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SOME REMARKS IN THE SEXUAL LIFE IN THE RĀMĀYAŅA

The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa (VRā.) and the Mahābhārata are the two great epics of India. The VRā. is an ādikāvya and is 'one of the finest things in world-literature'. It 'enshrines the legend of Prince Rāma and his adventures, when exiled to forest'. Literary works are recognised as one of the sources of ancient Indian history and culture and in the VRā. is embedded the rich cultural data.

In every human society, primitive or civilised, marriage and family are found in one form or another. Marriage is one of the fundamental institutions of human society and its study enables one to understand and appreciate the spirit of culture and civilisation in as much as its percolations and repercussions are felt on the varied facets of social organisation. Family is one of the most important institutions of the social organisation and it plays a very vital role in the psychodrama of an individual, whether it be elementary, compound or joint.

The *grhasthāśrama* (the stage of married life) is the bed-rock of family-structure in India. In this paper it is proposed to discuss some aspects of marriage, son and family and some textual problems.

In the VRā., there are glimpses of the Aryan (Vedic-Brāhmanic)

^{1.} WARDER A.K., Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol. II, Delhi, 1974, p. 78.

^{2.} Brockington J.L., *Righteous Rāma: The Evolution of an Epic*, Delhi-Bombay-Calcutta-Madras, Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 1. On the date of Vālmīki *vide* Alles Gregory D., "Reflections on Dating «Vālmīki»", JOIB 38, Nos. 3-4 (March-June, 1989; issued in December, 1990), pp. 217 ff.

culture as well as those of the Vānara and the Rākṣasa-Asura culture; in a way the last two were the 'concurrent cultures' and 'played an important role'³. Vānaras are said to represent a tribe with monkey-like faces⁴. The glimpses of the Vānara-culture are through the episodes of Vālin, Sugrīva, Hanumān and others. The glimpses of the Rākṣasa-culture/Asura-culture are through the episodes of Rāvaṇa, his family and his allies⁵. The glimpses of the Aryan (Vedic/Brāhmanic) culture are through Rāma's family. One of the common traits of these three cultures depicted in the VRā. is a polygamous character of the society⁶.

Rāvaṇa had many wives and mistresses⁷. His harem was very large and it is described as a *strī-vana* (NSP 5.9.66: Cr.Ed. 5.7.62). Amongst them there was also a practice of a girl being given in marriage by a father. Mandodarī was given in marriage by her father Maya to Rāvaṇa (NSP 7.12.19-20: Cr.Ed. 7.12.16-17); possibly this aspect is responsible for Mandodarī's first position. Marriage by capture or abduction was not unknown to them. The abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa reflects a situation, namely, that a married woman could be abducted, by force, by a married man⁸.

In the Vānara-society there do not appear to be very hard and fast rules about marital relations, as cases of sexual laxity and promiscuity are met with; but Tārā's lamentations on Vālin's death bear ample testimony to an institution of married life and relations. Her relations with Sugrīva, when the latter appropriated her (who was his elder

^{3.} DWIVEDI LAVA KUSH PRASAD, "Role of the Concurrent Cultures in the Rāmāyaṇa", JOIB 36, Nos. 1-4 (September, 1986 - June, 1987), p. 61.

^{4.} BHATT G.H. (Ed.), *The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, Critical Edition, *Bālakāṇḍa*, Vol. I, Fascicule 3, Baroda, 1990, Critical Notes, p. 446.

^{5.} On the identification of *Rākṣasas vide* POLLOCK SHELDON, "Rākṣasas and Others", IT 13 (1985-86), pp. 264 ff, fns. 5 & 6.

^{6.} Forms of marriage and allied topics are dealt with in various works and papers and hence the same are not repeated here, vide, e.g. VYAS S.N., A Study of Social and Cultural Conditions in Ancient India as described in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, Delhi, 1967, Chapter VII, pp. 80 ff; SHARMA RAMASHRAYA, Socio-Political Study of the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, Delhi, 1971, Chapter IV, pp. 46 ff.; VYAS S.N., India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age, Delhi, 1967, Chapter 2, pp. 27 ff., Chapter 3, pp. 45 ff., and Chapter 7, pp. 80 ff.

^{7.} Vide Vyas S.N., India in the Rāmayaṇa Age, pp. 88 ff.; vide VRā. NSP 3.55.17: Cr.Ed. 3.53.17; NSP 5.23.13-14: Cr.Ed. 5.21.12-13.

