# THE MAKING OF AN AVATĀRA: DEIFICATION OF RĀMA IN THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAŅA

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

**KUMARI ANJANA** 

#### **CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES**

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY NEW DELHI - 110 067



### जबाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

#### CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this M.Phil. dissertation entitled. "The Making of an Avatara: Deification of Rama in the Valmiki Ramayana" submitted by Kumari Anjana in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this university, is her original work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university to the best of our knowledge.

We recommend, this dissertation to be placed before the examine s for evaluation.

KUNAL CHAKRABARTI

Supervisor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

Chairperson

GRAM: JAYENU TEL.: 667676, 667557 TELEX: 031-73167 JNU IN

#### PREFACE

"Memory is life. It is always carried by groups of people, and therefore it is in permanent evolution. It is subject to the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, unaware of its successive deformation open to all kinds of use and manipulation. Sometimes it remains latent for long periods then suddenly revives. History is the always incomplete and problematic reconstruction of what is no longer there. Memory always belongs to our time and form a lived bond with the eternal present; history is a representative of the past". (Pierre Nore, in E.J. Hobsbawn, The Age of Empire, 1875-1914, Rupa & Co., Calcutta, 1982, p.1).

Rāmakathā is a tradition, a memory. As a tradition it is part of me. As a memory it has induced me to embark on this study of the epic Rāmāyaṇa one of the earliest versions of Rāmakathā, in the light of the recent developments and examine the deification and historicity of Rāma. Inspite of being a deeply embedded memory, little study has been undertaken to trace out the historical development of Rāma's deification. This work is an attempt to address some of the important issues involved in the process of development of Rāma from an ideal man and an ideal king to an avatāra.

Many people have contributed to this work. To begin with, I am indebted to my supervisor Kunal Chakrobarti, whose intellectual contribution to this work is immense. He stood by me from the very inception of the idea, to the framing of the topic, till the final analysis.

In addition, I am particularly grateful to Prof. Romila Thapar, whom I have personally never met, but whose writings on the epics, especially on the Rāmāyaṇa were of great use and directed me to study the epic as a source of history, when others questioned the very historicity of my primary source. I extend my thanks to Prof. B.D. Chattopadhyay whose comments I have deeply valued while examining geographical locations and archaeological evidences. My special thanks to Dr. R.N. Nandi, who initiated me into research and whose influence on my thinking has been deep and abiding.

I thank the staff of Sahitya Academy Library, National Museum Library and A.S.I.

Library for their co-operation. A special thanks to Sri L.N. Mallick, Asstt. Librarian,

J.N.U., for his unfailing courtesy and ever helping attitude.

I am so deeply indebted to my friends that words of gratitude seem insufficient

repayment. They have not only supported me throughout and rejuvenated me

whenever I was retiring but have also enriched my work with their challenging

questions, insightful suggestions and by furnishing me with some of the

indispensable references, books and articles. I cannot discharge my debt to my

parents. I can only acknowledge their affection and support. I must acknowledge the

contribution made by Ruby and Bablu. Their love and enduring faith in me sustained

both me and my work when things appeared to be falling apart.

To all these people I express my gratitude, I alone am responsible for any

shortcomings.

**NEW DELHI** 

July 22nd 1996

km. Anjana KUMARI ANJANA

## CONTENTS

		Page No
1.	Introduction	1
2.	Rāma : The Man	30
3.	Rāma : The King	46
4.	Rāma : The Avatāra	64
5.	Conclusion	83
. •	Bibliography	90

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

A.D.	Apastamona Dharmasutra
B.D	Bandhayana Dharmasūtra
B.G	Bhagavad Gita
G.D	Gautama Dharmasūtra
Mbh.	Mahābhārata
V.D.	Vāśista Dharmasūtra

Valmīki Ramayana

V.R•

Introduction

#### 1. Introduction

This work is an attempt to trace the process of deification of Rāma as depicted in the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* and to understand its significance in the backdrop of ideological, material and social milieu of the contemporary society. I have argued that the period of codification of the text was a period of reassertion of brahmanism in several spheres of life. Brahmanism was attempting to construct an ideal theoretically through the *Smṛ'ti* literature and was bringing in some of the salient features of these ideals in the popular stories of the epics, particularly in the didactic sections. Rāma served the purpose of providing a subject where all the ideals coalesced, whether as a man or as a king, which contributed to his eventual deification as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

#### The Text

We treat the *Rāmāyaṇa* here primarily as a historical document, because even though the actual events narrated in the epic are not historical, "it does supply us with information about the integrating values around which the societies were organised. It codifies belief, safeguards morality, attests for the efficiency of ritual and provides social norms. In a historical tradition, therefore, the themes of myth act as factors of continuity. In other words the analysis of a myth can reveal the structure of the society from which it emanates". For literary works are not mysteriously inspired. They

Romila Thapar, Ancient Indian Social History, Orient Longman, Delhi, 1979, p.296

represent particular ways of seeing the world, and as such they have a relation to that dominant way of seeing the world which is the social mentality or ideology of an age. That ideology, in turn, is the product of the concrete social relations into which men enter at a particular time and place. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is important for us because it helps us to understand this ideology and the social relations that produced it.

Important secondary literature on the Rāmāyaṇa includes monographs by the sanskritists such as Frank Whailing's *Rise of Religious Significance of Rama* (Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1980), J.L. Brockington's, *Righteous Rama* (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1984), Paula Richman's *Many Rāmāyaṇas* (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994). From historical point of view Romila Thapar's *Exile And Kingdom* (Mythic society, Bangalore, 1978) connects the process of evolution of the epic with the socio-economic and political formations of its times. H.D. Sankalia in *The Ramayana; Myth or Reality* (People's Publishing House, Delhi, 1991) has tried to relate the text with archaeological evidences.

Frank Whailing begins with the observation that scholars have neglected Rāma for Kṛṣṇa. The reason behind the neglect of Rāma, he explains, is that little attempt has been made to view his development as an integral character. He says that in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, the most important level of meaning in the Rāma symbol is the human level, i.e., as personification of dharma. At the second level Rāma represents the gods and cosmos over against demons and chaos. Thus at this stage the deeper level of the meaning of Rāma—is that he is the successor of Indra, although he is not mythologically identified with him. At the third and deepest level of meaning Rāma is

an avatān of Viṣṇu. After accomplishing his task he returns back to heaven in his original form of Viṣṇu. He demonstrates that the three stages of development of the symbol of Rāma, the old level are always integrated with the new, an important features of Indian religious life, which exemplified the willingness to accept new elements and ability to integrate the new and old. The different symbols can function for different people at different level.

Whailing emphasises the aspect of continuity in the Rama ideal. While he works our in great detail the elements of contunity at religious and philosophical levels and shows one integrated with the other in the realm of ideas, he makes no attempt to view these ideas in relation to any other context. Thus the religious aspect has been studied in isolation without being sensitive to the contemporary surroundings.

J.L. Brockington starts with the history of the text. He argues that the long time-span and the transmission factor of the epic makes it clear that it was composed against the oral background of heroic ballads. He does not rule out the possibility that there was a kernel of historical and semi-historical truth around which the epic has developed. He explains that myth is the final stage in the development of a heroic saga. Through continuous transmission the historicity and particularity of this heroic legend are transformed in the popular memory into a mythical and universal form. He studied the people, the court, the army, the stratified society as described in the different layers. He discusses the religious pattern and a shift towards righteousness. He maintains that the elevation of Rāma's character, combined with his standing as a prince, makes it natural for him to be compared with gods. Thus, in the first place, he

is regularly compared with Indra. Further, it goes beyond just comparison and Rāma is directly linked with Indra and later as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Brockington is aware of the existence of a larger social context in which the text has to be located. But although he systematises information on society and economy as contained in the text with a good deal of precision, he nevertheless seems to be insensitive to the need for correlating this date with the development of the ideal of Rāma.

Paula Richman's book is a useful collection of pieces of literary analysis of the regional versions of the text. The first section of the essays illustrates different depictions of the same episode in different versions, and dangers of domination of one story. In the second section highlights the refashioning, opposition and diversity of Rāma's story. However, the essays seldom take into account the underlying historical process. The book is sensitive to the cultural context, but the essays taken together do not offer an explanations of why local requirements varied and to what extent these requirements were met by the regional versions.

H.D. Sankalia helps us in situating the text in its geographical location. Romila Thapar propounds that the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa can be seen as largely mythical in some of its references, but mythology is based on certain assumptions and it is with these that the historian is primarily concerned with. Why the exile and the kingdom-for the two themes appear to be main pivots of the story representing two contrasting societies and two contrary images. She argues that these pivotal societies could have existed separately in the earlier tradition and were probably first put together in a single text to become a standard version of the Rāmakathā. The juxtaposition between the state

and the tribal chiefships and spread of Vaisnavism provided the perennial theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to broaden its base. The dominance of classical culture over the local culture was established though political control over the new areas. The Rāmāyaṇa provided a good component for an integration of the new areas.

Romila Thapar, thus locates the text in the backdrops of the changing process of sanskritsation and internalisation of culture. Her study helps us in understanding the religious as well as mythical aspects of the epic. But there is no discussion on the possible relation between the development of Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and the contemporary Brahminical agenda. This work is to analyse the deification of Rāma in the Vālmiķi Rāmāyaṇa from historical point of view.

It is difficult to date a text such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Scholars have, however, tried to fix its date within fairly close limits. Several eminent historians of Sanskrit literature such as Jacobi, Keith and Macdonell has suggested that the core of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed before 500 B.C. Camil Bulke and J.Gonda date it to the fourth century B.C.<sup>2</sup> These are the earliest possible dates of the epic.

H.D. Sankalia has argued opines that the uppermost limit of the *Rāmāyaṇa* cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Iron Age as *ayasa* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* definitely refers to iron and not copper<sup>3</sup>. He therefore suggests that the text began to be codified during the period between 800 to 400 B.C. The maximum interpolation, he explains, seems to have taken place between the second century B.C. and third century A.D. when

M.R.Yadi, The Ramayana: Its Origin and Growth, A Statistical Study. Bhandarkar Oriental research Institute. Poona, 1994, p.54.

H.D.Sankalia, Ramayana Myth or Reality, People's Publishing House 1991 (reprint) p.51

descriptions of Lanka, Ayodhya, Kiskindha, came to be entirely recomposed. For instance, the episode of finger ring that Hanuman presented to Sîta was introduced at this time, for signet rings were unknown before the first century B.C. and was only introduced by the Indo-Greeks in the early part of first century B.C.<sup>4</sup>

B.B. Lal has pointed out that the excavation at the Rāmāyana sites have proved the absence of PGW found at the Mahābhārata sites and therefore, if Rāma was a historical figure living in Ayodhyā, he was later in date than the period of the Mahābhārata heroes. H.D. Sankalia, who made a brief exploration of Ayodhyā, had found PGW shreds there. Prof. B.D. Chattopadhyay however explains that the evidence of literary texts such as an epic and that of archaeology can perhaps meet only a certain points, for these texts represent different types of culture which cover a vast span of time. The epics were written over a number of centuries and the process presupposes a considerable degree of overlapping in time. He, therefore, suggests that it would be risky, if not totally futile, to single out any particular archaeological cultural trait for correlation with the literary evidence of this kind. Perhaps it may be possible to undertake a total structural study of society in terms of both archaeology and literary tradition.

M. R. Yardi, on the basis of astronomical evidence, has argued that the

ibid.,p.55

H.D.Sankalia, op. cit.p. 45.

B.B.Lal, "Archaeology and the Two Indian Epics". *Annals of Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute*. Vol XXIV, 1974, p.7.

B.D.Chattopadhyay, Indian Archaeology and the Epic Tradition, Puntatva, No. 8, 1975-76, p. 70.

Rāmāyana was composed before 400 B.C, and its final redaction seems to have been completed by the first century A.D. The earliest reference to the seven days a week and, therefore the planets, is made by Garga who flourished in the first century B.C. Thus the sarga 4 in the Ayodhyākānda must have been added by an author who could not have lived before the first century B.C.<sup>8</sup>

J.L. Brockington suggests that the period of greatest interpolation was the fourth century A.D. and it was only after the Gupta period that Rāma was deified and regarded as one of the avatāras of Viṣnu. The first available depiction of the Rāmāyana in sculpture has been found at Deogorh in the Dasāvatāra temple, dated in the fifth century A.D. Episodes from the Rāmāyana have also been depicted at Nacana (M.P.), dated once again in the fifth century A.D. A terracotta plaque, datable to the second century B.C. from Kauśāmbī, shows a plump short-statured man with bulging eyes and wrinkled face holding a woman in his arms. Both the hands of the woman are raised in alarm and some of her ornaments have fallen on the ground. This depiction reminds one of Sītā's abduction, but it can not be definitely traced to the Rāmāyana¹o.

So far as the interpolations are concerned, Brockington has tried to identify four different layers (p.307-327). The orally transmitted phase, according to him, belongs to the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. This first stage is that in which the heroic aspect of the story is most evident, the material culture and the social pattern are at their

M.R. Yardi, op. cit., pp. 49-60, referring to V.R - 3.4.17-19

Jayantika Kala, *Epic Scenes in Indian Plastic Art*, Abhinav Prakashan, New Delhi, 1980, p. 17-19. and Joaana Williams, *The Art of Gupta India*. Heritage Publication. New Delhi, 1993, plates 115-170

Jayantika Kala, op.cit., p.27

simplest, and the geographical horizons are most restricted. The king surrounded by his court is the focus of the society and he is respected rather than revered as divine. His right to levy tribute or taxes is matched by his obligations to protect his subjects. Warfare was a prominent aspect of society at the stage, not only because of the material condition of the period but also due to the fact that audience at the royal court loved to listen to the heroic tales. The social organisation was relatively simple with little emphasis on the four *varnas*. There was no marked sign of inferiority for non-settled or tribal groups, and women enjoyed some degree of favour. The evidence of the religious norms prevailing in the first stage, though limited, is one of the strongest pointer to an early date. The pattern alluded to is markedly nearer the *Vedic* pattern than the *Purānic*, as attested by the prominence of Indra. It contains most of the verses of the book 2 to 6.

The second stage is dated between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. and it covers 34% of the critical edition of the text. With the second stage there is a certain shift of emphasis from the heroic to the aesthetic, which in part accounts for the greater elaboration of the story visible at this stage. Caravans of merchants, staircases, water towers, personal ornaments such as ear-rings, necklaces, anklets etc. suggest a more developed social and economic pattern. Geographical awareness at this stage shows little extension from that of the first stage. The status of the king was now enhanced through claims of divine status and his role as a protector was still emphasised. Warfare was becoming more elaborate with the switch from chariots to elephants. Socially the most obvious change was in the position of women with emphasis placed on a wife's subservience to her husband and on her chastity. The

varna system was beginning to surface and allusions are made to the distinctive role of the *brāhmaṇas* who were supposed to study and conduct rituals. Greater prominence was given to Brahama, and heaven and hell were distinguished. The inclusion from this stage onwards of a divine chorus or audience as spectators at crucial points in the narrative is perhaps the first sign of the increasing religious significance with which the epic came to be invested, ultimately turning it into a *Vaisṇava* work.

The third stage has been dated by Brockington to the first to third centuries A.D., when the books one and seven were composed. It constitutes nearly one fourth of the text. In this stage there occurs much greater emphasis on the four varna model and correspondingly on the king's duty to punish breaches of this religiously ordained social system. The position of women had declined further and they now at times appear simply as temptresses. At the same time the need for sons to continue the family and perform the memorial rites for the father has been stressed. A note worthy feature of this stage is the growth of urban centres, mostly in the Gangā basin. Both Taxilā in the north west and Pratisthana in the Deccan, which had great prominence in the first and second century A.D, have also been mentioned. In the description of warfare, realism was replaced by fantastic imagination and the employment of divine or magical weapons became common. Visnu and Siva rose in status and challenged Indra and Brahamā for supremacy among the gods. Nevertheless, Brahamā has been described in greater detail with occasional reference to his four heads and his birth from a lotus. However, although Indra and Brahma were still important, it was already evident that Visnu and Siva were the only contenders for the role of the supreme deity.

The fourth stage is dated between the 4th and 12th centuries A.D. which admitted some minor interpolations. Emphasis on religion increased further during this stage. But the greatest change can be observed on the social level, for the epic had by now largely moved away from its heroic origins and most additions were made either for aesthetic effect or for didactic and religious purposes. The social organisation was clearly based on the *varna* system and greater emphasis was placed on the elevation of the *brāhamaṇas* and the degradation of the *śudras* and the outcastes. The wife now came to be seen merely as an adjunct of her husband. The increasing hold of astrology is very evident and it now included the Hellenistic system which became available from the middle of the second century A.D.

M.R. Yardi has objected to Brockington's method of identifying distinct layers of the text. Yardi points out that "there is a subjective element in the choice of the linguistic features. Secondly, no author can write continuously in a homogenous style and a method has to be found by which we can separate the chance variations in his style from those which are significantly different" <sup>11</sup>. However, it should be noted that Brockington has based his study not only on the linguistic features but also on the variation in the socio-economic and political context of the text.

