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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

RIDDLES of the Ramayana, like those of the Mahabharata are many and varied, and what is more, they are likely to remain so for ever. Attempting their solution or trying to interpret them is an ideal pastime for scholars and reasearch students. Sardar M. V. Kibe places before us in the following pages, his solution of one of the many riddles of the Ramayana: the identification of Lanka.

Popular belief is so strong that it is almost axiomatic to associate the island fortress of Ravana with modern Ceylon. Few scholars have differed from the belief and among themselves, differed very widely. It is not surprising to find that Australia, Sumatra, the Maldivs and a place in Assam have been mentioned as possible sites of the Lanka of the Ramayana,

As against all these, Sardar Kibe's stand is entirely different. He has proved with convincing arguments that the Lanka of Ravana was not beyond the southern tip of the Indian peninsula, but on the contrary, in the heart of Hindustan near the Amarakantaka peak in the Central Provinces of to-day. His arguments are based on data marshalled out from the Sanskrit text of Valmiki Ramayana. Other scholars have expressed the same view independently and produced additional evidence.*

^{*(}i) Ghese J. C.: Annals BORI. XIX, 84-6; Ind. Hist. Q. V. 355-56; New Ind. Anti. I. 463;

⁽ii) Hiralal: Jha. Comm. Vol. 151-63;

[&]quot;(fii) Ramdas G.: Ind. Hist. Q. IV. 339-46;

⁽iv) Iyer T. P.: Ramayana and Lanka, Bangalore 1940.

But the location of Lanka is not the only riddle from the epic history—Ramayana is an *Itihasa* too. Apart from the identification of many place names, there are other points equally knotty and perplexing. Take for instance, the reference to Dasaratha's dead* body kept in oil-bath till the return of Bharata. This is not known to be a custom among the Aryan people.

Studying the epic from a sociological point of view, with a critical eye, some striking questions arise: Why could not Urmila accompany Lakshmana when Sita could follow Rama? What was Rama's object in subjecting Sita to the fire ordeal? How could she be exiled later, on an extremely flimsy pretext? Why was it necessary for the Chief of the State to kill in person an offender (Sambooka) without any trial?

We know how very lonely Sita felt during her 14 years of exile. Urmila would have made an excellent company and the two couples would have been mutually happy and helpful. Instead, Urmila had to suffer the lot of a deserted wife for 14 long years for no fault of hers. Why? There is no satisfactory answer to the simple query. Similarly, Sita's ordeal and her exile: Bhavabhuti is at pains to defend his hero's action. In the wide expanse and divergent views of the Hindu Dharma Shastra, there is no support for these actions. Nor is there any precedent for them. And yet, Rama is the ideal hero and husband and Ramarajya the ideal state, It would be no easy task to find support for Rama's assertion:

देशे देशे कलत्राणि देशे देशे च बान्धवाः

^{*} तैलद्रोण्यां तदामात्याः संवेश्य जगतीपतिम् II. 66-14.

[,] Even the dead body of the Brahmin's son (Sambooka episode) was similarly kept in oil-bath—VII—75-2.

तं देशं न तु जानामि यत्र भ्राता सहादरः ॥ VI-101-15

The problem of identifying geographical names is more perplexing and complicated. Although we take it for granted that the Rama story has taken place in India. many Far Eastern countries have the same boast. Surely, it could not have been acted in all these places! Which of them is the correct place of the birth of Ramavana? Avodhya, the capital of Rama and his predecessors, is situated in India and there is no other place bearing the same name: its location likewise is not disputed. But when we find Avuthia prominently shown near Bangkok in Siam, and when we further learn the line of kings of that country took Rama as a title, we get more and more confused. Ayuthia was a former capital of Siamese monarchs before Bangkok was finally chosen and we know that in recent times there was a king styled as Rama VI in that country.

Nearer home in India, the confusing identification becomes more confused. Adjoining the ruins of Vijayanagara (Hampi) we are shown Kishkindha, Pampa and Matanga parvata. Sardar Kibe has shown these places to be in the Central Provinces. On the Indo-Afghan border there are places associated with Rama, Sita and many leading characters of the Ramayana. Why, in every part of our Indian continent, there are places having some connection or other with the Rama legend. A map of India and the adjoining countries, showing places associated with Rama saga is bound to be highly instructive.

In Java too, the Ramayana is supposed to be enacted. The place names mentioned in the Ramayana are to be found in Java to-day. The surprising aspect is not the wide-spread currency of the story, but its continuation in

spite of Budhhistic and later Islamic influence there. The climax however seems to be in the introduction of Moslem mythological characters into one of the Javanese versions of the Ramayana. \$

The deep, wide and extensive penetration of the Rama saga into the very life of the people here in India as well as elsewhere in the East Indies, must indeed be the greatest marvel of cultural achievement. Admittedly, the epic as we have it, is modern in the sense that it is post-budhha. In other words, the story gained its present popularity within 20 centuries. For oral propagation, this must constitute a world-record.

Various origins of the Ramayana have been suggested to show that the Rama story does not belong to India. According to A. Weber,* it was an adaptation of Homer's Iliad. Egyptian origin of the story is proposed by Malladi Vankat Ratnam @ in his two bulky volumes and taking a cue from him, Mr. B. V. Jadhav, wrote a series of articles in Marathi questioning the Aryan character of Rama. Semitic origin (meaning Persian!) is suggested by Dr. S. V. Ketkar £ of the Marathi Dnyanakosha fame. Its symbolic significance is also hinted at some critics%. Telang, Jacobi, Winternitz; and others have shown that the Homeric poems have had no influence on Valmiki's composition.

^{\$} Hikaiat Seri Rama (Indian influences on the Literature of Java and Bali).

^{*} Uber das Ramayana (1870) its English translation- The Ramayana (by D C. Boyd) London 1873.

[@] Rama, the Greatest Pharaoh of Egypt, 2 vols. Rajahmundry 1934.

[£] Prachina Maharashtra (Marathi) Poona 1935; Chaps. 24-25. (Resume in English)

[%] Y. Subbarao: Sri Ramayananada Anatarartha or Mokshamarga Pradipike (Kaparese) 1932.

[†] Telang: Ind. Ant. II, 143-7; III, 123; H. Jacobi: Das Ramayana; Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, pp. 514-5.

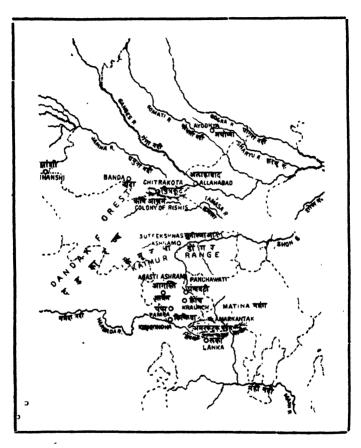
Analysing the influence of the Ramayana, it is noticed that Hindustan (north of the Vindhyas) is under a firmer and deeper grip of the story than the Deccan. Ram Lila as observed by the Northerners - extending to 10 days ending with Dasara - is not known as such any where South of the Narmada. In the North too, to the West in the Punjab and beyond, the influence is stronger than what it is to the East in Bengal and Assam. Knowing as we do the immense popularity of the Tulsi Ramayana and its household use in the Hindi speaking regions, we don't take the Central area into consideration for this comparative study. The curious fact about the Punjab is the more striking because there was Nanak's militant Sikhism to wean away a section of the populace from Valmiki's epic. Situated on the door-step of India the Punjab had to bear the first onslaughts of many an invasion from the North-West. Is the intense circulation of the Rama legend in the land of the five rivers due to its peculiar strategic position? Or to the heroic element in the story? Perhaps to both!

A striking feature of the form of popularity of the Rama saga in the Punjab is to be seen in the proper names ending in Rama. It is customary to take Rama to represent the figure 3 in Sanskrit literature, there being only three such heroes: Bhargava (Parasu), Raghava (Dasharathi) and Yadava (Bala). The varieties of compound names formed with Rama in the Punjab is simply astounding. There are the twelve months of the Hindu lunar calendar to serve as prefixes of Rama thus: Chet, Baisakh, Jeth... and so on. Queer combinations like Masti-Rama, Chuha-(mouse?) Rama, Chhela-(the last?) Rama, are also found all over the Punjab. In the South too, amongst the Dravidians, many varieties of Rama, describing a particular attribute of the hero or giving one of his many epithets in a long Sanskrit compound are to be found.

Yet in the whole range of a thousand names of Vishnu there is only one Rama, although more than 108 epithets of Rama for purposes of japa, have been composed. The outstanding instance of great devotion to Rama and his story from amongst the Marathi speaking people is the composition of 108 Ramayanas by Moropant. His are the acrobatic feats of literary composition: he even composes a Ramayana wherein no labials are used at all!

In the scholarly world, the hold of the Rama story can be judged by having a cursory glance at the Bibliography of the Ramayana ably compiled by Mr. N. A. Here's a complete and almost exhaustive list of texts, translations, books and articles involving research about the epic. Mr. Gore's attention is restricted more or less to English and two other European languages, and there are a few entries of works in some Indian languages. Extending the scope of his work further to all languages Asiatic, European and others, the compilation would swell to many times its present size. For the very reason, it is worth trying and instead of bringing out another edition of the Bibliography, Mr. Gore would do well to concentrate this enlarged version. That indeed would prove convincingly, that the epic history of Rama, whatever its origin, has had an overwhelmingly wide circulation. Very likely it would prove that Ramayana is the best-seller of the world's literature, the best-seller for all ages. The truth of the prediction by the Creator-in-carnate, given in the beginning of Valmiki's text-

यावतस्थास्यन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च महीतले
तावद्रामायणकथा लोक्षु प्रचरिष्यति ॥ 1-2-36
would then be realised fully, to the letter and the spirit.
30th Dec. 1947.
S. R. T.



An Outline Map showing Lanka in the Central Provinces.

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LANKA DISCOVERED

THE toughest riddle in the Ramayana is the location of Ravana's capital. Materials in Valmiki's work have wrongly been thought not sufficient to identify it. Tradition for over two thousand years places it in the sea beyond the southern-most limits of India. Modern scholars, however, have declined to accept it, Mr. Vaidya, who has creditably explained many riddles of the Ramayana,* has only supported the present location identical with Ceylon, by means of imperfect analogies. Recent opinion about Rama's journey to the south and his conquest of Lanka is that it is a nature myth, §

Although the geographical data in the Ramayana are but incidentally given and scanty, there is ample evidence in it to locate sites of Kishkindha and Lanka, the capitals of Sugriva and Ravana, respectively. The earlier part of the Ramayana is admitted to be historical and there is little difficulty in identifying Rama's Ayodhya and Chitrakuta with the modern places bearing those names.

Dr. Jacobi locates it in Assam.

^{*} C. V. Vaidya; The Riddle of the Ramayana, Bombay

[§] Imp. Gas. Vol. I. p. 419

In the Kishkindha Kanda, Sugriva's capital of that name is made the centre for enumerating the countries in the four directions. The countries within the borders of India are more or less correctly named and described, but those beyond are imaginary. In this narration of the countries in each direction sufficient indication is given of the frontiers of India.

Sugriva assembled his vast army on the plain adjoining his capital, Kishkindha (IV-40). He then divided it into batches under the distinguished warriors for going to countries in the four directions for finding whereabouts of Sita. For their information and guidance he enumerated the countries to be found in each direction. He does not seem to have followed any method in naming them; he simply noted countries and remarkable places in each direction, regarding the place where he stood as the centre.

He began with the East. In this direction were to be met with the Ganges; the Jumna; a big mountain on or near its banks, probably Chitrakuta itself; the Sarayu; the Kausiki; the Saraswati; the Sindhu; the Sona; the Mahi and the Kalamahi- a river, the valley of which abounded in rich natural scenery; and the following countries: Brahmamala; Videha; Malava; Kasi; Kosala; Mahagrama; Pundra and Anga. Beyond these are the lands where silk-worms exist (probably Assam) and where there are silver mines (probably Burma) (IV-40-19 to 24).