^{8.} Vyas S.N., India in the Rāmāyana Age, pp. 34 ff.

brother's, i.e. Vālin's wife) and Vālin's kingdom, on the assumption that he was slain, as he did not return from the cave, even after a lapse of one year, in his combat with Dundubhi⁹, present another side of sex-life as well as another social situation. Here is a case wherein a younger brother has sexual intimacy with the elder brother's wife $(bhr\bar{a}trj\bar{a}y\bar{a};$ Gujarati and Hindi $bh\bar{a}bh\bar{\iota}^{10})$ and this situation does not seem to be taken very seriously. Even in modern times the sexual intimacy of a younger brother with his elder brother's wife is not unheard of; some times they enter into marital relations and this phenomenon is known as diyaravatu in Gujarati. In this context Lakṣmaṇa stands in stark contrast with Sugrīva.

Vālin had sexual intimacy with Sugrīva's wife Rumā (NSP 4.18.12-23; Cr.Ed. 4.18.12-23). This refers to a case wherein an elder brother has sexual relations with his younger brother's wife and these relations are not favourably looked upon by Smṛtikāras and the punishment is also laid down for the commission of such an act¹¹. Rāma inflicts capital punishment to Vālin for his immoral and *lokaviruddha* relations with Rumā (NSP 4.18.12-23: Cr.Ed. 4.18.12-23). Vālmīki views Vālin's behaviour from an Aryan point of view and inculcates the Aryan philosophy here through Rāma.

The *Matsya-Purāṇa*, which is one of the oldest *Purāṇas*, has references of both the above mentioned types of sexual intimacy. Uśija's younger brother Brhaspati approaches his elder brother's wife Mamatā, when she is *enceinte*; she shows her unwillingness, as she was pregnant, but she has no repulsive feeling otherwise. This indicates, as stated above, that the sexual intimacy of a younger brother with an elder brother's wife was not odius; but the elder brother's sexual relations with the younger brother's wife were met with opprobium¹².

Daśaratha was polygynous, as he had 350 wives (ardha-saptaśatāh/ NSP 2.34.10: Cr.Ed. 2.31.7; trayaḥ śata-śatārdhāḥ/ NSP

^{9.} VYAS S.N., op. cit., p. 52.

^{10.} The vocable $bh\bar{a}bh\bar{\imath}$ is used in a modern Sanskrit novel entitled "Gopālabandhuḥ" (pp. 48,59,60) by Harinarayan Dikshit (Delhi, 1988), concurrently with the Sanskrit vocable $bhr\bar{a}trj\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ (vide ibid., pp. 59,61).

^{11.} Vide Manusmṛti 9.57; Matsya-Purāṇa 227.139.

^{12.} Vide KANTAWALA S.G., Cultural History from the Matsya-Purāṇa, Baroda, 1964, p. 69.

2.39.36: Cr.Ed. 2.34.32) and three principal queens, viz. Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikevī. It is interesting and significant to note that he was anapatya (childless) (NSP 1.11.5: Cr.Ed. 1.10.5) in spite of his extensive harem (NSP 1.11.5; Cr.Ed. 1.10.5; NSP 1.16.9; Cr.Ed. 1.15.8) and he longed for a son. He, therefore, performs the aśvamedha (horse-sacrifice) for getting a son (cf. NSP 1.8.1-28: Cr.Ed. 1.8.1-2) and it helps to remove his sins (cf. NSP 1.14.46: Cr.Ed. 1.13.39; NSP 1.14.57: Cr.Ed. 1.13.44; vide also NSP 1.11 ff: Cr.Ed. 1.10 ff), as the latter were believed to come in the way. He performs the sacrifice and «worships the Lord himself for getting a son»¹³. The putrīyā isti¹⁴ is undertaken after the aśvamedha under the guidance of Rsyaśrnga, «the leader of the sacrifice, the chief priest brahmā» 15. It is significant to note that prior to the commencement of putresti Rsyaśrnga blesses Daśaratha to have four sons. (NSP 1.14.59; Cr.Ed. 1.13.46). On his death-bed Daśaratha speaks to Kausalyā about the curse given by Śravana's father, (when he was a yuvarāja and very young and not married to Kausalyā) that he would die due to putraśoka, as they (i.e. Śravana's parents) died (NSP 2.64.53-54; Cr. Ed. 2.58.45-46). This curse was a boon in disguise. On the other side Visnu is foretold to enjoy Daśaratha's sonship with His Self divided into four parts (NSP 1.15.19-20: Cr.Ed. 1.14.18). This putresti is performed with the mantras of the Atharva-veda (NSP 1.15.2: Cr. Ed. 1.14.2) and the *Prājāpatya Purusa* emerges from the sacrificial altar with the golden vessel full of pāyasa (i.e. rice boiled in milk with sugar¹⁶), the divine food and he directs Dasaratha to give it to his wives (NSP 1.16.20 ff: Cr.Ed. 1.15.18 ff). The vessel is called māyāmayi (NSP 1.16.15: Cr.Ed. 1. 15.3), 'the product of magic' and this gains in significance in the light of the fact, as noted above, that the mantras employed were Atharvavedic (NSP 1.15.2: Cr.Ed. 1.14.2).

