¹): *Rosa moschato*, Campaya (Campaka): *Michelia Campaka* which bears yellow fragrant flowers, Tilaya (Tilaka): *Symplocos recemosa* which bears beautiful fragrant flowers during the spring season and Ankolla (Aṅkoṭha²): *Alangium Hexapetalum*.

The Vasantagiri (21.46), the highland of the northern plains situated some where on the route between Hastināpura and Śāketa, abounded in the following trees which blossomed in the spring season Rattāsoya (Raktāśoka): a species of Aśoka (*Saroea Indica-Jonesia Asoka*) called red Asoka; Kimsuya (Kimsuka): *Butea frondosa* which bears beautiful flowers without smell and is ordinarily the common Palāśa³; Palāśa (Palāśa 28.109): *Butea frondosa* which bears beautiful flowers redder than Kimsuka and Ajjuṇa (Arjuna): *Terminalia Arjuna*, a species of the teak tree which is also mentioned to be growing in the interior of the Daṇḍaka forest (42. 6) and in the Padmaudyāna of Laṅkā (53. 79).

The Padmaudyāna of Laṅkā (53. 79), the slopes of the Vasantagiri (21. 49) and the Vasantatilakaudyāna of Śāketa (3. 134) flourished in the Asoya (*Jonesia Asoka*) which bears magnificent red flowers; the Punnāga: *Rottleria Tinctoria*; the Nāga: *Mesua Roxburghii*, the Baula (Bakula): *mimusaps Elengi*; the Tilaya (Tilaka) and the Campaya (Campaka).

Further the Padmaudyāna of Laṅkā (53.70) was richly vegetated with the Kunda trees, which bear white and delicate flowers; the Mandāra: coral tree, *Erythrina Indica*, which is referred to in the ancient Indian literature as one of the five trees of paradise; the Ruddakkha (Rudrākṣa): *Elacocarpus Ganitrus* whose berry is used for making rosary; the Devadāru: *Pinus Deodara*, a gigantic pine tree very common to the Himalayan mountains; the Dhāyāi (Dhātākī): *Grislea Tomentosa*; the Rayaṇī (Rajadānī): *Buchanania Latifolia*; the Paḍālī (Pāṭala): *Bignonia suaveolens*; the Vamha (Brahman) *Butea*

1, The MWSED calls it a plant while the PSM calls it a tree. The PCV includes it among the trees.

2. Ibid.

3. IK, p. 39.

frondosa or *Ficus Glomerata*; and the Sāttavaṇṇa (Sapharpaṇa): *Alstonia Scholaris* which has seven leaves on its stalk.

The interior of the Daṇḍaka forest abounded in (42.6f) the Dhava: *Mimosa Hexandra*; the Sirisa (Śirīṣa): *Acacia Sirisa*; the Khaira: *Khadira*, *Acacia catechu*; the Sāga (Śāka): *Accasia Sirissa*, the teak tree; the Dhammapa; *Grewia Elastica*; the Sarala: *Pinus Deodara*, a variety of pine tree; the Kayamba (Kadamba), *Nauclea Cadamba*; the Ambāḍaya (Āmrātaka): the Hog Plum, *Spondias Mangifera*; the Kavitttha (Kapitttha): *Feronia Elephantum*; the Tinduga (Tinduka): *Diospyros embryopteris*; the Nimba: *Azadirachta Indica*; the Nandi, *Anogeissus Latifolia* (20.42) and the Aṁuttaya (Atimuktaka): the Harimantha, *Premna Spinosa*.

Stray references are made to the Kimpāga (Kimpāka 33.42;7.10): *Trichosanthes Palmata*; Kurabaya (Kurabaka): *red Barleria Crila*; Kuḍaya (Kuṭaja 11.119): *Wrightia antidysenterica*; Araḷuga (Araṭu): *Colosanthos Indica*; Samī (Śamī): *Mimosa Suma*; Bayarī (Badarī): Jujube tree; Māullīngī (Mātullīngī): citron-tree; Iṅguya (Iṅguda): *Terminalia catappa*; Candana (21.54): Sandal-tree, richly available in the Malaya region; Kapparukkha (Kalpavṛkṣa 3.35), a desire fulfilling tree; Indataru (Indrataru 20.29): *Terminalia Arjuna*; Mallidduma (Mallidruma 20.35) and Dahivaṇṇa (Dadhiparṇa 20.41) *Feroni elephantum*.

Plants:—Many species of plants are mentioned in the *Paumacariyam*. They are as follows:—

The Jasmine plants which flourished in the Padmaudyāna of Laṅkā (53.79) are the Mālāi (Mālātī), *Jasminum Grandi florum*; Jūhiyā (yūthikā), *Jasminum Auriculatum*; Malliyā (Mallikā), *Jasminum Zambac*; Sattalī (Saptalā or Navamallikā), Arabian Jasmine; Kundalayā (Kundalata), *Jasminum* species, white and delicate, referred to be growing on the Vasantagiri (21.49) also. Other flower-bearing plants are the Kandālī; Sinduvārā: *Vitex Negundo*; Piyaṅgu (Priyaṅgu), *Aglaia odorata*; and Kujjaya (Kubjaka) which is included among the plants and mentioned to be growing in Laṅkā, Padmaudyāna and Daṇḍaka (42.8) forest. Keyarī (?) (Ketaki) flourished in the Daṇḍaka (42.9). It is *Pandanus odoratissimus*, a green plant with needle-pointed blades and bears strong smelling flowers.

Creepers:—The following are creepers Kundalatā referred to in the PCV:—Kundalayā (21.49); Sinduvārā (53.79); Tumba (29.24) or gourd *Lagenaria vulgaris*; Dakkha (Drākṣā- 53.79), the vine

creeper abundantly growing in the Padmaudyāna of Laṅkā and Tambollavallī (Tāmbūla 46.72), the betel creeper.

The following are the species of vegetation which have not been identified. Cilla; The *PSM* calls it a tree. The *PCV* refers to it as used for worshipping the Jinas (66.19); Kaḍāhā (Kaṭāhā); Māyāī; Kañcaṇārā (Kañcanārā); Koriṇṭayā (Koraṇṭaka); and Rattakoriṇṭayā which grew in the Padmaudyāna of Laṅkā (53.79). Hila drumā growing on the Vasantagiri is referred to at 21.48.

Then the Mallidduma (Mallidruma 23.35), Kaṇayalayā (Kanakalatā 36.16), Candanalayā (53.67) and Sirimañjarī (27.43) are also referred to.

Grass :—The grass is called Taṇa (Tṛṇa) in the general sense. It is said that in the rainy season the land was decked all round with green grass (hariyatāṇa sāmalaṅgī 11.119). It formed the main fodder of the animals which are mentioned as Taṇacārī (N.29). There is an allusion to Kuśa grass, here called as Dabbha (Darbha 18.18). It is *Poa Cynosuroides* whose leaves are very long and sharp pointed. Kāsa (Kāśa) : *Saccharum Spontaneum* is a kind of long grass which blossoms in the autumn season and bears white flowers. It is used for roofs and mats. Its flowers are compared with the grey hairs of an old person (21.76). The example of lofty grass is the Varṇsa (43.21) or Venu (63.39). It is the common bamboo referred to be growing wildly in the Daṇḍaka forest (43.21) and in the Sihanināda Aṭavi (94.44). The Vamśagiri (39.4) situated in the vicinity of the Daṇḍakāraṇya seems to be very abundantly flourishing in the bamboos.

Flowers :—The *PCV* mentions two types of flowers (Jaiyathalaya kuśumā 12.37) i. e. of water and of land. The latter variety has already been dealt with in the preceding pages. It may be noted that the flowers of various colours have been referred to. Generally they are mentioned to be of five types (6.20 Kusumapañcavaṇṇehi). They are the (siya, dhavala) white (nīla) blue, (hariya) green, (rattā-ruṇa) red and (yellow) flowers (42.13). Now we take up the account of the flowers of winter or aquatic plants. They are mentioned to be growing abundantly in the inland waters such as rivers (Narmadā 10.39, Jāhnavī 94.50, Karṇaravā 42.20), lakes (Mānasa 16.46 and other lakes in the southern plateau land 42.11), ponds, pools and tanks (Dihiyāvāvī, situated in the parks & gardens of the cities 78.54; 5.55).

As a water flower, the lotus has been widely mentioned. Its many names given in the *PCV* are : Kamala (42.11), Paṅkaya

(Pañkaja 5.55), Uppala (Utpala 78.55), Aravinda (46.3) and Nalinī (94.50). It is said that the lotuses closed at the time of sun-set (2.99). There are several references to Pauma (Padma 24.7) which belongs to this type of lotuses. Then there is the Kumuda which belongs to the other variety (43.2) called the water-lily. The species of the former type of lotuses are : Puñḍarīa (Puñḍarīka), the white one (78.54); Pauma uppala (24.7), the blue one (Indīvara ghaṇa sāma 38.30). The species of the other type of lotuses is Kuvalaya (16.38), the blue one which opens at night. The surface of a pond completely covered with lotuses is called either Kamaliṇīvaṇa (53.80) or Paumasara (15.50).

Besides the lotus plants, the *PCV* refers to the Sevāla (Śaivāla) which disappeared on the advent of Sarad-kāla (30.2). It is the moss which grows abundantly over the surface of the water during the rainy season.

Fauna :—The author has taken notice of the animal life while describing the forest regions, hilly-tracts, gardens and groves, sea-shores, the banks of the rivers, lakes and other water-pools. While referring to the social aspect of the life of the people, the author has mentioned some domestic animals and pleasing birds. Besides that many animal creatures have found an important place in the narratives dealing with the previous births of the characters of the main story. The Karma-theory which is an indispensable feature of Jainism has connected the previous lives of the characters with the animal creatures¹ and with the working of their passions reared on enmity and affection just on the lines of the human nature. There are occasions when the animals have been referred to in poetic similes². Further in accordance with the belief of the people, the animals have been mentioned as foreboding³ good or evil.

The general term used for the whole kingdom of animals is the Tiriya (5.101; 14.28) or Tirikhha (Tiryā 2.59). The animal life can be divided into the categories of beasts (Pasuya 11.70; 14.29; or Cauppaya 46.63), birds (Pakkhi 42.15; 117.16 or Saṇa 16.50), reptiles (Sarissava 20.92), aquatic animals (Jalayara 26.40) and small creatures (Kīḍa 1.26 or Jantu 6.137). Other mode of classification can also be discerned from the words used in the work. Thus they can be put as the animals feeding upon other creatures (Jīvāhārā 14.17) called beasts of prey (Sāvayā 3.82; 17.49; 42.12) or the carnivorous animals

1. 50.9; 32.38, 51; 88.6; 103.18-20.

2. 2.16-18; 3.3; 6.175; 8.176; 178; 42.18; 100.58.

3. 7.17; 34.36-37.

(Kavvāyasattā 22.35) and those consuming grass (Tapacārī 14.29), called herbivorous animals.

In the following lines the animal life is studied under various heads such as the wild beasts, domestic animals, reptiles, aquatic animals, birds and finally the worms and insects.

Wild-Beasts :—The wild life is said to be infesting the forests of Pāriyātra (32.10), Citrakūṭa (33.6f), Daṇḍaka (42.10) and Sindhvanināda as well as the mountains of Mandara (3.78), Aṣṭāpada (Kailāśa 9.53, 57) and other hills (32.15).

Among the wild beasts mentioned in the *PCV*, Saraha (Śarabha) also called as Śārdūla or Aṣṭāpada is stronger than a lion (17.82) and an elephant (33.6). It is a fabulous animal supposed to have eight legs and to be inhabiting the snowy mountains. The lion is called as Pañcamuḥa (Pañcamukha 96.14), Siha (Siṃha 94.47), Hari (32.10), Kesari (Keśarin 42.10), Mayarāya (2.17) or the king of the beasts (Rāyā savvapasaṁvāṇam 14.104), and an inherent enemy of deer (2.116). The lioness (Sihī or Siṃhinī) and her cubs (Kisora) are referred to (78.28). The tiger (Vaggha = Vyāghra 56.44); the hyaena (Traccha = Tarakṣa 42.13); the hunting leopard (Cittaya 14.17); the boar (Varāha 3.82) or Daḍhi (Daṁṣṭrin 103.19); Vaya = Vṛka (118.7), the Jackal (Kolhuya 3.79), Jumbūya (Jambūka 15.54), Siyāla (Sṛgāla 22.8f or Gomāu 71.26); the Yak (Camara 32.10); a wild variety of buffalo 94.105 or Gavala 88.6; and the bear (Accha = Rkṣa 42.12, Bhalla 14.17.32.15) or Riccha 94.45 are mentioned. The deer is called Hariṇa (33.8), Maya (Mṛga 94.41), Kuraṅga (103.19), Sāraṅga (82.20), Ruru (103.20) or Rohiya (Rohita 42.12). Maya (Mṛga) meant also the beasts in general (2.17). The first two are the general terms for the deer while the remaining four are the different varieties of deer. Hariṇī, the doe is also referred to (16.3), the hare (Sasaya = Saśaka 42.12; 58.9; 82.38) and the monkey (Pavaṅgama = Plavaṅgama 9.132, Vānara 94.41, Plavaga 14.18 or Hari 3.12) also find references.

Domestic Animals :—The elephant is called Hatthī (Hastin 2.17), Māyaṅga (Mātaṅga 96.14), Gaya (Gaja 3.61), Kuñjara (2.111), Kari (Karin 42.18) or Vāraṇa (4.59). References to both the types of elephant i. e. the wild (94.105; 33.6) and the domestic (4.12; 32.10; 9.59) are available. The tame elephants were used in war (4.59; 12.113). They formed a separate column of the Cauraṅgabala (Caturaṅgabala 8.242) and were of immense use in the battlefield (46.24; 90.13;). The kings preferred its ride in the battle (10.61, 64) or in the public processions (3.2; 77.2). Regular training was given to the princes

in controlling and taming (8.218, 223) the turbulent and wild elephants. It was very common conveyance of the royal persons (16.44; 76. 11). Kings preferred the best species of the elephant (lakkhṇapasattha 3.2) and for recognising these qualities of elephants and horses even the princess were given special training (24. 6). The Bhuvanālaṅkāra elephant of Rāvaṇa (8.215) is said to be seven cubits in height, nine in length and ten in circumference. It was considered to be the best type of elephant¹. The enclosure or the shed where the elephants were maintained by the kings was called Sālā (80.63). The divine elephant called Erāvaṇa (Airāvata) was the conveyance of Devendra (2.38). It is referred to as having four tusks (71.3). The female elephant is called Kareṇu (42.18) or Kariṇī (80.53) and her young ones as Kalaha (Kalabha 78.28).

Next to the elephant was the horse who was held in high esteem. It is called Turaya (Turaga 3.74), Turaṅgama (4.36) or Āsa (Aśva 5.73). A horse like an elephant constituted one of the 14 gems of Chakravartī kings (4.36). Horses formed a separate column of the Cauraṅgabala of kings (92.52) and were also yoked to chariots for carrying the passengers (94.34).

The camel is called Uṭṭa (Uṣṭra 14.29), Karaha (Karabha 8.272). The ox is called Vasaha (34.35), Baḷaya (80.13), Bailla (Baḷivarda 99.24). The bull-stall (Goṭṭha=Goṣṭha 103.40) is referred to. The donkey is called Khara (99.25) and the ass as Gaddabha (Gardabha 77.112) or Rāsaha (Rāsabha 71.54). She-buffalo is called Mahiṣī (Mahiṣī 3.158), and its male as Mahiṣa (Mahiṣa 99.25) who was used as a beast of burden. The cow is called Go (14.29), Godheṇu (5.95), Dheṇuya (3.46), or Gāi (3.158). The wild cows (Araṇṇuya gāviṇa khīra 41.8) were found in jungles. The cow pen (Goula=Gokula 5.95) was a place where the cows were kept and sold by the cow-herds (5.95). Mahiṣī and Uṭṭa are specifically referred to as her bivorous animals (Taṇacārī 14.29). The cow, she-buffalo and the mare (Govasabhavalava 2.2; 80.13) were of immense utility to the people. They were considered as the harbingers of prosperity and wealth,

There are references to the goat (Aja 11.26) and the sheep (Meṣī=Meṣī 41.55). The dog is called Suṇaya (Śunaka 22.84) or Sāpa (Śvāna 2.116). Its young one Kukkura is also referred to (94.80). The cat (Majjāra=Mārjāra 32.4); the rat (Mūsaa=Mūsaka 5.100) and the cock (Kukkuḍa=Kukkuṭa 82.41) are also on record.

1. See *Kaṇṭīya*, II. 31.9. also.

Reptiles :—The snake (Sappa=Sarpa 3.46) is called Uraga (28.106) or Mahoraga (14. 18), Nāga (39. 16), Ahi (48.22), Pannaya=Pannaga (28. 108); Bhuyaṅga (Bhujāṅga 41. 23). Ghonasa=Ghonasa (39.17), a kind of serpent is mentioned to be found in the hilly region. The Ayagara=Ajagara (63. 54) a huge snake used to devour even the human beings. The Āsivisa=Āśiviṣa (70. 16), and Visahara=Viṣadhara (50.13) denote the venomous character of reptiles.

Other small creatures which are mentioned in the *PCV* are scorpion Viñchi (Vṛścika 39.17), the high lizard (Gohera=Godhera 58. 92) and the mungoose (Naula=Nakula 96. 14).

Aquatic Animals :—The common sites of these creatures were the ocean, lakes and rivers. The Indian ocean (Mahāsamudda) and the Gambhīrā river abounded in the rapacious marine animals (Gāha=Grāha 6. 37; 32. 11). The Indian ocean (Lavaṇa-jala) is further referred to be abounding in fishes (Jhasa=Jhaṣa), sea monsters (Mayara=Makara) and tortoises (Kacchaha). The water elephant (Jala-hatthi) hastin is referred to be creating nuisance in the Narmadā. The tortoise is called Kumma (Kūrma 2. 18). The Dolphin (Simsumāra=Śiśumāra 14. 17; 82. 42) and the small fish (Mīṣa=Mīna 17. 114) are also referred to. The Timi (14. 17) is a kind of Whale or a fabulous fish of enormous size. Besides them the Jalavāha (a watery insect 88.6) and Jalūga, the leech (1. 24) are referred to. Tantuya=Tantuka (14. 17) is an aquatic serpent. The bony-covers of some aquatic insects are mentioned. They are the conch-shell (Saṅkha=Śaṅkha 8. 259), snail-shell (Sippi=Sukti 8. 259 or sutti 1. 24) and the oyster-shell (Sambukka=Śambūka 1. 24). The jumping frog could be seen (Daddura=Dardura 82. 38) cropping up in the rainy season (29. 43) at various places.

Birds :—The woodlands, gardens and watery-places were the common sites where a variety of birds could be seen.

The Peacock is called Mora (Mayūra 82. 38), Maūra (29. 34) or Barahiṇa (Barhin 28.20) and the *cuckoo* as Koila=Kokila (15.28). Vappīha? (100.110) or Cātaka is also a kind of cuckoo. The parrot is called Suga (100. 58). Allusions to the taming of birds (pakkhī va pañjarattho 11. 84) and to the Indian falcon or hawk (Seṇa=Śyena 8. 79) are made. The vulture (Giddha) is referred to as the consumer of flesh (22. 84) and hovering over the dead bodies lying in the battlefield (71. 26). The Garuḍa (Jaḍāgi=Jaṭāyu 44. 44, Jaṭāu 40. 40) is a fabulous and mythical bird but here the Giddha and the Garuḍa are identical. It is called the king of birds (Pakkhiṇāṇa rāyā 14. 104) and the enemy of

snakes (50.13). The owl (Uluya=Ulūka 97.24), the crow (Kāa=Kāka 82.40, Vāyasa 71.26); Sayavatta=Śatapatra (7.17), a bird of number-less feathers; Vañjula (14.18); Piṅgala (105.59) and Pāḍippavaga (Pariplavaka 14.18), a kind of birds, are also referred to.

The above mentioned are the birds living on land. The aquatic birds which lived mostly in the vicinity of the water are also referred to. Cakravāka (Cakkāya), the goose (Haṁsa) and the crane (Sārasa) are referred to be inhabiting the Mānasa lake (16.47) and the banks of the Narmadā (34.32; 10.32). The habitual disunion of the pair of Cakravāka birds at the time of the closing of the day is referred to (2.99). Haṁsa and Sārasa were visible on the shore of the Lavaṇa ocean (8.260). The dragging of the Haṁsa to such a hot temperate zone seems to be conventional because it is generally believed to be a native of the Mānasa lake. It migrates to the south in the winter season. The Kala-haṁsa is the Rāja-haṁsa (42.15). The young ones of a swan are mentioned as Haṁsapoyaa=Haṁsapotaka (30.72). The pleasant gait of the goose is often compared with that of a young lady in the Indian literature and our poet also has not missed it (6.175). The crane was considered to be a bird of ill omen (7.17). Balāyā=Balākā (14.18) is the other name of Sārasa. It is referred to be white in colour (39.4). The Kurara (82.38), Kurula (14.18) or Kuralī (female 17.79) is the osprey, a kind of solitary bird which is considered to be timid. Our poet has referred to it with the same trait (17.79).

Worms and Insects:—Ali (33.9) is a smaller variety of the bee. The bigger bee is the Bhamara (Bhramara 16.47) or the Bhiṅga (Bhrīga 33.148). The honeybee (Mahuyara=Madhukara 92.9; 15.29; 17.90; 21.48) and its female species, Mahuyarī=Mahukarī are also mentioned (3.81). The flies (Macchī=Makṣikā 103.25), the moth (Payaṅga=Pataṅga 103.25), the mosquitoes (Masaga=Maśaka 30.108) are also on the record. Then there are general references to the worms such as Kīḍa=Kīṭa (1.26) of teeth or of latrine (74.38) or Kimikula=Kṛmikula (39.55) of the body.

Māivāha (Mātrvāha 5.211) is a kind of small insect and is referred to have been crushed under the feet of an elephant.

SECTION 3. ARTS

A. Clothing, Ornaments and Toilet.

The art of decorating the body is called 'Āharapavihi'. It is said to be fourfold (cavuvihāṁ 24.5). The *Thāṇaṅga*¹ (4.374), tells us that

1. Cavuviha alaṅkāre...kesālaṅkāre vatthālaṅkāremallaṅkāre ābharanālaṅkāre.

the Alaṅkāra-vidhi consisted of (1) clothing, (2) ornamentation, (3) hair-dressing and (4) the use of flowers.

Clothing:—The clothing is denoted by 'Vattha'=Vastra (3.135; 64.10), Ambara (49.20), Kappaḍa=Karpaṭa (25.18) and Celiya (99.25).

The dress is indicated by Parihāṇa=Paridhāna (25.18; 30.64), Vesa, Vāsa=Veśa (34.23; 3.122) and 'Nevattha'=Nepathya (94.30.)

The fabrics referred to are 'Khomaya'=Kṣauma, Dugulla=Dukūla, Vālaya=Bālaja. Cīṇāmsuya=Cīnāmśuka and Paṭṭa (102.121). The Kṣauma is linen¹. The Dukūla is made of the tissues of the inner bark of the Dukūla plant. It is also called as a particular type of cloth of the Gauḍa country². The Bālaja is a hairy fabric made of wool or hairs of camel, deer, mouse or other animals³. The Cīnāmśuka is the China-silk and the Paṭṭa is a particular cloth which is interwoven with golden threads (tissues). The Paṭṭa is also called as Divyāmśuka (Divvaṃsuya 3.99). There are various references to Amśuka (Amśuya 16.4; 68.30; Thaṇāmsuya 68.40). The Paṭṭa and the Amśuka are described as Kīṭaja i. e. the varieties of silk made from insects⁴. There is a reference to Tūla (Tūlinisaṃpaṇṇa 35.24). It is called the fibre of Arka plant or Śālmālī tree⁵ or cotton⁶. The needle is denoted by Sūi=Sūci (1.13) and the thread by Dora (8.108).

The bark and leaves of the trees as well as the grass were also used for covering the body. Recluses are referred to be using them (vakkaḷacīvara—kusapattaniyaṃsaṇa 3.143). In the Buddhist literature Cīvara denoted the robe of the Bhikṣus, which was made of stitched rags. Here also it may mean the robe prepared of bark or the tattered cloth. The barbarians namely the Kīrātas and the Sabaras called as Mlecchas or Ardhabarbaras (275, 7-8) are mentioned to be putting on bark and leaves (Vakkalapattaniyacchā 27. 33) on their bodies.

Dyed clothes were in use. There are references to white (seyāmbara 66.30, siyāmbara 10.46), yellow (piyāmbara 49.20) blue (nīla 3.122) and redochre (kaśāya 39.110) clothes. There is a single reference to a Jaina monk robed in white garments (22. 78). Nun

1. *Abhidhāna Rajendra Koṣa*.

2. *Ibid*.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Anuyoga*, 37. vihe LAI, p. 129.

5. *Abhidhāna Rajendra Koṣa*.

6. *MWSED*.

Sitā (103.165) and Devarṣi Nārada are referred to be putting on white clothes (78.8). On the occasion of performing a worship of the Jinās the laymen used to wear white clothes (10.46; 66.30). Rama is said to be wearing yellow clothes during his exile (49.20). The criminals at night used to put on blue clothes (103.14) so that they might not be perceived easily. The recluses used to wear redochre coloured clothes.

Usually the male dress consisted of two pieces of cloth (dokappaḍaparihāṇo 25.18) namely the Uttariya (Uttarijja 8.220), the upper garment and the lower garment (kaḍiyaḍapaṭṭa 3.29). The upper garment was a scarf which covered the shoulders while the lower garment was tied round the waist and covered the lower part of the body. It was the lion cloth or dhoti. There is a reference to Kañcuka which was put on by Kalyāṇamālā who kept covering her body with a male attire. She removed it off to disclose her identity to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (oindhai kancuyam sarirāo 34.15). It is explained as a coat like jacket, full-sleeved and hanging up to the knees¹. The foot wears are referred to as Pādukās (pāṇāo 80. 8).

The female dress consisted of three garments. The Uttariya (10.37; 67.25), the bodice (Kañcua 9.11; Thaṇamsuya 68.40) and a lower garment. The last one is not referred to.

A woman in a miserable condition is said to be wearing Cira (30.64) which would denote old, decayed or tattered cloth.

The references to Vicittavattha (53.108) of the warriors of Indrajit and the Cittamsuya (41.51) of a girl indicate that some pictures or designs were printed on the cloth.

The references to Kusumapaṭa (Kusumapaḍocchāiyapallaṅke 2.10.1; 16.72) and Kamalāstarāṇa (Kamalottharāṇa 46.84) indicate that bed sheets decorated with the embroidery work of flowers were in use. Costly cloths set with gems were used on religious occasions (Maṇipadāyala 3.137). A blanket of high class variety is also mentioned (Kambalarayaṇa 42.24).

Ornaments :—The ornaments are denoted by Ābharaṇas (27.33), Vibhūṣaṇas (95.8) and Alaṅkāras (2.1).

The ornaments worn on the head were called Sirabhūṣaṇas (68.33). The crown=Mukuṭa (Mauḍa 3.1) was worn by a king. The

1. *Harṣaṇṇa eka Sāṁskṛtīka Adhyāyana*, pp. 79-150.

diadem or crest=*Kirīṭa* (*Tirīṭa* 53.108) has been referred to be adorning the heads of warriors. They were studded with pearls. The *Cūḍāmaṇi*, i. e. a precious stone of brilliance was also worn on head (3.98). It is also called *Śikhāmaṇi* i.e. it was fixed on the tuft of the head (7.106). The *Santānāyasehara* was perhaps a crest of precious stones. It is mentioned to be fixed on the head of *Rṣabhadeva* by the celestial beings on the occasion of his birth-ablution ceremony (3.98). Ears were adorned with ear-rings which were made of gold (*kaṇyakunḍala* 49.30), and sometimes set with gems (*maṇikunḍala* 36.5), or rubies (*kunḍalamāṇikka*). Ornaments worn on the neck were the gold thread (*kaṇṭhasutta* 56.14), or the chain (*kaṇṭhiyaṃ* 68.30) of shining jewels (*vararayaṇapajjalantī*) or the necklace (*hāra* 36.4) made of jewels (7.96) and precious stones (5.131). Arms were decorated with armlets (*keūra* 46. 29; 62.9; 82.71) and bracelets (*hemakaṇkaṇa* 53.107) made of gold or set with rubies (*māṇikkakaḍayaṃ* 3.98). Rings decorated the fingers and thumbs (*aṅguleyaya* 49.35; *muddā* 33.57). They were made of gold and set with jewels (33.56; 16.88). Sometimes an image was also designed on the gem of a ring (*bīṃbasannihiyaṃ* 33.56). Sometimes rings were imprinted with the names of their owners (*nāmamuddiyaṃ* 16.68; *nāmammuddaṃ* 5.32). The waist-chain was worn on the cloth tied to the waist (*kaḍisuttaṃ piṇaddhaṃ kaḍiyaḍapaṭṭamma* 3.99). They were very costly (*mahagghaṃ* 33.86), made of gold (*suvannabaddhasuttaya* 53.107) and jewels (3.99; 27.33).

Women were very fond of wearing ornaments. They were given special training in this art of decoration (24.5). Except *Gūḍāmaṇi* no other head ornament is mentioned (49. 35; 36.5; 111. 7). Just like men they adorned their bodies with earrings (33.70, 71; 68. 33; 70. 22; 111. 7), necklaces (67. 25; 100. 5, 1; 111. 7), bracelets 16. 4; 67. 25; 100. 51) and waist-chains (16. 4). Besides that *Mekhalā-girdle* (67. 22; 111. 7) studded with jewels has been mentioned. *Nūpuras* (*neura* 68.33) adorned the ankles of the women.

The *PCV* refers to a *Nakṣatramālā* (2. 39), decorating the neck of the elephant of *Indra*. *Kauṭilya* (2. 11. 13) describes it as an ornament of 27 strings of pearls. It is called as a garland of stars (*EHA*, p. 240) also.

Toilet ;—The toilet consisted of several articles of cosmetics such as unguents, powders, pastes, ointments, perfumes, incense and flowers.

The bathing is denoted by *majjaṇavihi* (28. 11) or *nhāṇavihi* (77. 29). Well-to-do families maintained special apartment for

bathing. It was called majjanahara (69. 6) which was duly equipped with water-pitchers, bath-stools and fragrant substances. These pitchers were made of gold (kaṇayakalasa 77. 30) and set with precious stones (rayaṇakañcaṇamaya, maṇimayakumbha 69.8). The bath stools (majjaṇapīḍha) were set with Vaiḍūrya gems (veruliyamaya 69.7; veruliyābhāṇapīḍha 77. 30). The bath of the royal persons was made pleasant by the recital of songs and playing of musical instruments (69. 9; 77. 30). Special ladies were appointed for giving bath to the royals and the nobles (69. 10; 77. 29). Cool water agreeable to the body was preferred for bath. It was saturated with odoriferous substances (aṅgasuhasīyaleṇaṃ salileṇaṃ surahigandha paureṇaṃ 69. 11). At the time of taking bath unguents, fine fragrant powders and pastes of different colours were used (surahigandhacūṇṇehiṃ uvvaṭṭanti 3. 86; niddhesu suyandhesu ya uvvaṭṭānesu uvvaṭṭi 80. 57; uvvaṭṭānesu surabhiṃ nāṇāvihacūṇṇavapaṇṇagandhehiṃ majjijjai 69. 10). On festive occasions people used perfumes, ointments and pastes (gandhāiesu dehāṇulevaṇasaesu 70. 59). Sandal paste was applied on the occasion of coronation (Candapakayangarāga 85. 21) also.

Hair-dressing:—Rāvaṇa is referred to have dressed his hair-locks (kuntalakayakaraṇijjo 69. 11) at the time of taking his bath. This instance indicates that necessary care was taken of the hair in keeping them clear by washing, applying fragrance and combing. The word Cūḍa of Cūḍāmaṇi suggests that men and women tied their tresses in one knot above their head. Sītā is referred to as ābaddhakesaveṇī which denotes that women used to knit the flock of their hair in a braid (54. 4). The references to Dhammilla¹ (8. 279; 100. 52) of the housewives indicate that the braided and ornamented hair of women were tied round their heads and were adorned with flowers and pearls.

Mirror:—Dappaṇayala (Darpaṇa 7. 88) denoted the mirror which was used for looking at one's reflection. It was sometimes set with gems (97. 5).

Saffron:—Saffron (kuṇkuma) was widely used by the people. Men as well as women applied it to their bodies. The celestial beings are referred to have applied it to the body of the Jina on the occasion of his sacramental-bath (3. 105). The rich used it as a common article of pleasure (kuṇkumakayaṅgarāgā 31. 46). The bodies of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were besmeared with saffron when they were welcomed by king Mahidhara (36. 40). Even while fighting, the Rākṣasa and the Vānara warriors are mentioned to have anointed their bodies with

saffron (53. 108; 68. 3). The water of the river became coloured by the wash of the saffron besmeared on the bodies of the ladies of the king of Māheśvara, who were plying water-sports in the river with the king (aṅgaparibhogalaggaṃ kunkumadhovantapiñjarārūpiyaṃ 10. 44). It was applied to the breasts of women (117. 26) as it gave a cooling effect. The Mlecchas have been referred to have applied some mineral powder (dhāukayaṅgarāgā 27. 33) on their bodies.

Articles of fragrance and incense :—The *PCV* mentions the following articles of fragrance and incense : The aloe (aguruya), the olibanum (turukka) and the sandal (candaṇa) were commonly used by the people (Jaṇavayaparibhoyasusuyandhaṃ 2.11) for fragrance. The dark and red sandal (gośisa), the black aloe (kālagaru) and the camphor (kappūra) were used for incense (surbhidhūvagandhāṃ 14.92). Articles of fragrance and incense were regularly used for worshipping purposes (66.29).

The betel leaf is mentioned along with the articles of cosmetics (tambolaphullagandhadehāṇulevaṇa 70.59). It gave reddish (80.30) colour to the lips and it was chewed along with other fragrant ingredients, hence it may also be counted as an article of cosmetics.

Flowers :—Flower was an important article of toilet. The art of decorating the body with wreaths and garlands of flowers was called 'mallavihi' (28.11). The people of ancient India had great love for flowers (gandhakusumatattillā 2.6). Married couples of Laṅkā are mentioned to be making a profuse use of flowers during the hours of amorous pleasures (tambolaphullagandhāiesu 70.59). The women of Śāketapurī are referred to be wearing flowers on their heads (Kusumāuṇṇam sīsaṃ 100.52). The lotus flower was used as an ear ornament by women (kaṇṇuppaḷa 70.22)¹. Crests of flowers were worn on the heads by the Rākṣasa warriors (pupphaseharā 53.108). The Mlecchas decorated their bodies with the flowers of Śrīmañjarī (27.33) in addition to other precious ornaments. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa wore the garlands of fragrant flowers on the occasion of their coronation (sugandhakusumesu kaymāla 85.21).

B. Music, Dance and Drama.

The *PCV* reveals that the art of music, dance and drama formed an integral part of the education² and culture of the society. This art

1. *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, P.K. Acarya—p. 245.

2. It may be an ear-ring of lotus shape made of precious metal. See p. 154, 155 of the *Harṣacarita eka Sāṃskṛtika Adhyāyana*—V.S. Agrawala.

3. 24. 5,

was well cultivated and patronised by the royal persons and the nobles who enjoyed it with great interest and also provided for the entertainment of the public by arranging the performances of professional artists on different social, political and religious occasions.

Music is denoted by 'gandhavva=gandharva' (24.5; 75.5) and 'saṅgīya=saṅgīta' (66.10). It consisted of two branches, viz. the vocal music 'geya' (39.21), gīya=gīta' (17.84; 78.52) and the instrumental music 'vāīya'=vādītra (78.52; 97.8) Dance is termed as 'nāṭṭa'=nṛtta (24.5; 78.52). Dramatic performance is indicated by 'nāḍaya'=nāṭaka (2.51; 113.11). According to Kauṭilya, music in wider sense includes all the four subjects—singing, playing on instruments, dancing and dramatic performance¹.

Music:—The professional musician is called 'saṅgīyaa'=saṅgītaka (64.5) or 'gojja'=gāyaka (85.19). The seven musical notes (svaras) have been specifically referred to (sattasarasam gīyam 9.89; gandhavvam tu paggiyam sattasarayasañjuttam 37.48). The term 'saravihattijuttam'=svaravibhaktiyuktam (24.5) denotes the details about forming modulations or melodies and tones².

Musical instruments:—Vādītra has been already explained as a term used for the instruments of music in general. A number of instruments of music have been referred to in the PCV. They can be divided into four classes viz. the stringed, concussion, wind and percussion instruments³.

(1) Vīṇā (9.88), the lute was the stringed instrument. (2) Jhallarī (3.19), a kind of cymbal; Ghaṇṭā (3.73) a kind of bell; Kīṇ-kīṇī (17.114)=kīṇkīṇīs, a kind of small bells and Kāṁsālaya=Kāṁsayaṭāla (57.23), the cymbal were the instruments made of bell metal and they produced ringing sound. They were the concussion instruments. (3) Śaṅkha (3.72), the conch-shell, Pavaya⁴ (57.23), Vamśa (14.93), the reed pipe and Veṇu (102.123), the fife were the wind instruments. (4) Dundubhi (Dundubhi 2.35), a kettle drum; Paḍaha (Paḍaha 3.70), a kind of drum (ḍhola); Kāhala (Kāhala 61.2), a kind of large drum; Kharamuhī (Kharamukhī 57.23) (Vaukakāhala); Dhakkā and Bhambhā (57.23), a kind of big drum; Bherī (57.23)

1. Kauṭilya, 2.27

2. Anuyoga, 127 and PCR, 24.8-19 for the details of music

3. Bhag. Su (Abhaya), 5.4. 148.

4. A kind of wind instrument (MUSEED).

(Mahāḍhakka); Paṇava (3.87), a kind of small drum; Huḍukka (57.23), a kind of rattle or small drum; Muiṅga (3.87)=Mṛdaṅga, a kind of tabor; Muraya or Murava (3.19; 7.156)=Muraja, a kind of tabor; and Damaruya=Damaru (57.23), a very small drum¹ were the percussion instruments.

Āiṅga (3.87; 96.6); Talimā (61.2) Tilimā (57.22); Tisarīya (70.58; 96.44; 103.123); Vavvīsa (113.11) and Saccīsaya (102.123) are not identified. Talimā and Tilimā are called a kind of Tūryavādyas².

The word Tūra=Tūrya has been used in two senses viz. an individual instrument and a band of instruments. It is said that on the occasion of war the sound of the Tūras was heard (ubhayabalānaṃ rasantatūrāṇaṃ 4.42; ubhayabalatūrasaddo 8.92; suṇiṭṭa tūranigghosaṃ 44.15). Here Tūra should mean the war-horn or the trumpeting instrument. Further it is stated that Nandītūra (6.161) was played on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' ceremony. It is explained to be a band of 12 different instruments played simultaneously in harmony³. There is a further reference to Vibudhatūra (15.80) which was played as a routine to awaken the sleeping king in the morning. Pahāṇatūra (71.6) is referred to be played on the occasion of the commencing of the march by the army. It is said to consist of Paḍaha, saṅkha, kāhalā, muiṅga, tilamā, and paṇava (paḍupaḍahasasaṅkhakāhalamuiṅgatilamāgahirapaṇavāṇaṃ pahayaṃ pahāṇatūraṃ 71.6). Janmābhiṣekatūra was played on the occasion of the birth-ablution ceremony of Rṣabha (3.87). Thus the PGV reveals that some allied instruments were played simultaneously to form a particular band or a concert of players on different instruments. There is a reference to a kind of Kalpavṛkṣa called Tuḍiyaṅgaduma which bore different kinds of musical instruments (102.123). Tuḍiya and Tūrya are synonyms⁴. Here Tuḍiya=Tūrya means a band of instruments and Tuḍiyaṅga=Tūryaṅga denotes individual members of a band. Pāṇini mentions the Tūrya and the Tūryaṅgas in the above senses⁵. Tūrya can be taken as an instrument in general or a war-horn or a type of tone in general.

Dance :—The dancing girl is termed as naṭṭiyānartakī (37.49). Professional dancing girls are called Cāraṇakanyās (37.59)

1. See for the explanation of some of them, *Bhag. Su.* (Abhaya), 5.4.185 & *Abhidhānarājendra-koṣa*.

2. *Abhidhānarājendra-koṣa*.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Sihānāṅga*, p. 399 with Abhayadeva's Commentary.

5. *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 168.

and Vilasini girls (36. 39). Kings employed girls for entertainment. These girls are called Cātukāris (46. 78). Dance was performed with musical accompaniment i. e. singing of songs and playing of instruments (36. 39; 3. 89-92; 39. 21-22). The *PCV* reveals that dancing had reached a developed stage. It refers to various aspects of dancing. Thus Kaikeyī is said to have been trained in the art of dancing with all its characteristics and qualities (śalakkhaṇaguṇaṃ 24. 5). There are reference to the clapping of palms (apphodaṇa 3, 89) on the occasion of a dance recital. It indicates that the 'tāla' and 'laya' were regulated by the clapping of the hands. Display of emotions through gestures and movements of the limbs of body have been mentioned (sabhāvahāvattham 3.91). Dancers have been referred to be producing nice expressions through smile, side glances, movement of eyebrows, breasts, waist, hand and feet (37. 50; 39. 22).

Members of the royal family, especially the women, are regularly referred to as trained in the art of music and dance. The *PCV* reveals that Kaikeyī was trained in the art of music and dance (24.5). Sītā danced before the monks on the Vanīśasthalagiri and in her accompaniment Rāma played on Vīṇā (39.21-22). The daughters of Sugrīva sang songs and performed dances to entertain Rāma (48.1). Lakṣmaṇa's wives are referred to have played on Vīṇā and danced before Lakṣmaṇa (11.16-18). Rāvaṇa played on Vīṇā while eulogising the Jinas on the Kailāśa mountain (9.88-89). Similarly Candragatī played on Vīṇā and sang in praise of the Jinas in a temple (28.46). Maṇicūla Gandharva played on Vīṇā and his wife sang in his accompaniment to entertain the exiled Añjanāsundarī in the forest (17.85). The reference to the disguising of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the soldiers as dancing girls and then their dancing in accompaniment of musical performances, to capture king Anantavīrya deceptively, indicates that males were also trained in dancing (37.45f). The above description indicates that playing on Vīṇā was very popular in those days. There is a reference to the greeting of a monk by the public with various performances and dances (115.6). It indicates that the general public also cultivated the art of music and dance.

Music and dance were arranged for individual or public entertainment on various occasions. The *PCV* reveals that social occasions such as birth ceremony (3.70; 7.90; 97.9), marriage ceremony (6.161; 36.39; 106.16), and happy occasions of reunion (18.54) were made gay with the performances of music and dance. Royal persons enjoyed music even while taking their bath (7.156; 77.130). Noble and well-to-do families enjoyed music and dance very luxuriously (31.45,80.21).

Married couples took great delight in music and dance during the night hours (70.58-61). The arrival or departure of great persons was also greeted with music (78.52; 96.6; 17.118). Thus we find that any happy social event was made colourful by the performances of dance and music. Then there is a reference to public entertainers who used to entertain the public on the Catvaras of public roads with their musical and dance recitals (2.5). The political occasions on which music and dance were performed, were the coronation ceremony (19.5; 85.18), and the occasion of victory of a king (6.235; 76.2). Music was also associated with military and war. Whether the army was ordered to mobilise (70.63; 71.12), or it commenced its march or was on the course of marching (8.02; 44.11; 57.22; 61.2; 7.6) or was on fighting (4.42), the playing of musical instruments was always connected with every occasion to instil the spirit of courage into the hearts of the soldiers. Religious occasions were similarly made gay. The consecration ceremony of new born Jinas (3.17), the event of their renouncing the world (3.133), the occasion of offering alms to a Jina (4.14) and the attainment of omniscience by a Jina (4.19) were greeted with divine musical performances. Celebration like the worship of Jinas in shrines on religious festivities (5.229; 28.4; 40.10; 66.24,28; 92.22) and the greeting of monks (39.21) done with the performance of music and dance.

Drama :—About the staging of dramas it is said that on every door of the Samosaraṇa i.e. the assembly hall of a Tīrthāṅkara, eight dramas were danced (atṭhaṭṭhanāḍayāṁ dāre dāre ya naccanti 2.51). It seems to be a reference to the dance-dramas. One more reference is to the entertaining of dead Lakṣmaṇa by Rāma who had become mad. It is said that Rāma was trying to please Lakṣmaṇa through the play of various musical instruments and dramatic performances, (vavvīsavam-satisariyaviṇāgandhavadvivivihāṇāḍaesu thuvvai avirahiyāṁ so Somitti Rāmavayaṇaṇam 11.3.11). It also indicates the playing of dance-dramas. The *Rāyapaseṇīyasūta* mentions thirty-two kinds of dance-dramas¹ which were played by celestial beings before lord Mahāvīra. These performances represented various auspicious things. Of them in the first kind of divine dance or drama eight auspicious things—Svastika, Śrīvatsa, Nandīyāvarta, Vardhamānaka, Bhadrāsana, Kalaśa, Matsya and Darpaṇa were—represented. The *PCV* probably refers to this kind of eightfold drama or dance. The *PCV* elsewhere (80.5) refers to a Pecchāhara

1. Ibid, 22 (Battisūtibaddham nāṭṭavihiṁ); see also *Nāṭya*, 1. p. 23
Bhag. Sū, 11.11.429-430.

of Rāma. In the *Rāyapaseṇiyasutta* (Su. 23) the significance of a Picchāgharamaṇḍava is that of an audience-hall where musical and dance performances were exhibited. Thus the Peccchahara of the *PCV* indicates a Theatre.

C. Drawing, Painting, Terracota, Plastic and Sculpture.

Various references to the art of painting indicate that it had made a good progress. Pictures of human beings and animals were drawn and hued in various colours. Walls and floors were given a decorative show by drawing various designs on them. Cloth-painting was widely prevalent. The portraits of brides and bridegrooms were frequently used in negotiating marital alliances. Landscape paintings are also alluded to. Palaces and temples were given decorative show with paintings. On the occasions of marriage and worship, paintings were exhibited. Clay or lac modelling is also alluded to. Effigies of animals and human beings perhaps made of terracota or plaster were made so artistic and attractive with the application of colours that one could not recognise whether they were artificial works of art or real person of flesh and bone. References to Jina-idols, small and big indicate that art of sculpture was well known to the people.

Drawing and Painting:—*Ālekkam* = *Ālekkham* denotes the art of picture making (24. 7). Kaikeyī is said to have been trained in this art. This pursuit is alluded to be a hobby of the noble persons (24. 7; 28.7). The professional picture-drawer is called *Cittayāra* = *Citrakāra* (1 21).

It is mentioned that on the occasion of the marriage of Vānara Amaraprabha with Guṇamatī, reddish brown pictures of monkeys were drawn on the floors with some colour-powder (*ālihi varakaṇayacuṇṇa-kavile* 6. 70). There are categorical references to the use of five kinds of colour powders (*cunṇaṇaṁ pañcavaṇṇaṇaṁ* 29.2; *dasaddhavaṇṇaṇa cunṇaṇaṁ* 40.5). They were employed for decorating the temples on religious festivities. Thus it indicates that some designs were drawn with these powders (*Jinaharabhūmi.....raṅgāvalīniogaṁ* 29. 2; *sajjiyā bhūmi raṅgāvalī viraiyā* 40.5). The gold dust is specifically referred to and other dusts perhaps of some precious minerals were also used (*kaṇayāiraṇa puṇa raṅgāvalī cittiya-talāiṁ* 66.21).

Cloth-painting was very common. It is denoted by *Cittapaḍa* = *Citrapaḍa* (21. 40). Pictures of princes and princesses were drawn on pieces of cloths and were perhaps duly painted. These pictures were used as a very common device for selecting brides and bridegrooms, (19. 38; 8. 189; 90.9; 28. 9). Jina-temples on the occasion of

religious worship were decorated with cloth-paintings (*varacittayammapaurā pasāriyā paṭṭayā bahave* 92.19). Perhaps these paintings depicted some of the episodes of the lives of Jinas and great religious persons. There is a specific reference to a cloth-painting which was hanged in a temple and it depicted an incident of the previous life of prince Vṛṣabhadhvaja who was then an old bull. As an old bull he was lying down in a cow-pen. At that time Vanika Padmaruci riding on a horse reached there and recited the Pañca Namas-kāra formula for the religious awakening of that bull. The cloth-painting is called 'niyayabhavacittiyam paḍam 103. 45. Thus it indicates that the episode of the life of the bull was painted in various colours (*cittapaḍam vivihavaṇṇam* 103. 47. This is an example of group painting. This painting must have contained the human and animal pictures as well as the surroundings. Thus it can be called a landscape painting also. The terms 'nāṇāvihacittayakammakayasoham' (68. 18) and 'varakaṇṇayavicittabhattiyam' (77. 3) in connection with the palace of Rāvaṇa and a Jina-temple respectively can be taken as references to frescoes or wall-paintings. The *Cittam-pecchābaram* = *Citramprekṣāgrham* of Rāma should be a chamber or a drama-hall of pictures artistically painted or an art-gallery of portraits and paintings (80. 5).

Terracota and Plastic :—*Leppamayaṁ* (24.7)=*Lepyam* denoted clay-modelling i. e. terracota¹ or plaster decoration². Kaikeyi was trained in this art also. Human effigies were prepared from these materials. The *PCV* mentions that an effigy or a statue of Daśaratha was prepared to deceive Vibhīṣaṇa who was planning to kill Daśarathā (*leppamaya-paḍibimbam* 23. 17). When Vibhīṣaṇa cut off the head of the effigy, the (red coloured) lac-juice flowed out of it and Vibhīṣaṇa took it to be a real person of Daśaratha made of flesh and bone. Thus it indicates that the lac also formed an important ingredient of such modellings. Similarly an effigy of a lady is referred to have been installed in the palace of Rāvaṇa. Aṅgada and his soldiers could not recognise that it was a work of art. He took it to be a lady of flesh and bone. He could recognise it when he touched it with his hand (*tahākarei phusiyaṁ leppamamayamahilā vijāṇanti* 68. 13). There is a reference to a stand still elephant as if he was standing like a statue or an effigy (*leppayamao.....ciṭṭhai* 81. 11). Then there is a reference to the artificial figures (*koṭṭimakayāim* 68. 6) of lions and sea monsters which were installed in the courtyard of the palace of Rāvaṇa. Their appearance

1. *Gupta Art* By V. S. Agrawala, p. 11. (1948).

2. *LAI*, by J. C. Jain, p. 186.

was as terrible as that of the real beasts. It indicates that they were the clay or plaster models of animals which were so painted that they seemed to be real ferocious beasts (68. 5, 7, 13). Thus these references prove that the clay-modelling and painting had reached a high stage of development.

Sculpture:—Various references to Jina-pratimās indicate that the art of sculpture was known to ancient India. Jina-images of different materials, sizes and colours have been mentioned. The *PCV* states that the idol of Jina Rṣabha which was worshipped by Vidyādhara Candragati had the lock of hair tied upon its head (dīhajaḍāmauḍakayaśoḥaṃ 28. 39). Further the reference to *savvaṅgasundarāo* (40. 11) Jina idols indicates that the idols were carved artistically. Generally the idols would have been carved out of stones or wood. There are references to the idols of gold, gems (kaṇṇaṇarayaṇamāṇaṃ paḍimāṇaṃ 66. 11; 89. 59) and ruby (paumarāgaṇimmāṇā 77. 27). It is stated that on the Vamśagiri various coloured Jina-idols were installed (nāpāvaṇṇujjala-sirfo 40. 11). The size of the idols must have varied. Rāvaṇa is said to have been carrying a Jina-idol along with him wherever he went (10. 47). It must be a reference to an idol of small size. Idols of the size of a thumb have been referred to (aṅguṭṭhapamāṇa 89. 54.) Then it is stated that a gem fixed in the finger-ring of king Vajrakarṇa was carved with an image of Suvratajina (muddiyam.....rayaṇacittam Suvvayajīṇabimbasaṇṇihiyam 33. 56). It indicates that very fine and excellently artistic images were made. There are further references to the idols of Siddhas (5.136) and Saptarṣis¹ (89.59).

It is stated that the figures of monkey carved on gems were fixed on crowns, arch's, parasols, and banners to represent the emblem of the Vānara dynasty (rayaṇaghaḍie.....pavaṅgame 6.80). This is a reference to carving of animal figures.

The idols were installed on slabs. Slabs are called as phalaas = phalakas (89.59). They might be wooden planks or stone slabs. The reference to the Siṃhāsana (28.39) on which was seated the Jina-idol indicates that the lion-seat was artistically carved out with the figures of lions.

The reference to 'puriso.....sippiyakayovva 1-27' is perhaps an allusion to a statue of a man of full size and it should have been a sculptural representation.

1. See *Infra*, Jaina Rituals.

The reference to 'varasālibhañjiyā (16.37)=varasālibhañjikā' alludes to the figures of ladies carved on the pillars or on some parts of the buildings¹. Then there is a specific reference to the palace of Añjanāsundarī, which was decorated with sculptural representations of dolls (sālibhañjiyākaliyaṁ bhavaṇaṁ 15.99).

Sihavāhinī sejjā, (80. 7)=Simhavāhinī Śayyā of Rāma denotes that a sleeping couch was carved with the figures of lions. It must be a couch made of wood. Further the allegorical reference to the 'dārumayā' (1.9) ears of Vidūṣaka indicates that a wood-mask was worn by the jesters. Thus it indicates that sculpturing of wood was prevalent.

SECTION 4. HOUSING AND ARCHITECTURE.

The *PGV* furnishes a good deal of information about housing and architecture in ancient India. The persons who were engaged in various sorts of constructions are called Śilpīs (78.48; 102.24) who erected houses, buildings and other architectural things. The word 'Śilpi' is used in the general sense of an artisan also (sayam ca sippāṇa uvaiṭṭam 3.114)².

A Town Planning:

There are scattered references to various constituents of a town. They can be arranged together systematically to have a general view of the planning of a town in ancient India. Thus the *PGV* reveals that a town was surrounded by a Pāyāra³=Prākāra which was fitted with Gopuras, Dāras⁴=Dvāras, Torāṇas and Aṭṭālayas⁵=Aṭṭālakas. The Prākāra was from the outside encircled by a Phaliḥā⁶=Parikhā. Inside the Prākāra was situated the real town. There was the Āvaṇa⁷=Āpaṇa perhaps in the centre. The town was divided by Narindapaha⁸=Narendrapatha, Ratthas=Rathyās and Maggā=Margas⁹. There were a number of Caccaras or Coukkas¹⁰=Catvaras and Tiya¹¹=Trikas. Big houses¹² were lined on both the sides of the roads. Then there were the Ceiyagharas¹³=Caityagrhas and the Rāyapura¹⁴=Rājapura. The town was well laid out with Ārāmas, Ujjāṇa=Udyānas, Kāṇaṇas=Kānanas¹⁵ and Uvavaṇas¹⁶=Upavanas which abounded in Saras¹⁷. Pukkharīṇī¹⁸=Puskariṇīs full of lotuses¹⁹ Vāvisi²⁰=Vāpīs and Dīhiyās²¹=Dīrghikās. All these constituents and the surrounding fields (Vappiṇa Vapra—2.12) gave a pleasant look to the town.

1. See *Harṣacarita eka Sāṁskritika Adhyāyana*, p. 61. 2. See also 6. 174.

3. 2.8; 6.211; 8.264; 33.77. 4. 62.33; 80.2. 5. 5.134. 6. 2.9. 7. 35.28; 80.61.

8. 76.8. 9. 115.7; 10. 2.13. 11. 66.9. 12. 3.157; 76.4. 13. 2.12; 8.267; 80.14.

14. 79.25. 15. 2.12. 16. 35.28. 17. 2.12. 18. 82.267; 80.14. 19. 5.56; 15.50.

20. 2.12. 21. 46.75; 80.14.

Parikhā (2.9) :—The city of Rājagṛha is said to be surrounded by a moat. It was a trench dug round the rampart and filled with water to keep the town safe from any attack.

Prākāra :—It is called *Sāla* also (52.7). It was a wall or a rampart raised round the town for fortification (2.8). The ramparts of Laṅkā and Sāketa are said to be having beautiful gold work done on them (jambūṇayakaṇagacittapāyāra 5.129, kañcanaghṇapāyāra 55.14 varakaṇagatuṅgapāyāra 3.113). The walls of the rampart of Rājagṛha are said to have cornices carved on their upper part (kavisīsa—Kapiśīrṣaka 2.19). Rāma's temporary settlement (*Sanniveśa* 62.35) at Laṅkā on the occasion of Lakṣmaṇa's being wounded by Rāvaṇa is said to be having seven ramparts one following the other (62.27).

Gopuradvāra :—The *Sanniveśa* of Rāma had three Gopuras (62.27) and many doors. The Gopura was the main gate or big entrance with a constructed house on it. The king of Daśapura is said to have observed the fight between Siṅhodara and Lakṣmaṇa from such a Gopura (33.115). The *Nandāvaniveśa* of Rāma at Ayodhyā had one Gopura and many other small gates (*bahudāraṇ* 80.2). The Gopuras¹ are referred to be facing four quarters while the dvāras were the side doors comparatively small in size. Some times Gopura and Dvāra are synonymous (62.32-33). The main gates of the temporary Rāmapurī are referred to as Dvāras, not Gopuras (35.35). A chief guard (*Sālarakkha* 52.8) was stationed on the main gate and the door-keepers on the doors (*Dāravāla* 17.18). During the night and at times of emergency these gates were closed (17.18; 67.17; 86.38). Attacking armies used to break open the gates to enter and seize the city.

Atṭālaka :—The reference to it at 5.134 indicates that the rampart had watch towers of military posts² attached to it.

Durga :—There is a reference to the Dugga of Daśapura (*nayaraṇ visamaduggapāyāraṇ* 33.77). Durga means a fort. It might be a reference to a town fortified with rampart. There are various kinds of Durgas or fortifications such as hill fort, forest-fort, water-fort, clay-fort, chariot-fort, divine-fort and mixed-fort³.

Āpaṇa :—The Āpaṇa was the market place which remained busy with the activities of merchants coming from various places (2.10).

Rathyā and *mārga* :—The town had well laid roads and streets. Rathyās or Racchās (67.24) were the roads on which the chariots could

1. The Jātakas reveal that the outer walls of the cities were pierced with four gates in their middle facing the four quarters—Vide *India as Known to Pāṇini* p. 139. 2. See *EHA*, p. 5. 3. *EHA*, p. 5.

ply. The mārgas were the streets and lanes. There is a reference¹ to perhaps the regular cleaning of the roads and streets of Laṅkā (13.5).

Catvars and Trikās:—These were places where four and three roads or streets intercepted respectively. Catvaras and Trikas were generally teeming with various kinds of spectacles and performances relating to dance, music, song and acrobatics (2.13).

Narendrapatha:—It is variously called as Rājamārga, (76.3), Narendramārga (16.38), Nṛpatimārga (79.19). This was the main road of the town. It was the royal road which led from the main gate to the palace. It extended outside the city and connected other towns of the country.

Houses and mansions could be seen lined on both the sides of the road. They were equipped with windows wherefrom house-wives peeped out to look at the occasional processions (8.276-282; 70.19-25).

Types of Buildings:—Ghara=Gr̥ha denoted the common house for residence (3.57). In the *PCV* the terms Ghara, Bhavaṇa and Pāsāya are used indiscriminately (23.17; 77.23-25). Elsewhere it is explained that Bhavana belonged to kings and Prāsāda to gods. The former's height was less than its width while the latter's height was greater than its width². Bhavana is also called as a kind of rectangular building³ and Prāsāda as a religious or residential building or a royal palace.⁴ Aṭṭālaka was the apartment on the roof or an upper storey⁵. Thus the *PCV* mentions that Ayodhyā (80.1-14; 78.49), Daśapura (33.19), Kiṣkindhipura (6.45), Laṅkā (53.85), Mahendranagara (15.10), and Rājagṛha (2-9) abounded in these types of buildings. Buildings of seven and eight storeys are mentioned. Daśapura abounded in white buildings of seven storeys (sattataladhavalesu ya pāsāyasaesu 33.19). Daśaratha's palace had seven storeys (sattatale bhavaṇap sāe 23.17)⁶. A general reference to eight-storeyed buildings is made in the *PCV* (102.116). In Laṅkā buildings having turrets or spires (sūrei Pavaṇaputto aṇeyapāsāyasiharāim 53.85) and having artistic designs carved on them have been referred to (aṭṭalayavivihacittatuṅgāim).

The roof of the building was generally supported on raised walls. Besides that, pillars (columns) were also constructed to support the

1. Sammajjovallitā, kāṇḍa mahi imāe nayarie/
Kusumehi acciyavvā surahisugandhehi divvehimā//.
2. Bhag. Su, (Abhaya-5.7); Abhidhānārājendra-Koṣa.
3. EHA, p. 380.
4. Ibid, p. 364.
5. Ibid, p. 12.
6. See 15.61.

roof. The *PCV* refers to a thousand-pillared mansion of Rāvaṇa (niyayabhavaṇaṁ thambhasahassāulaṁ tuṅgaṁ 8.282; 53.144; 77.25) and also a Jina-temple in Laṅkā (77.3).

The materials of which the houses and buildings were constructed are not referred to. There are references to white buildings (sattata-ladhavalesu 33.19, dhavalaatṭālaya 2.9; 5.134) and to buildings consisting of more than one storey. Therefore bricks, stones and mortar must have been in use. The works of Kālidāsa refer to the use of stones, bricks, lime and even marble stones¹. The floors of the palace of Rāvaṇa are referred to be paved with gravel (kottimatala 68.5,23) and sometimes with sapphires (Indanilakottimatalammi 68.7, 11) also. Its walls were beset with crystalline stones (Phalihamaya-vimalakuḍḍe 68.9) and sapphires (mahānilamaekuḍḍe 68.14). It was equipped with stair cases which were paved with crystalline stones (Phalihamayammi sovāṇe 68.12). The buildings of Rājagrha are also said to have floors beset with emerald and rubies (bhavaṇaṁ accaṇesu maraḡayamāṇikkakiraṇakabburiyaṁ 2.11)

Windows;—The houses were duly equipped with windows. They are referred to as *Cūṁpālayas* (26.80), *Vātāyanas* (39.91) and *Gavākṣas* (8.280; 76.4; 79.20). These windows opened on the road or the garden attached to the building. House ladies observed the procession on the road from these windows. *Vātāyana* was meant for letting in air and the sun. *Gavākṣa* was of the shape of the eye of a cow, and the *Jālagavākṣa* (32.4) was the latticed window.

Rooms:—The *PCV* reveals that the houses were fitted with various rooms. Añjanā's Bhavana is said to have the following apartments in her building: *Aggīvāa*=Agrimaka 16.64, *Abbhintara*=Abhyantara 16.64, *Kacchantara*=Kakṣyāntara 16.70, *Vāsabhavaṇa*=Vāsabhavana 17.70, and *Kacchantarammibīe* 16.73. Here *Aggīvāa* refers to the foremost room of the house where guests and visitors were received. *Abhyantara* means the inner part of the house, which was fitted with more than one rooms. *Kakṣyāntara* and *Kakṣyāntaradvitīya* refer to two separate rooms and *Vāsabhavana* means a sleeping room or the drawing room.

Courtyards:—*Kakṣya* meant courtyard or the divisions of the palace also. Aṅgada is said to have passed through three successive *Kakṣyas* (Pavisanti gihaṁ 68.8; annaṁ kacchantaraṁ 68.10; and again, annaṁ kacchantaraṁ 68.14), to disturb Rāvaṇa who was meditating in a shrine inside the palace. Further Aṅgada's soldiers are said to have waited at the outer part of the shrine (bahirakacchantare 68.22).