अधिगच्छ दिशां पूर्वी सशैलवनकाननाम् । तत्र सीतां च वैदेहीं निलयं रावणस्य च ॥१९॥ मार्गध्वं गिरिदुर्गेषु वनेषु च नदीषु च । नदीं भागीरयीं रम्यां सरयूं कौशिकीं तथा ॥२०॥ कार्लिदी यमुनां रम्यां यामुनं च महागिरिष् । सरस्वतीं च सिन्धुं च शोणं मणिनिभोदकम् ॥२१॥ महीं कालमहीं चापि शेलकाननशोभिताम् । ब्रह्ममालां विदेहांश्च मालवान्काशिकोसलान् ॥२२॥ मागधांश्च महाग्रामान्पुंड्रांस्त्वंगांस्त्येव च। भूमिं च कोशकाराणां भूमिं च रजताकराम् ॥२३॥ सर्व च तिद्वचेतव्यं मृगयाद्भिस्ततस्ततः। रामस्य दियतां भार्यो सीतां दशरथस्नुषाम् ॥२४॥

Another leader was sent to the South. He was to search the Vindhya mountain; the Narmada; the Godavari; the Krishna; the Mekhala; Utkala and the cities in the Dasarna countries; the cities, Abravanti and Avanti; the countries Vidarbha: Rishtika; Mahishaka; Matsya; Kalinga; Kausika; Dandaka forest; the Godavari (another river of the same name as the one already enumerated but not the modern famous river of that name; probably the one on the banks of which Rama stayed at Panchavati); Andhra, Pundra (a country of this name is met with in the east also); Chola; Pandya and Kerala; the Ayomukha mountain; the Tamraparni and then the sea (IV-41-8 to 19):-

सहस्रशिरसं विन्ध्यं नानाद्वमलतायतम्। नर्मदां च नदीं रम्यां महोरगनिषेविताम्*॥८॥ ततो गोदावरीं रम्यां कृष्णवेणीं महानदीम्। मेस्रलानुत्कलांश्वेव दशार्णनगराण्यपि। आववन्तीमवन्तीं च सर्वमेवानुपञ्चत ॥९॥

नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यं त्राहि मां विषसर्पतः (खिल of ऋग्वेद)

विदर्भान्धिकांश्चेव रम्यान्माहीषकानपि। तथा मत्स्यकिरङ्गांञ्च कौशिकांञ्च समन्ततः ॥१०॥ अन्बीक्ष्य दण्डकारण्यं सपर्वतनदीगहम्। नदीं गोदावरीं चैव सर्वमेवानंपञ्यत ॥११॥ तथैवांधांश्च पंडांश्च चोलान्पांडचांश्च केरलान। अयोमस्बश्च गन्तव्यः पर्वतो धातुमांहतः ॥ १२॥ ततस्तां आपगां दिव्यां प्रसन्नसिललाशयास् । तत्र दक्ष्यथ कावेरी विह्नतामप्सरोगणे: ॥ १४॥ तस्यासीनं नगस्याग्रे मलयस्य महीजसः । द्रक्ष्यथादित्यसंकाशमगस्त्यमुषिसत्तमम् ॥१५॥ ततस्तेनाभ्यनज्ञातः प्रसन्नेन महात्मना। ताम्रपणी वाहजुष्टां तरिष्यथ महानदीस् ॥ १६॥ * सा चन्दनवनैश्चित्रैः प्रच्छन्नद्वीपवारिणी। कान्तेव यंवती कान्तं समुद्रमवगाहते ॥ १ ७॥ ततो हेममयं दिव्यं मुक्तामणिविभूषितम् । युक्तं कवाटं पांडचानां गता द्रक्ष्यथ वानराः ॥ १८॥ ततः समुद्रमासाय संप्रधार्यार्थनिश्चयम् । अगस्त्येनान्तरे तत्र सागरे विनिविधात: ॥१९॥

चित्रसानुमयः श्रीमान्महेन्द्रः पर्वतोत्तमः।

The third batch was sent to the West. The places and countries in this direction are thus enumerated:—Saurashtra; Balhika; Chandra Chitra and a little towards

This praise of a small river at the end of the peninsula appears to be an interpolation by one of the editors who gave a South Indian appographical coloring to the epic.

the west, the sea. This last remark suggests that the countries mentioned here must have been in the northwest of the place of the narrator. (IV-42-6 to 10)

सुषेणप्रमुखा य्यं वैदेहीं परिमार्गथ ।
सौराष्ट्रान्सहबाडीकांश्चनद्रचित्रांस्तथेव च ॥ ६ ॥
स्मितान् जनपदान् रम्यान् विपुरुशिन पुराणि च
पुन्नागगहनं कृक्षिं बकुलोहालकाकुलम् ॥ ७ ॥
तथा केतकखंडांश्च मार्गध्वं हरिपुद्भवाः ।
प्रत्यक्स्त्रोतोवहांश्चेव नद्यः शितजलाः शिवाः ॥ ८ ॥
तापसानामरण्यानि कान्तारिगरयश्च ये ।
तत्रस्यलीर्मरुप्राया अत्युच्चिशिशाः शिलाः ॥ ९ ॥
गिरिजालवृतां दुर्गी मार्गित्वा पश्चिमां दिशम् ।
ततः पश्चिममागम्य समुदं द्रष्टुमर्हथ ॥ १ ० ॥

In this direction the junction of the Indus with the sea is also mentioned (ibid 15):—

सिन्धुसागरयोश्चेव सङ्गमे तत्र पर्वतः । महान्सोमगिरिनीम शतशङ्को महाद्रुमः ॥ १५ ॥

The last division of scouts was sent to the North. The most prominent feature of this direction is the existence of the Himalayas (IV-43-4).

विशं सुदीचीं विकान्तिहमशैलवतंसिकाम्।

The other countries and places are:—Mlechchha; Pulinda; Surasena; Prasthala; Bharata; Kuru; Madra; Kamboj; Yavana; the cities of Sakas; Varada and the Himalayas (IV-43-12, and 89).

तत्र म्लेच्छान्पुलिन्दांश्च शूरसेनांस्तथेव च । प्रस्थलान्भरतांश्चेव कृतंश्च सह मद्रकेः ॥ ११॥

कांबोजयवनांश्वेव शकानां पत्तनानि च । अन्वीक्ष्य वरदांश्वेव हिमवन्तं विचिन्वथ ॥ १२ ॥

Three objections have been put forward against the authenticity of these geographical passages. The first is that they give names of countries which look like modern ones. The second objection, as expressed by Mr. Vaidya, is that Dandakaranya and the Godavari are twice mentioned, once in the east and again in the south. (This is not to be found in all editions. In the edition from which I have quoted, Pundra is mentioned in two directions). The third objection, again put forth by Mr. Vaidya, is that Sugriva makes contradictory assertions as regards his knowledge of Ravana and his home. When Rama meets him for the first time, he says that he does not know anything about Ravana (IV-7-3).

न जाने निरुयं तस्य सर्वथा पापरक्षसः । सामर्थ्यं विक्रमं वापि दौष्कुलेयस्य वा कुलम् ॥

But when he is giving directions to his followers, to those going towards the South, he indicates the abode of Ravana (IV-41):-

*यत्र देवैरवध्यस्य रावणस्य दुरात्मनः । राक्षसाधिपतेर्वासः श्रुयते वानरर्षभाः ॥

Against the first objection, it should be remembered that excepting perhaps the kernels of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata no reliable material of the history of India, as a whole, prior to the times of Buddha, is available. Therefore it cannot be positively said what the ancient names of countries were. In some cases old names may have been continued in later times. Their

having changed places, does not prove that they did not exist in ancient times. As regards the second objection, it should be borne in mind that it is not uncommon in continents colonised by foreign people to have the same names repeated.

As regards the last, the second stanza which is quoted by Mr. Vaidya himself, shows that therein Sugriva described what he had heard () only. When he first saw Rama he might not have really known anything about Ravana. When he promised to help Rama, he must have made inquiries. His general Hanaman, communicates to Lakshmana what knowledge of Ravana he had obtained from Vali (IV-35-16 to 18):—

अहत्वा तांश्च दुर्धर्षान्राक्षसान्कामरूपिणः । अशक्यं रावणं हन्तुं येन सा मैथिछी हता ॥ १६ ॥ ते न शक्या रणे हन्तुमसाहायेन लक्ष्मण । रावणः क्रूरकर्मा च सुग्रीवेण विशेषतः ॥ १७ ॥ एकमाख्यातवान्वाली स हाभिज्ञो हरिश्वरः । आगमस्तु न मे व्यक्तः श्रवात्तस्य बवीम्यहम् ॥ १८ ॥

Moreover the Vanara race was scattered over a large part of India (IV-37) and Hanuman had travelled over a number of their colonies (IV-44-4):—

सासुराः सहगन्धर्वाः सनागनरदेवताः । विदिताः सर्वेठोकास्ते ससागरधराधराः ॥ ४ ॥

The inference then is clear that Sugriva must have obtained his information from some such sources.

A glance at the map of India will show that the situation of Kishkindha, as indicated by the naming of the countries around it must be found in the north of the

Vindhya mountain, the west of the Jumna and the Ganges and south-west of the Chitrakuta, because Rama is said to have left it for going to the south and even if it was in the north-east of Kishkindha, it could be said to be in the east, as in the text above.

Moreover, this is exactly the place where the description of Rama's iournev to that from Chitrakuta* would lead to locate it. one On leaving that place Rama entered the Dandaka forest. There he came across a colony of Rishis which was situated in an inaccessible place (III-1). Then he entered the valley of a river (III-2). Here he saw a hermitage (III-4). He requested its owner to show him a suitable place for settling (III-4-33).

आवासं त्विहमिच्छामि प्रदिष्टमिह कानने ॥

The Rishi was about to die and so he directed Rama to go to another Rishi in the neighbourhood (3.5). Here there were a number of colonists who complained to Rama of the harassment to which they were subjected by the fierce Rakshasas (3-6). They described to him the extent to which their colonies, which were subjected to the harassment, had spread. (VIII-9-17).

पंपानदीनिवासानामनुभन्दाकिनीमपि । चित्रकृटालयानां च क्रियते कदनं महत् ॥१७॥

That is to say, that they were established on the area between the Pampa and the Mandakini rivers and

It is noteworthy that in the उपारी प्रकरण of बांगवासिष्ठ (Rirnays Sagar, Bombay edition 1911, Vol. 1. p. 213, Adhyaya 36, Stanza 39) it is stated that the three peaks of this mountain विज्ञह्न were inhabited by the Bakshasa guards at the Lanka. This apparently resides to the fact that it was within the sphere of the Lanka.

the Chitrakuta mountain. The three names describe the boundaries on the south, the east and the north (or the north-east) respectively. The boundary on the west was not fixed. It was lost in the forest. It will be remembered that in this direction no country is mentioned which is nearer to Kishkindha than Saurashtra. Forest is said to have existed in this direction (see IV-42-7 to 9). The Pampa, in the south, is the same river to which Ramacame at the end of his journey. Beyond this was a colony of the Vanara race, as will be presently seen.

Being accompanied by the members of the colony, he went to the hermitage of Sutikshna (III-7). He stayed here for a night (III-8-1).

रामस्तु सहसौमित्रिः सुतीक्ष्णेनाभिपूजितः । परिणाम्य निशां तत्र प्रभाते प्रत्यबुध्यत ॥ १ ॥

He then wandered over different places in the fores and returned to the same place after ten years: (III-11-27 & 28).

तत्र संवसतस्तस्य मुनीनामाश्रमेषु वै । रमतश्वानुकृत्येन ययुः संवत्सरा दश ॥२७॥ परिमृत्य च धर्मज्ञो राघवः सह सीतया । सुतीकृणस्याश्रमपदं पुनरेवाजगाम ह ॥२८॥

Here he inquires after the place of Agasti (III-11-33):-

प्रसादार्थं भगवतः सानुजः सह सीतया । अगस्त्यमधिगच्छेयमभिवादयितुं मुनिष् ॥ ३६ ॥

He is told that the hermitage of Agasti's brother was 32 miles to the south from there and Agasti's hermitage eight miles further in its south. He is advised that he should halt at the former place for the night.

and then proceed to the other place the next morning (III-11-39, 41 and 42):-

योजनान्याश्रमात्तात याहि चत्वारि वे ततः । दक्षिणेन महांश्च्छ्रीमानगस्त्यश्रातुराश्रमः ॥ ३९ ॥ तत्रेकां रजनी व्युष्य प्रभाते राम गम्यताम् ॥ ४१ ॥ दक्षिणां दिशमास्थाय वनषंडस्य पार्श्वतः ॥ तत्रागस्त्याश्रमपदं गत्वा योजनमन्तरम् ॥ ४२ ॥

He goes to Agasti and asks him to show him a good splace to live in (III-13-11):-

किंतु व्यादिश में देशं सोदकं बहुकाननम् । यत्राश्रमपदं कृत्वा वसेयं निरतः सुसम् ॥११॥

He is pointed out a place 16 miles away on the banks of the Godavari – a place which was said to be not far away (III-13-13 20-21):-

इतो द्वियोजने तात बहुमूलफलोद्कः । देशो बहुमृगः श्रीमान्पखवटचाभिविश्रुतः ॥ १३ स देशः इलाघनीयश्च नातिदूरे च राषव । २० गोदावर्याः समीपे च मैथिली तत्र रंस्यते ॥ २१

Here Rama lived for nearly two years and from here his wife Sita was taken away by Ravana.