13. Bhatt G.H., op.cit., p. 446.

15. Bhatt G.H., op. cit., p. 444.

^{14.} For the difference between iṣṭi, yāga and kratu, vide: iṣṭis tu caruṇā prokto yāgas tu paśunā smṛṭaḥ/etac cheṣaḥ kratuḥ prokto homo'nyat pūjanaṇ smṛṭanl/ quoted by G.R. NANDARGIKAR in The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa, Delhi, 1982, Notes, p. 796.

^{16.} Bhatt G.H., op. cit., p. 446. In the Rāmacarita-Mānasa the God of Fire (Agni) appears with the caru (offering of rice boiled with milk). (Vide "The Rāmacarita-Mānasa", Kalyānakalpataru, August, 1949, pp. 159-160).

The king gave half of the pāyasa to Kausalyā and half of the remaining half, i.e. 1/4th part to Sumitra, whereas he gave the half of the remaining half, i.e. 1/8th part to Kaikeyī and the last remaining half, i.e. 1/8th part to Sumitrā again, i.e. to say Sumitrā got 1/4th + 1/8th parts of the pāyasa. In due course of time four sons were born. Rāma, who was the one half portion of Visnu was born of Kausalyā¹⁷; Bharata, who was 1/4th portion of Visnu was born of Kaikeyī; Laksmana and Satrughna jointly representing one half (i.e. 1/2) portion of Vișnu were born of Sumitrā (NSP 1.18.10 ff: Cr.Ed. 1.17.6 ff). Here then is a peculiar mathematics in the Visnu-amśa being distributed in Daśaratha's four sons¹⁸. Moreover, there is no coordination between the quantity of the pāyasa distributed to the three queens; the apparent coordination that may be thought of is between the number of times the $p\bar{a}yasa$ is distributed to the queens and the number of sons born to them, i.e. Sumitrā received the pāyasa twice and she gave birth to two sons, whereas Kausalyā and Kaikeyī got the pāyasa once and they, each, had one son born to them.

In the *Raghuvaṃśa* (10.55-56) Kālidāsa simplifies the arithmetic of the quantity of the *pāyasa* that was distributed to the three queens. Daśaratha gives half of the *pāyasa* to Kausalyā and the remaining half to Kaikeyī and they, *i.e.* Kausalyā and Kaikeyī, give half of the quantity received by them to Sumitrā. According to Āśvalāyana 10.6.1 the horse-sacrifice was recommended to one who desired to secure all objects, to win all victories and to attain all prosperity¹⁹. It was a symbol of one's overlordship²⁰ and it is to be noted here that Daśaratha performs the horse-sacrifice for having sons (NSP 1.12.8: Cr.Ed. 1.11.8) and this shows the change in the motive of the performance of the horse-sacrifice.

It was believed, as Vālmīki gives the impression, to remove the

^{17.} Kalyānakalpataru, December, 1960, p. 60.

^{18.} Vide Srinivas Iyengar C.N., "Mathematics in Vālmīki-Rāmāyaņa", Kalyānakalpataru, June, 1956, pp. 643 ff.

^{19.} KANE P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Part II, 1974, Poona, p. 1229; for details vide ibid., pp. 1228 ff.