1. See *IK*, p. 248.

Kakṣyas are explained to be the divisions of palace i. e. courtyards with chambers. The *VR* also refers to three Kakṣyas of Rāma's palace (*VR*, 2. 5. 5).¹

B. Royal Palaces:

Royal palaces were usually very big buildings which accommodated residential quarters as well as offices for carrying the administration of the state. It is said that a king's palace was divided into two parts, the inner apartment (the antaḥśālā of the Mānasāra) or antaḥpura which was occupied by the royal harem and the outer apartment where courtyards etc. of public business and the buildings for state purposes were situated.² The *PCV* refers to a number of buildings which can be accounted as follows:—

Inner Apartment:—Aateura = Antaḥpura (110.21) or *Gabbhaggiha* = Garbhagraha (80.5) was the inner apartment which consisted of several quarters meant for the royal ladies (Devīnabhavaṇāim 80.6). *Sāyāhara* = Sūtikāgrha (7.91; 26.45) was the confinement room meant for pregnant woman. *Majjanahara* = Snanagrha (69.6) was the bath room. *Āhārmaṇḍava* = Āhāramaṇḍapa (69.13; 77.32; 81.5) was the dining hall. *Kīlānahara* = Kṛīḍāgrha (70.48) was the sports-house and *Pecchāhara* = Prekṣāgrha (80.5) was the art-gallery or entertainment hall meant for the performances of music, dance and drama. *Viṭṭhāhara* = Viṣṭāgrha (74.38) was the lavatory.

Outer Apartment:—Sabhāgrha (37.1; 41.62; 49.1; 80.3) or *Atthāṇi-maṇḍava*—Āsthānamāṇḍapa (3.1; 40.2; 70.1) was the council hall where the king consulted with his ministers, councillors and dealt with the administrative and judicial matters of the state³. This hall had a raised pavilion (Maṇḍava) on which the thrones of the king was placed *Auhasātā*—Āyudhaśālā (70.5) and *Sannāhamāṇḍava* (12.82) were the weapon or ammunition and equipment houses. *Caṅkamaṇa* (80.5)—*Caṅkramaṇa* was the raised pavilion meant for the strolling of the king. *Carageha* (3.11) was the prison house. Then there were stables for elephants (*Sālā* 80.60), horses (*Mandurā* 28.28) and other animals. The palace was always attached with pleasure resorts and gardens (26.79, 80). Facing the entrance of the palace there was a big open courtyard (aṅgaṇa 68.5). The palaces were provided with tunnels (*Suranga* 8.158; *Gūḍhasuraṅga* 10.4.9) which were meant for the safe and secret exit of the people on the occasion of any danger or war or

1. See *Harṣacarita* aka *Sāṃskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 204, 213.

2. P. K. Acarya—*Indian Architecture*, p. 58 vide *India in Kalidasa*, p. 247.

3. See *Harṣacarita* aka *Sāṃskṛtika Adhyayana*, pp. 126.205.

emergency. A shrine or a place of worship was also attached to a palace (77.2).

The members of the royal family resided in separate houses. Thus there are references to the separate house meant for the various members of royal family viz a king (naravaibhavaṇa 4. 8; 38.29; 63.4), a queen (46.14), a prince (77.23; 110.20), wife of a prince (15.99; 18.5) and princess (15.60; 28.2). The whole royal residence was called Rājabhavana = royal buildings (31.112) or King's Palace.

C. Some Architectural Terms :

While describing the 'Śrī = prosperity of Rāma some technical architectural terms have been used for various constructions (80.2-14). They are worth noting. It is said that the colony of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa was called *Nandvattanivesa* (Nandyavarta samsthānam PCR, 83.4). It¹ is one of the 8 kinds of villages or towns of varying shapes. Its rampart was called *Kṣītisāra* (Kḥiisāra pāyāra) which towered high like *Meru* (Merussa cūliyā iva). The royal building was like *Surabhavana*. The name of the council-hall was *Vaijayantī* (Sabhā Vejayantī). *Vaijayantī* is a single-storyed building which is furnished with round spire (śirṣa), pinnacle (sīraḥ) and neck (grīvā²). The central hall (Sālā = Śālā) was called *Vipulāśobhā*. It was a hall for special purpose or a storeyed building³. There was a Caṅkamaṇa = Caṅkaramaṇa called *Suvidhi*. A lofty palace called *Girikūḍa* = Girikūṭa prāsāda is referred to. It should be a pinnaced building. Then there was a (Pecchāhara = Prekaṣāgrha) amphitheatre called *Vardhamāna*. It is a type of building which has a terrace before the chief entrance extending to the end, then from left to right, there is another beautiful terrace and again a terrace. It was no southern gate⁴. The *Gabbhagiha* = Garbhagrha i.e. the harem or the interior residence or central hall was lofty and of the shape of the egg of a hen (kukkuḍaṇḍāvayavaṁ kūḍaṁ gabbhaggihaṁ). *Anda*⁵ is explained as a cupola. Thus it seems that the interior hall or central hall had a rounded dome over it. The whole palace was one pillared (egattham-bham). It was like *Kaḷṭataru*. Around it were situated the residences of the queens (savvaḥ ciya ... devīṇa bhavaṇāṁ).

1. EHA, p. 161.

2. Ibid, p. 345.

3. Ibid, p. 484f.

4. Ibid, p. 448.

5. Ibid, p. 13.

D. Other constructions for shelter etc :

Kuṭṭraya=*Kuṭṭira* (33.85) was the cottage or hut which was a residence of the poor. Houses with holes and perforations (*chhiddasayamaṇḍiesuṃ ghāresu* 20.162) are mentioned to be the abodes of unlucky persons. *Āsama*=*Āśrama* was a hermitage which was meant for recluses (8.155) and monks (89.33). Generally the abodes of the monks consisted of *Guhā*, *Kandara*=*Kandarā*, *Pabbhāra*=*Prāgbhāra*=i. e. cavern, cave, or shelter roof of the hill (29.29) and *Ceiyahara*=*Caityagṛha* i. e. places of worship or temples.

Granaries for storing corns have also been referred to (*dhannamahantakoṭṭhāro* 2.3).

Mañca was the gallery of benches which was erected on the occasion of the ceremonies of 'svayamvaras' (6.159; 24.12) to accommodate the candidates and the public. On the occasion of the fire-ordeal of *Sītā* similar 'mañcas' were erected to accommodate the public (101.7; 102.24). They are also called as *Pecchāgihamāṇḍavā* (101.7) *Prekṣā-gṛhamāṇḍapāḥ* i. e. the sitting arrangement made for visitors and observers. *Rāma*'s return from *Laṅkā* was welcomed by erecting several *canopies* (*maṇḍavā*) which were raised on pillars with golden work (*kaṇayothambhapaurā* 78.53).

Toraṇa was an arch which decorated the entrance. The *PCV* refers to the *Toraṇas* attached to the ramparts (8.266), palaces (6.46), temples (29.3; 66.6), residential building (53.85) erected independently in various quarters of the town (78.51). They were adorned with banners and flags (8.266). Sometimes they were temporarily erected to receive great persons (78.51). They were also set with gold or jewels and beautified with strings of pearls (78.51).

Setu (*Seu* 3.11) is referred to. Its context indicates it to be a bridge over a strait.

Ārāma=pleasure gardens, *Udyāna*=parks, *Kānana*=groves and *Upavana*=planted forests were well laid out in and around the towns (2.12; 6.137; 8.267; 35.28; 80.14). These were the places where royal persons and public flocked for pleasure and sports. These places were equipped with ponds, big and small (*Sarasi* & *Sara* 2.12), tanks (*talāva*=*taḍāga* 33.20), reservoirs of water, square (*Vāvī*=*Vāpi* 2.12; 46.75) or long and narrow (*Dihīyā*=*Dīrghikā* 8.267; 46.75) or circular in shape (*Pukkharīṇī*=*Puṣkarīṇī* 8.267). *Vāpi* with steps paved with gems and gold (*maṇikañcapaṇi* 102.29) has been referred to. Kings played sports with their damsels in these gardens and tanks (5.218). Females also frequently visited these

places and took their pleasure bath there (46.75). In these gardens special houses were erected to facilitate the pleasure visits of the royal members (81.4). Gardens were resorts for wandering monks (5.224; 6.137). Permanent gardeners looked after these gardens (5.225).

The *PCV* reveals that the *Samastakusumadyāna* of *Laṅkā* was systematically planned. It was situated on the Puṣpagiri hill (46.66) and extended from the bottom of the hill to its top. It had seven divisions from the bottom to the top. The first two parts were meant for male-citizens (*nāyaro ramai*) who sported there. The next two parts were for the women fold (*kīḍai vilāsinījaṇo*). The fifth provided shelter to the monks who devoted themselves to meditation. The sixth was meant for the visitors. Public sports were not allowed there. The seventh part was the best part of the garden. The whole garden flourished with several kinds of trees and plants. It was well laid out with tanks and reservoirs full of lotuses. People freely enjoyed their baths. Sport houses for public also were provided. There the cuckoos chanted sweet notes. It was duly provided with flights of steps (46.66-67).

Jina-temples are variously called as *Ceiyaḥara* (2.12), *Ceiyaḥavaṇa* (5.134), *Deula* (8.265), *Jiṇahara* (11.3), *Jiṇabhavaṇa* (77.25), *Jiṇāyaṇa* (77.28), *Jiṇālaya* (8.139), and *Jiṇāgāra* (108.16). Temples have been referred to be standing in the middle of (31.120) or outside (33.92) the habitation or in the gardens (45.43; 47.51). Further they are said to have been constructed in villages, towns, on river-banks (8.167), confluences of rivers, hills, and at junctions of the roads (59). *Laṅkā* is referred to have Jina-temples (8.267). The palaces of *Rāvaṇa* and *Vibhīṣaṇa* are said to have accommodated private Jina temples (77.3, 25). The *Vaṁśagiri* (40.9) and the *Sammata* mountain (9.60) have been mentioned to be abounding with Jina-temples. Jina-temples white in colour (8.136; 8.138), kissing the sky (8.265), set with gems (*rayaṇavicchuriya* 8.138) and gold (*varaṇaṇayabhittiyam* 9.60; 77.25) and having thousand pillars (66.26; 77.25) have been referred to.

Then there were the shrines of *Yakṣas*. A *Jakkahara* or *Jakkhaṇilaya* (82.46, 47) is said to have been situated on the outskirts of *Rājagṛhanagara*.

SECTION 5. UTENSILS AND ARTICLE OF FURNITURE & DECORATION.

As the civilisation made progress the amenities of life increased in number. These amenities consisted of utensils and the articles of

furniture and decoration which were utilised for making the home-life easy, comfortable and pleasant.

Utensils:—They have been dealt with in section 2E of this chapter.

Articles of Furniture:—Furniture was of two kinds, viz. *Sayana*=*Śayana* and *Āsana*=*Āsana* (3.162), the former for lying down and the latter for sitting on. *Sayanijja* (7.91) denotes the bed. Very costly beds were used by the royal families (*sayanijje maharihe* 3.61; 8.184). Cotton beds have been referred to (*tūlinisaṇṇaṅgā* 35.24). Beautiful bed-sheets were laid on the beds (*paḍasayapaccatthue sayanijje* 94.96 *satpracchadapaṭāvṛte*¹). Bed-sheets were decorated with flower-designs (2.101; 16.72). *Pallaṅka*=*Paryāṅka* (2.10) was the couch. There is mention of the couch set with gems (16.72). Figures of lions were carved on the legs (*Sihavāhiṇī sejjā* 80.7) of the sleeping couch. Dr. P. K. Acarya notes that there were nine varieties of it ranging from 21 to 37 *aṅgulas* in width². In the forest, leaves strewn on the ground served the purpose of a bed (17.15).

Āsana (3.60) was the seat. A cane-seat was called *Vettāsana*=*Vetrāsana* (3.19). Sometimes it was decorated with gold work (69.14). There is a reference to *Bhaddāsana*=*Bhadrāsana* (49.20) which was used by the nobles. It is explained as a kind of a throne, or a chair of state or a great seat.³ *Siṃhāsana*⁴ (*Siṃhāsana* 46.16) was the throne which was used by the kings and naturally it would have been a costly article of furniture. There are references to the thrones set with gems and precious stones (2.25; 2.35; 2.53; 46.16). T. A. Gopinath Rao explains it as a four-legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape and one *hasta* or cubit in height. Its four legs are made up of four lions.⁵ *Viṭṭara* (*Viṭṭhara* 80.7) was a seat worthy of royal household as the reference indicates. According to B. S. Upadhyaya it was an honoured seat, a high seat⁶ while V. S. Agrawala mentions it as an ordinary seat⁷. *Pādapiṭṭha* (*Pāviḍha* 3.1) was a small stool to support the feet hanging down while sitting on the throne. *Attharaya* (69.14) (*Āstaraka*) was the covering to lay on the seats and beds.

1. *PCR*, 97.173.

2. *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 349. Vide *IK*.

3. *EHA*, p. 380.

4. See *EHA*, p. 252.

5. *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 21.

6. *IK*, p. 215.

7. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 144.

Masūraya (69. 14 = Masūraka) was the pillow to support the head or the cushion placed on seats to feel comfortable while sitting on. It is also explained to be a lintel i. e. a thin piece of timber or stone that covers an opening and supports a weight above it.⁵ Its context in the *PCV* indicates that it was meant for supporting the utensils meant for dining plates.

Majjanapīṭha (Mārjanapīṭha 69. 7) was the seat meant for sitting on while taking bath. The rich had such seats set with lapis lazuli (veruliyamae).

*Other articles:—*Karaṇḍaya (Karaṇḍaka) was the basket which is said to be in use for carrying flowers (35. 53). *Kamaṇḍalu* (11. 39) was a wooden or earthen spout used by mendicant Brahmins. *Āyavatta* *Ātapatra* (8. 130) was the umbrella to ward off the sun and the rain. *Chatta* (Chatra 70. 8) was the parasol, an insignia of the kings. Its handle is mentioned to be set with lapis lazuli (80. 8). *Cāmara* (80. 7) was the fly-whisk, an insignia of royalty. *Dīva* (10. 8) *Dīpa* was the lamp. The nobles and the rich had the lamps set with precious stones (maṇidīva 2. 101, rayanaḍivīyā 70. 50).

Gaṇittiya (Gaṇayitikā 11. 39) or Akkhamālā (Akṣamālā 68. 29) was the rosary which was used for chanting the japas.

The articles which are mentioned to be in use for decoration on the occasions of celebrating some religious function or social festivity are the following:—

Dhaya (Dhvaja 92. 20) and Paḍāga (Pataḥ 8. 283) were the flags; Viyāṇa (Vitāna 92. 20) was the canopy. Lambūsaya (Lambūṣaka 96. 1; 32. 76) were the festoons. Nottiyaoulla (Moktikāvaccūla 92. 20) were the deised ornamentations of pearls used for decorating the doors, gates and archs. Ādarisa (Ādarśa 92. 20) and Dappaṇa (Darpaṇa 96. 1) were the reflecting glasses or metals. Cand (Candra 96.1) was a crescent made of some metal or precious stones. Cittaṃsuyus (cittraṃsukā 96.1) were the fine cloth pieces with painted designs. Nakkhattamālā (Nakṣatramālā 1.39) was a garland of stars perhaps made of some bright metal. It was put round the neck of the elephant of Indra to give him a decorative show.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL & RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

SECTION 1. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

The *Paumacariyam* furnishes sufficient data about the economic conditions of the people. The conventional description of the Rājagrha (2. 1-14) and references at other places indicate that there was a class of nobles and the rich who lived a prosperous life. They flourished in plenty and abundance. Their big mansions and storeyed building with various rooms beautifully adorned the well-planned towns. The streets looked magnificent with rows of houses on both the sides. There were luxurious gardens as pleasure resorts. Various public displays and exhibits graced the civic life of the people. Reference to sumptuous dishes, costly utensils, comfortable articles of furniture, musical performances, dance-recitals and religious festivities indicate the luxurious and happy life of the people. The wealth of precious stones and minerals was no less. Trade piled heavily in big towns. Merchants and caravans are regularly referred to. Cities were noisy with the din and bustle of the markets. Thus there prevailed a happy state of affairs. But there were the poor also who led an unfortunate life. The *PCV* refers to people who were devoid of any wealth (75.60). Stricken with poverty they led a miserable (88.6) life. Some lived merely on the pursuits of gathering grass and wood (103.30. Some pulled on with begging and remnants of dinner (13.14). The poor satisfied themselves during the winter by sitting around the fire because they could hardly afford anything more than scanty clothing (31.43). In absence of sufficient clothing the skin of their bodies got wrinkled and blustered (31.43). The less fortunate had to be content with his hut. His sole property was an earthen pot and an earthen dish (33.85). Thus we find that the poor and the unhappy people formed not a minor part of the society and there was a great contrast between the life of the rich and the poor.

Generally there was peace but occasional battles and wars became the cause of distress and a large scale bloodshed. Evil elements like thieves, robbers, dacoits, plunderers and criminals at times tormented the social life. The want of proper medical facilities could not save

people from fatal results of widespread epidemics. Famines and draughts also brought anxiety to the people.

The economic sustenance of the nation depended on various occupations and professions of different grades. The *PCV* mentions them as follows :

Agriculture :—The profession of agriculture and the farmers are referred to at 14.26; 39.68. In their daily routine farmers used to go to their fields with their implements in the morning and returned in the evening (105.32, 34). The soil was tilled with plough (halakulisa or Kulika 14.51, sīra 113.20) which was drawn by the oxen. People knew it that well cultivated land (sukitttha 3.45) was necessary for the proper growth of seeds while the sandy or salty land (ūsara 14.59) was unproductive. The richness of crops (sassa 4.26) depended upon the quantity of rainfall. References to Persian-wheel (arahatṭaghaḍijanta 105.40) and well (kūva 35.19) indicate that these were also the sources of irrigation. There are references to lakes (5.56; 15.50; 82.40) and tanks (talāya 3.46) but their application to irrigation is not specifically mentioned.

Many crops were grown and there is a reference to the wild crop = rice which grew abundantly in forest (dhanṇam ca raṇṇajāyam 41.4). This wild crop is mentioned as growing in the southern country and Śāli (99.29), a superior kind of rice in the Kośala country. Other varieties of rice specified in the *PCV* are Vihi (vrihi 4.76), Tandula (33.6) and Kodrava (103.111). Barley is also referred to (Java 4.76; 11.25). The Avantideśa is said to be flourishing with the crops of gram (Caṇaya), kidney-bean (Mugga=Mūṅga), horse-bean (Māsa=Uḍada), sesamum (Tila) and Tandula (33.16). Mustard (Sarisava 97.10) seeds are also mentioned. Then there was the sugarcane (Ikku 3.111) and a special variety of it, called Puṇḍucchu (42.11) which was planted in various parts of the country.

Animal Husbandry :—Cows and buffaloes are stated to be forming the animal-stock of Magadha (2.2), Vijayārdha (3.158), Saketapurī (80.11), etc. They supplied milk and ghee. Rāma and Baṭuka Kapila are mentioned to have a number of cows (80.11; 35.79). Common people also must have been keeping them. Thus there is a reference to a buffalo of a householder (41.55). A certain Gṛhapati is said to be possessing domestic animal (gihapasukhettāsu 48.79). Then the professional cowherd (govālaya 5.96) is also mentioned. He kept a huge cow-pen and used to sell cows. Oxen are regularly referred to. They formed an important part of the beasts of burden.

Other Professions:—In addition to agriculture and animal husbandry the economic sustenance of the people depended upon trade and commerce, other independent professions and domestic as well as government service.

Various professionals mentioned in the *PCV* are preceptors, teachers of archery (77.84;39.88; 26.5, 11;14.20;25.19), interpreters of signs, omens and dreams (51.16;7.80), astrologers (17.112), and physicians (110. 27).

Goldsmiths and ironsmiths are not mentioned directly but their existence can be inferred from various references to gold ornaments, iron implements and weapons. The references to Śivikā, Yāna, Ratha, Karapatra, Vāsīphala¹ and Phalaka indicate the existence of carpenters. The weaver (Kuvinda 21.1) and the potter (Kumbhāra 5. 207) are specifically referred to.

Then there were masons (Sippi 78.48-49;102.24) who built houses and mansions. The reference to images reveal the existence of sculptors (28.39;40 11). Painter or picture-drawer is mentioned (1.21). Musicians (64.2), dancers (37.59) and coquettish girls (36.39) are referred to be living on the profession of providing amusement to the people. Naṭas (acrobats) and umbrella-players (2.5) are referred to as entertaining the people. Then there were the garland-makers (6.175), betel-leaf dealers (Tamboliya) wood and grass-gatherers (31.44;103.30), charcoal-makers (14.15), fishermen (14.15;55.42;82.43), hunters (6.139; 39.69), fowlers (49.26) and trappers (14.15).

Services:—Besides these independent professionals some people were engaged in private or government services. In the private service nurses (Dhāis 97. 11), lady messengers (Dūtis 12.53) and maid servants (Cetis 6.11) are worth mentioning. Then there were the Karmakāras, (17.7), Kīnkaras (4.60) and door-keepers (23.4). In the government service there were ministers (5.176;31.52), counsellors (77 77,78), ambassadors (14.19), envoys (65.00), officers (14.19), priests (5.31) chamberlains (93.8), Mahattaras (106.7), generals 37.2), policemen (82.48), C. I. D. (26.95) and soldiers (8.41;12.139). Then there were the Gojjas and Cāraṇas (2.103; 85.19,24), i.e. the bards and the eulogisers who were associated with the service of kings.

Mineral Products:—The *PCV* refers to various precious products of mine and sea (jalathalaya 2.10). There are references to Ratnadvīpa, the island wherefrom gems were available (14.50; 32.61). The follo-

1. *PCV*, 65.38; vāsī— a carpenter's tool for cutting away the surface of wood.

wing precious stones (maṇi 6.29) have been mentioned: diamond (Vajja 3.75), ruby (Paumarāya 6.39); Māṇikka (2.11), sapphire (Indanila 3.132; 14.90), emerald (Maragaya 3.75; 22.23), lapis lazuli (Veruliya 3.75; 14.90), sun-crystal (Sūrakanta 3.75 ; Pūsamaṇi 6.39) and moon-stone (Sasikanta 8.265; Candamaṇi 3.132). Then there were the Sphaṭika (phaliha 2.9, the species of quartz), Kākiṇīratna (Kāgaṇi 4.78, an illuminating gem) and the Karketana (Kakkeyaṇa 3.75). The sea is called a mine of gems (Rayaṇāyara 53.51). Precious gems available from the sea were pearls (Mottiya 3.1; 4.5; 53.108; 72.27) and corals (Vidduma 28.116, Pavāla 64.10). The shells and conch-shells (Sippi, Saṅkha 8.258, 259) are also mentioned. All these precious materials were used in decorating ornaments, utensils, buildings and vehicles of conveyance.

Various metals referred to are Gold (Suvappa 53.107, Hema 14.53; Kaṇaya 2.3; 34.58; 64.10; Kañcaṇa 3.28; 53.113; Cāmīyara 26.14, Jambūpaya 71.9); Purified Gold (niddhanta Kaṇaya 20.57); dust of gold (Kaṇayacuppa 6.70 or Kaṇayara 66.21); Silver (Ruppaya 14.141; 64.10; Rayaya 3.150; Hirappa 3.68); Copper (Tamba 27.32); Tin (Tava=Trapu 118.8); Iron (Loha 28.115; 77.70, Āyasa 33.37) and Lead (Sīsaya 26.50). The reference to Darpaṇa (10.5) indicates that the mirror was prepared from some glittering metal or stone.

Mineral powders mentioned in the *PCV* are Sindūra (red lead 2.39 or vermilion); Geruya (the red chalk 12.106; 71.3) and other powders of different colours (dhāṅkayaṅgarāga 27.33; vicittadhāūraseṇaṁ 29.3; raṅgāvaliniogaṁ cuppeṇaṁ pañcavaṇṇeṇaṁ 29.2; 40.5)

The specific rocks referred to are Paṇḍukambala-silā (2.25) and Koṭṭisilā (48.103). The former is said to be found on the Meru mountain on which the ablution ceremony of new born Jinās is performed and the latter to have been lifted by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa to prove that he could kill Rāvaṇa. Phalihasilā or crystalline rock was used in constructing walls (68.9) and staircases (68.12) of palaces.

Forest Yield:—The reference to charcoal-makers (14.15) indicates that the forests were harnessed for making fuel. The wood-gatherers (dārukamma 31.44; 103.30) perhaps supplied the wood for fuel and furniture. The references to chariots and carts reveal that timber was largely available. Reeds were used for making cane-seats (vettāsaṇa 69.14). Bamboos and Palāsa trees were used for preparing vessels and utensils (41.4). Elephants were caught from the forests (94.103). They were employed in army and for the ride of the kings. The reference to

flywhisk (68.39) indicates that the hair of Yak were utilised for it. The lac (23.22) was certainly a forest-produce of fig trees. Then there were the fruits and spices which largely constituted the produce of the forest-trees.

Trade and Commerce:—There are several references to merchants (Vāṇia 2.10;103.9;48.21) and trade (Vāṇijja 33.96;3.116). The market is denoted by Āvaṇa (80.61;35.29). The dealers in liquids, poison (Rasa 14.26, Visa 14.20) and gems (5.33) are mentioned. Bhaṇḍa (63.64) denotes perhaps the manufactured articles of merchandise in general or the vessels of metal. Besides them, no other article of trade is mentioned. The *VGA* (p. 329) informs us that different varieties of cloth, food-grain, spices, salt, bullion and precious stones were most probably the main articles of internal trade.

The capital cities were generally the centres of great business. Rājagṛha (2.10) used to be visited by merchants from various parts of the country. A merchant (Seṭṭhi) of Gajapura is referred to have gone to Sāketa loading his merchandise on he-buffaloes (63.63). Then there is mentioned another merchant of Kundanagara who (33.66) went to Ujjaina on trade-tour.

Trade was carried by two routes viz. land and water. As far as the latter is concerned no specific route is mentioned. There are allusions to water-route in the references to ship (Poa 2.44;3.129) which is called the only saviour of a merchant in the sea. The falling of gems in the sea is also mentioned (94.67;14.106;45.34). Traders travelling by ship are mentioned (5.83;48.21). References to Cīṇamsuka (102.121), Turukka (2.11) and Dīṇāra (68.32) indicate that India had trade relations with China, Turkey and Rome by sea-routes. Two merchants of Kośāmbī (55.31) are stated to have gone on trade to the 'parakūla' by Jāṇavatta (ship). They had sold their Bhaṇḍa (merchandise) and brought gems in exchange. Here 'parakūla'¹ should mean the other side of the river Jamunā. It indicates that river were used as an effective water-route.

There are references to Sārthavāhās (Satthāha) who used to go from place to place for trade and sometimes they had to traverse dreadful forests (aḍavimajjha bhaṇayaṃ 14.33).

As regards the land routes there are two specific references, viz. Gajapura to Sāketa (63.64) and Kundanagara to Ujjaina (33.66).

Trading Accessories:—Weighing and measurement of quantity are referred to as Tulā (2.90;14.26) respectively.

1. The other bank of the Ganges where Sītā was abandoned is referred to as 'parakūla' (94.53).

The terms referred to for measurement of length are: Aratni (Rayāni 20.88), Hasta (Hattha 101.51), Dhanuṣ or Cāpa (Dhanu 20.96; Cāva 118.86), Goruta (Gāuya 3.36), Krośa (Kosa 51.4), and Yojana (Joyana 3.24, 151). These measurements are explained as follows in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti (I.114-116). Twelve 'aṅgulas' or two 'pādas' are equal to one 'Vitasti' and two Vitastis constitute one Hasta. The *Arthaśāstra* (2.20) adds four Aṅgulas to two Vitastis to make a Hasta and only two Vitastis make one Aratni. Four Hastas make one Cāpa or Daṇḍa. But the *Arthaśāstra* states that four Aratnis are equal to one Daṇḍa. Two thousand Cāpas constitute one Krośa. Four Krośas or four Gorutas¹ make one Yojana. Thus the Yojana is said to be measuring 4½ miles (see Shāma.).

Molla (Mūlya) denotes the price (39.69). The prevalence of money transactions is inferable from the mention of wealth in crores and lacs. The Dīnāras are mentioned in connection with the mock-selling of Rāvaṇa by Aṅgada (68.32). The Guptas are said to have struck gold coins called Dīnāras and Suvarṇas².

Conveyances :—Yāna (Jāna 17.8) or Vāhana (71.17) denoted the conveyance of transport. Śakaṭa (Sayada 26.21; 33.15), the cart or the wagon was used for carrying the load of goods from one place to another. Puruṣa-yāna (Purisajāna 108.43) was the passenger car. Ratha (Raha 32.48) was the chariot. It was also called Syandana (Sandaṇa 71.15; 94.54). Yoking of four horses to a chariot is referred to (Caturaya samāuttaṁ 42.3; 94.34). The *PCV* mentions it as a good means of river transport also. Kaikeyī went across the Gambhīrā river in a chariot (32.48-49) and Sītā was also carried across the river Ganges (94.53) in a chariot drawn by horses. The chariots also formed a column of army. The war-chariot of Rāvaṇa is called Mahāratha (71.4). It was drawn by a number of elephants (71.2). It was loaded with arms and ammunitions. Chariots were drawn in procession on the occasion of religious ceremonies (8.207). Royal chariots were decorated with gold and jewels (53.113; 42.3-4; 8.207).

Jānavatta (Yānapatra 5.83) and Poa (Pota 2.44) were the boats or ships which were rowed on water (2.44; 55.30).

Then there was the litter or palanquin (Sibiyā 96.1). It was raised on the shoulders of men who carried noble or royal persons in it (3.132). Gold covering and the setting of precious stones on it indicate that it was a conveyance of the rich.

1. *Samavāyāṅga Sū.* 4 (caugāue joyane).

2. *Coins of India*, p. 45; Vide *Ih*, p. 206.

There are references to *Vimānas* (aerial cars) supposed to be faring in the sky. They were decorated in gold and equipped with tinkling bells (17.113). They were studded with precious stones (8.128). *Añjanā* was taken to *Hanuruhapura* in a *Vimāna* (17.113). *Rāvaṇa* took flights in *Puṣpakavimāna* (8.128). *Rāma*, *Lakṣmaṇa* and *Sītā* returned to *Ayodhyā* from *Laṅkā* in a *Vimāna* (79.1). *Kroñcavimāna* of *Śrīkaṇṭha* indicates that these *Vimānas* had various shapes (6.53).

Various beasts were employed for carrying loads, drawing vehicles and riding purposes. Elephant was a good conveyance of royal ride (76.11; 79.12; 21.97). The similar was the case with horse (32.40; 5.73; 116.3). Both the animals constituted two separate columns of army (52.4). Soldiers (7.14; 56.44; 70.66) are mentioned as riding on bulls (*Vasaha*), camels (*Karaha* or *Maya*), bisons (*Mahisa*) and donkeys (*Khara*). These beasts were used for carrying the load also. Bison was used for carrying merchandise (63.64). Donkeys, camels, oxen and bisons are referred to as carrying the provisions of war (99.25).

SECTION 2. POLITY AND ADMINISTRATION

A. State and King.

State is denoted by *rajja* = *rājyam* (32.26). The constituent elements of the state mentioned in the *PGV* are : King (*rāyā* 3.2), Ministers (*mantijana* 38.59 or *amacca* 5.176). Territory, Forces, Fort, Treasury (*visaya*, *sāhana* or *bala* 7.13, *pura* & *kosa* 23.16; 33.81) and Friend or Ally (*mitta* 7.13). These seven features are considered as the essential components of a state in the works on the Hindu Polity (*Kaut*, 6.1.1; *Manu*, 9.294).

King :—King is variously called as *Rāyā* = *Rājā* (27.6), one who illuminates or shines; *Sāmī* = *Swamīn* (37.21), *Nāha* = *Nātha* (71.1), the commanding authority; *Puṣaipāla* = *Prthvipāla* (5.50), *Bhūmipāla* (12.144), *Mahīvāla* = *Mahīpāla* (11.2), *Patthiva* = *Pārthiva* (38.6), the terrestrial lord; *Narinda* = *Narendra* (38.25), *Naravara* (5.50), *Naravasa* = *Naravṛsabha* (38.9), the best among the men; *Niva* = *Nṛpa* (27.9), the protector of the people, *Narahiva* = *Narādhipa* (5.48), *Naravai* = *Narapati* (27.10), the lord of the people; *Pahu* = *Prabhu* (33.101), *Deva* (102.42), and *Paramesara* = *Parameśvara* (61.3), the divine lord. The last epithet of king connects him with divine qualities and indicates his divine right over the state. *Manu* (7.3-8) observes that a king is created by God and he should not, though even a boy, be disrespected.

Queen :—The *PCV* reveals that generally kings used to have many wives. Out of them some were granted special privileges. They were called chief queens (Agramahists 91.10 or Mahādevis 91.13,18). Daśaratha had three, Rama had four while Lakṣmaṇa had eight such queens. Rāvaṇa had only one chief queen, Mandodarī (8.24). On the occasion of the coronation of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, one of their chief queens namely, Sītā and Viśalyā respectively (85.22,23) were also consecrated. Thus they were specially privileged and so they can be called as prime among the chief queens. But the *PCV* does not refer to any special distinction bestowed on them. The instance of queen Sindhikā who was entrusted with the administration of the kingdom when her husband, king Naghuṣa went out on war-campaign indicates that a queen shared the responsibility of rulership (22.57).

Polygamy was generally prevalent among kings but there are instances of kings having one wife only¹. Occasional rivalry and jealousy among the queens were common².

In exceptional cases as found in the *PCV*, some king did not consider it immoral to make abandoned wife of another person as his queen (75.75) or to kidnap and make the queen of another king as his chief queen (105.95). Rāvaṇa also was ready to make Sītā his chief queen (46.41).

King's Paraphernalia:—The majestic paraphernalia of a king consisted of the following insignias or emblems : a crown (Mukuta 85.21); a throne (Viṣṭara 80.7 or Sindhāsana 65.36); a parasol (Chatra 89.0; or Atapatra 24.31); a pair of fly-whisks (Cāmarayugala 12.142); a pair of sandals (Padukās 80.8); and a foot-stool (Padapīṭha 3.1).

The assembly hall (Sabhā 23.1 or Āsthānamaṇḍapa 33.99) was always associated with him. Then there were the ladies who fanned the flywhisks (Camaragrāhinī 68.39), the panegyrists or bards (Vandījana 2.103; 85.24), the door-keeper (Pratīhāra 13.1) etc.

King's Education:—Knowledge of warfare and training in military or archery (25.24) were indispensable for a king. He was required to be well-versed in statecraft (nayaivihinnu 8.142; nīkusala 6.12), allied subjects of rulership (narindavinnāpanāpamāhappam 2.19, various arts and traditional learnings (vivihakalāgamakusalo 2.20; 18.56).

The art of music, dance and drama was well cultivated by kings (9.88.89; 39.21; 28.46; 113.11). They were trained in subduing agitated

1. See Supra, Position of women.

2. Ibid.

elephants (8.178;218) and turbulent horses (28.27). Capturing of wild elephants was also practised by some kings (94.103).

Personal Qualities:—A king was required to belong to 'uttamakula' (6.18; 9.26) and to have superior qualities (naravaiguṇehi jutto 2.15).

He was required to possess robust health (2.16,17), strength (bala 6.221, sakti 28.127) and majesty (pratāpa 7.170). Self confidence (darpa 6.221), courage and qualities of goodness (vīrya & sattva 7.170) were considered to be indispensable for a king. He was required to have modesty (vinaya 3.7; 9.26) and to be virtuous in his thought and deeds (dharmabuddhi 65.1). He was considered to be the root of morality (marayādā 53.4).

A good king is said to be one who has a flawless character, who is affectionate to the people (uttamapī 9.26), helpful and beneficial to his servants and relations (bhiccāṇa bandhavāṇa uvayāraparo). He should worship all sorts of religious persons (sāhūṇa deva-guru-pūyaṇaparo). He should be devoted to the religious duties (dhammuvagaraṇesu sāhīṇo). He should consider other's wife as his mother and other's wealth as grass (7.60-62).

Duties:—The *PCV* mentions that a king should treat his subjects as his children (jaṇavacchala 27.11) and see to their utmost welfare (uvayāra 3.7). The protecting of the people was the fundamental duty (3.115) of a Kṣatriya. The *Śukranīti* (14) observes that one who can protect men, who is valorous, restrained and powerful and who is the chastiser of the wicked is called a Kṣatriya i.e. a person capable of ruling over others.

Hospitality:—The *PCV* reveals that on various occasions kings made munificent grants of land to learned persons (77.88; 88.26), their friends (12.12) and well-wishers (88.21,34). Similarly they granted gifts of wealth to several persons¹.

Amusements:—Hunting (33.30) was one of the common four additions of a king. The other three are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (8.3.42) as the gambling, drinking and association with women.

Happy bath in accompaniment of the ladies of the harem (69.9-10) was one of the common entertainments of kings. Kings generally sported with their wives in gardens (6.100; 86.34), enjoyed watersports in reservoirs (5.218) and rivers (10.35; 42.17).

1. See Supra, 'Kṣatriya' under 'Castes'.

Music was frequently displayed to please a king when he got up from the bed (2.103; 15.80; 64.5) or took bath (69.9) or did any other work.

Subduing of turbulent elephants (8.176) or horses (28.27-28) and riding on elephants (76.11) and horses (5.73; 116.3) were common sports of kings.

Heir:—Generally the eldest son of a king became Yuvarāja and he became king after the death of his father. If a king abdicated the throne by renouncing the world, his eldest son became the natural heir to the throne (6. 58; 31. 56). The hereditary kingship was so important that Ikṣvāku king Kīrtidhara could not renounce the world until a son was born to him (21. 88). Sometimes a child in the womb was declared heir and his father renounced the world (22. 21). If the eldest brother renounced the world and he happened to be issueless, then his younger brother became king (21. 42, 77).

Sometimes a younger brother became a king. Bharata, younger brother of Rāma was made the king of Ayodhyā in fulfilment of the boon promised to Kaikeyī by Daśaratha. When Rāma returned from exile he did not accept the crown but he made Lakṣmaṇa, the king of Ayodhyā (85. 14). Ādityarāja made his first son, Vāli as the king of Kiṣkindhipura and his second son Sugrīva as Yuvarāja (9. 6). When king Vāli renounced the world, he appointed his younger brother Sugrīva as the king of Kiṣkindhipura (9. 6; 9. 45) though he had a son (47. 23)¹. Similarly Mahārakṣasa appointed his first son as king and the third son as Yuvarāja (5. 166. 240).

King Bālikhilya was kidnapped by the Mlecchas. He had no son. A daughter Kaiyānamālā was born to him. With the help of the ministers she lived in the disguise of a male and was appointed as the king (34. 18-23). It indicates that princesses did not enjoy the right of heirship to the throne.

There are instances of several princes who on attaining youth did not deem it fit that their father should go to war, so they themselves fought battles (16. 31; 19. 9; 27. 17, 21; 59. 45; 86. 50, 51). It reveals that princes suitably helped their father king in discharging their duties.

Generally a king ruled for the whole of his life. But if he was tyrannous then the subjects revolted against him. They dethroned and banished him, and appointed his son the ruler² (22. 75).

1. Among the Western Kṣatrapas the crown passed from the elder brother to the younger brother in succession. Vide *VG A*, pp. 47 & 249.

2. See also *Khandahṛta Jātaka* No. 542. Vide *PHAI*, 176 (1950).

The *PCV* reveals that sometimes if a king died issueless, some divine method was used to select his heir¹. When the king of Mahāpura died issueless an elephant was released. He selected king Saudasa who was dethroned and exiled from Ayodhyā. He was installed as the king of Mahāpura (22.91).

When Lakṣmaṇa became the king of Ayodhyā, his brother Śatrughna was granted the rulership of Mathurā (Ch 86). It indicates that younger brother of a king were appropriately granted some towns or lands.

Consecration Ceremony :—It is called 'rajyābhiseya = rājyābhiṣeka (80.17) or Paṭṭabandha' (5.41). The latter term indicates the practice of binding of a royal turban which was an emblem of sovereignty.

The work of consecration was assigned to the ministers (19.5). The Purohita (31.57), Sāmantas (31.50) and the Vassal king (85.16) also played an important part in it. The occasion was celebrated with the performances of music (19.5; 85.18) and dance (85.19). Bards sang panegyrics (85.20). Sacred water brought from sacred places was sprinkled over the body of the installing king (85.20). His body was besmeared with sandal paste and was decorated with ornaments and garlands (85.21).

Chief queen was also consecrated on this occasion (85.22, 23). Or when some one of the queens was made the chief queen she was also duly consecrated (abhiṣeyapaṭṭabandham.....pāviyā 105.95)².

Types of Rulers :

The *PCV* refers to the following types of rulers :—

Cakravartin:—It is stated that Cakravartin Bharata enjoyed Suzerainty over 32,000 kings (4.58). He governed the whole of India (Samaṭta Bhārahāvivo 5.118) and his rule was 'egachattam' i. e. one umbrella and one ruler (4.56). He was saluted by all the kings under him (ānāpānāma 4.38). Thus a Cakravartin was a paramount king whose authority was recognised by all the other rulers of the country. The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* corroborates it (1.48). It can be compared with the 'Sārvabhauma' type of king described in the *Śukranīti*

1. See also *Darīmukha Jātaka* No. 378; Devendragaṇi's Commentary on *Uttarā-dhyāyana* 3, p. 63a; *Karakandacariu*, 2. 20.
2. Paṭṭabandha is called as Uṣṇīṣapaṭṭa also. It was a golden band wrapped over the turban of a king. Heir-apparent, queen or armychief also were authorised to wear such royal bands. Mahādevī-paṭṭa is also mentioned -*Harṣacarita* aka *Sūtrskṛitika Adhyāyana*, p. 155. See also *Vārāṇsī Vṛhat Saṁhitā* (49. 2.4) which mentions five kinds of Paṭṭas.

(1.185). He is described as the Sovereign of all the seven continents of the world. It seems to be a developed form of the status of a Cakravartin when all the seven continents were included into his territory.

Ardhacakravartin :—According to the definition of an Ardhacakravartin given in the *TP* (1.48), Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa of the *PCV* (91.28, 29; 44.9 & 7.170) who reigned the three divisions of Bhāratavarṣa and were suzerain over 16000 rulers, would be called as Ardhacarkavartin.

Māṇḍalika :—The *PCV* merely refers to him (14.22). The *TP* (1.46) defines him as the Lord of 4,000 rulers. He is higher in status to that of a Mahārāja. But the *Śukranīti* (1.183) assigns him a lower status than that of a Mahārāja. It further mentions that his revenue amounted between 4 to 10 lakh of silver Kāṣṭhāṇas.

Mahārāja :—King Ativīrya of Nandyāvartapura (37.3) and Bhāmaṇḍala of Rathanaṇḍapura (99.63) are mentioned as Mahārājas to whom tributes were paid by many other rulers. The *TP* (1.45) defines a Mahārāja as the Lord of 1000 rulers and the *Śukranīti* (1.184) fixes his revenue between 21 to 50 lac.

Sāmanta :—Sāmantas are seen in the *PCV* in different lights. Śreṇika, sovereign king of Magadha (Magahasāmanto 2.49) and an independent Vidyādhara king of Meghapura (Vijjāharasāmanto 6.2) are called Sāmantas.

Then it is said that various Sāmantas bowed down to the feet of king Śreṇika (3.1). Similarly Bharata, Rāma's brother (38.14) and Kiṣkindharāja (6.213) are said to be receiving tributes from many other kings. Here Sāmantas seem to be feudatories.

Further Sāmantas are told to be accompanying their overlord wherever he went (38.10; 38.51). They helped him with their forces (37.5). They fought for him (59.11). They were consulted on the occasion of the consecration ceremony of his son (31.50). They were entrusted with the mission of envoys (dūta 64. 11) and were given responsible posts in military (26.29). These duties of the Sāmantas denote that they were dependents and served their overlords.

The *Śukranīti* defines Sāmanta as follows. A Sāmanta was a ruler whose revenue ranged from 1 to 3 lac of silver coins (1.182) or he was the chief who had 100 villages under him (1.190). Those who were the servants of king and were granted some land and were like the above Sāmantas were called Anusāmantas (1.188). One who was made the headman or chief officer of 100 villages was called an Anusāmanta (1.190). Those who were Sāmantas but were deprived of their status were called Hinasāmantas (1.189). Thus the term Sāmanta means a

sub-ruler or a feudal lord or a headman of some village or a chief officer with some land under him. Thus the Sāmantas can be called as vassals and feudatories, but the *PGV* calls Śreṇika, historically known as a sovereign ruler, a Sāmanta.

Tributary kings:—Sometimes king of some other states were conquered by a powerful king but their territories were not usurped. They were reinstalled as kings of their respective states. They are called Bhiccas=Bhṛtyas (11.19; 33.25; 33.124; 37.19; 37.64; 45.2; 46.95; 54.41). Such type of kings were autonomous. The idea was to impose the authority (āṇāviya 12.144=ānāmita or ājñāpita) of the powerful king and the conqueror over the weaker ones. They were required to pay tributes to their overlord (37.19) in recognition of his suzerainty over them. If any body violated the authority, he was punished (33.62, 80). In their own states they were free to govern their lands as they liked. At the time of the coronation of the imperial lord or overlord, the titles of the tributary kings were renewed and they were recognised as king of their respective territories (82.25).

B. Administration.

King ruled over his state from the capital town called Rājadhāni (88.2) which was well fortified with rampart and ditches (2.8-9). He was the administrative head of the state. He administered his state through ministers and various other officers.

Council of Ministers :

The council of ministers 'sahāmajjhemantīpaṇi' (26.16) consisted of many ministers who were called Mantrins (31.52; 46.86) or Amātyas (5.176; 31.57, 102), both the terms, used in the same sense (21.85.86). The plurality of ministers (15.14; 65.1) is corroborated by the works on polity (*Kautilya* 1.8; *Śukranīti* 2.69-72).

There is a reference to Rājapariṣad (31.93) which was summoned by Daśaratha on the occasion of enthroning Rāma. It consisted of Mantries and Sāmantas (31.50). It seems to be analogous to the modern council of state as Daśaratha had put before them the proposal of crowning Rāma and Kaikeyī is said to have gone there and demanded coronation of Bharata (31.71). Thereafter Daśaratha called his sons, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and with their consent he granted the promised boon to Kaikeyī. Thus it seems to be a Pariṣad of royal members, ministers and Sāmantas who discussed the matters relating to the state.

There is a further reference to Bhaḍapariṣā of king Simhodara who had attacked the lord of Daśapura (33.111). It seems to be a special council of warriors for the purpose of war and military.

Ministers advised king on the matters of national importance (65.1;66.1) and war-policy (88.28). They also helped king in settling the marriage of the latter's progeny (7.3;12.1;15.14). The work of coronation was entrusted to them (31.1.52). They were fully entrusted with the treasury and the work of administration when the king happened to be absent from the capital (23.16). They remained vigilant that the kingdom was not lost to any other power (34.21). A king who did not listen to the ministers about things good and bad brought his own downfall (64.6.9). This is the reason why a king has been enjoined to act always with the advice of his ministers (*Kautilya*, 1.15).

Ministers were required to possess the qualifications of good learning in various subjects relating to polity, administration (*nayasatt-havisārayā* 8.5; *nayasatt-hapaṇḍiyā* 5.176) and secular matters (*bahussue* 77.77; *paṇḍiyā* 77.78).

Other Officers :

Purohita:—He is variously associated with a king (5.31;26.6;41.45; 103.92) but his function is nowhere referred to. The *Sihānāṅga* (Abhaya. 7.558) defines him as a 'śāntikarmakāri', i.e. he performed rituals for the peace of the country. In the works of Kālidāsa (*IK*, p. 129) he is associated with the consecration work. The *Arthaśāstra* (1.9.15-16) lays down that a person of high family and character learned in the Vedas and their parts, well-read in portents, omens and the science of Government should be appointed as high priest. The king is advised to follow him as a teacher, father, and master.

Senāpati:—*Senāpati* (37.2;86.26) or *Balanika* (7.11) was the Commander-in-chief of the army. In the matters of war his say was held supreme (86.30).

Śālarakṣa:—He (52.8) is mentioned to have been appointed to protect the fort of Lankāpurī. He can be identified with the Durgapāla of *Arthaśāstrā* (1.12) i.e. the officer incharge of Home Defences.

Bhāṇḍārika:—*Bhāṇḍāriya* (29.11) was the officer of stores. He is explained to be the superintendent of various store-houses, treasure, trade, grains, forest produce, armoury and jail (*Kautilya*, 2.5).

Kaṇṭhukū:—He (93.8) was the lord chamberlain or the lord of the servants of the inner apartment of the king. He was an aged person and was held in good esteem by the king (29.7).

Mahattaras:—They are found to be in association with princesses. *Vidyādhara* princess accompanied by *Mayaharayas* go to the battlefield to hail Lakṣmaṇa fighting with Rāvaṇa (71.6). *Sitā* was surrounded

by many *Mayaharaya*s when she was taken from the forest to the palace of king Vajrajaṅgha (96.2). A *Mayaharaya* is said to be introducing a bride-princess to the candidates contesting the 'svayamvara' (106.7). And *Mayaharaya*s inform Rāma of the public censure of Sītā (93.16). Thus they appear to be generally associated with the members of the harem. The *Nisīthacūrṇī* explains him as an executive officer of the harem. He took the ladies of the harem to the king, told them stories after their menstruation bath; pacified their anger and reported the cause of their anger to the king¹. *Vātsyāyana* (4.2.56) refers to Mahattarika as taking message to the king with various presents from the queens². Thus Mahattara or *Mayaharaya* seems to be the officer of harem. But in the *PCV* they are also told to be the heads of the different departments of Indra, the celestial lord (102.155). At 102.49 the *Mayaharaya* is referred to be as the head of the organisation of nuns. Thus here they seem to be the heads of various departments³.

Dūta:—He was an ambassador (14.19) or envoy. The *PCV* does not inform that the offices of embassy were premanently established in the capitals of foreign states. It reveals that the *Dūtas* worked as messengers who carried the orders of their king to other kings and returned after accomplishing their work (6.15; 8.67; 37.17; 49.1, 29; 65.9; 104.10). Kāuṭilya while explaining the duties of an ambassador states that he was a diplomatic officer sent to the court of a foreign power to safeguard his master's interest and to gather all the requisite information of the strength and weakness of a foe and transmit it to his Government (*Kāuṭilya*, 1.16).

The *PCV* mentions that a *Dūta* should be clever, quick-witted, modest, strong, and well-versed in statecraft and other śāstras (39.39; 65.10).

It was the ethics of the polity that an envoy was never killed by the foe king (8.82; 9.35) because he was merely a servant (8.83) or the carrier of the message of his master or the bespeaker of the words of his master (8.82). But he is even then mentioned to have suffered insults in the courts of enemy kings (9.36; 53.129; 65.34). Sometimes he was reproached and dragged out of the court (8.84). *Dūta* who insulted king was tied down with chains (53.142) and humiliated.

1. Vide *LAI*, p. 56.

2. See *Studies in the Kāmasūtra*, p. 109.

3. In the *VGA* (p. 263), they are explained as District-council member. The *Uttarādhyayana* Tīkā, 3. p. 57; 9. p. 142a explains them as village officers (Vide *LAI*; p. 83).

Cārapuruṣas:—They were the spies who were entrusted with the work of espionage. Janaka ordered them to find out his lost son (26.95). The recovery of Lakṣmaṇa from injuries was communicated by them to Rāvaṇa (65.1). The secret attempt of Rāvaṇa in mastering the supernatural powers was disclosed to Rāma's Vānara forces by them (67.10). Madhu's loop-holes were transmitted to Śatrughna by them (86.32) and thus Śatrughna became successful in defeating him. Thus the *PCV* reveals that Cāriyapuruṣas were the secret agents who kept their king and the Government informed of the position and the developments in the territory of an enemy king.

Lekhavāhaka:—Lehavāha (37. 1) was the carrier of state messages.

Pratihāra:—Paḍihāra (13. 1) was the officer of royal court. His permission (47. 6) was necessary to enter the court (See also *VGA*, p. 225).

Dvārapāla: Dāravāla as referred to in the *PCV* (17. 16), was the gate-keeper of town.

Udyānapāla:—Ujjāṇavālaya (39. 5) was the guard of royal park.

Lokapālas:—They are mentioned as governors of various divisions of the country. Vidyādhara king Indra appointed them as rulers of the four quarters or regions of India (7. 43-47; 57).

Ādeśadāyaka:—Adesadāyas are merely referred to (14. 19). They are mentioned along with ministers and envoys. They can be taken as the officers of various departments of the state.

Rāṣṭrasvāmin:—Ratthasāmīs are merely referred to (14. 22). In the early Christian era, the districts were known as Rāṣṭras and Rāṣṭrasvāmins should be the district heads or officers.¹ The Inscription of Rudradāmaṇa mentions them as provincial governors. The Raṭhikas of the Khārvela Inscription are explained as provincial governors².

Grāmeyakas and Bhogikas:—Gāmauḍas (66. 8) and Bhoiyas (3. 121) are merely referred to. Grāmeyakas are explained as the heads of village administration.³ They are called Grāmapradhānas or Gāmanīs.⁴ Bhogikas are explained as the chiefs recognised by the kings.⁵ They enjoyed the revenue of their lands⁶. They were the headmen of villages,

1. See *VGS*, p. 262.

2. *SI*, p. 212.

3. *VGA*, p. 266.

4. *Deśināmamālā*, 2-89.

5. Śāntiśāstra on *Uttarādhyāyana*, 15. 9.

6. Lakṣmīvallabha on *Uttarā*, 15. 9.

called as Bhoiyas or Bhojikas. In the Khārvela¹ Inscription they are explained as Jāgirdārs². H. Raychaudhari mentions that in the Gupta period villages were administered by headmen and other functionaries styled as Grāmikas, Mahattaras and Bhojakas.³ Grāmabhojakas are then said to be the heads of villages⁴.

Policies of State :

It was necessary that suitable policies were adopted by kings for the safety of their state and for the welfare of the subjects.

Ambitious rulers adopted the policy of war or Vighraha (Viggaha 19.1.7;88.27) for the expansion of their territory. Thus we find that Rāvaṇa made a war-campaign and defeated Vesravāṇa (8.120), Yama (8.247), king of Māheśvara (10.67), Marutta of Magadha (11.99), Nalakūbara (12.68), Indra of Rathanūpura (12.136), Varuṇa (19.20) and many other rulers (11.12). Ativīrya of Nandyāvartapura (Ch.37) waged war against Bharata for the similar purpose. Śatruḡhna had killed the ruler of Mathurā in the battle for the same purpose (Ch.86). When Lakṣmaṇa was made the ruler of Ayodhyā by his brother Rāma, he did the same thing and conquered various rulers for the expansion of his territory (91.1). Lavaṇa and Aśokuśa's war-campaign was of the same type (Ch.98). Thus the *PCV* reveals that there prevailed an era of expansionism and aggrandisement in those days.

A weaker king was advised not to have vighraha (*PCV*, 48.117) with a stronger one. He should adopt the policy of Sandhi (peace) or Samśraya (alliance) for the safety of his state. Indra was requested by his father to make peace or conciliation (Sandhi 12.75) with Rāvaṇa who had invaded the territory of the former. But his refusal brought about his own downfall. Rāvaṇa similarly made peace (Sandhi) with Varuṇa when the former's relatives were captured by the latter in a battle (17.3). Rāvaṇa was advised by his ministers to sign a pact of Sandhi (6.5.7) with Rāma but he did not pay heed to it, hence he brought about his own end.

When the territory of Janaka was invaded by barbarian tribes, he made alliance (Samśraya) with Daśaratha and thus emerged successful in chasing away the hordes (Ch.27). Virādhita's territory was usurped by Kharadūṣaṇa (9.18-21) so Virādhita sought alliance with Lakṣmaṇa and helped him in killing Kharadūṣaṇa who had attacked Lakṣmaṇa (45.2). Thus Virādhita reobtained his ancestral

1. *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 7.459.

2. *SI*, p. 212.

3. *PHAI*, p. 262. (9th Ed.).

4. *Ibid.* p. 525.

kingdom (85.27). Sugrīva made alliance with Rāma (47.4) who was considered to be a strong ally. He thus annihilated his enemy Sahasagatī. Rāma sought alliance with Sugrīva (47.30) to rescue Sītā from Rāvaṇa. Thus Rāma got success in bringing about the end of Rāvaṇa.

Thus the *PCV* reveals that a stronger king adopted the policy of war with a weaker king. A weaker king made alliance with stronger king sought the protection of another king. These are the three (i. e. Vighraha. Sandhi and Samśraya respectively) of the six policies laid down by Kauṭilya (VII. 1.12-16) and Manu (7.160) in relation to foreign powers.

Besides the above mentioned policies, the *PCV* reveals that Rāma sent Hanumān to bring about conciliation with Rāvaṇa for rescuing Sītā (48.120; 53.1-8). Similarly king Ativīrya of Nandy-āvartapura first sent his envoy requesting Bharata to accept his suzerainty (37.19). In both the cases the method of conciliation (sāma) failed and then a war was waged.

When Rāma's policy of peaceful negotiations failed he waged war against Rāvaṇa. In the ensuing battle Rāvaṇa's relatives got captured by Rāma. Then Rāvaṇa sought to stop the war by offering some parts of his territory, many costly things, women, horses and elephants to Rāma (65.35-36). But as Sītā was not returned hence Rāma rejected the offer of Rāvaṇa. This is an example of the policy of Dāna or Dāma. In the same way Kharadūṣaṇa who had kidnapped the sister of Rāvaṇa was afraid of Rāvaṇa's attack. When Rāvaṇa reached there on his way to the war-campaign, Kharadūṣaṇa greeted Rāvaṇa with the presents of many jewels and put to his disposal a large number of soldiers. (10.17).

For the maintenance of law and order the policy of Daṇḍa (punishment) was followed by the rulers. Thus the *PCV* reveals that when Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita rebelled in the territory of king Anaraṇya of Ayodhyā, the latter got him captured and punished (26.23-31) him appropriately. Similarly the younger brother of a certain king was expelled from the state on account of causing trouble in the former's state (39.83) and another king duly punished those persons who committed crimes in the state.

Thus the *PCV* reveals that the Sāma, Dāna or Dāma and Daṇḍa which were the three of the four instruments¹ of successful administration of the country were duly adhered to by the rulers.

1. The four instruments are Sāma-(conciliation), Dāma or Dāna (gifts), Bheda (division) and Daṇḍa (war or punishment) *Nyāyadhammakahāṇo*, 8. p. 97f; *MB* (*Śānti parva*) 35; Manu. 7.109.

Justice and Law :—King was the judiciary head. He decided the suits, seated on Dharmāsana (105.100) i.e. the seat of justice. He used to consult learned Paṇḍitas whenever a suit came before him in the court (41.62.77; 105.100). The suit instituted in the court was called Vyavahāra (41.62; 105.102).

Police and Jail :—The policemen are referred to as Daṇḍapāsikas (82.48) and the Jail as Cārageha (3.11; 8.74). Jail equipment just as chains (saṅkala 53.119, 142) and iron fetters (niyala=nigaḍa 8.74) are also mentioned.

Toll and Tax :—Under the reign of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, as said in the PCV, their subjects were happy and they were not required to pay any toll or tax to the state (Karabharahio—80.17).

Crime and Punishment :—There are allusions to robbers and dacoits (gāmagaradesaghāya 14.15). Smugglers and thieves are referred to (takkara 2.7 & cora 14.15). Burglaries were committed even into the royal palaces (5.85; 33.72). The cases of adultery are evidenced among the common people (46.64; 82.47), the person of high position (39.42) and the royal class also (82.37). Murders were committed (5.89; 103.4) generally in the cases of adultery (39.42, 46; 82.37; 82.49).

Guilty persons were punished. Thus a purohita who swindled the valuables of a Vaṇik is said to have been expelled from the state (nivvāsio 5.34). Kauṭilya recommends expulsion for a Brahmin also who commits theft (IV. 8.33-38). In another similar case capital punishment was inflicted upon a Brahmin (sūlāe nirovio 34.46). But he was granted pardon on the intervention of a Vaṇik who perhaps might have paid a heavy penalty in cash (34.47). Manu (8.337) recommends severe punishment for a Brahmin thief but grants him immunity from amputation of limbs and capital punishment. Further it is mentioned in the PCV that the whole village was burnt to ashes by a king on account of the guilt of a single villageman who had committed theft (5.208).

Adultery committed in the royal house was punished severely. A Brahmin who was caught dallying with a queen was given the punishment of amputation of his limbs (aṭṭhaṅganiggaha 88.12). Kauṭilya lays down that such a criminal should be burnt to death (4.11.17). If the criminal happened to be a Brahmin he should be given life-long imprisonment (tamaḥ praveśyet 4.11.18). Manu (8.383-385) says that a Brahmin who commits adultery should not be awarded the punishment of death, he may be fined.

Śramaṇas and Tāpasas were not immune from the punishment. A Śramaṇa who was falsely charged with entry into the harem was

punished to death along with his fellow Śramaṇas (41.30-31) by a king bigot. A Tāpasa who entered the harem and requested to marry a princess, was tied with ropes and publicly censured (39.116) by the king.

Divine Ordeal:—The *PCV* reveals that divine ordeals were ordered for testing the guilt of a person. When Sītā was asked to prove the purity of her character, she offered to undergo any one of the five ordeals (pañcasu divvesu 101.38) of which the four are mentioned as 'tulā = balance, jalaṇam = fire, phalaṇam = ploughshare and viṣam = poison'. Sītā underwent the fire-ordeal. She entered a pit ablazing with fire. She was chaste so the fire pit changend into a water-reservoir and she was acclaimed guiltless. Manu (7.114f) recognises two ordeals viz. fire and water. The *Śukranīti* (4.747-52) adds to them the ordeals of viṣa, ghaṭa or tulā, dharma and adharma, tandula and śapatha. It states that when all the other methods fail the ordeals are resorted to for prosecuting the person who is charged with some crime.

C. Army and Warfare.

Army:—A strong army was maintained by rulers for the protection and the safty of the territories from external attacks and internal upheavals. Thus the *PCV* reveals that the kings had at their disposal strong army which is variously called as Bala (12.139), Sādhana (27.30), Sainya (59.11) and Anika (99.54). It consisted of four columns (caturaṅgabala 8.242) namely the infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots (Sandanavaragayaturaṅgapāikkam 8.48; 12.139). In addition to the horses and elephants other beasts such as donkeys (khara), bulls (vasaha & go), bisons (mahisa) and camels (maya & karaha) were also employed in the army (7.14; 70.66; 99.52). Kauṭilya mentions that donkeys and camels should be employed for defensive purposes in case of the shortage of elephants (10.4.19). The references to the soldiers of Rāvaṇa and Rāma riding on lions (kesarī & siha), tigers (vaggha), Sarabha (saraha) and boars (varāha) indicate that the masks of the respective wild beasts were put on the faces of the ordinary beasts of burden to give them a frightening look (7.14; 70.66; 99.52; See *RKSj*, p. 45).

The *PCV* (56.2-11) gives the measurement of the different units of army. It mentions that the smallest unit of army was called Paṅkti (Panti) which was comprised of one elephant, one chariot, three horses and five infantry soldiers. Then there were the successive larger units called Senā, Sanāmukha, Gulma, Vāhini, Pṛtanā, Camū and Anikiṇi which were three times larger than the preceding one

successively. The last one was the Akṣauhiṇī which was ten times larger than the Anikinī. Thus an Akṣauhiṇī consisted of 21870 elephants, 21870 chariots, 65610 horses and 109350 infantry soldiers. The *MB* (*Ādi*, 2. 19-27) corroborates this strength of an Akṣauhiṇī but it mentions Senāmukha, Gulma and Gaṇa in places of Senā, Senāmukha and Gulma of the *PCV* respectively.

Implements of War:—The war implements were of two kinds, offensive and defensive. Offensive weapon is called āuha=āyudha (71. 2) and pahaṛaṇa=prahaṛaṇa (8.9). It is also referred to as a sattha (śastra) or a attha (astra) respectively. The *Śukranīti* (4.1024f) explains that an astra was thrown or cast down by means of charms machines or fire while a śastra was any other weapon like sword, dagger, etc. The *PCV* does not make any such distinction between the two kinds of offensive weapons. (12.126-127; 58.60,62; 71.61).