This Godavari was, probably, a stream, issuing from the Chitrakuts. In a cave in it, is shown a stream, which goes by the name of Godavari, which, however disappears within the cave. It is said to re-issue at some distance. This circumstance helps the proposition that Rama's abode on the Godavari, from which Sita was abducted, was not so far away as is made out by the current beliefs.

Rama had gone a-hunting at the time of her abduction. He had kept an old man to guard the hermitage. His name was Jatayu. He was found to have been almost killed by Ravana. On his return Rama learnt from the wounded guard the name of the abductor of his wife and the direction in which he had gone (III, 68-9, 10 and 16):-

सा इता राक्षसेन्द्रेण रावणेन दुरात्मना । मायामास्थाय विपुलं वातदुर्दिनसंकुलाम् ॥ ९ ॥ परिक्लान्तस्य मे तात पक्षौ छित्त्वा निशाचरः । सीतामादाय वैदेहीं प्रयातो दक्षिणामुखः ॥ १० ॥ पुत्रो विश्रवसः साक्षाद् भाता वैश्रवणस्य च ॥ १६ ॥

Rama went in that direction — the south — in search of his wife (III-69-1 and 2):-

.....पिस्थितौ राघवौ तदा।
अवेक्षन्तौ वने सीतां जग्मतुः पश्चिमां दिशम् ॥ १ ॥
तां दिशं दक्षिणां गत्वा शरचापासिधारिणौ।
अविप्रहतमेक्ष्वाकौ पन्थानं प्रतिपेदतुः ॥ २ ॥

Having gone six miles, he entered a forest by name Krauncha (1II-69-5):-

> ततः परं जनस्थानात् त्रिकोशं गम्य राघवौ । कौबारण्यं विविशतुर्गहनं तौ महौजसौ ॥ ५ ॥

and on going six miles further, he entered a valley (III—69-8 and 10):—

ततः पूर्वेण तो गत्वा त्रिकाशं भातरौ तदा । कोव्यारण्यमातिकम्य मतंगाश्रममन्तरे ॥ ८ ॥ दहशाते गिरौ तत्र दरीं दशरथात्मजौ । पातालसमगंभीरां तमसा नित्यसंद्रताय ॥ १०॥ It was midway between the forest and the farm of a Rishi called Matanga (III—69-8 supra). Here he killed a man who before dying told him to go to Sugriva, who lived on a hillock on the banks of a reservoir, named Pampa, which was on the farm of Matanga (III-73-10, 29, 31, 40 and 41):—

ततः पुष्करणीं वीरौ पंपा नाम गमिष्यथ ॥ १० ॥
अषेस्तस्य मतङ्गस्य निधानात्त्रच काननम् ।
मतंगवनमित्येव विश्वतं रषुनन्दन ॥ २९ ॥
अञ्ज्यमूकस्तु पंपायाः पुरस्तात्पुष्पितद्वमः ।
सुद्वःसारोष्ठणश्चैव शिश्चनागामिरक्षितः ॥ ३१ ॥
तस्या गुहायाः प्राग्दारे महांच्छीतोदको व्हदः॥ ४० ॥
तस्यां वसति धर्मात्मा सुग्रीवः सह वानरैः ।
कदाचिच्छिसरे तस्य पर्वतस्यापि तिष्ठति ॥ ४१ ॥

Having camped for a day on the way he reached the western bank of Pampa (III-74-3):—

कृत्वा च शैळपृष्ठे तु तौ वासं रामळक्ष्मणौ । पंपायाः पश्चिमं तीरं राघवावुपतस्थतुः ॥ ३॥

Then he went to the hill on which Sugriva lived (IV-1-129):—

तावृष्यमूकस्य समीपचारी । चरन्ददर्शाद्धतदर्शनीयौ ॥ शासामृगाणामधिपस्तरस्वी । वितत्रसे नैव विजेष्टचेष्टम् ॥ १२९ ॥

Rama developed friendship with Sugriva, who gave him news of his wife, carried away by Ravana by that way (IV-6-9):—

अनुमानात्तु जानामि मैथिळी सा न संशयः । क्रियमाणा मया दृष्टा रक्षसा रोद्रकर्मणा ॥ ९॥

Sugriva had been driven away from home by his elder brother, Vali (IV-9 and 10), who lived in Kishkindha, which was at no great distance from the place (IV-12,13 and 14):-

अस्माद्गच्छाम किष्किंघां क्षिप्रं गच्छ त्वमग्रतः। गत्वा चाह्वय सुग्रीव वालिनं आतृगन्धिनम् ॥ १३॥ सर्वे ते त्वरितं गत्वा किष्किंघां वालिनः पुरीम् ॥ १४॥

It was in a valley (IV-33-1):-

अथ प्रतिसमादिष्टो रुक्ष्मणः परवीरहा । प्रविवेश गुहां रम्यां किष्किन्धां रामशासनात् ॥ १ ॥

The above narrative clearly shows that having travelled 62 miles from Chitrakuta, or Sutiksha's hermitage, Rama reached Matanga's farm, from which Sugriva's place was a day's journey, say 32 miles. Kishkindha was quite close to it. So it was about 94 miles from Chitrakuta. At this distance is also the Vindhyarange.

Even to-day about this place, amidst the surroundings described in the Ramayana, is a village named Kandho. A fair in memory of Dasharatha's misadventure whereby came to him the curse about his death, in the case of Shravana is held here. In some editions of the Ramayana two Godavaris are described-one to the east and the other to the south of Kishkindha. It is said that desired is just to the south of Ange. That the tradition had minute knowledge of this country, may be jugded from the fact that a small tributary of the Sona in

this locality, the Mahi, is mentioned in the text. This is confirmed by the fact that even the distance of the localities in this countryside are given in योजनs.

To recapitulate: three points of evidence have been given to locate किन्धिय on the northern slope of the बिन्ध ; viz.: (1) Sugriva mentioned it immediately to the south of his capital; (2) the search party which issued from it first began to search the Vindhya; and (3) the mileage given in the Ramayana,

The fact is that Kishkindha was not so far south as to be in the southern portion of the Indian peninsula. The first place given to the Vindhya among the countries to the south of Kishkindha, coupled with the fact that on leaving that place Hanuman, the leader of the expedition, sent in that direction, first began search in that mountain would show that Kishkindha was in a valley of the Vindhya on its northern slope.

Of the four batches sent, three returned without having found Sita (IV-47).

The one that hal gone to the south began searching the Vindhya (IV-48) and spent the allotted time of one month there (IV-50). Here, the party entered a valley which was full of trees and through which water was running (IV-50-16-17 and 21):—

अस्माचापि बिलादुंसाः क्रैंचाश्च सह सारसेः । जलाद्रीश्वकवाकाश्च निष्पतन्ति स्म सर्वतः ॥१६ ॥ नृनं सिल्लवानत्र कूपो वा यदि वा ह्रदः । तथा चेमे बिल्हारे स्निग्धास्तिष्ठन्ति पाद्गः ॥१७॥ ते प्रविद्यास्तु वेगेन तद्विलं कपिकुंजराः । प्रकाशमाभिरामं च दृदृशुर्देशमुत्तमम् ॥२१॥ They lost their way in it. They were taken out of it by a nun living in it and brought them on to the shores of the sea which was washing the base of the Vindhya (IV-52-31):—

एष विन्ध्यो गिरिः श्रीमान् नानाहुमलतायुतः । एष प्रस्नवणः शैलः सागरोयं महोदधिः ॥ २१॥

Here when they were desperately nearer death cameto them the brother of Jatayu, Sampati (IV-56). He told that he had been a resident of the mountain from a very long time (IV-58-7):—

निर्दग्धपत्रः पतितो विन्ध्ये ८ हं वानर्राभाः ॥ ७॥

He gave them news of Ravana and Sita, who he said, were at a certain distance on an island in the sea, on the shores of which they were sitting (IV-58-20):—

इतो द्वीपे समुद्रस्य संपूर्णे शतयोजने । तस्मिक्कंकापुरी रम्या निर्मिता विश्वकर्मणा ॥ २०॥

What is an indication of the distance is the fact that he could see them, or rather the place where they lived from the spot where they were (IV-59-29):—

इहस्थोहं प्रपञ्चामि रावणं जानकीं तथा ॥२९॥

It was on this information that Hanuman, the leader of the party, made up his mind to leap the distance. As a matter of fact, there is no sea on the southern side of the Vindhya. The statement of Sampati, referred to above, suggests that the sea was in all probability an expanse of a river bed or a big reservoir, the other bank of which could be described or observed with difficulty. As no one had seen it, the idea of a sea intervening, grew stronger. Hanuman could cross this distance by taking two leaps (V-1). Mr. Vaidya refers to an incident in the

Spanish conquest of Mexico, where a fighter impelled by dire necessity leapt over such a long distance as staggered his pursuers. Residents of Benares still remember the story of a man, who, having taken the garb of Hanuman, leapt over a local stream, which is at least 52 feet wide between banks.

It is therefore clear that Kishkindha was on the northern slope of the Vindhya and Lanka was on its southern side at some distance beyond an expanse of water. It is also plain that these places were in the eastern portion of the Vindhya mountain as they were not far away from, and, at the most, to the south of Chitrakuta. Further corroboration to the view comes from Varahamihira. "In the enumeration of the peoples of India, given by Varahamihira" says Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his letter (6th October 1919) "we have the following Aryas:-

आग्नेयां दिशि कोशलकर्लिंगवंगोपवगंजठरांगाः । शौलिकविदर्भवत्सान्धचेदिकाश्चोध्वकण्ठाश्च ॥ वृषनालिकेरचर्मद्वीपा विन्ध्यन्तवासिनस्त्रिपुरी । श्मश्रूषरहेमकुट्यव्यालग्रीवामहाग्रीवाः ॥ किष्किंषकंटकस्थलानेषादराष्ट्राणि पुरिकदाशाणीः । सह नग्नपर्णशबरेराश्लेषाये त्रिके देशाः ॥ बृहत्स० अ० १४॥

Varahamihira divides India into 9 parts, 8 in the 8 directions and 9th in the middle. किन्द्रिया is given along with well-known others in the आसेगी, south-east portion. त्रिपुरी is near Jubbalpore, now known as तिस्त.

"This is also the location assigned to Kishkindha by the मस्यपुराण which also enumerates the peoples of India:

इत्येते अपरान्तास्तु श्रृणु ये <u>विन्ध्यवासिनः ॥</u> भारतास्त्र करूपास्त्र मेलकाश्चोत्करोः सह ॥ औड्डा माषा दशाणीश्च भोजाः किष्किपकैः सह ॥

This is plain and states the people who live in (or on the slope of Vindhya) and along with Malavas, Karushas and Dasharnas and enumerates कि कि का . There is therefore, no doubt, now that the कि कि का : are in the north on the Vindhya slope. It is thus clear that the tradition about the situation of कि कि वा appears to have been maintained all through the period of arising, मत्यपुराण, &c. of which a copperplate of 1080 A.D. to be presently referred to marks the last point. This circumstance suggests the suspicion that the identification of Ceylon with Lanka, is of a much later growth and had, in fact, no foundation in the classical period. This is also the view held by that eminent scholar H. Jacobi.

Although Lanka is called an island, nowhere in the Ramayana is a description of its coast-line attempted. It is certain that it was a citadel on the peak of a mountain. Describing the visit of Hanuman to the place Mr. Vaidya says," Reaching the top of the range, he (Hanuman) saw Lanka perched on the top of a hill and surrounded by gardens and natural groves."

When the nun (श्वरी) pointed out (IV-52-31) "This is Vindhya, this is प्रवचन and this is the sea," she was showing places within her sight. The प्रवचन may be the modern अवस्टिक, from which issue three streams, which develop into three big rivers, viz. the Sona, the Narmada and the Mahi, thus justifying the name प्रवचन.

There also appears to be a striking phonetic similarity between the names सालकंटक, the family name of Rayana,

and अन्तर्पटक. The inhabitants of these parts call themselves Ravanavanshis,* and a song on Hanuman's exploits is sung with great zest by them. In that part of the Vindhya range in which अन्तर्पटक is situated, now called the Kaimur range, there are traces of old habitation of man. In its caves are drawings of great antiquity. This region, therefore, seems to have been connected with aborigines and the tradition of Lanka may be traced to them.