M.R. Yardi divides the layers of the text in five stages. The first reduction was made by Suta and his son Sauti (fifth century B.C.), then by Harivansakara (second century B.C.) and the Parvasangrahakara (first century B.C.) and the last was interpolated in the first Century A.D. He maintains that of the critical edition, which

M.R.Yardi, op.cit., p.IV.

consists of 17868 ślokas, only 8121 ślokas belong to the original Rāmāyana of Vālmīki and the rest were added by the above mentioned four stages.<sup>12</sup>

It is also important to identify the geographical location of the places mentioned in the text for the purpose of historical study. Ayodhyā was the capital of Kośala, which seems to have spread over a large part of the Indo-Gangetic doab. B.C. Law mentions that Ayodhyā was a village during the later Vedic period. Brockington also observes that Ayodhyā in days of Vālmīki did not materially differ from a village. We, however, get fanciful descriptions of Ayodhyā, Kiṣkindhā and Lańkā. These descriptions of the cities as well-developed urban centres may belong to the period associated with the NBP ware (500 B.C. - 100 A.D.). Brockington suggests that in the first stage the real limits of the Āryan settlements southwards was that of the Yamunā and the Gangā, with some vague knowledge of the country to the south as far as the Vindhyās. "At this period then both Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā would have lain in the upland areas approximately between Jabalpur and the Chotanagpur plateau." He argues that it does seem clear that both Laṅkā and Godavari had become proper names, while the former simply meant an island or an isolated hill.

H.D. Sankalia has identified Lankā and Dandakāranya in the Chotanagpur plateau. In the Rāmāyana, the Sāla tree has been described as a weapon of war between the Rāksasas and the Vānaras. 16 Sankalia refers to a botanical study which shows that

*ibid.*, p.V.

B.C.Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, Paris, 1954, p.67.

J.L. Brockingtion, *Righteous Rāma*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1984, p.69.

ibid., p.119-120.

V.R. - 4.11.47-49, 4.12.3-4, 4.16.21.

the Sāla tree grew in the Chotanagpur plateau alone and nowhere else. Thus Lankā has had to be somewhere in the Chotanagpur Plateau <sup>17</sup>.

#### The Socio-Economic and Political Milieu

The Rāmāyaṇa envisages a stratified society, with the royal court as its centre. The varṇa order seems to have been a later development, for instead of enumeration of the four varṇas, in many instances lists of different occupational groups occur. For example, in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, soldiers, courtiers, heads of guilds and other principal citizens were summoned to attend Bharata's sabhā. Similarly, brāhmaṇas, courtiers, generals, and leading merchants assembled on the occasion of the coronation of Rāma. What is perhaps most striking about all such listing is the relative prominence of the leading merchants, a situation only paralleled in the early Buddhist texts and presumably reflecting a comparatively short-lived phase of society before the presence of orthodoxy reasserted themselves. Yet this feature is apparent only in such incidental listing and is nowhere reflected in the narrative of the Rāmāyana".20

There is indeed a tendency to standardize the number and functions of the four varnas. When Bharata set out to meet Rāma in the forest, members of the brāhmaṇa, ksatriya, vaisya and sudra varnas are said to have got their horses, camels, asses and

H.D. Sankalia, op.cit., p.48.

V.R. = 2.75.11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> *V.R.* - 2.13.1-2.

J.L. Brockingtion, op.cit, p.154.

elephants ready to go with him.<sup>21</sup> Rama enquired from Bharata in the forest whether the *brāhmaṇas*, the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaisyas* were devoted to their own duties.<sup>22</sup> Bharata told Rāma that if he thought that the cause of morality was best served by suffering, then he would undertake the trouble of protecting the four *varṇas*.<sup>23</sup> Finally, Nārada articulated the ultimate brahmanical anxiety that with the decline of *dharma* in successive *yugas* the other *varnas* would usurp the privileges of *brāhmanas*.<sup>24</sup>

There is no explicit evidence of tension and conflict among the varnas in the Rāmāyaṇa. The varṇa order was flexible enough to enable the kṣatriya king Viśvāmitra to become a brāhmaṇa. 25 There is however, a stray reference to the hostility of the brāhmaṇas towards the kṣatriyas, as Paraśurāma challenged Daśaratha 26. But he was humbled by Rāma and no further allusion to this hostility occurs in the text.

The occupations of the four varnas have not been spelt out in one place, but the can be gleaned from the references scattered throughout the text - the brāhmaṇas were Vedapāraṅgas, and yajñikas, their duty being study of the Vedas and performance of sacrifices. Bharata, as he approached Ayodhyā, considered that the brāhmaṇas proficient in the Vedas and devoted to the performance of sacrifices were the symbol of that city. The hermitages in the Dandakāranya echoed with the sound

V.R. - 2.76.39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> V.R. - 2.94.35.

V.R. - 2.98.57.

V.R. - 7.65, 8-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> *V.R.* - 1.52.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> *V.R.* - 1.73.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> *V.R.* - 1.23.5.

V.R. - 1.12.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> *V.R.* - 2.65.16.

of Vedic recitations and the beginning of the rainy season was the time for the brāhmanas to chant samans.<sup>30</sup>

Ksatradharma or the function of the ksatriya was to protect others. The vaisyas were the leaders the guild of merchants and caravans. They were also invited to attend the sabhā which Vasistha convened to discuss the question of succession after Daśaratha's death. There are a few instances of intermixing of the varnas. Daśaratha killed a young ascetic, born of a vaiśya father by a śudra mother. Rāma killed the śudra ascetic Śambūka for he transgressed his varna limitations which was considered inimical to the larger interests of the society. This episode presents a contrast to an earlier, more liberal attitude, when Rāma accepted the offerings of ascetic Śabarī.

It is doubtful whether the four aśramas had come into vogue. The only reference to the aśrama system in the text occurs when Bharata persuading Rāma to return to Ayodhyā, argued that the householder's stage was the best of the four stages of life. The term brahmacarya seems to have been used in the Rāmāyaṇa in its literal sense of celibacy or continence, as Rāma is said to have observed brahmacarya in exile. There are also many references to ascetics. Inspite of these examples, it seems that the practices of the division of life into four āśramas was yet to be firmly established.

<sup>30</sup> *V.R.* - 4.27.34

V.R. - 2.61.17, 2.48.28, 3.58.31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> V.R. - 2.57.37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> *V.R.* - 2.91.58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> V.R. - 2.46.10

Norms of family relationship plays a major part in the Rāmāyaṇa. Obedience to and respect for the parents was considered to be one of the cardinal virtues, the standard against which other loyalties were to be judged. Correspondingly the parent's affection for their children and concern for their welfare are attested by Dasaratha's pleasure at Rāma's proposed coronation and Kausalyā's mourning at Rāma's departure for forest. The relationship between the brothers was supposed to be one of warm affection and closeness, the only exception being Laksmaṇa's anger against Bharata, when he believed that Bharata was usurping the throne which rightfully belonged to Rāma. But he was pacified by Rāma. Rāma's selflessness in declaring that he would gladly give away everything to Bharata, Bharata's refusal to assume the throne of Ayodhyā, and Laksmaṇa's devotion to Rāma are examples of ideal brotherly affection.

The status of women in society is a measure of its cultural accomplishment. In the Rāmāyaṇa, women were free to move about in public and were not confined to the inner apartments of the household. Sītā accompanied Rāma to the forest and Kaikeyī nursed Dasaratha in the battle-field. The presence of wives at some of the important public rituals or other ceremonial occasions is a common feature. The king's antahpura (inner apartment) is often mentioned, but this seems to have been meant for their protection rather than for their seclusion. The appointment of female superintendent as well as the female door-keepers must have served the same purpose. Men were supposed to be courteous towards women and they could not be sentenced

<sup>35</sup> V.R. - 2,97,17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> V.R. - 6.99.19-20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> *V.R.* - 1.13.26-27, 2.69.9, 2.70.19-21.

to capital punishment.

Rāma of course killed Tātakā, but the act is justified by the fact that she was a Rāksasī and her presence was a thereat to the sages<sup>38</sup>. There is no evidence in the Rāmāyana that the widows were considered inauspicious. Women often lived in the asramas. Anasūyā, Sabarī, Vedavatī and Sītā herself stayed in the asramas in different stages of their life.<sup>39</sup> However, we also find in later stage the traditional mythological role of women as temptresses to distract ascetics in the story of Rsyaśrnga, and Viśvāmitra.

The prime role of the husband was that of the protector of his wife. It is mentioned in a passage in the text that the responsibility of protecting women devolves first upon the husband, then on the son, then on the other relatives, and failing these, on the king. The description of mutual affection and companionship between Rāma and Sītā in the forest suggest that the husband was supposed to be the wife's friend as well. Sītā advised Rāma to lead the life of an ascetic in the forest and asked him not to harm the Rākṣasas without provocation.

However, this relationship of friendship and trust was reversed in the later stages and was replaced by his wife's absolute subservience to her husband. The insubordination of the wife was considered to be one of the major threat to the smooth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> V.R. - 1.24, 13-19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> V.R. - 2.109, 3.17, 7.17, 7.49

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> *V.R.* - 2.94.42, 3.48. 5-7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> *V.R.* - 3.8.20

functioning of the society. The dominant position of the husband is attested by the use of such epithets for him as nātha or pati.<sup>42</sup> The husband hās been described as the supreme deity of the wife.<sup>43</sup> The women were being cast in their later mythological role of being seducers who distracted the sages in meditation, such, as Rsyasrnga or Viśvāmitra.<sup>44</sup>

Polygamy was a norm specially among the kings, but adultery was severely condemned. Ahalya had to suffer for ages for her supposed adultery and Rama punished Vali for his union with Ruma. A polygamy royal household could become a place of tension and intrigue. Rama's exile was the outcome of one such intrigue. In contrast, Rama took only one wife and in the *Uttarakanda* it is stated that Rama did not marry even after Sītā was consigned to the aśrama of Valmīki. Instead even he made a golden statue of Sītā to fulfil the obligation of performing the Aśvamedha sacrificat.

A great emphasis came to be placed on the chastity of the wife. Rāma declared, "I find the very thought of Sītā being touched by another person abhorrent". 47 Sītā, conforming to this expectation, told Hanumān that she would not touch a *Rākṣasa* even with her left foot. 48 She declared that she would not voluntarily touch another male. 49

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> V.R. - 2.61.9-10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> V.R. - 2.26.14, 2.34.27, 3.54.3, 5.26.12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> V.R. - 1.5.7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> *V.R.* - 2.66.38

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> V.R. - 4.18.6-15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> *V.R.* - 3.2.19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> V.R. - 5.24.9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> *V.R.* - 5.35.62

When public opinion questioned the chastity of Sita, she first had to undergo a fire-ordeal and was then banished to Valmiki's asrama. This extreme emphasis placed on the chastity and fidelity of women resulted in the seclusion of women, and the inner apartments, now came to be guarded by the eunuchs. 50

There are very few references to the economic life in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, a number of occupations have been mentioned. These include bhumipradesgyah, sutrakarmavisāradah (skilled in designing buildings), khanaka (experts in dagging), yantrakavidah (experts in mechanics), sthāpatayah (architects) craftsmen, spies, jewellers, potters, weavers, armouer, goldsmiths, doctors, perfumers, washermen, tailors, actors, fishermen, etc. 51 They all accompanied Bharata when he went to visit Rāma in the forest.

References to cattle are only half as either horses or elephants, suggesting the martial interest of the epic. It indicates that either the practice of agriculture was little developed during this period or the interest of the poet and the audience did not lie in that direction. The latter assumption seems to be correct, since by the first centuries of the Christian era the Ganga valley was undoubtedly under habitation, as attested by the location of Dasaratha's capital at Ayodhya. This would have necessitated advanced agricultural techniques, but it is mentioned that the population was not dependent on rain. 52 However, regular rainfall could only be ensured by maintaining proper order in society, for it is mentioned that it does not rain in a kingless state. 53 The only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> V.R. - 7.99.10

<sup>51</sup> V.R. - 2.77.12.15

VR. - 2.94.3- adevamatrka bhumi.

variety of grain mentioned in the early parts of the text is rice (nivāra, sāli).

References to other kinds of grain that occur in the stages are wheat (godhūma), barley (yava), millet (syamaka).<sup>54</sup>

Dairy products are mentioned throughout the text. Birds, fish, honey, roots, fruits, fresh and dried meat and forest products were important food items. <sup>55</sup> The *Rākṣaṣaṣ* ate deer, buffalo, bear, peacock, fowl, rhinoceros and goat. <sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, one can detect a steady decline in the use of meat and in the later passages meat eating has been condemned. Brockington, however, argues that vegetarianism was prescribed only for the ascetics in the forest, and even then it was more an expression of their rejection of society and organised labour than of respect for animal life. <sup>57</sup>

Kişkindhā and Lankā were just as affluent and urban as Ayodhyā. Kişkindhā was crowded with mansions and palaces and was adorned with all sorts of flourishing trees's 58 Lankā was designed by Viśvakarmā, the gods own architect. It had a moat filled with lotuses and hundreds of watch towers and its buildings had pillars, pitched roof, staircases leading to the upper storeys and daises and lattice work in precious stones or gold.59

These descriptions contradict the general impression that the dwellers of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> *V.R.* - 2.61.8-9

J.L.Brockington, op.cit., p.100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> V.R. - 2.78.9-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> *V.R.* - 5.9.11-14.

J.L.Brockington, op.cit., p.84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> *V.R.* - 4.32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> *V.R.* ~ 6.28.10.

Kiskindha and Lanka were none but uncivilised monkeys and demons. Brockington points by that the commonest term for the inhabitants of Kiskindha is Vāñara, derived from vana (forest). According to him, it simply denotes inhabitants of the forest which, is quite compatible with their being a forest tribe. In the text they behave like wise and cultured people. The degree to which they were brahmanised can be inferred form the ceremony of the installation of Sugrīva as the king of Kiskindha. The ceremony even included gifts to the brahmanas. The ambivalent attitude of the epic toward the Vānaras could be due to the poet's unfamiliarity with the tribal customs and their ways of life.

The Rākṣasas as portrayed in the Rāmāyaṇa were essentially human, with some exceptions. They have been frequently describes as kāmrupinah, a trait which they shared with the Vānaras and by which they could assume any form. They have also been described as cannibals. Śūrpaṇakhā, when repulsed by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, threatened to devour Sītā. Their is, however, clear evidence that the Rākṣasas belonged to an advanced culture. There are references to the Rākṣasas adopting Vedic customs and rituals under the influence of the sages in Janasthāna. Et This may indicate that the Rākṣasas did not resist the brahmanical culture, but opposed brahamanical penetration into their own territory. Most of the conflicts between the humans and the Rākṣasas, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, occur in the latter's territory. Thus, the essential difference between the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas, seems to be that the former were

6

J.L.Brockington, op. cit, p. 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> *V.R.* - 4.25.26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> *V.R.* - 3.31

21

friendly to Rama with the latter were hostile to him.

The king and his court were the focal points of the society. Indeed, the centrality of the ruler for the maintenance of an orderly society is well illustrated by the two descriptions of an ideal society with which the epic begins and ends. Conversely, the evils of a kingless state have been delineated in great detail<sup>63</sup>. During the righteous rule of Rāma, there were no untimely deaths, people were happy dutiful and blessed with sons, trees bore fruits and it rained in time. The king was to be honoured and respected in all circumstances, for he partook of the nature of five gods. Thus, the king was the representative of the gods on earth, and therefore, the text says, he should never be criticised. The king, on the other hand, had the obligation to protect his subjects which gave him the right to levy taxes (bali). This was the basis of the appeal made to Rama by the sages in the Dandaka forest for their protection against the Rākṣaṣaṣa.

# The Social Crisis of the Kali Age and the Brahmanical Remedy: The need of An Avatara

To analyse the actions of human agency it is important to have an insight into the contemporary society and the popular perception of its governing norms. At one level, the concept of the four *yugas* provide us with a framework to understand the nature of the ideal society that brahmanism was attempting to construct through the

TH-6189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> V.R. - 2.61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> *V.R.* - 3.38.12-13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> V.R. - 4.17.28-30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> V.R. - 1.6.19, 2.100.41

composition of such texts as the Rāmāyaṇa and the reasons behind this process.

One of the earliest reference to this concept occurs in the *Mahābhārata*. According to this theory, four *yugas* the *Kṛta*. *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* - through the righteousness gradually decreases and is replaced by evil, till during the Kali age only one quarter of *dharma* remains and *adharma* occupies three quarter of the social space. Manu however, points out that the *yugas* are not inviable units of time. It is the king who, by his conduct, can introduce the characteristics of one *yuga* into another 68 A great emphasis was therefore placed on the nature of the age and the quality of kingship.

B.N.S. Yadav has summarised the characteristics of the *Kali* age. These are occurrence of foreign invasion such as by the Yavanas, Sakas, Hunas, etc., natural calamities such as famine and flood, decline in economic conditions, disruption in the *caturavarna* system characterised by the rise of the *sudras* and the degradation of *the vaisyas*, the older ruling aristocracy and the priestly elite. These result in heightened social conflict and greater exploitation of the peasantry by means of oppressive taxes and forced labour by the newly emerging ruling classes. The impact of these disturbances can be witnessed in the rise of heretical religions, the general decline of traditional moral standard and religious values<sup>69</sup>. Available sources indicate that the above mentioned features of the *Kali* age was perceived to have obtained by the third

P.V.Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol.III, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p.892

ibid., p.892.

B.N.S.Yadav, "The Kali Age and Social Transition", *Indian Historical Review*, Vol V, July 1978-79, p.33

century B.C. The first clear inscriptional reference to the that social crisis conforms to the description of the Kali age occurs in the Satvāhana inscriptions of the second century A.D. where Gautamīputra Satkarnī has been credited with putting an end to the confusion created by the disruption of the *varna order*. Thus, the composition of the *Rāmāyana* falls within this period of social crisis. The *Dharmasūtras* of Apastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasista (600 B.C. - 400 B.C.), the Manusinrti (200B.C. - 200A.D.) and the Visnu smrti (100 A.D. - 400 A.D.) helps us to form a broad idea of the contemporary social crisis and the manner in which brahamanism helped to combact it.