^{20.} CHAUHAN GIANCHAND, "The Asvamedha as the Symbol of one's Overlordship", JOIB 39, Nos. 3-4 (March-June, 1990, issued in May 1992), pp. 185 ff.; Kulakarni R.P., "Critical Path Method to Asvamedha sacrifice", JOIB 39, Nos. 1-2 (September, 1989 - December, 1989; issued in August, 1991), pp. 5 ff.

sins (NSP 1.14.57: Cr.Ed. 1.13.44) and the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā 5.3.12.1-2 states that by the performance of the horse-sacrifice one can annul the sin of brahmanicide²¹. According to the Mahābhārata the horsesacrifice purifies a person of all sins²². At the end of the horse-sacrifice the rtviks declare Dasaratha to be free from all sins (NSP 1.14.46; Cr. Ed. 1.13.39) and thus Vālmīki follows the old ideology here, even though this horse-sacrifice was for having sons. After the performance of the horse-sacrifice Rsyaśrnga undertakes to perform the putrīyā isti with the Atharvavedic mantras for Dasaratha for the purpose of having sons (NSP 1.15.1 ff: Cr.Ed. 1.14.1 ff). According to the Gopatha Brāhmana (1.3.23; edited by Khem Karan Das Trivedi, Allahabad, 1924, pp. 216-218) the pāyasa prepared in the bovine milk with the recitation of the mantras was to be given to the $d\bar{\imath}ksit\bar{\imath}\;j\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ (the wife of the dīksita) and S.D. Satvalekar refers to AV 6.11 in the context of the putresti and he observes that juices of useful medicinal herbs might have been added to the $p\bar{a}yasa$ that was prepared²³.

In the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa-māhātmya* 4.41-62 there is a story of a childless Brahmin. A *sannyāsin* gives him a fruit, which would lead to conception, if his wife eats; but his wife, being afraid, gives that fruit to their cow, who gives birth to Gokarṇa. Here «what is important is the belief that a fruit could be thought of as giving a son»²⁴. Now «this belief can be compared with that of a birth in sacrifice or the sacrificial surrounding. The sacrificial ground, the $ved\bar{i}$, is called the birth-place of all things. Into this *yoni* is poured *ghṛta* which is a well-established symbol for semen ($v\bar{i}rya$). The $p\bar{a}yasa$ or $k\bar{s}\bar{i}ra$ by the $yaj\bar{n}apurusa$ should (may) (bracket ours) naturally be understood as equal to ghṛta because milk is the basis for both, so $p\bar{a}yasa$ (from the sacrificial ground) which is symbolically semen ($v\bar{i}rya$) given to the queen could produce a son. This $v\bar{i}rya$ is divine, unsullied by any

^{21.} KANE P.V., op. cit., p. 1236, fn. 2674.

^{22.} KANE P.V., op. cit., p. 1237.

^{23.} SATVALEKAR S.D., Śrī-Rāmāyaṇa-Mahākāvya, Bālakāṇḍa (with Hindi Translation, Notes and Introduction), Pardi, 1955, pp. 435 ff.; G.R. Nandargikar quotes other mantras in the context of the putrīyā iṣṭi in Raghuvaṃśa. (Vide, ibid., Notes, p. 796).

^{24.} DANGE S.S., The Bhāgavata-Purāna: Mytho-Social Study, 1984, Delhi, p. 109.

human sexual relationship»²⁵. According to one Purānic legend Yauvanāśva was childless and having mercy on him sages performed the aindrī isti. Once, at night, being thirsty he wandered in the sacrificial area and drank the mantra-jala/pumsavana-jala (prsadājya²⁶). As a result of drinking this 'water' he became pregnant and Mandhata was born to him²⁷. This episode also brings out that an 'outward agency' can lead to pregnancy. Can this mytho-social episode be demythologied and be explained 'differently' with the help of the medical science? The distribution of pāyasa efficacious for pregnancy has a counterpart in the Thai-version of the Rāmāyana wherein the sacrificial balls of rice are distributed to the queens for their pregnancy. The Thai-version is known as the Ramakien which finds its Sanskrit version in the Śrī-Rāmakīrti-Mahākāvyam by Satya Vrat Shastri (Delhi, 1990)²⁸. According to the Thai-version there is also the sacrifice called putresti with the help of the sage Kalaikoti. It says that «in its performance some divine person will appear on the scene with four balls of rice in his hand. At that very moment some person rushing from the south will fly upwards having snatched away half a ball (half of the balls) (bracket, ours). With the remaining two balls may you feed the queens of the king, so that they, possessed of handsome limbs, become pregnant» (ibid., pp. 237-238; Canto III, stanzas 3 ff).