As regards the sea on the southern side of Vindhya, an interesting find may throw some light. A Sanskrit copperplate, found in the Rewa State, dated 823 Kalachuri era (1080 A. D.) confers the village, दोल पेचोल together with सह लवणाकर: Now लवणाकर means the sea. But it may be taken to mean a salt mine or even saltish land. The marsh round the peak may be saltish.

Luckily for discoverers there is such a place at the spot indicated in the Ramayana. (Vide the Pioneer. Allahabad, 27 July, 1908) There is mystery about it. At a distance of some 10 miles from the Pendra Road station of the Bilaspur-Katni line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, there is a hill top on which is said to be a fort, called after Rani Bakavali, a fabulous queen. It is in the Bandhavagarh Tehsil of the Rewa State. It is visible from the spot known as भूग आआग about 2 miles from the source of the नमेदा. It is said that in the 'sixties of the last century Sir Richard Temple, the then Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, had attempted to reach it by crossing over the marsh, with which it is surrounded, by riding an elephant, but as the animal got stuck up in the mud the attempt had to be abandoned. From this side of

Imp. Gaz. Vol. XII, p. 323.

^{\$} Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 275.

the marsh the fort looks as if submerged in a mist, which makes it appear to be at a greater distance than it really is. It is in fact a peak, just as Lanka in the Ramayana. The land which is marshy at present may have had water over it once. Local tradition says that there is treasure inside the fort. Is it the Lanka of Rayana?

LANKA IN CENTRAL INDIA

THE earliest known history of the Indian people in an epic form is what is contained in the Ramavana of Valmiki. The language and metre of the work, which are nearer to the Vedic language than anything to be found in classical Sanskrit, point out the work to have been written in ancient times. Indeed the writer claims it to be a contemporary work, and if the interpolations made in it, which are many and intermixed throughout the book, are deleted, what remains appears to be an authentic narrative, subject to exaggeration here and there on account of its very nature as epic poetry. To the same reason is due the fact that it contains many riddles. Many of them have been successfully solved by that distinguished scholar Mr. C. V. Vaidya, in the "Riddle of the Ramayana. " But he too failed to solve the toughest riddle in it, namely, the identity of 'Lanka,' the capital of Ravana, with any modern site. There was a time when it was believed that like Dvaraka of a later epoch, it too disappeared in the sea. But the point is so important that on its right solution depends the authenticity of the greater part of the history narrated in the epic.

The story of Rama and Sita is well-known. After Rama became" major, " he was about to be installed as the heir-apparent when he had to go and live in the forest for 14 years, His younger brother Lakshmana and wife Sita accompanied him. His life (अयन) in the forest forms the central theme of the epic. As commonly found in such narratives, it is full of adventures, into which the lapse of time has introduced elements of romance, fancy and exaggeration. They have so obscured history that doubts have been thrown on its authenticity and some have gone so far as to assert that it is a myth of nature. Prof. Jacobi in his monumental work on the Ramavana takes the hero to Assam, which he calls Rakshasa-sthana (the abode of demons). The Indian astronomer Bhaskara (14th century A. D.) locates Ravana's Lanka, the destination of Rama, on the equator in the ocean. Some identify it with an island near Sumatra, or Java. A few would locate it in the Arabian Sea on the West Coast. Recently, however, some scholars are inclined to place it in the Chhattisgarh District of the Central Provinces. By far the most popular theory current in India for many centuries past is that Lanka is none other than Ceylon. The believers in it differ as to the route by which Rama reached that island, one holding that he went through the middle of the Peninsula, while the other asserting that be followed the East (Coromandel) Coast.

There is, however, ample material in the earliest narrative of it which, with the corroboration now made available by research, points to a place far nearer the country of Rama's birth than the wild stories which later became current. Valmiki's Ramayana contains a plain narrative of facts. It is claimed that the site of Ravana's Lanka must be found in the Amarakantaka

Mountains at the source of the Narmada, on the frontier between the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces and Rewa State of the Central India Agency.

Ramavana of Valmiki is not only the first and earliest history of the great hero, Rama, but from the view-point of language and metre it is nearer to the Vedic Suktas than anything found in the the later Sanskrit literature, the story became so popular that not only the Mahabharata but almost all the 18 Puranas and later works in modern Indian languages, among which Paumacariyam (published and edited by Prof. Jacobi). Tulasidasa's Ramayana in Hindi. Krittivasa's Ramayana in Bengali. Moropant's Ramavanas in Marathi and Kambam Ramayana in Tamil are the most famous, have delighted to describe the beautiful and almost divine story, not to speak of several inferior versions of the same in Sanskrit, and other works. Valmiki's work has not escaped interpolations to suit the later editions of the story. By additions and exaggerations. they have been rendered beyond recognition. The description in the Valmiki Ramayana connected with Rama's trek through forests and subsequently to Lanka precludes the possibility of its being so far away, as is indicated by the different places alleged to be identified in the history of the exploit. Other countries described in it are equally wrongly identified with countries bearing the old names in modern times. As an example the identification of Videha, the kingdom of Janaka, the father of Sita, with modern Bihar, can be cited. According to the Ramayana (I-69, 8) it was at a distance of four days' journey from Ayodhya. This cannot justify the identification of Videha with modern Bihar. From Oudh it cannot but be at a greater distance than what is

indicated by the above-mentioned fact. No such army as is described in the Ramayana, not even a chariot drawn by horses, could traverse the distance from Ayodhya (Oudh) to Videha (Bihar) in such a short time as is distinctly mentioned.

The data in the Valmiki Ramayana are sufficient to identify Ayodhya, from where Rama started on his journey, and Chitrakuta, where he was met by his brother Bharata, who came to him with the tidings of the death of their father Dasharatha, with the places bearing these names. The difficulty of identification commences with the further progress in the journey.

On leaving Chitrakuta Rama entered the Dandaka forest. There he came across a colony of Rishis which was situated in an inaccessible place (III-1-1). Then he entered the forest and met with an adventure (III-2), Here he saw a hermitage (III-5-4). He requested its owner to show him a suitable place for settling (III-5,33),

The Rishi was about to die and so he directed Rama to go to another Rishi by name Sutikshna, in the neighbourhood (III-5-35). He desired him to follow the course of the Mandakini which having its rise in the Chitrakuta joins the Yamuna, Here there was a number of colonists who complained to Rama of the harassment they were subjected to by the fierce Rakshasas (III-6-5). They described to him the extent to which their colonies, which were subjected to the harassment, had spread (III-6-17).

They were established on the area between the Pampa and the Mandakini, and the Chitrakuta mountain,

Being accompanied by the members of the colony, he went to the hermitage of Sutikshna after crossing the

river (Mandakini) (III-7-1). He stayed here for one night (III-8-1).

He then wandered over different places in the forest and returned to the same place after ten years (III-11-27). Here he was requested by the Rishis to protect them from Rakshasas which Rama promised to do (III-1-34).

On enquiry Rama heard here that Agastya lived in the same forest (III-11-30 et seq.).

He is told that the hermitage of Agastya's brother was 3? miles to the south from there and Agastya's hermitage eight miles further to the south. He is advised that he should halt at the former place for the night and then proceed to the other place which was at the back (or end) of the part of the forest the next morning (III-11-37-42).

He goes to Agastya and asks to be shown a good place to live in (III-13-11).

He is pointed out a place 16 miles away near the Godavari, a place which was said to be not far away (III-13-18-21).

It was so near in the same Madhuka forest that he was told that he should go by the way on the north of the banyan tree and, getting on a hillock close by, see the Panchavati (III-13-25); Janasthana was another name for it (III-5-69). It was Ravana's out-post (III-21-20). So Rama settled there in order to keep his promise to the Rishis (III-10).

At Panchavati Rama lived for nearly two years and from here Sita was taken away by Ravana.

This narrative makes it clear that Sutikshna's hermitage was not far away from Chitrakuta, and from the former place Panchavati was only 48 miles.

Rama had gone after the golden deer at the time of Sita's kidnapping and Jatayu tried to protect Sita from the hands of Ravana. He was found to have been almost killed by Ravana, when Rama returned. From Jatayu, Rama learnt the name of the abductor of his wife and the direction in which she was taken away (III-68, 9, 10, and 16). While going on to Panchavati, Rama had seen a big bird perched on the banyan tree (III-14, 1). This was Jatayu, probably an aborigine.

Rama went along that direction towards the southwest in search of his wife (III, 1-2.).

Having gone six miles from Janasthana (or Panchavati) he entered the Krauncha forest (III-69-5), and on going six miles eastwards he entered a valley (III 69-8-10) between the Krauncha forest and the hermitage of Matanga, who, before dying, told Rama to go to Sugriva, living on a hillock on the banks of a tank called Pampa in the forest known after Matanga. Sugriva was the head of a tribe known as Vanaras, who being antagonistic to Rakshasas was expected to help Rama (III-72).

Having stopped for one day on the way shown by Kabandha to the east of the hill (mentioned by him), he reached the western bank of Pampa (III. 74-1, 3-4). Here was living a woman hermit named Sabari (III. 74-4).

Then Rama saw Sugriva, who was near the Rishyamuka mount (III-1-130).

Rama made friends with Sugriva, who gave him tidings of Sita carried away by Ravana by that way (IV-6-9).

Sugriva had been driven away from home by his elder brother, Vali (IV-6-9-10), who lived at Kishkindha, which was not at a great distance from the place

(IV-12, 13 14). It was in a valley (IV. 33, 1). From there Rama went to Pampa, near which was the mount Rishyamuka (III-75, 7).

It has been seen that Panchavati was only 48 miles from Sutikshna's hermitage, which itself was not at a great distance from Chitrakuta. From Panchavati (or Janasthana) Rama went into the Krauncha forest at a distance of six miles in the south-west. Covering six more miles, he entered the valley where Kabandha told Rama to go to Sugriva who, it appears from the minute description given by Kabandha, such as the road leading by a banyan tree and thence to the hillock from which Pampa and Rishyamuka enclosing Kishkindha, the abode of Sugriva, could be seen, did not live far away, say another six miles. Therefore Kishkindha was more than eighteen miles from Janasthana or about 66 miles from Sutikshna's hermitage, or 96 miles from Chitrakuta.

To the immediate south of Kishkindha were the Vindhyas (IV-46, 17).

Sugriva sent a batch of Vanaras under the leadership of Hanuman to the south (IV-47, 14). It began to search the deep valley of the Vindhyas (IV-48-2).

They lost their way. They were taken out of it by a nun who was living in it and who brought them on to the shores of the sea which was washing the base of the Vindhyas (IV-53, 3-5).

* On the word Vindhyam Govindaraja's commentary observes: Vindhyapadapa ityanena Kishkindhaya dakshinato'pi Vindhyaparvatasesoztiti gamyeta.

Here the party entered a valley which was full of trees and through which water was running and which was full of light (IV-15, and 20, 50).

Here, when they were sitting ready to die, not knowing what to do, came to them the brother of Jatayu, by name Sampati (IV-56, 1-2). He told them that he had been living on the mountain Vindhya for a very long time (IV-58, 7.)

He gives tidings of Ravana and Sita, who, he says, are at a certain distance on the south banks of an island in the sea, on the shores of which they were sitting (IV-58, 20).

We find an indication of distance in the fact that he could see them, or rather the place where they lived from the spot on which they were (IV. 58-29). It is emphasised in the same stanza that he could see what he was describing.

It was on this information that Hanuman, the leader of the party, made up his mind to leap or swim the distance. Hanuman swam this distance, through the air, after halting in the way.

It is then quite clear that Kishkindha was on the northern slope of the Vindhyas which was at a distance of about 96 miles from Chitrakuta, and Lanka to the south of the mountain in the sea. From the fact that Sabari, living on the bank of the Pampa near Kishkindha (III. 74,4), can (as will be shown later) be said to be residing within six miles of Amarakantaka, (to be identified with Lanka) it was about 103 miles from Chitrakuta.

Here arises the toughest problem. Mr. C. V. Vaidya the learned author of the "Riddle of the Ramayana" and "Mahabharata: A Criticism," shows that even the Mahabharata, which is next in authority to Valmiki's Ramayana, corroborates that Kishkindha was to the north of the Vindhya mountain. The difficulty about there be-

ing no sea to the south of the Vindhyas can only be got over by agreeing to the view that what is described as sea here was an expanse of water.

Sutikshna's Asrama, which Rama first visited after leaving Chitrakuta, is modern Sutna, a station on the E.I. Railway, the present head-quarters of the Political Agent in Bhagelkhand, about 30 miles from Chitrakuta, as the crow flies, It is situated on a stream which has, evem now, beautiful trees on its banks. Here Rama lived for the ten years of his exile.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the distinguished archaeologist, is responsible for the statement that Gods, which is the name given to the river at Panchavati, where Rama lived for nearly two years and from where Sita was kidnapped, is a common name for rivers in that part of the country. So it does not necessarily mean that Janasthana is to be located on the well-known river Godavari, which rises in the Western Ghats to fall into the Bay of Bengal.