To begin with the word *dharma* is derived from the root *dhr*, meaning to uphold, to support, to nourish. At the request of the sages Manu imparted the *dharma* of all the *varnas*<sup>71</sup>. *Dharma* is a difficult terms to define. Depending on the context, it variously means ordinance, usage, duty, right, justice, morality, virtue and religion. *Dharma* is also personified as a deity. Manu further explains that *dharma* is a way of life practised by the learned who lead a moral life, who are free from hatred, and who act in accordance with their conscience According to Kāmandaka, *dharma* is that which is practised by the Aryans (respectable people) who are conversant with the Vedic tradition, and *adharma* is what such people censure The Gautama *Dharmasūtra* says that the *Veda* is source of *dharma*, tradition and practice. There are

Epigraphia Indica, VII, No.8, 1.60. cited in D.N.Jha (ed.), Feudal Social Formation in Early India, Chankya Publication, Delhi, 1987, p.32.

Manu - 1.1

ibid, 7.16

ibid., 2.1

Cited in P.V.Kane, op.cit., Vol.I, P.1, p.5.

five different sources of dharma according to Manu. These are varnadharma, aśramadhrama, varnāśramdharma, naimitikadharma (such as prāyaścitta, etc.) gunadharma (The duty of king, etc)<sup>75</sup>.

It is important to ask whether the theory of the four *varnas* with their peculiar privileges and duties described in the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Smrtis* was merely an ideal at the time of the composition of these texts, or they were already in practice. P.V.Kane has argued that the manner in which these text refer to the privileges and the disabilities of the four *varnas* ring so true that one is tempted to believe that they represented the real division of society, at least to a very large extent. However, one may also wonder, if this was the acutal state of affairs in the society, what was the need for such strong and repeated emphasis on the necessity of maintaining the *varna* order? There is enough historical evidence to suggest that the ideal fell short of practice. Let us have a brief look at what this duties and responsibilities of the different *varnas* were for we are concerned with the ideals that the *Ramāyaṇa* was attempting to establish.

Manu declared that "for priest, He, (god) ordained teaching and learning, sacrificing for themselves and for. others and receiving. Protecting his subjects, performing sacrifices, studying and remaining unattached to sensory objects are the duties of a ruler. Protecting his livestock, giving, performing sacrifices, studying, trading, lending money and farming the land are the duties of a commoner. The lord assigned only one action to a sudra, i.e. serving the others without resentment".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Manu - 2.1

P.V.Kane, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p.47

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Manu. - 1, 88-91

The higher the *varna* of a person, the lesser was the punishment for him for any kind of crime. Apastamba declared that a *sudra* who assumes a position equal to that of the first three *varnas*, in conversation, on the road, on a couch, or in sitting, shall be flogged <sup>78</sup>. If a *sudra* views the *Vedas*, his body should be split into parts. A *sudra* who intentionally reviles a *brāhamaṇa* or criminally assaults him with blows, should be deprived of his limbs. If he deliberately listens to the recitation of the *Vedas*, his ears shall be filled with molten tin <sup>79</sup>. For wilfully using abusive language towards a member of three upper *varṇas*, a *sudra* will have his tongue cut off. A *ksatriya* shall be fined one hundred *kārṣāpaṇas* if he abuses a *brāhmaṇa*, and a *vaisya* who assaults a *brāhmaṇa* shall pay one and a half time as much as a *ksatriya*. But a *brāhmaṇa* who abuses a *kṣatriya* shall pay fifty *kārṣāpaṇas*, one half of that amount if he abuses a *vaisya* and if he abuses a *sudra*, nothing <sup>80</sup>.

The attitude of the authors of the *Dharmasūtras* towards the criminals was guided by the consideration of their varna status. Among the higher castes, the brāhmanas naturally enjoyed the greatest privileges. Gautama categorically prohibited the infliction of corporal punishment on the brāhmanas. What ever be the crime committed by them, they were totally immune to death-penalty. However, for offences of certain kinds, the punishment was heavier for the members of the higher varnas than those of the lower varnas. Theft was one such offence. For theft in general, a sudra was to restore the stolen property eightfold to the owner. It was

<sup>78</sup> A.D. - 2.10.27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> G.D. - 12.1.5

ibid., 12.8.13

G.D. - 12.43

sixteen fold, thirty-two fold and sixty-four fold for the thieves of the members of the vaisya, kṣatriya, and brāhmaṇa varṇas respectively. 82 Even in this, brahmanism did not show any leniency to the śudras, for the assumption was, being a śudra, he would be naturally prone to such low offences.

We have already mentioned that family relations were central to the plot of the Râmāyaṇa, and the authors of the didactic text have devoted a good deal of their attention to the ideal norms of relationship that must prevail within the family. Manu, in describing the obligations of householders, stated that the husband and the wife should remain true to each other till death<sup>83</sup>. The deities delight in places where women are revered. A householder should feed a priest as a means of pleasing the ancestors during the performance of the five great sacrifices. And he should play an important role in maintaining the varṇa system in its pure form<sup>85</sup>.

Gautama laid down that the guests of the varnas other than those of the brāhmana and the ksatriya should be entertained merely out of human consideration, because they, not being atithis in the proper sense of the term, are not legitimately entitled to the honour deserved by the guest of the two upper varnas. 6 Charity, however, must be within one's means and should never be indiscriminate. Apastamba expressly forbade one to make gifts to anybody who begs for the enjoyment of sensual

G.D. - 12.12.15

<sup>83</sup> *Manu -* 9.101, 102.

ibid. - 3.56 ·

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> A.D. - 2.1.2.8-10

G.D. - 5.45

pleasures. 87 Gautama, similarly stated that one must not give anything that may be utilised for immoral purposes.88 Among the persons deserving gifts from a householder, the most worthy are the students begging for their guru. People preforming sacrifices or getting medicine for the diseased, the destitutes and the travellers. There seems to have been an apparent uncertainty about the proper position of women in society. On the one hand she has been regarded as pure, while on the other, she has been denied independence at all stages of her life. She is supposed to remain under the guardianship of her father in her infancy, of her husband in her youth and of her son in her old age. Her dependence was so complete that Gautama declared that a women can neither perform a yajña or a vrata, nor can she undertake fasts on her own. 89 Her only duty was to serve her husband with utmost loyalty. At the same time, Baudhayana stated that the wife was more precious than wealth, and as such, deserved careful protection. A man was debarred from forsaking his wife at his will. Apastamba prescribed a six-month long penance for unjustly forsaking one's wife. Similarly, the wife was forbidden to desert her husband without sufficient reason.<sup>90</sup> However, although some of these norms may appear to accord respect to women, it is evident that women were already turned into a commodity. That is why husbands have been advised to guard the wife like precious wealth. Also the emphasis on her chastity was to ensure that the male issue inherits the father's property and continue the patriarchal lineage.

8

A.D. - 2.10, 2-3

G.D. - 5.24

ibid., 18.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> A.D. - 1.28.19-20

Speaking about the king, Manu explained that the God created the king with essential parts taken from Indra, Yama, Agni, Varuna and Kubera. Therefore he surpasses all beings by his majesty<sup>91</sup>. Gautama and Apastamba asserted that a king and a spiritual teacher must not be reviled<sup>92</sup>. The Narad Smrti declared that it is Indra himself who moves about on earth in the form of the king, and even if he is devoid of qualities, he deserves honour from his subjects, for he performs the functions of the five deities.<sup>93</sup>

This divine status does not necessarily place the king above all questions. He has been asked to remain dependent on the brahmanas for ever and his authority is said to extend over all except the brahamanas<sup>4</sup>. The king who treats his subjects harshly looses his life, his family and his kingdom<sup>93</sup>. Moreover, the principle of danda if properly wielded, conduces to the advancement of the three purusarthas but if a mean and unjust king yields it, it recoils on him and destroys him together with his relations<sup>95</sup>. Protection of the varnadharma is his highest duty<sup>96</sup>. The brahamanas have been invested with the authority to destroy an oppressive kṣatriya king<sup>97</sup>. Gautama laid down that the justice should be administered in accordance with the Veda. The king has been advised to come to a decision regarding matters concerning a particular varna after consulting the members of that varna. A parisad of brahmanas was to advice the

<sup>91</sup> Manu - 5.96, 7.4.5

G.D. - 11.32, A.D. - 1.2.31.5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Narada - 5.20, 5.26.31, cited in P.V. Kane, *op.cit*, Vol. III, p.23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> G.D. - 11.1.78

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.*, 7.27,28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> *ibid.*, 9.7.10

Sukranitisāra, 4.7. cited in P.V.Kane, op.cit., Vol. III, p.26

king and help him in complex legal issues.98

The socio-economic, political and religious norms as discussed in the didactic texts suggest that brahmanism perceived threats to its social order and attempted to remedy them by setting up ideals which were to be followed and enforced.

So far as the society of Ayodhyā is concerned it does not appear as if it was facing any crisis. How could adversity befall a kingdom that was ruled by so righteous a king as Rama, who upheld all at the ethical norms and social values prescribed by brahmanism. The responsibility of Rama, however, was not merely to maintain peace and dharma in Kosala, but to extend the brahmanical norms on other societies as well. The norms of society of the Vanaras and the Raksasas differed from the ideals that Rama stood for. The Vanaras, escaped the wrath of Rama, for they be friended him. But the Rāksasas challenged the incursion of brahmanism and had to be subordinated. The major conflict in the Rāmāyana is not symptomatic of the typical crisis of the Kali age, but of a conflict between two contrasting social values. Rāma succeeded in upholding and establishing the brahmanical ideal by his personal examples, as we have already seen in our discussion on the socio-political context and the four layers of the Rāmāyana. He emboded dharma which in this context meant, above all things, righteousness. It is this personification of the ideal which eventually led to his deification and his elevation into the status of an avatāra in the later stages. His deification ensured that he served the purpose of being the model to be followed by all. How exactly did Rama match up to the ideal is what we are going to discuss in the subsequent chapters.

Rāma: The Man

## 2. Rama: The Man

"Be pleased to hear of the man endowed with the manifold and rare virtues that have been catalogued by you ". (V.R.-1.1.7).

Valmiki's Rama was essentially a human being with the usual human limitations. He overcame his limitations by practising dharma. Valmiki began with the quest for a man who would answer his catalogue of high moral virtues. These included, " a man who is mighty and yet knows both what is right and how to act upon it? Who always speaks the truth and holds firmly to his vows? Who exemplifies proper conduct and is beneficent to all creatures? Who is learned, capable and a pleasure to behold? Who is self controlled, having subdued his anger? Who is both judicious and free from envy? Who, when his fury aroused in battle, is feared even by gods"1. Narada said, "even among the gods I do not find one endowed with all these virtues?"2. However Narada knew of a person who had them all; his name was Rama. "All men might know of him for he is self controlled, mighty, radiant, steadfast and masterful. He is wise, grounded in proper conduct, eloquent and majestic, he annihilates his enemies. He knows the ways of righteousness and is always true to his words. The welfare of his subjects is his concern. He is the protector of all living things. He is versed in the essence of the Vedas and their subsidiary sciences, he is equally expert in science of arms".4

V.R. 1.1.25

V.R. + 1.1.7

V.R. 1.1.8

V.R. 1.1.9.13

So the hero of the epic Ramayana was not a god, but a man, for only a human being can become a suitable role model for other human beings. Sukumari Bhattacharji argues that "the Ramayana performs this task by creating a set of convincing characters placing them in complex critical situations and by presenting moral act together with their causes and effects." The text records many incidents in which Rama's human qualities come to the fore. It is very human to be elated at the prospect of advancement of career and become downcast at times of distress. Rama was happy while informing Sita that he was to be anointed as a king. When he was summoned by Dasaratha and Kaikeyī, he thought that his father and the queen were planning some pleasant surprise for him. But as he came to know about the sudden reversal of his fortune, he felt like a horse lashed with a whip. He left the king's palace with downcast eyes and had to make a special effort to bear the sorrow within his heart and keep his senses under his control. He narrated to Sita how Kaikeyī had compelled the king to change his mind as a result of which Bharata was to be installed as the king and he was to go into exile for fourteen years.

Rāma blamed his destiny for this misfortune and indeed bore his disappointment with fortitude. He said to Laksmana, "it is my destiny which takes me to the forest. Otherwise, how can I explain why Kaikeyī who had so far made no distinction between Bharata and myself, became so cruel as to cause me misery? Destiny is the source of inexplicable causes which bring about happiness and misery, fear and anger, profit and

Sukumari Bhattacharji, 'Validity of the Ramayana Values' in V. Raghwan (ed.), *The Ramayana Tradition in Asia*, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 1989 (reprint) p-77.

V.R. 2.16.44

V.R. 2.16.60

loss, birth and deliverance. I am not at all sore about the loss of kingdom, for, who knows this destiny may have in store a glorious future for me. Desist therefore from blaming your younger mother and take quick steps to stop the installation arrangement". But this is a normal human tendency to blame an unknown agency for one's misfortunes and try to keep one's hopes alive.

Rama killed Tataka by violating the rule that the punishment of a female offender should stop short of killing. It is however, mentioned in the text that originally Rama's intention was to immobilise her by cutting her hands. But at the end he had to slay her, as he found that she was still capable of great mischief". The text naturally justifies all the action of Rama, but this is an instance of clear violation of accepted norms of conduct.

Similarly, Rāma killed Vāli by concealing himself behind a tree. He, thus, broke the elementary convention of warfare. Vāli questioned his action, "what possible merit have you gained by killing me when I was not looking at you?" He ridiculed Rāma,"(You are) well born, virtuous, powerful, compassionate and energetic, (You have) observed vows, know pity, is devoted to the welfare of people, know when to act, and (are) firm in (your) vows. That is how everyone spreads your good reputation throughout the world 10. Vāli questioned the very foundation of Rāma's popularity and his righteousness by pointing out that he had unethically killed Vāli who had committed no offence against him.

V.R. 2.23.15-24.

V.R. 1.24.25

V.R. 4.17.13-18

Rāma justified his action. He argued that he as the deputy of Bharata has punished Vāli for taking his younger brother's wife." The earth with its mountains and woods belong to the Iksvākus as does the right of punishment and rewarding its beasts, birds and men. He is a king who knows the proper place and time for action". Moreover, "righteousness is subtle and extremely difficult to understand even for the good people. You acted according to your desires, O monkeyland in violating your brother's wife, you departed from righteousness. That is why this punishment was administered to you<sup>11</sup>. Rāma struck him down regardless, because after all he was a monkey<sup>12</sup>. Rāma finally succeeded in convincing Vāli. Vāli accepted his argument and said," please do not find fault with me even for the unseemly, displeasing words. I spoke before by mistake, O Rāghava! for you understand worldly interest and know the truth, and you are devoted to the wellbeing of the people. Your immutable judgement about determining crime and punishment is correct". 13.

It should be noted, however, that in the description of Rāma's journey from Ayodhyā, the boundary of Kośała ended at Sṛngaverpura, i.e., at the river Gangā and so it did not extend to Kiskindhā. Therefore, Rāma had no legal jurisdiction on the territory to which Vāli belonged. Thus he not only acted unethically, but also as an aggressor. Moreover, Rāma addressed Vāli merely as a monkey who could not understand the sub tleties of righteousness. It is difficult to see how one could mistake Vāli for an ape after his intelligent articulation of a serious argument. Vāli was the king of Kiskindhā, a

V.R. 4.18.6-16

V.R. 4.18.36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> V.R. 4.18.45-47

Kingdom no less prosperous than Ayodhya. By enforcing the rules of Ayodhya, Rama made it clear that he was a roving ambassador of Kośala and was all set to force others to follow his concept of righteousness; if necessary even by force. He considered Vali's action of keeping his brother's wife an immoral act. But when the same act was respected by his friend Sugriva who took Vali's widow, he ignored it because it suited his purpose.

Rama's poignant grief at the loss of Sita, his beloved wife led him to lose his composure. He reproached Laksmana for leaving her alone despite his instructions<sup>14</sup>. He had a faint hope that she could have gone to pick flowers or fruits, or to the river to fetch water. In a state of frenzy he thought that he had seen her and complained to her, "very fond of flowers, you are hiding behind the boughs of the Asiaka tree, augmenting my grief all the more, o queen. Both your thighs, even though screened by the plantain tree, resembling as they do the stem of a plantain tree, you are no longer able to hide them from my view. O Fair one! have you no pity on me? You are not the one to play pranks. Then how could you be so indifferent to me"15. He wailed like an ordinary human being and asked the animate and inanimate objects around him to obtain information about her 16. He resolved to upset the whole world if the gods did not restore Sita to him 17.

These actions of Rāma may either appear normal or questionable to our sensibilities. But his action can be properly understood only against the contemporary ideas of good and evil. Here what is crucially important is, what was meant by the term

V.R. 3.57

V.R. 3.58.70

V.R. 3.58.11

<sup>7</sup> V.R. 3.64.66

dharma. Oharma, Wendy O'Flakerty says, is the principle of order which must be obeyed regardless of what that order actually is 18. It should be remembered that brahmanism considered the period when the Ramayana was composed as one of transition, marked by insecurity, widespread lawlessness, intermixture of varnas and sharp social conflict. In such a period, ideals strengthen the purpose of establishing social stability. The concept of dharma included these ideals.

Dharma has been variously defined in the Vedic literature as religious ordinance, <sup>19</sup> principles of conduct, <sup>20</sup> truth <sup>21</sup> duties particular to each stage of life <sup>22</sup> In the Rāmayana it stands for a set of ethical norms recommended by brahmanism. Rāma underwent endless suffering to fulfil what he conceived to be his highest *dharma*. In the discussion of *dharma*, there is no concept of the rights of the human beings in the entire *Dharamasāstra* literature. When law givers wanted to discuss the rights of a particular social group, they would discuss these as duties of another social group towards the previous group. Thus the rights of the people were attended to not as rights but as duties. For example the rights of the husband were guaranteed by emphasising the duties of the wife, and those of the wife were assured by insisting on the duties of the husband.<sup>23</sup> It was the responsibility of the king to ensure that these duties were performed properly.