Various offensive weapons mentioned in the *PCV* are as follows:—

Dhanu (12.84) also called Sarāsana (61.66) is the bow. Cāva (cāpa) is the bow made of a kind of wood called Cāpa.¹ Sara (59.19 śara) or Bāṇa (7.25) is the arrow. Ardhaśakra (53.115) is the crescent arrow. Khuruppa (59.19 Kṣurapra) is a kind of arrow with its point like the blade of a razor². Sella (7.26) is also a kind of arrow³. Toṇīra (24.30 Tūnīra) is the quiver. Asi (10.56) or Karavāla (12.111) is the sword. Asilaṭṭhi (3.147 Asiyaṣṭi) is a very sharp and long sword⁴. Khagga (6.192 Khaḍḍaga) is a sword 25 or 50 aṅgulas in length⁵. Vasunandaka (70.67) is the best type of sword. Churiya (61.38 Kṣurika) is the dagger or a battle knife. Parasu (12.101 Paraśu) is the battle-axe or scymitar semicircular in shape Kuṭhāra (72.34) or Kuhāḍa (99.24) is a kind of axe. Karavatta (69.45 Karapatra) is saw. Kappa (9.73) may be a razor like weapon⁶. Paṭṭisa (53.109 Paṭṭisa) is a razor like weapon shaped like a trident at both ends⁷. Śūla (12.111) is a pike. Śūlaratna (12.7) is the best type of pike which when thrown can traverse a very long distance. Triśūla (53.109) is a trident. It possesses three blades branched off like a fork. Satti (10.56 Śakti) is explained as a metallic weapon four cubits in length like the leaf of Karavīra

1. *Kaṭṭi*, 2.18, 9.

2. *IK*, p. 16^o.

3. *Deśināmamālā*, 8.57,

4. *Shāma*, p. 111.

5. *Vārāṇasīyāgatsaṁhitā*, 50. 1.

6. Kappa may be the Karpana of Kaṭṭilya which is explained as an arrow to be thrown by the hand (*Shāma*, p.111).

7. *Ibid*, p. 111.

and provided with a handle like a cow's nipple¹. Savvala (59.21) is an iron spear². Kunta (53.109) is a lance. Tomara (53.109) is a rod with an arrow like edge and four to five cubits in length³. Kanaya (12.111) is a metallic rod both ends of which are triangular. It is held in the middle and is two feet long⁴. It is also called a type of arrow⁵. Jatthi (59.15 Yaṣṭi) is the pointed rod made of Khadira wood⁶. Hala (59.86) or Naṅgala (72.33 Lāṅgala) is a heavy weapon like ploughshare. Musala (59.16) is a pestle or pointed rod⁷ made of Khadira. Bhinḍivāla (7.37 Bhinḍimāla) is a rod with heavy top⁸. Moggara (57.28 Mudgara) is a staff hammer of iron. Gayā (52.7 Gadā) is a mace. Vajja (7.10 Vajra) is the thunderbolt, a kind of club made of iron⁹. Phaliha (12.90 Parigha) is a club studded with iron pikes¹⁰. Musuṇḍhi (26.56) is the octagonal club¹¹. Cakka (99.24 Cakra) is the discus with pointed and sharp projection on the periphery¹². The weapons which could not be identified are Caḍakka (7.29) and Jhasara (53.82). Bhujaṅgapāsa (59.78) is the noose used to tie the enemy.

The *PCV* further refers to the throwing of stones in the battle (Sila 6.194; 7.26; 12.90). Kauṭilya (2.18.16) states that stones were thrown in the battle by hand or by a machine or a sling. The references to the Yantras fixed on the ramparts (Jantesu 12.48; Kūḍajan-tesu 46.86; Jantapayāraṁ 52.6) indicate that machines were used for operating weapons and stones¹³.

The employing of magical missiles is referred to at several places in the *PCV*. Vāruṇāstra (59.60), the cloud-missile created darkness. It was counteracted by the Mārutāstra (59.61) or Samīraṇāstra, the air-missile (71.61). The fire-missile (Agnēyaṁ) was nullified by the cloud-missile (12.127). The Tāmasāstra (59.63) which spread darkness was counteracted by the missile of light (Divākarāstra 61.44 or Udyotāstra

1. Ibid, p. 111.

2. Vide *LAI*, p. 80.

3. Shāma, p. 111.

4. Ibid; See *TP*, 8.257 also.

5. *Deśināmamālā*, 2.56.

6. Shāma, p. 110.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, p. 111.

9. *IK*, p. 160.

10. Ibid, p. 161.

11. *LAI*, p. 80.

12. *IK*, p. 160; See also *Śukranīti*, 4. 1049.

13. See Shrma, p.110 and *Śukranīti*, 4. 1024f.

12.128). Similarly the missiles of Siddhāstra (72.12), Vainateya (61.46), Rākṣasa (71.63), Indhana (71.64), Uraga (71.66) and Vināyaka (71.67) were counteracted by Vighnavināyaka, Dharma, Pratindhana, Garuḍa and Mahāstra respectively.

Supernatural powers or lores were also used in the battle. The Darśanāvarṇividya brought about the stagnation of the soldiers (59.40). It was counteracted by Pratibodhanividya (59.42).

The defensive equipment of a soldier is called Āvaraṇa (8.93; 46.97; 59.11). It consisted of a coat of mail (kāvaya=Kavaca 6.11; 59.47) a helmet (Sirattāṇa-Sirastrāṇa 12.84) and a shield (Phara, Phalaya = Phalaka; Khedaya = Kheṭaka 71.21).

Other Equipment of Army:—The other important equipment of the army was the tent (sibira 37.39; 47.38; 61.52). It accompanied the army wherever it proceeded for a battle. The tent was fixed for the encampment of the king and the army. This temporary encampment was called Sibiranivesa (10.27). It was well-planned with its ramparts, gates, guards (62.26-36), royal house (33.98), council hall (33.99) and other necessary facilities which a town would provide (10.27). It is called a temporary settlement (Sannivesa 62.35). Kauṭilya (10.1) corroborates it when he describes the establishment of the army (Skandhāvāra) with its royal buildings, offices, stationing of guards etc.

The necessary amenities of life were properly arranged for the king and the soldiers in the army-camp. The provisions of food and clothing as well as the valuables such as gold and jewels which were considered to be essential in emergency were taken along with the army. These were loaded on donkeys, camels, oxen, bisons and buffaloes (99.25). Articles of luxury such as betel-leaves, flowers, sandal, saffron and camphor were also available in the camp (99.28). Systematic arrangements were made for the proper care of the fighting soldiers. Water to the tired and the thirsty and food of various kinds to the hungry were supplied in time. The wounded were treated with the sandal water and other necessary amenities were supplied to them at suitable time (71.1-2).

Musical Instruments:—Musical instruments constituted an indispensable equipment of the army. They were used in war at every step from beginning to end. The army was alerted and mobilised by sounding Samarabherī (70.63) or Mahābherī (53.96; 55.3; 63.7). Its march commenced with the blowing of conches (15.82). Its journey to the battle ground was encouraged by sounding various musical instruments

(12. 86; 57. 22; 99. 53), and by announcing the words of victory (4. 40). It was the sound of the instruments which indicated the arrival of the army of the enemy (44. 15). The fight commenced with the blowing of warhorns (8. 92) and during the actual fight the soldiers were encouraged by appropriate music (12. 118). In the end the victorious king returned with joy in the midst of the sound of the musical instruments (6. 235).

Banners and Ensigns:—Armies representing the particular kings had their own banners with distinctive emblems marked on them. The Vānara army had its own banner which bore the emblem of the figure of a monkey (59. 16). Besides the state banner, the kings, leaders and soldiers had their individual ensigns which were marked on their respective flags. Thus the flags of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa had the ensigns of a lion and an eagle respectively (99. 68; 60. 1-2). These flags regularly unfurled on the chariots accomodating the respective kings (12. 122; 24. 25; 61. 64). Apart from the kings other leaders (nāyaga 59. 70) of the army had their own individual ensigns. Thus the garland, the banyan tree, a lion and an elephant were the ensigns of Virādhita, Jambūnada, Sindhavara and Meghakānta respectively (54. 36). The fighting feudal lords maintained their separate emblems on their flags (59. 11). Last of all the soldiers of repute also had their own respective signs. The soldiers of Rāvaṇa are mentioned to have various ensigns (nāhācindhā 56. 47). The Mleccha invaders also are said to have been holding the flags marked with the figures of lion, bull elephant (27. 35) etc.

Battle:—Whenever there was an apprehension of some attack, it was the duty of the king to make proper arrangements for the defence of his capital. Thus the *Paumacariyam* mentions that when Vibhīṣaṇa saw the danger of the probable attack of the army of Rāma, he made Lankā well-fortified. He alerted his country men, called for his feudal lords, installed war-machines on the fort and garrisoned the soldiers to protect the fort (46;96.52.4). The rampart was sometimes equipped with the fire around it (aggipauro pāyāro 12.45). Nalakūbara had also made such defensive arrangements when he apprehended an attack from Rāvaṇa (12.48) on his capital.

In the actual battle, alike columns of the army faced each other (hatthi hatthīnā samaṁ rahavaro ālaggo saha raheṇaṁ, turaṇasaha turaṅgo pāikkasaha payattheṇaṁ 12.113). Fighting soldiers sometimes took recourse to wrestling also (bhuyajujjhaṁ 99.59).

There were occasions when kings tried to avoid the vast human massacre by arranging a personal (bout) duel between themselves.

Thus Bāhubali had fought a sight and a boxing duel with his brother Bharata (4.43-46).

Ethics of War :—The *Paumacariyam* mentions that fighting was always stopped at the advent of night and it recommenced the following morning (59.10,11). Further it mentions that a person devoted to some religious performances was not captured deceptively, the fearful was not attacked (67.6) and the women were not harassed (67.16). This kind of battle could be termed as Dharmayuddha as mentioned by Kautilya (10.10.27), in which the time and place of fighting were pre-settled. Just the opposite of it was the Kūṭayuddha in which treacherous plans were executed. The *Paumacariyam* reveals that in the battle between Ativīrya and Bharata the latter during the night secretly (ukkhandaṁdāṇa = avaskandaṁ datvā 37.39,41) attacked the former's camp and seized his elephants and horses. Further Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and other soldiers disguised themselves as dancing girls and captured Ativīrya (37.45-60). Śatrughna secretly seized Mathurā, the capital of Madhu, in the night hours when its king was out of the city (86.36-38). Rāvaṇa followed Kūṭanīti in subjugating Nalakūbara of Durlaṅghyapura. Rāvaṇa's army could not enter into the fort of Nalakūbara because it was heavily equipped with fire and various defensive machines. He accepted the love proposal of Uparambhā, the wife of Nalakūbara and took the Āśāliyā lore from her. Then with the help of that lore he entered the fort and defeated Nalakūbara, but he did not violate the chastity of Uparambhā (12.48-70). Rāvaṇa had further thought of another underhand policy to get his relatives released from the captivity of Rāma, but he did not execute it (66.4).

Treatment meted out to the Defeated Kings :—Defeated kings were captured and taken away to the camp of the victorious king (10.67; 19.32; 12.137). They were not tortured but released and reinstalled as the kings of their respective territories (10.80; 19.33). The policy was not to confiscate the land but to subjugate the rulers and make them accept the suzerainty of the victorious one. They enjoyed autonomy in their kingdoms. They paid tributes and went to the help of the suzerain king on the occasions of war. These kings sometimes married their (33.138,139) daughters to the suzerain and thus made their position stronger and safe by such matrimonial alliances. Even if the defeated kings were punished, the punishment was very formal. The *PCV* states that when Rāvaṇa captured Indra, the latter's father approached Rāvaṇa for getting his son released. Rāvaṇa then put before him some conditions for the release of Indra. He proposed that he would release Indra if he was ready to perform some menial services in his capital such as cleaning the city and

strewn flowers on the roads (13.5). When it was acceded to by Indra, he was released by Rāvaṇa. The rebels were duly punished. Kuṇḍalamaṇḍita, a rebel belonging to Durgamapura was released by Daśaratha only when the former duly satisfied the latter with his behaviour (26.32).

Sometimes a king was kidnapped and harassed. Rudrabhūti, the Mleccha chief of the Kāgonanda tribe captured Bālikhilya, the king of Kūvavadda and kept him as a prisoner. He used to receive a major part of the revenue from the capital (34.25) of Bālikhilya. It seems to be a case of holding on ransom. Bālikhilya was freed when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa happened to overpower Rudrabhūti (34.41).

Causes of Battle:—The most prevalent cause of war was the policy of expansion and aggrandisement. It was executed in two ways, firstly by killing the king of another country and occupying his throne. Thus Śatrughna killed Madhu, the lord of Mathurā and declared himself as the king of that city (Ch.86). Virādhitā's father was killed and his capital city Pātālākārapura was occupied by Kharadūṣaṇa (9.20-22). This policy was followed seldom. The second policy which was the most popular was that the powerful king subjugated the kings of various other countries and made them to accept his suzerainty (8.11; 9.28; 16.22; 22.57, 58, 92; 33.77; 37.19; 98.57-68). The subjugated kings were autonomous in their own states.

The other cause of battle was for the marriage of the princesses i. e. if a princess (5.65-77; 9.28; 90.12; 98.11) who was demanded by a particular king was not married to him then he waged battle against the father of the princess.

Sometimes at the time of 'svayamvara' ceremony, the disgruntled princes fought with the prince who was chosen as her husband by the bride (6.176; 24.19). The disgruntled sons of Lakṣmaṇa had tried to fight with Lava & Aṅkuśa on the similar issue, but the war of patricide was averted by the wise (106.13) counsel of their ministers and mothers. The sons of Śrīṣeṇa had fought between each other for a courtesan (15.19) only.

Previous enmity and insult were also responsible for a battle. Hanu fought with Mahendra because the former's mother was exiled from the country (50.5) by Mahendra. Lavaṇa & Aṅkuśa fought with Rāma on the same reason as their mother was exiled by Rāma (99.20).

Sometimes even a trifle caused a furious battle. Rāvaṇa's Jina worship was disturbed by the overflow of the water of the Narmadā which was suddenly released by the sporting king, Sahasrakiraṇa. This caused a battle between Rāvaṇa and Sahasrakiraṇa (10.48).

SECTION 3. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

A. Philosophy.

The *PCV* is mainly a narrative work but religious elements are predominant in it. At several places monks have been introduced giving discourses on Jaina philosophy and religion. We do not find any such information about other philosophies. Lord Mahāvīra's sermon to king Śreṇika (2.37-98) on the Vipulagiri, Muni Anantavīrya's (Ch. 14) and Muni Sakalabhūṣaṇa's (102.58-196) discourses to Rāvaṇa and Rāma respectively are the particular occasions in the *PCV* when the doctrines of Jaina philosophy are explained in brief. Then Lord Rṣabha's sermon (4.23) and the discourses of a monk to Taḍitkeśa of Laṅkā (6.118), of Anantavīrya to Rāvaṇa (Ch. 14), of another monk to the exiled king Saudāsa (22.80), of monk Dyuti to Bharata (32.57), of another monk to king Vajrakarṇa of Daśapura (33.29) and of Muni Sarvagupta to Rāma (Ch. 102) are the occasions when the Jaina ethics have been dealt with. Besides that, we find that references to religious terms of Jainism are spread over at several places.

Here we shall give a brief account of the doctrines of Jaina philosophy and Jaina ethics which are well-established and well-known. The points which differ from the established things will be given a special treatment. Then we shall deal with the ascetic life, rituals and popular worship as revealed in the *PCV*.

Jaina Philosophy :

Six Substances :—The substance (Dravya=Davvaṃ duvhaṃ 2.62) is of two kinds—Jīva and Ajīva (Jīvājīvā) i. e. living or conscious or soul and non-living or unconscious or non-soul. Ajīva is further said to be of five kinds e. g. Dharma—the fulcrum of Motion, Adharma—the fulcrum of Rest, Ākāśa—the space, Kāla—the Time and Pudgal—the Matter (Dhammādhammāgāsaiṃ kālo jīvo ya poggaleṇa samaṃ 102.99). Thus the substance is of six kinds (davvaṃ chabbheyaṃ 102.99). The distinction between the first four kinds of Ajīva and the fifth kind of Ajīva is well brought out in the *TS* (5.4) which mentions that Pudgala possesses form while the rest of the non-living substances as well as the Jīva are formless (5.3,28).

Jīva or Soul :—The fundamental characteristic of Jīva is said to be Upayoga consisting of Jñāna and Darśana (Jīvapaṇi taha daṃsaṇaṃ 102.96) i.e. knowledge and awareness or intuition (determinate and indeterminate knowledge¹). Jñāna and Darśana are further

1. See *OJP*. 30.

said to be of eight and four kinds respectively (nāpaṃ aṭṭhaviyappaṃ cauṃvvihaṃ daṃsaṃ 102.96). They can be accounted as follows¹: The eight kinds of knowledge are Matijñāna (sensory knowledge), Śrutajñāna (scriptural knowledge), Avadhijñāna (limited direct knowledge or clairvoyance), Manahparyāyajñāna (direct knowledge of other's mind or telepathy), Kevalajñāna (perfect knowledge or omniscience), Matiajñāna (sensory-wrong-knowledge), Śrutājñāna (scriptural-wrong-knowledge) and Avadhi-ajñāna (limited-direct-wrong-knowledge or Vibhaṅga-jñāna). The four kinds of intuition are: Cakṣurdarśana (visual intuition), Acakṣurdarśana (non-visual intuition), Avadhidarśana (limited-direct intuition) and Kevaladarśana (perfect intuition).

Classification of Jīvas:—Souls (Jīvas) are said to be of two kinds i.e. the liberated and the worldly souls (Siddhas & Saṃsāravantas 2.62). The worldly souls or living beings are of two kinds i.e. those who are destined to get liberated and those who would never be liberated (bhavva & abhavva 2.66; 30.40). Again the worldly souls are classified as mobile and immobile (tasa & thāvara 2.64), then the both as complete or developed to the full and incomplete or undeveloped² (pajjatta=paryāpta & apajjattā=aparyāpta 2.64). The immobile beings are of two kinds i.e. the subtle and the gross (suhuma=śukṣma & bāyara=bādara 102.95). The immobile beings are again of five types i.e. the earth, water, fire, air and vegetable bodies (puḍhaviḷaḷaḷaṇamārūya vaṇassaī 2.65). They are all one-sensed (102.94). Then there are two (touch, taste), three (touch, taste, smell), four (touch, taste, smell, sight), and five-sensed (touch, taste, smell, sight & hearing) beings (102.94). The one-sensed beings are immobile and the others are mobile. The mobile beings are again of two kinds i.e. rational and non-rational or possessed of mind and not possessed of mind (duvihatasā sanni iyare ya 2.65).³

According to the state of their existence the living beings are of four kinds i.e. infernal, subhuman, human and celestial (caugai 2.95—

1. See TS, 1.9, 32 (Bhūṣya 2.9) & Niyama, 10.14.

2. A newly born mundane soul is incomplete but it has the capacity to become complete in respect of assimilation (āhāra), body (sarīra), sense organ (indriya), respiration (pāṇapūna), speech (bhāṣā) and mind (manas). Those who develop these six-fold capacities are called paryāptas and those who die before developing them are known as aparyāptas—*The Jaina Religion and Literature*. Vol. I, Pt. pp. 86-88.

3. The TS (2.25) explains that the human, infernal, celestial and some of the subhuman beings i.e. those who possess five senses are possessed of mind while the rest of the beings are devoid of mind.

naraya, tirikkha, māṇusa & deva 2. 89-92). In relation to their birth they are of three kinds¹, viz. uterine, instantaneous and spontaneous. The first kind of living beings are born of the womb by the union of a male and a female, the second ones are the celestial and hellish beings who rise instantaneously and form the fluid body and the third ones are those who are produced by coagulation like cells (Gabbhayā..... Suranārayauvavāyā.....Saṃmucchimā 102.97). The uterine beings are further of three kinds viz. those who are born from egg are called incubatory, those who get born in a flesh envelope or yolk sack just as a human child are termed as umbilical and those whose birth is without any sack or shell just as a cub of a lion or a kitten are called unumbilical (anḍāuyapoyāuyajārāyā gabbhajā 102. 97).

Pudgala or Matter:—The very etymological meaning of 'pudgala' differentiates it from other non-living substances. 'Pud' means to combine and 'gala' means to dissociate. Therefore 'Pudgala' (is that substance which undergoes modifications by combinations and dissociations.² The *PCV*³ further categorically refers to five kinds of material bodies viz. audārika, vaikriya, āhāraka, taijasa and kārmaṇa. They are said to be successively subtler in form. Their details can be known from elsewhere.⁴

Nine-Principles:—The *PCV* at 102. 181 refers categorically to the nine principles (Jivāīyāṇa navapayatthāṇaṃ), and at other places the individual principles such as Jīva, Ajīva, Puṇya (75. 19), Pāpa (31. 26), Bandha (14. 9), Nirjarā (14. 11) and Mokṣa (14. 9) are referred to. The remaining principle is the Āśrava.⁵ These are the different conditions of Jīva bound with Pudgala. They denote the connection of soul with matter i. e. the way in which a soul is kept bound to the matter and the way it dissociates from matter and is completely liberated. This is the ethical classification of Padārtha.⁶

Mokṣa (5.41) is variously called as Siddhi (5.53), Śivam (5.167) and Nirvāṇa (14.120). It is the pure state of a soul (arayaviraya vimāla 6.146) which has no blemishes. There is no obstruction (avvābāha 5.250), no decay, no death (ajarāmaranirayaṃ 103.134),

1. See *TS*, 2. 32-34.

2. See *Jain Philosophy & Modern Science*, p. 44.

3. Orāliyaṃ viuvvaṃ āhāraṃ tejasaṃ ca kammaiyaṃ/
Suhumaṃ paraṃparācē guṇehi saṃpajjai sariraṃ// 102. 98. See also *TS*, 2. 37-38.

4. *Outlines of Jaina Philosophy*, p. 78.

5. See *Uttara*, 28.14; *Sthānāṅga*, 665.

6. For details see *TS*, 6.1-4; 9.1-3 & 10.1.

no misery or pain (dhuyakilesa 21.64; dukkha vimokkham 4.55) and there is infinite bliss (aṇanta sokkham 2.83) which is never exhaustible (akkhayaṃ 2.94), is ever lasting (aṇantakālaṃ 14.100), is never shakable and is unparalleled (sivamayalamāṇuttaraṃ 5.167).

Doctrine of Karma :—The *PCV* reveals that it is due to the Karmas that a soul wanders in transmigration. These Karmas are said to be of eight kinds (aṭṭhaviḥakammabaddho jīvo paribhamai 14.10; 9.8; 21.59; 75.45) of which Vedanīya (14.10) and Mohanīya (14.99) are mentioned. The *TS* (8.5) mentions them as follows : (1) knowledge obscuring (jñānāvaraṇa), (2) intuition or cognition or awareness obscuring (darśanāvaraṇa), (3) feeling producing (vedanīya), (4) belief and conduct obscuring (mohanīya), (5) age determining (āyu), (6) personality determining (nāma), (7) status determining (gotra) and (8) power hindering (antarāya). The *PCV* mentions that by the destruction of 'ghāti' karmas one obtains perfect knowledge (Kevala jñāna 4.17) i. e. omniscience. The 'ghāti' Karmas are Jñānāvaraṇīya, Darśanāvaraṇīya, Mohanīya and Antarāya (See *TS*, 10.1). At 2.30 the *PCV* mentions that by the destruction of all the eight kinds of Karmas Lord Mahāvīra attained Kevala (aha aṭṭha-kammarhiyassa kevalanāṇaṃ samuppannaṃ). It seems to be a scribe's error because the Jaisalmer manuscript reads as 'aṭṭhaddhakammara-hiyassa'.

Here it will be worthwhile to record that the *PCV* (2.82) categorically mentions 'Vīsaṃ Jīṇa kārāṇāṃ' i. e. twenty factors or twenty kinds of religious practices which result in earning the 'gotra' of Jinanood. Their details can be known from the *Nāyādharmakāṇḍo* (VIII.69). The *TS* (6.23) mentions their number as sixteen only.

The Path to Emancipation or Ratnatraya :—The *PCV* mentions that right faith, right knowledge, right conduct and austerities lead to emancipation (dāmsaṇāpācāritte suddhā.....siddhiṃ pāventi dhuyakammā 2.93; cārittanāpadāmsaṇavisuddhasammattaladdhamāhappo kāṇḍa tavamūyāraṃ sivamayalamāṇuttaraṃ patto 6.155; see *Uttarā*, 28.2-3; *TS*, 1.1). Austerities should be included in the right conduct. Right belief is characterised as faith in the nine principles (already mentioned -102-8). It is devoid of belief in heretic doctrines and is free from the defects of doubt etc. (loiyasuīsu rahio & saṃkāi dosarahio 102.181, 182). The other defects which are not mentioned in the *PCV* are the desire for sense pleasures, feeling of disgust, thinking admiringly of wrong believers and praising them (See *TS*, 1.2; 7.18 & *Uttarā*, 28.14-15). Right knowledge is the knowledge of the nine principles. It is said in the *PCV* that the fundamental six substances (i.e.

dāvvaṃ chabbhayaṃ) are sattabhaṅgajūyaṃ (102.99), i.e. the true knowledge in all its aspects can be acquired by the method of Sapta-bhaṅgī. It is a method of describing a thing in seven ways. It is a reference to the Syādvāda, the theory of relative judgement or conditional predicament.¹ Lastly right conduct including the austerities will be dealt further under 'Jaina ethics'. Here it is necessary to make it clear that right faith, right knowledge and right conduct along with austerities are all necessary in a combined form for attaining emancipation and for that they have been mentioned together in the *Paumacariyaṃ* and not separately. No one separated from any other three essentials can help to realize Mokṣa. The *Uttarādhyayana* (28.30) emphasises that without faith there is no knowledge, without knowledge there is no conduct, without conduct there is no emancipation. Thus all the three are interdependent and co-related and they are jointly indispensable for one to attain Mokṣa.

Jaina Ethics :

The religious conduct called as 'dhamma' 14.108, 'cāritta' 33.52 or 'cariyaṃ' 39.52 is two-fold, i.e. the rules concerning lay-devotees or householders and those concerning monks. The former conduct is called Sāvayadhamma (14.111 Śrāvakadharmā) or Gihattadhamma (6.120) (Gṛhasthadharma) or Sālabanadharma (33.52) and the latter is termed as Samapadhamma 14.10, (Śramapadharma), or Sāhvacariyaṃ 39.52 (Sādhudharma) or Mahārisidhamma 6.123 (Maharṣidharma) or Nirāyāradhamma (5.118 Nirāgāradharma) or Nirālambana dharma (33.52). They are also called as minor and major dharma (dhammo aṇṇo taheva ukkoso 103.80; anujettḥo or jettḥo 22.27) respectively.

Monk's conduct:—The code of religious conduct prescribed for monk is said to be consisting of observing of five greater vows, five kinds of carefulness and three kinds of preservation (Pañca mahavvayāṃ samīto pañca, tiṇṇi guttī 4.23)². Five greater vows are complete abstinences from causing injury, speaking falsehood, committing theft, observing non-celibacy and keeping worldly possessions (Himsāliya-corikkāmehuṇapariggahassa niyattī 14.70; 11.23).³ Five kinds of Samitis are carefulness in walking, speaking, eating, lifting up or laying down of things and excreting (iriyā, bhāsā, esaṇā, āyāṇanikkheva

1. See for details *Pravacanasāra*, Int. p. 83.91 & *OJP*, p. 118.

2. See *Niyama*, IV.

3. See *TS*, VII. 1-2.

& uccārāi 14.71)¹. Three Guptis are: Control of mind, speech and body (maṇa-vaya-kāyaguttī 14.72)²

Besides that, the monks are advised to subdue the passions of anger, pride, deceit, greed, attachment and aversion (koha māṇa, māyā, lobha, rāga & dosa 14.73) which are said to be the most powerful enemies.

The *PCV* states that the monks should observe twelve-fold austerities (bārasabheotavo 14.76) for shedding of the Karmic matter from their souls (Kammaṭṭhanijjaratṭham 14.76). The austerities are said to be of two types—internal and external (abbhīntara 14.75) and (bāhyaṇ tapah)³. The six-fold internal austerities are mentioned as expiation, reverence, service to the saints and worthy people, study, non-attachment to the body and concentration (Pāyacchitaṇ vīṇao veyāvaccan sajjhāo ussaggo & jhāṇaṇ (14.75)⁴. The six-fold external austerities are referred to as fasting, eating less than the appetite, taking a mental vow to accept food from a householder only if a certain condition is fulfilled without letting anyone know about it, daily renunciation of one or more of the six kinds of delicacies such as ghee, milk, curd, sugar, salt and oil, mortification of body and sitting and sleeping in lonely places (aṇasaṇa, ūṇoyariyā, vittisaṇkheva, rasaparicāga, kāyaparipīḍā & vivittasayaṇāsaṇa 14.74).

The *PCV* at 22.30,39 and 102.178 specifically refers to the 'ārta' and 'śukla-dhyāna'. The other two are the 'raudra' and the 'dharma'. Ārta is the painful concentration; Raudra is the wicked concentration, Dharma is the religious concentration and Śukla is the pure concentration. Nidāna is one of the various types of Ārtadhyāna. It is fixed for obtaining worldly objects. The *PCV* states that a monk should never fix Nidāna (103.109-111), i. e. he should not hanker after worldly objects. It is very harmful. A monk fixing 'Nidāna' is compared with a person who is insane and gives up gems for a handful of vegetables or a piece of thread.

Further the *PCV* mentions that the monks should always devote themselves to twelve kinds of contemplations (bārasaṇupekkaṇāsu 14.77). The *TS*. (9.1-2,7) gives their details and states that they are helpful in checking the further flow of Karmic matter into the soul.⁵

1. See *Mūṭā*, 5.104-133.

2. Ibid, 5. 134-148.

3. See *TS*, 9.19; *Mūṭā*, 5.148-161.

4. See *TS*, 9.21-26; *Mūṭā*, 5.163-222.

5. See *TS*, 9.29.

6. See 'Dvādasānuprekkhā' of Kunḍakunda and *Mūṭā*, Ch. 8.

Monks are further advised to bear 22 kinds of sufferings (bāvīsa paṭisahā chuhāyā 117.24). They are prescribed for developing internal stability. Their details can be known from the *TS* (9.2).

Further the *PCV* lays down that the monks should hold 18,000 kinds of discipline (atthārasayasahassā sīlaṅgaṇaṃ dhāraṇti sappurisa 14.81). They are described in the *Mūlacāra*.¹ They comprise of controlling of each kind of activity viz. of mind, speech and body (Yogas) through each of the three agencies (Karaṇas) of mind, speech and body, each agency in relation to four impulses (Saṃjñās), every Saṃjñā in relation to give sense organs and every sense organ in relation to protection of ten classes of living beings, each correlated with ten kinds of Dharmas (3 Yogas X 3 Karaṇas X 4 Saṃjñās X 5 Indriyas X 10 Kāyas X 10 Dharmas=18,000). The details of the ten Dharmas can be known from the *TS*. (9.6).

Monks are advised to remain free from seven kinds of fears (sattabhayavippamukko 103.84). The *Samavāyāṅga* (7) and the *Mūlacāra* (2.53) give their details with minor differences in the names of three of them.

Householder's conduct:—The layman's conduct is said to be consisting of observing five lesser vows (pañcāṇuvvayajutto 4.24) and seven disciplinary vows (sattahi sikkhāvaehi parikiṇṇo 4.24). The latter vows are also divided into two groups viz. three salutary vows and four disciplinary vows (gūṇavvaya tippī cattāriya sikkhāo 6.120; 14.112).

The *TS* states that first five vows of a householder are called *āṇuvratas* because they are to be observed partially while in the case of the monks they are called *Mahāvratas* because they are to be followed in their completeness (deśasarvatoanumahati 7.2). The first five lesser vows are mentioned in the *PCV* as non-injury, speaking truth, non-stealing, non-indulgence with another's wife and contentment with limited possessions (ahiṃsā or thūlayaraṃ pāpivahaṃ nivitti, saccaṃ adattādānaṃ, parādārassaviraṃ or parajuvaiṇa nivitti & santoso 6.119; 14.113; 32.63-67), the three salutary vows (14.114) limit the quarters and the place for one's activity (disividdisaṇa niyama), preach abstention from unprofitable enjoyment (apaṭṭhadanḍassa vajjanaṃ) and further restrict one's enjoyment of consumable things (uvabhoga-parimāṇaṃ). The four disciplinary vows are: contemplation of the self (sāmañāraṇa), observance of fast, religious study and contemplation (uvavāsa posaha), right distribution of alms (atthisaṃvibhāga) and

1. Ch. 11.2-4. See *Jinasahasraṇāma*, p. 38.

peaceful self-mortification (samāhimaraṇam 14.115) or (samlekhanā 63.49).

As regards the division of 12 vratas into two classes i. e. five aṇuvratas and seven śikṣāpadas, the Jaina canonical work namely, the *Uvāsagadasāo* agrees with the *Paumacariyam* (Pañcāpuvvaiyam sattasi-kkhāvaiyam duvālasaviham gihiddammaṁ I. 13). But the 'disividiṣa' i. e. the first guṇavrata of the PCV is bifurcated and mentioned as the first and the fifth 'śikṣāpadas' (in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (disivaya & deśavagāsiya 1.50 & 54) while the fourth 'śikṣāpada' vrata of the PCV is not included in the 12 'śikṣāpadas' but is mentioned separately as a supplementary vow (1.57). The 'atithisaṁvibhāga' of the PCV is called as 'ahasāṁvibhāga=yathāsaṁvibhāga' in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (1.56). The *Ovavāiyasutta* (34) follows *Uvāsagadasāo*. It further divides the seven latter vows into the three 'guṇavratas' and four 'śikṣāpadas'. This scheme is followed by the *Śrāvaka-prajñāpti* (280-328, 378), *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra (3.1,4,74,23-87) with some differences in arrangement of the Guṇavratas and Śikṣāvratas. The *Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra* (65, 91, 122) follows *Ovavāiyasutta*. It mentions 'vaiyyāvṛtya' in place of 'atithisaṁvibhāga'.

The *Caritra-pāhuḍa* of Kundakunda (24-25) and the *Bhūvasaṅgraha* of Devasena¹ (354-355) agree with the PCV in the arrangement of the 'guṇavratas' and 'śikṣāpadas'. The *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinaseṇa (10.65-66) divides 'disividiṣi' of the PCV into two separate vows and then mentions the 'bhogopabhogavrata' as the fourth 'guṇavrata' while the four 'śikṣāpadas' are in agreement with the PCV.

The *Tattvārthaśūtra* (Dig. 7.21-22; Śvet. 7.16.17) does not mention the latter seven 'vratas' as either seven 'śikṣāpadas' or three 'guṇavratas' and four 'śikṣāpadas'. Further it mentions 'dik, deśa and anarthadaṇḍa' as the first three i. e. they can be taken as three 'guṇavratas' (see the *Sarvārthasiddhi*). The *Samlekhanā* is not included in the 12 vratas. It is mentioned separately.

The *Yasastilaka* of Somadeva, *Cāritrasūtra* (p. 8 MPJG 1974) of Cāmuṇḍarāya and the *Dharmaparikṣā* of Amitagati follow *Tattvārthaśūtra*².

Here the vow of 'atithisaṁvibhāga' i. e. offering of gifts deserves a detailed treatment because the *Paumacariyam* deals with it at various places in details and makes some pertinent observations. The PCV mentions that gifts i. e. of āhāra (food), abhaya (protection), nāṇa

1. It mentions 'Devatthuvai' for 'Samāyika'.

2. See *Jaina Acāryon kā Sāsana-bheda*, p. 49.

(knowledge 32.68-69) and *osaha* (medicine 14.41) should be offered. These are considered to be the best objects of gifts. The gifts of cows, girls, land and gold (*goitthibhūmidāṇaṃ suvaṇṇadaṇaṃ* 14.50) are mentioned as the cause of transmigration hence neither one should offer nor any monk should accept these things. This prohibition is quite against the practice of the Brahmanical religion, because Manu (4.230-231) extols the gifts of land, gold, silver and cow. The *Padmaṣurāṇa* also (*Brahmakhaṇḍa*, Ch 24) highly recommends these gifts and lays down that (24.22) by offering a girl adorned with ornaments to a Brahmin one gets liberated from rebirth. This practice is found prevalent among the kings devoted to the Brahmanical faith. Kṣatrapa Rṣabhadatta (*SI*, I. p. 161) is said to have endowed gifts of gold, women, cows, and village to the Brahmins.

Some necessary conditions are attached offering to gifts. The *Paumacariyaṃ* reveals that the alms should be offered with faithfulness, in accordance with one's capacity, and with devotion and awareness (*Saddhāsattibhattivinnāṇeṇaṃ* 102.135). The gifts offered with these carefulnesses bring about prosperity and happiness. The gifts are said to be of two kinds in relation to two types of receivers i.e. the right person and the wrong person (*supattadāṇaṃ* and *apattadāṇaṃ* 102.133). The right persons are those who observe five Mahāvratas, engage themselves in studies and meditation, perform austerities and are detached from wealth and worldly ties (102.134). Thus the Jaina monks are the right persons who deserve gifts (14.38.39). The wrong persons are those who are devoid of self control, infatuated by attachment and aversion (102.137). So the people of wrong faith engaged in injurious activities and immersed in sensual enjoyments do not deserve alms (14.42, 45) because the gifts given to wrong persons bring about subhuman existence and miseries (3.44) to the offerer. Therefore such gods who hold various weapons, who entertain passions, who have lust and attachment, who take delight in adorning their bodies, who have not crossed the world over and who pretend to liberate others are not fit for receiving any gift (14.61-62). Only the Vitarāgas e.g. those who have destroyed the passions of attachment and aversion and who are free from all sorts of blemishes are worthy to receive alms (14.64), because the gifts offered to right persons are fruitful (102.135).

Besides the above vows, the *PCV* mentions that a householder should abstain from taking food at night and from using honey, meat and wine (*rāibhoyaṇaviraī māhumainsasurāvivaḷjaṇaṃ* 14.116), because their use leads one to hell (103.28). The taking of food

at night is often criticised because it brings about many-fold miseries in the next world (32.70; 14.137-148). Once it is said that abstinence from taking food at night forms the sixth lesser vow of householder's conduct (aṇuvvaya pañca.....chaṭṭhaṃ ca rāibhattaṃ 6.120). Not only food but even the taking of water at night is not advised (amayaṃ pi na pāyavvaṃ bcadda tume kiṃ puṇa saliaṃ 103.24). It is said that taking meal at night is just like devouring flies, worms and moths (103.25). The *Sarvārthasiddhi* (7.1) and *Rājavārtika* (7.1), quote it as being regarded by some as sixth 'aṇuvrata'. The *Cāritrasāra* of Cāmuṇḍarāya and the *Ācārasāra* (5.70) of Vīranandi mention the abstinence from taking food at night as the sixth Aṇuvrata of a householder's conduct. But the *Yogaśāstra* (3.6) of Hemacandra puts it under the 'bhogopabhogaparimāṇa', i.e. the second 'guṇavrata'. The *Upāsakācāra* (5.1) of Amitagati and the *Sāgārādharmamūṛta* (2.18) of Āśādhara include it among the Mūlaguṇas. According to the *Śrāvakācāra* (4) of Vasunandi and the *Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvakācāra* (142) it is prescribed to be observed at the time of holding the sixth 'pratimā' i.e. the sixth stage of householder's dharma which comes after 12 vratas (as described above), which are to be observed during the second 'pratimā' stage. It has been already mentioned, that the *PCV* prohibits even the taking of water at night. The *Cāritrasāra* of Cāmuṇḍarāya prohibits it but the *Ācārasāra* of Vīranandi prohibits food only, not water (sarvathānnānni-vṛtstatproktaṃ ṣaṣṭhamaṇuvratam 5.70). Taking meat is similarly criticised (14.47-49, 116; 22.83-89) because it entails the killing of living beings (26.35) as it is not the product of trees or it does not grow on land (26.39) and killing is the negation of 'ahiṃsā', which is the very basis of the Jaina conduct (havaṃ ahiṃsā mūlaṃ dhammassa 26.62).

Thus the prohibition of taking honey, meat and liquor as mentioned in the *Paumacariyam* is corroborated by other Jaina works. These three abstinences have been included among the eight 'mūlaguṇas' of householders conduct (the other five being the five aṇuvratas) by the *Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra* (66), (the other five being the five udumbaras, fig-tree fruits) by Yaśastilāka (1. 327)¹, *Bhūvaśaṃgraha* (356) and the *Sāgārādharmamūṛta* (2. 2-3). The *Yogaśāstra* (3. 6) and the *Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvakācāra* (84) mention the above three abstinences under the 'bhogopabhogaparimāṇa'—guṇa-vrata. The *Śrāvakācāra* (70-87) of Vasunandi puts them under the first stage (pratimā) of the householder's conduct.

Ascetic Life.

The ascetic life as revealed in the *Paumacariyam* can be treated under two heads i. e. Jaina ascetic life and the non-Jaina ascetic life.

1. Vide *Yaśastilāka and Indian Culture*—Handiqui, p. 262.

Jaina Ascetics:

The Jaina monastic organisation consisted of monks and nuns. The monk has been variously called as Samāṇa (4. 72), Sāhu (14. 111; 13. 18), Niggaṇatha (2. 55; 32. 60), Jaivara (yativara 82. 12), Maharisi (4. 73; 14. 111) and Muni (6. 147) whereas the nun as Āryā (2. 56; 103. 165) and Samāṇī (105. 53). The act of getting initiated into the ascetic order called ordination is termed as Samāṇadikkhā (21. 55), Niggaṇthaṃ (1. 88), Jīṇadikkhā (30.30), Jīṇavaradikkhā (21.84), Jaina paramadikkhaṃ (3.136), Pavaradikkhā (5.250), Pavvajjaṃ (6. 147), Sāmaṇṇa (1. 36), and Samanatta (39. 62). It is also called as entering the Tapovana (111. 5). The organisational head of the nuns is called Sayalagaṇapālī (39. 48) while the chief of the smaller unit of the organisation as Mayahariyā (102. 49—mahattarikā).

There is a single reference to a Śvetāmbara monk¹—i. e. the monk wearing white clothes but the naked monks i. e. the Digambaras are nowhere explicitly referred to. The nuns are referred to be putting on white garments (102. 60; 103. 165). Rajoharana (Rayaharana) i. e. the broom of woolen threads or peacock feathers was a necessary equipment of theirs (monks and nuns 114.15).

Those who entered the ascetic order had to give up kingdom, wife, sons, money and wealth (5.163). They had to be free from all wordly pleasures (nivviṇṇakāmabhoga 5.200) and had to restrain themselves from taking delight in any wordly object (paricayai visayasokkhaṃ 5.39). All the wordly possessions had no meaning for them and they had to give up all the injurious professions and activities (cattāṇa pariggaha ārambha 13.40). They had to be free from all the attachments hence one who took ordination was called 'vosariyasavvasaṅga' (4.52; 5.241); 'nissaṅga (29.33); 'savvasaṅga mukkaṃ' (6.98) and 'saṅgaparihiṇṇaṃ' (9.43). Before entering the ascetic order one took due permission of his parents and other relatives (106.45). The ceremony either in case of a male or a female was performed by voluntry uprooting of five handfuls of hair from the head (3.136; 102.46).

Causes of Renouncement:—The sole cause of accepting the life of an ascetic as depicted in the *PCV* is the disgust with wordly miseries which affected wordly persons in various ways and thus prepared

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1. The *PCV* narrates that Sodāsa, king of Ayodhyā was dethroned and expelled from the state on account of being addicted to taking human flesh. He happened to meet a Śvetāmbara monk (Siyambara) in the Dakṣiṇadesa. He listened to his religious discourse and then became a Śrāvaka. Further he is said to have become the king of Mahāpura (22. 72-91).

them for seeking spiritual emancipation. This disgust developed on account of various kinds of worldly incidents. Some of the political reasons which led to asceticism were the defeat and humiliation in the battle (12.136; 13.17; 37.64-65); preferring renouncement to submission to other king (9.44-46); and disgust from the horror of huge massacre in the battlefield (4.52). The household incident which led to asceticism were the lust of wealth and then enmity between sons and their mother (55.43), personal weakness in observing chastity (105.108); lustful eye on the flesh of one's own sister (39.96); desire for another's wife and then lamentation (12.24); being not chosen in 'svayamvara' (106.27); being kidnapped by another man (30.70); being forcibly raped (103.102); losing one's own beyond recovery (26.20); one's wife being forcibly kept by another king and the unbearable pains of separation (21.5; 105.98); parent's getting separated from their son and daughter-in-law (30.65-67); the death of husband in the battle and sons' renouncement (6.75, 82-84), the death of sons (5.197), the death of relatives (75.76-77; 110.37); mother being separated from her son who had taken dīkṣā (83.9-12); wife in separation of her husband who took dīkṣā (21.73), one's brothers' renunciation (113.70), or by friendship and by association (6.98).

Sitā on account of being blamed by the public and due to her husband's doubt in her character, developed disgust for worldly miseries and became a nun (102.46). Rāma on being disgusted with various vicissitudes in worldly life (113.69) accepted asceticism. Kings are generally said to be renouncing the world at the time of their old age after transferring the crown to their sons (21.27; 5.250; 6.154). Some took dīkṣā on having listened to the religious discourses from monks on the worldly miseries (5.164; 31.55; 32.21) or having heard the account of their miserable previous births (5.215; 6.147).

Sometimes very trivial causes were responsible for renouncing the world such as on seeing the blue cloth (3.122) or a waning winter cloud (21.22) or the grabbing of the sun by Rāhu (21.81) or the bee dying in the lotus (5.218) or the sky overcast with clouds and devoid of the moon (108.23-24-47) or the withering lotuses (5.55).

Eligibility for becoming a Jaina monk:—The *Paumacariyam* reveals that there was no age-limit¹ for entering the ascetic order. Any person at any period of his age could enter the Order. Women² were freely admitted without any distinction of sex or age. In addi-

1. 21.72; 77; 22.21; 25.20; 39.47; 41.63; 80.26; 103.102; 106.46; 110.41.

2. 30.67-70; 41.63; 103.102.

tion to the Jains, non-Jains also were free to enter the order. It is found that the monastic order did not nurture any racial¹, class² sex or age distinction in accepting persons into the ascetic fold. It was open for one and all who wanted to bring about their spiritual emancipation.

Movements and shelter.—Monks wandered from place to place giving religious discourses to the people (3.139;103.63;2.29). The organisation was called *Samapaṣaṅgha* which consisted of monks and nuns and moved in groups headed by a guru (5.223.226;102.48-60). A guru could permit his monk disciple to wander alone (114.24). In the rainy season they sojourned at one place for four months (82.95;22.34) and in the month of Kārtika they resumed their wandering (22.37). The places of their sojourn and shelter were the gardens of the towns (5.224;6.137;29.37;75.27;82.5) or the trees outside the towns (5.106; 38.16) or sanctuary (*koṭṭhaga* 89.14) or temples or shrines (89.15; 29.39) or forest (33.30) or the bank of a river (11.18) or the caves (37.70; 38.9;29.39) or the valleys of the hills (22.34;89.7) or the tops of the hills (82.95). The place of their sojourn was called *Samapaśama* (*Śramaśrama* 103.22).

Austerities.—Monks are referred to be performing fasts of the duration of two days (5.59) to six months (22.28). Various types of *Tapas* performed by Muni Sukośala (22.24-27) are mentioned as *Ratnāvali*, *Muktāvali*, *Kanakāvali*, *Kulīśamadyā*, *Yavamadyā*, *Jina-guṇasamprāpti*, *Vidhi*, *Sarvatobhadra*, *Trilokasāra*, *Mṛdaṅgamadyā*, *Pipilikāmadhyā*, *Sīsaṅkārāyaladdhi* (*Śrīsatkāralabdhī*), *Darśanaññānalabdhī*, *Pañcamandara*, *Keśarīkṛiḍā*, *Cāritralabdhī*, *Paṇḍitajaya*, *Pravacanamāyā*, *Ādinnaśukhanāmā*, *Pañcanamaskāraavidhi*, *Tīrthārthaśrūtā*, *Sukhasamprāpti*, and *Dharmopāśanalabdhī*. Monks exposed their bodies to the scorching heat of the summer sun and practised mortification (21.93;9.55,61). They remained absorbed in studies (*sajjhāya* 46.71) and practised meditation (22.3) in various postures (*paḍimā*) such as sitting posture (*paliyaṅka*), standing posture (117.4.6) (*Vīrāsana* posture (22.36) and *Caukāṇa pratimā* (60.6) or *Caurāṇa* (82.2) posture³. The austerities performed by *Sītā* were so severe that her body was reduced to a frame of bones only (105.7).

The references to 'malavilittavvaṅgo' (22.1) and 'malakañcuyadhāriṇī' (105.5) indicate that monks and nuns were prohibited from taking bath.

1. 6.147, 152;9.46; 13.51;75.82.

2. 11.54;26.20; 30.67, 70; 41.58;103.106.

3. See *History of Jaina Monachism*, pp. 450-451, for the explanation of some of these austerities. The canonical literature does not mention all of them.

Alms:—Begging of food was done at the mid-day with due consideration of place and time (majjhaphadesayāle 4.3;22.1). That time is called as 'goyaravelā=gocaravelā' (116.10). They entered the populated settlements at the proper time and used to beg at every successive house by and by (gharapantīe bhamanto 4.3, gharaparivādie 88.12). But if any body invited them for food they did not go to his house, because food prepared for them¹ or purchased for them (kiyagaduddesnipphaṇṇo 4.71) was prohibited and thus the invitation for taking alms was not acceptable to them.

Samlekhanā:—Monks (39.80) and nuns (105.8) in the last days of their life practised 'samlekhanā' (giving up food and drink and limiting the movements of body) and thus without having any attachment for the physical body ended their life in complete equanimity. It is also called as Paṇḍitamaraṇaṁ (85.7) i.e. the death of the wise.

Non-Jaina Ascetics:

Non-Jaina ascetics are referred to as Pāsapḍina (wrong-faithed 4.85;22.9) and Liṅgiṇa (22.32 bearers of some signs). This class of ascetics included Tāpasas and Paribrājakas of whom the latter are referred to (Parivvāo 41.27) once only. Both these types of ascetics belonged to the Brahmanical faith as it will be clear in the concluding lines of this topic.

The origin of the Tāpasas is referred to not less than four times in the *Paumacariyam*. At 3. 140-143 it relates that some of the disciples of Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, could not bear the hardships of the Jaina ascetic-life and also could not dare to revert to the householder's life due to the fear of Cakravartin Bharata, the then emperor of India, hence they renounced the Jaina order and started observing new practices. They came to be known as Tāpasas. This account is repeated on the occasion of the destruction of the animal sacrifice of king Marutta by Rāvaṇa, and here it is added that they composed Kuśāstras and deluded the people (11.96). It is once more stated on the occasion of narrating the previous births of Bharata and the Bhuvanālankāra elephant (82.23).

Then on the occasion of narrating the origin of the Brāhmaṇas (Māhaṇas) the account of the origin of the Tāpasas is given. There Bhṛgu and Aṅgīrasa are mentioned as Tāpasa descendants of the Brāhmaṇas who composed Kuśāstras namely, the Vedas and preached the immolation of animals in the sacrifices (4.80-86).

1. See *Dasavai*, 5.45 (Uddesiyam kiyaḍam puikammaṇṇa āhaḍam...vivaḍjae).

In the Buddhist literature also Bhṛgu and Aṅgīrasa along with some others are popularly claimed to be the ancestors of the Brahmins and the Seers of the Vedic mantras. That Bhṛgu and Aṅgīrasa were the Vedic Ṛṣis is corroborated by the Vedic literature also. Bhṛgu appears as a teacher and sage in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 2.1.11) and Aṅgīrasa is mentioned as a famous teacher in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (III. 1.7.3; VII. 1.4.1)¹.

The Tāpasas used to put on the tree-bark (4.85), Kuśa-grass and leaves (3.143). They kept matted hair (39.84; 33.1; 58.12). The female recluses used to put on red-ochre coloured cloths (39.110). They subsisted on the fruits of the forest (3.143), wild-corns (32.2) and roots (8.155) which were (32.2) gathered and preserved for future use. They lived in the hermitages (āsamapaya 8.163 also called as tāvasakula 33.1 tāvasanīlaya 11.51), in the forest. They are also said to be moving in groups and their organisation is called as Saṅgha (39.100). Whenever they passed on to some city they stayed outside the precincts of the city (39.105). The Pāriyātra forest (33.3) and Vaṇārasī (41.48), have been mentioned as the great centres of the Tāpasas.

There is also a reference to the husband and wife living together as Tāpasas in a Tāpasakula in the forest (11.52).

They kept the fire ablaze by burning the wood (82.30) and offered oblations to the fire as indicated by the reference to the 'samidhā' (32.2). Observing of austerity was the general course of their life (39.102). Guests who happened to reach their hermitage (32.3) were received with modesty, and fruits and roots were offered to them (8.155).

These Tāpasas can be identified with the anchorites or Vānaprasthas². A Paribrājaka who is referred to without any detail about his practices, can be identified with a Paribrājaka defined by Manu (6.34-81) i. e. as belonging to the fourth stage or Āśrama of the Brahmanical fold³.

Rituals

As the *Paumacariyam* reveals, the rituals can be divided into two groups i. e. concerning the Jaina and the non-Jaina or Brahmanical religion.

Jaina-Rituals:

Jaina rituals consisted mainly of salutations or obeisance, eulogy and worship of the Jinas (14.120; 28.46) and the monks (89.35; 39.19).

1. Vide *Age of the Nandas & Mauryas*, p. 288 (1952 Ed.).

2. See *Supra*. The stages of life.

3. *Ibid*.

Salutations to the Jinas were made thrice a day (Jiṇavandaṇam tisañjhaṁ 41.77, Arahantanamokkāraṁ tiṇṇi vi kālā 32.71). At the time of salutations the Pañcaparameṣṭi namaskāra mantra¹ along with the formula of Maṅgala² was recited.

Similarly eulogy (thuiṁaṅgalaṁ. 28.46) of the Tīrthaṅkaras formed an important part of the religious duty of householders. Tīrthaṅkaras are treated as the supreme and magnanimous beings and are addressed as Aruhā (worshipable), Bhayavaṁ (28.48), Tiloya-pujjāriho (adorable by the three worlds), Aṇanto (boundless), Uvayāraparo (beneficial)/Aṇāhāṇaṁ sattāṇaṁ nāha (Lord of the forelorn living being 5.121-122), Jagabandhu (true brother of the world 109.13) and Īsara (supreme lord). In their eulogy the devotees sang in praise of the various qualities of the Jinas (28.47-50). Besides that the names of various deities common with the Vedic and Puraṇic tradition have been attributed to the Jinas³. In other Jaina works those epithets can be found explained in confirmity with Jainism⁴. The epithets mentioned in the *PCV* are—Hiraṇyagarbha, Svayambhū, Brahmā, Pitāmaha, Caturmukha, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śaṅkara, Śvara, Maheśvara, Mahādeva, Rudra, and Trilocana. Then there are epithets like Bhānu and Nārāyaṇa. The significance of the above deities vary in the Brahmanical religion.⁵

Image-worship was very popular among the Jainas. There are several reference to shrines and temples situated in palaces (17.61; 77.3, 25) and at public places. There is even a reference to the installing of Jina idol in every house (89.51). Devotees used to put on white garments while worshipping the Jina idols (219, 66.30). The sacred bath of the Jainas was performed with perfumed water, milk, curd and ghee (32.78-81; 92.13). The substances and articles used for worshipping were the land and water flowers (32.72), perfumes (32.77), aloes, (14.66; 32.74), incense, sandal powder, saffron (32.74; 68.20), lamps (32.75; 14, 66) and various articles of decoration such as umbrella, flywhisk, flags, mirror, canopy, festoons (32.76) and naivedya (niveyaṇaya 32.83) be corns or sweets.

1. Namo Arahantāṇaṁ, Siddhāṇaṁ namo Sivaṁ uvagayāṇaṁ
Ayariyauvajjhāṇaṁ namo sayā savvasāhūṇaṁ; 86.63.
2. Arahanto siddho vi ya sūhu taha kevali ya dhammo ya
Ee havanti niyayaṁ cattāri vi maṅgalaṁ majjhaṁ; 86.64.
3. 5.122; 28.48; 109.12,
4. See *AP*, 24.30-46; 25.99; *Arhatsahasranāma* of Hemacandra; and *Jina-Sahasranāma* of Aśvadhara.
5. See J. Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*.

The offering of corns made to the Jinas is called *Balikamma* (32.82) which was regularly performed by the devotees (7.157; 68.20; 108.19).

The *Aṣṭāhnikaparva*¹ (eight days festivity 22.74) was celebrated thrice a year in the months of Āṣāḍha (20.1) Kārtika (89.30) and Falguṇa (66.14), beginning on the eighth day and ending on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight. These festivities were celebrated with great pomp and show. Various kinds of decorations were made with flower garlands, cloth-paintings, flags, canopies, festoons, chowries, chatras (parasol) and mirrors (66.10, 12; 92.18, 21). Singing, playing of instrumental music and dancing accompanied the ceremony (32.84; 92.22; 78.52). Chariot procession on the occasion of religious festivity is also referred to (8.145).

Pilgrimage to holy places such as *Aṣṭāpada* = Kailāśa mountain (5.169; 12.36), Meru (14.1), Vijayārdhagiri (15.31) and Sammetaśikhara (39.63, 94.27) have been mentioned.

The adoration and worship of the Mahārṣis (great sages) was also prevalent. The origin and the worship of the seven Ṛṣis (*sattariṣi*) have been described in the *Paumacariyam*. It is said that once the city of Mathurā was attacked by an epidemic which was spread by Camara (a celestial lord 87.12). On the arrival of the seven Cāraṇa (89.56) monks namely, Suramanna, Sirimanna, (89.2) Sirinivāa, Savvasundara, Jayamanta, Aṇilalālia, and Jayamitta, the epidemic speedily subsided (89.2). Then Śatrughna, the ruler of Mathurā (89.34) paid his obeisance to them. Further by the advice of those munis he (89.52) installed the images of those seven Ṛṣis to bring about peace and prosperity in his country. Thus the worship of the seven Ṛṣis gained popularity.

The *Saptarṣipūjā* is still prevalent among the followers of Jainism. They are named as Śrīmanva, Svaramanva, Śrīnicaya, Sarvasundara, Jayavān, Vinayalāsa and Jayamitra.² These names generally agree with the *PCV* and the *PCR*.³

In the Brahmanical literature also a particular group of seven Ṛṣis has been mentioned. They are represented in the sky as the seven

1. It is called as *Nandīśvaravaramahotsava* (66.14) also. The celestial beings going to *Nandīśvaradvīpa* to celebrate the *aṣṭāhnikā-parva* is also referred to (15.30; 66.17).

2. See *Sacchā Jinavāṇi Saṅgraha*, Kasturchand Chawada, p.352.

3. Suramanyu, Śrīmanyu, Śrīnicaya, Sarvasundara, Jayavān, Vinayalāsa and Jayamitra (*PCR*, 92.23).

stars of the Great Bear. In the *R̥gveda* (IV. 42.8) They are numbered as seven, are associated with gods (X.109.4) and are called divine (X.130.7). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa for the first time conceives them as the constellations of the Great Bear (2.1.2.4). In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (2.2.6) they are named as Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vaśiṣṭha, Kaśyapa and Atri. They are often referred to as the mind-born sons of Brahmā and their reference is available in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (Vāyu & Viṣṇu) with some difference in number going upto nine and their names also¹. But none of their names is identical with those of the PCV.

Brahmanical Rituals:

The PCV reveals that Brahmin Kapila used to go to the forest every morning to gather 'Kuśa' grass, fire sticks and fruits. His abode is called Agnihotragr̥ha (35.5,7,9,27). It indicates that every morning and evening oblations were poured into the sacred fire. The domestic fire was the essential feature of the Vedic rituals, because all the rituals for householders centred round the worship of the fire to which oblations were offered².

Deity worship:—The deities which have been referred to as held in reverence by the followers of Brahmanism are Caturmukha, Indra Skanda, Rudra and Soma.

Caturmukha:—The PCV (11.72) mentions that he expounded the Yajñas (killing of animals in sacrifices) as described in the Vedas. According to the Brahmanical tradition he is the first member of the Hindu triad and the active creator of the universe. Originally he had five hands but one of them was destroyed by the fire emitting from the central eye of Śiva when the former showed disrespect to the latter. His name is not found in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas in which the active creator is Hiranyagarbha. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* he sprang from the ether on earth which originated from water, the first element of creation. In the *Mahābhārata* he is said to have sprung from the navel of Viṣṇu. In the Purāṇas he is held inferior to Viṣṇu and the Śaiva authorities regard Mahādeva as the creator of Brahmā.³

The PCV while criticizing the persons who are not celibate, who indulge in injurious activities, but pretend to be Brāhmaṇas, refers to Skanda (khanda), Indra and Rudra (105.49) as the persons who

1. OP. Cit. J. Dowson, p. 268.

2. SRL Gr, p. 207;

3. Dowson, p.56.

should not be regarded as Brāhmaṇas in the true sense, because they are vow-less. Thus the *PCV* is referring to the deities of the Brahmanical tradition, who were worshipped with reverence by the followers of Brahmanism.

Skanda:—In the *Āvaśyaka Gūrṇī*¹ people are said to be celebrating festival on the full moon day of Āsoja in honour of him. According to the Brahmanical² tradition he is the god of war, riding on peacock. He is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. He was born for the purpose of destroying Tāraka Daitya.

Indra:—In the *Niśīthacūrṇī*, it is mentioned that people celebrated a festival in his honour on the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha³. He is a Vedic god of first rank⁴. His weapon is the thunder-bolt. He governs the weather and dispenses the rain. In later mythology he is inferior to the triad, is the seducer of Ahalyā, is defeated by Rāvaṇa and is the sender of nymphs to beguile the holy men from penances. In the Jaina mythology Indras are the lords of the heavens, and they worship Jinas⁵.

Rudra:—In the Vedas he is a god of storms, diseases as well as a healer. In later mythology he is the son of Brahmā and as he wept at the time of his birth so he was named Rudra. He is also called Mahādeva. In the later ages, Rudra developed into powerful god Śiva. Under the name of Mahākāla, he is the destroyer but destruction means reproduction, hence he became Śiva or Śaṅkara (the auspicious). Thus he became supreme lord or Mahādeva. There are 11 Rudras in the Hindu Mythology⁶. The Jaina mythology also mentions 11 Rudras who are said to have descended to hells on account of the penances performed for material ends⁷.

Soma (11.73):—The reference is to the propitiation of Soma etc. by performing animal sacrifices. In the *Rgveda*, it is a juice of Soma plant, which is offered to the deities. Later on it was appropriated to Moon or Oṣadhipatī, who was considered the guardian of sacrifices and penances. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* he is the monarch of the Brāhmaṇas. Elsewhere he is said to have emanated from the ocean when

1. Ibid, p. 315 (*LAI*, p. 217).

2. Dowson, p. 152.

3. *Niśī Cū*, 19. p. 1174. (*LAI*, p. 216).

4. Dowson, pp. 269, 296.

5. See *Supra*.

6. Dowson.

7. *TP*, 4.14.39-42.

it was churned by the Devas and the Asuras¹. According to the Jaina mythology, Soma is one of the Lokapāla of Indras of the Kalpavāsīdevas².

Prajāpati (17.13):—Añjanāsundarī after having been abandoned by her relatives, expresses in grief as to why the Prajāpati has made her body full of sorrows and troubles. At 15.64 Pavanañjaya remarks that Añjanā's body is so formed as if it is modelled by Prajāpati. In the Vedas the term is applied to Indra, Sāvitrī, Soma, Hiranyagarbha and other deities. Manu applies it to Brahmā as an active creator and supporter of the Universe.³

Taking of holy baths at the Tīrthas (Majjai titthesu 22.85) is referred to and it is said that taking holy bath for purification by those who take meat etc. is a futile effort to shake off the shackles of sin.