From Janasthana Rama went to the Krauncha forest. Hereabout is Kenjuva, an offshoot of the Vindhyas. It may be identified with Krauncha.

In Sabari dialect* Jaitan means a place below the mountains just as Lanka means a high mountain. It is not difficult to hold that Janasthana, which was in forest, was with no habitation, as otherwise its meaning might imply the Sanskrit form of Jaitan. It was the advance post of Ravana's army (III-20, .22). Mr. Ramdas maintains that in Sabari dialect Dandaka means a place full of water.

^{*} Aboriginal Names in the Ramayana by G. Ramdas Iyer, B. A. Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, March, 1925

Lanka itself was on the top of a peak known as Trikuta (V-1-2). It is to be identified with a peak on Amarakantaka. According to Rai Bahadur Hiralal, there is a peak called Amrakuta (a place with mango trees) on the Amarakantaka. It would not be difficult to identify the other two peaks as Salakuta (Sal trees) and Madhukuta (Mahua trees). Within seven miles of Amarakantaka, there is a place Sabari Narayana, called after the hermit of that name mentioned in the Ramayana (III-4, 45). When Rama was on his way to and near Pampa or Kishkindha he met Sabari Narayana.

A striking phonetic similarity is to be seen between the names Salakatankata, the family name of Ravana and Amarakantaka. The inhabitants of these parts call themselves Ravana-vamsis* and a song on Hanuman's exploits is sung with great zest by them. That part of the Vindhya range in which the Amarakantaka lies, is called the Kaimur range. There are traces of old habitations of men. In its caves are drawings of great antiquity. This region, therefore, seems to have been connected with aborigines, and the tradition of Lanka may be traced to them.

There now remains the difficulty about the sea. In Sanskrit, according to Mr. Nundolal Dey, the word Sagara includes a lake, a sea or an ocean. In these parts there are many lakes which are called Sagaras. Rai Bahadur Hiralal asserts that in some of these lakes pearls are found (Journal of Hindi Sammelan, Vol. 14, 5).

Now the question remains as regards the tribes of Vanaras, monkeys, which inhabited the land between

^{*.} Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XII, p. 323.

^{§.} Ibid., Vol; XVI. p. 275. I. H. Q., December, 1928.

Janasthana and Lanka, and the Rakshasas who lived beyond. That these two tribes had brotherly relations may be gathered from the mention in the Ramayana that Hanuman the companion of Sugriva, introduced his name to Ravana, as that of a brother (V-2,51). It is said that Vanaras had a tail. Apart from the fact that in medical works evidence is available of men having tail, Mr. T. C. Hudsonin his "Naga Tribes of Manipur" describes a cortume in which such a tail is added. The Rakshasas too had different sorts of costumes (e.g., the ten heads of Ravana). I have avoided any reference to the last canto of the Ramayana as it is held to be an interpolation. Nor has any reference been made to the date of the Ramayanic events, which preceded the Mahabharata War by about a thousand years.

FURTHER LIGHT ON RAVANA'S LANKA

IN a paper read before the XVII International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, I gave mileage of the distance between Chitrakuta and Kishkindha as 98.

Thus four Yojanas as stated in (III-11-38-39), were interlocated by me as 32 miles, and three Krosas (in III-5-69.) as 6 miles. I did so in other places too.

The above mileage can be tested from the distance between two known places viz., the Ganga at its junction with Yamuna at Allahabad and the Chitrakuta situated in Banda District of the United Provinces in the north-west or west of Allahabad.

In Ayodhyakanda (II-54,28-29) Bharadvaja whose hermitage was on the confluence of the Ganga and Yamuna informs Rama that 10 krosas from there was situated the mountain Chitrakuta where they should stay. Thus:—

दशकोश इतस्तात गिरिर्यासिशिवतस्यति । चित्रकृट इति स्थातो In the next Sarga, (Verses 4 to 6) he gives further directions for reaching the place. He says that from the junction of the two rivers, the Ganga and Yamuna, Rama should follow the latter upwards from its mouth and having reached an old landing place, he should cross in a boat to reach a big Nyagrodha tree, with big leafy branches. After proceeding a Krosa further, he would see a blue forest. Thus:—

Bharadvaja also adds (in Verse 9) that he has often traversed over this road to Chitrakuta. Thus:—

स पन्थाश्चित्रकृटस्य गतः सुबहुशो मया॥

Accordingly, Rama took a boat and having put Sita on it first, crossed the river (Verses 18 and 19).

पूर्व रामश्वके सहायुधैः । आरोप्य प्रथमं सीतां ॥ ततः प्रतेरतुर्यत्तौ प्रतिौ दृश्ररथात्मजौ ।

Having done so, they went a distance of one Krosa, wandered in the forest of Yamuna, evidently this being the same place which is mentioned in Verse 8 (supra) and Verse 33. Thus:—

... ... कोशमात्रं ततो गत्वा त्रातरौ रामस्त्रमणौ ॥ बहुन् मेध्यान् मुगाच् हत्वा चेरतुर्यमुनावने ३ Later, when Bharata came with his army to the hermitage of Bharadvaja and asked Ramu's whereabouts, the sage said that three and half Yojanas away, was the Chitrakuta mountain where Rama was staying. As Bharata was accompanied by a big retinue Bharadvaja pointed out to him another route but the distances though mentioned in different units viz., Krosas and Yojanas, 10 Krosas (i. e. 20 miles), are almost equal to 3½ Yojanas (i. e. about 9 Krosas), having regard to perhaps different places for crossing the river (Yamuna) as the route is to the South or South-West (92-10-13 & 14). Thus:—

भरतार्धवृतीयेषु योजनेष्वजने वने । चित्रक्टो गिरिस्तत्र.....॥१०॥ उत्तरं पार्श्वमासाय तस्य मन्दािकनी नदी ।.....॥११॥ दक्षिणेनेव मार्गेण सञ्यदक्षिणमेव वा । शक्षािंभरथार्काणी बाहिनीं वाहिनीपते ॥१३॥

वाहयस्व महाभाग ततो द्रक्ष्यासि राघवम् । ॥ १४॥ Having followed this direction Bharata came to the

vicinity of Chitrakuta and told his chief adviser that the place as pointed out by Bharadvaja had been reached (93-6-8). Thus:—

... ... उवाच भरतः श्रीमान् वसिष्ठं मंत्रिणां वरम् ॥६॥
... ... व्यक्तं प्राप्ताः स्म तं देशं भारद्वाजो यमव्यति ॥७॥
अयं गिरिश्चित्रकूट इयं मन्दााकिनी नदी।
एतत्प्रकाशते दूराभीरुमेषानिमं वनम् ॥८॥

The description of the bluish forest has reference to what was stated in Sarga 55, Sloka 8 supra. The shortest distance between the bank of the Yamuna and

Chitrakuta is between 20 to 30 miles, although it is 80 miles to-day by rail from the junction of the two rivers.

In the 32nd Sarga of Aronyakanda (III) it is stated that when Shurpanakha saw that Rama had killed Trishiras. Khara and Dushana with their army she was filled with grief and proceeded to Lanka protected by Ravana, from Dandakaranya, (Verse 3), Thus:—

जगाम परमोद्धिमां लंकां रावणपालिताम्॥३॥

Then Ravana went to the stables, asked his charioteer to yoke the mules who did it in a moment and in his golden chariot came to the ocean. (35-4-7). Thus:—

यानशालां ततो गत्वा प्रच्छन्नो राक्षसाधिपः । सूतं संचोदयामास रथः संयोज्यतामिति ॥ ४ ॥ एवमुक्तः क्षणेनैव सारिथल्धुविकमः । रथं संयोजयामास तस्याभिमतमुत्तमम् ॥ ५ ॥ काञ्चनं रथमास्थाय कामगं रत्नभूषितम् । राक्षसाधिपतिः श्रीमान् ययौ नद्नद्पितिम् ॥ ७ ॥

He then crossed the sea and in a lovely and beautiful place in the forest saw Maricha (32-37-38):—

तं तु मत्वा परं पारं समुद्रस्य नदीपतेः । ददर्शाश्रममेकान्ते रम्ये पुण्ये वनान्तरे ॥ ३७॥ ददर्शे नियताहारं मारीचं नाम राक्षसम् ॥ ३८॥

Ravana induced Maricha to accompany him on his chariot to the place where Rama was staying to decoy Sita (42-7-11).—

आरुसतामयं इतिष्रं सगो स्त्नविभूषितः।...॥७॥ प्रस्त्रोभयित्वा वैदेहीं यथेष्टं गन्तुमर्हसि।...॥८॥ ततो रावणमारीचो विमानमिव तं रथम् । आरुह्य ययतुः शीघं तस्मादाश्रममण्डलात् ॥९॥ समेत्य दण्डकारण्यं राघवस्याश्रमं ततः । ददर्श सहमारीचो रावणो राक्षसाधिपः ॥११॥

It is particularly stated in Verse 9 that from their hermitage (that of Maricha) they came soon to the place where Rama had built his cottage.

It appears that while Ravana came to the place in a chariot, which was later destroyed by Jatayu, when the former was taking Sita away, on his way back he had the use of a sort of a glider (67-17 & 20),

Thus:-

... ... विध्वंसितस्थच्छत्रः ... ॥१७॥ सीनामादाय वैदेहीमुत्पपात विहायसम् ...॥२०॥

In Kishkindhakanda (IV-6-9-11) Sugriva says that he saw Sita being dragged by Ravana, and on seeing him and his followers, she threw down on the peak her covering garment and some ornaments. It is however not clear from this nor from a similar description of the manner of her being taken away by Sampati in (58-15) whether she was being dragged on earth or in the air.

हियमाणा मया दृष्टा रक्षसा क्रूरकर्मणा ॥९॥ उत्तरीयं तया त्यक्तं ॥११॥ हियमाणा मया दृष्टा रावणेन दुरात्मना ॥१५॥

It will be evident from the description that neither in the approach of Ravana with Maricha to Janasthana where Rama was staying, nor on his return to his palace with Sita, is there any mention of the formidable obstruction of the ocean. On the contrary, he seems to have crossed easily whatever watery surface was there. It clearly appears that he had to use two chariots, one to the sea from Lanka and other from the hermitage of Maricha which was nearer to the sea. (III-35-37 & 10).

तं तु गत्वा परं पारं समुद्रस्य नदीपतेः। इदर्शाश्रममेकान्ते रम्ये पुण्ये वनान्तरे ॥ ३७॥ कामगं रथमास्थाय शुशुभे राक्षसेश्वरः ॥ १०॥

Those who maintain that the sea or the ocean which surrounded the island of Lanka was in the South of India, base their argument on the mention of Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra, which are well known mountains at the extreme end of the Southern peninsula of India. (VI-4. 73-74 95-97)

सह्यपर्वतमासेदुर्मलयं च महीघरम् । ॥ ७३॥ पर्व्यक्तभिययो रामः सद्यस्य मलयस्य च । ... ॥ ७४॥ महेन्द्रमथ संप्राप्य रामो राजीवलोचनः ॥ ९५॥ ततः शिखरमारुद्य रामो दृशरथात्मजः ॥ ९६॥ कूर्ममीनसमाकीर्णमपश्यत्सलिलाकरम् ...॥ ९७॥

But apart from the fact that this lengthy Sarga appears to be a later interpolation, there is evidence to show that the Malaya and Mahendra were the names of forts or peaks near Kishkindha.

In (III-72-12) it is stated that Sugriva had to live on the mountain Rishyamuka which spread up to Pampa, which was a lake (III-73-11)

> ऋष्यमूके गिरिवरे पम्पापर्यन्तशोभिते । and ततः पुष्करिणीं बीरौ पम्पां नाम गमिष्यथ ।

In (IV-2) is stated that seeing Rama in the neighbourhood of Rishyamuka (IV-1-129) Sugriva and his followers became terrified (IV-2-1) fearing that Valihad sent them (Verse 13). Hanuman assured them that the place where they were standing i. e. the hill named Malaya, on which was situated Rishyamuka, was beyond the pale of Vali (Verses 14).