18

We ndy Doniger O' Flacherty, *The Origin of Evil in Hindy Mythology*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1976.p.94

<sup>19</sup> Rog Veda 1.22.18

<sup>20</sup> Rig Veda 4,53.3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Brhadaranayaka Upnishad 1.4.14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> **Chanda**gya Upnishad 2.23.1

Saral: Jhingran, Aspect of Hindu Mor ality, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi,

Sukumari Bhattacharji explains that the reason for the popularity of the ideal characters in the Rāmāyana is that the characters look true to life, because there is nothing which is totally good or totally evil. Even the three ideal characters Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmana behave questionably at times<sup>24</sup>. She elaborates that temptation is a situation of crisis and all the major characters face real temptations at one point or another. It is through their response to them that they become or remain good or bad. "Transgression of the accepted code of ethics is portrayed as sinful, but as in all major literary products, in the Rāmāyana too what constitutes its essence is its attempt at revaluation of the accepted values. This is achieved by placing the characters in critical situations and letting them deliberate, act and suffer consequences". <sup>25</sup>

Bhattacharji further argues that these critical situations are of two kinds. The first was of the kind which deflected the characters from the path of virtue, i.e., from the broad humanistic values for the sake of selfish, personal gains. But there was also other situation where a character faced a conflict arising from two sets of contradictory values both accepted traditionally and both apparently equally valid. But the situation demanded that he chose one. Such situations, according to her, test the real moral fibre and only the great i.e. the significant characters pass the test"<sup>26</sup>.

Different social groups had their special dharmas, but neither an individual nor a group was looked upon as having acted in pursuance of dharma, if actual practice

Sukumari Bhattacharji, op. cit, p.77

<sup>25</sup> ibid n 7'

<sup>6</sup> *ibid*, p.78

resulted in clash, oppression and misery and obstructed the cause of Brahmanism. Ravana, for example, had all the advantages of a brahamanical descent. In due course he himself, his son, and Kumbhakarna underwent the hardest austerities for obtaining divine favour and they received it. Yet, they employed their enhanced power for the oppression of the virtuous. The extraordinary process which divine grace conferred on the demons was therefore made to serve wicked ends and not to further the cause of *dharma*. Kaikeyī, on the other hand was not an evil character to begin with. Her first reaction of joy at the news of Rāma's coronation shows this.<sup>27</sup> Then came the temptation and she fell a prey to Mantharā's appeal to her mother-love<sup>28</sup>. Such episodes underline the need for discrimination, judgement and courage to oppose the apparent reason of self interest for the higher reason of truth and justice.<sup>29</sup>

However, it is one thing to attempt to fulfil one's *dharma* and quite another to define it in such a manner as to cover all contingencies. Conflicts therefore inevitably arise. Brockington suggests that whether it is the result of exigencies of the original plot or of the changes in attitudes which took place in society during the long period of composition of the epic, it is these conflicts which give life to the characters and prevent them from appearing as mere puppets<sup>30</sup>. At the time of Rāma's coronation, Dasarathawas faced with a choice; i.e., keeping a promise to his queen, thus denying justice to his first son or acting justly but declaring that the promise itself was evil. Dasarathadid not want to part with his favourite son nor did he want to deprive the people of the best available

V.R. 2.7.32-36

V.R. 2.9.2

J.L. Brockington, op. cit p.221

ibid. p.222

ruler. Dasarathosuffered, but Rāma stood firm in his obedience to his father and dharma took its own course. Rāma's banishment of Sītā to allay the suspicion of his subjects regarding her virtue appears foreign to the spirit of the earlier part of the story. Brockingtion argues that this was as a part of the process of brahamanisation of the text at the third stage. Here too a monarch subordinated his personal happiness and thus inflicted a cruel injustice on an individual<sup>31</sup>. Rāma is the ideal man because he usually chose the path of suffering as he believed that in a situation of moral crisis, that was the correct way of living according to dharma.

He was an ideal son. Although after Kaikeyi's demand for Rāma's banishment and Daśarath's failure to uphold Rāma's claim to the throne there really was not much of a choice, but what rendered Rāma as the ideal in this episode was his attitude. He said that he would have gladly given away all that belonged to him to Bharata without his asking<sup>32</sup>. Since by his exile, Daśarath would be released of a vow, he immediately offered to go to the forest. This unhesitating acceptance of what was evidently unjust brings all the more into relief his commitment to dharma, for was prepared to ascend the throne and participated int the festivity. But without any apparent regret he left everything and accepted the life of an ascetic. He in fact advised Bharata that as a son, it was Bharat's bounden duty to keep his father's promise to his mother by accepting the throne<sup>33</sup>. The grieved subjects who had accompanied Bharata rejoiced at the extraordinary resolve of Rāma. They were unhappy because Rāma had declined to return to Ayodhyā, but they

ibid p.223

V.R. 2.16.33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> *V.R.* 2.99.3-5

also appreciated his firm determination to keep his promise<sup>34</sup>. He had forgiven even Kaikeyī and respected her as his own mother when she went along with Bharat to the forest. He persuaded Kausalyā to perform her primary duty towards her husband rather than to follow him into the forest. He was thus, a good son to all his parents.

Laksmana, Kausalyā, Sītā and later Bharataried to persuade him that his insistence on acting in accordance with *dharma* on this occasion was wrong. Laksmana argued that the exile of Rama was against *kṣatriyadharma*<sup>35</sup>. Bharatawanted Rāma to return to Ayodhyā for the sake of *rājadharma*, for the earth's sake<sup>36</sup>. When Jābali, a wise sage reminded Rāma of *Kṣātradharma*, and asked him to ignore Daśarath's promise to Kaikeyī, Rāma got angry. He argued, *dharma* is the highest truth in the world, and the root of heaven, I renounce *kṣatriyadharma* for it is *adharma* posing as *dharma*. Rāma still refused on the grounds of *satya dharma*. He considered that as an ideal son, his primary duty was to ensure that his father does not deviate from the path of *dharma* for his sake.

He at the same time practised kṣatriyadharma by killing the Rākaṣasas in the forest. Sītā asked him to live the quiet life of an ascetic and practise Kṣatriyadharma after returning to Ayodhyā<sup>37</sup>. Rāma reasoned that the ascetics regard him as their king and that rājadharma and kṣatriyadharma require that he protects them. <sup>38</sup> Rāma, thus interpreted dharma in terms of the demand of every situation. His interpretation always involved his

V.R. 2.98.70

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> V.R. 2.18.2-15,19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> V.R. 2.97.16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> *V.R.* 3.8.24

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> V.R. 3.8.24

own suffering and the benefit of others and the society at large.

Similarly he placed rājadharma above his personal feelings. It is best illustrated by his attitude towards Sītā. He declared that he had undertaken to rescue Sītā only inorder to vindicate his own and his family's honour and not for her sake. Although he himself was convinced of Sītā's chastity, he refused to accept her until her virtue was publicly established beyond doubt through the fire-ordeal<sup>39</sup>. This is what the brāhmanical conception of rājadharma demanded. Brockington is of the opinion that this episode was a late substitution for an original straightforward happy ending because till then Rāma's love for Sītā was always portrayed in glowing terms.<sup>40</sup>

Rāma was an ideal brother. He was happy to leave the Kingdom for Bharat. He told Kaikeyī, "I would give even Sīta my kingdom, all my wealth and even my life to Bharata without prompting from any body." Such selfless love for the brother also engendered in Bharata a great adoration for Rāma and he addressed him as Rāma, the righteous, devoted to truth. He upbraided his mother for being the cause of Rāma's exile and his father's death<sup>42</sup>. Bharata refused to ascend the throne and tried to persuade Rāma to return to Ayodhyā. Rāma embraced him and said," O destroyed of foes, I do not find even the smallest fault in you, nor should you blame your mother out of childishness. The mother is entitled to as much respect as the father. I have been told by both of them to reside in forest for fourteen years. The king has allotted the kingdom of Ayodhyā to you

V.R. 6.102.104

J.L.Brockington, op. cit, p.224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> *V.R.* 2.16.33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> V.R. 2.68.10

and Dandaka forest for me. We are both therefore duty bound to follow his behest". 43

After fourteen years of his exile when Rāma returned to Ayodhyā with Sītā, he sent

Hanuman to Ayodhyā with the message that if Bharata wished to continue to rule, he had

no objection to it. 44 Rāma exclaimed with joy when he heard of Bharata's advance in the

forest and reproached Laksmana for suspecting Bharata of foul motives 45. But his

affection for his brothers is best demonstrated in the episode where Laksmana lay

unconscious in the battle field; Rāma refused to live without Laksmana, and lamented,

wives may be found every where and kinsmen too can be had every where, however, see

no place where a real brother could be had. Even victory o hero, will not really conduce

to my pleasure. What delight will moon afford if it appears before a man who has lost

his vision, he wailed. 46

Most of all, Rāma was an ideal husband. He was monogamous in principle as well as in practice, which must have been in contradistinction to the usual norm, as suggested by the example of Dasaratha. There is no direct reference in the *Dharma Sāstras* that monogamy was considered an ideal form of marriage. Although there is no clear evidence of monogamy being the ideal in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is also no reference to the contrary. However, wife is always referred to in the singular. Ideally a man should have only one wife for he can not have an equal relationship with all the wives. After the banishment of Sītā, Rāma performed the aśvamedha sacrifice by placing golden statue of Sītā next to him as the ritual demanded the presence of the wife. Sītā's golden statue at the aśvamedha

V.R. 2.97.2

V.R. 6:113.16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> *V.R.* 2.97.17

V.R. 6.101,11,15

sacrifice would have been unnecessary had he had other wives. Although he preferred to attach greater importance to the suspicions of his subjects rather than safeguard the interests of Sītā, he ruled Ayodhyā with heavy heart after Sītā's exile and later her disappearance within the earth.<sup>47</sup> Thus, Rāma chose to practice dharma in preference to kāma and artha. He assured Kaikeyī., "queen, I do not approve of living in this world solely devoted to artha. Know me who has taken recourse to dharma as equal to the sages." He repeated this to Kausalyā, "I cannot forsake glorious fame for the sake of mere kingdom. Since life is of shot duration, o queen, I do not choose this trivial world by unrighteous means."

Sita was indeed devoted to Rama. She was an ideal wife and offered to go with Rama to the forest. Without Rama, even heaven was not a good enough place for her 50. Rama's relationship with Sita was based on his understanding of dharma. He felt constrained to come to terms with the conflicting demands of dharma as was expected of him both as a husband and a king. He believed that his dharma was not just to protect and care for Sita, but also to act impartially as a king and, if necessary, to banish her in the interest of a 'higher' dharma. The manner in which their relationship has been portrayed in the Ramayana betray the genuine emotion of a true lover and a responsible husband, Today, many of his actions towards Sita may not meet with our approval, but we must assess them in the context of his times and the brahmanical ideals which he embodied. By those

47<sup>-</sup>

V.R. 7.97.3-4

V.R. 2.16.46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> V.R. 2.18.39

V.R. 2.30.17

standards, Rāma certainly comes through as an unusual husband, human most of all, practising monogamy and exhibiting emotions towards his wife which we do not find in any other epic hero. She shared with her husband a relationship based on mutual love and respect. She was confident enough to question Rāma's annihilation of the demon in the forest with respect, but none the less freely, even though this could be merely a device of the redactors to allow Rāma to justify his action<sup>51</sup>. Rāma on his part, was exceedingly fond of her. She was his only wife. His love for her was based on his appreciation of her sterling virtues which is evident from the epithets he used while addressing her. He called her manasvinī (high minded), dharmacārini (dutiful), kalyāni (virtuous) and bhāmini (passionately loving). Their mutual affection was cemented by the ordeal of exile. After her exile, he was full of sorrow and apprehension about her safety. He exclaimed in anguish that he could not live even for a moment without her <sup>52</sup>.

Rāma was an ideal friend too. He killed Vali and restored the throne to Sugrīva. He pledged himself to friendship with Sugrīva before fire and agreed to help him. He never deviated from his promise. He restrained Laksmana when the latter was angry with Sugrīva at his tardiness in fulfilling his part of the pact. He protected Vibhīsana when every one in his camp was suspicious of him. He was loyal and considerate to his friends and maintained lifelong friendship with Sugrīva and Vibhīsana. After killing Vali and Rāvana he did not feel tempted to annex their kingdoms to Kośala, but installed their rightful successors as kings of Kiskindhā and Lankā respectively. He fulfilled his mission by bringing these two kingdoms with in the realm of brahmanical influence.

J.L. Brockington, op.cit, p.225

Even towards his enemies he was fair and affectionate<sup>53</sup>. He ensured that Angada succeeded Sugrīva to the throne of Kiṣkindhā as Vāli had requested him to protect the interest of his son. He told Sugrīva that he would offer protection even to Rāvaṇa, if he would surrender. At the human level, Rāma was the protector of everyone who was loyal to him.

Lakşmana was an ideal brother too, but he presents a complete correct to Rāma. In valour and prowess he was almost equal to Rāma and his submission to Rāma paralleled Rāma's obedience to his father. But here the resemblance ended. When Rāma was resigned and composed, he was rebellious. When Rāma was trusting, he was suspicious. When Rāma was calm, he was irascible or fearful. But when Rāma raved and tended to lose control, he reassured. This was obviously not intended as a realistic portrayal of his character, for he acted as a fool for Rāma, partly to heighten Rāma's virtues by contrast, partly to afford Rāma the opportunity to expound the correct values.

In the Ramayana there was no space to entertain more than one ideal. There was only one order which was absolute and eternal. It prevailed irrespective of and inspite of particularities. The highest good consisted in living in harmony with it. Conversely, any attempt to thwart or reverse the order was sure to prove to be self ruining as it happened in the case of Rāvaṇa. The conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇawas a conflict between the values of good and evil. Rāvaṇa disturbed the moral order by opposing the brahmanical system and by abducting Sītā. He had to die because he stood against all that Rāma symbolised.

Thus, the key principle for the organisation of society was *dharma* (duty and order). One who upheld *dharma* was righteous. The major concern of the text was the stability of social organisation from the brahmanical point of view and the morality conducive to it. The moral issues often revolved around the question of the interest of one person vis-a-vis wider social welfare. Rāma's action either as a son or as a brother or as a husband were to benefit the society even if he personally had to pay a heavy price for that. He satisfied the brahmanical parameter of an ideal man in the contemporary society. Thus Rāma, who began as a human being, gradually got transformed into an idea. But this idea was that of an ideal man.

Discussing the place of man in Hindu thought, R.N. Dandekar observed: "It has been rightly pointed out that one of the most outstanding paradoxes of Hinduism is that it gives one absolute liberty in the world of thought but enjoins upon him a strict code of conduct. Whatever, therefore, might be the philosophical asseveration of a Hindu, he would consider conscientious observance of the asramadharma and varnadharma, more particularly of the latter, to be a duty of prime importance. This is indeed, in a sense, as it should be. Practice concerns the whole mass of the people. Therefore, without their confirming to some disciplined and well regulated way of life, the solidarity and stability of the society would be difficult to achieve" 55 If the human emotions, dictated by the liberty in the realm of thought, come in conflict with the social codes, then the latter must prevail. Rāma displays human emotions, but invariably acts in accordance with the social codes. He thus presents the model of an ideal man which later contributed to his deification.

Rāma: The King

## 3. Rāma: The King

Since the subjects copy their ruler's habits a monarch must adhere to the truth (V.R--2.101.1).

Valmiki portrays Rama not just as an example of ideal human relationships, and not just as a hero, but also as a model king. Although Rama actually became the king of Ayodhyā only at the end of the Yuddhakānda, the concept of Rāma as a king is present throughout the Ramayana in one way or another. He has constantly been described in royal terms<sup>1</sup>. He was renowned<sup>2</sup>, majestic<sup>3</sup>, illustrious<sup>4</sup>, noble (arya)<sup>5</sup>, greatly resplendent<sup>6</sup>, chief of beings<sup>7</sup>, beloved of the world<sup>8</sup>, capabie of killing demons<sup>9</sup>, lord of the three worlds<sup>10</sup>, greatest ruler in the three worlds<sup>11</sup> lord of the earth<sup>12</sup>, protector of the whole world<sup>13</sup>, unconquerable by the devas and the asuras<sup>14</sup>, destroyer of the sorrows of the world<sup>15</sup>, lord of the people<sup>16</sup>, and lord of men.<sup>17</sup>

Frank Whailing: The Rise of the Religious Significance of Rama, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1980, p.64.

<sup>2</sup> V.R. - 1.1.8

V.R. - 1.1.8

V.R. - 1.1.6

<sup>5</sup> V.R. - 1.1.15

V.R. - 1.1.46

V.R. - 1.17.16

<sup>8</sup> V.R. - 1.17.16

V.R. - 1.18.9

<sup>10</sup> V.R. - 1.75.19

<sup>11</sup> V.R. - 2.2.11

<sup>12</sup> V.R. - 2.6.22

<sup>13</sup> V.R. - 2.36.5

V.R. - 2.45.10 15 V.R. -2.77.8

<sup>16</sup> 

V.R. -2.93.14

In general, the Vālmīki Rāmāyana does not contain any detailed exposition of the art of state-craft and the rajadharma or moral conduct of the king. But the epic at the same time strongly pleads the case for monarchy by describing the ideal society under an ideal king and negatively exemplyfying the state of anarchy in a kingless state<sup>18</sup> It informs us that "in a kingless state, clouds do not sprinkle rain on the earth, nor are the seeds sown. The son does not obey his father nor the wife her husband. There is no safety for one's life or wealth. How then can truth prevail there? In a kingless state people do not form associations, nor design gardens or places of worship. There are no festivities, nor performing arts, nor nation-building rallies. In a kingless state rich farmers and herdsmen are afraid to sleep with their doors open, nor can merchants travel, in safety, long distances with their rich wares. Even the wondering monks, meditating on the infinite soul, do not find safe lodging, when night overtakes them. In a kingless state one fails to protect what one has, nor can one procure what one has not. Even the soldiers are powerless to overcome a foe. One can own anything and people devour one another like the fishes. Even those who believe in god, infringe the bounds of morality and give themselves airs with impurity. If the king did not exist to adjudicate between right and wrong the world will grope in the dark and no one will know how to behave or act<sup>19</sup>. These are the reasons why Bharata was immediately recalled from his maternal uncle's place because Ayodhya had become a kingless state after demise of Dasaratha and the exile of Rama.