Animal Sacrifices:—Vedic sacrifices which involved animal-slaughter have been severely critisized in the *Paumacariyan*. It is said that the heretics compiled the Vedas and preached animal-slaughter in the sacrifices (jannesu 4.79-80). The priests (Purohitas) have been referred to as presiding over the animal sacrifices (14.16). Rāvaṇa is said to have destroyed the animal sacrifice (14.16) which was being performed by king Marutta of Rājagṛha (Ch. 11). On that occasion many kinds of animals were brought and tied to the posts and many Brāhmaṇas had flocked there to take part in it. Nārada, a Jaina sage also reached there and opposed the sacrifice but the Brāhmaṇas explained that the sacrifices had been preached by Caturmukha, that they should be performed by the first three Varṇas-castes, that animals should be sacrificed propitiating the gods to attain heaven. On this occasion a story of king Vasu, Parvataka and Nārada had been narrated in which Vasu supports Parvataka who preaches that goat should be killed in sacrifices. Parvataka is reborn as a Rākṣasa and then he in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa preaches various sacrifices such as Gomedha, Piṭṛmedha, Mātṛmedha, Rajasūya, Aśvamedha and Paśumedha in which the respective persons and animals are ordained to be slaughtered (11.41.42), so that they would attain heaven. Taking of meat and wine was also freely ordained by him⁴,

1. Dowson, p. 301.

2. See *Supra*.

3. See *Op. Cit.* Dowson.

4. Gomehanāmadhee janne pāyāviyā surā havai/
Bhaṇai agammūgamaṇaṁ kāyavvaṁ natthhi doso ccha//
Piimchamāimehe rāyasūe āsamehapasumehe/
Eesu māriavvā, saesu nāmesu je jivā//
Jivā māreyavvā āsavapānaṁ ca hoi kāyavvaṁ/
Mamsaṁ ca khāiyavvaṁ jannassa vihi havai esā 11.41.43.

Now let us examine how far the charges levelled against the followers of Vedic rituals are justified in view of the sacrifices advocated by the Vedic literature and other historical evidences about the performing of the above mentioned sacrifices.

First of all we find that some hymns of the *Rgveda* have been associated with the horse-sacrifice¹. In the latter *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, animal and Soma sacrifices are found to be very common². The *Brāhmaṇa* explain the complicated procedure of the Yajñas. The *Śrautasūtras* and the *Gṛhyasūtras* give us details about the method of performing various sacrifices. The *Smṛtis* also refer to the daily domestic sacrifices.

The *Tajñāparibhāṣāsūtra*³ of Āpastamba clearly lays down in support of the contention of the *Paumacariyaṁ* that animals, besides other things also, were offered in the sacrifices, that the sacrifices were prescribed to be performed by the first three Varnas, that the three *Vedas* prescribe sacrifices and that they were presided over by Brāhmaṇas.

As regards the offering of goats, the *Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* refers to the immolation of goats (14.2.14; 14.6.2; 14.7.3-4; 14.13.1; 15.1.21-22). The *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (4.13.1) refers to the offering of meat of red goat during the Śrāddha ceremony and that of goat and sheep in Pitṛtarpaṇa (4.12.5). Further according to the *Gṛhyasūtras* goats offered to guests is said to be a sacrifice to the Gods⁴. The *Manusmṛti* also refers to the offering of the meat of goat for the libation of the manes on the occasion of monthly Śrāddha (3.268-70).

About the offering of various other animals in the sacrifices, the *Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* (6.1.20) refers to the Nirūdhapaśu sacrifice which was performed for the purpose of fulfilling some special wish. In the Śrāddha ceremony the offering of meat of various animals have been prescribed in the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (4.12.6-12) and the *Manusmṛti* (3.268-270). The animals mentioned in that connection are the fish, deer, ram, boar, bison, hare, tortoise, sheep etc. The *Tajñāparibhāṣāsūtra* (154) refers to various utensils used for preparing the meat of different animals. Manu (15.39) lays down that animals have been created by Svayambhu for sacrifice and their killing in a Yajña is not killing. But he does not permit their killing for other purposes.

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1. *Rgveda*, 1.162.
 2. *SRL. Gr.* p. 205.
 3. *Sūtr.* 1-3.21.
 4. See *CHI*, I. p. 208.

He further says that the killing of animals in accordance with the prescription of the *Vedas* is not to be cognised as *Himsā*.¹ About the efficacy of the *Yajña* it is said that the *Dvija* and the sacrificed animals attain to superior existence².

As regards the taking of meat and wine (*Surā*) the Brahmanical references are not wanting. The limbs of the sacrificed animal formed the 'dakṣiṇā' of the *Ṛtvik*³. *Surā* was used in oblations offered to the Manes⁴. The remaining part of the wine was offered to the *Ācārya* and *Antevāsin*⁵. *Manu* (5.31) prescribes that the animal flesh associated with the *Yajña* should be taken but not on any other occasion. He (5.48) further lays down that the killing of living creatures leads to hell.

The *PCV* states, as already mentioned, that the father (*pitā*), mother (*mātā*) and the king (*rājā*) were killed in the *Pitr*, *Mātṛ* and *Rājsūya Yajñas* respectively. This statement seems to be based on hearsay and is made for the sake of criticism only. There was a *Pitr-Yajña* rite which was to be performed daily by the householders. In this ceremony food and water was offered to the manes and on the occasion of performing monthly *Śrāddha* the offering of meat is also prescribed (*Manu*, 3.82; 3.123). In the *Madhyama-aṣṭaka* ceremony 'surā' was offered to the mothers (*Pārā*, *Gr. Su*, 3.3.11). *Pitr-medha*⁶ is dealt in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (VI) and its hymns are found in the *Śukla Yajurveda* (35)⁷. But it has nothing to do with the killing of father. Thus we find that the *PCV* is making wrong allegations. The *Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* (4.3.5) mentions *Pinḍapitryajña* but in it no killing is envisaged. It was a sacrifice of rice balls.

The *Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* further describes a *Puruṣamedha* also (XVI 10 & 12). A Brahmin is purchased and then let loose (16.10.9). He is then sacrificed with other animals (16.12.12 & 21). The rites of *Rājasūya Yajña* were performed on the occasion of a royal consecration.⁸ It is said in the *Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* (15.12.1) that by performing this *Yajña* the performer attains sovereignty and supremacy over

1. *Yā Vedavihitā himsā niyatāsmiṃścarācare /
ahimsāmevatam vidyād Vedāt dharma hi nirbabhu* || 5.44.
2. *Ibid*, 5.12.
3. *Pārā*, 3.11.9.
4. *Ibid*, 3.3.11.
5. *Ibid*.
6. *Vide VSS*, 243.
7. *Ibid*, p. 125.
8. *See CHI*, p. 126.

all realms. In this sacrifice in the preliminary stage a he-goat was sacrificed. Other *Śrautasūtras* do not mention this killing¹. Then two pregnant cows were immolated (XV. 14.13). Then a red he-goat an ewe and a bull was immolated for expiating various gods (XV. 15.2-4). Surā was offered and partaken by the Brāhmaṇas (XV. 15.15). The sacrificial fee is said to be 10000 cows (XV. 16.16). Thus the killing of father, mother and kings in the sacrifices as stated in the *PCV* seems to be a false allegation, K. K. Handiqui (p. 378) observes that the Śunaḥśepa legend of the *R̥gveda* is taken by some as a reference to the human sacrifice while some hold it to be a reminiscent of an early rite of Rājasūya and others reject it totally.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (13.5.4.1) states that by performing an Aśvamedha sacrifice one propitiates his sins and even the heinous sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa is annulled. In the *Śrautasūtras* the Aśvamedha sacrifice is described.² The *Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* mentions that the performer of the Aśvamedha attains all wishes, achieves all worldly attainments (XVI.1). In it a horse is let loose for a year (XVI. 13.14-15). After that period the horse (XVI.3.13), a hornless he-goat, a go-mṛga and many other animals are killed. Thus in this sacrifice a horse was actually killed.

The *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* (3.6) lays down that Goyajña and Aśvayjña are performed for the prosperity of the animals concerned, but it does not ordain the killing of these animals.

There are references to the Gosava sacrifice in the Brahmanical literature. It was a Vrata which was observed imitating the ways of an ox. The sacrificer slept with his mother, sister and a woman of his goṭra. He drank water and ate grass with face downwards and ease himself whenever he felt the necessity³. It was observed during old age but no cow or bull was killed on this occasion. However there are references to the killing of cows on the occasions of a wedding or a sacrifice⁴. The cow was killed as a rule in the honour of the guest⁵. In the Aṣṭaka ceremony, the parts of the cow killed on the occasion were given to the Brāhmaṇas⁶. In the *Gṛhyasūtras* cow-sacrifice is prescribed compulsorily on diffe-

1. *Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, p. 433.

2. See *VSS*, p. 287.

3. *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 113; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 7. 6; *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* XIX. 13.1; Vide Handiqui, p.384.

4. *Pāra*, I. 3. 30.

5. *SRL. Gr*, p. 82.

6. *Ibid.* p. 100.

rent occasions such as those of Aṣṭaka, Anvaṣṭakya, wedding, Śūlagava sacrifice, reception to a Snātaka, honouring of a diseased relation on the 11th day¹. Under the Haviryajñasoma, the Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra prescribes the immolation of goats (14.2.14; 14.6.2; 14.7.5), cow (14.3.19; 14.5.7; 14.6.3; 14.7.5); and barren cows (14.2.15). In the Śrautrāmāna ceremony a he-goat, an ewe (14.13.1) and barren cow (14.13.2) were immolated. In the Vājapeya Yajña animals such as goat, ram, ewe and cow (XV. 1.21-22) were killed. The Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra mentions that in the Madhyama Aṣṭaka ceremony the fat of a cow was oblated (3.3.8-9). The Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra (3.10.18) states that the cow was sacrificed in the Aṣṭaka festival. The Hiranyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra, (2.5.15.8) mentions that at the time of taking the meat of cow, a part of the cow-meat was offered to the Brāhmaṇas. The Śūlagava sacrifice is prescribed for procuring cattle, sons, wealth, fame, long life and heavenly bliss². It is meant for propitiating Rudra and for averting plague among the cattle³. Some of the Gṛhyasūtras make it symbolical only and no killing of ox is mentioned⁴. The Āśvalāyana and the Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtras describe actual killing of an ox and they incorporate the cow also as a sacrificial victim⁵. In the Vṛṣotsarga Yajña a bull was killed but according to some Ṛṣis the bull was not killed⁶. The Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra (4.17.11) also mentions the slaughtering of oxen in sacrifices.

The animal sacrifice is described in the Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, (3.11). In this the animal selected for sacrifice is other than cow (3.11.1). The limbs of the animal formed the 'dakṣiṇā' of the Ṛtvik (3.11.9). It further mentions that for some expiation an ass also can be sacrificed (3.12.2). In the Nirudhapaśu Yajña many kinds of animals were sacrificed in view of fulfilling the special wishes⁷ and it has been already mentioned that animals were the objects of offering in the Yajñas⁸.

Thus the allegations made by the Paumcariyam about the slaughtering of animals in the sacrifices is corroborated by the Brahmanical literature itself. Now it should be seen whether the references are merely literary or actually the animals were immolated.

1. Ibid, p. 109. 222.

2. See SRL Gr, p. 110.

3. Pūra, 3. 8. 3.

4. Hiranyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtras.

5. SRL, Gr, p. 111.

6. Pūra, 3. 9. 9.

7. Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra, 6, 1, 20.

8. Āpastambya Yajña Paribhāṣā, Sū. 1.

The Pali canon refers to the performing of a great sacrifice by a Brahmin. In it hundreds of bulls, calves, goats and other animals were brought for slaughtering. Lord Buddha is said to have stopped that sacrifice¹. Then the Praśastapāda's *Bhāṣya* prescribes all sorts of Yajñas in connection with the duties of a householder². Kālidāsa refers to the immolation of animals in the sacrifices³.

Even Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta Sūtras* (3.1.25) speaks of Vedic rites being performed by cultured people.⁴

On the evidence of the ancient inscriptions Dr. Altekar remarks that the Vedic sacrifices were most popular during the third and fourth centuries A. D.⁵ They were performed by the rulers such as feudatory lords, kings and emperors and the most popular one was the horse-sacrifice. The Vedic sacrifices were on descendancy later on but they were sporadically performed till quite recent times.⁶ V. M. Apte remarks that the growing influence of Bhakti cult and the association of cow with Kṛṣṇa as well as the attack of Buddhists and the Jainas had given great set back to the slaughtering of animals and certainly the cow was revered and its killing was prohibited⁷.

Jaina conception of Sacrifice:—The sacrifice which involved death of a large number of animals is severely criticised in the *Paumacariyam*. It is said that the performers are greedy of meat, marrow and blood of the animals and they descend to hells and suffer innumerable miseries in the cycle of transmigration (11.80-81). It further mentions that a real sacrifice (Janna) according to the Ārṣaveda, consisted of the physical body as the altar, mind as the fire, knowledge as the ghee, and the dirt of Karma as samidhā (sacrificial fuel). They all should be burnt in the fire of mental control. The passions such as anger, pride, deceit, greed or attachment and aversion were the real animals to be sacrificed along with the senses. Truth, forgiveness, non-injury constituted the sacrificial fee. Right faith, right conduct, self control and chastity were the gods to be propitiated. This is the true sacrifice which has been preached by the Jinās. It is performed by mental concentration or meditation and thus it brings about emancipation (11.75-79).

1. *Dīgha Nikāya*, Su. 5.

2. Vide Handiqui, p. 377.

3. *JK*, p. 324.

4. Handiqui, p. 377.

5. *VGA*, p. 339.

6. Handiqui, p. 378.

7. *SRL Gr*, p. 100, 116. See *Gītā Rahasya*, 305.

This kind of interpretation of Yajña is found in the *Gītā* also. It lays emphasis on performing that kind of Yajña which does not involve animal-slaughter. The oblations to be offered should consist of materials. It further states that with mental detachment, freedom from attachment & aversion (4.23), the oblations of sense-organs should be made into the fire of self control (4.24) which is ablazed by knowledge (4.27), austerity and meditation (4.28). This kind of sacrifice leads to emancipation (4.32)¹.

Popular worship:

The *Paumacariyam* refers to a Jakkhatthāṇa (39.68) and a Jakkhanilaya (82.47) i. e. the Yakṣasthānas or the sanctuaries of the Yakṣas. It indicates that the worship of the Yakṣas was prevalent in the Magadha country as the references indicate.

Forest deities (Vanadevatā 36.14; 17.81) were invoked on the occasions of difficulties. The worship of forest deities was prevalent as the *PCV* reveals that Añjanā and Vanamālā invoked them in their difficulties and requested them for protection.

1. See also *Gītā Rahasya*, p. 308.

CHAPTER X

GEOGRAPHICAL PLACES, PEOPLES AND TRIBES.

Cosmology.

The *PCV* describes the Universe at two places. First of all its account is given by Gautama, the first Gaṇadhara of Lord Mahāvīra while commencing to narrate the story of Rāma, in reply to the enquiry of king Śreṇika (3.18-32). At another place Muni Sakalabhūṣaṇa describes it at the time of delivering a religious discourse to Rāma when his wife Sītā renounces the world (102.61-66.100-110). Both descriptions are brief, traditional and mixed with mythology. In the following lines account of the same is given. It is supplemented by other Jaina works and is compared with the accounts of the Universe given by the Brahmaical and the Buddhist works.

According to the *PCV*, the Universe (Loa=Loka) is situated in the middle of the unlimited space (aṇantānantam āgāsam). It is divided in to three parts—viz. the lower part (ahaloga=adholoka), shaped like a cane-seat (Vettāsaṇa); the middle part having the form of a cymbal (Jhallari); and the upper part of the pattern of a tabor (Muraya = Muraja). The whole Universe seems to be like a palmyra-tree (Tāla sariso). The middle part¹ of the Universe which is comprised of many islands and oceans is called as the region of subhuman beings Tiriya loo). In the centre of this Tiryakloka is situated the Jambūdvīpa of the shape of a round mirror (dappaṇāyāro). In extension it is 100000 Yojanas and is itself encircled by the Lavaṇa ocean which is progressively encircled by alternate island and ocean, which are innumerable. The area of the successive island and the ocean is said to be the double of the previous one. The last island is called Svayambhuramaṇa.

The Lavaṇa ocean is encircled by the region (continent) named Dhātākikhaṇḍa (Dhāyaīsaṇḍa) which is four times greater in area than that of Jambūdvīpa. Beyond Dhātākikhaṇḍa there is Puṣkaradvīpa half of which is twice larger in area than that of Dhātākikhaṇḍa. Puṣkaradvīpa is divided into two parts by a mountain called Mānuṣottara. One part of Puṣkaradvīpa facing Jambūdvīpa is included in the human world and the other part lying on the other side of

1. See Supra Supernatural elements for Adholoka and Urdhvaloka.

Mānuṣottara mountain is excluded from it, because in that region and beyond that human existence is not possible. Thus the human world consists of two and a half continents (46.35). The above account is corroborated by other Jaina works¹. The Brahmanical literature does not mention innumerable islands and oceans but limits their number to seven. The position of Jambūdvīpa is similar to that given in the Jaina works. It is said that Jambūdvīpa lies in the centre of seven concentric continents each encircled by an ocean². The names of those continents and oceans are : Jambū, Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuṣa, Krauñca, Śaka and Puṣkara; Lavaṇa, Ikṣu, Surā, Sarpi, Dadhi, Dagdha and Jala respectively.

Some of the names of these islands and oceans resemble those of the Jaina tradition but their order differs.³ The extension of Jambūdvīpa to 100000 Yojanas is corroborated by the Brahmanical literature.⁴ Puṣkaradvīpa is divided by a mountain called Mānuṣottara and the two divisions are called Mahāvīrakhaṇḍa and Dhātakikhaṇḍa.⁵ In the Jaina literature, Puṣkaravara is the 3rd island which is divided into two parts by Mānuṣottara, while Dhātakikhaṇḍa is the second independent island.

In the Buddhist literature Jambūdvīpa is mentioned as one of the four great islands or continents and described as situated in the south while the other three in the other three directions.⁶ The *Bhīmaṇḍava* of the *Mahābhārata*⁷ also corroborates this view of the Buddhists by stating that there are four continents on the four sides of the Meru mountain.

Jambūdvīpa.

According to the *PGV* Jambūdvīpa is circular in shape. In the centre of it stands the great mountain, Mandara.⁸ It is further said that there are six mountains, three to the south, and the other three to the north of Mandara. They all touch the Lavaṇa ocean on both the sides. They are named as Himavat, Mahāhimavat Niṣadha, Nīla, Rukmin and Sīkharin. These mountains thus divide Jambūdvīpa into seven regions viz. Bhārata, Haimavata, Harivarṣa, Mahāvideha,

1. *TP*, 1. 136f. 4. 2-11; 5. 8f; *JPS*, 4. 4, 20; 11. 2, 49, 84f; and *JP*, 3.

2. *Vn. Pu*, 2. 2. 5-7; *Mār. Pu*, 50. 11, 17f and 51. 7.

3. See *TP*, II. Int. p. 82.

4. *Mār. Pu*, 51. 8.

5. *Vn. Pu*, 2. 4. 74.

6. *HGA*, p. 8; *IDETBJ*, p. 2; *TP*, II, Int. p. 88.

7. *Chs*, 6 & 7.

8. It is also called Meru (2.24, 26).

Ramyaka, Hairaṇyavata and Airavata. There are fourteen rivers which flow in Jambūdvīpa. They are Gangā, Sindhu, Rohitā, Rohitāṃśā, Hari, Harikāntā, Sitā, Sītodā, Nārī, Narakāntā, Rūpyakūlā, Suvarṇakūlā, Raktā, and Raktāvatī, two rivers flowing in each country respectively.

According to the *TP* (4. 12f, 90f) the seven countries and the six mountains as mentioned above are said to be successively occupying Jambūdvīpa from south to north, stretching from east to west and touching the Lavaṇa ocean on both the sides. The *JP* (10) gives a detailed account of these countries.

According to the Brahmanical literature also the Jambūdvīpa has got the Meru mountain situated in its centre (*Vn. Pu.* 2. 2. 7f). There are also other six mountains, three to the south and the other three to the north of the Meru mountain. They are the Himavat, Hemakūṭa, Niṣadha; and Nīla, Śveta, and Śṛṅgin. The last, Śṛṅgin is identical with Śikhariṇ and the Śveta with Rajatamaya or Rukmin of the Jaina tradition respectively. Thus the names of all the six mountains of the Brahmanical account agree with those of the Jaina tradition. The seven countries of Jambūdvīpa are mentioned as Bhāratavarṣa, Kimpuruṣa Harivarṣa, Ilāvṛtavarṣa, Ramyaka, Hirraṇyamaya and Uttarakuru (*Vn.* 2. 2. 12f). The first, third, fifth and the sixth country are identical with those of the Jaina tradition. Uttarakuru is called as Airāvatavarṣa in the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 6. 37) and the latter is identical with Airāvata of the Jaina tradition. The second country namely, Kimpuruṣa is named as Haimavatavarṣa in the *MB* (VI. 6.7) which is identical with Haimavata of the Jaina tradition. Thus the names of six countries out of the seven of the Jaina tradition are in agreement with those of the Brahmanical tradition¹.

In the Buddhist literature the Meru mountain is said to have been situated in the middle of the four islands or continents². The four countries are named as Pubbavideha, Aparagodāna, Uttarakuru and Jambūdvīpa³.

1. Shri Rīmakṣṇadāsji in his article named '*Cāturdvīpaka Bhugola*', identifies the Himavat with the Himalayas and the Hemakūṭa with Tibet. This Hemakūṭa of the Brahmanical literature is the Mahāhimavāt (Mahāhimavanta) of the Jaina tradition. It is said that the country lying between Himavat and Mahāhimavāt always has a great snow-fall, hence it is called Hemavaya (*Jambū*, Sū. 78). The Niṣadha is further identified with the Hindukuṣa range and the Uttarakuru with the western Turkistan (Vide *JPS*, Intro).
2. Vide *HGAI*, p. 8.
3. *IDETBJ*, p. 2.

Bhārata (varṣa)

According to the *Jambūdvīpaṇṇatti*, the country of Bhārata is situated in the southern most part of Jambūdvīpa. It is bound on the north by Cullahimavanta and on the south, east and the west by the Lavaṇa ocean¹. It is divided into Uttarārdha and Dakṣiṇārdha² Bhārata by the Vijayārdha mountains stretching from the east to the west in the middle of it. The lake Padmadraha³ situated in the middle of the Cullahimavanta is said to be the source of the Ganges and the Sindhu which⁴ flow first to the south, go across the Vijayārdha mountain, again flow in the Dakṣiṇa Bhārata towards the east and the west and then empty into the eastern and the western Lavaṇa-Samudra respectively. Thus these two rivers and mount Veyaḍḍha divide the Bhārata country into six divisions.⁵

In the Brahmanical literature the situation of the Bhārata is between the Himālaya and the sea.⁶ The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* locates it in the south of Jambūdvīpa⁷. But there 'Bhārata' covers a much larger area than the real Bhārata, because Bhāratavarṣa has been divided into nine regions which are separated by inaccessible seas and the last region is called Bhārata.⁸

According to the Buddhist conception of the world, Jambūdvīpa means India except Sīṃhaladvīpa.⁹ The Ganges and the Sindhu have their sources in the Anavatapta sarovara beyond the Himavat.¹⁰ The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* does¹¹ not mention Sindhu whereas the five rivers of Jambūdvīpa are said to be the Ganges, the Jamunā, Sarabhū Acirāvati and Mahī.

Thus we find that Bhāratavarṣa meant a larger area than India to the Brahmanical conception and Jambūdvīpa of the Buddhists¹² was

1. Su 10; also *TP*, 4.107; 4.196f, 4.252f.

2. Referred to in the *PCV* as Bharahaddhavāsa (7.164 & 8.143) and Dīhiṇa-bharaha (II.3.7).

3. *TP*, 4.195.

4. *JP*, Su. 73. & 74.

5. *JP*, Su. 10.

6. Vn. Pu, 2.3; 1; *Mār. Pu*, 54.49.

7. 52.21.

8. *Mār. Pu*, 54.4, Vn. Pu, 2. 3. 6f (Vide B. C. Law's *HGM Int.*).

9. *Geog. Essays*, p. 5.

10. Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*—Vide H.L. Jain-*TP*, Int. p. 88.

11. II. 429.

12. The Aśoka minor *RE*. I mentions Jambūdvīpa which denotes the whole country ruled by him.

the India proper while to the Jains and the Brāhmaṇas Jamūdvīpa cannot a very big continent and Bhāratavarṣa of the Jains was the real India.

The *PCV* further at (102.109) refers to two trees namely the Śālmali and the Jambū growing in Jambūdvīpa. The *Jambūdvapaṇṇatti* tells us that the Jambū tree stands in the Uttarakuru, to the south of the Nila, to the north of the Mandara, to the west of the Mālavat and on the eastern bank of the river Sitā.¹ After the name of this tree the whole continent is called as Jambūdvīpa,

In the Brahmanical works also this tree is said to be the reason of naming the island as Jambūdvīpa.²

The Buddhist works also assign the same reason for calling it as Jambūdvīpa³. The tree is said to be standing near the Anavatapta Sarovara beyond the Himavat.⁴

According to the Jaina tradition, the country was named Bhāratavarṣa after the name of the first Cakravartin Bharata, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara⁵.

According to the Brahmanical sources the name Bhāratavarṣa was derived from king Bharata, a descendant of Priyavrata, the son of Manu Svayambhū⁶.

Thus it is clear that according to the Jaina tradition, Bhārata is the Indian continent which is surrounded by Lavaṇodadhi (Indian ocean) in the south and the Veyaḍḍha (the system of Vindhya mountains) divided the country into the northern plains and the southern plateau. Further the *PCV* refers to the Sindhu Sāgara (112.17), the Himalayas (10.13), the Ganges (11.111), the Jamuna (55.42), the Sindhu (98.63), the Narmadā (10.29) and the Tāptī rivers (25.1). Sindhusāgara is the Arabian sea on the west. The Ganges, the Jamuna and the Sindhu rivers water the northern plains of India while the Narmadā and Tāptī flow into the western Vindhya region and empty into the Arabian sea.

Now we proceed to explain the geographical terms mentioned in the *PCV* and then after we will try to identify the locations of various geographical places referred to in the *PCV*.

1. Su. 90; also *TP*, 4. 2195.

2. *Vn. pu*, 2.2.18.

3. *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 127. *Visuddhimagga*, I. 205-206.

4. *Vinaya Texts*, I. p. 30.

5. See *VH*, p. 186 & *LAI*, p. 375.

6. *Bhāg Pu*, XI. 2.15ff.

Country or State is generally denoted by Deśa (11.108; 33.23; 38.57; 98.61), Viśaya (Avanti-visaya 33.11) or Janapada (Magahājanavaya 2.1). Janapada is used in the sense of the people also (purajanavaya=the citizens of the capital 11.107). Videśa (39.117; 37.19) denoted the foreign country or other state. Then there are references to some particular people who were some ancient tribes and the region where settled in came to be known after their names. Thus the countries such as Yavana, Śaka etc. (98.64) denote the places of their habitation. The *PCV* says "it is also true that some peoples are named after regions to which they belong." The Asuras, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas etc. are such instances (7.49-50).

The unit of people's habitation is generally termed as Niveśa (3.114) or Sanniveśa (5.249). Various types of settlements such as Nagara, Pura, Paṭṭana, Kheṭa, Karvata, Maḍamba, Droṇimukha, Grāma and Palli (2.1,2; 11.103; 32.9; 39.63) are mentioned. The *PCV* does not differentiate between a Nagara, Nagarī and a Pura or Purī (20.10; 21.6; 8.156; 11.5; 35.26). Sometimes Grāma and Pura are identical (Kundagāmapura 2.21; Kundapura 20.50). Except Nagara, Pura, Grāma and Palli there is no reference to any habitation, the name of which ends in Paṭṭana, Kheṭa, Karvata, Maḍamba or Droṇimukha. For their significance other works¹ can be referred to. There are references to a number of Dvīpas. A Dvīpa in the Indian literature always does not mean that it should have waters surrounding it². There are several references to Śaka and Yavana dvīpas which were not islands but the inland-regions of the Śakas and the Yavanas in the North-West India. For example the *PCV* refers to Vāṇaradvīpa (6.34) and many others (6.31-33). The Vāṇaradvīpa can be identified with the high lands of Kiṣkindhī mountains near Raichur in the Deccan plateau.

The geographical places and peoples mentioned in the *PCV* can be dealt under five separate heads viz., (1) Those associated with Rāma (including the route of his exile); (2) Those conquered by Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa; (3) Those associated with the great persons of the Jaina faith; (4) Those referred to in the intervening stories; and (5) Unidentified places.

Besides that we shall take up the Aryan and the non-Aryan peoples referred in the *PCV*. It should be noted that some clans and countries are identical as the *PCV* reveals. Some of them are specifically

1. *TP*, 4. 1398-1490; *The Jinist Studies* by Otto Stein, pp. 9.12 & 19; *Kauṭ*, 2.1. 24; *Shūma*, p.45.

2. *JP*, 53. p. 217; *Āva Cū*, p. 191; *VH*, p. 146; *JPS* 7. 104 calls Magadha country a dvīpa.

mentioned as Anāryas and at places no distinction is made between the Aryas and the non-Āryans.

(1) *Places and peoples referred to in the main story or associated with Rāma.*

Sāketapura:—Rāma's birth place was Sāketapura (25.22). It is variously called as Ayodhyā (37.19). Vinitāpurī (24.34; 32.50), Kośalapurī (99.30), Kośalā (20.28), Kośalānagarī (98.53), and Kośalāpurī (82.5). It is called Prathamapurī also (28.70) as it was the birth place of the first Jina and it was the first city to be established by Dhanada (3.113; 20.30; *PCR*, 3.169). It is mentioned in the *PCV* (99.30) that some river lay near it. Ayodhyā is identified with a place about six miles from the Fyzabad Railway station in Uttara Pradesh. The river should be the Saryu on which it is situated. The Saryu is identified with the Ghagra or the Gogra in Oudh¹.

The *PCV* mentions Ayodhyā as the capital of Kośalodeśa—Kośalaviṣaya—Kośalāpuriviṣaya (99.29). Kośala was one of the 16 great Janapadas of ancient time. It lay to the east of the Kurus and Pañcālas and to the west of the Videhas from whom it was separated by the Gandak².

Aruhasthala:—Rāma's mother, Aparājitā was the princess of Aruhasthala and the daughter of its king Sukośala (22.106). The *PCR* (22.171) mentions that place as Darbhasthala. Darbha is the other name of the Kuśa grass, therefore Darbhasthala and Kuśasthala are two names of the same place. The *PCV* further mentions Kuśasthala also and says that marital relations existed between the kings of Ayodhyā and Kuśasthala. An ancestor of Daśaratha, namely Kirtidhara had married a princess of Kuśasthalapura (21.79). The *PCR* calls it Kauśalastha (21.142). According to the *VR* there were two Kośala countries viz. North-Kośala and South-Kośala (*VR*, 7-107). Ayodhyā was the capital of North Kośala or Oudh while Kuśāvati was the capital of South Kośala and Kuśa ruled there. The *VR* (7.108. 4) mentions that Kuśāvati was situated in the Vindhya (Vindhya-parvatarodhasi). The *VR Vāyupurāṇa* mentions it as Kuśasthalī.³ Thus it seems that Aruhasthala⁴, Darbhasthala, Kauśalastha and Kuśāvati should be identical. The *PCV* names the king of Aruhasthala as Sukośala, a name similar to the name of the country. South Kośala

1. *HGA*, p. 67.

2. *Ibid*, p. 42., 99.

3. *Vā. Pu*, 88., 98.

4. *Vide Supra*, p. 34.

is identified with the region comprising the districts of Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur¹. And its capital should be somewhere in that region, with which Aruhattal may be identified.

Kamalasāṅkulapura:—Sumitrā, the mother of Lakṣmaṇa is said to be the princess of the above place (22.107). The *Raghuvamśa* (9.7), the *Padmapurāṇa* (Uttara, 269) and the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* (11.32, 70.71) mention that Sumitrā was a princess of Magadha. The *PCV* also mentions it (2.8). At one place the *PCV* refers to *Kusumānagara* (Kusagganagara according to other manuscripts) as the birth place of Lord Munisuvrata (93.35) and at another place is called Kuśāgrānagara which is another name of Rājagṛha. Thus Rājagṛha, Kuśāgrānagara and Kusumānagara appear to be indetical. The Kamala of Kamalasāṅkulapura probably denotes the flower in general i.e. Kusuma and thus Kamalasāṅkulapura could be identified with Rājagṛha. But in the ancient literature Kusumapura occurs for Pāṭaliputra which later on became the capital of Magadha (*HGA*, p.249). Kālidāsa also mentions Pāṭaliputra, Puṣpapura and Kusumapura as the one and the same place and as the capital of Magadha (*IK*, p. 2). The *PCV* also specifically mentions Kusumapura (48.83) and it should be a reference to Pāṭaliputra. It seems that the *PCV* confuses the two capitals of Magadha at two different times in ancient history and thus Kamalasāṅkulapura should be identical with Pāṭaliputra which is mentioned as the capital of Magadha by Kālidāsa who states that Sumitrā belonged to the Magadha country.

Kautukamaṅgalapura (24.2):—Kaikeyī belonged to this place. Aruhasthala and Kamalasāṅkulapura of the *PCV* are well identified with the birth places of Kauśalyā and Sumitrā as mentioned in the Brahmanical literature. Thus it is probable that Kautukamaṅgalapura of the *PCV* is the capital of Kekaya country which is mentioned in the *VR* as the country from which Kaikeyī hailed. The *PCV* locates Kautukamaṅgalapura in the north and Kekaya country is also identified with the present district of Shahpur in the Punjab. The capital of Kekaya country is identified with Girjaka or Jalalpur on the Jhelum², and so Kautukamaṅgalapura is probably Jalalpur.

Kāmpilya:—Rāma's teacher Airakucchī belonged to Kāmpilyapura (25.16). It was the capital of ancient Pañcāla. It is identified with modern Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaon and Farrukhabad³ in U.P.

1. *VGA*, p. 153.

2. *HGA*, p. 98.

3. *Ibid*, p. 92.

Rājagṛha :—Airakucchi himself got his training in archery at Rājagṛha (25.18). It is called as Kuśāgranagara (2.98), Rājapura (2.8) and Magadhapura also (82.46). It was the capital of Magadha country (2.1). It is identified with the present Rajagir in south Bihar.¹ King Śreṇika is referred to as the ruler of Magadha country (2.15). He was a lay devotee of Lord Mahāvīra (2.48-49) who spent 14 rainy seasons at Rājagṛha².

Mithilā :—Rāma married Sītā who was the daughter of Janaka, the ruler of Mithilā (28.95). Subhadrā, the daughter of Kanaka, brother of Janaka was married to Bharata (28.132). It was the ancient capital of Videha country (North Bihar). It is identified with modern Janakapura, a small town within the border of Nepal. Prof. Rhys Davids locates it 35 miles to the north west of Vaiśālī³.

Route of Rama's Journey in Exile:

The description of the route of Rāma's journey shows that the author of the *PCV* had some scientific knowledge of the geographical places of north and south India.

Pāriyātra :—Rāma is said to have travelled toward the west from Sāketa (dvaradisaṃ vaccantā 32. 7) and entered the forest of Pāriyātra (Pattā.....aḍaviṃ ciya Pariyattassa 32.10). The Pāripatra or Pāriyātra (mountainous region) is identified by Prof. Pargiter with the modern Vindhya range which is situated west of Bhopal together with the Aravali hills.⁴ Dr B. S. Upadhyaya also identifies it with the western part of the Vindhya range extending from the source of the Cambal and Betwa. It comprised the Aravali mountains and the belts of Rajputana including the Pathar range which is perhaps a contraction of Pāriyātra. According to Prof. Jayacandra Vidyānāṣa, the Pāriyātra region forms the part where all the rivers from the Parvati and Banas to Betwa take their rise.⁵ The *PCV* mentions that from Pāriyātra Rāma went to the Citrakūṭa hill and entered the Avantideśa. Thus the place of Rāma's entry into the Pāriyātra should be the region lying to the south of Bharatapura and to the north of the Banas river.

Gambhīrā :—When Rāma entered the Pāriyātra forest, he saw the Gambhīrā river (Gambhīrā nāma nadī 32.11). He crossed it and

1. Ibid. p. 254.

2. *Nāyādharmakāṇḍo*, II, 10.

3. *HGAI*, p. 236.

4. *HGAI*, p. 20.

5. Vide. *IK*, p. 9.

sojourned on its other side in the forest. It was here that Kaikeyī and Bharata followed Rāma to call him back to Ayodhyā (32. 42-50). The river is identified with modern Gambhīrā, a tributary of the Yamuna above the Cambal, flowing east from Gangapura.¹

Dakṣiṇāpatha:—Rāma asked the people who followed him, to allow him to go to the Dakṣiṇāpatha (32. 13). Rāma while consoling his mother before his departure from Ayodhyā tells that he might go to the Vindhya, or to the Malaya or in the vicinity of the sea (31.100). There are other references such as Dakkhiṇadesa (32.55), Dāhiṇa Bharaha (103.7) and Dakkhiṇāvaha (26.68) which denote the same region. The Dakṣiṇāpatha comprised the region from the Vindhya upto the shore of the southern ocean. Southern India is identified with the whole of the Peninsula from Nasik and Ganjam to the cape Comorin in the south or very nearly the whole of the region lying to the south of Narmadā and Mahānadi (CVGI, p. 31f).

Citrakūṭa:—From there Rāma began his journey towards the south (Dakkhiṇadesābhimuhā caliyā 32.55). Proceeding further he reached a Tāpasakula. He stayed there for a night and then reached, passing through the forest, Citrakūṭa hill (dūruṇṇayasirohaṁ pecchanti Cittakūṭam te 33.4). He sojourned there for four months (33.11). This is the modern hill of Chittor, a range of the Aravali mountains, in the Udaipura division of Rajasthan.

Avantī:—From there Rāma entered the Avantīdeśa (pattā Avantivisayaṁ 33.11), the capital of which was Ujjenī (33.25) and it was ruled by king Sindhodara. The *Vasudevahindī* (p. 36, 49) refers to Ujjenī as the capital of Avantījanapada. Avantī as a great Janapada is referred to in the *Āva. Cū* (I. p. 39). During the time of Lord Mahāvīra, Pradyota was the king of Avantī (*Āva. Cū*, II. p. 162). The *Vividha Tīrthakalpa* refers to Avantī as a city (p. 83). The *Skandapurāṇa* mentions that Avantī was the other name of Ujjenī. Avantī came to be known as Ujjenī in honour of the visit of Mahādeva to that city on the victory of destroying the demon, Tripura². Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimara and adjoining parts of Madhya Pradesh³. It was one of the 16 great Janapadas of ancient times. Ujjenī is the modern Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh.

1. *HGAI*, p. 36 & *RI*, p. 39.

2. *Skandapurāṇa*, Ch. 43. (*HGAI*, p. 7; *VGA*, p. 404.)

3. *HGAI*, p. 52.

Daśapura :—Rāma further proceeds to Daśapura-nagara (33.25) variously called as Daśānapura (79.9) and Daśaṅganagara (33.89). Vajrakarṇa was the lord of this town. He was a 'bhṛtya' (feudatory) of Siṃhodara of Ujjeni. He was attacked by Siṃhodara. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa defeated Siṃhodara and brought about reconciliation. Daśapura is identified with Mandasor in western Malwa in the Madhya Pradesh¹.

Kūvarapura :—From Daśapura Rāma proceeds to Kūvavadda (33.148) also called as Kuvvarapura (77.45) or Kuvvaranagara (Kūbarapura—PCR). Bālikhilya, the lord of this place was kidnapped by some Mleccha chief and the former's daughter Kalyāṇamālā ruled there in the disguise of a prince (34.22-23). The RPS (p. 104) mentions the place as Nalakacchapura. Jaina poet Āśadhara is said to have lived in Nalakacchapura. Nalakacchapura is identified with modern Nālachā situated 10 krośas far from Dhāra (Malwa²). But it is not certain whether Kūvarapura is the same as Nālachā. The PCV mentions 'Purikoberā' (98.67) = the Purikauberas. They were conquered by Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa. It seems that the people of Kuvvarapura are styled as the Purikauberas. They can be identified with the Paurikās who had Purikā as their chief city. Purikā is placed near Māhiṣmatī by the Khila—Harivaṃśa (XCV. 5220-28). Our Kuvvarapura is perhaps the Purikā of the MB and the Purāṇas³.

Narmadā :—Further Rāma crosses the river Narmadā (34.32) and enters the Vindhya forest (Viñjhāḍaviṃ pavannā 34.4). The river Narmadā is well-known. It flows between the Vindhya and Satpura ranges. The PCV calls the region lying to the south of the Vindhya range as the Vindhya forest. Dr. B. C. Law says that it comprises Khandesh and Aurangabad region including Nasik⁴.

Kāgonanda :—Proceeding further Rāma faces some Mlecchas known as the Kāgonandas (34.41). Lakṣmaṇa defeats Rudrabhūtī, the leader of the tribe and rescues Bālikhilya. The Kāgonandas are called the Kākonadas in the PCR (34.72). In the MB (6.9.64) the Kākas are associated with the Vidarbhas who occupied the Central Provinces (Nagpur)⁵. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription (4th cent. A.D.) mentions the Kākas and others along with Prarjunas. Vincent Smith places the Prarjunas in the Narasimhapura district of the Central

1. HGAI, p. 291.

2. JSI, p. 343,354.

3. See HGAI, p. 184 & GD, p. 162.

4. HGAI, p. 302.

5. TAI, p. 356.

Provinces¹. The *PCV* mentions them as occupying the region falling to the south of Narmadā. It seems that their activities were spread over the south-west region of Narsimhapura also. Thus the Kakas and Kākonadas or Kāgonandas seem to be identical people.

Tapti:—Proceeding further Rāma crosses the Vindhya forest and reaches the region where the river Tapti was flowing (Viñjham aikameṇa pāviyā visayaṁ majjheṇa vahai Tāvi 85.1). The Tapti river is well-known. It flows in the south along the Satpura hills.

Aruṇagrāma:—Rāma further goes to Aruṇagrāma (35.5) but there he is insulted by Brahmin Kapila, hence he proceeds further and sojourns in the jungle. (Not indentified).

Rāmapurī:—There in the jungle a Yakṣa is said to have conjured up Rāmapurī for the temporary sojourn of Rāma (35.36). Kālidāsa mentions that a Yakṣa sent his message from Rāmagiri. He also states that Rāmagiri was rendered sacred by Rāma and Sītā². Therefore in our opinion Rāmapurī of the *PCV* can be identified with Rāmtēk (Rāmagiri) of Nagpur district, situated 24 miles north of Nagpur (*HGAI* p. 328). That place is at a distance from the Tapti and *PCV* does not mention that the Tapti was crossed by Rāma. It says that it flowed in that region nearby (Majjheṇa vahai) and it may mean the basin of the Tapti.

Vijayapura:—Proceeding further Rāma reaches Vijayapura (36.7). Lakṣmaṇa here marries the princess Vanamālā, daughter of king Mahādhara of that town. The *PCR* (36.11) calls it Vaijayantapura. The *VR* (2.9.12) says that Vaijayantapura was situated in the south towards the Daṇḍakāraṇya (Daṇḍakānprati). One Vijayapuri is said to have existed in the valley of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa hills. It was the capital of the Ikṣvākus of the far south.³ Other Vijayantī, the capital of Kādambas, is identified with Vanavāsī in the Kannara district.⁴ But both the places fall at a very great distance from Rāma's immediate journey. The *PCS* (29.1) mentions its name as Jivantapura and further states that Rāma leaves it behind and reaches the river Godāvarī (Golā vai 31.3.2). Thus it indicates that Vijayapura was situated to the north of Godāvarī.

Nandyāvartapura:—While staying at Vijayapura, Rāma receives news of the attack of Mahārāja Ativīrya on Bharata, the former trying

1. *TAI*, p.95.

2. See *IK*, p. 10.

3. *VGA*, p. 60.

4. *Ibid.* p. 405.

to establish his suzerainty over the latter. Ativīrya who is said to be the king of Nandāvattapura (37. 3. Nandyāvartapura), had demanded military help from Mahīdhara. Rāma proceeds from Vijayapura to the site of the battle. He captures Ativīrya, makes him to accept the suzerainty of Bharata, and returns to Vijayapura.

Ancient Vākāṭaka inscriptions record one Nandivardhana which is identified with modern Nagardhan or Nandardhan near Ramtek about 13 miles north of Nagpur¹. Nandivardhana is considered to be one of the capitals of the Vākāṭakas. The capital was shifted to this place from Purikā and later on it was shifted to Pravarapura (about 430 cent. A.D.). The reference to Ativīrya's expansionism seems to be an allusion to the probable attempt of some Vākāṭaka king for expanding his territory and then his defeat at the hands of the Nalas.²

It is said that Ativīrya was helped with military contingents by the lords of Aṅga (37. 7), Pañcāla (37. 8), Puṇḍapura Paundrakṣmā³ (37. 9), Magadha⁴ and many Yavana lords⁵ (Jaunāhivai 37. 10). Aṅga is identified with the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr. It was one of the great Mahājanapadas in ancient India⁶. Pañcāla roughly corresponds to modern Budaon, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of U. P.⁷ Puṇḍapura is probably Puṇḍravaradhana. Rāma also refers to it as Poṇḍavaddhana. He asks Śatrughna whether he would like to become the ruler of it (86.2). It is identified with Mahasthan seven miles north of the modern town of Bogra. It was the capital of the ancient Pauṇḍras or Pauṇḍrakas⁸. (See further for the Yavanas & Magadha).

Kṣemañjalīpura :—From Vijayapura Rāma traversing the forest reaches *Kṣemañjalīpura* (38.22). Here Lakṣmaṇa wins the hand of Jitapadīnā, the daughter of king Śatrudamana. It is not identified. The *PGS* mentions that it lay at some distance from Godāvari (31.4.1).

Rāmagiri & Daṇḍakāranya :—Proceeding further Rāma traverses a dense forest (Mahāḍavīrī 39.1) and reaches Vamśasthalapura,

1. *HGAI*, p. 323.

2. *VGA*, p. 105-109; See also.

3. *PCR*, 37. 17.

4. See *Infra*.

5. The *PCR* calls them 'Yavanadhipab' (37. 20).

6. *GE*, I. p. 13.

7. *GE*, I. p. 133.

8. *HGAI*, p. 246-247.

situated in the valley of Vamśagiri (39.4). On that hill he sojourns for some time. At the request of Rāma, the king of that place gets some Jina temples built on the hill. It then comes to be known as Rāmagiri after the name of Rāma (40.16). After some days Rāma tells Lakṣmaṇa to proceed to some other place beyond the river Karṇaravā (known as the Daṇḍaka forest). He further says that the forest lies in the vicinity of the great ocean and expresses his desire to sojourn there¹. Accordingly they start from there and enter the Daṇḍakāraṇya and sojourn on the bank of the river Karṇaravā (41.2). They proceed further towards the interior and come across the big river Kuñcaravā (42.15), or Koñcaravā (43.21). They stay there for a long period of time. The river is called Krauñcaravā in the PCR (42.61). At the time of departing from Ayodhyā, Rāma tells his mother that he will return to her after settling some abode on the Vindhya hills or on the Malaya mountains or in the vicinity of the ocean². Further while departing from Ujjain, Lakṣmaṇa tells that he along with Rāma and Sītā is going to the Malayaparvata³. From the last reference it can be inferred that Rāma might have entered the Malayadeśa or the region near about the Malaya mountains which are the southern parts of the Western Ghats or the region of Malabar coast. The ancient Malayaparvata has been identified with the portion of the Western Ghats from the Nilgiris to Cape Comorin⁴.

The VR (3.69.5) refers to the Krauñca forest and locates it at a distance of some miles to the west and then south of Pañcavaṭī. As one proceeds further to the south the source of river Kṛṣṇā comes nearer. It is presumable that the Karṇaravā or Kroñcaravā of the PCV is the Kṛṣṇā river. Vamśagiri should be some hill in that area and Vamśapura, a town situated in the foot of the hills. But they are not identified. The ocean also falls in the vicinity and thus the Daṇḍakāraṇya is the region lying on both the sides of the Kṛṣṇā flowing from the north towards the south i.e. in the Kokan and Mahārāstra region. R.G. Bhandarkar identifies the Daṇḍaka

1. Nisunijjai Karṇaravā mahūnai tie atthi pāracaṇaṁ, maṇuyūṇa duggamaṁ ciya tarubahalaṁ Daṇḍayāraṇṇaṁ 40.13; Tattha mahāsamuddhāsanne kāūṇa ālayaṁ parivasāmo, bhaṇiyo ya Lakkhaneṇaṁ jahāṇavesi tti eveyaṁ 40.14.

2. Viñjhagirimatthae vā Malae vā sāyarassa vāsanne; Kāūṇa paiṭṭhāṇaṁ tujjha, phuḍaṁ āgamisse haṁ-31.100.

3. Bharahassa sayaladesaṁ mottūṇaṁ Malayapavvae amhe, Kāūṇa Paiṭṭhāṇaṁ niyayapuraṁ āgamissemo 33.141.

4. HGA, p.22.

forest with Mahārastra (*EHD*¹, See II), and Pargiter with the region from Bundelkhaṇḍa to the Kṛṣṇā (*JRAS*, 1894. p.241-42).

Krauñcapura is also the name of Vanavasi in north Kannara, situated on the river Barada, an affluent of the Tungabhadra (*GD*, p. 104). It is probable that Barada has been referred to as Karnaravā. Vanavasi is also in the vicinity of the sea and the Malaya region also lies in its vicinity while as regards the site discussed in the preceding paragraph the Malaya mountain remains far apart. Then the Daṇḍakāraṇya would mean the region lying to the south of the Kṛṣṇā and the north Kannara region. But in both the cases Vamśagiri called as Rāmagiri also remains unidentified.

Jyotiprasada Jain² has identified the Rāmagiri of Ugrādityā's Kalyāṇakāraka with the Ramatīrtha-parvata of the Vizagapattan district, near Vijianagaram. That hill was known as Rāmakoṇḍa (koṇḍa = giri) in ancient times. This site seems to be identical with the Rāma giri of the *PCV* on account of the vicinity of the sea and the great rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. Daṇḍakāraṇya would mean the region lying between the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. In that case Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā would be the Karnaravā and Krauñcaravā of the *PCV* both called as Mahāpāis (40.13; 42.15). The *PCV* mentions that the forest was abundantly rich with coconut trees (41.9; 42.9). These trees grow abundantly in this region. This area seems to be the plausible identification because the Vānara country or Kiṣkindhipura comes into its vicinity. It is said in the *PCV* that Vānara Lord Sugrīva while wandering in distress came to know that Kharadūṣaṇa was killed in this forest (47.1-4).

Following the death of Kharadūṣaṇa, the father of Śambūka and the kidnapping of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, Rāma is escorted to Alamkārapura (43.12) or Pātālankārapura by Virādhita (45.38). It is said to be situated to the south of Daṇḍakagiri and to the north of the Lavaṇa ocean (Indian ocean 43.10-11). Daṇḍakagiri is said to be situated in the Daṇḍaka forest (42.14). Both these places remain unidentified.

Kapidvīpa & Kiṣkindhipura:—As Rāma sojourns at Pātālankārapura, Sugrīva, the lord of Kiṣkindhipura arrives there to seek Rāma's help for retrieving his wife Tārā (47.9). Rāma goes to Kiṣkindhipura and restores Tārā to Sugrīva, after killing Sāhasagati. The *PCV* mentions that Kapidvīpa = Vānaradvīpa was ruled by Sugrīva and it

1. See also Jha, Comm. Vol. p.57.

2. *Jain Antiquary* Vol. 19. Aṅka 1; & *JSI*, p. 447; See also *Madhāsa Va Mysore Prānta ke Prācīna Jaina Smāraka*, p. 15, & *Jainism in South India*, p. 21 (P.B. DESAI).

flourished in the clove-trees (Lavaṅgagandheṇa susuyandho 6.1). Kiṣkindhipura is said to be the capital of Vānaradvīpa (6.45). It is said to be situated on the Kiṣkindhi Parvata (6.45). Pargiter identifies the Kiṣkindhya country and the hills bearing the same name with the hills near Kupal, Mudgal and Raichur¹. Kiṣkindha or Kiṣkindhipura is said to be probably situated some where near Hampi². It is identified with the modern Anagondi situated on the bank of Tungabhhdra four miles away from Hampi in the Bellary district³. D. R. Bhandarkar quotes evidences from some inscriptions of medieval period, which were found near about the region of Pampā. They are of rulers and big personages who trace their descent from Vāli, the king of Kiṣkindhi⁴. And thus the Kapadvīpa or Vānaradvīpa should be identified with the hilly region of the Kiṣkindhi mountains located near Raichur.

Sindhudeśa—From Kiṣkindhipura Lakṣmaṇa goes to Sindhudeśa ? (Sindhuddesa 48.102) and lifts up the Koṭiśīlā (Siddhaśīlā 48.108) to convince the Vānaras that he is capable of slaying Rāvaṇa as prophesied by some Muni. Thereafter Lakṣmaṇa returns to Kiṣkindhipura. Ancient Sindh has been identified with the modern Sindh⁵. But the VTK. of Jinaprabhasūri locates the place of Koṭiśīlā in Magadha. Some locate it in the Kaliṅgadeśa and some near the Daśārṇaparvata (JSI, p. 447). The *Vasudevahinī* (I. p. 348) locates it on the Sammeta-parvata. Koṭiśīlā was a particular slab of stone. It was called so because crores of munis attained nirvāṇa on this slab. Thus the place can be located somewhere on the Sammeta mountain, but it is not clear why our author calls it Sindhuddesa.

Śrīpura:—Hanumat is brought to Kiṣkindhipura from Śrīpura (Siripura), his capital town (49.1). This town must have been situated in the area adjoining the territory of Sugrīva because both Hanumat and Sugrīva are the Vānara kings.

Further there is a reference in the PCV (55.16) that the people of Kapadvīpa (Vānaradvīpa) and those of Mahendra, Mālaya and Śrīparvata hills became the allies of Rāma and fought with Rāvaṇa. Thus the Kapadvīpa, the Mahendra, Malaya and the Śrīparvata should be in the vicinity of one another. In the story of

1. HGA, p. 21.

2. Collected works of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. 3. p. 16.

3. Rāmāyaṇa Kūlīna Saṁskṛti, p. 322.

4. Ganganath Jha Comm. Vol. p. 56-57.

5. Geographical Dist. by Dey, p. 183.

Añjanāsundarī it is said that when Hanumān was a child, he fell down on the hill from a Vimāna faring in the sky and the peak of the hill was crushed to pieces, so he was named Śrīśaila (Saṃcunnio also..... *tepaṃ ciya Siriselo nāmaṃ se kayam kumārassa* 18.49). Thus the reference is to the Śrīśaila or Śrīparvata because it is further said of Śrīpura was situated on Śrīparvata (85.26) which was under the rule of Hanumat. Śrīparvata also called as Śrīśaila is located in the Karnul district near the river Kṛṣṇā¹. Thus Śrīpura must be a town situated on or in the valley of this mountain.

Hanumat is sent from Kiṣkindhipura to Laṅkā. He on his way to Laṅkā first subdues his maternal grandfather at Mahendranagara (50.1). It is said to be situated in a corner of Bhārata in the south, near the sea and in the valley of the hill Danti (15.9-10)². Dantapura was the ancient capital of Kalinga. It is identified with a place near Chicacole, which is on the eastern coast of India or the Bay of Bengal. Mehendragiri also is situated near it. Then the other Dantapura is identified with Rajmahendri situated on the Godavari, it is also not far from the sea coast³. But both the places do not fall on the route connecting Kiṣkindhipura and Laṅkā. It is also known that the ancient Mahendra mountains comprised the whole of the Eastern Ghat ranges. The *Harṣacarita* (Ch. 7) mentions that the Mahendra mountains join the Malayaparvata.⁴ There is also a Mehendragiri in the Tinneveli district of Madras⁵ and a town in its valley may be called as Mehendranagara, but then the town falls very far from Śrīpura as mentioned in the *PCV*. Our author states that Añjanāsundarī was exiled by her mother-in-law from Ādityapura. She was sent to Mahendranagara. There her father did not accept her. She entered a forest in exile and when her maternal uncle was taking her to his own town her new born child fell down on the Śrīparvata hill. Thus the account of the story requires that Śrīparvata and Mahendranagara should not be situated at a very great distance. There is a place known as Mahendravadi village three miles east-south-east of the Sholinghur railway station on the line from Arkonam junction to Arkot⁶. This place is situated on the coastal land. It falls very well on the route joining Kiṣkindhipura

1. *HGAI*, p. 189; *VGA*, p. 91, 217.

2. Bhārahavarisante.....dāhiṇapāsammī sāyarāsṛṅge Dantīnūma mahīharo.

3. *HGAI*, p. 149.

4. *Ibid*, p. 172.

5. *Ibid*, p. 22.

6. *Ibid*, p. 172 ; See *EI*, Vol. IV. p. 152.

and Laṅkā, Śrīparvata is not very very far from this place. It is situated in the south also. Thus Mahendranagara can be identified with Mahendravadi (Mahendrapura).

Laṅkāpurī.—From Mahendranagara. Hanumat reaches Laṅkā-purī (53.1). He accomplishes his mission and returns to Kiṣkindhi-pura (54.1). There are references which establish that Laṅkā was situated in the sea. It is said that Rāma along with the army of the Vānaras reached Laṅkā which was situated in the middle of the sea (sāgaravarassa majjhe 54.44). Sītā also asks Hanumat as to how he could reach her after crossing the waters (laṅgheūṇa jalaṇihi 53.25) and so on (rayaṇāyaram samuttarium 53.51; sāyaravaram uttariūṇam 63.4; uttariūṇam imam salilanāham 63.8). Rāvaṇa is said to have crossed the sea while returning to Laṅkā after defeating Lord Yama. The sea has been described in 6 verses with its surging waves (8.257-263)¹. At the time of narrating the origin of the Rākṣasa Vamśa it is said that Vidyādhara Meghavāhana was made the first Lord of the Rākṣasadvīpa which was situated in the sea (sāyaravare 5.126). That 'dvīpa' had in its middle the Trikūṭa hill and Laṅkāpurī was situated in the valley of that hill (5.127-129). The *Uttarapurāṇa* (68.254-256, 294, 501, 509, & 724), the *Mahāpurāṇa* (69.2; 73.6, 12; 74.2, 7; 77.5), the *TSP* (IV. p. 245, 273; I. p. 165) and the *RPS* (Ch. 3 p. 16) give us the same account. The *PCV* farther mentions that Laṅkā abounded in trees of coconut and areca catechu (53.79). Therefore the present island of Ceylon can be identified with the Rākṣasadvīpa, Laṅkāpurī with a town in it and the Trikūṭa hill with a hill in it. It is believed by some that Trikūṭa is identical with the present Mantotte in Ceylon².

Rāma, before reaching Laṅkāpurī, is said to have defeated king Samudra of Velandharapura (also called Suvelapura 54.43) situated in the valley of Velandharaparvata (54.39). Both these places seem to be situated on the southern coast of India, opposite Ceylon. Further Rāma reaches Hamsadvīpa and camps there before attacking Laṅkāpurī (54.45). Hamsadvīpa is said to be situated near Laṅkāpurī.

Allies of Rāma.—Various peoples (55.16-17) are said to have made alliance with Rāma to fight against Rāvaṇa. They are as follows :—

"Kaidivavāsiṇo bahave māhindamalayatirā siripavvaya-
hapuruhāiyā//

Keligilā ya rayaṇā taha ya velandharā ya nahatilayā sajjhārāyā
ya tahā dahamuha-dīvā sayā ceva"//

1. See also 19. 14, 20.

2. *GD*, p. 113.

Kaidivavāsiṇo = *Kapidvīpavāsiṇaḥ* :—The people of the *Kapidvīpa* can be identified as the *Kapidvīpavāsiṇaḥ*.

Māhindatīrā :—The people occupying the coastal land along the Mahendra mountains should be the *Mahendratīras*. The Mahendra mountains are identified with the eastern Ghats (See supra).

Malayatīrā :—The people occupying the coast along the Malaya mountain are called *Malayatīras*. The Malaya mountains are the southern parts of the Western Ghats south of the river Kaveri (*GD*, p. 122) i.e. Kerala costal land (see Supra).

Siripavayā = *Śrīparvatīyas* :—The *Śrīparvatīyas* are the historical people. They were the *Ikṣvākus* of the south *Āndhradeśa*, whose capital was *Vijayapura* in the *Nāgarjunīkoṇḍa* hills. *Śrīparvata* overhangs the river Krishna in the Kurnool district. The people of this region are called *Śrīparvatīyas* (see supra).

Hanuruhā or the people of *Hanuruhapura* :—It is said to be a town reigned by the maternal uncle of *Añjanāsundarī*, mother of *Hanumat* (17.121). When *Añjanāsundarī* was exiled from her father-in-law's and father's houses, she left Mahendranagara and wandered in a forest. By chance her maternal uncle, *Pratisūrya* saw her there and took her to Hanuruhanagara. Her son was brought up there and so was named Hanu (18. 51). Hanu's other name was *Śrīśaila*. He became the ruler of *Śrīpura*. *Hanumat* was a *Vānara*. *Sugrīva* also was a *Vānara*. All these facts indicate that these places lay near one another. *Brahmacārī Śītalaprasādji* regards *Honavar* situated at a distance of two miles from the bank of *Jarasappa* or *Siravati* in the north Kannara, as the *Hanuruhadvīpa* of the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa* of Pampa¹. It lies in the vicinity of *Vānaradvīpa* of *Sugrīva*, therefore it can be identified with *Hanuruhapura* of the *PCV*. The people of this place were called as *Hanuruhas* in the *PCV*.

Kelīgīlā = the *Kelīkilas* (*PCR*, 55. 29) :—They should be *Kilakilas*. The *Kilakilas* or the *Vindhyakas* are held to be the ancestors of the *Vākāṭakas* (*EDAD*, p. 39). It is held that under the Imperial Andhras there were five dynasties in their empire in the *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. The *Purāṇas* mention the duration and the succession of such dynasties that came down to the next Puranic epoch and the rise of the *Kilakilas* or the *Vindhyakas* (*EDAD*, p. 16). The *DKA* (p. 48) states that according to the *Purāṇas*, (*Vākātaka*) *Vindhyaśakti* (225-275 A. D.) came into power after *Kilakila* kings (vide *VGA*, p. 89). Thus it is clear that *Kilakilas*

1. *Bambai Prānta ke Prācīna Jaina Smāraka*, p. 139 (1925 ed.)

were some historical people and they might have ruled in the south before the first quarter of the 3rd cent. A. D. The Ratnas, the Velandharas, the Nabhatilakas¹, the Sajjhārayā=Sandhyārāgas or Sandhyākaras and the Dahamuhadvipās are the people named after the places to which they belonged. They are unidentified and may be probably mythological names. (see *infra* for these places).

Back to Ayodha:

Mathurā:—Rāma kills Rāvaṇa and in due course returns to Sāketa-purī from Laṅkā. He declares Śatrughna as the king of Mathurā (86.3). Śatrughna defeats Madhu, son-in-law of Rāvaṇa, kills his son Lavaṇa and occupies Mathurā. It was the ancient capital of Sūrasena and is identified with the present Mathurā, situated on the bank of Jamuna in the Agra division².

Ratnapura:—(No. 1):—After the occupation of Mathurā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa marry Śrīdāmā and Manoramā respectively, the daughters of Vidyādhara king Ratnaratha of Ratnapura (Rayaṇapura 90.1). It is said to be situated on the southern Vijayārdha mountains. Vānara king Kiṣkindhī of Kiṣkindhipura is said to have married his daughter Sūrakantā to a prince of Ratnapura (6.216). In the *Kuvalayamālā* also it is referred to as if it was situated in the Vindhya system to the south of Narmadā river (p. 196). The *GD* (p. 168) mentions on the basis of Jaimini Bharata (Ch. 41) that it was perhaps the capital of Mayurdhvaja and his son Tamradhvaja who fought with Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa. It can be identified with Ratnapur 16 miles north of Bilasapur in the district of Bilasapur in Madhya Pradesh³.

Then Lakṣmaṇa is said to have conquered various Vidyādhara kings of the southern Vijayardha mountain. The places mentioned are—Kañcanapura (91.3), Gandhārapura (91.6) Sīhapura (91.6) and many others.

Kañcanapura:—The *PCV* also mentions it as Kañcanapura (94.4). The *PCV* states that it was the birth place of Vidyādhara Kubera (7.45) who was appointed as the Lokapāla of the northern division of Bhārata. Kanakaratha, the Khecara lord of this place is said to have married his two daughters, namely, Mandākinī and Candramukhī to Lavaṇa and Ankuśa respectively (106.1-9). Kañcanapura is also called as Kanakapur (106.3). Mālyavat, one of the ancestors of Rāvaṇa is said to have married a princess of Kanakapura (6.241). Kanakapura

1. The Nābhakānanas are mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* as the people of the South, (*Tr*, p. 337).

2. *HGAI*, p. 107.