तावृष्यमूकस्य समीपचारी चरन् ततस्तं भयसंविग्नं वालिकिल्विषशङ्कितम् । उवाच हनुमान् वाक्यं सुग्रीवं वाक्यकोविद्ः ॥ संभ्रमस्त्यज्यतामेष सर्वे वालिकृते महान् । मलयोऽयं गिरिवरो भयं नेहास्ति वालिनः ॥

That the place mentioned above was in the neighbourhood of Rishyamuka is seen from (IV. 3-1, 2 & 21-23)

वचो विज्ञाय हनुमान सुग्रीवस्य महात्मन: । पर्वतादृष्यमूकानु पुप्लुवे यत्र राघवो ॥ १ ॥ प्राप्तोऽहं प्रेषितस्तेन सुग्रीवेण महात्मना । राज्ञा वानरमुख्यानां हनुमान्नाम वानरः ॥ २१ ॥ तस्य मां सचिवं वित्तं वानरं पवनात्मजं ... । ... ऋष्यमुकादिह प्राप्तं ... ॥ २२ ॥

Hanuman next went to Rishyamuka itself which was the abode of Sugriva (III-72-12), to Malayagiri from where they had seen Rama and his brother wandering near Rishyamuka (IV-5-1)—

> ऋष्यमूकातु हनुमान् गत्वा तं मलयं गिरिम् । आचचक्षे तदा वीरो कपिराजाय राषवे ॥ १॥

Vali, the opponent of Sugriva, lived at Kishkindha (IV-11-21).

बाली नाम महाप्राज्ञः शकतुल्यपराक्रमः । अध्यास्ते वानरः श्रीमान् किष्किन्धामतुलप्रभाम् ॥ २१ ॥

This place was at a distance of one Yojana (4 miles) from the hermitage of Matanga (IV-11-46-48)—

पपात च महाकायः क्षितौ पञ्चत्वमागतः । तं तोलियत्वा बाहुभ्यां गतसत्त्वमचेतनम् ॥ ४६॥ चिक्षेप बलवान् वाली वेगेनैकेन योजनम्। ... ॥ ४७॥ प्रपेतुर्मारुतोत्क्षिता मतङ्गस्याश्रमे प्रति । ... ॥ ४८॥

This hermitage of Matanga was at a distance of 12 miles from Janasthana, from which place Sita was kidnapped (III-69-5, 8).

ततः परं जनस्थानात्त्रिकोशं गम्य राघवौ । कोजारण्यं विविशतुर्गहनं तौ महोजसौ ॥५॥ ततः पूर्वेण तौ गत्वा त्रिकोशं भातरौ तदा । कोजारण्यमतिकम्य मतङ्गश्रममन्तरे ॥८॥

From Rishyamuka Sugriva was asked to proceed immediately to Kishkindha (III-12-14).

अस्माद्गच्छेम किष्किन्धां क्षिप्रं गच्छ त्वमग्रतः । ... ॥ १३॥ सर्वे ते त्वरितं गत्वा किष्किन्धां वालिनः पुरीम् । ... ॥ १४॥

Sugriva was hotly pursued by Vali upto Malaya forest (Verses 22 and 23).

ति प्रविष्ट्रकां कोधात् प्रविवेश महावनम् ॥२२॥ ति प्रविष्ट्रकां देवावाली शापभयादितः।

निवृत्तो महायुतिः ॥२३॥ kim Becompanied by Lakshmana and Sugriva went Karking from Bishyamuka. In the way they came kinasi broken dove named Sapta Janasthana. From there they saw Kishkindha (III-13-1, 13 and 29 and III-1-41).

क्रष्यमूकात्स धर्मात्मा किष्किन्धां लक्ष्मणाग्रजः । जगाम सह सुगीवो वालिविकमपालिताम् ॥ १ ॥ तेषां तु गच्छतां तत्र त्वरितं रचुनन्दनः ते गत्वा दूरमध्यानं तस्मात्सप्तजनाश्रमात् । दृहशुस्तां दुराधर्षा किष्किन्धां वालिपालिताम् ॥ २९ ॥ सर्वे ते त्वरितं गत्वा किष्किन्धां वालिपालिताम् ॥ ... ॥ १ ॥

All this description shows that there was not much

distance between Rishyamuka and Kishkindha, which was in a valley (III-26-7 III-27-1) which was

अभिषिक्ते तु सुग्रीवे प्रविष्टे वानरे गुहाम् । ... ॥ १ ॥ इमां गिरिगुहां रम्यामभिगन्तुमितोऽर्हसि । ... ॥ ७ ॥

This is further clarified in (III-31-16) तामपर्यद्वलाकीर्णी हरिराजमहापुरीम् । दुर्गामिक्ष्वाकुशार्टूलः किष्किन्धां गिरिसङ्कृटे ॥ १६ ॥

and Rama with Lakshmana went to live on Prasrayana hill (III-27-1)—

...... आजगास सहभात्रा रामः प्रस्नवणं गिरिम् ॥ १ ॥

In its neighbourhood were two peaks one in the North and the other in the South (named Kailasa); on the East a river was flowing by another peak, known as Trikuta (III-27-14-16; 26-27)—

गिरिशृङ्गमिदं तात पश्य चोत्तरतः शुभस्।...॥१४॥ दक्षिणस्यामपि दिशि स्थितं श्वेतमिवाम्बरस्। कैसाबशिसरप्रस्यं॥१५॥ प्राचीनवाहिनीं चैंब नदीं ।
गुहायाः पूर्वतः पश्य त्रिकूटे । १६॥
इतश्च नातिदूरे सा किष्किन्धां ... ।
सुग्रीवस्य पुरी रम्या भविष्यति ... ॥२६॥
गीतवादित्रनिर्घोषः श्रूयते जयतां ... ।
नर्दतां वानराणां च मुदङ्गाडम्बरें: सह ॥ २७॥

Besides Kishkindha, there were other forts on the mountain (III-19-14-15).

रक्ष्यतां नगरद्वारमङ्गदश्वाभिषिच्यताम् । ... ॥ १४ ॥ आविशन्ति हि दुर्गोणि क्षित्रमन्यानि वानराः ॥ १५॥

During Rama's stay on Malyavat a peak of Prasravana. III-27-1 & 28-8 III-28-1)

अभिषिकें तु सुगीवे प्रविष्टे वानरे गुहाम् । आजगाम सह श्राता रामः प्रस्नवणं गिरिम् ॥ १ ॥

इत्युक्त्वा न्यवसत्तत्र राघवः सह रुक्ष्मणः । बहुदृश्यद्रीकुञ्जे तस्मिन् प्रस्नवणे गिरौ ॥२९॥

स तथा वालिनं हत्वा सुग्रीवमभिषिच्य च । वसनः माल्यवतः १ष्टे ॥ १॥

n IV. 2-14 Malyavan is called Malaya.

... ... मलयोऽयं गिरिवरो ॥ १४॥

That this Prasravana, otherwise known as Malaya, was in sight of Vindhya at the foot of which was "the sea," which separated Lanka from the Vindhya range in a valley of which was Kishkindha is borne out by (IV-53-12 & 16; IV-60-6; IV-58-34 & IV-62-2).

एव विन्ध्यो गिरिः श्रीमाञ्चानाद्रुमलताकुलः ।
एव प्रस्नवणः शैलः सागरोऽयं महोद्धिः ॥१२॥
विन्ध्यस्य तु गिरेः पादे संप्रपुष्पितपाद्ये ।
उपविश्य महात्मानाश्चिन्तामापेदिरे तदा ॥१६॥
अस्य विन्ध्यस्य शिखरे पतितोऽस्मि पुरा ह्ययम् ... ॥६॥
समुद्रं नेतुमिच्छामि भवद्भिवर्रुणालयम् ॥ ३४॥
संपातेः वचनं श्रुत्वा हरयो रावणक्षयम् ।
हृष्टाः सागरमाजगमुः सीतादर्शनकाङ्क्षिणः ॥२॥

So when Hanuman, who was among the above army made his mind to cross "the ocean," he was afraid that the ground on which he stood, being soft might not stand the "kick" of his leap (IV-67-37).

नेयं मम महीवेगं रुङ्घने धारयिष्यति । ॥ ३७॥

He therefore thought that the peaks of Mahendrafirm enough to bear his weight and ascended one of them (IV-67-38 & 41).

> शिलराणि महेन्द्रस्य स्थिराणि च महान्ति च। एषु वेगं करिष्यामि महेन्द्रशिलरेष्वहम् ॥ ३८॥ आरुरोह नगश्रेष्ठं महेन्द्रमारिमर्द्नः।...॥४१॥

That the Mahendra was a peak of the Vindhya is shown by the narrative in IV-63·14 & IV-64-1-2, according to which Sampati, from a peak of the Vindhya flewwith Hanuman and others to the banks of "the sea":—

उत्पपात गिरेः शृङ्गात्। ॥ १४॥ आख्याता गृष्ठराजेन समुत्पत्य प्रवंगमाः। ...॥ १॥ इष्टाः सागरमाजग्मुः सीतादर्शनकांक्क्किणः॥ २॥ On his return from Lanka Hanuman and others first ascended the peak of Mahendra and later left it to reach the place where Rama was. (V-60-13 V-61-2).

तस्माद्गच्छाम वे सर्वे यत्र रामः सलक्ष्मणः । ... ॥ १२ ॥ महेन्द्राग्रं परित्यज्य पुप्लुवुः प्लवगर्षभाः ॥ २ ॥

Rama too had reached this place (VI-4, 95-96).

महेन्द्रमथ संप्राप्य रामो राजीवलोचनः ॥ ९५॥ अध्यारोहन्महाबाहुः शिखरं द्रुमभूषितम् । ... ॥९६॥

He went to Mahendra from Prasravana where Hanuman had reported his success to him (V-65-1):—

> ततः प्रस्नवणं शैलं ते गत्वा चित्रकाननम् । प्रणम्य शिरसा रामं लक्ष्मणं च महाबलम् ॥ १॥

But in this rather lengthy chapter 4 of Yuddhakanda in which Rama's journey to "the sea" and his ascent of Mahendra is described, there appear to have crept in some interpolations; such as in Verses 73, 74, 97 and 98, the meaning of which is also obscure. Verses 73 and 74 say that Rama reached the Sahya and Malaya Mountains, and a river full of water by name *Prasravana*:—

सह्यपर्वतमासेदुर्मलयं च महीधरम् । काननानि विचित्राणि नदीप्रस्रवणानि च ॥ ७३॥ पञ्चन्नभिययौ रामः सह्यस्य मलयस्य च । ...॥ ७४॥

If the latter interpretation is correct, then the river might have been named after the mountain on which Rama lived near Kishkindha, as it might have had its source there. Then Sahya and Malaya appear to be synonyms while Malaya as seen above was another name for Prasravana. But Verses 96 to 100 are not clear. They appear to mean that Rama ascended Mahendra; he saw "the sea" at a distance; in between were Sahya and Malaya. Having ascended the peak, he crossed a beautiful forest reaching upto "the sea coast" and said to Sugriva that they had reached "the sea":—

... ततः शिखरमारुद्ध रामो दशरथात्मजः ॥ ९६॥
ते सद्धं समतिकम्य मलयं च महागिरिम् ॥ ९७॥
आसेदुरानुपूर्व्येण समुद्रं भीमानिःस्वनम्॥
अवरुद्ध जगामाशु वेलावनमनुत्तमम् ॥ ९८॥
वेलामासाय विपुलां रामो वचनमन्नवीत् ।
एते वयमनुप्राप्ताः सुग्रीव वरुणालयम् ॥ १००॥

But the above does not mean that Rama crossed the mountain ranges named Sahya and Malaya.

Reference has been made to the existence of a mountain known as Trikuta with a river flowing by to the East of the cave in which Rama had taken his abode. (IV-27-16, 4).

तस्य शैलस्य शिखरे महतीमायतां गुहाम् । प्रत्यगृह्णीत वासार्थं रामः सै।मित्रिणा सह ॥ ४ ॥ प्राचीनवाहिनीं चैव नदीं भृशमकर्दमाम् । गृहायाः पूर्वतः पश्य त्रिकृटे जाह्नवीमिव ॥ १६ ॥

Trikuta, which was observed to the East of Malaya, (or Prasravana) with a river between, was in the vicinity of Lanka (VII-11-22, 24, and 49; VII-2 and 3).

त्रिक्टरस्थः स तु तदा दशग्रीवो निशाचरः । प्रेषयामास दौत्येन प्रहस्तं वाक्यकोविदं ॥२३॥ इयं लङ्कापुरी राजन राक्षसानां महात्मनाम् ... ॥२४॥ विवेश नगरीं लङ्कां ॥४९॥ स्थित्वा मुहूर्तं तत्रेव दिशो दश विलोकयन् । त्रिकूटशिखरे रम्ये ॥२॥ दद्शं लङ्कां सुन्यस्तां रम्यकाननशोभिताम् ... ॥३॥

That the distance between the north bank and the south bank of "the sea" dividing the continent from the island of Lanka was not great is evident (VI-17-1, 9 & 10 VI-19, 1-2).