V.R. -2.82.16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> V.R. -2.61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> V.R. -2.61.4.20

Indeed, it is possible to trace the gradual transition from the ruler being accorded affection and respect in the first stage, through the claims to his divine status made in the second stage, to hyperbolic statements about the king's absolute power in the fourth stage<sup>20</sup>. The first phase of the conception of royalty can be observed in a statement made by Ravana to Marica that kings were to be honoured and respected in all circumstances<sup>21</sup>. At the second stage Bharata urging Rāma to return to Ayodhyā, declared that the king, though human, was regarded like a god<sup>22</sup>. Rāma's statement to Vali is another example of a similar kind: "The kings being gods in human form should not be harmed or slandered<sup>23</sup>". This identification of the king with the gods is made more explicitly in a passage in the fourth stage which was closely modelled on a Dharmaśāstra passage. Manu explained: "When this world was without a king and people ran about in all directions out of fear, the lord emitted a king in order to guard their entire (realm), taking lasting elements from Indra, the Wind, Yama, the Sun, Fire, Varuna, the Moon, and (Kubera) the Lord of Wealth. Because a king is made from particles of these lords of the gods, therefore he surpasses all living beings in brilliant energy, and like the Sun, he burns eyes and hearts, and no one on earth is able even to look at him<sup>24</sup>. This sentiment, even some of the exact words, have been echoed by the ministers of Dasaratha while discussing the evils of a kingless state: "Yama, Kubera, Indra and Varuna are outstripped by a king of excellent conduct by his virtue<sup>25</sup>".

J.L. Brockington op.cit. p. 125

<sup>21</sup> V.R. - 3.38.12,13

V.R. - 2.95.4

<sup>23</sup> V.R. - 4.17.28,30

<sup>24</sup> Manu - 7.3.6

<sup>25</sup> V.R. - 2.6.10

Other statements occurring in the fourth stage emphasise the king's absolute and arbitrary authority, stating for example that a king can kill by a mere smile<sup>26</sup> and that he is the maker of things and people, and is also their destroyer<sup>27</sup>. The passages emphasising the divinity of the king served a dual purpose. First, these were resorted to by the kings themselves to elicit absolute obedience from their subjects, and second, these referred to the functional semblance between the king and the various guardians of the world<sup>28</sup>. Agastya told Rāma: "In the primeval age, the Krtayuga, people begged Brahmā, the creator, to give them a king, and he, in granting their request, endowed him with the attributes of the Lokpālas<sup>29</sup>.

We notice that the rule of primogeniture had become fully recognised. The general impression was that the king's eldest son should succeed him. Even Mantharā accepted this in principle while rousing Kaikeyī's jealousy against Rāma: Kaikeyī said: "After a hundred years of the installation of Rāma, Bharata too will inherit his ancestral throne." Mantharā retorted: "Rāma will be crowned king and after him he who is born as his son; whereas Bharata will be excluded from the royal line for ever... Kings hand over the reigns of government to the eldest son, even though others may be full of virtues."

However, there is a strong suggestion that there was a group of brāhmaṇas, called

V.R. - 1.8.36.7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> *V.R.* - 1.8.36.7

Ramashraya Sharma, *The Socio-Political Study of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Motilāl Banarasidas, Delhi 1971, p. 297

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> *V.R.* - 7.1.12

V.R. - 2.8.13, 14

rājkartarah, literally 'king-makers', who genuinely had a role to play in selecting the king's successor. After the death of Dasaratha, they went to the sabhā along with the amātyas to discuss the evils of a kingless state. Earlier, when Dasaratha decided to appoint Rāma as his successor, he consulted his chief priest Vasistha and summoned the citizens of Ayodhyā to submit their views. The citizens and the subordinate rulers of the different parts of the kingdom of Kosala³¹ vigorously endorsed Dasaratha's decision. It should be noted here that this was not an elected council whom the king consulted. Perhaps some remnants of the `republican' idea still persisted. Therefore, it seems that the succession was not a completely automatic process, though this must have been due, in part at least, to the special circumstances created by the exile of the eldest son. However, some kind of endorsement by the sabhā or the group of ministers in the matter of royal succession seems to have been necessary.

In the light of the views expressed on kingship, it is perhaps ironic that Dasaratha and Rāma, in comparable circumstances, acted at variance with them. Dasaratha, supposedly more particular in eliciting the opinion of his court and his subjects, banished Rāma arbitrarily, without consulting anyone, and against the wishes of his subjects. In the third stage, however, we observe that Rāma was very anxious to conform to public opinion and sacrificed his wife to placate the unfounded prejudice of his subjects<sup>32</sup>. The text, however, has rationalised the whole episode of Rāma's exile. It was not Dasaratha who banished Rāma, but Rāma himself was adamant to

V.R. - 2.1.46 Prithvipati, Medini Pradhānam

J.L. Brockington, Op. cit., p. 126

fulfil his father's promise. Rāma told Sītā that the rule of succession was not absolute and kings were known to have abandoned their sons if found incompetent and appointed capable sons in their stead<sup>33</sup>. Suta narrated the story of Sāgara who had to banish his eldest son Asamanjasa, as he used to derive pleasure indrowing children in the river. The outraged subjects asked Sāgara to choose between them and his son, and the king was forced to exile the latter to pacify his subjects<sup>34</sup>. Here, the subjects wanted Rāma to succeed Dasaratha, but Rāma willingly went to exile, for, he was first an ideal son.

Dasaratha's court is the centre of action in the first half of the Ayodhyākānda, but the text does not furnish any detailed account of how it functioned. The council is referred to by sabhā<sup>35</sup> or pariṣad<sup>36</sup>. It met on three occasions. The first was called by Dasaratha to seek its advice on the question of coronation of Rāma<sup>37</sup>. The second met to consider the situation after the sudden death of Dasaratha and decided to appoint a scion of the Ikṣvāku family as his successor<sup>38</sup>. The that was summoned by Vasiṣṭḥa to consider Bharata's refusal to become the king<sup>39</sup>. Vasiṣṭḥa, Vāmadeva and Jābāli were the prominent brāhmanas mentioned in the second meeting of the sabhā and they have

33

V.R. - 2.23,33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> *V.R.* - 2.32.15-19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> *V.R.* - 2.1.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> *V.R.* - 2.61.12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> *V.R.* - 2.2.1.15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> *V.R.* - 2.61.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> V.R. - 2.75.8-11

been described as  $r\tilde{a}jkartarah^{40}$ . The exact role played by them is in the  $sabh\tilde{a}$  is however, not clear.

The King was assisted by the ministers, usually eight in number<sup>41</sup>, known as amātyas or sacivas or mantrin<sup>42</sup>. The term mantrin applied to ministers as well as counsellors or advisors. Sumantra, Dasaratha's sūta, combined the functions of a charioteer and a confidant and was enlisted among the amātyas and mantrins<sup>43</sup>. The king's purohita was carefully distinguished from the mantrins. Vasistha, Pasaratha's purohita, played an important role in the arrangements for Rāma's coronation and took the initiative in sorting out the procedure following Dasaratha's death. But otherwise he was not particularly prominent in the earlier sections of the text. His prominence, it appears, was related to the ritually important occasions and he did not have the role of a special advisor in the manner in which it later developed.

The decision of the *parisad* was not binding on the king. For instance, when Jābāli attempted to persuade Rāma to get back to Ayodhyā by arguing that, "relinquishing the kingdom inherited from your father, you ought not to tread the wrong path, which is painful, rugged and bristling with thorns. Get yourself consecrated on the throne of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> *V.R.* - 2.61.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> V.R. - 2.61.2-3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> V.R. - 6.31.63-65

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> *V.R.* - 1.7.1-2

prosperous Ayodhya, for the city eagerly awaits your return<sup>44</sup>. Rama retaliated: "I will act according to my own inclination by which he meanly, he will act in accordance with dharma, for his natural inclination is to up hold dharma and, following my example, the whole of this world is likely to turn licentious; for people follow the same way of life as the kings do. Truthfulness alone, which is divorced from cruelty, is the eternal way of life prescribed for the kings. Therefore, truthfulness is the soul of a kingdom; the world itself is founded on truthe<sup>45</sup>. Rama, thus claimed superiority of a king's personal decision over the authority of a member of the king's council.

The kings decision was final if he believed that it provided a positive role model before the society. When everyone present in the Citrakūta argued for the superiority of a teacher in comparison with one's parents, Rama contended that one's parents were more worthy of respect, 46 and was accordingly insistent on implementing the pledge already given by him to his father. Rama was always conscious of his being a model for the society, be it as a son or as a king.

The text throughout lays emphasis on the protective rather than the punitive role of the king. Dasaratha told his council that he had been protecting his subjects with vigilance according to his ability<sup>47</sup>. He advised Rama: "He who protects the earth while

<sup>44</sup> *V.R.* - 2.108.7-8

<sup>45</sup> V.R. - 2.109.10

<sup>46</sup> V.R. - 2.111.9

V.R. - 2.2.4

keeping the people content and loyal will give his allies cause of rejoice like the deathless gods when they obtained nector. So hold yourself, son, and behave in this fashion "48. Rama was also of the opinion 49 that the *kṣatriyas* should wield the weapon only to prevent distress of the people. Brockington points out that the need of protecting the women, in particular was recognised, and this duty rested with the king 50.

Exemplifying the duties of a king, Rāma enquired of Bharata: "I trust- you avoid the fourteen errors of kings, atheism, falsehood, inaccessibility, inattention, procrastination, shunning the wise, indolence, sensual indulgence, solitary determination of political affairs, taking counsel with those ignorant of such affairs, failure to execute your decision, to keep your counsel secret or to employ auspicious rites, and indiscriminate courtesy". Rāma added: "I hope you are able to meet your expenditure from your revenue. I hope you cherish all men who make their living by farming and cattle raising, for a well-founded economy promotes the world's happiness. I trust your wise ministers render judgement impartially when a rich man and a poor man are engaged in a suit, for the tears people shed when falsely accused come to slay the livestock and children of the king who rules for personal gain. You should never deny the claims of righteousness in the name of statecraft<sup>51</sup>".

<sup>48</sup> *V.R.* - 2.3.25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> *V.R.* - 3.10,3

Brockington, op. cit p. 125

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> *V.R.* - 2.94.8-56

From where did the king derive his authority? One source was definitely his divine status. Bharata told Rāma: "Although people regard a king as human, yet when his conduct is governed by dharma and artha he should consider himself super human, indeed a god"52. Rāma himself asserted while arguing with Vāli that kings are capable of dispensing religious merit, which is difficult to attain otherwise, longevity and earthly blessings too; there is no doubt about it. One should neither assassinate nor reproach nor insult nor speak unpalatable words to them. Being gods themselves the kings move about on earth in human semblance<sup>53</sup>. Evidently the divine status of the king gained currency by the time the text was composed.

Along with the principle of the king's authority explained above, the text also mentions, after the *smrtis*, the complementary principle of the king's obligations towards his subjects. The king was not expected to act arbitrarily, according to his personal inclinations. Manu declared: "Day and night he should make a great effort to conquer his sensory powers, for the man who has conquered his sensory powers is able to keep his subjects under his control. Many kings have been destroyed, together with their family due to lack of humility. The supreme duty of a ruler is to protect his subjects, for a king who enjoys the rewards is bound to that duty." 54

U.N. Ghoshal has pointed out that the king's quasi-contractual obligation of

<sup>52</sup> V.R. - 2.95.4

<sup>53</sup> *V.R.* - 5-18.38-41

<sup>54</sup> Manu - 7.40,44

protecting his subjects was considered as important in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the obligation of the subjects to respect the authority of their just ruler"55. The king's power finally depended on his fulfilling his obligations to his subjects, for which he was paid taxes. This was the basis of the appeal of the sages to Rāma in the Daṇḍaka forest for protection against the Rākṣasas": "The king who just takes away the sixth part of the produce by way of land revenue, and does not protect his subjects like his children, commits great *adharma*. By always protecting his subjects, he attains fame lasting for many years, and having reached the realm of Brahmā, is honoured even there"56.

That the king followed the advice of brāhmaṇas is clearly indicated in the didactic literature. The king depended on others not only for his power, but also, and more importantly, for his authority<sup>57</sup>. The kings and the brahmanas definitely constituted two separate sources of power. The ultimate authority was not the exclusive domain of the brāhmaṇas who held the monopoly of the Vedas. But the king desperately needed the brahmana to sanction his power. The greater the king's power, the more was the need for the approval of the brāhmaṇa<sup>58</sup>. The Dharmasūtras endorse this point. Gautama stated: "The king is the master of all with the exception of the brāhmanas" 159. It has been declared in the Vedas, the text adds, that the "brāhmanas"

U.N. Ghoshal, A History of Indian Political Ideas, Oxford University Press, London, 1966 (reprint), p. 274

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> *V.R.* - 2,100,41

J.C. Heesterman, *TheInner Conflicts of Tradition*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, p. 112

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> *Ibid* p. 127

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> *Ibid* p. 127

united with the *kṣatriyas uphold* gods and men<sup>60</sup>. Manu further decreed: "Even if the king is dying of hunger, he must not take taxes from a priest. If a priest who knows his Veda by heart faints with hunger, the kingdom of the king in whose territory he lives will also soon faint with hunger<sup>61</sup>.

Part of the king's obligation towards his subjects was to ensure that no illegal or immoral act was committed within his kingdom, for it might lead to premature death of his subjects. The sage Narada told Rama that when a man indulged in an evil act within a kingdom, he as well as the king doubtless went to hell<sup>62</sup>.

Accordingly, Rama went to trace instrices of unrighteous conduct in his kingdom. The prime example of this seems to have been transgression of the privileges of the brahmanas. Rama came across a person called Sambūka in meditation and asked him "O Powerful one, O good man, O ascetic, are you a brahmana, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya or a śudra? For what are you practising penance?" On hearing that Sambūka was a śudra, Rama immediately beheaded him. The gods praised the scion of Kakustha and allowed him to ask for a boon. Rama requested them to bring back to life the child of a brahmana who passed away because of the evil caused by the practise of penance by a śudra in his kingdom. The gods replied that the moment the sudra was beheaded the child was joined to life<sup>63</sup>.

60 G.D. - 7.1

61 Manu-7.133-4

62 V.R. -7.74.31

<sup>63</sup> *V.R.* - 1.6.1-28

Towards the beginning of the epic, Dasaratha has been portrayed in glowing terms as a very able ruler. His kingdom was prosperous and he was popular among his subjects. 64 However, we receive the impression that the reign of Rama would be even better. Dasaratha cherished all his four sons as if they were four arms extending from his body. But it was Rama who brought his father the greatest joy, for he surpassed is brothers in virtue, just as the self-existent Brahma surpassed all beings<sup>65</sup>.

Rāma was always even-tempered and soft-spoken. Even if he was harshly addressed, he would not react. Such was his self control that he would be satisfied with a single act of kindness and ignore a hundred injuries. He was an excellent judge of men and could tell when it was appropriate to show his favour or withhold it<sup>67</sup> He knew the right means of collecting revenue and regulating expenditure<sup>68</sup>.

He was a natural leader of the army and incible in combat, even if the gods and the asuras were to unite in anger against him<sup>69</sup>. While returning from battle, he always stopped to ask the men of the city after their welfare as if they were his own kinsmenabout their son, sacred fires, wives, servants and students without omission and in due order just as a father might ask his sons his own flesh and blood. By his virtues the prince won the esteem of the people in all the three worlds for he was as patient as the

64

V.R. - 2.1.9-11

V.R. - 2.1.15,16

<sup>66</sup> V.R. - .2.1.20

<sup>67</sup> V.R. - 2.61.54

V.R. - 2.1.24

V.R. - 2.2.25

<sup>70</sup> V.R. - 2.1.26

earth, as wise as Brhaspati, and as mighty as Indra, the lord of Saci.<sup>71</sup> His conduct and valour made him like one of the gods who guard the world that the earth herself desired to have him as her master<sup>72</sup>.

Seeing these incomparable virtues in his son, Dasaratha decided to appoint Rama as the yuvarāja. His advisors endorsed the opinion of the king when the townsmen hard the king's announcement, it was as if they had secured some longed for object and taking leave of the land of men they went home and worshipped in deep delight<sup>73</sup>. Even children playing in groups at their front doors talked together in praise of Rama<sup>74</sup>. Such was the popularity of Rama among his subjects that the cities of Ayodhyā could not bear the pains of separation from him. They followed Rama when he was banished from the city and refused to return even when requested by Rama.

However, Rama's reign was postponed for fourteen years by the circumstance of his exile. Still when Bharata came to the forest to persuade Rama to take back his throne, Rama enquired about the state of Ayodhyā. His questions indicate his own conception of Kingship and suggest that even in exile he maintained a keen interest in the welfare of Ayodhyā. He enquired about the health of his kith and kin, asked whether the brāhmaṇas could pursue their studies without hindrance, whether due homage was being prayed to the gods, whether able ministers were consulted while

VR = 2.1.26 72 VR = 2.1.28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> *V.R.* - 2.3.32

<sup>73+</sup> V.R. - 2.94.5-59

important decisions were being taken, whether jobs were distributed according to merit and character, whether justice was being impartially administered, whether reliable spies were appointed and whether elaborate provisions were made for the protection of Ayodhya and its citizens<sup>74</sup>. Even during his exile, Rama acted in accordance with Rajadharma. Although he refused to accept the throne, he never gave up his responsibilities of a king.