3. *HGAI*, p. 327.

is said to be situated on the southern Vijayārdha mountains (15.20). A prince of this town was proposed as the bridegroom for Añjanāsundarī before her marriage with Pavanañjaya. Thus it was a place under the rule of Vidyādhara kings. There is one village Kanakavalli which belongs to Pangalanāḍu, a division of Paḍuvur-Kottam in Jayankonḍa-colamaṇḍalam¹. Ancient Kanakagiri or Hemagrāma (Meleura) is said to be a famous place of pilgrimage for the Jains in old days, situated in Camaraj nagara district of Mysore². But these places stand far away from the Vijayardha or the Vindhya. Ancient Kañcanapura as the metropolis of Kalinga³ is identified with modern Bhuvaneshwar. It lies on the southern side of the Vindhya region as described in the *PCV*, hence our Kañcanapura can be taken as Bhuvaneshwar.

Gandhārapura :—Gandhāra is identified with a place near Broach. In ancient history it is known as a coastal port⁴. As it falls south of the Vindhya hence it can be taken as the ancient Gandhārapura.

Siṃhapura :—It can be identified with Singupuram situated between Chicacole and Narasannapeta⁵.

Gāṅgā :—In the course of time Rāma exiles Sītā. The General of Rām's army takes her in a chariot, traverses the forest, crosses the river Ganges (Jaṇhavi 94.47) and abandons her in the Siṃhanināda forest i. e. a place, terrifying owing to the roar of lions therein (94.28). Gāṅgā is the modern Ganges of the northern plains.

Puṇḍarikapura :—Vajrajaṅgha, the king of Pondariyapura (94.103) or *Puṇḍariyapura* (95.10) who happens to pass by that way on an expedition to capture elephants sees Sītā. He takes her to his city and looks after her, as her brother. As the reference goes it should lie to the south of the Ganges. The *GD* (p.147) identifies one Pāṇḍerupur or Paṇḍharpur on the southern bank of the river Bhīmā in the district of Satara in Bombay province and states that Pāṇḍupura is a corruption of Puṇḍarikapura. It was visited by Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī. But it seems to be very far from the situation mentioned in the *PCV*. Pargiter identifies the Puṇḍra country

1. *HAI*, p. 159.

2. *JSI*, p. 460.

3. *LAI*, p. 293.

4. *JSI*, p. 475. & *Gujarātī par Arabī Fārasīnī Asar*, Pt. I. pp. 128, 149 by Chotabhai Naik.

5. *HAI*, p. 260; *VGA*, p. 71.

with the modern Chotaragpur (*Mār. Pu, Tr.* p. 329). Puṇḍariyapura might probably be the capital of this country.

Pṛthvīpura :—In due course Sītā gives birth to Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa at Puṇḍariyapura. Lavaṇa marries the daughter of Vajrajaṅghā and Aṅkuśa marries the daughter of king Pṛthu of Pṛthvīpura (Puṇḍariyapura 98.4). It is unidentified.

(2) *Place and People Conquered by Lavaṇa & Aṅkuśa.*

After their marriage, Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa, make a war-campaign and bring about many countries under their subjugation. Generally the countries denote the names of ancient peoples or tribes (98.57-68). They are not mentioned systematically in accordance with their geographical location. It is to be borne in mind that the author is mentioning the names of the ancient countries by his memory and so all of them are not to be always strictly regarded as existing during his time.

Both the brothers first conquer Ālokanagara (Lokākṣanagara *PCR*, 101.69), and Abhyarṇapura (*PCR*, 101.70). They are unidentified.

Further they conquer Lampāgadesa (Lampāka). The region of the Lampākas is identified with modern Lamghan, north-east of Kabul and south of the Hindukush in modern Kāfiristan. (*TAI*, p. 152). Further they conquer the following peoples and places.

Vijayasthali Mahānagarī (98.60) :—The *Mār. Pu.* (Tr. p. 411) mentions a town, Vijaya situated in Kāmarupa i.e. west Assam. Proceeding further they cross the Ganges and go to the north of Kailāśa. Kailāśa is the modern Kailāśa mountain situated about 25 miles north of Mānasarovara, in the country of Tibet (*HGAI*, p. 67). It is also named as Aṣṭāpada mountain (9.33;9.57). Further Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa are said to have conquered the following countries:—

(Jhasakamvukuntasīhalapaṇaṇandaṇasalahamaṅgalābhīmā bhūyā ya vāmaṇā vi ya jiyā bahuvaīyādesā 98.62).

Jhaṣa & Kamvu :—In the *Mahābhārata* the Yakhā and the Khambu tribes are called Kirātas¹. The Jhasas and the Kamvus of the *PCV* are probably the above people.

Kunta :—The *Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (55.46) mentions Kunta as a hilly region. The *Varāṅgacarita* (16.33) mentions the Kuntas along with the people of Kashmir. Thus their location falls near Kashmira. The

1. *GESM*, p. 84, see *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr. p. 322.

PCR mentions it as Kuntala (101.77). In that case the Kuntaladeśa is well-known as the region including southern part of previous Bombay State and northern part of Mysore (*TAI*, p. 176). But the *PCR* also locates it in the north of the Ganges and the Kailāśa. The *Varāṅgacarita* supports it but the country or the people of that name remain unidentified in that north region. However the Kunti Janapada referred to in the *MB* is identified with Kontavara or Gwalior *Bha. Sa.* p. 140).

Sihala = Simhala or the Simhalas:—It is identified with modern Ceylon, southern most island of Indian peninsula (*GE*, I, p. 5; *VGA*, p. 137). But the *PCV* has often referred to the Rākṣasadvīpa and its capital city as Laṅkā which has been identified with Ceylon. *Sihala* of the *RCV* seems to be lying in the northern most region of India. The *JP* (52. p. 217 & 56. p. 213) and *Āva. Cū* (p. 191) mention that Bharata conquered Simhala, Babbara, Cilāyaloka, Javanadvīpa and Arabaka etc. Thus these references also locate *Sihala* in the northern region. On the basis of *Sāktisangama Tantra* (3.7.49) Dr D.C. Sirkar puts *Simhala* in the Punjab-Rajasthan region and thinks that it may be the kingdom of Simhapur in the Jhelum district¹.

Paṇḍanandaṇa (Nandinandana *PCR*, 101.77) or the Pranandanas :—The Ānandas of the *Mārakaṇḍeyapurāṇa* are taken as Nandas and are located on the bank of river Nandā. mentioned as situated in north between the Ganges and Kosi (*Tr.* p. 383, see p. 412 also).

Salaha or the Śalabhas:—Our work puts the Śalabhas in the north. They are unidentified.

The Maṅgalas:—Wilford identifies Maṅgalapura with Mangora or Manglora. It was situated on the left bank of the Swāt river (*GD*, p. 125).

The Bhīmas—The *Purāṇas* also mention the Bhīmas². Bhīmasthāna of the *MB* (*Vana. Ch.* 82) is identified with Takhtibhai, 28 miles to the north east of Peshawar (*GD*, p. 33).

The Bhuyas = Bhūṭas or the Bhauṭas:—Bhutan or Bhutasthan is identified with a place in the Palai valley close to the southern fort of Shahkot pass leading to Swat. It was a large important Buddhist site. The area appears to have been a stronghold of the Bhutas or Bhauttas. They have been mentioned by Daṇḍin and Vāgbhaṭa as

1. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient & Medieval India* by Dr. D. C. Sircar, p. 103.

2. *Ibid.* p. 62.

speaking the Paisācī dialect¹. Pargiter also takes the Bhutas as a north-western border tribe². Then the people of modern Bhutana are still called as the Bhoṭiyas or Bhoṭas

Vāmaṇā or the Vāmanas—The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (55.35) refers to the Vāmanas. They are identified with the Vānavas of the *MB* and their place is located in the north-west. It is presumed to be Bunnū in the north-west of the Punjab (*Mār. Pu*, Tr. p. 372).

Sindhu:—Thereafter Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa cross the river *Sindhu* and conquer various countries of the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. *Sindhu* is the river Indus emptying into the Arabian sea.

Thereafter the countries conquered by them are named as “*Āhīravoyajavaṇā kaccā sagakīralā ya nemālā varulā ya cāruvacchī varāvaḍā ceva sopārā*”:

Āhīrava=the Ābhīras:—The region of the Ābhīras have been located at different places by different works. They are located in Saurashtra, western Rajputana, and Dakṣiṇāpatha (*TAI*, p. 79-81). They also formed independent dynasty after wresting portions of Mahārāstra from the Sātavāhanas (*TAI*, p. 80). A settlement in central India between Bhilsa and Jhansi was called *Āhīrawārā* (*VGA*, p. 131).

Yavana=the *Yavanas*:—They have been mentioned along with the Ābhīras, the Kacchas and the Śakas. Therefore their area should have been in the western part. A Yavana king has been referred to as the ally of the king Ativīrya of Nandīyāvartapura, who attacked Bharata (37.10). The *Purāṇas* refer to the Śakas, the Yavanas and the Tuṣāras ruling in the north west during the early centuries of the Christian era (*VGA*, p. 12). The Khārvela Inscription refers to a Yavana king of Mathurā. Kālidāsa refers to a Yavana ruler of the southern bank of *Sindhu* (*TAI*, p. 157; *IK*, p. 117).

Kaccha=the *Kacchavāsins*:—Kaccha has been identified with the lowlands of Kaccha, the swampy lands (*CAGI*, p. 348) lying in the west (Pāṇini 4.2.133) in Gujarat (modern Cutch-GD, p. 82).

Saga=the *Śakas*:—The Śakas were the Scythians. Their ancestral land lay to the east of Sogdians and according to some, to the east of the Caspian sea (*GD*, p. 172). In the first century their settlements sprang up at Takṣaśīla, Mathurā and Ujjayanī (*IP*, p. 78).

1. *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 7, Dec. 1941, p. 44.

2. *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 290, 711.

They as Kṣatrapas ruled west India for a very long time up to the end of the 4th century A.D. (VGA, Ch. 3).

Kīralā = the Keralas (Keralā. PCR, 101.81):—The Aśoka RE. II & III mention them as Ketalaputas who were outside the boundaries of the territory of Aśoka. Keralas are located to the south along with the Colas and the Pandyas. Cera or Kerala territory comprised Travancore, Cochin and Malabar districts (CHI, I. p. 585) nearly the modern Kerala.

Nemāla, *Nevāla* (*Newāra*) (99.55) = *Nepāla* (PCR, 102.156):—Nepala is the modern Nepala, a trans-Himalayan state (HGAI, p. 113). The Newāras are considered to be the people closely associated with the origin of the word Nepāla¹. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Nepala is mentioned as an autonomous frontier state.

Varulā?:—Varaṇā or Varuṇā was one of the twenty-five and a half Aryan countries with Accha as its capital. Varaṇā was known by the name of Uccānagara which is identified with modern Bulandashahara in UP. (LAI, p. 352; VGA, p. 192). Presumably Varulā and Varuṇā are identical.

Cāruvacchī = *Cāruvatsīyā*? :—The *Purāṇas* refer to the Vatsīyas². If 'cāri' be taken as an adjective it can be the Vatsa country with its capital at Kośāmbī i.e. Kosam situated on the Jamuna river (CAGI, p. 448f). The country lay to the south of Jamuna. In the Jaina canonical literature Accha and Vacca are referred to as Aryan countries. Acca is identified with the region about Bulandshahara and Vacca the capital of which was Verāḍa is taken to be as Matsya country, i.e. modern Alwar and Jaipur region (LAI, p. 254).

Varāvaḍā?:—It is unidentified. If Varāvaḍā and Vairāḍa be the same then Vairāṭanagara is just near Jaipur. It was the capital of Matsya country or Virāṭa country (HGAI, p. 333). If Verawal, then ancient Somnathadeva Pattana in Kathiawar can be identified with it. If it is Vallavāḍa then it is identified with Vaḷayavāḍa or Vaḷavāḍa the site of present Rādhānagarī about 27 miles to south west of Kolhapura (HGAI, p. 301).

Sopāra = *Sūrpāraka* :—Soparaka town is mentioned as being situated in the Konkandesh (VH, I. p. 284), on the seacoast (*Uttarā. Tikā*, 4., p. 78). It is identified with Sopāra in the Thana district of Bombay and the region situated near Prabhasa included the country around the mouth of the Narmada (TAI, p. 354).

1. D.R. Regmi—*Ancient & Medieval Nepal*, p. 4f.

2. SGAM. I. p. 33.

Then they conquer "Kasamīravisāṇā vi ya vijjā tisira hiḍimba-yambatthā, Sūlā vavvaramālā gosālā saramayā savarā".

Kasamīra = *Kāśmīra*:—It lies to the north of the Punjab (*HGAI*, p. 97).

Visāṇā = *Vīśāṇa* (*PCR*, 101. 82):—The *JPS* refers to the *Vesāṇigas* as residing in the *dvīpas* of *Lavaṇasamudra* (10. 53; 11. 51). It is unidentified.

Vijjā = *Vaidyas* (*PCR*, 101. 82):—They are unidentified.

Tisira = the *Tuśāras*?:—They have been mentioned as the people of the north (*Mār. Pu*, 57. 39; *Vā. Pu*, 14. 118). They have been identified with Tochari tribe and are located to the north of the Hindukush mountain (*TAI*, p. 396). They played an important part in the history of Kashmir upto the ninth and tenth centuries (*TAI*, p. 397).

Hiḍimba:—The *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*¹ mentions the *Hiḍimba* river of the *Pāścimadeśa*. The river has tentatively been identified with the *Cambal* on the evidence of *Hiḍimbavana* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.² Perhaps the people of this region were called the *Hiḍimbas*.

Ambatthā = the *Ambasthas*:—Ptolemy speaks of a tribe called *Ambastai* who occupied the east region of the Hindukush mountain (*TAI*, p. 97) while *Pargiter* locates the *Ambasthas* in between *Ambala* and *Sutlez* (*LAI*, p. 358).

Sulā = the *Sūlikas* or *Cūlikas*?:—They are probably the *Cūlikas* of the *Purāṇas*. They have been identified with the people of *Oxus* in *Turkistan* (*TAI*, p. 385). They spoke *Cūlikā Paisāci* and *Su-lig* was a well-known ancient name of *Kashgara*.³

Vavvaramālā = The *Barbaras*:—The *Vavvaras* have also been mentioned as the allies of *Lavaṇa* and *Aṅkuśa* when they fought against *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa* (99. 55). According to the *Mahābhārata* they seem to be the people of northern country. The *Bṛhatasamhitā* refers to them as the people of north or north-west (*TAI*, p. 92). The country of the *Barbaras* was in the north-west frontier of *India* and it stretched up to the *Arabian sea* (*CAGI*, p. 693). Now in the *PCV* itself there is a reference to the people called *Ardhabarbaras* and *Mlecchas* who attacked the territory of *Janaka*. They are located to the north of the *Kailāśa*. Further the *PCV* tells that various

1. Pandit Kedarnath Sharma (1954), p. 227.

2. Ibid. p. 229.

3. Nagpur University Journal, No. 7, Dec. 1941, p. 44f; See *JA*, Vol. 3, No. 4. p. 107.

other countries adjoining them were the Kamboya (Kamboja), Suya (Śuka), Kavoya (Kapota) which were infested with the Savaras (27.5-7). They are again called as Vavvaras (Barbaras 27.26). They were flat-nosed (civīdanāsā 27.32). The horde of those peoples has been called as Cilāyaseṇṇa (27.8). Thus it is clear that these peoples are referred to as barbarians. They were the Kirātas (Cilātas), and the Śabaras whose habitations have been named as Kamboja, Śuka and Kapota.

Kamboja = the Kambojas :—The *Mahābhārata* locates them along with the Gandhāras and the Barbaras in the Uttarāpatha (XII. 207.43). In the *Raghuvamśa*, Raghu meets them after defeating the Hupās on the bank of Vanīkṣu (IV. 69f). Kalhaṇa puts them in the north of Kashmir (*Rajatar*, IV. 163-176). On the evidence of the *Raghuvamśa*, B. S. Upadhyaya locates them in the north-east of Kāśmīra (*IK*, p. 61) in the Ghalcha speaking areas of Pamir.

Suya = Suka or Śaka ? :—They are not identified.

Kavoya = Kapota = Kapiśā ? :—Pāṇini refers to Kapiśā along with Gandhāra and Balhika (IV. 1.175). Kapiśā has been identified with the region next to Gandhāra coinciding with modern Kafiristan and occupying the whole area between the river Kunar and the Hindu-kush. The Rohitagiri separated Kapiśā from Bālhika (*IP*, p. 48).

Kirātas :—The Nepalese tradition still gives the name Kirāta to a region of their country (*TAI*, p. 283). On the basis of evidences from *Mahābhārata* the Kirāta region is said to be lying from Nepal to Assam (*Bhārata Savitri*, p. 135). The Kiratas of the *Raghuvamśa* have been identified with the Tibetans or Tibeto-Burmese of Ladakh, Zankar and Rupsu. In the Indian literature they have been placed along the Himalayan entire range mostly in the Brahmaputra valley (*IK*, p. 62). Similarly the *PCV* calls them as trans-Himalayan people.

Savaras = Śabaras :—In the Indian literature the Śabaras have been mentioned as the people of south, infesting the forest region (*TAI*, p. 172). But *PCV* mentions them as trans-Himalayan people.

Thus the Barbaras or the Ardha-Barbaras of the *PCV* are the wild tribes, also called as Mlecchas and they were the trans-Himalayan people.

Mālā :—According to the *MB* (*Sabhā*. 29) it was situated to the east of Videha and north-west of Magadha and on the north of the Ganges (*GD*, p. 121, see *Mār. Pu*, Tr. p. 330).

Gosālā = Gaśālā (*PCR*, 101.82) :—Govasana referred to in the *MB* is said to be the Śibi country (*Bhā. Sā*, p. 135). Can the Gosālās be identified with the Govasanas ?

Saramayā:—They are unidentified.

Further they subjugate “*Āṇandā tisirā vi ya khasā taha ceva honti mehalayā/ Sūrasenā palhiyā khandhārā kolaulugā ya/*” (98.66).

Āṇandā = the Ānandas:—They have been referred to as the allies of Rāvaṇa also when he is attacked by Rāma (55.55). On the occasion of the war campaign of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa the Ānandas are mentioned along with the Trisiras, the Khasas, Mekhalakas etc. Ānandas as a people have been mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and they are assumed to be occupying the region of the lower Kṛṣṇa river (*EDAD*, p. 328). Historically the Ānanda dynasty is known to have ruled in the southern Āndhradeśa. The Ānanda dynasty succeeded the Bṛhatphalayanās (*EDAD*, p. 215). They rose in southern Andhra country and dislodged the Pallavas in c.300 A.D. Damodarvarman (295-315 A.D.) was the first king of Ānanda dynasty but probably he was preceded by several kings (*EDAD*, p. 233; 336). The three kings Kandara, Ativarman and Damodar varman are assigned to the Ānanda dynasty of the Guntur region and on their prakrit names it is suggested that they belonged to a period not later than the middle of the fourth century, A.D. (*VGA*, p.64-65).

Khasā = the Khasas:—Mr. Stein identifies them with the Khakha tribe to which belonged most of the petty chiefs of the Vitasta valley below Kashmira and in the neighbouring hills¹. B.C. Law locates them in the Tibet on the evidences of *Mahābhārata*² and some locate them on the bank of the Shailoda river near Pamira (*Bhā. Śā*, p.154).

Mehalayā = the Mekhalas = Mekalas:—In ancient times the Amarakaṇṭaka range was called Mekala, whence the name of the tribe is derived. The Mekalas were a small tribe inhabiting the tract of country comprising the modern Amarakaṇṭaka, which is a part of the Vindhya (*TAI*, p.374).

Sūrasenā = Saurasēnas:—Sūrasena was a Janapada with its capital at Mathurā-north *VH*, I. p. 232). According to the *VR*, Śūrasena was a son of Śatrughna, after whom the territory was known as Śaurasena (*CAGI*, p.706). The country is identified with the region west of the Jamuna river (*BI*, p.27) or the district of Mathurā and the region still further south (*CHI*, I.p. 316).

1. *Rājatarāṅginī* (Tr.) II, p.430.

2. *TAI*, p.400.

Palhiyā = the Bāhikas:—They are called Anaryas (*VG*, 8.3) and are associated with the people of the north (*VR*, 4.44.13). Their country is located between the Bias and the Sutlej, north of Kekaya (*GD*, p.19).

Khandhārā = the Gandhāras:—The Gandhāra country is identified with the modern Kandhar comprising the districts of East Afganistan and the north-west Punjab (*BI*, p.28). The country comprised of the district of Peshawar and Rawalpindi (*GD*, p.60f).

Kola = the Kolas:—The Kols, a collection of aboriginal tribes are said to have dwelt in Bihar in ancient times and now they inhabit the mountainous districts of Chhotanagpur, Orisa and Madhya Pradesh (*Mār. Pu*, Tr. p. 365).

Ulugā = *Ulukā*:—The Ulukas of *MB* are located by Pargiter in the Nepal (*Mār. Pu*, Tr. p. 346).

Further they are mentioned to have conquered “Purikoberā kuharā andhā ya tahā kaliṅgamāiyā, countries (98.67).

Purikoberā = the Purikauberas?:—On the basis of the reference in the *Harivāṃsapurāṇa* to the city of Purikā in the kingdom of Māhiṣmatī B.C. Law calls it probably a city of the Paurikas (*TAI*, p. 383). Our Paurikauberas are perhaps the same people.

Kuharā = the Koharas:—The town Kahrur is known to ancient India. It was on the bank of the old Beas river, 50 miles to the south-east of Multan and 20 miles to the north-east of Bahawalpur (*CAGI*, p. 277). Then in the *Purāṇas* the river Kabul is mentioned as Kuhū and in the *R̥gveda* as Kubhā (*GEI*, p. 89). Ptolemy includes the Kirrhadaī among the tribes of Sogdiana (*TAI*, p. 282). The word Kuhara of the *PCV* has similarity with the above mentioned names, but the people of that name remains unidentified.

Andhā = the Āndhras:—V.A. Smith regards them as the Dravidian people and progenitors of modern Telugu people, inhabitants of the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna (*Ind. Ant.*, 1913 p. 276f). They are also called as a Vindhyan tribe who extended its political power from the west to the east down the valleys of the Krishna and the Godavari. The Sātavāhanas are called Andhras or Āndhrabhṛtyas by the *Purāṇas* and it is well-known that they ruled over the whole of Āndhradeśa (*TAI*, p. 164). Huen Tsang's accounts locate the Āndhradeśa in the region of the deltas of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godavari (*Ind. Ant.*, 1877, p. 339).

Kaliṅgā = the Kaliṅgas:—Aśoka conquered the Kaliṅgadeśa and annexed it to his country (*RE*). King Khārvela was the ruler of Kaliṅga-

deśa (Hāthīgumphā Insp.). The *Raghuvamśa* (4.38) puts it on the eastern coast of India and mentions Utkala as a separate adjoining country. The Godavari formed its southern boundary and the Gaolia branch of the Indravati as its northern boundary (*IK*, p. 52).

The *PCV* further mentions some countries or the people who were the allies of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa in their battle with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (99.55). They are said to be

“Kālāṇalāmsucūḍā gavaṅganevālavavvarā puṇḍā/
Māgahayapārasaulā kālīṅgā sihalā ya tahā”//.

Kālāṇalā = *Kālānalā* or the Kālas and the Nalas :—Both these tribes are mentioned together in the *Purāṇas* as *Nalakālikā*¹. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Venk. Press 54.35) refers to the Kālatoyakas as a people of the Godavari region in the Aparāntadeśa. Except some similarity in names there is nothing definite material for identification of the Kālānalas. *Nalakālikā* of the *Bra. Pu.* (Ch. 49) and *Nalakāṇna* of the *MB* (*Bhīṣma*, 9) is said to be probably Nelcynda identified with Nileśvaram on the Malabar coast (*GD*, p. 139). Or the Nalas may be the historical people who ruled during the 5th century A. D. (*VGA*, p. 107f.).

Aṃsucūḍā = *Cūḍā* = *Cūlā*:—See Supra under *Sūlā*.

Vaṅga:—Pargiter identifies the country of Vaṅga with the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Rajshahi, Pabna and Faridpur. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* places it in the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (*IK*, p. 51). It was the ancient name of Bengal.

For Aṅga, Nevāla, Vavvara, Puṇḍa, Magaha, Kālīṅga and Sihala see supra and infra.

Pārasulā = the *Pārasakūlas* = *Pārasā'ailas* (*PCR*, 102.156):—Modern Persia is referred to as *Pārasakūla* in the ancient literature. The *Pārasā'ailas* can be identified with the people of modern Persia called as *Pārasa* in ancient literature (*LAI*, p. 320).

Kāñcananagara:—Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa after having been accepted by Rāma marry Mandākinī and Candramukhī, the princesses of Kāñcananagara (106.1) (See Supra. Kāñcanapura).

Syandanasthālī:—Rāma as a monk is said to have moved to Syandanasthālī called as Mahāpurī (115.1; *PCR* = Nandasthalipurī 120.2). The river Syandikā is identified with the Sai river which flows between the Ganges and the Gomati on the southern boundary of the

1. *SGAM*, I. p. 31.

Koshaladesh (*RKSj* p. 312). Syananadasthali may be probably a place situated on its bank.

(3) *Places associated with the great persons of the Jaina Faith.*

The places which have been already identified in the preceding section are only mentioned here. Others are identified.

Sāketa, Kośala, Prathamapuri or Ayodhyā:—It was the birth place of Tīrthaṅkara Rṣabha (20.27); Ajita (20.28); Abhinandana (20.30); Sumati (20.31), Ananta (20.44), Ara (20.44) and the capital of Cakravartin Bharata (4.54) and Sagara's (20.109) territories.

Aṣṭāpada:—Rṣabha attained 'Nirvāna' on this mountain (20.51). It is called as Kāilāsa also (9.53: 9.57). Sixty thousand sons of Cakravartī Sagara were burnt to ashes on this mountain, when they dug a ditch around it to fill it up with the waters of the Ganges to protect the Jina shrines situated on this mountain (5.169). Daśamukha raised the peak of this mountain to disturb the meditation of Muni Vāli. Thereupon he suffered discomfiture at the hands of Vāli and he made an alarm of terror so he was known as Rāvapa (9.78).

Śrāvastī:—It was the birth place of Tīrthaṅkara Sambhava (20.29), Cakravartin Maghavā (20.111) and Subhūma (20.139). It is identified with modern Sahelḥ Mahelḥ in U. P. on the bank of the Rapti (*CAGI*, p. 469).

Kośambī:—It was the birth place of Jina Padmaprabha (20.32). It is said to be situated near the river Jamuna (55.38). It is identified with Kosam situated on the Jamuna about 30 miles south-west of Allahabad (*HGAI*, p. 100). It was the ancient capital of the Vatsa country.

Kāśīpura:—It was the birth Place of Tīrthaṅkara Supārśva (20.33). It is the famous holy place in U. P. situated on the northern bank of the Ganges. It is the same as (Vanārasī) Vārānaśī (*HGAI*, p. 94).

Candrapuri:—It was the birth place of Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha (20. 34). It is the same as Śrāvastī (*HGAI*, p. 125).

Kakandī:—It was the birth place of Jina Puṣpadanta (20.35). The king of this place ran away secretly to Vāṇārasī and took shelter there when his minister burnt his palace and troubled him (104. 2-21). The *PTSg.* (I. p. 25) locates it presumably 25 krośas to the east of Gorakhpura. Some identify it with Kakan in Monghyr district (*LAI*, p. 291).

Bhaddilapura (Bhadrikā PCR, 20.46):—It was the birth place of Jina Śīṭala (20.36). It is identified with Bhadia, a village from Hunterganj in the Hazaribag district (LAI, p. 272 & PTSg, I, 28).

Siṃhapura:—It was the birth place of Jina Śreyāṃsa (20.37). The PTSg, I, 4, locates it near Benaras, called Siṃhapurī. Some locate it probably in Saurāṣṭra (JASG, p. 201).

Campā:—It was the place of birth and emancipation of Jina Vāsupūjya (20.38). The Harivaṃśa originated here (21.6). It was the ancient capital of the Aṅga country. Kūṇika, the son of Śreṇika made it the capital of Magadha. It was situated at a distance of about four miles to the west of Bhagalpur in Bihar (HGAI, p. 215).

Kampilla=Kāmpilyapura:—It was the birth place of Jina Vimāla (20.39), Cakravartin Hariṣeṇa and Brahmadatta (20.150, 158).

Ratnapura (No. 2):—It was the birth place of Jina Dharma (20.41). The PTSg (Int. p. 37 and p. 95) identifies it with Runai in Oudh.

Nāgapura:—It was the birth place of Jina Śānti (20.42) and Kunthu (20.43), Cakravartin Mahāpadma (20.143) and Sanatkumāra (20.124). It is called as *Gajapura* and Kuñjarapura (95.34) also. It was the ancient capital of the Kurus, situated on the Ganges in the Meerut district (HGAI, p. 81), 22 miles to the north-east of Meerut (IK, p. 71).

Mithilāpurī:—It was the birth place of Jina Malli (20.45), Nami (20.47) and Keśava (Vāsudeva) Datta (20.180).

Kuśāgrapura:—It was the birth place of Jina Munisuvratanaṭha (20.46). It is also called as Kusumānagara (95.35)¹.

Sorivapur (Sauripura):—It was the birth place of Jina Nemi (20.48). Some identify it with Mathura (HGAI, p. 122), some with Sūryapura or Sūrajapura situated near Baṭeśvara, in Agra district, on the right bank of the Jumna river (LAI, p. 337; PTSg, I, p. 38).

Ūrjavanta:—It was the place where Jina Nemi attained emancipation (20.48, 51). It is identified with the Girnar hills near Junāgarh (HGAI, p. 300).

Vaṇarasi:—It was the birth place of Jina Pārśva (20.48). It is the same as Kāśīpura. It derives its name from two rivers, Varāṇā and Asī (HGAI, p. 94.f).

Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagāmapura:—It was the birth place of Mahāvira, the last Tīrthaṅkara (2.21; 20.50). It has been identified with a suburb called Bāsukunḍa of Vaiśālī (Basarh) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar.²

1. See Supra Rājagṛha.

2. *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, Vol. 7, p. 466 & *SBE*, Vol. 22, p. X-XIII.

Pāvā (Pāvāpurī) :—It was the place of Lord Mahāvīra's emancipation (20.51). Some identify it with a village near Biharsarīf (*LAI*, p. 268), some with Kasia, situated on the little Gaṇḍaka river to the east of the district of Gorakhpur and some with a place near Rajgir in Bihar (*HGAI*, p. 251).

Sammata :—It is the place of emancipation of 20 Tīrthaṅkaras (20.52). It is the Sammataśikhara or the Pārasnatha hills in the Hazaribag district of south Bihar (*LAI*, p. 330).

Prayāga :—It was associated with the meditation of Jina Rṣabha (82.21). It is the modern Prayaga or Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganga and Yamuna (*LAI*, p. 322).

Rūyapura (—It was the birth place of Cakravartī Jayaśeṇa (20.153). Vāsudeva Purīṣapūṇḍarīka (20.180), and Prativāsudeva Jarāsandha (20.202). It is also referred to as Rājagṛha (2.8, 48; 11.5, 46), and Magadhapura (82.44, 46). Rāvaṇa is said to have prevented the animal sacrifice of king Marutta of this place (11.46).

Poyāṇapura :—It was the birth place of first Vāsudeva Triprastha, (20.180). It is said to be situated in the Dakṣiṇa-Bhārata (82.77). The *PCR* calls it Paudanapura (20.221). The *VH* (I. P. 354) locates it near the Godavari. It is identified with Paiṭhāna or Pratiṣṭhāna in Mahārāṣṭra on the bank of Godavari (*LAI*, p. 318 ; See also Jain Antiquary Vol.3. No. 3).

Vāriṇi :—It was the birth place of the 2nd Vāsudeva Dviprastha (20.180). It is called Dvāpurī in the *PCR* (20.221). Can it be Bāravaī=Dvārikā=Dvāravatī ? situated on the sea shore on the western coast of Kathiawad (*HGAI*, p. 282).

Mahāpura :—It was the birth place of third Vāsudeva Svayambhū (20.180). King Saudasa of the Ikṣvāku line, on being exiled from Sāketa, is said to have become the king of Mahāpura (22.91), situated in the Dakṣinadeśa (22.78). It is not identified.

Śāntināmanagara :—It was the birth place of fourth Vāsudeva Puraṣottama (20.180). The *PCR* calls it Hastinagara (20.221). Hastināpura or Gajapur was the birth place of Jina Śānti hence it is called as Śāntināmanagara in the *PCV*.

Cakrapura :—It was the birth place of fifth Vāsudeva (20.180). Cakrapura is also referred to as a place of southern Vijayardha (91.4) It is not identified.

Mathurā :—It was the birth place of ninth Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa (20.180 ; 5.153).

Alakāpurī:—It was the birth place of the first Prativāsudeva Aśva-grīva (20.201). It is not identified. Kālidasa locates Alakāpurī in the Himalayas.

Vijayapura (See Supra):—It was the birth place of second Prativāsudeva Tāraka (20.201). It is not identified.

Nandanānagara:—It was the birth place of third Prativāsudeva Meraka (20.201). There is also a reference to Nandapurī (20.188) as a place of the previous birth of fourth Baladeva. Both may be the same. In the Jaina literature Nandipura is mentioned as the capital of Saṇḍibbha, one of the 25½ Aryan countries. Then there is Nandigrāma or Nundgaon in Oudh, eight or nine miles to the south of Fyzabad. It may be ancient Nandapurī (*LAI*, p. 316). There is an epic reference to Nandigram in Punjab (*VGA*, 8.62). Then there is Nandapura, a village in the district of Monghyr on the southern bank of the Ganges (*EI*, XXIII. Pt. II, Apl. 1935, p. 53).

Prthvīpura (See Supra):—It was the birth place of fourth Prativāsudeva Niśumbha (20.201). It is not identified.

Haripura:—It was the birth place of fifth Prativāsudeva Madhukaiṭabha (20.201). It is not identified.

Sūrapura (*Sūryapura PCR*, 20.242):—It was the birth place of sixth Prativāsudeva Bali (20.201). It may be probably Suryapura or Sūrajpur (See Soriyapura).

Siṃhapura (See Supra):—It was the birth place of seventh Prativāsudeva Prahlāda (20.201).

Takṣaśīlā:—Bāhubali, the brother of Cakravartin Bharata was the ruler of this town (4.38). It was the ancient capital of the Gandhara country. It has been identified with modern Taxila in the district of Rawalpindi (*HGAI*, p. 130).

(4) Places mentioned in the intervening stories

Amaragiri:—It is referred to as a Tīrthasthāna (95.37). It is the same as Devagiri (see Devagiri).

Amytapura:—(91.4) It is probably Amareśvara on the opposite side of Omkāranātha on the southern bank of the river Narmada (*GD*, p. 5).

Ariṣṭapura (*Ariṣṭhapura* 39.77):—It is identified with the ancient capital of the Śivi kingdom i.e. the Shorkot region of Punjab (*HGAI*,

66). A town of this name probably existed also in the Mahārāṣṭra (*JASG*, p.14).

Asinapura (7.50):—The people belonging to this place came to be known as the Asinas (Aśvinis *PCR*, 7.119 ?). A village Asni is situated about 10 miles north of Fatehpur (U. P.), where a stone pillar inscription has been discovered (*HGAI*, p. 66). If the Asinas are the Aśmakas then Aśmeka can be identified with a place on the Godavari near Paithan (*SI*, I, p. 198).

Indranagara (36.12):—Vanamālā the princess of Vijayapura was betrothed to the prince of this town but later on she was married to Lakṣmaṇa. Indrasthāna of the *Bhag. Pu.* (10.58.1) or Indraprastha of *Padma. Pu.* (200.17.18) is identified with Indrapat two miles to the south of modern Delhi (*HGAI*, p. 86). Another Indrapur is identified with Indor in the Bulandsahar district in U. P. (*JASG*, 24; *SI*, I, p. 311).

Isinḍapalli (29.63):—It is referred to as a settlement of the Mlecchas situated in the thick forest, in the vicinity of the Sammēta mountain.

Karṇakuṇḍalapura:—Hanumat is said to have lived there (19.35; 108.1). But he was the ruler of Śrīparvata (85.26). Marital relations existed between the Vānaras of Kiṣkindhipura and the Vidyādhara of Karṇakuṇḍalapura (6.218). Daṇḍaka is mentioned as the ancient king of this place. It is said that it was situated in the interior of the Daṇḍaka forest (41.19) Thus it seems to be a place of the southern plateau.

Kinnarapura or Kinnaragītapura:—It is mentioned as a Vidyādhara town (5.242). Those who lived there came to be known as the Kinnaras (7.49). Hanumat married various Kinnar princesses (19.36). Thus it should be in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. But in the *Jātakas* the Kinnaras are assigned the Himalayan region (IV.p.438f). Jayacandra Vidyālaṅkāra identifies the land of the Kinnaras with modern Kanaur in the upper valley of the Sutlej where the head water of the Candrabhāgā flow adjacent to it (Vide *IK*, p.62).

Kuñcapura=(Krauñcapura 48.14):—It is perhaps the Krauncapura (Vanavāsī) situated on the Berada an affluent of Tungabhadra river (*GD*, p. 104).

Kundanagara:—The *PGV* mentions that Ujjenī was visited by merchants from Kundanagara (33.65). Vidarbha's ancient capital Kundanapura is identified with Kundanpura on the bank of Wardha

about 40 miles to the east of Amraoti in Berar by Dowson¹. This Kundanpura may be Kundanagara of the *PCV* because the situation of Ujjenī and Kundanpura indicates that there might have existed a trade route between them.

Kuruvaradvīpa:—It is said to be the territory of the maternal-grand-father of Añjanā, the mother of Hanumat (17.102). The *PCR* calls it Hanuruhadvīpa (17.346). Hanuruhapura was the capital of this region (*PCV*, 17.118). There are Kurugoda hills in the Bellary district². There are antiques of Jain temples in this region. There is also a Hanumanti hill.³ Both the places can be identified with Kuruvaradvīpa and Hanuruhapura of the *PCV* (See Hanuruhapura).

Kusumapura: (48.83):—It is the ancient name of Pataliputra (*HGAI*, p. 249). But our author once confuses Kusumānagara with Rājagrha (See Rājagrha).

Kusumāvātī (5.29):—It is probably the same as Kusumanagara or Kusumapura.

Kaumudinagarī (39. 100):—It is said to be visited by a Saṅgha of the Tāpasas. It is perhaps the same as Padminīpura.

Cakrapālanagara (5.75):—It is called as Rathanūpuracakravālapura also (5.64). It was the Vidyādhara capital of Dakṣiṇa Vijayārdha. (3.152). Janaka's son, Bhāmaṇḍala was kidnapped and adopted by the king of this city (26.86). Chakranagara is identified with Keljhar, 17 miles north east of Wardha (*GD*, p. 43). It may be perhaps Cakrapālanagara.

Candrāvartapura:—It is said to be a Vidyādhara town. Prince Ānandamālin of this place was selected as her husband by Khecari Ahalyā of Ariñjayapura (13.37). Candrapura is identified with modern Candapura which lies to the south of Siwani and to the west of the Wenganga river in the Bilasapura region (*HGAI*, p.312; *VGA*, p.404). It is well placed in the Vindhya region or the Vijayārdha region of the Khecaras, hence it can be identified with Candrāvartapura of the *PCV*.

Chīna :—The reference to Cīnāmsuka (102.21) indicates that China was known to ancient India and fine cloth was imported from there.

Chhatrākārapura:—It is said to be one of the ancient capitals (20.10). According to the *Mahābhārata*, Chatrāvati or Ahichatra was

1. *F&G*, p. 404; *IK*, p. 67.

2. Madras va Mysore prānta ke Prācīna Jaina Smāraka-p. 46 Sitalprasadji.

3. *Ibid.* p. 47.

the capital of northern Pañcāla, identified with modern Ramanagar in Bareilly district. (*LAI*, p. 265). Some identify Ahicchatrapura with Nagor in Jodhpur division of Rajasthan (*Näg. Ku. Ca. H. L. Jain*, p. XXXIV).

Tāmraliptinagara :—(5.99) It is identified with Tamruk in the Midnapur district of Beagal (*HGAI*, p. 268).

Turukka = *Turkey* :—The reference to Turuška (a kind of incense 2.11) indicates that trade flourished between India and Turkey.

Devagiri :—Śrīkaṇṭha the first lord of the Vānaradvīpa went there on a pilgrimage (6.8). The *PCR* calls it Suraparvata (6; 14). Amaragiri and Devagiri should be identical with it. It is identified with Devagiri near Daulatabad near Aurangabad in Andhra (*JSI*, p. 390; *EHD*, p. 3, *JHA Comm*, Vol. p. 48).

Dhānyapura (Dhannapura 20.138) :—In the Uttarādhyayana Tīkā it is located in the country of Virāṭa (*LAI*, p. 281).

Paṭṭhanagara (Pratiṣṭhanagara *PCR*, 106.25) :—It was a Khecara town (103.138). In the ancient literature Supraṭiṣṭhita or Supraṭiṣṭha is mentioned. It is identified with modern Paithan, situated on the north bank of the Godavari in the Aurangabad district (*HGAI*, p. 183).

Padmapura :—It is said that a certain person went from this place to Tāmraliptinagara, (5.94). It is identified with modern Padampur in the Bhandara district of M. P. (*SGAMI*, p. 153.)

Padminipura (39.37) :—It is probably ancient Pādmavati identified with Padam Pamaya near Narwar in the Gwaior division (*SGAM*, 11.242).

Puṣkalāvati (Pukhalanayari 31.9) :—It is the same as Puṣkaravati, the ancient capital of Gandhāra. It is identified with Charsadda, a little about the junction of the Swat with the Kabul river (*HGAI*, p. 119).

Puṣpāvatīrnanagara (77.75) :—It can be identified with Puṣpapur or Patna (*GD*, p. 164).

Magadhā Janavaya or *Magadhadeśa* :—King Śreṇika is referred to as the king of Magadha with his capital at Rājagṛha. Magadha was one of the ancient countries. It comprised the modern Gaya and Patna divisions of Bihar (*CAGI*, p. 718f; *BI*, Ch. II), bound by the Ganges, Campa, the Vindhya and the Sona river.

Majjhadesa (Madhyadeśa) :—From Rājagṛha, Rāvapa is said to have passed through the Madhyadeśa and then he is said to have sojourned on the bank of the Ganges (11.103-111). According to the

Brahmanical sources the Madhyadeśa extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhya and from Vinasana to Prayāga. The eastern boundary expanded with the passage of time and the Divyāvadāna includes Puṇḍavardhana (north Bengal) also in the Madhyadeśa (*HGAI*, p. 12-13).

Mayūramāla:—It is said to be a place to which belonged the Mlechas such as the Kirātas and the Śābaras occupying the trans-Himalayan region (27.6). Mayūra is identified with Māyāpurī or Hardwar (*GD*, p. 129).

Māheśwaranagara:—It is said to be situated on the northern bank of the river Narmadā. Its Sahasrakirāṇa was subdued and captured by Rāvaṇa (10.34). It is the same as Māhiṣmatīnagarī which was the capital of south Avanti. It is identified with the modern Mandhātā region of Malwa (*HGAI*, p. 322).

Riṭṭhapura = Ariṣṭapura (*PCR*, 20.14):—It was one of the ancient capitals (20.9; See Ariṣṭapura).

Lokapura (11.62):—The mother of Nārada renounced the Tāpasa dharma and became a Jaina nun at this place. It can be identified with Chanda in the Madhya Pradesh (*GD*, p. 115).

Vaḍanagara (105.88) = Nyagrodhanagara (*PCR*, 108.139) located in the vicinity of the Vindhya forest):—It can be identified with Ānandapura in north Gujarat, 70 miles south of Sidhpur (*JASG*, p. 18; *HGAI*, p. 300).

Varuṇapura:—It was under the rule of Vidyādhara Indra. Its ruler was Varuṇa, the Lokapāla of the western region (16.17; 19.19; 7.47). It is called as Rasātalaṇḍa also (19.8). Salilarāja is another name of Baruna and the Salilarāja Tīrtha of the *MB.* and Padma. Pu. has been identified with the place where the Indus falls into the ocean (*GD*, p. 175).

Viñjhatthali (73.7):—It has been referred to along with the Himagiri. Rāvaṇa exclaims that he is the master of the whole world including the Himagiri and the Vindhyaṣṭhali. Thus the reference is to the region of the Vindhya system of mountains, which was the abode of the Vidyādhara and Rāvaṇa had brought them all under his subjugation.

Viyabbhanagara (Vidagdhanagara—*PCR*):—It fell on the route from Rathanūpura to Śāketa (30.13) It may be probably in the Vindhya region. It is probably Vidarbhanagara or Kundinapura, the ancient capital of Vidarbha (*GD*, p. 108).

Veṇṇāyaḍanagara 48.63 (*Veṇyātatanagara-PCR*):—The *Bṛhatkathā-koṣa*¹ locates it in the district of Guntur. It was situated on Krishna. It is identified with Bhaṭṭiprohu², a tributary of the Godavari (*LAI*, p. 271).

Vagghapūra (*Vyāghrapura*):—Śrīvārdhita went to this place from Puṣpavātirṇanagara (Patna) for his education (77.84). It can be identified with Buxar in the district of Sahabad (*GD*, p. 28).

Sāmalinagarī:—(114.26):—Śālmali is identified with Mallasārul, a village 1½ miles from the north bank of Damodara in the Burdwan district (*HGAI*, p. 258).

Śatigrāma (105.19):—It is said to be a village in the Magadha country.

Siddhatthanagara=*Siddhārthanagara*:—Muni Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa to whom Rāma paid obeisance on the Vamśagiri, belonged to this place (39.86). It is presumably identified with Siddhangrāma in the Birbhum district (*LAI*, p. 334) which was visited by Mahāvīra.

Sindhunadanagara (8.168):—Cakravartin Hariṣeṇa of Kāmpilyapura is said to have married a princess of this place. The *Bṛhatkathā-koṣa* (33.52) locates Sindhunandana on the bank of the river Sindhu. Can it be probably identified with the capital of Sindhusauvīra—called Vṛtibhayanagara which is identified with Bherāgrāma of Punjab (*JASG*, p. 170).

Sirimalaya (91.5):—It is perhaps Tiru-Malai of the south? (See. *Geog. Anc. Med India*, p. 189, See *SGAMI*.)

Sihipura (13.23):—It is named Śikhāpadanagara in the *PCR* (13.55) Paṇini mentions Śikhavala which is identified with Sihwal on the left bank of the Son in Rewa state (*IP*, p. 71).

Selopura (*Śailanagara*):—It is mentioned as the place of previous birth of a Vāsudeva (20.169). One Śailakapura is presumed to be situated in Saurāṣṭra (*JASG*, p. 178).

Sūrodayanagar:—Cakravartin Hariṣeṇa married a Vidyādhara princess of this town (8.186). It may be perhaps Sūryapur identified with Surat or Sūryanagara identified with Śrinagar (*GD*, p. 198).

Hemaṅgapura:—Mālin, the grand-uncle of Rāvapa married a princess of this place (6.237). There is Hemāvati, 8 miles to the

1. No. 46 A. N. Upadhye.

2. *JSIE*, p. 8.

south of Amarapuram in the Anantapura district of Mysore¹. It is probably the same.

Mānasavārasa (82.108):—It is the famous Mānasa lake in Tibet, near the Kailāśa mountain.

Ratnākara (53.51):—Sītā tells Mandodarī that Rāma would cross the Ratnākara and soon rescue her. Thus the reference is to the sea between Ceylon and India.

Sindhusāgara (112.17):—It can be identified with the confluence of the Arabian sea and the river Sindhu *SGAMI*, p. 44).

Jaunā (Yamunā):—It is said to be flowing in the vicinity of Kośāmbī (55.43). It is a well known river, a tributary of the Ganges and Kosam (Kośāmbī) is situated on the Yamuna river (*CAGI*, p. 448).

Mandākinī:—The Suras are referred to be playing sports in this river (10.50). It is mentioned as a river of the Kailāśa mountain (82.109). It is identified with the Kālīgāṅgā, one of the tributaries of the Alakanandā. It rises in the mountains of Kedara in Garwal (*HGAI*, p. 31; *IK*, p. 16).

Añjanagiri:—It was referred to in similes (18.39; 37.6). It is identified with the Sulaiman range which separates Punjab and N. W. Frontier from Balucistan. It is famous for its source of antimony (*HGAI*, p. 65; *IP*, p. 39, 40).

Guñjapārva:—On this mountain Rāvaṇa fought battle with Vaiśravaṇa, the lord of the Yakṣas (8.90). There is a hill near Gunji in the Chattisgarh division *HGAI*, p. 316).

Vindhyagiri:—Rāvaṇa is said to have camped on this hill and to have observed the river Narmadā flowing below (10.27). It is the Vindhya range to the north of the Narmada.

Vindhyapāda (103.16):—It is identified with the Satpura range *IK*, p. 9).

Vipulagiri:—Lord Mahāvīra is said to have sojourned on this mountain (2.37) near Rājagṛha. It is one of the five hills encircling the ancient site of Rājagṛha in south Bihar (*HGAI*, p. 270)).

Vevadḍha = Vijayārḍha:—It has been already mentioned that according to the Jaina tradition the Bhārata country is the Indian continent. At several places there are references to the Vevadḍha or Vijayārḍha mountain. The *PCV* states that it extends to 50 yojanas

1. *Madras va Mysore Prānta ke Prācīna Jaina Smārka*, p. 53.

i. e. nearly 200 to 300 miles in breadth. It is divided into northern Vijayārdha and Southern Vijayārdha. Both the regions are said to be the territories of the Vidyādhara (3.150-161).

About the position of the Vijayārdha the *JP* (1.12) mentions that it divides India into two halves, Uttarārdha and Dakṣiṇārdha¹. The *TSP* (I. p. 173) mentions that it is placed like a measuring rod between the east and the west, touching the waters on both the sides and from north to south spreading to the extent of 50 Yojanas. It is embraced by the rivers Ganges and Sindhu. Thus it is clear that the Vijayārdha system of mountains divides India into two parts. It touches waters of the ocean on the east and the west and it contains several Vidyādhara kingdoms.

The *PCV* further mentions that Khemapura (Kṣemapura) was situated in Dakṣiṇabhārata (103.7). The *TP* (4.114) refers to Kṣemārapura situated in the Dakṣiṇa Vijayārdha. Both the towns seem to be identical and thus Dakṣiṇabhārata indicates the region lying to the south of the Vijayārdha mountains. Pratiṣṭhānapura is mentioned as a Khecara town (103.138) and it is identified with a place situated on the river Godavari which in the broader sense flows in its upper course through the Vindhya system or the slopes of the Vindhya terminating into a plateau towards the south. Similarly Candrāvarapura (13.37) is called a town of the Khecaras. It is identified with Candapura in Bilaspura state i. e. the Vindhya region.

The *PCV* further mentions some towns situated on the Dakṣiṇa Vijayārdha. They are Ratnapura, Cakrapālapura and Kancanapura. The first has been identified with a place 16 miles north of Bilaspura, the second with a place near Wardha and the third with Bhuvaneswar. All these places are situated to the south of the great system of mountains spreading from the Vindhya proper onwards to the east.

Guṇjavidhānanagara ruled by a Vidyadhara lord, is said to be situated on the northern Vijayārdha (101.56). It can be identified with Gunji a small village in the Chattisagarh division of Madhya Pradesh. A record of 2nd Cent. A. D. is discovered in this area. This region flourished in the centuries before and after Christian era (*HGAI*, p. 316).

The *TP* locates Mekhalāgrapura (4.114) in the Vijayārdha. It may be a place to the south of the Maikala mountains.

1. See *GP*, (4.107f) also.

Thus to the *PCV* and other Jaina works the Vijayārdha is the great mountainous belt of India stretching east-west, to the south of the Gangetic and the Sindhu plains.

It is stated in the *Titthogāli-paiṇṇaya* (16-18) that there occurred great famine in the Madhyadeśa so the monks migrated to other countries. Some took shelter under the caves of the Veyadḍha (*Veyatṭhakandarāsu ya nadīsu seḍhisamuddakulesu*). This reference to the Veyadḍha cannot be to the Himalayas. It is a reference to the mountainous region of the Madhyadeśa. Therefore Veyatṭha stands for the Vindhya system of mountains.

In the *Matsya* (113.52-54)¹ and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (45. 132-134) the Janapadas such as Mālava, Daśārṇa, Kiṣkindhaka, Kośala, Vaidīśa, Avanti, Mekala, Utkala, Auṇḍra, etc. are said to be occupying the Vindhya region. Thus the Vindhya is here referred to as not only the Vindhya range lying to the north of the Narmadā but the whole system of the mountains spreading from Mālavā up to Orrisā.

In accordance with these evidences it can be safely said that if a line be drawn from the Rajmahal hills passing through the Maikal and Mahadeo hills, up to the Vindhya proper then the hilly region and the plateau region falling to the north and to the south of this line would be called as the north and the south Vijayārdha or Vindhya. The width of 50 Yojanas i.e. nearly 200 to 300 miles north to south as mentioned in the Jaina works would thus agree with the Vindhya-prṣṭha of the Purāṇas.

According to the modern geographers also the Vindhya mountain extends from Gujerat to Bihar, taking different local names at different places (*HGAI*, p. 310) and B.C. Law also regards the Veyadḍha or Vijayārdha of the Jaina tradition as the Vindhya range (stretching from the west to the east (*IDETBJ*, p. 77) dividing the continent into North India and South India.

It seems that 'Veyadḍha' is the Prakrit name of 'Vindhyādrī' of Indian literature. (*Vindhyādrī*=*Viñjbadḍha*=*Viyadḍha*=*Veyadḍha*). Then the Prakrit name itself became Sanskritised in the form of *Vaitāḍhya* and *Vijayārdha*.

1. Mālavāśca Karuṇāśca Mekalāścotkalajḥ saha/
Auṇḍrā Maṣā Daśārṇāśca Bhojāḥ Kiṣkindhakajḥ saha//
Stośalā Kośalāścaiva Traipurā Vaidīśāstathā/
Tumurāstumbarāścaiva Padgamā Naiṣadhajḥ saha//
Arupāḥ Śaundikeraśca Vitihotrā Avantayāḥ/
Ete Janapadāḥ khyātā Vindhya-prṣṭhanivāsināḥ//

Suvarṇatūṅga (14.4) :—On this hill Muni Anantavīrya attained Kevala. The PCR calls it Suvarṇaparvata. It can be identified with the Kanakagiri which is also called as (*JSI*, p. 460) Hemādri, situated in the Camarayanagara district of Mysore (*JSI*, p. 460). It is said that Pratisūrya while returning from there after paying homage to Muni Anantavīrya found on his way his weeping niece Añjanāsundarī. From there he took her to Hanuruhapura (18.44). Both these places are not very far away.

Himagiri (73.7) or *Himālaya* (10.13) :—Vidyādhara Sāhasagati went there to acquire the 'rupaparivartanakarividya' for disguising himself as Vānara Sugrīva to establish sexual relations with Tārā (10.13). It is the well known Himalayas.

Kaliñjara (58.9) :—It is referred to as a great forest. There is a well known fort of Kalāñjara in or Kaliñjara in Bundelkhanda (*TAI*, p. 51; *HGAI*, p. 20). The forest of this region is probably the Kaliñjaramahāranya.

Naimiṣa :—It is referred to as a country (55.35). As a forest it is identified with the modern Nimsara, 20 miles from Sitapur and 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow (*HGAI*, p. 41).

(3) Unidentified Places

Akṣapura (74.31); Aṅgapura (31.7); Ambaratilaka (6.167); Ariñjayapura (13.35; 58.12); Aruṇapura (17.56); Asuranagara (7.49); Aśokanagarī (20.189); Adityaprabhapura (5.82); Ādityapura (15.5); Kambudvīpa (45.32); Kukkuḍanagara (118.52); Kumbhanagara (8.55, 57); Kuvvaragrāma (41.55); Kusumantapura (7.74); Kṣemapura (103.7); Gaganavallabhapura (5.66); Gandharvagītanagara (5.243); Gandhāvatīnagar (41.45); Ghoṣapura (21.91); Dadhimukhanagara (51.2); Dārugrāma (30.60); Durlaṅghyapura (12.47); Devopagītanagara (85.27); Dhanyagrāma (77.73); Nityālokapura (9.52); Pīṭharakhaṇḍatīrth (77.64); Puṇḍarikinī (20.7); Prītipura (6.239); Mandarakuñja (6.170); Mahānagara (20.9); Mr̥ṇālakuṇḍanagara (103.90); Megharava Tīrth (77.61); Rāsātalanagara (7.47); Rikṣapura (8.255); Varapura (17.52); Vārādaya (5.210); Virādhītapura (1.55); Svayāṃprabhapura (7.149); Saccaripura (30.65); Śaśāṅkanagara (82.89); Śakatagrāma (5.27); Surasaṅgītapura (8.1, 18); Susīmāpurī (20.7); Senāapura (31.4); Śobhapura (77.100).

Lakṣmaṇa is said to have conquered the following towns of the Vidyādharas of Dakṣiṇa Vijayārdha (91.3-6) :—

Āiccāham (94.4); Gandharva; Gandhārapura; Jakkhapura; Jyotipura; Tilakapura; Naragītapura; Malayapura; Meghapura; Ravi-bhūsapura; Laksmīdharapura; Siripahurava; Sirimandira; Siriguha; Siricchāya; Sirivijaya; Śivamandira.

The grand sons of Vidyādhara Meghavāhana are said to have established the following (Paṭṭaṇavarāim bahusannivesāim) town-settlements, called as dvīpas for themselves (5.246-248):—

Ardhasvarga, Āvarta, Utkāṭa, Kanaka, Tavaṇāyavali, Toyāvalisa (6.32) (Tāṭa, Toya, Āvali-PCR, 5 373), Durgraha, Dhanya (Yodha or Ayodhana 10.15 ; 48.54), Manaprahāda. Manohara, Megha, Ratna, Vikāṭa, Samudra (Udadhi 48.54), Suvēla, Sandhyākāra, Harija (Hari) and Hamsadvīpa. Amala, Alaughya, Kāntā, Kśema, Nābha, Bhānu and Rodhana are also mentioned as the Rākṣasa settlements (6.31-33).

The following rivers and hills are unidentified:—

Hamsāvali (13.41); Karpaparvata (6.218); Kambuśaila (45.32); Niguṇja (82.105); Pañcasaṅgamaya (5.21); Puṣpagiri (46.66); Maṇikānta (9.21); Mahugiri (6.208); Meghavara (8.29); Rathāvarta (13.42); Vasantaḡiri (21.46); Velandhara (54.39); Sandhyāḡiri (18.44); & Suradundubhigiri (108.22).

A general estimate of the above account indicates that the *PCV* refers to not less than 400 geographical places and tribes. They can be classified approximately as follows—Countries and tribes 100, Islands 50, Towns 150, Mountains 50, Rivers 20 and the rest as seas, lakes, forests etc. Out of them 100 are mythological distinctively while nearly 175 have been identified and the rest of them remain unlocated.

SECTION 6. ANĀRYAS OR MLECCHAS.

The *PCV* mentions sometimes such peoples who are distinct from the Aryan, and are called Mlecchas or Anāryas. In connection with the war-campaign of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa, the *PCV* states in general that they conquered many countries of which some were Aryan and some were non-Aryan, but they have not been specifically distinguished (*desā āriyaanāriyā* 98.63). On the occasion of the attack of king Ativīrya of Nandyāvartapura on Bharata, it is said in the *PCV* (37.5) that the former had his allies in the rulers of many non-Aryan countries. Here also the specific differentiation is not made between the Aryan and the non-Aryan countries. It is on the occasion of the attack of some barbarous

tribes on the territory of Janaka, that the *PCV* (27.7-9) mentions Mlecchas, the Śābaras, the Kirātas, and the people of Kamboja, Suka (Śaka ?) and Kapota (Kapiśa ?) as non-Aryan and using both the terms Anārya and Mleccha in the same sense. Further the Kāgonnda tribe of the Vindhya forest (34.41-46) is referred to as a Mleccha people and elsewhere there is allusion to a habitation of the Mlecchas lying in the vicinity of the Sammēta mountain (39.64). Thus all these references indicate that the Mlecchas were occupying the trans-Himalayan region N.W. Frontiers and the mountainous region of the Vindhyas spreading from the west up to the east i.e. up to the Sammēta mountain.

The *PCV* further sporadically refers to the Pulindas and the Bhīllas. The Pulindas are mentioned to be inhabiting the forest region of the Sīmhaninānda-aṭavī lying to the south of the Ganges, probably to the north of Chotanagpur where Sītā was abandoned being exiled by Rama (94.43). At 104.20 also they are mentioned as forest-people. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* locates the kingdom of Pulindas in the Vindhya region (4.22). Their capital was Pulindanagara lying to the south-east of Daśārṇa (*PIIAI*, 79 & 258). The *VC* (8.3) refers to them as Anāryas. Thus They seem to have been occupying some parts of the Vidhya region. About the Bhīllas the *PCV* states that they were also a forest people (12.13). The Bhīls (i. e. Bhīllas) are said to be a pre-Aryan tribe who inhabited the Vindhya, Satpura and Ajanta hills. At one time they held sway over a major portion of India. Now They are distributed among the regions of Mewar, Malwa, Khandesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan (*LAI*, p. 359).

The line of demarcation between the Aryans and the non-Aryans has been fluctuating from time to time. Senart¹ writes that the fair coloured people who conquered the aborigines of this country in ancient time were called as the Āryas while the latter were dark coloured and were subjugated by the former so they were called Anāryas as revealed in the Vedic-literature. Later on those who accepted the Varnāśrama Dharma were included into the Aryan fold while those who remained outside that fold and did not accept the Indo-Aryan social structure were classed as non-Aryans.

The evidences from the Buddhist Literature also reveal that those who accepted the four theoretical divisions of people were broadly distinguished as Aryans from the rest of the populace, looked

1. *Caste in India*, p. 122f.

down upon as Milakkhas or Milakkhus=(Mlecchas¹). According to the Jaina literature those who did not know the language of the Aryans and committed various sins were known as Anāryas. They are also called as Milakkhus or Milakkhas. They were distinguished as Paccantiyas because they resided on the border of the Aryan countries.² The classification of people into non-Aryan category has varied in the Jaina literature also. The *TP* (4.1333f) refers to the Mlecchakhaṇḍa which was conquered by Cakravartin Bharata. It puts the three division of Uttara Bhārata and the two divisions of Dakṣiṇa Bhārata into the Mlecchakhaṇḍa. The *Uttarā*. (10.16) mentions the Dasyus and the Mlecchas as Non-Aryan people. The *Praśnanyākaraṇasūtra* calls the Śakas, Yavanas, Śabarās, etc. as non-Aryans (Vide *JASG*, p. 135, fn.). The *Varāṅgacaritām* (8.6) refers to the Kamboja, Kāśmīra and the Barbar countries as Mlecchadeśas. How the boundary of the Aryan country has changed from time to time with the Jainas can be known from the following evidences: The *Bṛhatkalpasūtra*³ mentions that the Jaina ascetics were allowed to move up to Aṅga-magadha (East), Kośāmbī (South), Thuṇa (West) and Kuṇāla (North). Later on king Samprati extended the limits and 25½ countries were declared to be Aryan. They were Magadha, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kāśī, Kośala, Kuru, Kusattā, Pañcāla, Jaṅgala, Surattā, Videha, Vaccha, Saṇḍilla, Malaya, Vacca, Varāṇā, Dasappa, Gedi, Sindhu, Sovīra, Sūrasena, Bhaṅgi, Purivaṭṭa, Kuṇāla, Lāḍa, and Kegaiaddha. Thus the whole of north India up to the Vindhyas as its southern limit was known as Aryan and the rest of the land was considered to be non-Aryan.

To the author of the *PCV* the hilly tribes of the north, north-west and the Vindhyas were known as the Mleccha people and it seems that those people had not yet been Aryanised,

The *PCV* further reveals that its author has given a new definition to some of the ancient tribes. It tells us that Vidyādhara king Indra of Rathanūpura or the Vijayārdha mountain (the Vindhya mountains) held sway over many peoples who were known after the name of the place to which they belonged (7.49-50). The people belonging to Asinapura, Asurapura, Kinnarapura, Gandhavyapura, Jakkhapura and Vaisānapura are called as Asinas, Asuras, Kinnaras, Gandharvas,

1. Vide *IDETBj*, p. 139.

2. *LAI*, p. 144.