Bibhishana, disregarded by his brother. Ravana, came to the northern coast of the sea, when Rama had reached the southern coast. There he stood on a high ground ("गगनस्थ" and स्वस्थ एव ब्यतिष्ठत) and spoke loudly (उवाच स्वरेण महता).

... आजगाम मुहूर्तेन यत्र रामः सरुक्ष्मणः ॥ १॥
... गगनस्थं महिस्थास्ते दृहशुर्वानराधिपाः ॥ २॥
... सिबभीषणः ।
उत्तरं तीरमासाय स्वस्थ एव न्यतिष्ठत ॥ १०॥
राघवेणाभये दत्ते सन्नतो रावणानुजः ।
बिभीषणो महाप्राज्ञो भूमिं समवरोकयन् ॥ १॥
सात्पतातावनीं हृष्टो भक्तेरनुचरैः सह ।
स तु रामस्य धर्मात्मा निपपात बिभीषणः ॥ २॥

At his instance was built the Setu for crossing the sea (IV-19-32,33-39,40).

... ... एवं बिभीषणेनोक्तो राक्षसेन विपश्चिता ॥ ३२ ॥ ततश्चारूयातुमारेभे बिभीषणवचः शुभस् ॥ ३३ ॥ किमर्थ नौ नरन्याव्र न रोचिष्यात राघव । विभीषणेन यचोक्तमस्मिन् काले सुसावहम् ॥ ३९ ॥ अवज्वा सागरे सेतुं घोरेऽस्मिन् वरुणालये । लङ्का नासदितुं शक्या सेन्द्रैरपि सुरासुरै: ॥ ४० ॥

The above shows that the distance between the two coasts although difficult to be crossed by an army without a bridge, loud conversation between the two could be heard. Moreover, a small party could cross it as Bibhishana did (IV-19-2-3).

When visiting Maricha Ravana too had crossed it. (III-35-77).

तं तु गत्वा परं पारं समुद्रस्य नदीपतेः। दद्शीश्रममेकान्ते रम्ये पुण्ये वनान्तरे॥ ३७॥

Moreover, the bed of the river (exaggerated by poetic imagination into a sea) was mainly without mud. (IV-27-16).

प्राचीनवाहिनीं चैव नदीं भृशमकर्दमाम्। ... ॥ १६ ॥

SUMMARY

In my paper on 'Ravana's Lanka discovered' read before the XVII International Congress of Orientalists, I had located Lanka in the Vindhya Mountain on the description of the route of Rama to Lanka, as given in Valmiki's Ramayana. In the present paper I locate it at the same place on the basis of Ravana's route to Panchavati and his subsequent movements.

It is noteworthy that in the Ayodhyakanda, Valmiki gives the distance between Ayodhya and Chitrakuta, both in Krosas and Yojanas, and it tallies exactly with the present location of these two places. It is also noteworthy that against the popular belief that Valmiki lays stress on the vicinity of Malaya and Sahya to the north bank of the sea which divides Lanka from India, these, as a matter of fact, are only mentioned once in a long Adhyaya in Sundarakanda, which there is reason to suppose, contains many interpolations. On the other hand, Malaya is the name of a fort on a peak of the Vindhya Mountain near Kishkindha. As a matter of fact, Valmiki in many places insists on the vicinity of Vindhya to Lanka. All these facts and the fact that Ravana easily came to Panchavati and Bibhishana spoke to the followers of Rama from the other side of the sea, dividing India and Lanka, lead to the same conclusion as I have arrived in my previous paper.

The Edition of Valmiki Ramayana used for the purpose of this article— "Srimad Valmiki Ramayana" published by R. Narayanaswami Aiyar, M. A., B. L. Advocate, with the help of an editorial committee, printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras, 1933.

INHABITANTS AROUND LANKA IN AMARKANTAKA

IN a paper read before the XVII International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in 1927 (referred to in its report as published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, Vol. IV No. 4, December 1928.) and in another one read before the XIX Session of the same Congress held at Rome (published in Atti Del XIX Congress Internazianale degli Orientalisti, Roma 23-29, Sellimbre 1938 XIII, pp. 361-375) I gave evidence from Valmiki's Ramayana that Ravana's Lanka was not located at or beyond the southern end of India, but was situated on a peak in Central India. The late Prof. H. Jacobi wrote to me to say that it was more plausible than his theory according to which he located it in Assam. I shall now describe the inhabitants residing in this territory.

In the plateau adjoining the peak in the Amarkantaka on which Lanka was situated, there resides a tribe known as Gonds, Gous or Guds. There are (1) Ravana (2) Wanara (3) Raghu and (4) Komar (Kuvar, sons of the above vamshis). Not only are the names significant but the last tribe seems to present those who are

the descendants of the soldiers of Rama and Ravana. There is a difference between the culture and customs of these tribes. All of them have now become agriculturists.

They have however, retained some old customs. Among their gods is a heroic figure riding a horse. It tallies with the description of a general of Ravana given in Ramayana (VI. 59-18). It runs thus:—

योऽसौ हयं कांचनभाण्डमारुह्य ...

He rode a horse glittering with gold like the sun.

In the map appended to this, are mentioned places according to the directions given in the Valmiki Ramayana, irrespective of the fact whether those places are to be traced as the sites at present as marked therein or not. Lately, a remarkable confirmation has been found of the identification of the site of Sutikshna Ashrama. Such a place really exists at present and is now lying in the Panna State territory. If proper geographical search is made it may lead to the identification of other places too. Even now a visit to these parts gives reality to the description in the Ramayana.

The late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal of Katni drew my attention to the following extract from "Naga Tribes of Manipur" by Mr. T. C. Hudson. He describes the costume of a Naga warrior thus:— "The cane helmet which is sometimes covered with tiger or leopard skin bears a brass disc in front and then crescents of buffalo horn, topped with red hair, are fastened to it in front. This looks like a pair of horns which it may be intended to imitate. The most curious ornament on these occasions is the candal appendage with its curve upwards—

Is this indeed a tail?"

At any rate the above description tallies with the appearance of Hanuman and others as described in the Ramayana, as far as 'the tail' is concerned, and therefore, I am of the opinion that the ten heads or mouths of Ravana, as well as the tails of so-called monkeys in Rama's army were ornaments and not natural growth. Tales of the tails of human beings however have been authenticated in "La Pate Glycerine-Kao-lne" by Dr. H. Galmier of the Faculty of Medicine. Two photographs of men having such tails have been published. I append them herewith.

In support of my theory that Lanka was located on a peak of the the Amarkantaka in Central India, I have been entirely relying on Valmiki's Ramayana, but as a perusal of journals of learned societies will show, evidence in support of it is being discovered from Puranas also.

DESCENDANTS OF RAVANA

(The Ruler of Lanka)

HAVE already shown that the struggle between Ramachandra, the Hero of Valmiki's Ramayana, and the villain Ravana, took place on the plateau, north of Lanka, perched on a peak of the Amarkantaka. This plateau is situated in the modern State of Rewa. It is now known as the forest of Pushparajgarh. This vast tract is inhabited by the Gonds Among them are still observed several customs, (such as cannibalism mentioned in Valmiki's Ramayana;) as those of the relations and followers of Ravana; he seems to have been civilized, although he too was not free from all the traditions prevalent among his tribe or tribes.*

Annals (B. O. R. I.) Poons, Vol. VII, Part IV.
 द्र्दर्श गिरिशृङ्गाभं पुरुषादं महास्वनम् ॥ (३-२-४)
 विराध इति मामाहुः पृथिव्यां सर्वराक्षसाः ॥ (३-३-५)
 also
 रावणावरजः कश्चित्त्वरो नामेह राक्षसः । (२-११७-११)
 षृष्टश्च जितकाशी च नृशंसः पुरुषाद्कः । (२-११७-१२)
 अनेन (कुंभकर्णेन) भिक्षता ब्रह्मसृषयो
 मानुषास्तथा । (८७-१०-३८)

Several tribes of Gonds who inhabit this tract call themselves (1) Ravana Vamsi (descendants of Ravana), (2) Banar Vamsi (descendants of monkeys), Komar Vamsi (descendants of the Kumars, sons of Rajas) and even Raghu Vamsi (descendants of Ramachandra, evidently of his followers). They are divided amongst these four principal sections. Although the family of Ravana is called after its progenitor as Salakatankata,* he is said to be born of the family of Pulastya Rishi, Amongst the Gonds there are 23 Gotras:-(1) Agoria, (2) Biyar, (3) Dharkar, (4) Dusadh, (5) Ghasiya, (6) Kamar, (7) Kamarai, (8) Koir, (9) Manaro, (10) Mazi, (11) Moi, (12) Paliha, (13) Panika, (14) Pathari, (15) Pava, (16) Paviya, (17) Raithor, (18) Rajagagon, (19) Sadharan Gon,* (20) Tavalmanjan, (22) Umrao, (24) Vaiga, (23) Vind.

Some of the original names have undergone some verbal change. Besides these gotras, there are Kulas (families) which are known after the name of the deity they worship and which are to be found among all the tribes of Gonds. They are 20. The similarity between the name of the Gond and Gaud who are Brahmins, is remarkable and it may be responsible for the idea that Ravana was a Brahmin. The twenty families are named as:

(1) Betam, (2) Chichma, (3) Ghurava, (4) Khashars, (5) Korim, (6) Mapachi (7) Marai, (8) Markam,

*Ibid केनचित्वथ कालेन राम सालकटक्क्टा । (७-४-२३) §Ibid पुलस्त्यवंशादुद्भूता राक्षसा इति नः श्रुतम् । (७-४-४) भज विश्रवसं पुत्रि पौलस्त्यं वत्य स्वयम् ॥ (७-९-१२) दशमीवः प्रस्तोऽयं (७-९-३३)

^{*} Also known as Zamidari.

(9) Maravi, (10) Notia, (11) Oika, (12) Oima, (13) Parneha, (14) Partholi, (15) Partthi, (16) Poya, (17) Sapatia, (18) Soima, (19) Suri, (20) Tekama.

Every one of these families has a different head-quarter town.

Thus:--

Nigari, Nivas for Markam;

Mohora, Jhara, Mersenda and Gadai Gao for Oima:

Ganari for Khashars:

Nandhi, Tunguna for Suri,

Juri, Serangagadh for Tekama,

Gadh, Mohda for Marai:

Lohajhar, Dhanvahi for Betam;

Songadh for Mapachi;

Duari, Changohar for Soima;

Manaura for Maravi:

Gharhar for Ghurava;

Chunaguna, Chupaundhi for Oika:

Pondakai for Chichama:

Munda for Pova.

All the villages are situated in Rewa state.

Among some of these Gonds, a child is named after the sixth day of its birth and the name of a visitor to the habitation on that day is given to the child. Amongst others, naming ceremony takes place after five months of the child's birth. Their marriage custom is of the kind described in Hindu Shastras as the Rakshasa form of marriage i.e. the bride is carried away from her parents, and then the religious, or the customary ceremony is perfor-

med. Divorce is allowed and remarriage permitted. Men and women stand in two rows opposite to, or facing each other, and then they take a forward step and a backward one. In this process a woman touching the forefinger of the left foot of a man becomes his kept wife. In this manner a woman has simultaneously 15 or 16 lawfully wedded husbands or the man has as many wives. Ravana abducted many wives.*

The Gonds worship 41 deities which are located under a tree outside the habitation. Most of their images are of horse riders. The gods and goddesses which are indistinguishable from each other bear names, some of which are sylvan such as (1) Bodaka Deva (of Banvan tree) (2) Ningi Deva. (3) Ghamsam Deva (thick as) (1) Mahishasura, (2) Mari, (3) Sarada, (4) Kalika and so on. of them, animals, including in some cases human beings (a custom which is now reported to be stopped)' are sacrificed and then the worshippers eat this flesh. also offer liquor to the deities before drinking it. Ninga Deva especially is offered human sacrifice by the Gonds known as Dhura. In the Valmiki Ramavana too this is the way in which Ravana propitiated the deities and Kumbhakarna required tons of flesh to eat.§

^{*}Ibid जन्हे पथि नरेन्द्रिषें देवदानवकन्यकाः। (७-३४-१)
एवं पन्नगकन्याश्च राक्षसासुरमानुषीः।
यक्षदानवकन्याश्च विमाने सोऽध्यरापयत्॥ (७-२४-३)
§Ibid वराहान्महिषांश्चेव बमक्ष स महाबलः। (६-६०-६४)
आदद्बुभुक्षितो मांसं शोणितं तृषितोऽपिबत् (६-६०-६३)
रावण उवाचः—
मम त्वां प्रातराशार्थे सुदाश्चेत्स्यन्ति सण्डशः॥ (५-२२-९)
दशवर्षसहस्रं तु निराहारो दशाननः।
पूर्णे वर्षसहस्रे तु शिरश्चाग्नौ जुहाव सः॥ (७-१०-१०)

Some of the Gonds observe untouchability probably imitating the surrounding Hindus.