Ghoshal has observed that the above example illustrates the application of the triple principle of the ethico-religious, the divine and the quasi-contractual aspects of the king's obligations towards his subjects, which are laid down in the Smrtis." The king", he argues, is charged with universal and complete protection of his subjects evidently in accordance with the law of his order. The same obligation is imposed upon him by virtue of his being a portion of the divine ruler and as a corollary of his collection of taxes from the people. The king's obligation is supported by the usual double sanction in the sense that he is not only liable for his own karma, but he also acquires by transfer the whole or part of the good and evil karma of his subjects according to his reaction to this obligation. By an extension of the Smrti principle of the king's sanction we are told that the king's neglect of protection results in shortening the life-span of his subjects "75. The reverse is also true. The text says that a king who protects his people gains one-fourth of the merits which a hermit acquires living on roots and fruits "76.

U.N. Ghoshal, apait, p. 275. V.R. - 1.24.15-16.

In fact, Rāma's killing of Tātaka was his first act that can be explained by reference to rājadharma because, strictly, speaking kṣatriyadharma did not allow the killing of a woman. But the text says that the responsibility of maintaining the varna order is the eternal dharma of those who bear the burden of kingship<sup>77</sup>. Tātaka, a Rākṣasī threatened this order and she had to be killed. It was for the same reason that he killed the Rākṣasas in the forest. As we have already mentioned, he continued to take keen interest in the affairs of the state even in exile, and he never actually ceased to be king. He accepted Vibhīṣana as a friend, because it was his duty as a king to afford protection to those who came to seck refuge. He understood that Vibhīṣana was an upholder of dharma, and reasoned that this was more important than anything else. The world was divided between the contrasting elements of dharma and adharma. Rāma's mission was to proclaim and exemplity this notion of the world this. His coronation of Sugrīva in Kiṣkindhā and of Vibhīṣana in Lankā was determined by the consideration of the establishment of dharma in place of adharma<sup>78</sup>.

Thus, Rāma applied the *dharma* of kingship before he actually become a king. Throughout the epic, Rāma was destined to preside over an ideal kingdom, but he could do so only when his term of exile was over and the reign of Rāvaṇa came to an end. The actual reign of Rāma witnessed ideal social harmony when all the *varṇas* cooperate together with each other in a state of mutual trust. It was a time of stability and

Frank Whailing, op. cit., p. 68.

V.R. - 6.11.6, 82-90, 7.14.17-22

prosperity when all works reaped happy results<sup>78</sup>.

How his reign symbolised the triumph of *dharma* on earth can be seen most clearly if we make a comparison between the respective careers of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. In terms of material prosperity and worldly success Rāvaṇa's kingdom was no less than that of Rāma. Moreover, both of them have been depicted as great heroes. The main difference between them was that Rāma lived in accordance with *dharma*, and Rāvaṇa did not. "Rāvaṇa had greatness but not goodness, Rāma had both. *Rāmarājya*, therefore, stood not just for strong and successful government; it stood above all for righteous government and Rama stood for the ideal of righteous kingship"<sup>79</sup>

The period of the composition of the text witnessed many upheavals in the social, economic and political milieu. Rāma as an ideal man and an ideal king could serve several purpose. On the one hand he had set the norms to be followed by the people if they wanted harmonious relations in family as well as in society at large, and on the other he validated the monarchical form of government which ensured the stability of the *varņa* order. However, the success of the *Rāmarājya* depended on the personal qualities of Rāma. As Whaling comments, "Rāma's rule could be ideal if he himself was an ideal "80. Thus kingship, which was already invested with the attributes of divinity, achieved in Rāma, the person, its ideal form and paved the way for his eventual transformation from being the representative of the gods to becoming a god himself.

Frank Whailing, op. cit., p. 71.

Ibid, p. 70 c

Rāma: The Avatāra

#### 4. Rāma: The Avatāra

You are the great god Nărāyaṇa, Sîtā is Lakṣmī and you are god Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Prajāpati. For the purpose of killing Rāvaṇa, you entered a human body." (V.R. - 6.105.12-15)

An avatāra is a manifestation of the divine in an animal, mythological or human form. Vaisnavite doctrine which seems to have evolved with the identification of Bhāgvat-Nārāyaṇa with the hero god Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, who thus came to be looked upon as the human incarnation of the former<sup>1</sup>. Some scholars trace the idea to a Rg Vedic passage, where Viṣṇu is said to have assumed another form in the battle<sup>2</sup>. J.Gonda maintains that in the Rg Veda Indra is especially the god who roams about in several forms<sup>3</sup>.

However, the Vaisnavite theory of incarnation is not confined to the idea of the god's multiformity or metamorphosis alone but is based on a clear belief that the godhead manifests himself with a purpose to destroy the wicked and protect the righteous. The earliest reference to this idea can be found in the *Bhāgvad Gītā*, 4 where it is clearly mentioned that whenever *dharma* declines and vices predominate, the godhead appears on earth and thus takes numerous births in different ages. The Bhāgvad

<sup>4</sup> Bhāgvad Gītā - 4.5.8

Jacobi, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, VIII,p.175 cited in Suvira Jaiswal, Origin and Development of Vaisnaism, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1987, p.129

Rgveda. 7.100.06 cited in S. Jaiswal, ibid, p.129

J.Gonda, Aspects of Early Visnuism, Motilal Barasidas, Delhi, 1969

Gitā further states that whatever is endowed with power springs from a part of the God's energy. <sup>5</sup> This explains how the good and the mighty is a partial manifestation of the God.

Suvira Jaiswal has argued that in this form the doctrine seems to have been considerably influenced by the Buddhist concept of the former Buddha whose prime attribute is compassion. She cites Farquhar who also suggested that the *vaisnvas* were influenced by example of the Buddhists, who had already raised Buddha to divine status and had created a series of precedent Buddhas stretching away into the distant past.?

The term avatāra, literally means, 'to descend', 'to come down'. The word is derived from the root 'avt r' which is not found in earlier works. The Bhāgvad Gītā and the Mahābhārata where the concept occurs for the first time the idea of an incarnation has been expressed through such words as janam's (birth), sambhava's (spring forth), srjna's (creation) and prādurbhāva's (appearance).

Even the number of the avatāras of Viṣṇu varies from one text to another.

Describing the incarnations of Nārāyana Viṣṇu, the Nārāyaniya section of the

B.G. - 10.49.

Suvin Jaiswal, op. cit. p. 130.

Ibid.

B.G. 4.5

ibid.5,6,8.

ibid, 5.7.

<sup>11</sup> *Mbh* -12.326.61.

Mahābhārata furnishes two lists. The first mentions maintains six<sup>12</sup>, while the second only four incarnation<sup>13</sup>. Scholars are of the opinion that the second list, giving the names of the four incarnations Varāha (boar). Narasimha (man-lion), Vāmana (dwarf) and Manuṣa (human i.e. Kṛṣṇa) seems to represent the original nucleus which is found in the Aranyaka Parvan of the Mahābhārata. Gradually the number increased and the Vāyu Purāṇa gives the number of incarnations as twelve at one place and ten at another<sup>14</sup>. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa enumerates the names of the incarnations of Viṣṇu in three different passages. In the first book twenty two, in the second book twenty three, and in book eleven sixteen names are mentioned. It was only later that the number of the avatāras was fixed at ten.

The Bhāgvad Gītā says that since the avatāras emanate from the god's energy, they are naturally not as powerful as the original one<sup>15</sup>. Hence there must be some difference between Viṣṇu and his incarnations. It shows the intrinsic superiority of the principle god Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. Thus, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa describes Kṛṣṇa as an amṣāvatāra or a part manifestation of Viṣṇu<sup>16</sup>, The Bhāgvad Gītā, however, takes him to be the pūrṇa brahma. The difference is reconciled by the commentators, who assert that even as a lamp lighted from another lamp does not reduce the light of the first, and yet is as bright as the first, so the divine spirit, which has the character of

Mbh - 12.326

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Mbh.* - 12.337.36

R.G.Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious System, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1965. p.42

B.G. - 1.49

amsvatrar brahmarse yo yam yadukulodbhavah, cited in P. Jash, History and Evolution of Vaisnavism in Eastern India, Calcutta, 1982, p.95.

light, cannot suffer diminution or enhancement. Hence," a full arises out of a full, if a full is taken away form a full, a full remains"<sup>17</sup>.

In the beginning, the tendency seems to have been to incorporate various popular divinities such as the Boar, the Man-lion, and Vasudeva-Krsna by recognising them as incarnations of the same god. It is interesting that the stages of the avatara parallel the evolution of life on earth, such as Matsya (fish), who resides in water, Kürma. (tortoise) an amphibian, Varāha (boar) who lives on earth, and Narsimha (man-lion), an intermediary stage in the transition from animal to man. Balarama is an agriculturist, while Parasurama, Dasrathi Rama and Buddha represent some of the human forms<sup>18</sup>. One of the most popular incarnations of Visnu is Varāha (boar), who seems to have been linked with the pre-Aryan cult of the sacred pig. The first direct references to the boar as an incarnation performing the specific task of raising the earth from primeval water occur in the Satapatha Brāhmana, where he has been identified with the creator god Prajapati. It is possible that some of the totemic gods of the non-Aryan people of India were gradually being absorbed within the brahmanical pantheon and they eventually merged with Visnu and his avatāras. The ear liest literary reference to Visnu's Narasinha form is to be found in a late passage of the Taittiriya Aranyaka which describes him as a deity having mighty claws and sharp teeth. Analysing the episode, P.V.Kane has observed that some elements of the story appears

J.Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, London, 1972-84. Vol. IV, p. 219. cited in P. Jash, op cit, p. 95

Madelene Biardieau, *Hinduism: The Anthropology of a Civilization*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, (Second Impression). p. 103

to have been derived from the legend of Indra and the demon Namuci<sup>19</sup>. The Dwarf incarnation is anticipated in the three strides of Visnu mentioned in the *RgVeda* which was elaborated with the assimilation of some popular elements<sup>20</sup>. The *Rāmāvaṇa* also contains the same story.<sup>21</sup>

Of the three Rāmas, Bhārgava Rāma (Paraśurāma), Rāghava Rāma (Rāmachandra) and Balarāma, Bhārgava Rāma's identification with Viṣṇu occurs only once in the *Mahābhārata*. However, V.S. Sukthankar has pointed out that the glorification of Paraśurāma was not accepted by a section of the *brāhamaṇas*, who were the custodians of the Rāmāyaṇa, and this epic invariably portrays the Bhārgavas, and specially Paraśurāma, in an unfavourable light. It narrates the story of the defeat of Paraśurāma at the hands of the kṣatriya prince Rāma, a major incarnation of Viṣnu<sup>22</sup>.

Rāmacandra, the earliest available version of whose story is available in the Daśaratha Jātaka and which differs from the Rāmāyana of Vālmīki at certain important points, descended on earth to destroy Rāvana, the wicked and powerful master of Lankā who was made invincible through divine grace. According to the Daśaratha Jātaka, Daśaratha was the king of Vāranasī, who has four children called Rāma, Laksmana, Sītā and Bharata. Daśharata had sent away Rāma and Lakshmana into exile for twelve years in the Himalayan region to protect them from the evil

P.V.Kane, History of Dharmasashtras, Vol.II, BORI, Poona, 1941,pp.718-19

S.Jaiswal, *op.cit.*, p. 123-4.

V.R. - 1.27.12-14

J.N.Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1954, p. 419.

machniations of their step-mother, and Sîtā insisted on accompanying her brothers. When the period of exile was over, Rāma married his sister Sītā and made her his chief queen. There is no reference to the abduction of Sītā. This entire episode appears to have been invented or derived from some other source by the author of the Rāmāyaṇa²³. Probably because of the ethical notions prevailing at the time of the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa; the author of the text, who describes Sītā as the daughter of Janaka, could not conceive of Rāma of being both the husband and the brother of Sītā at the same time.

We observe that though the number of the primary incarnations of Viṣṇu had been fixed at ten, their names vary in the lists given in the early *Purāṇas* and it is believed that the standard list did not find general acceptance before the eight century A.D. <sup>24</sup>. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions Nārāyaṇa, Narasimha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Mandhāta, Jamadagrya Rāma, Vedavyās, Kṛṣṇa and Kalki as the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The first three are described as divya sambhūtis (divine incarnations) and the rest as human incarnations<sup>25</sup>.

In this essay we are concerned with the process of the transformation of an epic hero into a god. Therefore, the relevant questions to ask are-under what circumstances a popular character is divinised? Or, conversely, to what extent does a god's character

S.Jaiswal, op. cit.p. 141

R.C.Hazra, Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, Dacca, 1940.p.88

The Vayu Purana. 98.88., cited in S. Jaiswl, op. cit, p. 129

reflect the socio-economic political milieu in which he is worshipped? What can a theogonic myth tell about a society and about the internalization and use of power within a society? Fred Cothey has suggested some answers to these questions at the theoretical level which are useful for our purpose. He argues that the manner in which a divine being is perceived reflect particular historical circumstances and geographical context which are incorporated into the mythology of certain gods. These historical particulars include, among others, sociological factors. For example, a deity can serve as a prototype for the occupational status of a particular social community as when the god is a warrior or a king. However, virtually no deity which rises in dominance reflects a contemporary moment alone. Divine lineage ascribes continuity, authenticity, identity and power to a god. In brahamanical theogony especially each deity reflects not simply a particular cultural moment but an ongoing tradition that by incarnation and homogenisation derives its authority from a mythic or historical original moment. This process, and each god developed within it, becomes appropriated personally because a process of personal and or family internalisation makes a deity extremely real for many devotees. In this process there occurs an enhancement of credibility through the particular manner of transmission of the tradition and the sharing of incidents or stories in which the god has performed miraculous deeds not only in times of past but in one's own time. In short the power of the god is personally credible and human perception about the god, who is loving, forgiving, dominant authoritative etc. reflect the human situation.<sup>26</sup>

Fred W. Clothey, "Theogony and Powers in South India", in Bardwell L. Smith(ed.), *Religion and the Legitimation of Power in South Asia*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1978, p.3.

In the avatara myths we observe that several of these processes were simultaneously at work. A number of the avatāras performed miraculous deeds, most notably Krsna, Rama, however, never indulged in miracles, unless his incredible feats of heroism in the battlefield are considered as such. But the appeal of Rama was even deeper. He was certainly the prototype for the rulling authority the katriya, who had the ideological sanction of the brahmanas, for as a king he organised and presided over the ideal brahmanical society. Deborah A Soifer has pointed out that the Visnu-Siva and the brhmana-ksatriya pairs charecterise the avatara and are particularised expressions of the basic cosmological theme of creation and destruction<sup>27</sup>. Rāma was the embodiment of this ideal combination who destroyed evil and reestablished the rule of dharma- a crucial moment in the cosmological cycle. Moreover, even though often a representative of a particular social community to begin with, the god makes himself accessible through his avatāras, to all the worshipers across communities and becomes the object of their supreme desire.<sup>28</sup> Rāma, the symbol of compassion, has been consistently potrayed as just and righteous because he is supposed to be equally concerned with the welfare of all his subjects. Finally and more importantly, an avatāra, such as Rāma, is not the product of a historical moment, but of a historical process. Rama in many ways, was the culmination of the process of reassertion of brahmanism which spread over a long period of percieved social crisis. The heroic legend gradually crystallized into an epic and assumed normative status, but the original mythico-historical moment was never lost. The "loving, forgiving dominant,

Madeleine Biardeau, op. cit., p.113.

Deborah A. Soifer, The Myth of Narasimha and Vamana: Two Avataras in Cosmological Perspective, *State University of New York Press*, 1991, p. 4.

authoritative" gods of Clothey did reflect the human situation. Geoffrey Parrinder, explaining the concept of the avatāra, argued that Rāma is the example of virtuous life and a teacher of righteousness, because he is really thought to have lived on earth<sup>29</sup>. An examplar of high moral virtues does not easily acquire personal credibility. It depends on the successful creation and effective transmission of a tradition. The Rāmāyana tradition assumed its present form through diverse channels of transmission for many centuries, of which we are concerned with only the early part, the final redactions of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa where the righteous king and the mighty hero turned into a benevolent god for the first time.

The first episode which refers to the idea of Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is mentioned in the *Bālakāṇḍa* .Daśaratha was performing the *putreṣṭi yajña* to beget sons. Exactly at that time the gods were discussing among themselves in heaven how to destroy Rāvaṇa who had become a menace to them. Rāvaṇa was armed with a boon by Brahmā that no one except a man could kill him. Rāvaṇa thought he was so powerful that a man would be too weak to challenge him. When the gods approached Brahmā he directed them to Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu, at the request of the gods, decided to manifest himself as the four sons of Daśaratha. Agni emerged from the sacrifical fire and handed over to Daśaratha a pot of porridge, supposedly containing the seed of Viṣṇu, to be distributed among Daśaratha's wives. Rāma was thus a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu, although Viṣṇu was best examplified in him. for Kausalyā, the mother of

Geoffrey Parrinder, Avatara and Incarnation, Faber and Faber, London, 1970, p.123.

Rāma, had taken half of the sweet porridge and the remaining half was divided between Kaikeyī and Sumitrā<sup>30</sup>.