In the *Mahābhārata* when Vicitravīrya died issueless, the sons were obtained by the levirate system (*niyoga*)²⁹. Kuntī had sons through 'some sort' of the levirate system, as Pāṇḍu was incompetent to

^{25.} DANGE S.S., op. cit., p. 109.

^{26.} Vide Chitrav Siddheshvar Shastri, *Prācīnacaritrakośa*, (Hindi), Poona, 1964. p. 644.

^{27.} Vide Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 9.6.26 ff. Very recently a case of "a 32 year old government employee in the Southern Philipines" having the nickname Carlo, who is a "male" is reported "six months pregnant". He is "a hermaphrodite with both male and female organs". (Times of India, Ahmedabad Edition, dated May 25, 1992, p. 1). The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa does not give the required information (case-report) about Yauvanāśva.

^{28.} The author is thankful to Professor Satya Vrat Shastri, Delhi, for his kindly drawing the attention to the «"ball of rice" - episode» in the Thai-Rāmāyaṇa.

^{29.} Vide for discussion Kantawala S.G., "Marriage and Family in the Mahābhārata: Some Aspects", in Moral Dilemmas in the Mahābhārata, edited by

have sons in her³⁰. It is significant to note here that Daśaratha does not have any recourse to the levirate system for having sons for the continuation of his family; instead he has a recourse to the putrīyā isti, a brahmanical way, suggesting thereby the advanced Aryan society. There is also another point to be noted here. Vasistha is the court-priest of Dasaratha and it is under his permission and guidance that the āśvamedha and the putresti are performed (NSP 1.12.13: Cr.Ed. 1.11.8). It is significant to note that Vasistha is in favour of aurasa sons (vide RV 7.1) and not in favour of other types of sons³¹, because with the aurasa sons the purity of blood is maintained. This tends to explain, from another point of view, the introduction of the putresti in the episode of Dasaratha. The family of Dasaratha belongs to the category of the compound type of family³². It is will be interesting to mention here that an institution named Centre for Astrological Research and Development (CARD) in Kerala (India) organised the putra-kāmesti for childless couples from 2nd May, 1992 to 10th May, 1992 at Kochi in Kerala and 1128 couples participated in the yajña from all over the country except Punjab and Nagaland³³.

The VRā. has several layers³⁴. It is important to note that Rāma is a monogamist and this suggests the advancement in ethical codes in relation to the institution of marriage.

Bimal Krishna Matilal, Delhi, 1989, pp. 89 ff.

^{30.} Vide for discussion Kantawala S.G., "Genetic Episode of Pāṇḍavas: Some Remarks" in *The Mahābhārata Revisited*, edited by R.N. Dandekar, Delhi, 1990, pp. 61 ff.

^{31.} Vide Kantawala S.G., "Some Observations on Vasiṣṭha and his Progeny in the Rgveda", in "Professor Krishna Kanta Handiqui Felicitation Volume", edited by Mukunda Madhav Sharma, Guwahati, 1983, pp. 49 ff.

^{32.} A compound family is illustrated in a polygamous society wherein there is one husband with two or more wives and their respective children. Another form of compound family is produced in monogamous societies by a second marriage giving rise to step relations and such relations are half-brothers. Compound families can be regarded as constituted of families with a common member. (*Vide* RADCLIFFE BROWN A.R., *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, London, 1952, p. 51).

^{33.} Vide Sandesh (a Gujarati Daily) dated 29th March, 1992 (Sunday); Gujarat Samachar (a Gujarati Daily) dated 31st March, 1992; Sandesh dated 20th April, 1992; Times of India (Ahmedabad Edition) dated 22nd May, 1992, 11th May 1992 and 22nd May 1992.

^{34.} Vide Brockington J.L., op. cit., p. 1.