Their songs, which are known as (1) Saika, (2) Kamra, (3) Sura, (4) Binaha and so on according to their tunes or metres, contain references to their customs etc. and to some Hindu heroes like Krishna. The latter are evidently modern, but in a few of the songs there is mention that Hanuman lived in Lanka, which he invaded with an army consisting of monkeys. These according to their tunes, or metres, are sung on different occasions. For instance, a particular kind, say, Binaha, is sung on marriage occasion and another on a different occasion, such as worship.

Similarity between this culture and that described in the Ramayana appears to be more than accidental *

^{*.} I am indebted to my friend Rai Bahadur Brojendranath Chaturvedi Political and Finance Minister of Reva for collecting the information regarding Gonds, given in this article, for me.

IS THE UTTARA KANDA UN-HISTORICAL?

SO MUCH legend, owing to the many versions, not only in Sanskrit, but in several other Indian languages. has gathered round the story first told with so much beauty of language and even poetic fervour, in Valmiki's Ramayana, that many scholars doubt if there is any real history in it. Much more is this doubt regarding the Uttara Kanda, which, or parts of which, are held to be interpolations. There is real ancient history in this work not available in any other source, but even this Kanda contains facts which are being corroborated by actualities and archaeological excavations.

The Uttara Kanda is a necessary part of the Ramayana. It contains the story of Ravana, the villain of the epic. Similarly had the work been a mere lyrical composition, it would not have contained the tragic end which this Kanda describes. By relegating it to this Kanda, the rules of poetic have also been honoured. It is the dislike of the Indians to tragedy that makes them feel shy of this Kanda. Shri Brahmachari Shri Bhagawatacharya of Baroda in his article in Vol. 17 No. 4 of the Quarterly Journal of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Benares,) has asserted that Rama sent Sita to the forest because of the scandalsheard from a washerman. But this statement, which is perhaps based on versions in other languages, has no support in the Valmiki Ramayana. In it verse 13 Sarga. 43 is as follows:—

शृणु राजन् यथा पौराः कथयन्ति शुभाशुभम् । चत्वरापणरथ्यासु वनेष्पवनेषु च ॥

It clearly means that the scandal was current in public places in the city. This finds amplification in (V. 20:).

एवं बहुविधा वाचो वदन्ति पुरवासिनः । नगरेषु च सर्वेषु राजन् जनपदेषु च ॥

which means that it had spread to the country-side also. It shows that as the whole populace had been finding fault with him he had no alternative, but to give up Sita although he had no evidence of her infidelity.

Moreover there are descriptions in this Kanda, which by their very naturalness prove their authenticity. One such is about the manner of the passing away of Lakshmana. In V-15, 106, it is described thus:

स गत्वा सरयूतीरमुपस्पृश्य कृताञ्जलिः । निगृद्य सर्वस्रोतांसि निश्वासं न मुमोच ह ॥

It means that sitting on the banks of the Sarayu Lakshmana stopped his breath and died. Shocked by this sudden death, Rama asked all the residents of Ayodhya, to leave the capital, or figuratively render it uninhabited,

by his impending departure, he proceeded in fact to the banks of the river. Thus verses 5 and 6, Sarga 108 and verse 7, Sarga 110 contain the following:

अयोध्यां विजनां कृत्वा राघवो भरतस्तथा । स्वर्गस्य गमनोबोगं कृतवंतौ महारथौ ॥ सरयुसल्लिले रामः पदुभ्यां समुपचक्रमे ।

Thus he died drowning himself in the waters of the river. Had this narration not been supported by facts, it would never have been given in the case of a hero, who is also worshipped as a deity.

In Sarga 46 of this Kanda relative distances between Ayodhya, Valmiki's abode and Mathura are described and they tally with the actualities. When Rama asked Lakshmana to take Sita to the forest he reached with her in his chariot at one day's distance on the banks of the Gomati. (Verse 12, Sarga 46).

सौमित्रिस्तु ... रथमारोप्य भौथिलीम् । प्रययौ शीवतुरगैः ...॥

The next morning, he told the charioteer to take it swiftly to the Ganges. (Verse 19-20, Sarga 46).

ततो वासमुपागम्य गोमतीतीर आश्रमे । प्रभाते पुनरुत्थाय साौमित्रिः सुतमब्रवीत् ॥ योजयस्व रथं शीव्रमय भागीरथीजलम् ।

They reached the bank after half a day's journey (Verse 23-24, Sarga 46).

अथार्थं दिवसं गत्वा भागीरथ्या जलाशयम् । निरिक्ष्य लक्ष्मणो

These distances are in accordance with realities.

In another place in this Kanda the very same route is described in connection with a different incident and there also it is found to be true.

Once Brahmins residing on the banks of the Yamuna (modern Jumna) Went to Rama asking him to redress their grievance. (Verse 3 and 15, Sarga 60).

एते प्रतिहता राजन् द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति तापसाः । ऋषीणामुग्रतपसां यमुनातीरवासिनाम् ॥

The reception granted to them by Rama is so natural that it appears to be truthful, but the promise made by him to redress even before he had heard the grievance surprised the redress-mongers and made them suspicious about the successful carrying out of the assurance. (Verse 17, S. 69).

कार्यस्य गौरवं मत्वा प्रतिज्ञां नाभ्यरोचयन्

They however satisfied themselves on the two grounds, viz., (1) the promise was made to Brahmins, and (2) they had heard of Rama's valour in killing Ravana. (Verse 18, S. 60 and V 24, S. 60.)

" त्वया पुनर्नाह्मणगौरवादियं कृत्वा प्रतिज्ञा " " ते वयं रावणं श्रुत्वा हतं सबलवाहनम् ॥

Their grievance was that there was ruling in Mathura a tyrant by name Lavana (Sarga 61). At Rama's bidding, • Shatrughna invaded Mathura and killed Lavana (V-5, 57-10)

इयं मधुपुरी रम्या मथुरा देवनिर्मिता । निवेशं प्राप्नुयात् शीवं ॥

When Rama left Ayodhya, he took two days to reach Valmiki's abode on the Ganges. (Verse 2, Sarga 65,)

द्विरात्रमन्तरे श्रूरः रघुनन्दनः । वाल्मीकेराश्रमं पुण्यमगच्छत् ॥

It is true that instead of an interval of a day and half as in the case of Lakshmana, Rama took two days to reach the Ganges but, Shatrughna was accompanied by a big army. (Verse 2, Sarga 64).

इमान्यश्वसहस्राणि चत्वारि पुरुषर्षम । रथानां द्वे सहस्रे च गजानां शतमुत्तमम् ।

The abode of Valmiki was on the Ganges, a little north of Allahabad. From there he turned west and took seven days in reaching the Yamuna, opposite Mathura (Verse 15, Sarga 66.)

" ... यया पश्चान्मुवः पुनः । स गत्वा यमुनातीरं सप्तरात्रोषितः पथि ॥

But the mose surprising confirmation of the facts mentioned in this Kanda is afforded by the evidence furnished by the excavations at Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro and Harappa. It is now asserted that traces of an ancient civilization, buried in these places were probably of Dravidian origin. The reference in the Ramayana shows it to be contemporary with the events described in it, which on some grounds cannot be said to be later than 3 or 4 thousand years before Christ and that is the period calculated for the finds in the excavations.

Bharata's maternal uncle, the King of the Kaikayas a country adjacent to these places, sent word that "this beautiful country of Gandhara, full of vegetables and fruits lies on both the banks of the Indus. It is governed by numerous people well-armed and proficient in warfare, the subjects of King Shailusha (Verses 10-12, Sarga 100).

अयं गन्धर्वविषयः फलमूलोपशोभितः।
सिन्धोरुभयतः पार्श्वे देशः परमशोभनः।
तं च रक्षन्ति गन्धर्वाः सायुधा युद्धकोविदाः।
शैलुषस्य सता वीर त्रिकोटचो वै महाबलाः॥

The maternal uncle, Yudhajit, requested Rama through Bharata to conquer the country. (Verse 12, Sarga 100).

तान विनिर्जित्य काकुत्स्थ गन्धर्वनगरं शुभम् । निवेशय महाबाहो स्वपुरे सुसमाहिते॥

The reason for approaching Rama was that without his aid it could not be subjued. (Verse 13, Sarga 100).

अन्यस्य न गतिस्तत्र स देशः परमशोभनः॥

Rama entrusted the task to Bharata himself, who assisted by his maternal uncle, speedily invaded the country with armies and followers (Verse 2-3, Sarga 101)

त्वरमाणोभिचकाम गन्धर्वान् कामरूपिणः । भरतश्च युधाजिच समेतौ रुघुविकमौ । गन्धर्वनगरं प्राप्तौ सबठौ सपदानुगै। ॥

The inhabitants of the invaded country were destroyed by natural curses such as storms and tantacles of fate (probably earthquake). (Verse 8, Sarga 101.)

> ते बद्धा कालपाशेन संवर्तेन विदारिताः । क्षणेनभिहतास्तेन तिस्रः कोटचो महात्मनाम् ॥

- Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, Vol. IV. No 4, December 1928.
- 2. Atti Del XIX Congresso Internazianale degli Orientaliete Roma 23-29 Sellimbre 1938 XIII pp. 361-375 and Annals of B. O. R. I., Poons, Vol. XVII, 1935-36, pp. 371-384.

This certainly describes the burial of the ancient civilization which is now explored and exposed by excavations,

In Sarga 38 of this Kanda it is described that when Bharata, who was camping at some distance from Ayodhya, the capital, heard of the kidnaping of Sita he appealed to the neighbouring rulers for help. (Verse 25).

भवन्तश्च समानीता भरतेन महात्मना॥

श्रुत्वा जनकराजस्य काननात्तनयाम् हृताम्॥

Until Rama returned to the capital they were there at Ayodhya when they were dispersed. (Verse 21)

विसृज्य.. त्रिशतं पृथिवीपतीन्

The invited kings were so disappointed that they felt that Bharata had invited them for nothing. (Verse 4, Sarga 39.)

भरतेन वयं पश्चात समानीता निरर्थकम्।

The procedure which Bharata adopted clearly shows that Lanka was not so far away as the southern-most point of India.

Another proof of the distance of Lanka from Ayodhya, or Chitrakuta, where Rama stayed before entering the Dandaka forest, is afforded by the following evidence. The period between the abduction of Sita and the conquest of Lanka, is only two years, and not 14 years as is the popular belief. He was exiled for 14 years, (II.-18-35)

' त्वमारण्यं प्रवेष्ठव्यं नव वर्षाणि पंच च '

He resided at the hermitage of Sutikshna for 10 years (3-11-28).

'रमतश्चानुकूल्येन ययुः संवत्सरा दश '

From here Rama went to Panchavati and stayed there for sometime. Here was the boundary of Ravana's kingdom, guarded by Khara, Dushana and other warriors (III-16-31) and also (III. 18)

'कंचिद्वासं स धर्मात्मा सीतया लक्ष्मणेन च । अन्यास्यमात्नो न्यवसत्

When Sita was taken to Lanka and confined there, she was given a recess of one year at the expiry of which Ravana threatened to forcibly woo her (III. 749. 24-25). In this interval Rama rescued her; so between her abduction and her rescue nearly a year passed.

" शृणु भैथिति मद्दाक्यं मासान्द्वादश भामिनी । कालेनानेन नाभिषीं ॥

In verses 27-29, Sarga 40 of the Uttara Kanda, description is given of how Sugriva and Bibhishana were asked to leave and return to their kingdoms after a stay of a month or two. (Verses 27 and 29, Sarga 39).

सुग्रीवः स च रागेण निरन्तरमुरोगतः बिभीषणश्च धर्मातम् सर्वे ते बाष्पविक्रवाः । सर्वे च त बाष्पकलाः साश्चनत्रा विचेतसः । संमूढा इव द्वःखेन त्यजन्तो राष्ट्रं तदा एवं तेषां निवसतां भास साग्रो ययौ तदा ॥ एवं तेषां ययौ मासो द्वित्याः शैशिरः सुसम् ।

and they all went to their homes. (V-29, Sarga 40).

जग्मुः स्वं स्वं पृहं सर्वे ।

This also shows that their home were not so far away as is popularly believed.

^{3.} A Vol. of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas, C. I. E., pp. 144-145.

^{4.} A presentation Volume to Prof. P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M.,