3. 50; also *Niśi. Bhā*, 16. p. 1111, (Vide *LAI*, p. 250.)

Yakṣas and *Vaiśas* respectively. At 3.154 it mentions that the *Vijayār-dha* region (i. e. the *Vindhyas*) was occupied by the *Kinnaras*, *Kimpuriṣas* and the *Gandharvas*.

A study of Indian literature reveals that these people are mentioned in various works. Their identity as some tribes or clans is not clear. Researches carried out by various scholars have proved that they were people of very ancient times. With the passage of time they went into complete oblivion and later on they were relegated to the position of either hobgoblins or demigods. When *Vimalasūri* defines them on a new basis, i. e. the people belonging to particular places coming to be known after the names of those particular places—it seems to be an attempt to assign some suitable historical place to the peoples forgotten in course of time. In the following lines an attempt has time made to identify them.

Aśiṇas :—Their identity is obscure. However *Pāṇini* (5.3.117) refers to the *Aśanis* as a war-like tribe of the North-West Frontier (*IP*, p. 438).

Asuras :—They can be identified with the Assyrian people of ancient times whose country formed part of the Persian Empire in the fifth century B. C. and that country is mentioned in the old Persian *Behistun* inscription as *Athura*, and in *Susain* as *Assura* (*IP*, p. 447). In the *Purāṇas* they are in juxta position with the *Suras* (gods), their allies and rivals.

Kinnaras :—On the basis of pieces of evidence from the *Brahmanical* and the *Buddhist* literature the modern *Kanaur* in the upper valley of the *Sutlez* where the head waters of *Candrabhaga* approach near it, is identified with the country of the *Kinnaras* (See *IK*, p. 62).

Gandharvas :—On the evidences from the *Raghuvamśa* the *Gandharvas* or *Gandhāras* are said to be the people of that country whose capitals were *Takṣaśilā* and *Puṣkalāvati* (*IK*, p. 67).

Yakṣas :—In the *VR* we find them settled in the south and were chased off from there by the *Rākṣasas*. Prof. *C. V. Vaidya* regards them as the aboriginal people of the south, who were later on made to flee to the north (*RR*, p. 99). But it is also told in the *VR* that when the *Rākṣasas* vacated *Laṅkā*, *Brahmā* appointed *Vaiśravaṇa*, as the *Lokapāla* of *Laṅkā* (7.3). Then we find them mentioned in the ancient literature also as the inhabitants of the north, therefore it is possible that they went from north to south.

Vaiśas :—Not identified.

Further the *PCV* reveals that the *Vidyādhara*s, *Rākṣasas* and the *Vānaras* were very ancient people and we find that they have been

completely Jainised or the Jaina tradition has assimilated them and has depicted them as a cultured people. In the following lines an attempt is made to assess the probability of their historical existence.

Vidyādhara :—According to the *Paumacariyam*¹ Nami and Vinami established the Vidyādhara dynasty. It was Rṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara who installed them as the first kings of the Vijayārdha mountain. They were called Vidyādhara because they were gifted with supernatural powers (Vidyas). It is quite apparent from the study of the *PCV* that the Vidyādhara were not imaginary people. They had their own territories and kingdoms. In the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*², the Vidyādhara are mentioned but sporadically and those references do not give any solid information about their settlements and territories. The Jaina tradition always mentions the Vijayārdha or the Vaitāḍhya (Vindhya) mountains as the place of their settlements. An ancient inscription refers to the Vidyādhara and on that basis the Vidyādhara have been identified with the aboriginal tribes of the Vindhya by Dr. B.C. law. It will be worthwhile to quote him who records, "In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas are introduced in such a manner as to have no room for doubt that they were ruling chiefs of the Vidyādhara settlements (Vijādharaḍhivāsa). The *Jambūdivapaṇṇatti* connects the Vidyādhara with the Vaitāḍhya or Vindhya range and speaks of their eighteen settlements. When the *Jātakas* speak of sixteen Bhojaputtas, one may understand that they were the ruling chiefs of sixteen Vidyādhara tracts along the Vindhya. From these references it may be inferred that the Vidyādhara were not mythical beings but some aboriginal tribes that settled along the Vindhya"³. Even in the seventh cent. A. D. the princes of the Śilāhara dynasty are found to be tracing their origin to the Vidyādhara and the *Navasūhasāṅkacarita* vouchsafes to the existence of a Vidyādhara dynasty ruling to the south of the Narmadā—i. e. the region of the Vindhya or Veyāḍḍha⁴.

Rākṣasa :—The *PCV* states that Vidyādhara Meghavāhana was made the first ruler of the Rākṣasadvīpa⁵. He left his Vidyādhara brethren behind in the Vindhya and carved out a separate territory in the south. The *PCV* further mentions twice that the Rākṣasa were

1. See Supra. 'Origin of various Vamśas'.

2. Ibid.

3. *IDETBJ*, pp. 106-106.

4. See *Karakandacarīu*, Int. pp. 41, 46, 48 (ED. H. L. Jain).

5. See Origin of Vidyādhara Dynasty Supra.

not demons but as they protected the islands (rakkhanti Rakkhasā khalu divā 2.25.7; 43.14) hence they came to be known as Rākṣasas (protectors). The Brahmanical tradition also depicts the same thing. The story of their origin¹ indicates that they were the protectors of the water-lands.

These references indicate that they were ancient people. Mr. Gustav Oppert² regards, them as the original inhabitants of this country. Prof. Rapson³ notes that as early as the *Rgveda* the Rākṣasas formed a people of India. Shri C. V. Vaidya on the basis of the name of Sālakaṭaṅkaṭā belonging to the maternal lineage of Rāvaṇa as mentioned in the *VR*, concludes that an Ādivāsī Jāti (aboriginal tribe) of that name was settled in Laṅkā before the advent of Rama⁴. But the Jaina tradition maintains that they migrated from North⁵. Dr. V. S. Agrawal also states that the Rākṣasas were probably of north-west group and of the same racial character as the Piśācas. The Rākṣasas, Nāgas and Piśācas fight in the Bhārata war on both sides. He further states that there is a tribe Rakṣaṇis settled in Chagai district of north Balucistan (*IP*, p. 448). The *VR* also reveals that there were three⁶ branches of the Rākṣasas. One was represented by Virādha occupying the northern part of the Daṇḍakāranya, another by Kabandha called as Dānava and the third by Rakṣasas or Rakṣas who occupied Laṅkā. Thus they occupied a greater part of south India. Their ancestral history⁷ depict that they passed through many political ups and downs and it was Rāvaṇa who made a war campaign to conquer the whole of India. That they had established themselves in Mathurā, is evident from the fact that the son-in-law⁸ of Rāvaṇa was the ruler of Mathurā. According to the *VR* the relatives of Rāvaṇa, namely Tāḍakā and Mārīca had occupied the eastern plains of India between the rivers Sone and Ganges and their atrocities had touched the land between Ayodhyā and Mithilā. All these events depict that they were a strong and powerful tribe.

The *PCV* speaks highly of their culture, manners and etiquettes. Even the political and the social aspects of their life do not indicate that they were wild and inhuman. Their food habits are said to be

1. Ibid.

2. *The Original Inhabitants of India*, p. 534.

3. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 94 (1955).

4. *The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 99-100.

5. See Origin of various Vamśas (Supra).

6. *Rāmāyaṇakālīna Samāja*, p. 25.

7. See Rāvaṇa story (Ch. 4).

8. Supra. Ch. 4-I R (XIV).

completely human. Their shapes were not fierce or abominable. In the religious field they have been completely Jainised. But in the *VR*, they have been painted cruel, wicked and of diabolic nature. They are said to be fierce-looking and are depicted just like demons¹. Still there are no less references in the *VR* which depict them as human beings and of good looking. The descriptions of Laṅkā, the palace of Rāvaṇa, the luxurious life there and the council of Rāvaṇa indicate that they were not always fierce looking and in no way backward².

Then the question is why the *VR* at other places should have depicted them as cruel, of abominable look and as devilish whereas the Jaina tradition should describe them as human and religious.

The reason seems to be very clear. It is said in the *VR* that the Rākṣasas were the inveterate enemies of the Brahmanical cult of sacrifice 'Yajña'. They destroyed and put obstacles in the performance of those rites. The story of Viśvāmitra and the Daṇḍakāraṇya journey of Rāma quite sufficiently depict it. Further it is a well known fact that the Jaina religion always deplored the cult of sacrifice which is quite against its ethics. And as the Rākṣasas also opposed this Vedic cult of Himsā, the Jaina assigned to them a place of respect in their literature and did not make any onslaught on them. There is some truth in not depicting them as devilish because in the *VR* also there are several references to the effect that they performed penances (5. 59. 4), studied the Vedas and their auxiliaries (5. 18. 2; 6. 10. 8; 6. 109. 23; 6. 92. 60), knew the state-craft (6. 71. 29; 6. 63. 14-16) and learned Sanskrit (5. 30. 18; 3. 11. 55).

The facts that they (Rākṣasas) obstructed sacrifices, that they troubled Munis who advocated sacrifices, that they on the strength of their valour opposed the Aryans and did not allow them to enter the south, that they made their own efforts to dominate the north, became responsible for their being depicted as cruel and abominable in the *VR*. Mr. S. N. Vyas writes that they were depicted so because they were the born enemies of the Aryans³. Mr. C. V. Vidya says that really speaking these tribes were advanced but on account of their opposition to the Aryans they are depicted as cruel⁴. Because they opposed Brahmanical cult therefore they are depicted as Daityas and blood consumers just as the Semitic people depicted their antagonistic tribes as unholy, fierce, cruel and barbaric⁵.

1. *VR*, 3.2, 13, 69.

2. *VR*, 5.2, 5; 6.11.

3. *Rāmāyaṇa Kūṭina Samāja*, p. 31.

4. *The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 94.

5. *RKSJ*, p. 52.

Really speaking they were civilised and had a culture of their own. Pargiter¹ remarks that civilization of the Rākṣasas was as high as that of north India. Mr. S.N. Vyasa remarks that inspite of their cruel habits the Rākṣasas occupied an important place in the political history of India before the Mahābhārata-kāla and their civilization was great and refined².

Daśamukha Rāvaṇa:—It has become a belief that Rāvaṇa had ten heads and twenty arms. The original basis of this belief is the *VR* in which he has been described as such in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and at some places in the remaining portion of the *VR*. This tradition has been followed by the later Brahmanical works. But there is the Jaina tradition which depicts Rāvaṇa in the natural human form. The *PCV* states that when Rāvaṇa was still a child, a locket of nine gems was put round his neck. His face reflected into those gems and thus nine more images of his face became visible so his father named him Daśamukha (7.96). It seems that a wrong belief took root in the Indian literature and art, otherwise why the *VR* itself should describe him as two eyed and two armed at several places. Hanumat describes Rāvaṇa as one faced and two armed, when for the first time the former sees the latter in *Laṅkā*³. Sītā mentions two eyes of Rāvaṇa⁴. At other places also he is said to have two arms⁵. At the time of his being killed by Rāma he is described as having one head⁶.

Mr. Pargiter thinks that Rāvaṇa was probably a royal title in the Tamil word 'iraivan' or 'ireivan' = king, lord, god, sovereign and Daśamukha or one of its synonymous forms was probably his personal Dravidian name which was sanskritised and accordingly gave rise to the fable that he had ten heads.⁷

Mr. S. N. Vyasa says that Daśamukha was merely an address and not that he had ten heads⁸. Similarly we have even at present such persons who are called Chaturbhuja but they do not have four arms, The very name of ancient king Sahasrabāhu did not mean that he had one thousand arms. It only meant that he might have the strength of

1. *AIHT*, p. 227.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa Kāṇḍa Samāja* p.16.

3. 5.10.15, 24, 25.

4. 5.22.18 See also 5.42. 23.

5. 6.40.13.

6. 6.107.54-57. See also 6.111. 34-36.

7. *AIHT*, p. 242 fn. 5.

8. *Rāmāyaṇa Kāṇḍa Samāja*, p. 35.

one thousand arms. The name of the father of Rāma was Daśaratha but it never became a belief that he had ten chariots or drove on ten chariots at the same time. It can mean that he possessed the strength of ten chariots and the same explanation is hinted at in the *Padmapurāṇa*¹.

Vānaras:—According to the *PCV* the Vānaras originated from the Vidyādhara. Śrīkaṇṭha, their first ancestor migrated to the south and made Kiśkindhipuri as his settlement. The Vānaras formed a branch of the Vidyādhara and they had brotherly relations with the Rākṣasas. They were human beings. Their dynasty was named Vānaravaṁśa for they adopted the figure of monkey as their national emblem.²

According to the *VR*, the first Vānara originated from Brahmā on the Meru mountain. He was made to settle at Kiśkindhipura in the south³. There is no specific reference that the Vānaras and Rākṣasas were related filially. Mr. S. V. Viśvanātha on the evidence of *MB* (*Ādi*, 67. 7) says that the Vānaras were akin to the Rākṣasas both being descendants of Pulastya⁴. Even in the *VR* (5.51.2-3 Rākṣaseśa Hariśastvām bhrātā kuśalamabravīt) for this reason perhaps Rāvaṇa and Sugrīva are spoken of as brothers or at least as of the same family⁵. The *VR* depicts the Vānaras as monkeys with their tails. But this is not the case every time. They are even depicted like human beings⁶.

As regards their migration to the south Mr. Manmathanatha Roy says that the Vānaras were the aboriginal Vṛātyas of India who migrated to the southern plateau after the arrival of the Aryans⁷.

As regards their animal like name it has been taken for granted that in ancient India there were tribes who bore animal names on account of their worshipping some animal deity or on account of having some tribal sign of an animal. The Nāgas, and the Rākṣas also belong to that type of people⁸.

1. Daśaratho daśarathasamānarathī mahiyasā balena /
sumanasam nāma nagaram jigamiṣayā.....(*Pūtālekhaṇḍa*, Ch. 112.
Vol. II, p. 732).
2. See 'Origin of Various Vāṁśas' and 'Ravana Carita'—(Supra).
3. Ibid.
4. *Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture*, p. 83.
5. See *AIHT*, p. 278.
6. See *Rāmāyāna Kālina Samāja*,
7. Vide Ibid. p. 73.
8. *RKSJ*, p. 73; See p. 17 also.

There are historical evidences to show that some dynasties bore animal names. The Nāga¹ dynasty is said to have ruled at Mathurā and Padmāvati during the 3rd and 4th century A.D. Even in the medieval times many Nāga kings ruled at Bhogavati (Ramtek) from 11th to 14th century A. D. and they had snake as the 'ensign' of their banner.² Figure of monkey also was adopted by a dynasty. King Kandara of Ananda dynasty had his banner ensigned with the figure of Golāṅgūla (a species of monkey³).

The VR for the first time depicts the Vānaras as having tails. Scholars explain it as follows : There was a custom in some royal families that at the time of coronation a tail was attached⁴. There is still a tribe in the Andaman islands, whose people wear tails⁵.

All these evidences prove that the Vānaras were an ancient tribe. Mr. S. N. Vyasa considers them as a Vanavāsi people—forest tribe⁶ and they were called Vānaras because of their fickle nature 'capalatā'⁷. Such nick names are not strange. The Russians ridiculed the Japanese by calling them 'yellow monkeys'⁸. That the Vānaras were an ancient people, is corroborated by the *Vasudevahindī* also. It mentions that Vasudeva married many girls belonging to Vānaravāṁśa⁹.

1. VGA, p. 33.

2. See *Nāyakumāracarit*, p. XXXV.

3. VGA, p. 66.

4. *Bengali Rāmāyaṇa*, D. S. Sen. p. 52.

5. V. D. Sīvarkara—*Rāmāyaṇa Samālocanā*.

6. *RKSJ*, p. 71.

7. *Ibid*, p. 72.

8. *RR*, p. 96.

9. *VH*, (Gujarati), Int. p. 4. f n. 1.

CHAPTER XI

LITERARY EVALUATION

SECTION 1. LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR

The *Paumacariyam* attracts our attention not only as the first Jaina Rāma epic but also as an important work composed in the Middle-Indo-Aryan Language. Study of its language is important for the students of Prakrit languages for it claims to be a composition of the first century A. D. (118.103). The authenticity of its date is doubted by various scholars, therefore, let us see as to what stage it represents in the evolution of the Middle-Indo-Aryan dialects.

Phonology*

The alphabets are represented as follows :—

ऋ—अ तण (तृण ३१।५३) —इ मिच्च (भृत्थ ५३।१८) —उ उसभ
(ऋषभ २८।४७) ए गेह (गृह ३५।१७) —रि सरिस (सट्ठ १।२४)
ऐ—ए एरावण (ऐरावत ७।१३) —अइ दइव(देव २८।६०) [—इ विहव
(वेभव १।४३)]
ओ—ओ लोइय (लौकिक ५८।६) [—उ दुक्किउं ढौकितुं २८।१०५] —आ गारव
(गौरव ६।६६)]
श, ष—स विणास (विनाश १।२), उसह (ऋषभ १।१).

Sometimes the sibilants are changed as follows :—

दहरह (दशरथ २३।१०), षण्ह (धनुष १८।८६), छट्ठोववास (षष्ठोपवास ५।५९).

The Visarga is always dropped.

Vowel-Changes

The long vowel before a conjunct is shortened :—

आ—अ उवज्झाय (उपाव्याय १०२।१४) ई—इ कित्ति (कीर्त्ति २८।१४१)
ऊ—उ मुख (मूर्ख २१।३७).

The short vowel is lengthened before a simplified conjunct :—

अ—आ कायव्वं (कर्त्तव्यं १।१८) इ—ई सीह (सिंह ३३।६) उ—ऊ ऊसव
(उत्सव २।६).

* Readers are further referred to 'Variant Readings and Orthographic Scribal Tendencies of the PC.', Revised edition of *Paumacariyam*, Pt. II (P. T. S. 1969).

Not only indeclinables but nominal and verbal forms also interchange sometimes their long and short vowels for metrical regularity :—

- आ—अ तह (तथा १।६), जह—(यथा ११।५५), निसयर (निशाचर १२।६५),
ई—इ अलिय (अलीक ३२।५२), आणिय (आनीत २८।५२)
अ—आ आरण्य (अरण्य ९४।२०, पारोह (प्ररोह ३१।६७), भाणित (अणित १२।७६)
इ—ई जाणसी (जाणसि ४६।१०) उ—ऊ निसेवसू (निसेवसु ७६।२६)

Such changes can be traced in the *Upadeśamālā* of Dharmadāsaṅgī, the *Dhūrtākhyāna* (p. 50) and the *Samarāñcakahā* also. The following example is from *Upadeśamālā* :—

आहरेसु (आहारेसु ४०).

According to Hemacandra (8.4.329) variation between long and short vowel is a general tendency of the Apabhramśa (See Pischel, 100).

In the *PCV* this variation between short and long is found on an average one instance in every canto. Of them the most common words are 'Āṇiya', 'Aliya' & 'Āṇium' and the termination of III. Sing. indicative 'I'.

Sometimes the vowels are entirely replaced by other vowels :—

- अ—इ मुदंग (मृदंग ११।६), उ—कुसमाण (स्पृष्टात् १५।५१), पोम (पदम ५३।७६)
आ—इ जइ (यदा १५।१८), ए—मेत (मात्र २।८७), ओ—जलोल्लिय (जलाद्रित ३।१६२)
इ—उ जुण्य (जीर्ण ६७।४८), ए—वेम्मल (विह्वल ५।१६२), ई—ऊ विहूण (विहीन ४६।५०)

- उ—अ अवज्जाओ (उपाध्यायः २८।२६), ऊ—ए रहनेउर (रथनूपुर २।१५२)
ए—अ नालियर (नालिकेर १।२०), ओ—ए थेवो (स्तोकम् १४।१२४)

Sometimes 'e' is resolved into 'ai' = 'aya' :—

निरवयवख (निरपेक्ष ४।३७).

Sampraśāraṇa :—

Its reverse 'Sampraśāraṇa' is also found :—

अय—अइ—ए परिकहेमि (परिकथयामि ३।१४), अव—अउ—ओ समोसरण (समवसरण १।४०).

Sometimes the vowels are dropped :—

Initial

रण्य (अरण्य ३।१४१), हं (अहं ७।१६३), वट्टिया (अवस्थिताः २।३२), लिय (अस्ति ३।३१).

It is often dropped in enclitics and the consonant following it is doubled:—

इति—ति १५।४४, त्ति ४६।१३, इव—व ४४।१०, व्व ३१।११२

Medial

Sometimes the vowel remaining after the elision of the medial consonant is also dropped:—

Syncope—

पाभूल (पाभमूल—पादमूल ४।६६), आओ (आओओ—आगतः ११।१३)

In some cases the remaining vowel forms Sandhi:—

कुम्भार (कुम्भआर—कुम्भकार ५।२०७), चक्काय (चक्काय—चक्काक २।६६)

Haplology—

परिव्वाअ (परिव्वाअअ—परिव्वाजक ४।१२७), उम्बर (उउम्बर = उदुम्बर ३३।२)

Sometimes the vowels exchange their position:—

विलया (वनिता ७४।२७).

Single Consonants

Single consonants can be studied as Initial, Final and Medial.

Initial

The only example of initial dental-nasal changing into cerebral-nasal is 'Nemisa = Nemiṣa' 55.35. Otherwise as a rule initial dental-nasal is retained. In the compounds the first member of the second word is generally treated as initial in such cases.

This tendency is against the rule of Vararuci (2.40) but it agrees with that of Hemacandra (8.1.229):—

नामावलय १।८, निच्छूढ ८।८४, नेमाल ६८।६४, गंगानईए ५।१७२, गुणनिहि ७४।२३.

Initial 'ya' regularly becomes 'ja':—

जम (यम ७।४६), जइ (यदि १।१६), जूह (यूथ १७।६३), जाव (यावत् ५२।१४).

There is only one instance when initial 'ya' is dropped:—

अहाणुपुर्वि—यथानुपूर्व.

Hemacandra calls it a tendency of Arṣa = Ardhamāgadhi (8.1.245).

The initial 'bha' of root 'bhū' is regularly changed into 'ha':—

हवइ = भवति ६६।२१; हवन्ति = भवन्ति ४।२७ ।

Final

Words with final consonants are made to end in vowels by:—

(i) Dropping the final consonant—

जाव (यावत् ४४।१४), अचिरा (अचिरात् ४७।४१)

(ii) Adding 'a' and 'ā' in Masc. and Fem. forms respectively (see Declensions).

Only final nasal exists which is changed into anusvāra:—

भयवं (भगवन्) २३।१२, चारियं (चरितम् १०४।१), अलं (अलम् ४६।१६).

*Medial**Yaśruti*

The following unaspirate medial consonants are usually dropped and the remaining 'a' and 'ā' take 'ya' śruti:—

क—अण्येय २।१४६, ग—नयय १।४७, च—गोयय ७।१५६, ज—भोयण ७७।३३, त—सीयल १।३, द—हियअ १।१६, प—विडल १।३४, य—आउ ५।४६, व—लायण ३।३६.

Vararuci does not allow 'ya' śruti but Hemacandra allows (8.1.180).

Vaśruti

Often when 'pa' is dropped it is replaced by 'va' śruti:—

मण्डव (मण्डप ३।१), तावी (तापी ३।५।१), विवन्न (विपन्न ६.१७), खव (रूप ४१।४०).

It is sanctioned by Vararuci (2.13) and Hemacandra (8.1.211). Instances of initial 'pa' becoming 'va'

वहरन्ति (पहरन्ति) ८.५७, ववडन्त (प्रपतत्) ८.२२४.

There are some examples of 'va' śruti for other consonants:—

अवलोकणी (अवलोकनी ७।१३९), जुवाउलयन्ति (यूकापनयन्ति ६।४४), मारीवि (मारीचि ८।१५), मुरक (मुरज ७।१५६; ४२।१९) मारिवव्वा (मारितव्या १।१४२), उवहि (उदधि ४८।५४; १०२।८३), हणुवस्स (हनुमतः ४७।२५), धणुवं (धनुष २८।१०४), कविलास (कैलाश ६।५७), आलोक (आलोक २।१२), अज्जव (आर्यक २७।३५), आहीरव (आहीरक ६८।६४), खेव (खेद ६७।२३), गहिवाए (गृहीतया ५४।६), जुवलय (युगलक ६५।२३), ८०।६७), पव्वाविअ (प्रवाजित ११४।१५), फोडव (स्फोटक ६३।२६), भुव (भुज १११।१३) and सुरगीव (सुरगीत ६३।१६).

Pischel (230, 231, 246, 251) observes 'va' śruti even in the Ardhmāgadhī, literature. We can trace it in the *Vasudevahindī* (I.p. 152, 1.6 avaloviyā=avalokitā) and in the *TP* (4.606 bhuva=bhuja).

The following aspirates are usually changed into 'ha':—

ख—दहमुह (दशमुख १।४६), घ—राहव (राघव ४४।५४), थ—महुरा (मधुरा ८६।६०), ध—कोह (क्रोध ७।१५१), फ—विहल (विफल ७२।१३), भ—सोहा (शोभा ६।१७). Exceptions in—भ—वसभ १२।५.

In some cases 'sa' is changed into 'ha' and rarely into 'cha' :—

दियह—दिवस ६१६ छिव—स्पृश ४६१७.

'Ga' is not only sometimes retained (rāga 12.28) but 'ka' is pretty frequently changed into 'ga' :—

क—ग विदूषग १११६ आगास ११११, जाणसी ११७१८ आगम्पयं ३४१४३.

This softening of 'ka' into 'ga' is sanctioned by Hemacandra (8.1.177). Pischel (202) observes this tendency in the *Gauḍayaho* also.

Similarly hard cerebrals are also softened :—

ट—ड कूड ११६६, तड ११६१८, ठ—ढ कडिण ३८१२८, पीढ १०१४६.

There are only two instances of softening of 'ta', Udu=Rtu 16 86 & Kiyagaduddesa=Kṛitakṛtauddesa 4.71 in the *PCV*. Vararuci (2.7) mentions several instances of the change of 'ta' into 'da' under the principal Prakrit. Hemacandra also notes such instances (8.1.209). Even in the *Setubandha* 'udu' occurs several times (Pischel. 204).

Sometimes the dentals are cerebralised :—

त—पडाय (पताका ७७१५८), थ—पढम (प्रथम २६१२२), द—उत्पाडिअ (उत्पादित ४१५५).

'Ti' of affix 'prati' is generally cerebralised :—

पडिसूर (प्रतिसूर्य ११६१), पडिसुइ (प्रतिश्रुति ३१५०), पडिलाहिअ (प्रतिलभित ३५१७०)

Medial dental nasal is cerebralised regularly :—

दसाणण ११६३, माणुस ६१८४, ठाण ३०१४७, अणन्न ३५१४१, आणन्द ७१११८.
Exception—नून ११११२३.

In some words 'ra' is often changed into 'la' :—

र—मुहल (मुखर ८१२८०), सुकुमाल ५११६४, चलण ४११२६, ओरालियं (ओदारिकम् १०२१६८).

Hemacandra (8.1.254; 8.2.68, 123) and Vararuci (2.30) sanction it in the principal Prakrit language.

Sometimes 'da' is changed into 'la' :—

ड—ललाअ (तडाग ८६१६१), वेरुलिय (वेरुह्यं ३१७५), सोलस (षोडश २११२), नियल (निगड २१११३).

In some cases 'pa' and 'va' are changed into 'ma' :—

प—म सुमिण (स्वप्न ११४६), नेमाल (नेपाल ६८१६४), व—म वेसमण (वैश्रवण ११४८).

Sometimes the accented syllable has doubled its consonant :—

रागद्दोस ११७।४४, सम्मल्लीण २।६६, विच्चि (वीचि १०६।४१), जोव्वण (योवन ४७।५५).

Sometimes a nasal is inserted between a compound :—

ण—जम्मणविह्व (जम्मवैभव १।४२), म—एक्केक्कमविरोहं ४।४६.

Metathesis

वाणारसी (वारारणीसी ४१।४०) निडाल (ललाट ४।३३)

Conjuncts

Initial

Initial conjuncts are generally simplified by dropping one of the members :—

चुय (च्युत ७५।५५), कोह (कोघ ७१।५१), मेच्छ (म्लेच्छ २८।६०), सयण (स्वजन १७।२६), वेसा (वेष्ठा १७।२३), साम (श्याम ११।१०५), नेह (स्नेह ८।१६३).

Medial

Assimilation

Conjuncts having members of different classes are assimilated to the similar class :—

Progressive—वक्कल (वल्कल ५८।११), मग्ग (मार्ग ५३।८७), गुत्त (गुप्त १।७);

Regressive—मुक्क (मुक्त २२।६६), पत्त (पत्र १.१४), रम्म (रम्य १०२. १०६), दिव्व (दिव्य ५४।४६).

When the second and the fourth letter of a class is doubled by assimilation, the preceding letter becomes the first and the third letter of the same class respectively :—

Progressive—मुच्छा (मूर्च्छा ४४।४२), अत्थ (अर्थ १।२३), लद्ध (लब्ध १।७), गब्भ (गर्भ ८२।१६),

Regressive—अक्खण (आख्यान ४८।७७), नेवत्थ (नेपथ्य ६६।२६), सुरद्धंसी (सुरध्वंशी ७।१३७).

When the sibilant of the conjunct is assimilated the other letter is aspirated :—

Progressive—पच्छा (पश्चात् १।९०), लट्ठि (यष्टि ३।१४७), हत्थ (हस्त ८३।४);

Regressive—जक्ख (यक्ष ८२।४).

Conjunct 'kṣa' generally changes into 'kkha' or 'ccha' equally and sometimes into 'jjha' or 'ha' :—

क्व—पच्चक्व (प्रत्यक्ष ३१५३), संखेव (संक्षेप १११०) खण (क्षण ४४१६१),
खेत (क्षेत्र ३१३३)

च्छ—दच्छ (दक्ष ४१६०), वेच्छ (प्रेक्ष ९४१३५) छार (क्षार ४१५०)

ज्झ—झीण (क्षीण १०८१३३), झरन्त (क्षरन्त ६५१९२)

ह—दाहिण (दक्षिण ३८१३६), दीहपेही (दीर्घप्रेक्षी २६१२२)

In the conjuncts sibilants and nasals interchange their positions:—

तण्हाल्ल (नृणाल्ल ८१८७), ण्हाळ (स्नायु ६१८८), गिम्ह (ग्रीष्म २१६६).

Dental consonants forming conjuncts with 'ya' are generally palatalised:—

त्य—अणिच्च (अनित्य १११७), ध्य—नेवच्छ (नेपथ्य ३६१११०), व्य—अज्ज
(अद्य ३११५६).

व्य—अज्झयण (अध्ययन ११११०);

Exceptions:—पडणीया (प्रत्यनीका १०५१२१).

Some other conjuncts are also palatalised:—

त्व—चच्चर (चत्वर २११३), त्स—उच्छाह (उत्साह ७११२१), प्स—अच्छरसाओ
(अप्सरसः ७११२०), ह्य—गिज्झ (ग्राह्य २११७), गुज्झ (गुह्य २६१६२).

Sometimes dentals preceded by 'ra' are cerebralised:—

त्त—चक्कवट्टि ११६४, र्व—एयट्ठ (एतदर्थ ६४११), र्वं—छड्ढेयइ (छदंयति ५१२२)
र्र्ध—अद्ध (अर्द्ध ३२११); followed by 'r' र्र—खुड्ढअ (क्षुद्रक १०४१३२)

Sometimes dentals forming conjuncts with other letters are also cerebralised:—

त्त—पट्टण ३३११४, र्थ—अट्टि २२१४, र्ध—दड्ढ ४११३४, ढ्ढ—बुड्ढ
(वृद्ध १०५१२४)

Some instances of special assimilation are as follows:—

वम—प्प रुप्पिणी ७४१८, च्छ—स्स उस्सास (उच्छ्वास २८११०), न्म—म्म
जम्म (जन्म ४१६).

Some other changes are as follows:—

य्य—ज्ज सेज्जा (शय्या २१११२), र्व—ज्ज भज्जा (भार्या २१२२), र्वं—ल्ल पल्लं
(पर्यंक २१११०).

'Ha' forming conjunct with nasal or a sem-i vowel interchange its position:—

णेण्हन्ति (अल्लन्ति १११२), पण्हाम (प्रह्लाद १५१३५).

'Jña' is changed to 'ṇṇa', 'nna' or 'jja':—

ण्ण—गणियणु (गणितज्ञ १७११६६), पण्णणा (प्रतिज्ञा ८११६१)

न्त—सव्वन्तु (सर्वज १।१३), जन्त (यज १।५३), विन्नाण (विज्ञान २५।२५)

ज्ज—मणोज्ज (मनोज्ञ ८।५९), अणुज्ज (अणुज्ञा ३८।२५)

Vararuci (3.44) and Hemacandra (8.2.42,83) do not sanction the change of 'Jña' into 'nna', but in the Ardhamāgadhī it is observed (Pischel, 105,276).

'Jña' preceded by prohibitive particle 'na' or affix 'pari' is treated as medial consonant (Pischel, 107) and so "ja" drops its consonant:—

य—याणइ (२।१९), न—याणसि ६४।९९, न—याणसे ११।७१, परियाणामि ८६।१४.

The conjuncts are simplified by various processes like :—

- (i) by dropping one of the member—'vihala' (vihval 71.42);
- or (ii) by turning one of the member (usually 'ira') into anusvār:—
दंसण (दर्शन २।६८), अंसु (अश्रु ७८।९), जंप (जल्प ५।१७७);
- or (iii) by inserting a vowel in the middle of the conjunct:—

अ—रयण (रत्न १.१३), आ—जाणावण (ज्ञापन ११।८८), इ—सहरिस (सहर्ष ७१।२२), अ—सलाह (श्लाघ ७०।१२), इ—सिलेस (श्लेष १।२२), उ—सुमर (स्मर ९६।४३).

SANDHI

The rules of Sandhi are not followed strictly.

There is no Sandhi when the vowel is left by elimination:—

नउल (नकुल ६६।१४), जइ (यदि ३२।६८),

Exception—बीओ (बिईओ—द्वितीयः ५।१४६).

Sometimes there is no sandhi in compounds also—

आणाइस्सरिय ५।२७०, महगिरिउर्वरि १।४५, परिवाडीआगसं ३१।१०६;

Generally there is no Sandhi in the sentences also:—

वज्जेह इपं १४।१४८, होही अम्हं ७।६८, इन्दो इव ७१।४, मे अइसनानी ७।१६७

Sometimes the ending vowel of a word disappears when the initial vowel of the next word forms Sandhi:—

तिजगुत्तम (त्रिजग—उत्तम १।३), भणइह (भणइ—इह १०।४८),

Sometimes the Sandhi is avoided by inserting a labial nasal between two words:—

सीहरहमाई ३७।११, सुयसारणमाइएसु ७१।३४, एकमेक्का ७१।२५;

There are some survivals of Sanskrit Sandhi—

पुणरुत्तं ४।७३, निस्संक ६।३२, दुच्चरिय (दुश्चरित ५३।१३१)

MORPHOLOGY

There is no dual. All the words end in vowels.

Declensions

In some instances the gender has changed;—

Neuter into	मणो २।१०५, जसो ६।३२	Nom. Sing.
Masculine	कुसुमे २६।३, हियया (हृदयानि ५।६२)	Acc. Plu.
Masc. into Neuter	दियहाणि (दिवसाः २८।८७)	Nom. Plu.
Feminine into	पाउसो २२।४०, सरओ ३०।१	Nom. Sing.
Masculine	गुहइम्मि (गुहईए ५।१ Loc. Sing).	
	Masc. एएसु Loc. Plu. for गुहवी ७५.४८	

Table of Case-forms

There is no dative, its place has been taken by genitive case.

Masculine Nouns.

(Ending in अ)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	हरिसेणो ८।१६२	लक्खणो ७।१।१ पुत्ता ५।१६३ नन्दणा १०६।१४
Acc.	उत्तहं १।१	रहं ७।१२ सुहडा ७।१८ रामलक्खणे ४३।३७
Inst.	रामेण ३०।८१	(रामेणं ६३।१६) पुत्तेहि ७।५।८ देवेहि २८।६०
Dat.	सुयस्स २८।५६ वणियस्स ५।३३	सावयाण ४।७३ दीणकिविणाणं २८।११०
Gen.	पउमस्स १।४ समुरस्स ७।१५५	मेहाण ७।१६ जोहाणं ४४।१४
Abl.	नियमा २।५६ बला ४६।३३	
	सोहम्माउ ५।११४ नरगाओ ११८।२२	
Loc.	कुवे १०६।३७ समुदम्मि ३।१३७	नरएसु ८।२३३ कप्पेसु ७।५।३७
Voc.	दसाणण ८।१०५ जणय २८।५५	जणा ५।१।२७

विज्जाहरतो 63.32 (Mas. Abl. Sing.) is on the analogy of the pronoun e.g. सर्वतः

Masc. Nouns ending in इ and उ

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plu.</i>
Nom.	मुणी २८।१३ साह १३।१८	रिसी ४।७३ कइणो १।१३, सत्तू ५।१२५
Acc.	मुणि १४।१५४ साहुं ८३।२	पसू ४।८०
Inst.	मुणिणा १४।१५१ गुरुणा ५।२१	वइरीहि ७।४।२२

*Singular**Plural*

Gen.	गिरिस्त, ५०।१ मेरुस्त ६४।६	सत्तरिस्तीण १।८३, पडिसत्तूण २०।२००
Eoc.	गिरिम्मि १।३५ हेउम्मि १।८७	
Voc.	गुणनिहि ७४।२२ (वहू ८।१६२)	

Neuter Nouns.

चित्तं ३१।१०७ चरियं १।५ दियहाणि २८।८७ भूषणाई ४०।७ चित्ताई १।१८
दुक्खं २८।२५ वत्थुं १।९९ वयणाणि ४६।१ फलाई ३८।२८ सराई ६४।३८

The forms closed in brackets are not given by Vararuci. Hemacandra allows them. Forms marked X have no anusvāra. Such forms are used for metrical regularity and they are just like forms having anunāsika (चित्ताई, सराई) which is counted as a short syllable.

Feminine Nouns ending in आ, इ, ई, उ ऊ*Singular**Plural*

Nom.	आ सीया ३१।१०४ विसत्ता ६३।२९	विज्जाओ ६५।३ कन्नाउ ४८।१
	इ ई हाणी ३।२३ केगई ३।२३७	सुन्दरीओ ७४।७
	उ ऊ घेगू ८२।१४ सुरवहू ४६।७७	अमरवहूओ ३।६१
Acc.	आ सीयं ५३।१० गंगं ६४।५३	कन्नाओ ४।७ मालाओ २९।३
	इ ई उप्पत्ति ४।६७ नारि ४६।८	विहीओ २८।११ जणणीओ १०६।३४
	उ ऊ कण्डुं ६१।२६	
Inst	आ कन्नाए ३८।४५ गणियाएँ ५।३२	कन्नाहि ६४।३६ कन्तहि ७।११३
	इ सत्तीए ७८।१६ निविस्तीएँ ४६।३४	जुवईहि ४६।३६
	ई वसुमईए ५।१६६ मन्दोयरीएँ ४६।३७ नारीहि २८।८०	पणइणीहि ११८।१०६

उ ऊ रज्जुए ४६।३४ वहूए २१।६७ करेणूहि ७८।२४ वहूहि ८।२८०

Ablative Singular सेज्जाए २।११० भत्तीओ २६।३ नयरीओ ७।११

करेणूए ६५।१४

Gen.	आ उवरम्भाए १।५७ सीयाएँ १००।२८	कन्नाणं १।५० पडिमाणं १०।५३
	इ ई मन्दोयरीय १।५०	जुवईण १।७६ जणीणं ७२।१०
	उ ऊ	सुरवहूणं २।५५
Loc.	आ वेलाए ७८।२४ लंकाएँ १।७८	महिलासु ४१।५१
	इ ई पुरीएँ २८।५३	भोगभूमीसु ३।४२
	उ ऊ	घेसूसु ३।४६
Voc.	आ ससिवयरो ३८।१८	इ—सुन्दरि ६।१६
		ई—सुन्दरी ३।६५

(1) We see that the declension 'ë' is equally used for 'e' in the singular forms. Pischel (385) notes that it is allowed in all dialects for metrical regularity.

(2) Ablative declension 'e' is allowed by Hemacandra (8.3.29) but not by Vararuci.

Sometimes 'artha' and 'hetu' are appended to the bases for expressing dative:—

दोररथे ४१५०, गवेसणट्टे ४६१५, वहस्यं ४१४७, कीलणहेउं २८१६.

We find some instances of dative having 'æ' declension:—

jāpāvaṇaṭṭhæ 11.88, See 39.69; 9.47.9.94.

Pischel notes (363,364) them in Ardhomāgadhi. and Jaina Maharaṣṭrī.

Nouns ending in consonants are simplified by dropping final consonants or by adding some vowels to them and then the declensions are appended:—

(1) Dropping the final consonant:—

Nom.	इन्दई ५१६	मन्ती ५१७७ चक्कवट्टी २८१६
Acc.	भयवं ११७ तपं ५१३०	सराइ ६४१३
Inst.	मरोणं ४१७२ नामेण ५१२०	
Gen.	मणस्स ६१६६ मन्तिस्स १०४१४	
Loc.	आउम्मि ३१३६ सिरे ३१५ नामे ५१२७	
Voc.	सामि ७०१३७ भयवं १४११०	

(2) Adding of vowel 'a' to Masc. and 'ā' to Feminine:—

Nom.	धारिणो ७८१८ एगमणसो १०१५३	दिसाओ २१३४ अच्छरसाओ ७११२०
Inst.	पियरेण ३१११२ गिराए १०४१११	
		Gen. पियराण १०६१३५ ।
		Loc. दिसाओ ८१२८६.

Sometimes we find Sanskrit forms with phonological changes:—

Nom. Sing.	पिया माया भाया १०६१३६ राया २८१५ महप्पा २८१८
Nom. Plu.	नेयारो १४१६२ पियरो २०१८३ पासण्डिणो ४१८५ मन्तिणो ८११५
	पसवो (पशवः १११९०), निहओ (निषयः ४१६१)
Acc. Sing.	पियरं २८१२४ अत्ताणं (आत्मानं १११८)
Inst. Sing.	भगवया ३१११४ महया ४१४१ सिरसा ११७ मणसा ५३१६२
Abl. Sing.	भगवओ (भगवतः ४११७) अप्पणो ३१८० अत्तणो २४१२२ (आत्मनः)
Gen. Sing.	चक्कवड्डणो ४१६२ केवलिणो ११७६

Sometimes masculine nouns ending in 'u' take declensions as if they were the bases in अङ्ग :—

Nom. Sing. साहवो (साधुः) ७४।४१, Acc. गुरवं २०।१०८ (गुरुं),
Loc. गुरवे (गुरी) ६।११४

Nom. Plu. पसवा (पशवः) ११.७७

Personal Pronouns

	Sing.	Plu.
Nom. I	अहं २६।६७ हं ७५।८१ अहम् ११३।६८	अम्हे ५६।१३
„ II	तुमं ८।१६१ तुहं* २८।४९	तुम्हे ११।३१ तुब्भे* ४६।६३
M. F. N. III.	सो १४।१५४ सा ८।१६१, तं १।२०	ते २६।२२ (M)
Acc. I	ममं ९४।६६	अम्हे ११।८२७
„ II	तुमं ४६।२७ तुमे ११३।४१	
M. F. N. III.	तं २२।५ तं ३८।१८ तं ६।६६	ते ५।१६२ (M)
Inst. I	मए १४।१५४ मे ६४।३२	अम्हेहि ६७।४ अम्हे ३८।४६
II	तुमे ६।१७ तए ३७।१४ ते ५।१२३	तुब्भेहि* ११३।२
III	तेणं* १।३० ताए ८।२७७ तीए २।८	तेहि १०६।३५ तेहि ५।१२५ (M)
Gen. I	मे २६।१० महं ९४।७१ महं* ८।१६२	अम्ह १०६।३५ अम्हं ५।११८
	मज्झं ४।७० मज्झं* २८।८१	अम्हाणा ५।११० म्हां ८।१७
II.	तुम्हं* ३।१४ तुहं* ६।६६, तुम्ह ६।७७	तुब्भं* १०६।३४ तुम्ह
	तुह ६।४।८ तुब्भं* ७।१०२ तुज्झं* ६।१७३	३४।४६ तुब्भं* ६।११३
	तुज्झ ६।४।३१ ते ६८।२५	तुज्झं* ६।१३३ (M)
III.	से ३।६८ तस्स २।२२ तीए ५।६३ तीएँ	ताण ३।११२२ ताणं
	७।११९	५।१ (M)
Loc. I.	मए ४६।२६	
II.	तुमे ११४।६	
III	तम्मि २।४ तहिं ७५।३१ ताए ७८।२४	तेसु २८।६४ (M) तेसु ३।१५६ (N)

Hemacandra gives all the above forms in the principal Prakrit. Vararuci does not give those marked with*.

Forms indicated below are also traced in the PCV, which are permitted by Hemacandra—

'amha' 39.113 and 'amham' 63.11 used for I Gen. Sing. (Hem. 8.3.111).

'tumañ' 48.7 and 'tumae' 62.4; 117.37 used for II Inst. Sing (Hem. 8.3.94).

'tume' 16.43; 33.132 used for II Gen. Sing. (Hem. 8.3.99).

'bhe' 39.36; 105.37, seldom used for II Gen. Plu.

The following forms are also used in the *PCV*, but they are not noted by Vararuci or Hemacandra.

'tume' II Nom. Sing. 41.52. Pischel (421) notes it in *Ardhamāgadhi*.

'tumhe' II. Inst. Plu, 46.23 and 'tubbhe' 49. 37; 75.79. It is like 'tubbuhe' of *Amg.* Inst. Plu. (Pischel, 422).

'mamañ' I. Gen. Sing. 28.59. It is more often used in *Amg.* and *JM.* (Pischel, 418)

'tuham' II. Nom. Sing. 26.35; 28.48; 70.37; 113.35; 118.71. It is used in *Ḍhakki* (Pischel, 421).

'tumañ' II. Gen. Sing. 20.130; 48.99; 56.17; 63.52; 65.24; 71.57; 78.30; 86.1; 92.4; 104.17; 111.14; 113.10 (It is seen in *Amg.* (Pischel 421).

'tuhayañ' II. Nom. Sing. 7.57; 13.39; 25.21; 35.63; 33.131; 47.52; 53.26; 77.105. seems to be regulated on the analogy of 'ahayañ' I Nom. Sing.

Besides the above case-forms the following peculiarities are equally notable. Masculine nouns ending 'i' and 'u' equally take 'ṇa' in the Inst. Sing. and the preceding vowel is lengthened (Such forms are found in the *Dhūrtakhyāna* also Int. p. 32):—

नाभीण ३।१०६, मारीजीण ७।१३४, मन्तीण १०।४।२३, साहूण ६।११३.

Sometimes the 'ṇa' is nasalised in the forms such as given below:—

चन्दगईणं २८।४५, नरवईणं १६।३२, जुईणं ८६।१८.

In the *Apabhraṃśa* such forms are prevalent but the vowel preceding 'ṇa' is short and 'ṇa' is not nasalised (See Hem, 8.4.343 and Pischel, 377). Pischel (379) notes 'atṭhīṇa', 'mutṭhīṇa' forms in *Amg.* but they are used either before the enclitic 'vā' or in the end. He further quotes 'mantīṇa' (405) used for metrical purposes in the *Avasyaka Erzählungen* 13.13 (ed. Leumann).

The following examples of Masc. nouns ending in 'a' taking 'u' form in Nom. Singular are rare :—

जरासन्धु (घृ) २०।२०४, त्रिविदु दुविदु ५।१५५, ७०।३४.

'Tivitt̥hu' and 'duvitt̥hu' are found in the *Samavāyāṅga* (Ābhaya-deva) also. 'Tivitt̥hu' is found in the *VH* (p. 276, 277, 311) also.

Some instances are observed without the terminations of Nominative.

Sing. इक्खाम ५१२, तच्चित्तं ८१६८, चन्दोदयसूरोदय ८२१२५, पीयणपुर २०.१६६, १८०),

Plur. छत्ताइछत्तचामर ४१६, अरहन्तसिद्ध ४८१०७, चन्दोदयसूरोदय ८२.११६.

In 'garudakesari' 78.42 (Mas. Plu.) the ending vowel is shortened.

This tendency is often seen on occasions of enumeration of the names of some soldiers, illustrious persons or ancestors of some dynasty. See also 5.45; 5.147; 56.29, 36; 57.6; 57.9; 71.36.

A few cases are found without terminations of object:—

Acc. Sing. विलीखुरयमल ११६, कैवलुब्भव ११३६, संसय २११०२; तच्चत्थ ३११३; सम्माण ३६१४२

Acc Plu. तवपत्तलव १५१२८; विच्छिद्य ३६११८.

'Nami' and 'nemi' 1.6; 'sukhai' 3.11 and 'riu' 6.82. Masc. Acc. Singular and 'paḍisattu' 20 204 Acc. Plural are instances of Masc. Noun ending in 'i' and 'u' which have retained their basic forms. These instances are just like Apabhraṃśa forms (See Hem. 8.4.344).

Instances of nominative forms used for accusative are found in the *PCV* :—

Mas. Sing. पिया ४२१२७, वाली (६१६) साहसगई (५१११७, १८), मन्ती (६६१३२), मेरू १०११४३, साहू १७१४३, etc. ending in 'ā', 'ī', 'i' and 'u';

Fem. Sing. मरहभूमी ७८११३ मही, ८१२२, विमूर्ई ७५१६४, धम्मबुद्धी ६५.६ ending in 'ī';

Fem Sing. जा १२११६ (III Pronoun).

Indeclinable 'Kāraṇatthā' is used for 'Kāraṇattham' 5.87 and 'niggaṇthā' for 'niggaṇtham' 103.106. It is a tendency of changing short vowel with Anusvāra into long vowel. It is common in Apabhraṃśa (See Līlāvāī, Int. p. 81).

It is found in the *PCV* (by analysing Chs. 15, 28, 46, 52, 75 & 78) that Fem. nouns ending in 'ā' and 'ī', 'i', 'u', 'ū' retain their basic forms in Acc. Sing. at the rate of 25% respectively. Examples:—

पडिमा ५११३६, पया १०१५३, भूमि ६६११७ लंकानयरी ८१२८५ बहिणी ३६१६५, रणकण्ठु ७११७.

Optional used of basic forms in Acc. is a tendency of the Apabhraṁśa (Hem. 8.4.344). 'usabhe' (usabhe sumamgalāe jāo bharaho 20.106) Inst. Sing. is just like Apabhraṁśa (See Hem, 8.4.333 and P. L. Vaidya's notes). 'Name' is such an example in *Līlavat* p. 81.

'Hi' is used as Loc. Sing. in 'mahurahi' at 89.24 (Māgadhi of *Mychakatika* also uses this form—Pischel.).

'Kavaṇa (Kim)' as Interrogative pronoun is observed in the PCV at a few places. (71.8, 105.29, 110.13; 117.28; 118.62.). 'Kavaṇā' at 79.10 as Fem. Nom. Sing; 'Kavaṇam' at 118.61 as Masc. Acc. Sing.; at 118.40 and 77.68 as Fem. Acc. Sing.; and at 94.98 as Neut. Acc. Sing. According to Hemacandra (8.4.367) it is an Apabhraṁśa (See form Pischel 428) also.

Verbal Terminations

There is no distinction between Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada roots. Generally the Parasmaipada terminations are appended to the verbal roots, but some Ātmanepada forms are also found in the *Paumacariyam*.

The complications of ten conjugations of Sanskrit have been simplified by doing away with their distinctions. All the roots generally end in vowels and the terminations are directly appended to them. Thus there is no necessity of adding conjugational signs before the terminations. Though the system has been simplified yet some of the conjugational signs with the necessary phonetic changes survive in the language of the PCV.

There are generally two tenses—the Present and the Future. The Past is denoted by Past-passive participles.

Present Tense

I. Sing. मि-भणामि १:१६,	I. Plural मो-पयच्छामो ११३:३
II. Sing. मि-मगसि ६:६६	II. Plural ह-निदह २८:६८
III. Sing. इ-बन्धइ २:६७	III. Plural न्ति-रडन्ति ५६:४५

At 102.75 there is 'aṇumayanti' *metri causa*. There are three instances of 'mu' termination for I Plu. 'vacchāmu' 17.38; 45.38 'paremu' 117.21. Hemacandra (8.3.144) permits it.

Termination of Plural for Singular

'Mo' termination is used for 1st Person sing. Example:—

अभिरमामो ३३:४८, पन्थेमो ३१:३६, मिण्हिमो ३१:४१, १०८:३२, भुञ्जिमो ५२:२०; १०५:६१, काहिसिमो ५६:१५.

Such uses are found in the Amg. They can be observed in the *VH*. (*VH*, Tr. p. 17; *Lilāval*, p. 82).

Termination of singular for plural

अन्ति ५४।२४ पूएइ ५५।५६ III. Plu, इच्छामि १०६।२६ I. Plu.

In some cases the root 'bhū' is represented by 'hu'. Pischel notes such cases in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭri (476). Examples:—

हुन्ति १४.१६ and अनुहुन्ति ११८।१३

Sometimes 'i' is added before the termination. Such instances are found in Hala's *Sattasaī* and *Nandisūtra* (Pischel 454,455) and in the *Upadeśamālā* (72,109). Examples from *PCV*:—

करिन्ति ३.१६२, अगणिन्तो ४६.६२, अमुणिन्तो ४७.६, भुञ्जिमी ५२.२०, भुञ्जिन्ति १०३.३२, करिणिज्ज ११३.१२, चिन्तिन्तेण ६८.४

'kuvvanti' 9.13 is like Skt. 'kurvanti' form of the root 'kr'. It can be noted at 8.252; 44.44; 106.36; 118.114; 117.31; 3.89; 3.95; 7.51; 9.13; 9.68; 14.83; 20.39; 22.46; 26.22; 32.28; 36.29; 39.32; 52.23; 59.88; 94.84; According to Pischel (508) it is used in the Amg. and the JM.

Past Tense

Only the forms of root 'as' are prevalent:—

III. Sing. आसि ३।३५, ५।३०. III Plu. आसि ५।४६, २६।२२ आसी ३।५६, २०।१६८

The only instance of Aorist is—

I Plu. इमु—साहिमु ५।१।१६

It is originally III Plural but it is used indiscriminately in the Amg. (Pischel, 516).

'Bhave' or 'have' forms of 'bhū' are indiscriminately used for all the tenses. A few instances are traced in the *PCV* as follows:—

Present 'bhave' १२।११ III Sing.; 'bhave' ५।२६०, 'have' ३।५५ Past III Sing. &

Future 'bhave' ५।१५० III Plural.

Future Tense

I Sing. स्सामि—किस्सस्सामि ५।१५१ हामि—करीहामि* २६।६७, काहामि २६।३३

Plu. स्सामो—नेस्सामो २८।१११ हामो—दाहामो २८।११०, वच्चीहामो* ५।१६०

II Sing. हिसि—होहिसि ८।१६१, नेहिसि ५।१२५

Plu. स्सह—विसहिसह १०६।३३, हह—पाविहह १४।१४६

III Sing. हिङ—ही—होहिङ ११६२ नेही—५३।६२, होही—६।१७

Plu. स्सन्ति—वहिस्सन्ति ४।८० हन्ति—भवीहन्ति* ११८।७२,
हिन्ति—होहिन्ति ५१।१६

Forms marked with* lengthen the vowel before the augment. This kind of lengthening is noticed in the *VH* also (*VH*, Tr. p. 19).

Pischel (533) quotes such instances from the Apabhramśa literature. Actually it is lengthening of the short vowel when one of the two members of a conjunct following the short vowel is dropped.

Besides there are some typical (archaic) forms of future tense as indicated:—

'ham' for I. Sing. = 'hoham' 6.58, 'kāham' 6.72, 178; 12.20; 22.6; 31.9; 63.67. Pischel (530) observes it in the Amg. and the JM.

'ssam' for I Sing. = 'pāvissam' 109.19, 'maggissam' 24.39, 'voccham' 20.181, 'pecchissam' 102.2, 'muccissam' 102.198. Pischel (531.530) observes it generally in the Śauraseni; and sometimes in the Amg. and the MH.

There is one instance of appending the augment 'hu' for future tense—'havihunti' 118.68, III Plural.

Out of various moods Imperative is regularly used. Potential is sometimes used otherwise it is expressed by appending the participles of potential to the roots.

Imperative Mood

I Sing. सु—माणसु ७०।५२

II. Sing. ०—पेच्छ ५।१७८ सु—साहसु २८।१४ हि—एहि ८।२१८

Plu. ह—गेण्ह ३।१४२ परिहरह १४।१४६

III. Sing उ—होउ ४।४३, अच्छउ ६४।१८

Plu. न्तु—करन्तु ४।७०, रक्खन्तु ११८।११६

'Ha' as plural and 'hi' as singular termination are used for the same II person in the sentence noted below. It is an occasion of panic hence such uses sound natural—

भाउय मा जाह लहु नियत्तेहि ६७।२०.

In the sentence quoted below 'ha' is used for II Sing. But here Rāma during his madness speaks these words.

अत्यरह लहुं सेज्जं सोमिस्ती १११।१३.

Potential Mood

I. Sing. होज्ज ७५।६४. II. Sing. एज्जसु ४४।२३ गणेज्जासु ६४।६६

III. Sing. हवेज्ज ३५।६५ पाविज्जा २।२०.

Conditional Mood

At a few places Conditional Mood is observed. It is formed by applying the persent participle to the verb and then by changing it to the gender of the subject :—

जइ सो मुणी महप्पा, एन्तो लंकाहिक्खिम्म जीवन्ते ।
तो लक्खणस्स पीई, होन्ती सह रक्खसिन्देण ॥ ७५।२४ ॥
जइ हं असमाहीए तस्य मरन्ति महावणे धोरे ।
तो तुव्व किं व सिद्धं, होन्तं महादोग्गकरस्स ॥ १०१।३३ ॥

See also 100.36 and 102.5. Such forms are permitted by Hemaandra (8.3.180). In the *Avasīyakacūṛṇi*, too, we observe such formations. Compare with Hindi—

“लंकाधिपति के जीते यदि वह मुनि महात्मा आते तो लक्ष्मण की राक्षसेन्द्र के साथ प्रीति (हो गई) होती, यदि मैं वहाँ मरती तो तुम्हे क्या सिद्ध होता”.

Ātmanepada

In the passive voice Parasmaipada terminations are generally appended. Some examples of Ātmanepada terminations can be observed :—

रखिज्जन्ते ४।६१, कारिज्जन्ते ११।५, उवगिज्जन्ते ६४।३६.

In the active voice a few survivals of Ātmanepada can be observed :—

बट्ठए (वर्त्तते) ७४।३६, पेच्छए (प्रेक्षते) १४।१०६, चिट्ठए (तिष्ठते) ३।११३, मुंचहसे (मुचिष्यसे ६४।६६).

There are a few examples of Parasmaipada roots taking Ātmanepada terminations :—

पुच्छ (पृच्छामि) ७।२३, आगमिस्से (आगमिष्यामि) ३।११००.

According to Pischel (457) Ātmanepada in large number is a trait of JM.

Participles

Pres. Act. न्त—पियन्त १०६।३८, अणुहोन्त ११।८३ ; माण—कुणमाण ३।४२

Pres. Pass. न्त—रक्खिज्जन्त ४।६१, मुमरिज्जन्त ७४।२५ ; माण—हम्ममाण ४।८३

Also छिन्नन्त for छिन्दन्त ११।२४

Past. Pass. त—अ कय १।१५, इत—इअ परिमहिय १।१, लूडिअ ३०।६३

Some other forms :—दिन्त १।४०, लद्ध १।७, आद्धत्त २।८६

Potential Participle:—

य—सक्क (शक्य) १११४ तव्व—करेयव्व १४११५४ नायव्व—५१२ गस्तव्व ७८१३६
अणीज्ज—करणिज्ज २८१५१ रमणिज्ज १०६१३२ सलाह्णिज्ज ७०११२.

Sometimes 'añña'—'varaṇṇa' 28.104. It is of Mg. Saur. & found in JM. also (Pischel, 571).

Infinitives

तुं—घेतुं १११४ उं—सोउं ३१८ लहेउं—८२११२१ आसासिउं ७३१३२
उ—जंपिउ ५११७७ विलविउ ७४११ (Nasal dropped for metrical purpose).

Sometimes absolute participles are used for infinitives—

तूण—घेतूण ३११४६ ऊण—विहरेऊण ४११ हरिउण २८११०
ऊणं—छाएऊणं ७११५८ परिचइऊणं ६४१२१ (Nasalised for metrical purpose).

Absolute participles.

तूण—मोतूण ११६, घेतूण ३०१६७, ऊण—जेऊण ११८४, नेऊण ८११६३,
गन्तूणं २८११२, पणमिऊणं ६११५ (Nasalisation for metrical purpose)

Sometimes infinitive participles are used for absolutes—

तुम्—गन्तुं २१८३, दट्ठुं ४६११; उं—सुणिउं ३१४२, समाहहिउं ७११४०,
विसज्जेउं ३०१६७ In some cases इय—करिय १३१३०, वड्जिय ५८११६
'तु' in ten cases सुणित्तु ३१६६ करित्तु १०१५३, गेहित्तु ११६११२ आसेत्तु ३११०३,

See also 2.97; 4.72; 6.79, 145; 5.299; 77.87.

'Ttā' in seven cases दसगमिता ३११५४ बन्दिता १२१४६ नमसिता ३२१२.
See also 6.143; 244; 9.97; 97.14.

Vararuci (4.23) permits 'tūṇa' and 'ūṇa' generally and 'iya' exceptionally in the principal Pkt. Hemacandra permits all the above forms (8.2.146).

Pischel notes interchange of Infi. and Abso. in Amg. and JM. (576, 585). 'Ttu' and 'ttā' are Amg. participles (Pischel, 577, 578) and are found in JM. also (577, 582).

Three instances of 'evi—karevi' 11.99, 43.48 'suṇevi' 41.63 can be noted in the PCV. This participle is peculiar to etc. Apa. (Hem. 8.4.440). The VH, I. has four instances of 'eppi' ('geṇheppi'—see VH, Tr. p. 25).

Causal Forms:—

आवे—दावेइ ३।१२१ आवि—भुज्जाविज्जन्त २।५ आ—कारियाइ ५।१७१.

Passive forms:—

इअ—कीरइ १।१५ (क्रियते) इज्ज—भणिज्ज ८।२७७, पूइज्जइ ३५।३८
य—उज्जइ ३१।५३, खज्जन्ति ७।१२६ दिज्जउ २८।५६ घोसाविज्जउ २८।१३३

Intensive Forms:—

ए एहिं ८।२१८ ठाठाहि ७।१५२ गच्छ गच्छ ७०।३२ हणहण १२।११२

Denominatives:—

सेणायइ, सीहायइ ८।७६, कलहन्तो २८।४ लीलायन्तो ६६।१७ खलियारिया
६६।१२ मउडायए १०।८।८

The following forms of some indeclinable which are not given by Vararuci or Hemacandra. Forms in brackets are from Hemacandra:—

इहिं ७३।१२ (एहिं)—now; इहइ ५३।६२ (इहयं), एत्थं २८।५८ (एत्थ)—
here; कल्लि २८।८३—yesterday.

'Kiha' for 'Katham' can be noted eight times 17.5; 26.33; 46.29; 46.80; 46.85, 80.19, 33; 82.17. It is found in the *VH.* (p. 162, 310) also. It is popular in *Apa.* (Hem. 8.4.401).

Some cases of dropping the final nasal of indeclinables are notable:—

लहु ६७।२० (लहुं), जंवेल-तंवेल ४४।२३ एव १२।८२ (एवं), कह १२।८० (कथं)
कल्लि २८।८३ (कल्लिं).

Use of 'mā' negative participle with future —'mā me hohi esā'
28.90; 46.33 is general. (See 22.12; 32.39; 41.38; 48.67; 49.34; 56.15; 106.28).

Expletive 'je' 53.54; 1.14; 118.62 with infinitive is notable. The *Upadesamālā* (35) and the *Dhūrtākhyāna* (p. 53) also have uses.

Expletive 'vo, is also notable. 17.31; 31.53 etc.