«Rāma is the embodiment of the high ideals of Aryan life»35 and «Vālmīki was for establishing the ideal of a single marriage in the society of polygamy»³⁶ and hence Rāma is depicted as an ideal monogamist. But there are some passages in the VRā. which might suggest that he was a polygamist; e.g. hrstāh khalu bhavisyanti Rāmasya paramāh striyah (NSP 2.8.12: Cr.Ed. 2.8.5)³⁷, i.e. «Rāma's excellent women». The vocable strī means «woman, female, wife»38. Vālmīki seems to use the vocable strī promiscuously in the sense of 'wife', when he uses the vocable dāra (wife) (vide NSP 2.34.10: Cr. Ed. 2.31.7; NSP 2.34.11-12: Cr.Ed. 2.31.8-9), elsewhere he employs the vocable pramadā (NSP 2.34.13: Cr.Ed. 2.31.10) (handsome, buxom lively woman, woman)³⁹ but the vocable striyah in 2.8.12: 2.8.5 can be taken in the sense of «female servants⁴⁰», because «Rāma and Sītā's union is effectively monogamous during their stay in the forest and not in frequent description of Sītā as dharmapatnī may point in the same direction....»⁴¹. It may further be noted that Rāma does not take another wife, when he is to perform the Aśvamedha, but the golden image of Sītā as her substitute serves the purpose of Sītā and does away with the necessity of taking a second wife⁴². This reflects a more refined stage of civilisation in comparison with the one reflected in the Mahābhārata⁴³, even though «the period of the growth of the VRā. falls within the longer period of the development

^{35.} Pusalker A.D., Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas, Bombay, 1955, p. xiii. There is a rich literature on the Rāmāyaṇa. For bibliographical references. vide Gore N.A., Bibliography of the Rāmāyaṇa, Poona, 1943; Pusalker A.D., op. cit. pp. 174-195; Botto Oscar, A Select Rāmāyaṇa Bibliography, Madras, 1996.

^{36.} DWIVEDI LAVA KUSH PRASAD, op. cit., p. 63.

^{37.} Vide Vyas S.N., op. cit., p. 91.

^{38.} MACDONELL A.A., A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, Delhi-Bombay-Calcutta-Madras, Oxford University Press, 1954, p. 363; Vide also APTE V.S., The Student's Sanskrit English Dictionary, Delhi, 1968, p. 620.

^{39.} MACDONELL A.A., op. cit., p. 179.

^{40.} On 2.8.12 (NSP) the commentary "Tilaka" has paramāh striyah iti bahuva-canelna Sītā-sakhyah!

^{41.} Brockington J.L., op. cit., p. 173.

^{42.} Brockington J.L., op. cit., p. 173.

^{43.} WINTERNITZ M., A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927, p. 507.

^{44.} WINTERNITZ M., op. cit., p. 505.

of the Mahābhārata»⁴⁴. Passingly, it may be mentioned that the Book I (Bālakānda) and the Book VII (Uttarakānda) are taken as later additions⁴⁵; but some events in the Rāma-story in the Ayodhyākānda has some connections with some events in the story in the Bālakānda; to illustrate, one may note here that in the Ayodhyākānda (NSP 1.37: Cr. Ed. 1.36) Daśaratha says: «When shall I see my son (i.e. Rāma) coronated?». This implies a reference to the birth of Rāma in the earlier portion i.e. Bālakānda; thus the Bālakānda comes to be correlated with the Ayodhyākānda, even though the former is taken as a later addition. This leads one to assume that there is also another traditional poet; this assumption may be extended for the *Uttarakānda*. At this juncture it is interesting to note that «according to the Uttarakānda of the VRā. Vālmīki wrote the main story and Bhārgava added the episodes at a subsequent period»⁴⁶ (NSP 7.94.25: Cr.Ed. 7.84.25; NSP 7.94.26; Cr.Ed. Asterisk stanza). Under these circumstances one may hazard a conjecture that Vālmīki is a theoretical amalgam of more than one Vālmīki⁴⁷.

Abbreviations

AV : Atharvaveda.

Cr.Ed. : Critical Edition of the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa published by

the Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, Vado-

dara.

IT : Indologica Taurinensia, Torino.

JOIB : Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.S. University of

Baroda, Baroda.

NSP : Nirnayasagar Press (Bombay) edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

VRā : Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa.

RV : Rgveda

^{45.} Vide WINTERNITZ M., op. cit., pp. 501,503. Vide also Brockington J.L., op. cit., Appendix, pp. 329 ff. for the process of growth of the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$.

^{46.} PUSALKER A.D., op. cit., p. xxxvii.

^{47.} Vyāsa of the tradition is said to be the theoretical amalgam of a series of traditional poets. (Vide WARDER A.K., op. cit., p. 77).