Another references to the avatāra idea is found in the Phalasruti section of the Balakanda (merits of listening to the text): "Who ever reads this story of Rama, which is purifying, destructive of sin, holy and equal to the Vedas, is free from all the sins, leads a long life and enjoys heaven with ancestors. 31 The *Phalaśruti* supports the idea that the Bālakānda was a late addition. The audience were already aware of the heroic ballad and were now being informed of the fruits of listening to the story. Vaisnavism was a new element which was to be introduced to the masses and here the Rāmāyana served as an active instrument for the propagation of this idea. So Rāma was found suitable and was therefore conceived as the incarnation of Visnu. People got to know of the merits of Rama as a hero who manifested on earth to establish righteousness. R.P.Goldman has shown how the idea of the avatāra was slowly being associated with Rama. He cites a verse in the Balakanda which described Rama in company of Sta: "In the company of that lovely princess who was like Sri in her celestial beauty, Rama, resplendent in his own lustre, was rendered illustrious, as the glory of the incomparable Visnu enhanced by the presence of Śrī; and argues that these allusions to Visnu presuppose the identification of the god and the hero and are intended to convey this to the audience. With the introduction of the Vaisnava elements , the contemporary audience familiar with the original heroic balled, could hardly be

W.R. 1.14.18-20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> *V.R.* - 1.1.77.78

expected to believe that on hearing this they would be free from their sins and would go to heaven with their descendants. The interpolation, however, was gradual and Rama as a hero and an ideal human being remained the central figure of the Bālakānda.

In the early stages of the epic at least, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was a martial story with a kṣatriya background and Rāma was its noble hero. This was implied by Rāma himself when he stated that he was subject to fate<sup>32</sup>. Even when his divine identity was revealed to him he declared himself to be a human informant of the gods. Hanumān also identified him as a great human being<sup>33</sup>. Sugrīva who compared Rāma with Indra and Varuṇa<sup>34</sup>, however, described him as a man with superhuman powers: "You are capable of killing with arrows all the gods along with Indra, O lion among men, why not Vali allso". Similarly Mārīca asserted: "Rāma is *dharma* incarnate, pious, truly brave and the king of the whole world, as Vāsava is of the gods" 35.

Mandodarī lamenting on the death of Rāvaṇa, however, doubted whether Rāma could be just a human being and said that he must be Indra himself in the form of Rāma. She recalled the great powers of Rāvaṇa and concluded that Rāma, who had slain Rāvaṇa, Khara and the other *Rākṣaṣaṣ* must be more than a mere human being. 36 J.L.Brockington suggests that Rāma was extolled for his martial abilities, with more

<sup>32</sup> *V.R.* - 2.98.15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> *V.R.* - 5.48.11,5.49.26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> *V.R.* - 4.12.10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> *V.R.* - 3.35.13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> V.R. - 6.99.5-11

than a hint of his kingly function, whether for protection or punishment, and so was frequently compared to Indra, throughout the first two stages<sup>37</sup>.

- There is a fairly clear continuity between the epic hero god Indra and the epic hero Rama. One can also detect elements of continuity in the conflicit between Indra and Vrtra and between Rāma and Rāvana. Rāma used Indra's weapons to conquer his enemies and there have been a number of allusions to the motif of Indra slaying Vrtra and in the kāndas two to six of the Rāmāyona 38. Both Rāma and Indra killed a large number of demons in addition to Ravana and Vrtra respectively. It is significant that Indra interfered at a vital stage in the great battle in order to offer Rama his own chariot and the charioteer<sup>39</sup>. Whailing makes the comparison between Indra and Rāma explicit: "At another level of interpretation, disorder exists not just at the human level but also at the cosmic level. The word is in a state of chaos and needs to be restored to a state of cosmos. Just as Vrtra had held back the waters of the earth, thereby causing drought and disorder, so also Ravana impedes the cosmic order of the world. Just as Indra with the help of the Maruts had used his thunderbolt to release the waters imprisoned by Vrtra and thereby restored cosmos, so also Rama defeats Ravana and establishes the possibility of *Rāmarājya* on earth, for the symbol of *Rāmarājya* has cosmic as well as human implications. It represents a state of order in the universe as well as a state of order in Ayodhyā<sup>40</sup>. We have already notes that the cosmogonic

Brockington, op.cit.p. 195

Frank Whailing, op. cit. p.77

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> V.R. - 6.90

Frank Whailing. op.cit, p.78

them of creation- destruction- recreation is intrinsic to the concept of the avatāra and Rāma satisfied this condition by restoring order on earth as Indra did in the past.

However, the similarity between two ends there-Indra had restored cosmic order which can be interpreted in a way as the restoration of *dharma*. But Indra was hardly a champion of *dharma* in the same way that Rāma was Indra killed the demons through his magic power, employed brutal force to achieve his objective, and his moral character was open to question. Rāma's triumph over Rāvaṇa was a triumph of *dharma* over *adharma* in a moral sense. This indicates an advance in the moral significance of the concept of *dharma* since the time of the *Rgveda*, as well as the moral superiority of Rāma over Indra<sup>41</sup>.

Rāma released Ahalyā of her curse which indirectly links him with Indra, who was responsible for the curse. However, we notice a gradual shift of emphasis from Indra to Viṣṇu in the Rāmāyaṇa itself 42. One reason can be that Indra was in the process of being displaced from his pre-eminent status by Viṣṇu, a process which crystallised in the Purāṇas. Also perhaps the personality of Indra was not compatible with the growing emphasis on Rāma's upholding of dharma and can be a factor in the disjunction of the association of Rāma and Indra. The highest level of representation of Rāma in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa was as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. At this level he was no longer merely an ideal man or merely a successor of Indra. He was an incarnation of

i*bid*,p.79

J.L.Brockington, op. cit, p. 220

the God.

Rama has been compared with Indra on sixty occasions in first two stages of the Rāmāyamand only on eight occasions with Viṣṇu. But the pattern changes in the later stages. The reference of Rāma as the the avatāra of Viṣṇu mostly occur in the first and the seventh books, which are considered to be later interpolations. Books two to five practically contain no specific reference to Rāma as an avatara, except in the yuddhakāṇḍa. Towards the beginning of the epic it is clearly mentioned that Viṣṇu, at the request of the gods, decided to become the four sons of Daśaratha in order to kill Rāvaṇa. The remainder of the Bālakāṇḍa contains some stories about Viṣṇu, but none of these specifically state that Viṣṇu was actually Rāma. They were presumably included in order to point out the closeness between Rāma and Viṣṇu. However, an episode in the Bālakāṇḍa itself suggests that the idea of Rāma being the avatāra of Viṣṇu was gaining ground. Parasurāma, after being vanquished by Rāma, addressed him as "the imperishable slayer of Madhu, the lord of Gods" 43.

In the Yudhakānd, Malayavat, a minister of Rāvan told him, "I consider Rāma to be Viṣnu who has taken the form of a man, for this Rāghava of firm valour who built this remarkable bridge over the sea is not just a man. Therefore, O Rāvaṇa, conclude peace with Rāma, the king of men"44. The most comprehensive statement on Rāma's divinity occures in the episode where Sītā underwent the fire ordeal. Indra rebuked

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> V.R. - 1.75.17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> *V.R.* - 6.26.331.32

Rāma for his distrust of Sita: "How could you distrust her, for you are god, the creator of the whole universe (an epithet often applied to Brahmā), and the foremost among the wise and knowledgeable persons "45. Rāma, oblivious of his divinity, enquired of Brahmā: "I consider myself to be Rāma, the offspring of Dasaratha. Who then am I and where have I come from, tell me that lord "46. Brahmā replied: "You are the great god Nārāyaṇa, Sltā is Lakṣmī and you are god Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and Prajāpati. For the purpose of killing Rāvaṇa, you entered a human body "47. The Yuddhakānḍa projects Rama as a Purnavatāra (complete incarnation) of Viṣṇu rather than a partial one, as expressed in the Bālakāṇḍa. Rāma himself was unaware of his divinity and was informed about this by the gods.

In the *Uttarakāṇḍa* there are many instances in which Rāma has been portrayed as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Once Gautama assured Ahalyā: "In the house of the Ikṣvākus there will be born a mighty warrior named Rāma, renowned in the universe... That long armed hero will be none other than Viṣṇu in human form.... It is he who can efface the sin you have committed"48. In another passage Bhṛgu cursed Viṣṇu,: "You will be born in the world of man, O Janārdana, and there you will live separated form your wife for many years"49. This statement directly connects Viṣṇu with Rāma. In the *Uttarakāṇḍa* Brahmā again reminded Rāma of his divinity when Rāma lamented over the disappearance of Sītā into the womb of the earth and vowed to destroy the

<sup>45</sup> *V.R.* - 6.105.58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> V.R. - 6.105.10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> V.R. - 6.105.12-18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> V.R. - 7.30.41-42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> *V.R.* - 7:41.6

universe. Brahmā said to Rāma: "O Rama, the virtuous one, do not be incensed.

Recollect your divine origin and nature... now recall that you are Visnu... O invisible hero". 50

Rāma has been addressed as *paramātman*<sup>51</sup> and Nārāyaṇa<sup>52</sup>. Finally Rāma was told by Kāla: "Your task is accomplished, O friend, O protector of the worlds. You are mind born<sup>53</sup> and you have completed your long stay among the mortals. O foremost of men, return to us "<sup>54</sup>. Brahmā welcomed him to the abode of the gods: "Hail! O Visnu! Hail! O Rāghava! With your god-like brothers now enter your eternal abode. Return to your own body if you so desire... occupy the realm of Viṣṇu. enter into your real body if you want "<sup>55</sup>. Rāma finally realised his true nature: "Hearing these words of Brahmā, the supremely virtuous Rāma formed his resolution and entered Viṣṇu's abode in his body with his younger brothers. Thus Viṣṇu returned to heaven, and it is he who pervaded the three worlds, both the moving and the fixed "<sup>56</sup>.

Rāma of Vālmiki transcended the human qualities to become equal with gods which ended in his identification with Viṣṇu. However, he was not yet the object of devotion and worship who could grant mokṣa. At the same time he contained all the elements of being a deity and was not very far from being the object of devotion. There are

V.R. - 7.98.12-13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> *V.R.* - 7.41.7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> *V.R.* - 7.26.28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> *V.R.* - 7.104.13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> *V.R.* - 7.104.1-13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> *V.R.* - 7.104.8-13

V.R. - 7.111.2

were so devoted to Rāma in Ayodhyā that a month passed by as if it were an hour<sup>57</sup>. Later the inhabitants of Ayodhyā wished to accompany Rāma to heaven as an expression of their love and devotion for him.<sup>58</sup> On resuming his form as Viṣṇu in heaven, Rāma told the gods that the citizens of Ayodhyā were his devotees and they sacrificed themselves for his sake<sup>59</sup>. It was during the medieval period, when some of the major *bhakti* poets accepted Rāma as their preeminent object of devotion, that the image of Rāma as the deliverer of man from their earthly sorrows become widely recognised. However, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, having set the scene for the full realisation of the divine aspect of Rāma in heaven seems to have been content to dwell more on the human nature of Rāma on earth.

The deification of Rāma towards the final stages of the composition of the epic suggests that brahmanism had found Rāma a model to embody and transmit the norms it prescribed to overcome the social crisis it was facing. The story of Rāma was chosen for it was an attractive and popular story in which Rāma was deified in degrees through various stages. Rāma was viewed in the early stage as a perfect kṣatriya, a position which in no way came in conflict with the religious ideals of his time, for it was recommended that each one should follow one's varna duty 60.

 $\nu$ 

V.R. - 7.39.27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> *V.R.* - 7.107.13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> V.R. - 7.107.17

J.L.Brockington, op. cit, p.220

Rama was a connecting link between the people and the unseen heaven. Because of his supposedly physical presence, it was comparatively easier to project him as an incarnation of the God, and yet make him appear credible. The image of the ideal family man and the ideal king superimposed on the magnificent hero helped in the construction of the avatāra.

Räma belonged to the ruling class, who wielded power. Heesterman argues that power in order to be legitimate, must be sanctioned by authority, and authority in turn must be validated by priesthood, which provided the channel to the divine or trascendent source of authority. The pair of king and *brāhmaṇa* stands for temporal power and spiritual authority. "The king-brāhmin formula takes care of power and authority distinguished from each other in an absolute fashion. Power and authority should complement each other and that the king and brāhmin, therefore, must cooperate". 61 Rāma, the god, was the result of this cooperation.

Moreover, by providing the religious coat, brahmanism could enter new areas to inculcate the values of what it perceived as the ideal society. Acculturation increasingly required that Sanskritic tradition should incorporate elements of local cultures. Although Rama did not belong to the non-brahmanical society, the development of Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu can be properly understood in the backdrop of the whole theory of incarnation where the manifestation of Viṣṇu varied from animal to mythical and finally to a human form. Through these incarnations brahmanism could

J.C.Heesterman, The Inner Conflicts of Tradition, OUP, Delhi, 1985, p. 42.

as a channel of assimilation and an extension of Sanskritic culture. Although the *bhakti* element of later times was absent, the *Phalasruti* section did convey the message strongly that whoever listened to the story of Rāma would be free from his sins and would enjoy heaven. This also acted as an agent of broadening the base of Vaisnavism.

Thus, the deification of Rāma served several purposes. The Rāmāyaṇa was not the end but the beginning of the process, a process that was to reestablish the supremacy of brahmanism from the post-Gupta period onwards. The ideals that Rāma represented and the popularity of the story helped to serve this purpose. Rāma was seen as an avatāra of Viṣṇu who deliberately limited himself and agreed to conform to the human condition. By his perfect adaption of the human condition, he set up an example of how life should be lived. And yet, this adaptation never interfered with his essentially divine nature. However, one should never lose sight of the fact that in the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma was little more than dharma personified. The unqualified attribution of divinity to him in the later stage appear somewhat artificial.

# Conclusion

#### 5. Conclusion

The historical significance of the process of transformation of a martial hero into an avatāra can be understood with greater clarity if we compare Rāma with Kṛṣṇa the central character of the other Sanskrit epic Mahābhārata and an equally popular avātāra of Viṣṇu. The differences in character between the two of them are as fundamental as the manner in which they have been deified and they reflect the difference in the chief concerns of the two epics.

Although it is generally acknowledged that the epic literature cannot be precisely dated, containing as it does formations that cover several centuries, scholars have generally accepted that the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form belongs to the period between 300 B.C and 300 A.D. and the Mahābhārata to the period between 400 B.C. and 400 B.C. and 400 A.D. Thus, even though in terms of the yuga theory, the Mahābhārata describes the events of a later period than the Rāmāyaṇa, these two texts were more or less contemporaneous of one other. The material, cultural and political pattern is somewhat simpler in the Rāmāyaṇa compared to that of the Mahābhārata. But the epics record accounts of civilized, materially affluent societies following the brahmanical norms based on Varnāśrama, and loudly proclaim the need for the preservation of dharma. It seems therefore that there exists a lot of similarities in the material and cultural contexts of the two epics, and yet the protagonists of the two texts, despite superficial resemblances, were different from each other. Let us look at the two characters a little more closely.

The most important difference between the two seems be that Krsna was an avatara from the very beginning and he was aware of his divine status in the *Mahābhārata*, while Rama answered the requirements of a god and his deification was gradual. Till the very final stage of the epic Rama was unaware of his divinity. Krsna's birth was dramatic. Visnu manifested himself as Rama with a mission to kill Ravana and just as Krsna was born to destroy the wicked king kamsa. Rama's divine character before his birth was known only to the gods but Kṛṣṇa's divinity was revealed to all concerned by the circumstances of his birth. Rāma in his childhood behaved as a normal, responsible if highly gifted, boy. As a child, Kṛṣṇa exhibited extraordinary powers. Kṛṣṇa's popularity was based on his miraculous exploits and that of Rama on his ideal behaviour. Both of them helped to get rid of evils when they were young, but while Rama's actions were heroic, Krsna's operations were supernatural. Indeed, the exploits of young Krsna are not recorded in the Mahābhārata. They appear for the first time in great detail in the Harivamsa, considered to be an adjunct of the Mahabharata. But since we are not left with any doubt that these two texts describe two phases in the life of the same person, it is difficult to disassociate the Kṛṣṇa of the Harivainsa and the Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata.

It is the awareness of Kṛṣṇa of his own divinity and the absence of it in Rāma accounts for the difference in the pattern of their respective behaviours. Rāma released Ahalyā of her curse but it does not seem as if he realised that he could do so because he was endowed with divvine power. All his great arievements, such as his victory over Rāvaṇa, could be accomplished by a great warrior. It were the gods who in formed Rāma about his divinity. Kṛṣṇa, on the otherhand, promised to Draupadī: "The heavens might fall, the

Himāvat might split, the earth might be rent, or the waters of the ocean may dry up, but my words that you will again reign as queen and the wives of your enemies will weep, shall never be in vain". This is not merely a promise, but a prophecy which only a god can make. He revived Parikṣita, the still-born child of Uttarā. He firmly established his divine status through the exposition of the *Bhāgvad Gitā*. He told Arjuna: "You and I have passed through many births. I remember them all, you do not remember". He said: "Whenever righteousness is on the decline, and unrighteousness is in the ascedant, I body myself forth. For the protection of the virtuous, for the extirpation of evil-doers, and for the establishment of *dharma* on a firm footing, I am born from age to age". He naturally informed Arjuna. My birth and activities are divine. He, who knows this in reality is not reborn on leaving his body, but comes to me".