Suffixes—

त्त (त्व) = चोरत्त ५।२८ क्षण = पोढत्तण ७०।५४

इल्ल = विआरिल्ल ३।६१, लोभिल्ल ४।६६ इल्लुग = पढमिल्लुग १२।११

'ya (ka)':—It is appended not only to the nouns but to the verbal forms also.

Nouns सत्तुग्घयं ३४।३, महिसय ६३।६३, दइयय ५३।२८, सुग्गीवय
६२।२३, मेहुणय ६३।२१, कलहय ७८।२८, भासणय १०२।६४

Verbs कायव्वयं ३१।८७, वज्जियव्वयं १२.५८, रक्खन्तिया १२.७०,
जाणन्तिया ७६.८, आणत्तिया २३.२१.

अण—जम्मण ११४२, बहण ११४४, कोवण ११४४

अणय—मन्तणय ५१६६, मज्जणय ७८२४, सोसणय २८५०, लज्जणय १०४१६

Tautology are also found—

सुसुयत्थगन्धगन्धं ११२३, जम्बुदीवदीवे २११, तमन्धार ४६५२, रुद्धपहमगं ३३१२

Syntax

The following peculiar uses of some Case-forms are found in the *PCV* :—

(A) Genitive for Accusative—

तुमं पि वि मे न संभरसि ६४१०० ।

Genitive for Ablative

नयरस्स तुरियचलो विणिग्गओ ४१३६, असमत्थो इमस्स दुक्खस्स मोइउं अम्हे
११८२७; See १७३३२१७४; २२११०२; ३११२७; ५६१४१; ८११६;
५३१७५; १०६१४३; १०६११; ११२११२.

(B) Locative for Accusative—

लीलाए वच्चमाणा चउसु वि मासेसु.....पत्ता अवन्ति विसयं ३३१११;
आगया मए दट्ठुं २०१२७; See ६६१२२; १०२११६; ५६११६; ११११४.

Locative for Instrumental is common—

सा वि य बाणेसु पडिह्ठ्ठा ५१११४; (२११०६, २८१६४, ७११४३, १०११३८).

The above types of uses are sanctioned by Hemacandra (8.3. 134, 135).

Locative for Dative—दाऊण रायलच्छी सुएसु ५११६

Locative for Ablative—फलाइं मिण्हन्ति पायवगणेसु ३११४२ (५११६३,
१०२१४६, ११३१३०)

Locative for Genitive—लक्खणरामेसु का गणना ६८१८

Inst. for Genitive—का गणना पाय चारेणं २८१६७

The above types of instances are also observed in the *PCV*. 'Me' as I Sing. Acc. is observed in the *VH* also (*VH*, Tr. p. 25). Instances of Loc. for Inst. and Loc. for Abl. are observed in the *Dhūrtakhyāna* also (*Ibid*, Int. p. 53).

These are the instances of Inst. used for Locative—

बज्जन्ति जिणहरेहि तूराइं ६६१२४, सेज्जहि सुहणिसण्णा १४११४२, पणिवइया
राहवस्स चलणेहि १०११२८.

Such instances are found in the *Dhūrtakhyāna* also (*Ibid* p. 53). Pischel (371) notes that in the Amg., Instrumental stands for Locative too.

Deviations

The following instances of deviation are notable, which seem to be wrong uses :—

Plural forms for singular ones :—

I Acc. अम्हे १६।४३; Fem. Loc. निसासु ३६।३६ खणीसु ३६।४२; सेज्जासु २६।५०; ६१।३७.

Metri causa without declensions :—

III. Inst. Sing. इन्दइ ५५।२०; Neut. Inst. Sing. ह्यहेसिय ७०।६६; Gen. Sing. Fem. पिया ७७।६६ & विदेह १।६६

Metri causa सुणे for सुणेह II. Plu. Imperative ४५।९८.

Nom. Sing. Masc. चन्दरस्सिं ४७।२३ (चन्दरस्सी).

Acc. Sing. जोगिणासिट्ठे ४५।१३ (जोगिणा सिट्ठ).

Ins. Plu. करयलधायाहि ३३।१०६ (करयलधाएहि); साहेहि १०५।१२ (साहाहि—Change of gender).

Gen. Sgin. III. सो ८५।३८ (से).

II, Imp. Plu. पेच्छय ३१।११७ (पेच्छह).

III, Sing. Passive जं भणसि ६४।१२ (जं भणइ) See ६६।२० also.

CONCLUSION

The survey of the language of the *PCV* made above is reproduced below pointing out the salient features of the language.

I A—The general characteristics of the language are as follows:—

Phonology

Vowels:—(i) R is replaced by A, I, U, E or Ri. (ii) Ai and Au are changed into E and O. (iii) Vowels are sometimes qualitatively replaced by other vowels. (iv) Nasals are optionally changed into anusvāra.

Single Consonants:—(i) Śa and Śa are changed into Sa. (ii) Initial Ya is changed into Ja. (iii) Medial Na is changed into Na. (iv) Medial unaspirate consonants are generally dropped. (v) In a few cases Ra is changed into La. (vi) Medial aspirates are generally changed into Ha.

Conjuncts:—(i) Initial conjuncts are simplified. (ii) Generally conjuncts of similar classes are tolerated. (iii) Kṣa is generally changed into Kkha or Ccha almost equally. (iv) Dental consonants forming conjuncts with Ya are generally palatalised and with Ra are optionally cerebralised (v) Jña is changed into Nṇa, or Jja.

Sandhi:—Rules are not followed strictly.

Morphology

Gender:—In some cases the gender of the nouns has changed.

Case Declensions:—(i) Generally the declensional variations of nouns ending in different vowels have been simplified. (ii) Masculine nouns ending in A take O in Nom. Sing.

Verbal Terminations:—(i) Generally conjugational complications have been simplified. (ii) Generally Present Tense, Future Tense, Imp. Mood and sometimes Potential Mood are used. Other Tenses and Moods have disappeared. (iii) Third Person Sing. indicative takes first (iv) Infinitive participles are Tum, Uñ. & U. (v) Absolute participles are Tūṇa, Ūṇa and Ūṇam and in some cases the termination Iya is used.

General:—Many Deśi words are used here and there¹.

These tendencies prove that the language of the *PCV* represents the middle stage of the Middle Indo-Aryan which is called *Prākṛta* by Vararuci and Hemacandra and is designated by the scholars as *Mahārāṣṭrī*.

I B—Then we find that.....

(1) There is 'Ya'śruti in place of A or Ā remaining after the elision of medial consonants. (ii) Medial Ka is pretty often changed into Ga. (iii) Initial Na is retained. (iv) We find some case forms of nouns and personal pronouns which are not dealt with by Vararuci but are consented to by Hemacandra. (v) Sometimes there is interchange between Infinitive and Absolute participles and there are a few cases of Absolute Participles in Ttu and Ttā. (vi) There is liberality in syntax which is in some cases sanctioned by Hemacandra.

These tendencies reveal that the dialect of the *PCV* is akin not to the *Prākṛta* of Vararuci but to that of Hemacandra, the latter being designated by Jaina *Mahārāṣṭrī*.

II—The following peculiarities are noted in the language of the *Paumacariyam*.

A. *Traits of Ardhamāgadhī Canon*:—

(1) There are the following instances:—

Dative in Āe, not less than 20 times as Atthāe (*jāṇavaṇatthāe*) 11.88) and see also 10.4, 11; 11.11, 18; 15.74; 27.12; 29.33; 31.60; 33.37; 39.69; 41.49; 44.3; 59.56; 67.8; 70.27; 98.6; 101.9; 115.1; 117.6; 118.55 and *dhaṇuparikkhāe* 28.103. Appending of plural termination

1. A List of Deśi words and Onomatopoeic forms is given in Appendix No. 6 of the revised edition of *PCV*, Pt. II, (P. T. S., 1968).

Mo for Mi in a few cases of I Sing. (Gihimo 31.51); Dropping of initial Ya in Ahāṇupuvvīṇ (1.8); Iṃsu termination for I plural Sāhimsu (51.19).

(2) Generally Sva of Svapṇa is changed into Su (for 31 times) (Sumiṇa 1.49); (Suvīṇa 2.87); and to Si (only once Siviṇa 96.47)¹

(3) Tiriya (Tiryac form 4.27; 82.55) is used more than 20 times besides Tirikkha 2.59 (for ten times.)²

(4) Sometimes Jña is changed in to Nna.

(5) Sometimes Sandhi consonant Ma is employed.

(6) Sometimes forms of Pronouns like Mamam I Gen. Sing; Tume II Nom. Sing.; Tumhe II Inst. Plu. are noted.

(7) Kuvva form of root Kṛ is observed not less than twenty times

(8) There are instances of Inst. used for Locative.

All these forms reveal that the influence of the Ardhamāgadhī Canon is apparent on the language of the *Paumacariyam*.

II—B. *Apabhraṃśa* Influence:—

(i) Variation between long and short vowels is observed.

(ii) Tendency of Vaśruti is observed in a few cases.

(iii) Three Instances of Absolute termination Evi and eight of the indeclinable Kiha for Katham and ten instances of Kavaṇa for 'Kim'.

(iv) All those instances which are dealt with under the heading Peculiarities in the subsection of Declensions under Morphology.

All these instances prove that the language of the *PCV* is to some extent influenced by the colloquial dialect (Spoken language) which was developing to a stage of attaining literary recognition by the name of *Apabhraṃśa*.

Most of the cases on the basis of which Dr. H. Jacobi assigns primitiveness to the dialect of *Paumacariyam* can be explained as the characteristics of Ardhamāgadhī canon and the *Apabhraṃśa* dialect. Therefore, in our opinion they do not exhibit primitiveness but there is influence of the Canon and the *Apabhraṃśa*.

Now we surmise that the language of the *Paumacariyam* is well developed Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī. It has some traits of Ardhamāgadhī Canon and it is influenced by the dialect of the speech (i. e. the spoken

1. See Hem, 1.1.56.

2. Tiriechi, See Hem, 8.2.143.

language) which was developing (in evolution) to be later recognised as the Apabhramśa language.

On the basis of these characteristics of the language the *Paumacariyam* cannot be held to be composed in the first century A. D. But its date should go to some centuries later. (See. Supra Chapter One.).

SECTION 2. PROSODY

Metres in the Paumacariyam

There are two classes of Indian metres—viz., Mātrā-chanda and Varṇa-chanda. The metres of the former class are measured by the quantity of morae (mātrās) while those of the latter by the number of syllables (varṇas). Our epic poem, *Paumacariyam* is composed mainly in the mātrā-chanda called Gāthā which has its own advantage of greater freedom in construction and more suitability in singing. The poet has stated in the beginning and in the end that he has composed the work in the Gāthā-chanda (raiyaṁ gāhāhi pāyaḍaphuḍatthaṁ 1.3; gāhānibaddhaṁ kayam 118.102). Gāthā is the oldest Prakrit metre even as Anuṣṭup is of Sanskrit. The cause of employing the metre in the PCV is quite apparent from the fact that it had become a sacred metre of the Jainas on account of its very common use in the Jaina canonical literature. Further the introductory chapter of the PCV reveals that the poem is being recited before the audience (etthaṁ ciya paṛisāe.....bhaṇāmi..... sampai.....saṅkhevaṇaṁ nisāmeḥa 1.14,16,31). The reciting can produce an appealing effect upon the audience provided it is done in a sing-song manner and the Mātrā-chandas are well suited to it. In addition to the Gāthā metre, other mātrā-chandas also are employed. They are generally used in the ending verse of the chapters and are seldom employed in the main body. For example the use of other mātrā-chanda at 28.47 is purposeful, because that verse contains the eulogy of the Jina. But the purpose of departing from the running metre and using some other mātrā-metres at 14.70; 17.107; 53.115 and 106.1 is not clearly understandable because at these places there is no change of topic. Further the schemes of 14.70 & 53.115 are defective and they need correction for identifying their metres with some of the derived varieties of Gāthā-proper. It is just possible that they were composed in Gāthā-proper but have got corrupted in the hands of the scribes.

Besides the mātrā-chandas, the varṇa-chandas are also employed. Generally the ending verse of every chapter is composed in Varṇa-chanda. These verses are generally devoted to the praise of religion,

conduct or morality. There are only 12 verses in the main body, which have been composed in the Varṇa-chandas. They occur on the occasions of the eulogy of the Jina (28.48-50), the destruction of the the garden by Hanumat (53.79), the description of the soldiers of Indrajit fighting with Hanumat (53.107-113) and in the beginning of the Praśasti (118.102) appended to the work in the end.

Thus we find that the whole work is well planned with Gāhā as the running metre and the metre of the ending verse of every chapter is changed generally into some Varṇa-chanda and rarely into some Mātrā-chanda.

The following table gives an analysis of the Chandas employed in the PCV:—

I Mātrā-Chanda

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Metre</i>	<i>Main body</i>	<i>Ending verse of the chapter No.</i>	<i>Total</i>
A. Main Prakrit Metre :				
1.	Gāthā (proper)	8499 verses in all (Praśasti-118, 103-119).	x	8516
B. Derived varieties of Gāthā:				
2.	Gāthā (Gāhā)	106.1; 53.115; 14.70	x	3
3.	Udgāthā	x	(16)	1
4.	Simhīnī	x	(96)	1
5.	Gāhīnī	x	(116)	1
6.	Skandhaka	x	(48, 79, 102, 103, 108, 110-112, 114, 117).	10
7.	Gāthā-Skandhaka	17.107	(115)	2
C. Other Prakrit Metres :				
8.	Galitaka	28.47	(52)	2
Total		8521	15	8536

II Varṇa-Chanda

1.	Pramāṇikā	(53.107-113)	x	7
2.	Dodhaka	x	(17, 22, 35, 46, 58, 87, 94)	7
3.	Indravajrā	x	(14, 21, 36, 64, 80, 83, 85, 91)	8
4.	Upendravajrā	x	(49, 60, 62, 63, 113)	5

Sl. No.	Name of the Metre	Main body	Ending verse of the chapter No.	Total
5.	Upajāti	x	(4, 9, 27, 32, 34, 40, 41, 43, 57, 69, 71, 81, 86, 89, 90, 104)	16
6.	Drutavilambita	x	(8, 28)	2
7.	Toṭaka	(28. 50)	x	1
8.	Indravamśā	x	(50)	1
9.	Vamśastha	(28. 48)	(105)	2
10.	Indrāvamśastha (Jāgati-Upajāti)	x	(31)	1
11.	Rucirā	x	(51, 70, 72, 76, 78, 98)	7
12.	Vasantatilakā	x	(3, 5, 10, 12, 13, 19, 25, 37, 27, 39, 42, 44, 47, 55, 61, 66, 67, 68, 74, 77, 88, 92, 93, 99-101, 106, 118)	
13.	Śarabha	(28. 49)	x	1
14.	Mālini	x	(2, 6, 15, 18, 23, 24, 26, 38, 53, 59, 65, 95, 109)	13
15.	Mandākṛāntā	x	(29, 45, 54, 56)	4
16.	Śārdūlavikrīḍita (118. 102 Pra- śasti's opening verse)		(1, 11, 20, 30, 75, 97)	7
17.	Sragdharā	x	(7, 33, 73, 82, 107)	5
18.	Daṇḍaka	(53.79)	x	1
Total		12	103	115
Grand Total		8533	118	8651

I Mātrā-chandas

A. Main Prakrit Metre :

1. Gāthā proper¹:—It has 30 and 27 mātrās in the first and the second line, having either line its caesura at the 12th mātrā. The sixth gaṇa of the first line has either 121 or 1111 scheme and the same gaṇa of the second line has one mātrā only (Every line is divided into the gaṇas of four mātrās—thus there are seven gaṇas in the first line and six gaṇas in the second line and the whole couplet must have 2 gaṇas of 2 mātrās and one gaṇa of 1 mātrā only). In 118.105b one mātrā

1. See PP, I. 54-57 & GL, vv, 6-9.

exceeds.¹ In 14.72b 'miha' should be 'miham'.² In 43.15 the 'bahave' should be corrected to 'bahavesu' for grammatical correctness and metrical regularity.³ In 106.1 three mātrās are wanted in the second foot.⁴

Types of Gāthā proper

- A. *Pathyā*⁵:—At the 12th mātrā of each line of the Gāthā proper the word must terminate (See 6.213; 48.77; 14.72; 43.15).
- B. *Vipulā*⁶:—The above rule is not applicable to it (See 37.50; 42.6).
- C. *Sarvacapalā*⁷:—It has in both the lines the second and the fourth gaṇa in 121 scheme which is preceded and followed by a guru (2) (See 33.96; 48.121).
- D. *Mukhacapalā*⁸:—It has the above scheme in the first line only. (See 20.100; 21.67; 23.8).
- E. *Jaghanacapatā*⁹:—It has the above scheme in the second line only. (See 26.1; 26.12, 64, 97; 27.39; 29.39; 30.11)

B Derived varieties of Gāthā :

The following Chandas are derived from the Gāthā proper either by decreasing or increasing the number of mātrās in the first or the second or both the lines of the Gāthā proper.

2. *Gāthā (Gāhū)*¹⁰:—It has 27 mātrā (33 minus 3) in the first line also; the caesura is at 12th mātrā and the sixth gaṇa is of one mātrā only (See 106.1). The first¹¹ line of 53.115 and of 14.70 is defective¹².

1. बहुबुद्धिहस्सेहि, न य पत्तो उवसमं भयणमूढो ।
सो विज्जाहरराया, गम्भो य नरयं अणियमियग्गा ॥ ११८.१०५
2. मणुत्ती वयगुत्तो तहेव कायस्स जा हवह गुत्ती ।
एयाउ मुणिवरेणं निययमिह धारियव्वाओ ॥ १४.७२
3. अह मेह्वाहणाई, रक्खसवंसे नरिन्दवसहेसु ।
कालेण ववगएसुं, बह्वे महानुभाविसु ॥ ४३.१५
4. कञ्चणनगराहिवई, कणय रहो (?) खेयरो सूरौ ।
महिला तस्स सयहुया, दोण्णि य धूयाउ कन्नाओ ॥ १०६.१
5. *Op. Cit. GL*, 18.
6. *Ibid.* See also—Apabhramśa Metres, II; vide p. 53 of the Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. 5, Pt. III, Nov., 1936.
7. *GL*, 19.
8. *Ibid.* 20.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *I. PP*, 52.
11. अह माहई वि एन्तं, सरनिवहं रिऊण परिमुक्कं ।
छिन्दह चलगहत्थो, गयणे निसियद्धचन्देहि ॥ ५३.११५
12. हिसालियचोरिक्का-मेहुणपरिगहस्स नियत्ती ।
एयाई पंचमहव्वयाणि समणाण भणियाणि ॥ १४.७०

3. *Udgātha*:—It has 30 mātrās in both the lines and caesura at 12th mātrā in each line (See 16.90).

4. *Simhīnī*:—It has 32 mātrās in the first and 30 mātrās in the second line (See 96.49).

5. *Gāhīnī*:—It is just the reverse of the *Simhīnī* (See 116.17).

6. *Skandhaka*¹:—It has 32 mātrās in either line or eight gaṇas of four mātrās (see 48.125).

7. *Gāthāskandha*:—It has one line of *Gāthā* and the other of *Skandhaka*. In 17.107 the first line exceeds by one mātrā².

C. Other Prakrit Metres:

8. *Galitaka*³:—The verses 28.47 and 52.29 are of *Galitaka* type. In 28.47 the first three feet have 21 mātrās, the fourth foot has 23 mātrās—its scheme is also defective⁴ and 'ṇha' in the first foot should be counted as one mātrā⁵. In 52.29 every one of the four feet has 22 mātrās. In the first foot 'vicittayāe' should be 'vicittāe' as in the fourth foot⁶.

II Varṇa-Chandas

1. *Pramāṇikā*⁷: It has 8 syllables alternately short and long in each foot.

2. *Dodhaka*⁸: It contains 11 syllables having three Bhagaṇas and two long letters. In 94.108 the second foot is defective⁹ at 'mahiliya.' In 22.110 the second foot is defective at 'sāmpannā'¹⁰.

1. PP, I. 73 & GL, 64.

2. सो भणइ अज्ज दियहो, विभावसू बहुल अट्ठमी य चेतस्स ।
समणो च्चिय नस्सत्तं बम्भा उण भण्णए जोगो ॥ १७.१०७

3. See Jaina Yuga, Pustaka I, Aṅka. 5, Poṣa 1992, pp. 180-181-K. H. Dhruva.

4. जो तियसाहिदेहि ष्हविओ गिरिमत्थए, किन्नरसिद्धजक्ककयमंगलसहए ।
जम्मजराविओगधणकम्मविणासए, पणमह, आयरेण सययं उसभजिणिन्दए ॥
२८.४७

5. See PP, I. 5

6. एवं इमं तु पेच्छह कम्मविचित्तयाए सयलजसं उवेइ पियसंगमभत्ताए ॥
लंकामुन्दरीए हणुक्कस विरोहाए, ववहरियं सिसोहविमलरइविचित्ताए ॥
५२.२६

7. PP, II. 69.

8. Ibid, 104.

9. तत्थ वणे महयं ति बलं तं, महिलियरण्णसरं निसुरोउं ।
जायमयं अइच्चलनेत्तं, छायाजसं विमलं पि निह्वं ॥ ६४.१०८

10. जे भरहाइनराहिवसूरा, उत्तमसत्तिसिरीसंपन्ना ।
ते जिणधम्मफलेण महप्पा, होन्ति पुणी विमलामलभावा ॥ २२.११०

3. *Indravajrā*¹: It has 11 syllables in each foot and has the scheme of Ta, Ta, Ja, and two long syllables (See 14.158).

4. *Upendravajrā*: It has its first gaṇa in Ja scheme while the rest of the scheme is identical with that of *Indravajrā* (See 60.9).

*Upajāti*²: It is a mixture of *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*. Example: 89.64—It has first and third foot of *Indravajrā* while second and fourth foot of *Upendravajrā*. There are examples of one foot of *Indravajrā* and the rest of the three feet of *Upendravajrā* (See 32.79) or vice versa (See 40.16; 57.36; 71.69; 81.15; 90.30). Such a combination is allowed by Virahāṅka who defines it as *Slikatripāda*. He names the *Upajāti* as *Miśrā*³.

6. *Drutavilambita*⁴: It has 12 syllables with the scheme of Na, Bha, Bha, Ra, in each foot (See 28.141).

7. *Toṭaka*⁵: It has the scheme of four times 'Sa' gaṇa in each foot.

8. *Indravamśā*⁶: It has Ta, Ta, Ja, Ra scheme in each foot.

9. *Vamśasthai*⁷ or *Vasantamañjarī*⁸: It has Ja, Ta, Ja, Ra scheme in each foot.

10. *Indra-Vamśastha*: It is a mixture of *Indravamśā* and *Vamśastha* (See 31.128—Its first foot is of *Indravamśā* and the other three of *Vamśastha*. It is also called *Jāgati upajāti*⁹).

11. *Rucirā or Sadāgati*¹⁰: It has 13 syllables and the scheme is Bha, Sa, Ja, and a long syllable. It has caesura at 4th syllable. See 70.71—The 'sajjāuhā' of the third foot should be 'saāuhā', otherwise that foot is defective¹¹.

12. *Vasantatilakā*¹²:—It has 14 syllables in each foot. Its scheme is Ta, Bha, Ja, and two long syllables (See 88.43).

1. PP, II. 114.

2. Ibid, 118.

3. See VSJ = Vṛtājāṭisamuccaya 5.2'. (J.B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 8, No. 1 & 2, p. 13, 1932.).

4. Ibid. 5.28.

5. Ibid. 5.27.

6. Hem. Chandanūśāsanam p. 7a line 17.

7. Ibid. Adhyāya 2. 159.

8. VSJ, 5.26.

9. Op. Cit. Jaina Yuga.

10. VSJ, 5.30.

11. महाभडा कवड्यदेहभूसणा, समन्तओ तुरयगइन्द्रसंकुला ।

सज्जाउहा दिगयस्तेयसन्निहा, विसिग्गया विमलजसाहिलासिणो ॥ ७०.७१

12. PP, II. 159.

13. *Śarabha*¹:—It has 15 syllables in each foot. It has all the syllables short except the last one which is long.

14. *Mālinī*²:—It has 15 syllables with the scheme of Na, Na, Ya, Ya. It has caesura at the eighth syllable (See 2.119). In the fourth foot of the 95.68 'siriḥāi' is defective.³ In the second foot of the 109.26 the 'guṇagahaṇam' should be corrected to 'guṇagāṇam', otherwise both the sense and the metre are defective.⁴

15. *Mandākrāntā*⁵:—It has seventeen syllables. It has caesuras at 4th and 10th syllable. Its scheme is Ma, Bha, Ta, Ta and two long syllables. (See 45.45).

16. *Śardūlavikrīḍita*⁶:—It has 19 syllables, caesura at 12th and Ma, Sa, Ja, Sa, Ta, Ta and one long syllable. (See 1.90).

17. *Sragdharā*⁷:—It has 21 syllables, caesuras at 7th and 14th syllable and Ma, Ra, Bha, Na, Ya, Ya, Ya scheme (See 73.35). In the fourth foot of the 107.15 'tamha' should be corrected to 'tamhā'⁸.

1. PP, 166.

2. Ibid. 165.

3. अहिगयतवसम्मादिद्विदशेकचित्तं, समणामिव गुण्डं सीलसंभारपुणं ।
परजणउवयारि वच्छलं धम्मवन्धुं, विमलजलनिदानं को ण सिरिहाइ वीरं ॥
६५.६८

4. सुरवदभिशिणं जं तच्चमग्गाणुरत्तं जिणवरगुणगहणं सुप्पसत्थं पवित्तं ।
सुणिय विबुहसंघा तं च इन्दं नमेउ', अइविमलसरोरा जन्ति सं सं निकेयं ॥
१०६.२६

5. VSJ, 5.34.

6. VSJ, 5.40.

7. Ibid. 5.45.

8. एवं जो दीहा सुत्तं कुणइ इह नरोऽखेयवावारजुत्तो, निच्चं भोगाभिलासां
सयणपरियणे तिब्बनेहाणुरत्तो । संसारं सो महन्तं परिभमइ चिरं घोरदुक्खं
लहन्तो, तम्ह रायं पसत्थे ससियरविमले होहि धम्मैकचित्तो ॥ १०७.१५

N.B. In the second revised edition of *Paumacariyam* (P. T. S. Varanasi, 1962, 1968) only five of the above mentioned verses are found corrected as follows:

अणिमियप्पा, (Supra, p. 581. fn. 1), बह्वेसु, (Supra, p. 581. fn. 4),
°हो नाम खे°, (Supra, p. 581. fn. 5), रिउजणेण (Supra, p. 581. fn. 11), तम्हा (Supra, p. 584. fn. 8)

And two more can be corrected as indicated below according to Appendix No. 7 of the revised addition of PCV.

मेहुन्नपरिग्गहस्स य नियत्तो (Supra, p. 581. fn. 12), सहाउहा (Supra, p. 583. fn. 11).

18. *Daṇḍaka*:—It is a variety of *Daṇḍaka* type of metres. It has 84+87+87+84 syllables in the successive four feet and the schemes Na, Na, and 26 times Ra in the first and the fourth foot each while Na, Na, and 27 times Ra gaṇa in the second and the third foot each. Hemacanda¹ says that *Daṇḍaka* has always more than 26 syllables and the Ra gaṇas may increase up to the extent of 331 times.

SECTION 3. PCV AS A WORK OF ART

A. Title of the work:

The work is named *Paumacariyaṃ* (*Padmacaritaṃ*)². The main theme of the work is about the life of Padma (Rāma), eighth Baladeva of the Jaina faith, from his birth to emancipation. The pivotal incidents of the story are the voluntary exile of Padma, the kidnapping of his wife, Sitā by Rāvaṇa and Rāma's success in rescuing Sitā, therefore, the title of the work suits the theme.

B. The work a Carita or a Purāṇa:

The poet introduces the work as a 'carita'³ and gives it the same nomenclature in the colophons at the end of all the cantos and at other places⁴ also. At two places the work is designated as a 'Purāṇa'⁵ also. The Jaina tradition does not distinguish between a 'Carita' and a 'Purāṇa'. Raviṣeṇa styles his *Padmacaritaṃ* as *Padmapurāṇam* also in the colophons at the end of some of the cantos. Jināsena and Puṣṇandanta name their work dealing with the life of sixty-three illustrious persons of the Jaina faith as *Mahāpurāṇas* while Hemacandra calls his work on the same subject, a *Carita*.

Jināsena in his *Ādipurāṇa* defines 'Purāṇa' as a narrative about ancient persons traditionally recognised as illustrious⁶. He says that there are twenty-four Purāṇas dealing with the life of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras separately and the collection of all these is called a *Mahāpurāṇa*. So a *Purāṇa* deals with the life of one illustrious person while a *Mahāpurāṇa* deals with the lives of many. Thus *Paumacariyaṃ* may legitimately be called a *Purāṇa* because it contains the narrative

1. *Chandanīśāsanam* with Vṛtti, p. 18a, lines 17 & 18 and p. 19a, line 3.

2. It is only at 1.90 & 118.101 that the work is named 'Rāmadēvacariyaṃ' and 'Rāmāravinda-cariyaṃ' respectively and in the Praśasti it is called 'Rāmacariyaṃ' 118. 102 and 'Rāhavacariyaṃ' 118.114; 118. 118.

3. 1.8 (*Paumacariyaṃ*).

4. See above reference No. 2.

5. Satta Purāṇettha ahigārā-1.32; ettha Purāṇammi vaṇṇiyā (Praśasti 118.111).

6. Purāṇatanāṃ Purāṇam 1.21.

7. 2.134.

of Padma, an illustrious ancient person. In the *Paumacariyam*, there are, no doubt, accounts of the lives of some other great persons but they are subordinated to the main story of Padma. Jināsena further tells us that a *Purāṇa* should describe the Universe, the country, the capital, the kingdom, the Tīrtha (the establishment of the ford), charities and penances, four states of existence and the fruits of 'puṇya' and 'pāpa'.¹ The *Paumacariyam* contains descriptions of all these topics. It further in its Praśasti states that the topics of Kāma, Artha, Dharma and Mokṣa are also described in it.²

Now let us trace the development of the concept of a *Purāṇa* in the Brahmanical tradition. The *Vāyu*³ and the *Matsya*⁴ *Purāṇa* define *Purāṇa* as an ancient tale. Gradually the definition of *Purāṇa* expands. Amarasiṃha⁵ says that a *Purāṇa* should contain the description of creation, dissolution and recreation, divine genealogies, ages of Manus and genealogies of kings. Later on five more topics are added to the above list, these being means of livelihood, incarnation of Gods, the final emancipation, Jīva (unmanifest) and Brahman.⁶ Thus the Brahmanical concept of a *Purāṇa* is wider than the Jaina one and a Jaina *Mahāpurāṇa* can be fairly compared with a Brahmanical *Purāṇa*. Still later on the description of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa were also considered to be important ingredients of a Brahmanical *Purāṇa*.⁷ Our work also states that these four topics are described in it.

C. Planning of the PCV :

The poet begins his work with a deliberate plan. He proposes to deal with the following seven subjects (Adhikāras) the universe, the genesis of Vamśas, departure for forest, battle, birth of Lava and Aṅkuśa, salvation and various past births.⁸ In the work proper the poet takes up all these subjects. He also gives an elaborate and systematic list of the contents of the work in the first canto (1.34-88). All those contents or topics are described into the work which is divided

1. 4. 3. See also *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadaṇṭa. (20. 1. 4-5).

2. Kāmatthadhammamokkha ettha Purāṇammi Vaṇṇiyā savve 118.111.

3. Yasmātpurā hyanatīdaṁ Purāṇaṁ tena hi smṛtam 1.83.

4. Purāṇanāyaka Purāṇaṁ Vidurbudhāḥ-53-62.

5. Vide *Studies in Epics and Purāṇas of India* by A. D. Pusalker (1955), Int. pp. 46 f.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid & *Matsya Pu*, 5 3.66 (Dharmaścārthaśca kāmāśca mokṣaścaivātra kīrtyate).

8. Thiivamśasamuppatti, patthāṇarāṇaṁ Lavaṅkusuppatti/
Nivvāṇamaṇeyabhavā, satta Purāṇettha aḥṭṭārā/1.32.

into 118 Cantos. The poet has not devoted separate cantos for each topic proposed in the list of the contents. Sometimes a topic runs through more than one cantos and sometimes more than one topics have been included in one canto. Thus though the work, not divided into clear-cut Kāṇḍas like the *VR*, systematically follows the plan outlined in the first canto.

D. A Narrative Epic Poem and its style:

The work is a narrative epic poem. In a narrative the emphasis falls on the depiction of incidents which should proceed along in a chain—the ensuing incident naturally emerging from the preceding one. The first incident is just like throwing a stone into a pond and then a series of incidents follows in concentric circles. In this epic poem Kaikeyī's 'svayamvara' is the germinating idea—the initial incident. Daśaratha's fight against his rivals results from it. Then follow the granting of a boon to Kaikeyī, demand of kingdom for Bharata, refusal of throne by Bharata and Rāma's voluntary exile to remove the scruples of Bharata. Thus the incidents are woven into a chain.

In the forest while cutting a thicket of bamboos, Lakṣmaṇa unknowingly cuts off the head of Śambūka, the son of Candranakhā. This incident results in Candranakhā's asking her husband Kharadūṣaṇa to kill the culprits. Then follow Rāvaṇa's arrival to help Kharadūṣaṇa, the former's getting enamoured of Sītā, kidnapping of Sītā, death of Rāvaṇa, rumour against Sītā, her exile, the war-campaign of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa against their father and so on. Thus the poet has moulded the whole story uniting and co-relating the incidents in a truly narrative style.

Then there are incidents in the *PCV*, which strike as being entirely novel to a reader of the Rāma-kāvya's preceding it. These incidents are Bhāmaṇḍala's birth and his kidnapping, sham Sugrīva's quarrel with Vānara Sugrīva, battle of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa with Rāma, the story of Kañcukī and Rāma's madness. At several places there are divergences also from the popular Rāma story and thus we find that the narrative has gained a new pattern at the hands of Vimalasūri.

The narrative runs ahead briskly yet easily. The language is simple, not burdened with complicated compounds and phrases. This simplicity of language and this ease of style make this narrative a successful one. The descriptions are always short so the easy flow of the narrative is never clogged, the curiosity of the reader is ever kept alive. All these are the essential features of a successful narrative.

There are spots where the poet has given discourses in the first person. Here we find a well marked transition in the gradual flow of the rythm. Short periods are introduced, style is shifted to adapt the verses to a natural dialogue. Varying moods of anger, quietude, challenge and counter-challenge have been conveyed by proper sound effects. These spots are dramatic and they have got picturesque qualities. Bharata's thoughtful and calm discourse with his father (31.79-92), Rāvaṇa's imploration to Sītā and her angry retort (46.46-50), Vibhīṣaṇa's advice to Rāvaṇa and Indrajita's intervention (55.5-17), the hot exchange of words between Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa (61.14-19) and Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa (71.51-57) are examples in question.

Like most Indian classical Epics and Purāṇas the *Paumacariyam* also has not got the unity of plot. The main Rāma-story has been intervened time and again by so many side stories. These side stories bear little or no organic connection with the main story but they add to the success of the narrative as a whole. They break the monotony of the main narrative and thereby save the work from being a cumbersome one, which it might have been because of its voluminous character.

The main Rāma-story commences from Canto No. 22. Preceding it, the narrative of Rāvaṇa is related. It depicts the 'utkarṣa' of Rāvaṇa through his heroic achievements. He is the Pratināyaka in the main Rāma-story where the 'vināśa' of Rāvaṇa is depicted. Thus we find that the hero of the main story gets elevated by bringing about the end of the khala-nāyaka. It is a type of style of narration recognised by the rhetoricians.

The main story as already stated above and the story of Rāvaṇa are intercepted with many side stories, of which some are interesting in themselves. It is the previous-birth stories of various characters which simply depict the 'phalas' of Karmas and have no other motive at all. A few of them merely enumerate serially the number of the previous births of one or the other character. The stories of Añjanāsundarī and Hanumat, Hariṣeṇa, Naghuṣa and Simhikā, Sodāsa and Prabhava, and Sumitra are the examples of interesting side-stories. Similarly the stories of prudence are also not less interesting. The story of the origin of Brāhmaṇas is quite an amusing one. Of all the intervening stories the story of Añjanāsundarī and Hanumat is the best from the point of view of its plot and plan.

Thus the side stories are like the sauces which keep up the appetite of the reader for the main-story, and the highest value of them lies in their motto of imparting some moral instructions to the people. Finally it is also true that the religious discourses intervening at some places hamper the free-flow of the narrative but it should not be forgotten that our work is called a *Purāṇa* or a *Carita* and the introducing of religious discourses in such a work is a conventional style of the ancient literature.

E. Characterisation :

Generally in the *Purāṇas* episodes or events hold the first place while the participant characters are kept in the background, but the author of our work has paid due attention to characterisation. The characters of the *PCV* are somewhat differently moulded than those of the *VR*. We find that they are ennobled and are more plausible on account of generally being disconnected with the elements of superstition. Kaikeyī of the *PCV* is no more a wicked and selfish woman. She is only a frail human being tossed by natural desires and affection. Rāvaṇa here is not a downright villain. The Vānaras are not monkeys in the literal sense of the term. They are a tribe having monkey as their state-emblem. Similarly the Rākṣasas are not fabulously ferocious and grotesque in appearance. They also are a race of ordinary human beings with war-like spirit. Rāvaṇa is one headed. Kumbhakarṇa is religious, not diabolical by nature. Indra is not a celestial lord. He is the lord of the Vidyādhara, a human race. There is nothing supernatural about the birth of Sugrīva, Bālī and Hanumat. They are born just like human beings. Sītā is not here born in any supernatural way. She is born of Videhā, the wife of Janaka. Thus we find that the characters in the *PCV* are plausible and devoid of any element of superstition. It is this due attention on the part of the poet, paid to characterisation that raises the *PCV* above a simple traditional *Purāṇa* and takes it to the plane of a work of art. Now we shall deal with the important characters of the *PCV* individually.

Rāma :—Rāma is the hero of the *PCV* as he is of the *VR* and the other Rāma-epics. He is a dhīrodātta character, brave and generous, patient and firm in adverse situations, endowed with divine virtues and extraordinary prowess. The Rāma of the *PCV* and the Rāma of the *VR* are mostly alike but in the *PCV* there are points where Rāma rises above the Rāma of the *VR*. In the *PCV* Rāma accepts exile voluntarily to remove the scruples of Bharata who does not accept the throne considering that it will be an onslaught on the legitimate

right of Rāma. Advising Lakṣmaṇa to cut off the ears and nose of Candranakhā (Śūrpaṇakhā), a woman in the *VR* may be said to be derogatory to the character of Rāma. Here this incident does not find any place and thus the slur has been removed from the character of Rāma. Rāma's killing Vāli stealthily also does not find mention. Rāma of the *VR* kills Śambūka while the latter is meditating on the charge that he is a Śūdra and no Śūdra is entitled to perform any sort of penance. In the *PCV* this point is left out and thus Rāma gets saved from a criminal charge. In this way Rāma of the *PCV* is nobler and more humane than the Rāma of the *VR*.

Bharata :—Bharata is a noble character. We find him with his soul enlightened. He knows that the earthly glory is transitory, lust for power and possession is like running after a mirage. He is bent upon renouncing the world for he knows that liberation from the shackles of Karmas is the real goal of life. When Daśaratha decides to renounce the world he also gets ready for the same. Kaikeyī finds herself helpless—both her husband and son are going to renounce the world. Therefore she asks for a boon that Bharata should succeed Daśaratha and in this way she tries to force Bharata to stay with her. But Bharata's discretion could not allow him to accept the throne which is the right of Rāma, his elder brother. It is only on being compelled by the circumstances that he accepts the throne for Rāma voluntarily goes into exile. The seeds of this indifference to worldly life are traceable in the character of Bharata from an earlier period. On the occasion of Sitā's 'svayamvara' Kaikeyī suspected that Bharata was developing a passive attitude towards worldly glory and achievements. Later on when Bharata fails to bring back Rāma from exile, he accepts the throne no doubt but only with a firm and determined resolution that he would renounce the world on Rāma's coming back from exile. When Rāma returns, Bharata takes Dīkṣā in spite of Rāma's insistence on his continuing as the king. Thus we conclude that indifference to the world and a forceful drift towards asceticism are the recurring traits of his character.

Lakṣmaṇa :—Lakṣmaṇa is a passionate character swayed by spontaneous impulse rather than deliberation. He is a mighty force of nature as if it were, of course with a natural drift towards the good, guided by his own right reason and by Rāma who acts as a beacon light for him. When Rāma starts for exile, Lakṣmaṇa gets angry with Daśaratha for he thinks that the latter is unjust, lacking in foresight and is violating

the tradition of the family. He feels an impulse that he should wipe out all the new and unexpected developments and restore Rāma to the throne. But on second thought he is sobered and pacified thinking that he should depend on the judgement of his elders. At one spot Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā enter the residence of Kapila, a brahmin, to quench Sītā's thirst. Kapila insults them saying that they had violated the sanctity of his house by entering into it. Lakṣmaṇa is at once violently enraged. He catches hold of the brahmin's legs, turns him upside down and keeps him tossing and turning. Rāma intervenes and rescues the brahmin.

Lakṣmaṇa is wanton and adventurous. When he gets a sword he tries it on a thicket nearby and incidentally cuts off Śambūka's head and thereby invites the enmity of Kharadūṣaṇa.

In the *PCV* it is he who killed Kharadūṣaṇa and Ravaṇa. Chivalry is the dominant characteristic of all the heroes of the ancient and medieval literature. Lakṣmaṇa also has a large share of it. He can even suffer the blow of king Aridamaṇa's 'śakti' to win the hand of his daughter.

Lakṣmaṇa's character is ennobled on account of the absence of the episode of disfiguring Candranakhā (Śūrpaṇakhā). His character gets raised when he raises a voice of protest against Rāma's decision of deserting Sītā.

Hanumat:—Hanumat of the *PCV* is born just in the ordinary way of a human being, he has no supernatural birth. He is a Vānara scion (Vānara being a human race) but not a monkey with a tail. No doubt he is mighty but never a super being. He married like an average man and was not a brahmacārī but quite chivalrous and brave. He was handsome and that was the cause of Laṅka-sundarī's attraction for him. That he will be a powerful force is indicated from his boyhood. He falls down from the aerial car captivated by Varuṇa in a battle. His heroism wins for him the son-in-lawship of Rāvaṇa's sister and that of Sugrīva also. Here he is not a minister of Sugrīva as in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. As a recognised character of integrity he is offered the delicate responsibility of meeting Sītā in secrecy and that also in a foreign land. He is considered to be a suitable mediator and therefore he is sent to Rāvaṇa for conciliation. He is fearless and unshakable in adverse situations. His love for rightness and justice does not allow the interference of any relationship however close it might be. For the right cause he sides with Rāma (Padma) and faces Rāvaṇa though he knows that he (Rāvaṇa)

is the benefactor of his family. His blood boils when he sees injustice. He teaches a lesson even to his grandmaternal-uncle to take revenge of the wrong done to his mother, Añjanāsundarī by exiling her for no fault of her.

Rāvaṇa:—In the Jaina tradition of the Rāma-story, Rāvaṇa is the eighth Prativāsudeva. He is a mighty conqueror. He attains so many spells (Vidyās) in his young age. The Rāvaṇa of the PCV is not a ten headed monster, but a normal human being. He is ambitious, but not beastly cruel. He has imposed on himself certain moral rigorous disciplines. He has taken a vow that he would not establish sex-relations with any women without her consent. He does not molest Sītā though he is advised by Mandodarī to use force. Even before his taking the vow, he is not an easy victim to the infirmities of the flesh. He does not fall in the trap of Uparambhā on the contrary he reproaches her for her frailty. He is humane. Just before the final battle between him and Rāma, Sītā requests him not to kill Rāma and her brother, Bhāmaṇḍala and she faints. Rāvaṇa is moved to pity. He curses himself that he brought about a train of miseries for Rāma and Sītā. He decides to give up Sītā. But he is a warrior of repute, holding sway over a large part of Bhāratavarṣa and to yield is beyond his dignity. So he is determined to release Sītā, only after having defeated Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

Kaikeyī:—Kaikeyī's character has got a special treatment in the PCV. She is here free from jealousy and selfishness. She is a beautiful lady certainly younger than Aparājītā and Sumitrā, trained in so many arts and sciences. She had military training also which is apparent from the fact that she drove the war-chariot of Daśaratha when the latter fell out with his rivals after the 'svayaṃvara' of Kaikeyī. Kaikeyī here also demands the throne for Bharata but the motive behind is not jealousy or selfishness. Both Daśaratha and Bharata decide to renounce the world. Kaikeyī finds herself deserted and forlorn. She wants to retain Bharata by throwing on his shoulders the responsibilities of a king. She resorts to the boon granted to her by Daśaratha. Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā voluntarily goes into exile to enable Bharata to accept the throne. Daśaratha renounces the world. Aparājītā and Sumitrā are extremely miserable having neither husband nor children to rely on. At their plight Kaikeyī is moved to pity. Then she goes to ask Rāma

to come back. Thus she is tender and sympathetic from being naturally cruel and jealous. She asks Rāma to forgive her praying that it was all brought about by the frailty and fickleness of woman's mind. She never intended any harm.

She is a devoted and affectionate mother. She could never live without Bharata. When finally after Rāma's return from Laṅkā, Bharata renounces the world, she finds that life is no more worth living for her. She gets solace only when she also renounces the world.

Sitā:—*Sitā* of the *PCV* has not any divine birth. She is born of the wife of Janaka. She is gentle and virtuous, tender and kind-hearted. She shows a child-like simplicity of nature when she requests Rāvaṇa not to kill her brother and her husband. She prevents Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa from attacking their father. She is patient and forgiving by nature. She does not accuse Rāma at the time of her banishment. She holds that it is due to her own Karmas that she is thrown into exile. Although she is meek and mild yet she is full of self-respect. When called back from exile, Rāma is not ready to accept her without some definite proof of her constancy. Then the suppressed spirit of womanhood rebels in *Sitā*. She does undergo the fire-ordeal but does not fail to give Rāma a touching reprimand. After the fire-ordeal Rāma asks her to come home. But by now she has been sufficiently acquainted with the crooked and uncertain ways of the world. Too much embittered to accept the worldly life she downright rejects the proposal of Rāma and renounces the world to get the eternal and infinite bliss of emancipation.

F. Poetic Merits :

The *Paumacariyam* though a *Purāṇa* yet it is not devoid of poetic beauty. The very opening verses in which the poet pays obeisance to the Jinas indicate that the poet has got an easy grip over music and music is the soul of poetry. There are short and charmingly rythmical descriptions strewn all over the work. They ease the tension of the continued narration by their lulling and soothing effect on the minds of the readers. The style of its narration is not pedantic, rather it is simple and easily comprehensible to even an average reader.

DESCRIPTIONS.

As regards the scope of the work it covers a large canvas comprising of both the human world and the world of nature.

Country:—In the very beginning of the second chapter of *PCV* there is a conventional description of Magadha (2.1-7). The poet at first speaks of the situation of the Magadha country in Jambūdvīpa. Then the description of the habitats, the people, their economic conditions and social behaviour follow systematically.

It reminds us of Magadha described in the *Vasudevahindī* (I. p. 2).

Vidyādhara country at 3.157-161 and Vānaradvīpa at 6.39-41 also have been described on the same pattern. The descriptions are not mere mechanical reproductions but are interlarded with varieties here and there.

At 3.14-16 there is a short and simple but effective description of a war-ravaged country side of Avantī. The place has been widowed for the inhabitants have deserted it. Everything is in a chaotic state; grains and crops scattered, routes and roads broken, disjointed carts lying uncared and old oxen languishing hither and thither.

City:—At 2.9-14 the city of Rājagṛha with its ramparts, magnificent buildings beautified by display of light emitted by rubies and emeralds, pleasure gardens, the humming markets and various spectacles on public roads has been described in a picturesque manner.

It reminds us of the city of Sāgala described in the beginning of the *Milindapañho* and the city of Rājagṛha described in the *Vasudevahindī* (I. p. 2).

At 8.263-270 the description of the city of Laṅkā is given on the same pattern. There is also a display of colours and sweet smell of incense coming from the houses. The poet fancies (utprekṣā) that the temples therein are so lofty as if they are trying to embrace the sky (8.265) and the flags of the fort of Laṅkā are so waving in the air as if the city is beckoning Rāvaṇa (8.266), to come to her.

Sea:—At 8.258-62 there is an awe-inspiring description of Lavaṇa-samudra¹. The mighty sea is agitated with mountainous waves and

1. भीमभस्मयकच्छह-अन्नोन्नवडियविलुलियावत्त ।
 आवत्तविद्दुमाहय-निल्लुरियदलियसंखउलं ॥
 संखउलसिप्पिसपुड-विहडियपेरन्तच्चिचयतरंगं ।
 सतरंगमारुयाहय-सरियामुहभरियकूलयलं ॥
 कूलयहंससारस-कलमलभरजणियरुद्धतडमगं ।
 तडमगरयणवहुविह-किरणुज्जोवियदुरुप्पयरं ।
 पयरन्तविसयमोत्तिय-धवलियधणफेणपुंजपुंजइयं ।
 पुंजइयदिव्वपायव-कुसुमसमाइण्णदिण्णच्चं ॥
 दिण्णच्चरणं व रेहइ, महल्लहल्लन्तवीइसंधटं ।
 संधटजलाऊरिय, सव्वत्तो गुलगुलायन्तं ॥ ८.२५८-२६२

acquatic monsters. The conch-shells are crushed to pieces on being continuously pressed on the corals by the surging waves and are washed away towards the mouths of the emptying rivers. The seashore is shining with the rays emitting from the gems. The pearls, foams and the flowers all together bordering the water, are giving such an appearance as a colourful worship has been offered to the sea.

The sound effects in the verses are so designed by the poet that they give an illusion of the surging and roaring waves, coming one after another, breaking on the shore and producing tumultuous sound. The action of the waves is skilfully captured in the rhythm of the verses. Suitable sounds have been arranged and the reproduction of the ending sound in the beginning of the following verse gives an idea of the resurgence of the waves one preceding the other and thus continuing in an endless chain.

River :—At 94.49-52 there is the description of the Ganges with flashes of novelty here and there.

The description of the sea in the *PCV* excels that of Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa* at 12.9-18 in onomatopoeic effects, no doubt Kālidāsa excels as regards similes and metaphors and its association with human actions and feelings. In the description of the sea Vimalasūri handles with ease big compounds. Use of such big compounds is an usual feature in the *Setubandha* specially when the poet describes the sea agitated by the arrows of Rāma. These compounds convey an effect of multitude.

In the description of the country of Vijayapura, the *Kuvalayamālā** (p. 149) has adopted the same device of repeating the ending word of the preceding foot in the beginning of the following foot.

Mountain :—At 3.79-83 the Mandara mountain is described. There is the radiant glow of the gems and rubies. The tree-tops are beautified by waving creepers. There are the humming bees and murmuring brooks and finally the animals and the celestial beings making merry in the forest. Here we find a mild and gentle aspect of the forest. The verses have got a smooth and musical flow.

Forest :—In the description of the Citrakūṭa (33.5-9) the fearful aspect of the forest has been brought out. It is teeming with trees, wild life, birds and rivulets. The roaring lions are tearing the foreheads of the elephants, the elephants are taking to their heels at the sight of the Śarabhas, the tiger and the bison are attacking each other. At places the monkeys and the birds are shrieking and at places the deers are fleeing away.

* Ed. by Dr. A.N. Upadhye.

A similar aspect of Simhanināda forest is described at 94.37-45. The poet introduces a variety of details also. Somewhere the forest is thick and it is pitch-dark, somewhere the trees and plants have been burnt to ashes, somewhere the bison are enjoying dips in the river, somewhere the Pulindas are crying 'chu,chu', somewhere the bamboo-thickets are on fire and somewhere the bears are sounding fearful shrieks¹. This description excels in onomatopoeic effects. Adaptation of sound to the sense-effect is a common feature of the poet's art in the *PCV*.

Seasons :—At 11. 112-119 the poet describes rainy season with an array of metaphors. The black clouds are elephants, the flying cranes are the flags, the lightning flashes are the golden belts of the elephants, the rainbow is their colourful ornament and the juice flowing from the temples of the elephants is the raining water.² These elephants in a war array are welcoming the arrival of victorious Rāvaṇa. The sky has gone dark and the land has formed crevices. The way-farers being struck with the torrents of rain fall into swoon but soon get solaced with the hope of uniting with their beloveds. They have been confined to particular places for the roads have been blocked by the rainy

1. कथइ तरुणगहणं, पेच्छइ सा सव्वरीतमसरिच्छं ।
 कथइ पायवरहियं, रणं चिय रणरणायत्तं ॥
 कथइ वणदवदड्डं, रणं मसिधूमधूलिधूसरियं ।
 कथइ नीलदुमवणं, पवणाहयपचलियदलोहं ॥
 किलिकिलिक्किलन्त कथइ, नानाविहसउणमिलियसंघट्टं ।
 कथइ वाणरपउरं, वुक्कासुत्तसियमयजूहं ॥
 कथइ सव्वयवहुविह-अन्नोन्तावडिय जुज्झसदालं ।
 कथइ सीहभउदुय-चवलपलायनगयनिवहं ॥
 कथइ महिसोरित्तिय, कथइ डुहुडुहुडुहन्तनइसलिलं ।
 कथइ पुलिन्दपउरं, सहसा छुच्छु त्ति कयबोलं ॥
 कथइ वेणुसमुत्तिय-फुलिगजालाउलं धगधगेन्तं ।
 कथइ खरपवणाहय-कडमडभज्जन्तदुमगहणं ॥
 कथइ किरि त्ति कथइ, हिरि त्ति कथइ छिरि त्ति रिच्छाणं ।
 सद्धो अइधोरयरो, भयजणओ सव्वसत्ताणं ॥ ६४.३६-४५
2. धवलबलायाधयवड-विज्जुलयाकणयबन्धकच्छा य
 इन्दाउहकयभूसा, झरन्तनवसलिलदारोहा ॥
 अंजणगिरिसच्छाया, घणहत्थी पाहुडं व सुरवइणा ।
 सपेसिया पभूया, रक्खसनाहस्स अइगुरया ॥ ११.११२-११३

water. Helpless as birds without wings, they are pining for their sweet hearts (beloveds). The earth, a beautiful damsel clothed in bright watery garments is smiling in the blossoming Kuṭaja flowers at the arrival of Daśānana.

In the description of the rainy season in the *Rtusamhāra* (2.1) Kālidāsa uses similar metaphors.¹ The Rainy season is the king, the clouds the elephants and lighting the flags.

While describing gardens, forest and rivers the poet merely gives an exhaustive list of trees, plants, creepers, aquatic birds and animals without any poetic colouring (53.79; 46.73-76; 21.48-50, 42.6-10; 10.30-32; 34.32-33; 42.15-16; 16.46-47). However it shows that he was quite familiar with the proper names of the forest and animal wealth of the country.

In the description of morning (2,119), sunrise (15.83), evening 2.99-100, 70.49) etc., the poet follows a bookish and conventional method.

Physical Features:—In describing physical features of men and women the poet follows a conventional pattern. The similes and metaphors are mostly borrowed from books and the same epithets are frequently repeated in the same context (See 2.16-18; 11.105-107; 15.61-63; 14.94-98; 26.99-101).

Ceremonies, sports and Stutis:—There are colourful flashes of the descriptions of 'svayamvara' ceremonies of Vidyādhari Śrīmālā (6.159-175) and Sītā (28.105-122), the religious ceremonies of the worship of the Jinas (66.20-30; 3.87-92) and the sports of princes with the agitated elephants in rut (8.172-179; 8.217-223). But in all these cases there is a surface description. However the 'stutis' addressed to the Jinas are captivating on account of their smooth and musical flow and inspired and elevated tone (1.1-8; 28.47-50).

Living Conditions:—At 31.42-47 it is very striking to note that the poet has brought out effectively the contrast between the living conditions of the rich and the poor. The rich people lead luxurious life living in magnificent palaces, clad in beautiful robes, feeding on delicious dishes, indulging in varied fleshy pleasures amidst damsels, music, dances and perfumeries. And on the other hand the indigent ones do not get even the bare necessities of life. In chilly winters their bodies are sore, their fattened clothes cannot keep off the cold, fire is their only rescue.

1. ससीकराम्भोधरमत्तकुंजरस्तडित्पताकोऽशनिशब्दमर्दलः ।

समागतो राजवदुद्धतद्युतिर्घनागमः कामिजनप्रियः प्रिये ॥ ऋतुसंहार—२.१

Emotions and Feelings and Rasas.

Curiosity:—At 8.276-280 the curiosity of the Nagaravadhūs flocking at the windows to get a glimpse of Rāvaṇa entering the city after his victory over Yama has been beautifully described. Their gestures, movements and dialogues sound quite natural¹. At 100.50-56 there is a similar description with very few new ideas, on the occasion of Lavaṇa and Aiṅkuśa's entry into the city of Ayodhyā. Even the words and phrases of the preceding description have been repeated.

It may be compared with the descriptions of the curiosity of housewives to have a glance at Buddha in the *Buddhacarita* at 3.13-22 and to have that of the procession of Aja and Indumatī in the *Raghuvamśa* at 7.5-11. The point of comparison in these three descriptions is simply that the women in all cases flock to the windows with their lotus-like faces. There is restraint in the *Buddhacarita*, it is erotic in the *Raghuvamśa* while in the *PCV* it is simply colloquial.

Panic:—At 67.18-26 the poet describes the panic among the Rākṣasa women. The Vānara soldier unexpectedly enter the city of Laiṅkā. The women of the city get agitated and confused. There is a sudden flurry and turmoil. Women make a cry of alarm. They lose the awareness of their ornaments and garments. But even here the poet could not lose the sight of the charming physiognomy of beautiful women, because it is traditionally associated with them.

Madness:—At 113.1-12 there is a description of Rāma's insanity. It is quite natural. Rāma loses his hold on the faculty of reason at the sudden death of Lakṣmaṇa who had been so near and dear to him throughout his life. He embraces the dead body, gets it bathed, brings it to the parlour and proposes to feed it with delicious dishes. He offers wine to it and entertains it. Rām's insanity springs from his

1. नायरवहृहि सिग्घं, दहमुहदरिसणमणाहि अइरेयं ।
 संसारिजं गवक्खा, रुद्धा विय वयणकमलेहि ॥
 अन्ना अन्नं पेल्लइ, करेण मा ठाहि मग्गओ तुरियं ।
 ताए वि सा भण्णिज्जइ, किं मज्झ न कोउयं बहिये ॥
 मा थराहरेण पेल्लसु, दहमुहदरिसणमणासि अइचवले ।
 तीए वि य भणिया सा, मा रुम्भ गवक्खयं एयं ॥
 भणइ सही धम्मिल्लं, अवमारसु मज्झ नयणमग्गाओ ।
 तीए वि य सा भणिया, न य पेच्छसि अन्तरं विउलं ॥
 नायरवहृहि एवं, दसाणं तत्थ पेच्छमाणीहि ।
 हलबोलमुहलसद्दा, भवरागवक्खा कया सच्चे ॥ ८.२७६-२८०

failure to believe that Lakṣman is really dead, one is so reluctant to believe such hard realities even though they are wrought before one's bare eyes.

One may not be aware of failing of one's own reason but he is likely to perceive such failings in others. Rāma perceives the insanity of others—deliberately enacted and then gradually he comes to realise his own by perceiving similarity between his own and their deeds. How natural is the psychological treatment by which Rāma gets cured (113.28-45).

Sentiments or Rasas.

It is a religious epic poem so it is 'Śānta-rasa' the sentiment of quietude that dominates in it. But Rasas like Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇā and Vīra have also been emphasised and the other Rasas also have not altogether been left.

Sentiment of Love:—In the PCV at 10.36-43 and 70.51-59 we find charming descriptions of the water-sports of king Sahasrakirāṇa with his wives and the amorous activities of the Rākṣasa couples respectively. Here the Sambhoga aspect of Śṛṅgāra Rasa is at its climax.

In the water sports at 10.36-43 the gestures and the activities of the damsels who are sporting with the king are sensuous. Some damsel conceals her breasts with her Uttariya, the king snatches it away and she has no other alternative but to take a dip into the water. Someone hides the scratch on her breast with her hands, out of bashfulness. Others throw water on the king to attract his attention. Someone gets angry with the king at the latter's negligence of her, the king then appeases her and thus follows many sweet sports¹.

At 70.51-57 there is a description of the revels of the Rākṣasa couples. The Rākṣasas are going to do or die on the morrow, so on

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१. एका तस्य वस्त्रं, धनयुतं अंशुया छायन्ती ।
 अवहरियउत्तरिज्जा, सहसत्ति जले अह निवुड्डा ॥
 ईसावसेण कुविया, उदयं धेतुण कोमलकरेसु ।
 कन्तस्स हरिसियमणा, घत्तइ वच्छत्थलाभोए ॥
 इन्दीवरदलनयणा, धेतुं इन्दीवरं हराइ अन्ना ।
 अन्नाए सा वि तुरियं, आहम्मइ सहस्सवत्तेहि ॥
 अन्ना दट्ठण उरे, नहक्खयं बालचन्दसंठाणं ।
 अवहरियउत्तरिज्जा, छाएइ धणं करयलेणं ॥
 काएत्थ पणयकुविया, मोणं परिगिण्हिऊण वरजुवई ।
 तीसं पुण उवणीया, दइएण सिरप्पणामेणं ॥१०.३७-४१

the previous night they are drinking the cup of life to their fill for it may be their last sip. It is a vivid and powerful picture of extreme indulgence in flesh. Someone is embracing her beloved. Some damsel with her delicate body is lying in her husband's lap. The bālas, young women are made drunken so that they might get rid of their bashfulness.

These descriptions indicate poet's familiarity with the *Kāmasūtra*.

Similarly Rāma's watersport with Sītā in the Kroñcaravā river and Pavanañjaya's amorous sports with Añjanā are described at 42.18-22 and 16.77-80 with slight varieties here and there. At 117.25-29 the coquettish gestures of divine damsels making amorous antics are described. They were conjured up by Sītā who then was a celestial being to distract Rāma from meditation. This device of diverting attention from meditation has become conventional. In the *Kirātārjunīya* also we find a similar description at 10.45-63 but there it is more sensuous.

We have glimpses of Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra in Sītā's coming to Rāma after the (28.121-122) 'svayamvara' ceremony, Lañkāśundarī's surrender to Hanumat (52.19-23) and Rāma's reunion with Sītā at Lañkā (76.12-16).

There are instances of Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra also.

At 56.13-19 the Rākṣasis in Lañkā are bidding farewell to their men proceeding to the battlefield. Here we find a juxtaposition of the super-ego on one hand and an urge to live an instinctive and spontaneous life on the other. Some Rākṣaṣī is asking her husband not to flee away from the battlefield. Others try to prevent their going to the battlefield, for a life in the flesh is sweeter to them than honour and heroic glory. It is the pang of separation that dominates the scene.

One is led to think that the revels of Rākṣasa couples and bidding of farewell by Rākṣasis described in the *PCV* have their genesis in the similar descriptions of the *Setubandha* at 10.56-82 and 12.45-52 respectively.

The sorrow of separation from one's beloved is exemplified in Rāma's and Sītā's pining for each other, at 44.51-66 and 53.21-26 also.

At 15.49-51 in the description of love lorn Pavanañjaya there is a mere enumeration of the ten stages of love.

The sufferings of Bhāmaṇḍala and Rāvaṇa from the pangs of separation from Sītā, described at 28.10-11 and 46.81-84 are the

examples of Śṛṅgārābhāsa. Simply the conventional stages of love sickness have been mechanically produced, therefore, they do not touch the deeper chords of our hearts.

Sentiment of Pity:—In the *PGV* there are many spots where the effects of Pathos have been brought out.

At 29.20-29 the old Kañcukī of Daśaratha gives a vivid and pictursque description of his own decrepitude with striking similes. He is like an old and worn out cart, his eyes deceive him like selfish friends, his ears are like disobedient sons, his teeth have fallen down like the seeds of a gourd, his arms are like the trunks of elephants hardly able to raise food to his mouth. his legs cannot carry him fast because they are like unfaithful wives and above all he has got none to rely on except his walking stick. This pitiable condition of the chamberlain stirs the heart of Daśaratha for old age with all its pity is bound to come to him also¹.

At 16.1-9 Añjanā's silent and isolated suffering is described. She has been deserted by her husband for years together. She is burning in her lonely anguish. Her life is dull and monotonous. Her plight moves the readers to pity.

At 78. 1-6 Aparājita's suffering is described. She has been separated from her dear son Rāma. Her mental unrest verges on to insanity. Sometimes she fixes her hollow gaze on the streets, then again she speaks to the crow asking it to carry her message to Rāma,

1. एयं जराए अंगं, मज्झ कयं विगयदप्पउच्छाहं ।
 तूरन्तस्स वि धणियं, न वहइ परिजुण्णसयडं व ॥
 जे आसि मज्झ नयणा, सामिय पढमं वियारदिट्ठह्ला ।
 ते वि य न दोहपेही, संपइ जाया कुमित्त व्व ॥
 कण्णा वि पढमवयणं, निमुणन्ता मम्मणं पि उल्लावं ।
 तेसु महयं पि सइं, न सुणन्ति पहू दुपुत्त, व्व ॥
 जंवाओ वि य मज्झं, आसि पुरा चलणगमणदच्छाओ ।
 नाह अणायत्ताओ, संपइ जह दुट्ठमहिलाओ ॥
 नवरं चिय हियइट्ठा, दइया विव नखई महं लट्ठी ।
 जा कुण्ड अवट्ठम्भं, घुलन्तविवसुन्तदेहस्स ॥
 तूरन्तस्स य अंगं, कम्पइ बहुला ह्वन्ति नीसासा ।
 खेओ य समुप्पज्जइ, गई वि मन्दं समुव्वहइ ॥
 कत्तो च्चिय वक्खेवो, सामिय अहयं जराए परिगहिओ ।
 आणाए तुज्झ एन्तो, इमाए वेलाए संपत्तो ॥ २६.२२-२९

promising it to pay a dish of milk-gruel as a reward. It is a simple and natural description.

At 94. 54-101 the effect of pathos is most intense. Rāma sends Sītā with Kṛtāntavadana on a pretence of pilgrimage. She is carried to a dense and frightful forest far away from Ayodhyā and there her escort almost choked with pity breaks to her the most cruel news that by the orders of Rāma he has brought her to leave her behind in the forest. She is instantly shocked because it is a bolt from the blue. She complains bitterly but the very next moment she revives her patience and sends her message to Rāma to pacify him. She is most calm and collected even in her sorrow. Here is a magnanimous suffering. It burns within but does not fume without. She shines in the white heat of her suffering. Pathos here is controlled. Serenity and sobriety of her character come on the forefront. She does not complain, on the contrary she asks Rāma to forgive her blaming her own fate. Her infinite capacity to bear the sorrow rakes up the sympathy of the readers and thereby intensifies the effect of pathos. The poet has handled the situation with sincerity.

At 62. 1-23 Rāma expresses his deep remorse at the swooning of Lakṣmaṇa being struck by the Śakti of Rāvaṇa in the battlefield. It is a pathetic spot. He has lost his enthusiasm. He is ready to bid good bye to the war. Now life is no more worth living for him. His heart sinks with the fear of losing his most precious gem which he can never regain.

Another spot of pathos can be traced at 74.12-26 where women raise a hue and cry on the death of Rāvaṇa. It is a conventional stereotyped description. It remains superficial because it fails to touch the deeper chords of our heart.

The description of the women weeping bitterly at the death of Lakṣmaṇa follows on the same pattern. Words and phrases also have been repeated (110.30-36).

Sentiment of Heroism:—There are frequent displays of enthusiasm in war-messages, counter retorts, marchings of the armies and battle scenes where the sentiment of heroism is brought out. At some places Vira and Raudra (sentiment of Wrath or Fury) are overlapping as a result of the simultaneous display of the feelings of enthusiasm and anger on the part of the characters.

In the description at 56.21-25 the Rākṣasa soldiers are depicted to be so actuated upon by super-ego that they would die in the battlefield for the sake of honour. The fire of their enthusiasm would not be quenched by the tears of their wives.

Rāvaṇa's overflowing pride and enthusiasm and his uncontrolled wrath have been brought out in his retorts under-mining the advice of Vibhīṣaṇa and in his counter challenges to Lakṣmaṇa at 73.13-23.

At 8.68-84 in connection with Kumbhakarṇa's plundering the country of Vaiśravaṇa there is a spirited warning of the messenger sent to Sumālin by Vaiśravaṇa. This warning verges on to threatening. Naturally Rāvaṇa's spirited youth does not tolerate it because Laṅkā was his hereditary possession which was usurped by Vaiśravaṇa. He angrily retorts and deprecates Vaiśravaṇa. He even raises his sword to sever off the head of the messenger but Vibhīṣaṇa saves the situation.

Such hot exchange of words between the messenger of a king on one hand and another king or his army head on the other is an usual feature preceding a war at 37.19-25; 53.129f and 65.12-34.

Non-compliance with the messages frequently lead to a call for battle. In such calls there is a vigorous display of courage and enthusiasm in the belligerent parties.

At 8.89-92, 12.82-87 and 70.63-71 there are brisk preparations for battle by Vaiśravaṇa, Indra and Rāvaṇa's soldiers respectively. Then follow their marchings and consequently fierce battles between the parties concerned. These are the spots of heroic sentiment. Soldiers are thrilled and enthused at the very name of war. At the final call they at once rush to the battlefield with a positive will. The fierce weapons they are equipped with, the sky rending cheers that they raise, the music of the trumpets and the wardrums, their fearful march which sometimes is said to throw into chaos the entire earth—all these are vividly described.

At 56.27-44 and 57.1-27 there is similar description of marching soldiers of Rāvaṇa and Rāma respectively. Here merely a long list of proper names is appended.

The descriptions of the war scenes at above places are realistic and concrete but all are based on the same pattern.

At 61.32-42 there is a fierce neck to neck fight between the armies of the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas. Various critical positions arising in the battlefield follow in a picturesque succession. Some soldier entangled in a serious fight catches his sword between his teeth and girds up his loins with both his hands. Soldiers challenge one

another during their fight and pounce down upon one another with fury and rashness¹.

At 71.23-33 the operation of various weapons is described. Fire sparks are emitting from the striking weapons. Crackling sound is heard. The horses, elephants and chariots are seen without their riders. Banners have been torn off. It also contains a loathsome description of the soldiers wounded and killed in the battle.

There is variety in the description of hurling of missiles and countermissiles by the fighting parties at 12.126-130, 59.60-66; 61.43-48 end 71.60-68, but they all are described on the one and the same pattern.

Another variety is introduced by describing individual fight between Vaiśravaṇa and Rāvaṇa (8.110-120), Rāvaṇa and Indra (12.131-137), Rāma and Rāvaṇa (61.64-68). The fights between Lakṣmaṇa and Kharadūṣaṇa (45.9-11), Indrajit and Sugrīva (59.52-56), Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa (71.51-57) are usually preceded by challenge and counter challenge.

The poet has enhanced the effect of the heroic sentiment by the use of onomatopoeia and rhythmic devices. The commotion in the battlefield has been vividly represented by sound effects. Action

1. हण छिन्द भिन्द निखिख, उत्तिटुत्तिटु लहु पडिच्छाहि ।
 पप्फोड ताड मारय, ... ॥
 सूरसूराण इमो, वट्टइ अहियं परिखणाकालो ।
 जह भुज्जइ आहारो, न तथा जुज्जिज्जए समरे ॥
 मा भाहि कायर तुमं, दीणं न हणामि जं च परहुत्तं ।
 तेण वि सो पडिभणिओ, अज्ज तुमं चेव नट्ठासि ॥
 कोइ भडो सत्ताहं, सहसा विच्छिन्नवन्धणं दट्ठुं ।
 संवेइ साहुपुरिसो, जह नेहं विहडियं सन्तं ॥
 दन्तेसु घरियखगं, आबन्धेऊण, परियरं सुहडो ।
 जुज्जइ अविसन्न मणो, सामियपरितोसणुज्जुत्तो ॥
 सीसगहिक्कमेक्का, छुरियापहरेसु केइ पहरन्ति ।
 असिकणयतोमरेहि, सुहडा धायन्ति अन्नोन्नं ॥
 केएत्थ गलियसत्था, गरुपपहाराहयाहिमारोणं ।
 पडिउट्टियं करेन्ता, अन्ने लोलन्ति महिवट्ठे ॥
 हत्थी जज्जरियतगू, मुचन्ता रुहिरकड्ढमुद्दामं ।
 छज्जन्ति जलयकाले, गिरि व्व जह गेरुयालिद्धा ॥ ६१.३१-४१

and movement of soldiers, their marching and rushing at each other has been caught successfully of the verses at 53.107-113¹.

Sentiment of Terror :—We come across some thrilling descriptions of horrible scenes. At such spots sentiment of fear is evoked. At 7.117-26 Rāvaṇa while meditating is disturbed by the Yakṣas, the Vetālas and evil spirits. They conjure up large serpents and lions fearful visages. The latter roar and scratch the ground with their forepaws. All they create an atmosphere of awe. But the reader is aware of the fact that this awe is simply illusory.

At 46.42 similar is the case with the scene conjured up by Rāvaṇa to frighten Sītā.

Unlike the previous ones the scene of Citrakūṭa forest at 33.5-8 is on the real canvas. It is teeming with wild and fearful beasts engaged in mutual fight. The chaotic conditions evoke terror. Similar is the description of Sīmhanināda forest at 94.37-45 with slight variety. The density and darkness of the forest and ashes left out after conflagration has been emphasised. To them can be added the description of Lavaṇa ocean at 8.258-63. All these three have already been dealt with.

Sentiment of Disgust :—The scene of cemetery ground described at 105.53-61 creates a feeling of disgust. There are ghosts and hobgoblins eating human flesh and munching bones, fire is burning with diverse coloured flames, everywhere there is a nauseating display of ugly

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1. पयण्डदण्डसासणा, विहण्णहेमकंकणा ।
 चलन्तकण्णकुण्डला, सुवण्णबद्धसुत्तया ॥
 विचित्तवत्थभूसणा, सुयन्धपुष्पसेहरा ।
 सकु'कुमंगराइया, तिरीडदित्तमोत्तिया ॥
 सच्चक्खगमोगगरा, तिसूलचावपट्टिसा ।
 जलन्तसत्तिसव्वला, महन्तकुन्ततोमरा ॥
 ससामिकज्झउज्झया, पवंगघायदारिया ।
 विमुक्कजीयबन्धणा, पडन्ति तो महाभडा ॥
 सहावतिक्खनक्खया, लसन्तचारुचामरा ।
 पवंगमाउहाहया, खयं गया तुरंगमा ॥
 पवंगभिन्नमत्थया, खुडन्तदित्तमोत्तिया ।
 पणदुदाणदुद्दिणा, पडन्ति मत्तकु'जरा ॥
 विचित्तहेमनिम्मिया, विणिट्ठकंचणदुठया ।
 पवंगघायचुण्णिथा, खयं गया महारहा ॥ ५३.१०७-११३

and repulsive sights and sounds. The poet here displays visual imagination¹.

At 26.48-57 there is a description of hell-following the pattern of the Āgamas. The tortures, suffering and repulsive things are described here.

At 39.24-28 hobgoblins and ghosts with their ugly visages try to distract munis from meditation. They emit fire and throw blood and severed limbs. In these two cases there is a mixture of fear and disgust.

The important difference between the first, second and the third one is that the first is on the real canvas while the second is imaginary and the third one is conjured up. They are on conventional pattern. However the effective use of onomatopoea and rhythmic devices in the first two descriptions enhance the effect of hatred and repulsion.

Sentiment of Wonder:—The sentiment of wonder also can be traced at some places.

When Rāma breaks the bow, entire universe is thrown into a state of chaos. The rivers flow upwards, the mountains shake and the sea is agitated with mountainous waves. It is all calm and quiet again,

1. बहुविहचिया पलीविय, जलन्तडज्जन्तमडयसंधायं ।
 गहभूयबभ्रकखस-डाइणिवेयालभीसणयं ॥
 किलिकिलिकिलन्तरक्खस-सिवामुहुज्जलियपेयसंधायं ।
 कव्वायसत्थपउरं, मडयसमोत्थइयमहिबीढं ॥
 पच्चन्तमडयपुप्फस-सिमिसिमियगलन्तरुहिरिच्छड्डं ।
 डाइणिकव्वधकड्डिय-भीमं रुण्णन्तभूयगणं ॥
 कडपूयणगहियरडन्तडिम्भयं कयतिगिच्छमन्तरवं ।
 मण्डलरयपवणुद्धुय-इन्दाउहजणियनहमग्गं ॥
 विज्जासाहणमुट्ठिय-जंगुलियातारजणियमन्तरवं ।
 वायसअवहियमामं, उद्धमुहुन्तइयजम्बुगणं ॥
 कत्थइ पेयायडिडय-मडयविकिरन्तपेयसद्दालं ।
 कत्थइ वेयालहयं, रुण्णणियभमन्तभूयगणं ॥
 कत्थइ रडन्तरिट्ठं, अन्नत्तां भुगुभुगन्तजम्बुगणं ।
 छुयुयुयुधेन्तधूरं, कत्थइ कयपिगलाबोलं ॥
 कत्थइ कढोरहुयवह-तडतडफुट्ठन्तअट्ठिसद्दालं ।
 कत्थइ साणायडिडय-मडयामिसलगजुद्धघाणं ॥
 कत्थइ कवालधवलं, कत्थइ मसिधूमधूलिधूसरियं ।
 किसुयवग्गं व कत्थइ, जालामालाउलं दित्तं ॥ १०५.५३-६१

celestial beings shower flowers and sing praises (28.116-119). The description is conventional.

There is an elements of surprise in the description of the multiplying of Rāvaṇa's heads when severed 'off by Lakṣmaṇa at 72. 16-19.

At 102.10-30 Sītā's fire ordeal is described. A fire pit is prepared. The gust of smoke rises therefrom and darkens the sky. The fearful fire bursts into flames like thousand suns. People are in a breath taking suspense as Sītā steps towards the fire—gaping death as it were. But no sooner Sītā enters the pit, it is converted into a pond of cool and clear water. It rises up and lo, it is a deluge. People are afraid again but finally cosmos prevails. The water shrinks below the banks and is beautified with smelling lotuses. Sītā is seated on a divine throne floating on the surface of the water. There is a striking contrast between the previous and the latter scene. This contrast is enhanced by rhythmic and sound effects. It is a wonder, a miracle indeed.

Besides these there are several occasions when supernatural qualities and events associated with Tirthankaras and other great persons are described. They evoke a sense of wonder, but they are all traditional and conventional.

Sentiment of Humour:—Examples of Humour are not missing in the epic. Episodes of Baṭuka Kapila, Nārada's entry into Sītā's palace and Aṅgada's and his soldiers' exploring into the palace of Rāvaṇa are such instances.

At 35.61 Baṭuka Kapila is ridiculed. First he drives away Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā when they enter his house to ask for some water to quench Sītā's thirst. He thinks that the sanctity of his Agnihotri-house is violated (35. 5-16). But he goes to the palace conjured up by the Yakṣa for he has been told that he will be given some wealth by the wealthy occupants of the house. Although Jainism is not his faith, he would chant Namaskāra mantra so that he might be allowed to enter the palace. Then in the palace he is dumbfound to see there Lakṣmaṇa who had manhandled him previously, in his own house. He suddenly retreats. His excessive anger and intolerance, his lust for wealth and his headlong retreat—all produce an effect of ridicule and laughter.

Muni Nārada (28. 1-5) wistfully visits the palace of Sītā. Sītā is frightened to look at Nārada with his long whiskers and matted hair. She shrieks and consequently Nārada finds himself surrounded by women-guards of the harem. Poor muni is really in an embarrassed

situation. He tries to free himself but the clamour of the women attracts the attention of the palace men who rush at him with threatening and catch hold of him. Poor muni however takes to his heels. The muni has been put in a poor plight indeed, but we hardly feel any pity for him. We simply laugh at him for his own wistful desires are responsible for bringing him in this tight corner.

The humour in the first example is sarcastic, in the latter a bitter one to some extent but at 68. 9-15 there is pure and harmless humour. Aṅgada with his followers explores into the palace of Rāvaṇa. Time and again they are deceived by appearances. Somewhere there is such a crystalline wall as cannot be perceived by them so naturally they dash against it. Then again they look at a piece of sculpture. They take it to be a real woman and so they begin to talk to her. They realise their mistake only when they touch the effigy. These gross blunders of theirs evoke laughter in the readers. In the previous two examples there are short flashes of humour and here the effect is somewhat sustained.

This description compares with that of the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira built by Maya Dānava. There Duryodhana is also deceived in the same way (*MB*, 2.47.1-15). But there is bitterness and deliberate ridiculing of Duryodhana while in the *PCV* it is a pure humour.

Sentiment of Quietism :—On account of the religious nature of the epic, the idea of renunciation has been the chief preoccupation of the poet. It is the only possible way that leads to real happiness which is a state of tranquility—calming down of all passions and desires. It is this sentiment of quietism that dominates the whole work. Other sentiments like that of Śṛīgāra, Vīra, Karuṇa, Bibhatsa etc. are there but they finally resolve into a feeling of detachment from the world. Soul freed from passions gets peace “the seas are calm when the winds are no more.”

At 5.178-201 Sagara bemoans the death of his sons. His ministers console him emphasising the ephemeral nature of life. Human relations are as temporary as the refuge of the birds in a bough for a night. Life is like rainbow, colourful yet temporary, short lived like foam, deceptive like dreams, and fleeting like lightning. It is bound to fade as a flower fades. It is like a bubble on the surface of time. Neither wisdom nor strength, nor riches are armour against death. Sagara perceives that life is languishing under the dark shade of sorrow. This perception results in ‘nirveda’—indifference to worldly life. The sentiment of indifference here is intense. It has been gradually and consistently built up.

At 29.20-23 there is (already quoted) an effective description of old age and extreme decrepitude of Daśaratha's Kañcukī. This kindles in Daśaratha a desire for renouncing the world. Again at 31.37 he is acquainted with his previous birth by some muni and at 31.43-49 he finds that in life there is unrest, lack of peace as a result of Karmas, so he decides to shake off the shackles of worldly life. There is a gradual enlightenment and consummation of 'nirveda'.

King Vijayaparvata who has got a deep rooted lust for life is instructed at 39.53-61 by a muni. The latter tries to create in him the feeling of repugnance against life in flesh by stressing the fact that human body is an accumulation of dirt. The performance of physical functions is abominable. Mind keeps swerving towards the physical life like an unruly elephant. It needs be controlled by the 'añkuśa' of wisdom and strength of detachment. Finally the seeds of nirveda are sown in the king and he prepares for renunciation.

At 106.15-46 the disappointment of Lakṣmaṇa's sons in the 'svayamvara' of Mandākinī and Candramukhī results in their renouncing the world. At first they are hostile to Lavaṇa and Añkuśa who have been selected. But later their mother teaches them that search for happiness in worldly life is searching for a kernel in the trunk (106.22) of a plaintain tree. At this Lakṣmaṇa's sons get enlightened. Now they cannot be held back by various temptations of luxuries and comforts that a kingly life affords. They have realised that the worldly life is like a sea full of sufferings which constitute its water. There are crocodiles of passions, waves of evil modes of existence and eddies of birth and death¹. They finally renounce the world.

At 102.36-46 after her fire ordeal Sītā realises the transitory character of human relations. She develops an aversion to the

1. बन्धनसिनेहनडिओ, पुणरवि भोगेसु दारुणं सत्तो ।
 पुरिसो पावइ दुक्खं, चिरकालं दीहसंसारे ॥
 दुक्खसलिलावगाढे, कसायगाहुक्कडे भवादत्ते ।
 धनदोगइविञ्चीए, जरमरणकिलेसकल्लोले ॥
 एयारिसे महायस, भमिया संसारसायरे अम्हे ।
 दुक्खाइ अणुहवन्ता, कहकहवि इहं समुत्तिण्णा ॥
 संसारियदुक्खाणं, भीया जरमरणविण्णोमाणं ।
 अणुमन्सु ताय तुमं, पव्वज्जं गिण्हमो अज्जं ॥ १०६.४०-४३

rooted unrest in life which is like rainbow, foam or bubble. She blames her own karmas. She is established in quietude. In spite of Rāma's request to her to continue worldly life, she renounces it.

At 108.23f Hanu is led to the feeling of detachment on observing the dark sky devoid of any splendour in absence of stars and moon. He realises that death is all pervading, that men are taken in a trap laid by women as the elephants are entrapped by she-elephants. The world is like a fruit of Kimpāka seemingly beautiful but bitter in taste¹.

At 113.44-52 Rāma realises his folly when he recovers from madness which was rooted in the delusion of excessive affection for Lakṣmaṇa. He at once realises the falseness of human relations and gets enlightened. The feeling of 'nirveda' intensifies and he renounces the world.

There are several spots where a defeat (13.44-47) or even a triumph (4.49-51) and a sense of despair (75.80-82; 82.12) or frustration at the unholy human nature (39.96; 105.108) leads to the feeling of nirveda. The scenes at such spots finally gives an effect of quietude though the sentiment is not gradually and elaborately worked out.

The poet seems to be quite at home in working out the sentiment of quietude. It is here that he has poured out the striking similes and metaphors.

Figures of Speech

The work is resplendant with Upamās (similes) and Rupakas (metaphors). Those occurring in the preceding section have been already pointed out. Some other striking similes and metaphors as well as fancies can be noted as follows :

Upamā :—The head that is not devoted to the religion is like the covering of a coconut (1.20) and the tongue that does not praise religion is only a knife having the sharp edge of evil speech (1.25). Añjanā in her anguish is like a lotus struck with snow-fall (16.59),

1. महिलाकरेणुयाणं, लुद्धो घरवारिनियलपडिबद्धो ।
अणुहृदयं तस्य दुक्खं, पुरिसगच्छो वम्महासत्तो ॥
पासेण पंजरेण य, बज्जन्ति चउप्पया य पक्खी य ।
इह जुवइपंजरेणं, बद्धा पुरिसा किलिस्सन्ति ॥
किपागफलसरिच्छा, भोगा पमुहे हवन्ति गुणमदुरा ।
ते चेव उ परिणामे, जायन्ति विसमविससरिसा ॥ १०८.२६-३१

Vasantamālā afraid of the lion in the forest, moving about Añjanā is like a Kurali (osprey bird 17.79). Kaikeyī in separation of her son, Bharata, who has renounced the world is like a cow separated from the calf (83.9). Sītā comes out shining from the fire pit as pure gold (101.46). Hanumat encircled by the Rākṣasas is like the sun surrounded by dark clouds (53.81). Fair damsel embracing the dead body of Rāvaṇa is like lightning around the Añjanagiri (74.14). Sītā clasping Rāma at the time of their reunion at Laṅkā is like a Kanakalatā about a Kalpataru (76.16). Aṅgada's creating commotion among the damsels of Rāvaṇa is like a bull in a cow-pen (68.35).

There are 'Mālopanās' at 17.79-80 and 7.60 when various qualities of Śramaṇas and king Ratnāśrava are mentioned respectively.

Rūpaka:—Metaphors also are found in abundance. Disrespectful words uttered by Baṭuka Kapila to Rāma are fire (35.10). Exiled Añjanā's newly born babe is the rising sun (17.89).

There are 'Sāṅga-rūpakas' in the description of the spring-season as a lion and various vegetations compiled together as the limbs of that animal (92.6-8), in the description of the world as the sea (106.41-42)¹ and the lake as the sky (30.2)². The last description has point to point similarity with a similar description in the *Rtusamhāra* of Kālidāsa at 3.21³.

There are 'Paramparita-rūpakas' also. Sītā is a flame and Rāvaṇa a moth is going to seek his ruin in her (46.7); Sītā is moon-faced. Rāvaṇa needs the water of her eyes to quench the fire of his desire⁴. Darkness of ignorance is allayed by the light of enlightenment (3.13); Jina is the sun for the darkness of delusion and is the moon for the lilies of 'bhavya-Jivas' (3.101); Pavanañjaya is bitten by the serpent of cupid and is overpowered by the poison of separation. Only a glance at Añjanā would be a suitable antidote (15.49).

1. इष्टव्यं नं० १०.
2. ववगयघणसेवालं, ससिहंसं धवलतारयाकुसुमं ।
लोगस्स कुण्ड पीई, नभसलिलं पेच्छिउं सरए ॥३०.२
3. स्फुटकुमुदचितानां राजहंसाश्रितानां मरकतमणिभासा वारिणा भूषितानाम् । -
श्रियमतिशयरूपां व्योमतोयाशयानां बहनि विगतमेघं चन्द्रतारावकीर्णम् ॥
ऋतु० सं० ३.२१
4. होहि पसन्ना सुंदरि, मं दिट्टी देहि सोमससिवयस्ये ।
जेण मयणाणलो मे, पसमइ तुह चक्खुसलिलेण ॥ ४६.२

There is a mixture of Sāṅga and Paramparita Rupaka at 117.36,37,40.

In describing the beauty of Sītā the poet has heaped similes and metaphors (26.99-101)¹ which are conventional.

Besides that, similes and metaphors like Rati and Anaṅga for beautiful couples (6.167; 28.123), the sun for radiance (5.141; 9.90), the moon for agreeableness (7.60), the cooing of peacocks for agreeable sound (6.116), the torrents of rain for showering of arrows (10.59;27.29), the earth for forgiveness, wind for detachment, sky for clarity, sea for sobriety, mountain for patience, birds for non-amassing nature (14.79-80;68.45), Viṣabha (bull) for excellence (2.21;4.33;112.1) either in penance or valour, lion for patience and dauntless courage (2.94;7.164), bubble, lightning and dream for ephemeral nature of life and worldly things (1.17;39.54) and heaven and heavenly beings for beauty (3.159;6.48,219;7.155;34.15;73.29 and 102.51) are often repeated.

Thus we find that our poet is generally using popular, traditional and Purāṇic material for the embellishment of his work.

Utprekṣā:—There are examples of fancy (*Utprekṣā*) also. Thick darkness pall the world as if the evil nature of the wicked supersedes the nobility of the good² (2.100). The sun set as if he were afraid of the befalling calamity (39.23), or he fled away as if he were unable to bear the sight of Sītā's fire-ordeal (102.9).

Mudrālaṅkāra:—In the ending verse of every canto word 'Vimala' occurs. The poet has deliberately³ introduced his name (2.119). It is here that we come across a device which has been so employed for the first time. It is called *Mudrālaṅkāra*.

1. बरकमलपत्तनयणा, कोमुदरयणियरसरिसमुहसोहा ।
कुन्ददलसरिसदसणा, दाडिमफुल्लाहरच्छाया ॥
कोमलबाहालइया, रत्तासोउज्जलाभकरजुयला ।
करयलसुगेज्जमज्जा, विरिथण्णानियम्बकरभोरू ॥
रत्तुप्पलसमचलणा, कोमुदरयणियरकिरणसंधाया ।
ओहासिउं व नज्जइ, रयणियरं चेव कन्तीए ॥२६.६६-१०१
2. उच्छरइ तमो गयणो, मइलन्तो दिसिवहे कसिणवण्णो ।
सज्जणचरिउज्जोयं नज्जइ ता दुज्जणसहावो ॥२.१००
3. बरकमलनिबद्धा निग्गयालीसमत्ता, म्हुसरनिनायाच्चन्तरम्मा पदेसा ।
तरुपवणवलग्गा पुप्फरेणुं सुयन्ता, विमलकिरणमन्ताइच्चभासा विसुद्धा ॥

A few examples of other figures of speech can be traced in the work as follows:—

Vyatiṛeka can be traced at 26:101 in the statement that Sītā in comeliness supersedes the moon¹.

Sandeha is found at 94.106.7. Sītā is left alone in the terrible forest. The soldiers of Vajrajaṅgha are dumb-founded at the sudden sight of this divine beauty who may be a cursed divine damsel or the Rati separated from Kāmadeva². At 102.10-11 in the fire-ordeal scene the sudden blaze of fire leads one to suspect that a thousand suns shine simultaneously or a mountain of chaos raises its head suddenly from under the earth³.

Bhṛāntimāna is exemplified in Sītā's face being mistaken by the honey bees for a lotus flower at 42.21.

Udāharāṇa:—There are many popular illustrations (*Udāharāṇa*) here and there. They add to the effectiveness and exact comprehension of the statements concerned. There can be no rain without clouds or no plant without seed. Similarly there cannot be any happiness without the practice of religion (4.26). Even many soldiers cannot achieve triumph without a chief as the most starry night is without the moon⁴. Birds shelter in a bough for a night and desert it in the morning so is the case with human relationship (5.184). The fire cannot be quenched with fuels similarly the desires cannot be satiated by indulging into worldly pleasures (80.47; 103.73). Only a fool can burn sandal-wood for getting ashes (4.50) or grind the pearls for getting the thread so is the case with a person who spoils his valuable life in the pursuit of wordly pleasures and rejects the attainment of salvation.

1. दृष्टव्यं तं १६.
2. किं होज्ज देवकन्ता, सुरवइसावेण महियले पडिया ।
कुमुमाउहस्स किं वा, कुविया य रई इहोइष्णा ॥
एवं सवियक्कमणा, नवि ते वच्चन्ति तत्थ पुरहुत्ता ।
सब्बे वि भउब्बिग्गा, वग्गीभूया य चिट्ठन्ति ॥६४.१०६-१०७
3. धगधगधगेन्तसद्दो, पज्जलिओ हुयवहो कणयवण्णो ।
गाउयपरिमाणसु य, जालासु नहं पदीवेन्तो ॥
किं होज्ज विणयरसयं, समुगयं किं व महियलं भेतुं ।
उप्पायनगवरिन्दो, विणिग्गओ दूसहपयावो ॥१०२.१०-११
4. एवं पहाणेण विराा न कज्जं, उवेइ सिद्धि ववसिज्जमाणं ।
जहा निसा रिक्खगहाणुवन्ना न होइ जोण्हाविमलंसुहीणा ॥५७.२६

Dr̥ṣṭānta:—When a thread can pass through a diamond which has already been bored by a diamond-cutter then why not the poet can reproduce easily what has already been narrated by the omniscient¹. It can be compared with that in the *Raghuvamśa*².

Crows can do no harm to the Garuḍa. Can a lion not subdue even an agitated elephant ? (8.45).

Drops gradually amass into the sea and knowledge also reaches perfection gradually (14.124). Bharata not accept the suzerainty of Ativīrya, how can a lion live under a jackal ? (37.21)

Nidarśanā:—If human life is not employed in the practice of religion it is like throwing away a piece of diamond which is in one's hand (2.88). Those who contaminate penance by assigning certain object to it exchange diamond for vegetables (103.110), destroy camphor to plant Kodrava plant, smash gem for the thread (103.111) and burn sandal for the sake of ashes (103.112). Sumālin's adventure against Indra is a frog playing in the mouth of serpent (8.72). Lakṣmaṇa's insistence to keep his sons in the harness of worldly glory is pushing one knowingly into a dark abyss (106.37). Persons attached to worldly pleasures leaving aside moral discipline and penance exchange a diamond for a cowrie (118.107).

Arthāntaranyāsa :—Both Sugrīva and Rāma's wives are lost. Sugrīva seeks Rāma's help assuming that there is friendship between persons put in similar circumstances³ (47.4-5). Similarly see 113.41; 12.101; 105.106).

Prativastūpamā :—Even the brave meet their death at the exhaustion of their 'punya' as the sun also has to set after having lighted the whole world⁴ (73.35).

1. सव्वन्नुभासियत्थं, भणन्ति कइणो जहागमगुण्णेषं ।
किं वज्जसूइभिन्ने, न रियइ तन्तु महारयण्णे ॥१.१३
2. अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन्पूर्वसुरभिः ।
मणी वज्रसमुत्कीर्णं सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ॥रघु० १.४
3. चिन्तेइ वाणवरवई, निहृओ खरदूसणो रणे जेणं ।
वच्चामि तस्स सरणं, सो वि हु सन्तीकरोहोउ ॥
तुल्लावत्थाण जए, होइ सिणोहो नराण निययं पि ।
कारणवसेण सो भे, काही पवखं न संदेहो ॥४७.४-५
4. एवं पुण्यावसासो तुरयगयघडाडोवमज्जे वि सूर्रा,
संपत्ते मच्चुकाले असिकण्यकरा जन्ति नासं मणुस्सत्ता ॥
उज्जोउं सत्तेओ सयलजयमिणं सो वि अत्थाइ,
भागू, जाए सोक्खप्पओसे स विमलकिरणो किं न चन्दो उवेइ ॥७३.३५

Tulyayogitā :—King is the source of moral discipline as the mountain is of the river (53.4).

One thing that can be noted in the above mentioned examples is that generally the examples are not very much striking and thus these figures of speech remain in a rudimentary stage.

Śabdālaṅkāras :—Among Śabdālaṅkāras Onomatopoeia has frequently been used. Anuprāsa can be seen (1.1-6; 7.173; 10.53; 28.110; 89.53; 97.22) here and there. There is Yamaka at 28.50 in the word 'guru' and at 96.49 in 'Cakkahara'. At 92.8 the only example of Śleṣa can be traced in the word 'gayavaiyāṇam' meaning the elephants (gajapatikāṇam) and the women in separation (gatapatikāṇam) from their husbands. The spring season is painful to the latter and the lion to the former (patto Vasantasīho gayavaiyāṇam bhayam dento). Śleṣa is based on the metaphor 'spring lion' 'Vasantasīha'¹.

Maxims Proverbs and Sayings

The poet has specially been preoccupied with a sense of moral values hence he has strewn maxims all over the work :—

Religion is the strength of the weak (75.18). Non can save the unrighteous (106.36). One is saved from disaster by virtue of his previous good deeds (96.40). The Śramaṇas, animals, cows, the women, youngsters and the decrepits should not be tortured (35.15). King is the root of social discipline (53.4). Modesty is the ornament of a woman (46.50). Daughters are destined to render their services to another family (6.22). Sons are the supports of the parents (31.97). The brave must not retreat (39.10). The wise should not care for a thing lost (30.35).

There are short and pithy statements that are almost proverbial:—

One's own beauty is adornment enough (7.63). As the king so the subjects (105.106). It is useless to hold a lamp to the sun (70.27). At the time of one's doom wisdom vanishes (53.138).

There are metaphorical statements so exact and compact that they almost seem to be popular sayings :—

1. अंकोलतिकलणकखो मल्लियणवणो असोयदलजीहो ।

कुरबयकरालदसणो, सहयारसुकेसरारुणिओ ॥

कुसुमरयपिजरंगो, अइमुत्तलयासमूसियकरंगो ।

पत्तो वसन्तसीहो, गयवड्याणं भयं देन्तो ॥६२.८-९

To get the treasures of the world but to lose one's eyes (15.86; 26.80). A diamond dropped in the sea (is not to be regained 14.106; 45.34). To dig well when the house is on fire (5.239; 86.60). (See 4.50; 103.110; 111.112; 118.107 already referred to in the preceding lines).

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the above analysis we may conclude that in the *PCV* there are the lingering traits of the Puranic style and the embers of the *Āgama* style are dying out. The figures of speech specially those other than the similes, metaphors and onomatopoeia are in their rudimentary stage. Even in the similes and metaphors the poet is mostly conventional, but he has decidedly excelled in bringing out onomatopoeic effects. His claim 'visuddhalaliyakkharahejuttam' (118.101) is quite justified. The Rasas frequently have failed to reach the culmination which they attain in the ornate works of classical age. The poet has not followed the style of the classical ornate poetry, rather he has deliberately adhered to the popular style so that he might catch the attention of the general people.

The work does not fulfil all the requirements of a Mahākāvya in so far as subject matter of the story has not become subservient to form i.e. long descriptions of nature and sentiments, but there are elements of Mahākāvya such as the theme being that of a Puranic hero, charming descriptions of nature and human world, planning into systematic cantos, 'stuti' in the beginning, 'Āśīrvacana' at the end of the work and the change of metre at the close of every canto.

Thus, Vimalasūri was the first author among the Jains, who presented a Puranic narrative into the charming poetic style.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

Part One

It contains a critical study of the narrative material of the *PCV* in six chapters.

In the first chapter it has been shown that there are some defects in the text of *Paumacariyam* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi. It is imperative that after examining various available manuscripts, a critical text of *Paumacariyam* is published. Thereby, it will be clear whether there is any interpolation in it¹.

Following that we have examined the internal evidences of *Paumacariyam* and have come to the conclusion that Vimalasūri had no bias for any particular sect, but he was a liberal Jaina author. Further a critical examination of external evidences as well as the views of various scholars assigning the *Paumacariyam* with different dates, ranging from 1st century A.D. to 8th century A.D., has been made. Some fresh evidences in the form of historical data and political situations have been put forth for settling its date. References to the Śrīparvatīyas, Kilakilas and the Ānandas, the political situations around Daśapura and Nandyāvartapura (Nagardhan), the nature of the language of *Paumacariyam* and some influence of Apabhraṃśa on it reveal that our work was not composed earlier than the 5th century A.D. and not later than 677 A.D., the date of *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa, which is a Sanskrit recast of *Paumacariyam*. Further it is worth consideration that an apprehension of the charge of plagiarism must have prevented Raviṣeṇa from recasting *Paumacariyam* within one or two decades of its composition. Some considerable period of time, say, one or two centuries would have elapsed between them. Therefore, the 530th year of the Nirvāṇa Era as mentioned in the *PCV*, should be that of Vikrama Era and thus 473 A.D. seems to be the correct date of composition of *Paumacariyam*.

In the second chapter first hand knowledge of the Rāma-narrative of *Paumacariyam* is available in summary-form.

1. In the revised edition of *Paumacariyam* published by Prakrit Text Society in 1962 and 1968, there still remains some textual defects.

In the third chapter there is a comparison of various episodes of the Rāma-kathā of *Paumacariyam* with those of the *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulasīdāsa. The Rāma-stories of *Vāsudevahīṇḍī* and *Uttarapurāṇa* comprising two currents of a different Jaina tradition have been also compared in it. Along with that various other Jaina and non-Jaina works on Rāma-story have been quoted showing some traditional backing of *Paumacariyam* or its influence on them.

In the fourth chapter 63 intervening stories of *Paumacariyam* have been summarised and similar stories from other Jaina and Brahmanical works have been adduced showing the source or influence of *Paumacariyam*.

In the fifth chapter we have come to the conclusion that the genealogical list of the Ikṣvāku Vamśa given in the *Paumacariyam* is influenced by the *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*. Other five dynasties, namely, Soma, Hari, Vidyādhara, Rākṣasa and Vānara have independent genealogical lists. Subsequent Jaina works have generally drawn upon *Paumacariyam* as regards these dynasties.

In the sixth chapter there is a critical estimate of the preceding three chapters showing the sources, contribution and influence of *Paumacariyam*. It can be summarised as follows :—

Vimalasūri's Rāmakathā has its basic foundation on the Jaina and Popular tradition because we find that in its certain features it takes us back to the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* and in one case even before it. Sītā is the legal daughter of Janaka born of his wife; there is no golden deer incident; Laṅkā has not been set on fire and Hanumat here neither jumps across the sea, nor changes his form, nor brings any mountain peak. These features take us back to the original *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa*. Bhāmaṇḍala as the brother of Sītā has no mention in the *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* but it is a historical element and thus it takes us even prior to the *Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa*.

In the *PGV* there is absence of the depiction of the Rākṣasas as demons, the Vānaras as monkeys. Kumbhakarṇa as a diabolical character and Rāvaṇa as a cruel and ten-faced monster. They are all exaggerations in the *VR*, which did not form the part of the original story.

Now this query may safely be posed : How could Vimālasūri come to know that the above elements were not the ingredients of the original Rāmakathā ? During his time i. e. 5th century A. D. when the

inflated *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and other Brahmanical works based on it had become so much popular that it would not have been possible for anyone to distinguish between the original and the inflated Rāma-story. It cannot be presumed that he would have been conversant with some version of the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* at so late a date. Therefore, the only plausible possibility is that he inherited the Rāma-story from some other tradition. The predecessors and specially the preceptors of Vimalasūri might have carefully preserved and helped in disseminating that tradition. Thus he might have received a lot of information about the story from the oral tradition of the line of his preceptors as he mentions in his work. And that tradition was based on the 'nāmāvlī sūtras' given in the *Samavāyāṅga*, *Sthānāṅga* and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*. The *Sthānāṅga* and *Samavāyāṅga* date some centuries prior to the Christian era and approximately to the time of the composition of the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa*.

The divine elements and others giving Brahmanical colouring to the Rāma story were introduced later by the rhapsodists and interpolators of Rāma's incarnation, his meeting with various Brāhmaṇa Ṛsis, his promise to annihilate the Rākṣasas etc, are later creations. In the original story Rāma was a man and man only, an ideal Kṣatriya. As the *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* was Brahmanised, similarly Vimalasūri Jainised the Rāma story for the propagation of Jainism.

Some of the elements of *PCV*'s Rāmakathā have their traditional backing in other early works. They are Lakṣmaṇa's seniority to Bharata; Defeating of the Anāryas by Rāma; Absence of demanding of exile of Rāma by Kaikeyi; Filial relationship between the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras and the Doubtful authenticity of the construction of the bridge across the sea.

Thus we find that in certain respects the Rāma-kathā of *Paumacariyam* has originality having its basic foundation on the Jaina or Popular tradition and in certain respects it is backed by some tradition other than that of *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. Besides, in its details it has been greatly influenced by the *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* whose Rāma-story was so much popular that Vimalasūri could not escape its impact on his work.

In the planning of his work Vimalasūri, at certain places, is influenced by the *Rāmopākhyāna* of *Mahābhārata* also, specially in placing Rāvaṇacarita in the beginning of the story.

Now it can be said that his critical reference to some portions of popular *Rāmāyaṇa*, alleged by him as unbelievable and inconsistent, was not merely for the sake of criticism and for recasting the story into

a realistic form but he had some authentic traditional backing for the same.

Thereafter, it has been brought out that on account of the Rāma story having its merely 'nāmāvali' form in the old literature of the Jains and on account of its oral tradition, its details differed with various preceptors. Therefore, we find that there are two main Jain traditions of Rāma story, one of the *Paumacariyam* and the other of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and the *Uttarapurāṇa*. The latter two currents of the other tradition.

As regards the intervening stories of *Paumacariyam* we find that some stories, especially concerning the great personages of the Jain mythology, have their sources in the canonical literature and the Jain tradition. Some have their sources in the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* while some are based on popular sources and some are most probably invented by the author himself.

The author's special contribution is that he has preserved a historical element in the fact that Sītā had a brother. There is semi-historical material about the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras as some aboriginal races. The superstitious aspect of Rāma story which was a later growth, has not been given place by him. He has advocated in the cultural field, racial tolerance and respect for other races, specially for a hero of a different race. There is also a message for free mixing of different races. Under various circumstances the characters have been elevated. Finally Vimalasūri has given the first Jain and Prākṛta Rāma epic to the Indian literature by including tens of stories in his Rāma narrative.

The *Paumacariyam* has been a source for many subsequent Jain works such as *Padmacaritam* of Raviṣeṇa, *Paumacariu* of Svayambhū, Rāmakathā in the *TSP* of Hemacandra, *Rāmapurāṇa* of Bh. Somasena and many others. One thing specially noted during our studies is that various Jain authors freely consulted works of their predecessors without having any sectarian prejudice.

The *Paumacariyam* has influenced non-Jain Rāmakathā works also. Generally Brahmanical works are noteworthy. They are *Purāṇas*, sectarian *Rāmāyaṇas* as well as ornate Sanskrit works. Besides, the *Rāmāyaṇas* composed in even modern Indian languages have been influenced. Its impact is also seen on the works composed outside India i.e. South Asia and Western Europe.

The greatest influence of the tradition of *Paumacariyam* is seen on the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, Tulasī's works on Rāma-story; *Serī-Rāma* (of Mālaya), *Padmapurāṇa*, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and *Rāmakiya* (of Shyam).

Tulasīdāsa's *Rāmacaritamānasa* has been influenced by the style of the Jaina works, specially the *Paumacariu* of Svayambhū. Its pattern of narrating the previous birth stories of Rāma, Rāvaṇa and Sītā show an influence of the Jaina carita works. The influence of the tradition of *Paumacariyam* on Indian and foreign works is reproduced in the following pages in a tabular form. Along with that the influence of the *Vasudevahinḍī* and *Uttarapurāṇa* has also been tabulated. (See Infra the table attached).

Part Two.

The cultural study of *Paumacariyam* made in the chapters VII to XI can be summarised as follows :—

Organisation of Society :—The *Paumacariyam* in the social field reveals that ancient society was mainly based on Varāṇāśrama dharma. But there was flexibility in following different professions and the last two stages of āśramadharma were not followed rigidly. As for the Jaina community no āśramadharma was followed. A person's inclination for renouncing the world counted more than the consideration of age. The Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and the mercantile class among the Vaiśyas held high position in the society. The Vaiśyas formed the pillar of the prosperity of nation. The principle that law treats all equally was at the base of the organisation of society and none was exempted from punishment if he committed any crime.

Family :—The family was the fundamental unit of the society. All its members lived harmoniously co-operating with each other and obeying the head of the family i. e. the father or the eldest brother. The wife was the mistress of the household. Parents took due care of the welfare of their children while the children were obedient to their parents. There was a great circle of relations and friends. To show hospitality to the guests was a must for the inmates of the family.

Marriage :—Marital relations were settled mainly on the consideration of family status, character, age and physique of the candidates. Parity in age was an important factor. There was no rigidity as regards inter-caste and inter-racial marriages. Prājāpatya was the most prevalent form of marriage among the Aryans and the Rākṣasa form among the Rākṣasas. 'Svayamvara' type of marriage was common with the Kṣatriyas. Gāndharva type of marriages were also performed. Portraits of candidates played an important part in settling marital alliances. Among the Vaiśyas sometimes Asura form of marriage was celebrated. Polygamy was prevalent among the ruling class. Religion

was no bar in marrying women belonging to different faiths. The *Paumacariyam* gives a very emphatic picture of inter-racial marriages and it is corroborated by the inscriptional evidences of the Vakāṭaka Gupta Age.

Position of Women:—Women occupied a high position in the society. As a maiden, as a wife and as a mother, woman was respected in each of the phases of her life. Female education was not neglected. Music and dance was a subject of very common learning. Education in sciences and arts was also imparted to them. Generally girls of noble families are referred to in this connection. Kṣatriya girls were given training in warfare also. Men were so particular about the character of women that on the slightest suspicion they deserted their wives but there are equally evidences of male excesses over women. The state of widow was not happy. Women are generally found to be expressing their dependence on their husbands and children. It was due to lack of economic freedom to them. Jealousy among cowives and other human weaknesses were the common traits of women. In the social and political field we find them sometimes working as administrators, fighters, physicians and generally as nurses. These were the professions of high status. Then there were maid servants, attendants, messengers, musicians, dancers and entertaining girls. The lowest position was that of harlots and prostitutes. In the religious field women enjoyed equal rank with men in the Jaina society. In the Brahmanical fold commonly we do not find that liberality for them. As regards the freedom of movement the *Paumacariyam* reveals a good picture. It shows that women were not confined to the Zenana. They openly took part in social activities. In this work there is no evidence of the existence of the purdah system.

Games and Sports:—People took interest in games. Playing with ball was common among the children and so were water-sports among the young women and married couples. Boxing and dice-playing were other sports and games. Princely sports were subduing of and riding the horses and elephants. Welcome celebrations and Madanotsava were enjoyed. Story telling was an usual pastime. Then there were the public performances such as of acrobats, umbrella-players, musicians and dancers.

Manners and Customs:—People addressed their elders as well as persons of the higher status with reverence and the younger ones as well as persons of lower status with regards and sympathy. Modesty and affection was the guiding principle in establishing contacts with different

kinds of persons. Salutes and blessings were expressed to different grades of persons. As a rule people paid obeisance to the monks. Showing hospitality to others was the basic duty of every citizen.

Faith in Supernatural Elements :—People had great faith in astrology, fatalism, prophecies, omens, auguries, dreams, charms and supernatural elements. It was believed that those who commit wrong go to hell and those who perform good deeds attain heaven. Illustrious and great persons were believed to be endowed with supernatural powers. Celestial being and evil spirits were regarded as influencing the day to day life of the people. For acquiring superhuman powers penances were performed and austerities were observed.

Education :—In the field of education boys and girls received almost equal attention. Teachers were held in high esteem and they were suitably rewarded by the parents of the pupils. Sometimes male students went to other places for their further education. Rajagrha, Vyāghrapura and Kusumapura (Patna) are mentioned as famous places of learning. Co-education was not altogether absent. Education was manifold. It consisted of studying of the Vedas and its auxiliaries, Jaina Śruta and other laukika śāstras—science, arts and handicrafts. Writing was fully developed. Astronomy and medical science also seem to be well developed. Vaidyas diagnosed diseases and administered drugs. Preparations of sandal wood were very commonly used for medical purposes, Veterinary science also was known to the people. Surgery was performed generally on the wounded soldiers. Charms and austerities were equally taken help of in curing diseases. Cooking, music and dance were the very common subjects of the female education. The rich information available about the flora and fauna indicates that people had good knowledge of them and they utilised them in their daily life.

Articles of Food :—The main diet of the people was two fold, solid and liquid. Rice was the main food. Barley, various types of pulses and oil seeds were also used as food materials. Spices and fruits were common. Milk preparations, sweets, sugar and honey were also used. Various kinds of tasteful preparations of food were made. Meat eating and taking wines of various kinds were prevalent. The Jainas were prohibited from taking them. Costly utensils were used by the nobles and well-to-do families.

Cloths and Dresses :—Various types of cloths referred to are cotton, woolen and silken. Dyeing and printing was prevalent. The male dress consisted of an (Uttariya) upper garment while the bodice was an

additional garment for women. Men and women both were very fond of ornaments of head, neck, ears, arms, fingers and waist. Besides, ornaments of ankle were worn by the women.

Toilet:—Various powders, unguents, pastes and perfumes were used in bath and toilet. Hair dressing was an important part of decoration. Flowers and saffron were very commonly used, specially by women.

Arts:—Among the fine arts music, dance and drama were very popular. They were cultivated and well patronised by the royal and the noble families. Playing on the Viṇā was very common. Various kinds of instruments were played on social, religious and political occasions. Dance and music were very popular with the royal and noble ladies. Artists and professionals provided entertainment to the public in general. There were regular prekṣāgrahas (theatres) for the performance of music, dance and drama.

Other fine arts which were commonly patronised, were drawing, painting, terracota and plastic. Pictures of human beings and animals were drawn and shaded with colours. Portraits played an important part in arranging marital alliances. Land-scape painting was also prevalent. Palaces and temples were decorated with cloth paintings. Royal mansions were furnished with clay and lac modellings of animals and human beings. Sculpture had reached an advanced stage. Idols of Jinas, some surprisingly small while others sufficiently big were carved out of jewels, gold and stones. Even finger rings were set with images of Jinas.

Towns and Buildings :—We find a picture of systematic town planning with bazaras and mansions, palaces and buildings, roads and streets, gardens and pleasure resorts, and fortifications and gates. Buildings as high as eight storied with separate quarters, rooms, courtyards, windows and spires have been referred to. Royal palace was set with various rooms for the household as well as for the administrative purpose. Special galleries were constructed on the occasion of any public show. Costly articles of furniture for lying down and sitting on were used by the rich and the noble. Articles of decoration such as flags, canopies, festoons, strings of pearls, metal designs etc. are referred to.

Conditions of Life :—The noble and the rich lived a happy and luxurious life, but people at the lower strata of the society led a miserable life. Generally there was peace but occasional battles and wars and epidemics tormented the social life. The bulk of the population lived on agriculture and animal husbandry. Small industries like

weaving, gold-smithery, iron-smithery and capentry were prevalent. Trade and commerce engaged a sufficient portion of the populace. People engaged in other professions were preceptors, teachers, astrologers, interpreters of signs, omens and dreams, physicians, masons, sculptors, musicians, dancers, charcoal makers, wood gatherers, fishermen, hunters, fowlers and trappers. Some people derived their sustenance from state and private services. Valuable metals and minerals, jewels and precious stones enriched the economic conditions of the rich and the nobles. Trade and commerce flourished in big cities and capital. Main routes of trade were by land and water. Carts, oxen, bisons and donkeys were the main conveyances for trade while passenger vehicles and palanquins for journeys.

Political conditions :—India was divided into several monarchical states with the king as the head administrator who was helped by various organs of Government. The *Paumacariyam* generally gives us a picture of feudalism. Kings followed the policy of aggrandisement and annexed the weaker kingdoms and principalities to their own states by conquering them. Powerful kings were dominated by the idea of becoming *Cakravartin* kings i.e. Paramount lords. Sometimes barbarian tribes are evidenced as invading north India and the Vindhya region. There was proper arrangement of judiciary for maintaining law and order. Kings maintained fourfold army for defence and invasion. Various kinds of weapons and missiles were used in battles, the bow holding a prominent place.

Religious conditions :—Jain monks and nuns travelled from place to place and instructed the lay devotees in religion and ethics. They performed various types of austerities and sojourned in caves, jungles, gardens and temples. Idol worship was very common among the Jainas. Salutation, eulogy and worship of the Jinas was the daily routine of them. Worship of the Saptarṣis (other than those of Brahmanical following) had also become popular. *Aṣṭāhnika parva* was celebrated thrice a year. Pilgrimage to holy places was popular.

Among the non-Jainas the Tapasas were commonly seen staying in āśramas and sometimes moving outside. Rudra, Śiva, Caturmukha, Indra, Skanda and Soma were the chief deities which were worshipped by the followers of Brahmanism. The cult of animal sacrifice was also prevalent among them. Besides, forest deities and Yakṣas were the deities of popular worship.

On the whole there was a religious tolerance as we find that the Jainas addressed their Tīrthankaras even with the names of Brahmanical deities.

Geographical Horizon :—People were familiar with the geography of north and south India. Important countries, towns, rivers, and hills were known to them. It shows that there was a free passage between the north and the south. India was inhabited by various tribes and peoples, Aryan as well as non-Aryan. South India is said to have been chiefly dominated by the Vidyādhara, the Rākṣasa and the Vānara who were the ancient tribes of India. In this respect the *Paumacariyam* has preserved valuable information about the authenticity of the existence of these peoples in ancient times.

Literary Importance : The *Paumacariyam* is the first Jaina as well as Prakṛta Epic on Rāma-story. It is composed in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakṛta. Vimalasūri is the first Jaina poet who has presented to us a Puranic narrative in a charming popular style. Its language is easily comprehensible and the style is simple so the work is accessible even to an average reader. The linguistic material in the work is very valuable for the study of the development of the Middle-Indo-Aryan language. Varieties of metres have their own importance for the history of prosody.

Thus we find that the *Paumacariyam* besides its linguistic and literary importance, provides us with a lot of cultural and historical information comprising of social, political, economic and religious conditions of the people of its time and furnishes us with a good data about various geographical places, peoples and tribes of India. In this respect it is a mirror that reflects the society of its time. Hence the work occupies an important place in the ancient literature of India.

1. Table Showing Influence of the Tradition of Paumacariyam :

Sl. No. TOPICS	INDIA		ABROAD	
	Sanskrit (1)	Modern Languages. (2)	South Asia. (3)	Western Europe. (4)
1. Ravana's attempt to foil the birth of Rama.	Ānanda Rāmāyana.			
2. Predominance of Kaikeyi's willingness in her marriage with Daśaratha. or her svayamvara.		Bengali Kṛtīvāsa Rāmāyana Assamese Rāmāyana of Mādhava	Seri Rama (Malaya) Hikāyata Maharāja Ravana (Malaya) & Rama Kiyan (Syāma).	
3. Association of Kaikeyi with the war-chariot of Daśaratha.	Brahmapurāṇa; Padmapurāṇa; Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyana.			
4. Bharata & Śatrughna as uterine brothers.		Marāṭhi Bhavārtha Rāmāyana.		
5. Initial betrothal of Sita with Rama.	Padma Purāṇa.			
6. Introduction of the Bow specially for the svayamvara of Sita.	Padmapurāṇa : Satyopākhyāna.	Kāśmīri Rāmāyana.		

Sl. No. TOPICS	INDIA		ABROAD	
	Sanskrit (1)	Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)
7. At Sita's svayaṁvara Nṛsiṃha ? Bhāga- Rāmacaritamānasa; Serī Rāma (Malaya), Western Acco- Rāma's success among vata, Śrīmaddevī Tamila Rāmāyaṇa of Hikāyata Maharāja unts No. 3, 4, various candidates ? Bhāgavata & Padma- Kambana; Telugu Rāvapa (Malaya), 7, 8 & 13. purāṇa; Adhyātma Dvīpāda Rāmāyaṇa. Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā), & Ānanda Rāmā- Marāṭhī Bhāvārtha- Reamker (Combodia). yaṇa; Satyopākhyāna; Rāmāyaṇa, Gujarātī & Brahmācakra (Laos) Mahāvīracarita; Rāmāyaṇa of Premā- Anargharāghava; nanda. Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa; Mahānātaka; Prasa- nnarāghava; Rāma- rahasya & Rāmal īṅgāmṛta. Mahānātaka. Rāmacaritamānasa.				
8. Elevation of the character of Daśaratha (on the occasion of enthroning Rāma).				
9. A. Exonerating of Kaikeyi from the charge of exiling Rāma. &	Adhyātma & Ānanda Torāve Rāmāyaṇa Rāmāyaṇa, Mahāvīr- acarita; Anargha Rāghava & Bālarā- māyaṇa; Rāmalingā mṛta.	Rāmacaritamānasa & Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa.		

B. Kaikeyi's personal efforts to call back Rāma. Dhamarkhaṇḍa (Part of Skandapurāṇa), Tattvasaṅgraha-harāmāyaṇa.

10. Voluntary exile of Rāma (a special favour for Bharata).		Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa & Serī Rāma (Malaya). West. Acct. No. 14.
11. Śambūka as the nephew of Rāvaṇa & his killing by Lakṣmaṇa.	Telugu Rāmāyaṇa & Kannarese Torāve Rāmāyaṇa. Dvīpāda Serī Rāma (Malaya) Seratakāpḍa (Javā) Rāmakiyen (Śyāma).	Western Account No. 19.
12. Hanumat's love episode, Rāmacarita of Abhinanda.	Oriyan Mahābhārata, Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa, Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa (oriyan).	Rāmakiyen (Śyāma).
13. Child (ren) of Hanumat Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Jaininī Bhārara & Rāmalingāṃpta.	Marāṭhī Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa; Kannarese Mairavaṇa Rāvaṇa Kalaga; & Gujarati Narmakathakośa.	Serī Rāma (Malaya), Hikāyata Mahārāja West. Acct. No. 7 & 8.

SL. No. TOPICS	INDIA		ABROAD	
	Sanskrit (1)	Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)
14. Prophecy about the Nṣimha Purāṇa ? & destined killer of Vāli (Rāvaṇa in PCV) ?				West. Acct. No. 13.
15. Association of Lakṣmaṇa with the episode of killing of (śam Sugrīva in PCV) Vāli by Rāma.			Seri Rāma (Malaya), West Reāmkar (Cambodia) no. 1	Acct.
16. Hanu's meeting with or observing Vibhīṣaṇa's attitude favourable for Rāma at Laṅkā.		Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa. Rāmacaritamānasa & Gujarati Rāmāyaṇa-sāra. Marathi Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa.		West. Acct. No. 13.
17. Taking of shelter by Vibhīṣaṇa along with his army.			Rāmāyaṇa Kakāvin (Java).	
18. Appearance of Garuḍa at the request of Rāma in the battlefield.		Bhaṭṭikāvya		
19. Meeting of Hanu with Bharata while bringing the Oṣadhi.		Gauḍīya Version of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa Rāmarahasya & Mahanātaka.		

20. Procuring of the medicinal water specially from Bharata. Ramakiyen (Śyama).
21. Delivering of the Oṣadhi Mahānāṭaka. Rāmacaritamānasa & Baigālī Rāmāyaṇa.
22. Sending of a peace proposal to Rāma by Rāvapa through his envoy. Mahānāṭaka.
23. Disturbing of Rāvapa's Yajña. N. W. Version of Rāmacaritamānasa; Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Telugu Dvipāda Padmapurāṇa, Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa. Khotānī Rāmāyaṇa (Eastern Turkeystan), West. Acct. Serī Rāma (Malaya), No. 3. Reāmkar (Combodia), Rāmakiyen (Śyama).
24. Killing of Rāvapa by Lakṣmaṇa, Birhor Kathā.
25. Digvijaya by Rāma (Lakṣmaṇa in PCV) Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa.
26. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa? Kathāsaritsāgara? Rāmacaritamānasa & Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa. West. Acct. Simhalese Rāmakathā No. 8 & 17
27. Marriages of Lava and Kuśa. Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa.

SL. No. TOPICS	INDIA		ABROAD *	
	Sanskrit (1)	Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)
28. Lava and Kuśa's battle with Rāma ?	Kathāsaritsāgara ? Padmapurāṇa, Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Kāśmīri Rāmāyaṇa; Jaimini Rāmāyaṇa, Gujarā-Bhārata; Uttararāma-carita, Chalitārāma.	Gitāvālī, Kṛtīvāsa Śerī Rāma (Malaya), Western Seratakāṇḍa (Java), Account No. Reānker (Comodia), 6, 7, 8, 14 & 17. Rāmakiyen (Śyāma). Rāmajātaka Govindarāmāyaṇa and (Śyāma) & Brahmaka- Rāmāyaṇa masihi krā (Laos) (Persian)	Sinhalese Rāmakathā, Śerī Rāma (Malaya), Western Seratakāṇḍa (Java), Account No. Reānker (Comodia), 6, 7, 8, 14 & 17. Rāmakiyen (Śyāma). Rāmajātaka Govindarāmāyaṇa and (Śyāma) & Brahmaka- Rāmāyaṇa masihi krā (Laos) (Persian)	
29. Nārada as the instigator of a battle between Rāma & his sons.	Ramalingamṛta.			
30. Association of the water reservoir with Sītā's ordeal ?	Kathāsaritsāgara ?			
31. Penances of Rāma.	Brahmapurāṇa.		Serī Rāma (Malaya), Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā).	
32. Penances of Sītā.			Serī Rāma (Malaya), Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā).	
33. Penances of Hanumat.	Brahmapurāṇa.		Rāmakiyen (Śyāma);	
34. Enmity of Rāma as well as Sītā with Rāvāṇa since their previous births.		Rāmacaritamānasa.		

* See Bulcke. (Second Edition 1902). pp. 237, 256, 180, 181, 284, 402, 175, 211, 254, 259, 404, 503, 619, 652, 71-713.

2. Table showing Influence of the Tradition of Vasudevahindī*

		Tibetan & Khotānī	Western	Account
1. Sītā, Daughter of Mahābhāgavata (Devī)	Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa.	Rāmāyaṇa, Serī Rāma, No. 16.		
Mandodarī & Purāṇa.		Seratakāṇḍa, Rāma-kiyen, Reāmkar,		
Ravaṇa.	Svāyambhuva Rāmāyaṇa.	Rāmakeliṅga Hikāyata Mahārāja		
		Rāvaṇa, Rāmājātaka		
		and Pālaka Pālāma of		
		Shiyama, Lankānoy of		
		Laos.		
2. Granting of two boons to Kaikeyī on two occasions.	Baṅgālī Kṛtīvāsā-Rāmāyaṇa, Assamese Rāmāyaṇa of Mādhava, Telugu Bhaskara Rāmāyaṇa, Telugu Varada-rāju Rāmāyaṇa.	Serī Rāma.	West. Acct. No. 13.	
3. Disfiguring of Garuḍapurāṇa, Śrī-Śūrpapakha by maddevī Bhāgavata Rāma.				
4. Four wives of Rāvaṇa's father & their progeny.				

* See Bulletin, pp. 291, 305, 322. & 2nd ed. 1962, pp. 188, 280, 376, 402.

3. Table showing Influence of the Tradition of Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra. **

1. Instigation of Rāmalingamṛta. Rāvaṇa by Nārada for abducting Sītā.	2. Sending of a letter & his finger-ring by Rāma through Hanumān.	3. Abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa in the disguise of Rāma.	4. Hanumān's entry into Laṅkā, in the disguise of a bee.	Western Account. No. 3 & 13.
	Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin of Jāvā (Sītā sends a letter and her braid jewel through Hanumān).			

** See Bulcke, pp. 338, 342, 343, 362 & 369.

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