Kṛṣṇa exemplified the outcome of devotion to God: "whosoever seek me, even so do I approach them, for all men follow my path in every way"<sup>5</sup>. He who sees me present in all beings and all beings existing within me, never loses sight of me, and I never lose sight of him"<sup>6</sup>. Rāma, on the other hand, considered himself only as Dašarathī. He asked Brahmā: "I consider myself to be Rāma. Who then am I and where have I come form, tell me that lord"<sup>7</sup>. When he vowed to upset the world after Sītā's departure into the earth, Brahmā had to console him that Sītā would be reunited with him in heaven. But Kṛṣṇa

The MVH,3.13.117, cited in V.S. Sukhtanker, On The Meaning of the Mahabharata, 'The Asiatic Society of Bombay, p.72

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  B.G.- 4.5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> B.G.- 4.7,8

B.G.- 4.9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> B.G.- 4.11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> B.G.- 6.30

V.R.- 6.105-10

knew and explained that the soul was never born nor died nor did it become only after being born. For it was unborn, eternal, everlasting and ancient, even though the body was slain, the soul was not<sup>8</sup>. When it came to the expression of human emotions, Rama often reacted like a normal human being, even though, being the ideal man, he controlled his emotions. But Kṛṣṇa always responded in a divine manner, because he knew from before what was to happen. He had already killed the Kauravas; Aṛjuna was nearly a human agent who carried out what was inevitable<sup>9</sup>.

The prime concern of both the epics was to demonstrate the triumph of dharma over adharma. Both Rāma and Kṛṣṇa ensured that dharma prevails, as it must, because adharma carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. But they behaved in a markedly different fashion. Rāma preferred the path of suffering as being the right way of living according to dharma. He never preached dharma but only practised it Kṛṣṇa preached and explained the subtle ways of dharma. Kṛṣṇa himself seldom personally intervene to establish dharma. Rather, he inspired others to act. He was a great teacher who taught the world Jnanayoga, Karmayoga, Atmayoga, Sānkhyayoga, Brahmayoga etc. He informed Arjuna," There was never a time when I was not, or when you or these kings were not. Nor it is a fact that hereafter we shall all cease to be. Just as boyhood, youth and old age are attributed to the soul through this body, even so it attains another body. The wise man does not get deluded about this. 1011 Rāma, however, grieved the loss of his dear ones. Rāma in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana, as we have seen, was essentally a human being who,

8

10

B.G. - 2.20

B.G.- 3<sub>2</sub>27

B.G.-2.12-13

through his seeds, enacted the brahmanical ideals of a perfect social order. Kṛṣṇa was a god who was not supposed to lead by personal example. He was the mediating agency through whom *Dharma* would be established. Yudhisthīra comes closer to Rāma, but he lacked Rāma's heroic quality and is therefore not as inspiring a character.

The mention of Yudhisthira brings another crucial difference between the two epics to the fore. It is the difference in the conceptualisation of dharma itself. Dharma in the Ramayana is invested with a good deal of morality. Rama never suffers from the kinds of moral dilemma with which the characters in the Mahābharata are often afflicted. Usually Krsna solved these moral problems either through his miraculous powers, or philosophical discourses or cunning. In neither case the reader is surprised, for Kṛṣṇa is the god. He is beyond human perception or reasoning. The morality in the Ramayana is much more flat and one dimensional. Rama acts in accordance with the prescriptions of the *Dharmaśastra* and is seldom called upon to explain his actions. Perhaps the only exception was the assassination of Vali. When he beheaded Sambūka, no question was asked. "This difference in appearent towards Dharma in the two epics arises from the fundamentally different manner in which they addressed the problem of the social crisis of the Kali age. Brahminism sought to solve this problem in the Ramayana by constructing an ideal son, ideal brother, ideal husband. Krsna had no relationship with his biological parents and the relationship between Krsna and Balarama can hardly be described as intimate. It is true that they lived and respected each other but their roles were very different. During the Mahabharata war Kṛṣṇa was on the side of the Pāṇdavas, but Balarama remained neutral. Even if, Krsna's dalliance with the Gopis' in Vrndavana forms no part of the Mahabharata, his conjugal life had so little to do with the plot of the epic that it could not possibly sense of a role model..

Rāma was above all an ideal king but Kṛṣṇa was never a king in the sense Rama was. When he became the king at Mathurā, Jarāsandha attacked him. To avoid unnecessary bloodshed, he ultimately left Mathura, migrated to with his people Dvarakā and settled there. In the Mahābhārata Kṛṣṇa does not appear primarily as a king, he functions more as a statesman. But even in this role, his righteousness is not above question. Duryodhana, Kaṛṇa, Gāndhārī and others blamed Kṛṣṇa at times with good reason, for his unrighteousness actions. Rāma, as a king, was never in doubt regarding what the correct course of action is, and all his controvrsial decisions, such as the exile of Sītā, are always amenable to simple explanation, in accordance with the highest standard to rājadharma, and are made acceptable through his personal suffering. Kṛṣṇa was much more of an enigmatic character than Rāma.

When Rāma left the earth, Brahmā welcomed him in heaven. He left behind a prosperous kingdom where dharma reigned supreme, Kṛṣṇa's Dvarākā, however, faced doom. The Yādavas grew sensuous and vicious. They fought against each other and all adult males of clan were wiped out these feuds, except Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Dāruka (Kṛṣṇṇa's charioteer) and Babhru. Kṛṣṇa sent his chrioteer to Hastināpur with a message to Arjuna to come down to Dvārakā and look after the women and children of the Yādavas. He consoled the wailing women and children, and asked them to accompany Arjuna to Hastinapur, as Dvārakā was destined to be swallowed by the sea<sup>11</sup>. Kṛṣṇa himself retired into the deep forest. When in meditation he was hit by the arrow of a

hunter who mistook him for deer and he passed away. The god who appeared on earth to restore *Dharma*, failed to protect his own people and died in an accident.

The contrast in the manner in which the two avatāras met their end is in itself a pointer to the difference in the major thrust of the two epics. Rāma accomplished his mission and went back to heaven where he finally came to terms with his true identity. Krsna with all the awareness of being the god himself helped to defeat the forces of evil, but he himself died a disillusioned man. The message of the Rāmāyana is simple and direct, that of the Mahābhārata much more complex and involved. Both the texts up held and propagated the brahmanical ideas in a period of transition and crisis. But while Rāma fulfilled these ideals in his own life and thus qualified to be elevated to the status of a god, Krsna's explicit divinity from the beginning was a hindrance to his becoming a role model for men. Rāma offered to protect the brahmanical ideals on earth; Krsna promised salvation to all who sought refuge in him. That is why Rāma's deification was a process that history helps to understand while the Krsna who came to receive worship as an object of devotion was not the Krsna of Mahābhārta, but the child god of Vrndavan.

## **Bibliography**

### I. Primary Sources

(trans.) (ed.)R. P.Goldman, Princeton The Rămāyana of Vālmīki, Vol.I, University Press, New Jersey, 1984. (trans.) (ed.)Sheldon.I.Pallock, Princeton The Rāmayāṇa of Vālmīki, Vol.I, University Press, New Jersey, 1986. The Vālmīki Rāmāyana (trans.), H.P.Sastri, Shanti Sadan, London. 1959. Śrīmad Vālmīki Rāmāyana Geeta Press, Gorakhpur. 1992. The Bhāgvad Gitā Geeta Press, Gorakhpur. 1989. The Sacred Book of the East, (ed.), F. MaxMuller, (trans.) George Bulher, Vol. II, Part I The Dharmasutra of Apastamba and The Dharmasutra of Gautama, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi. 1969 (reprint). The Sacred Book of the East, (ed.), F. MaxMuller, (trans.) George Bulher, Vol.XIV, P.II. The Dharmasūtra of Vasistha The Dharmasūtra of Bandhāyana, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi. 1965. The Laws of Manu (trans.)W.Doniger and B.Smith, Penguin India, Delhi, India.1991. Ya jinavalkya Smrti (trans.)(ed.), Vasudeva Sharma, Bombay 1936.

# II. Monographs

Ali, S. M.

- The Geography of the Puranas, People's Publishing House, Delhi. 1973. (second edition).

Barnett, L. D.

- Hindu Gods and Heroes, London. 1922.

Bhandarkar, R. G.

- Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

Poona, 1982.

•	•	•
Banerjea, P.	<b>-</b> :	Rama in Indian Literature and Thought, Sudeep Prakashan, Delhi. 1986.
Bhattacharji, Sukumari	-	The Indian Theogony, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1970.
Biardea♥, Madeleine	-	Hinduism: An Anthropology of a Civilization; Oxford University Press, Delhi. 1994. (Second Impression)
Bowra, B. M.	<b>-</b> .	The Meaning of Heroic Age, New Castle, 1957.
Brockington, J. L.	<b>-</b>	Righteous Rama, The Evolution of an Epic; Oxford University Press, Delhi. 1984.
Bulcke, C.	-	Rama-Kathā (in Hindi); Hindi Parishad, Prayag Visvavidyalaya; Allahabad.1971.
Carrithers, Michael	•	. Why Humans Have Culture, Oxford University Press, New York 1972.
Chartier, Roger	<b>-</b> ·	Cultural Theory; Polity Press, U.K.1993. (reprint)
Coleman, C.	-	The Mythology of the Hindus, London.1932.
Dandekar, R. N.		Insights into Hinduism, Ajanta Publication, Delhi. 1979.
De, S.K.; Ghoshal, U. N;; Pusalker, A. D. and Hazra, R. C.	<b>-</b> •	The Cultural Heritage of India Vol. II. The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta. 1969. (reprint)
Dutt, R. C.	-	The Early Hindu Civilization; Punthi Pustak, Calcutta. 1963. (fourth edition)
Eisenstadt, S. N.; Kahane, R. and Sulman, David (eds.)	- -	Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy and Dissention, Monton Publication, Berlin.
Embree, A. T.	-	Imagining India: Essays on Indian History; Oxford University Press, Delhi. 1989.
Gellner, Ernest	<b>-</b>	Reason and Culture; Backwell Pulication, Oxford, U.K, 1993.
Gupta, S. M.	- ,	Vismu and His Incarnations, Somaiya Publication, Bombay. 1974.

Gonda, J.	-	Aspects of Early Visnuism; Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi. 1969.
Hazra, R. C.	<b>-</b>	Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, Motilal Banarasidas, New Delhi. 1975. (second edition)
Heesterman. J. C.	-	The Inner Conflicts of Tradition, Oxford University Press, Delh. 1985.
Hopkins, E. W.	- ,	Epic Mythology, Indological Book House, Varanasi 1968.
	-	The Social Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India, University of Calcutta, 1969.
Jaiswal, Suvira	÷	Origin and Development of Vaisnavism, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi. 1981.
Jash, Paranabananda -	•	History and Evolution of Vaisnavism in Eastern India, Roy and Chaudhary, Calcutta. 1982.
Jhingran, Saral	-	Aspects of Hindu Morality, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi. 1989.
Jha,D.W. (ed)	<b>-</b>	Feudal Social Formations, Chankya Publication, Delhi. 1987.
Kala, Jayantika	<del>.</del>	Epic Scenes in Indian Plastic Art, Abhinav Publication, New Delhi 1988.
Kane, P.V.	-	The History of Dharmasastras, Vols, I, II, III, V, Bhandarkar Oriental Reaearch Institute, Pune 1941.
Keith, A. B.		History of Sanskrit Literature; Oxford University Press, London, 1966.
Larrain, J.	- :	The Concept of Ideology: Hutchinson, London .1986,
Leiden, B. L. Smith and Brill, E. J.	•	Religion and Legitimation of Power in South Asia; Netherlands, 1978.
Macdonell, Arthur A.	-	A History of Sanskrit Literature, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1962.
Nandi, R. N.	-	Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India, K. P. Bagchi, Calcutta 1986.

Noelseth, S. J.	- -	The Divinity of Krishna, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, Delhi. 1984.
O' Flaherty, Wendy Doniger	-	The Origin of Evil in Hindu Mythology, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi. 1976.
O' Flaherty and J. Duncan M. Derret (eds.)	-	The Concept of Duty in South Asia, Vikas Publishing HOuse Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi.1978.
Parrinder, Jeoffrey	-	Avatar, and Incarnation, Faber & Faber, London . 1970.
Pusalker, A. D.	- ,	Studies in the Epics and Puranas, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan. 1955.
Raghvan, V. (ed.)	-	The Ramayana Tradition in Asia; Sahitya Academy, New Delhi. 1980.
Richman, Paula	•	Many Rămāyanas: The Diversity of Narrative Tradition in South Asia, Oxford University Press, Delhi 1992.
Sankalia, H. D.	-	Rānāyana, Myth or Reality, People's Publishing House, Delhi. 1991 (reprint)
	•	The Rāmāyana, A Historical Perspective, Macmillan ,Delhi. 1982.
Sen, Dr. Amulya Candra	•	The Hindu Avatars: Suggestion for their Historical Identification, Saraswat Library, Calcutta. 1966.
Sharma, R. S.		Perspective on Social and Economic History of Early India, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1983.
	-	Material Culture and Social Formation in Ancient India, Macmillian, Delhi. 1983.
Sharma, Ramashrya	-	The Socio-Political Study of the Valmiki Ramayana, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi 1971.
Singer, Milton (ed.)	-	Krishna: Myth, Rites and Attitudes, East-West Centre Press, Honolulu, U.S.A,1966.
Soifer, Deborah A.	-	The Myths of Narasimha and Vamana - Two Avatars in Cosmological Perspective, State University of New York Press, New York 1991.
Sontheimer, G.D, Kulke H. (eds.) -		Hinduism Reconsidered, Manohar Publication,

Delhi, 1991

Sukthankar, V. S.	-	On The Meaning of the Mahabharata, The Asiatic Society, Bombay. 1957.
Thapar, Romila	<b>-</b> ,	Exile and Kingdom, Some Thoughts on the Ramayana, Mythic Society, Bangalore, 1978.
	· -	Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretation; Orient Longman, Delhi, 1978.
Theodore de Bary, W. (ed.)	-	Sources of Indian Tradition, Columbia University Press, New York. 1959.
Tripathi, G.C. and Kulke, H. (ed	ls.) -	Religion and Society in Eastern India VolI; 1978-1979, Eschmann Memorial Fund, Bhubaneshwar, 1987.
Unithan, T. K.; Indra Deva and Singh, Y. K. (eds.)		Towards a Sociology of Culture in India, Princeton Hall of India Ltd., Delhi. 1965.
Vaidya, C. V.	•	The Riddle of Rāmayana, Meharchand Lacchmandas, Delhi. 1972.
Vyas, S. N.	•	India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age, Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi. 1967.
Whailing, Frank	-	The Rise of the Religious Significance of Rama, Motilal Banarasidas. 1980.
Wilkins, W. J.	-	Hindu Mythology; Delhi Book Store, Delhi 1972.
Winternitz, M.		History of Indian Literature, Vols. I and II; Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi. 1983.
Wurm, Alvis	- ,	Character Portrayals in the Ramayana; Ajanta Publication, Delhi.1976.
Yardi, M. R.	- ·	The Rămāyana, Its Origin and Growth, A Statistical Study: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1994.

# ARTICLES -

Altekar, A. S.

"The Planned State in Ancient India", Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1956.

	•	
Bhattacharya, Sibesh	<b>-</b>	"Political Authority and Brahamana-Ksatriya Relationships in Early India", <i>Indian Historical</i> Review, Vol. X. No. 1-2, July 1983-January 1984.
Bhattacharji, Sukumari	-	"Sita in T. V. Uttararamayana", Social Scientist, Vol. 18. No. 1-2, January-February, 1990.
Bulcke, C.	•	"The Genesis of the Valmiki Ramayana Recensions", Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VIII, pp. 121-131.
Chatterjee, Asim Kumar	<del>-</del> .	"Geography of the Ramayana (critical edition)", Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. XIII.
Chattopadhyay, B. D.	-	"Indian Archaeology and the Epic Tradition", Puratattva, No. 8, 1975-76.
Ghoshal, U. N.	<b>-</b>	"The King's Executive Administration in the Dharmasutras", <i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i> , XXI (1-4), 1985.
	<u>.</u>	"The Status of Brahmanas in the Dharmasutras", India Historical Quarterly, Vol.XXII, No. 2, 1947.
Gupta, Miss Mrinale Das	•	"Early Vaisnavism and Narayaniya Worship", Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol VII (1-2), 1985.
Jha, V.	-	"Social Content of the Bhagavad Gita", <i>Indian Historical Review</i> , Vol XI, No. 1-2 July, 1984 - January, 1985.
Keith, A. B.		"The Age of the Ramayana"; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1915.
Lal, B. B.	-	"Archaeology and the Two Indian Epics", Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. LIV, pts. 1-IV, 1973.
Nayak, Nirmala	-	"Man and the Moral Order in the Valmiki Ramayana"; Man in India, 66, 3, September, 1986.
Sastri, K. S. Ramaswami,	-	"Studies in Ramayana", Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. 18
Sen Gupta, Dr. Anima	-	"Manu on the Duties of Kings", Journal of Indian History. Trivandram, Vol. XLVIII, part III, Serial 144, August 1970.

Pollock, Sheldon "Ramavana and Political Imagination In India", The Journal of Asian Studies, 52, No. 2, May, 1993. "The Kali Age: A Period of Social Crisis" in S. N. Sharma, R. S. Mukherjee (ed.), India - History and Thought, Essays in Honour of A. L. Basham, Subarnrekha, Calcutta. 1982. "The Historian and the Epic", Bhandarkar Thapar, Romila Memorial Lecture; Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Reseach Institute, Vol. LX, 1979. Epic and History: Tradition, Dissent and Politics in India"; Past and Present, 1989. III. Encyclopaedia Eliade, Mircea (ed.) Encyclopaedia of Religion; Macmillan Publishers, New York, 1987. Goetz, Philip W. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago. 1987. Ghosh, A. (ed.) An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.Delhi 1989. Meister, Michael W & others -Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture, Vol. II, OUP, Daini, 1983. Seligman, Edwin R. A.; Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, The Macmillan Johnson, Alvin (eds.) Company, New York, 1932.