

## HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

### Regarding the Periods of the first five great Madhva saints

#### Sri Padmanabha, Narahari, Madhava, Akshobhya and Jaya Tirthas

##### PART VI

We have so far covered the first trip towards to Badari kshethra in the last part. There is no specific incident mentioned in Sumadhavivijaya or known otherwise, other than the crossing of the Ganga river near about Haridwar miraculously without boats and meeting Ghaiyasuddin Balban, which must have transpired in 1259/60 AD. All other incidents mentioned in Chapters 10 and 16 of Sumadhavivijaya pertaining to North India must have happened on the return journey of the first trip or in the second trip. The return trip of the first visit to Badari was, as already discussed, deliberately planned by a longer route by Acharya Madhva as indicated by his sending with a disciple to Udupi by a quicker route, for perusal by his Guru and the senior ascetic, a copy of his new composition Brahma Suthra Bhasya composed in Badari itself in his first visit. All proposals assigning the events already described, to a second visit etc are ruled out on account of the Shasanas of Sri Narahari Tirtha, the first of which is dated 1264 AD in SriKurmam, showing that he had already met and taken the vows of asceticism from Acharya Madhva well before that, and which could only have taken place in the first return trip from Badari.

There is an event mentioned in shloka No. 23 in Chapter 10, where Sathya Tirtha, the favourite disciple of Madhva (who wrote the Suthra Bhashya as per Madhva's dictation in Badari, during the first trip), moving in the head of the group, was attacked by a Daithya in the form of a Tiger and Madhva saved him by hitting him with his hand during the Mountain journey (Himalayas). This incident is likely to be related to the first trip only, because his presence in this trip is confirmed by Sumadhavivijaya and both of them were very young in this trip. There are three other incidents involving robbers attacking Madhva's party mentioned in Sumadhavivijaya, the first one is in shloka 10.21, where a group of more than a hundred robbers was dispersed by one of his disciples – Upendra Tirtha, the first ascetic of the Puthige Udupi lineage, who snatched an axe from one of them and rushed into the group hitting out at them. This incident must relate to the second trip – as it is generally accepted that Upendra Tirtha was given the vows by Madhva at the time of installation of the Krishna Ikon in Udupi, which followed his return from the first trip. In another incident (shloka 10.20), Madhva himself foiled an attack on their party by holding a cloth bundle in his hand and running around them, with all members of his own group located safely at some distance. The robbers attacked each other in the confusion and ran away. In another incident described in shloka 10.22, a group of robbers was given the impression that there was nothing there except stone boulders, even though Madhva's party was among them (perhaps hiding behind).

The incidents appear to be related to the journeys in Himalayas – from Haridwara to Badari or back, though not explicitly stated thus in two of the shlokas. These are however, not significant with regard to Madhva's interaction with the outside world. A general observation could be made that the party accompanying Madhva in the first trip would be small in number and younger in age compatible with Madhva's own age of early twenties in the first trip, while it might have had a larger number of persons, with some in middle ages also in the second, with Madhva himself also being in middle age. The events in shlokas 10.20 and 10.22 would appear to be thus belonging to the first trip only. Therefore, only the Upendra Tirtha incident may belong to the second trip – of course, this is just a conjecture. Madhva's being in middle age in one of the two trips (obviously the second) is also indirectly indicated by the reference to his visit to Varanasi, where one of the events is his challenging 15 young disciples to a contest of strength (shloka 10.37-41). This incident also shows that his party must have grown in size – as there would have been more disciples, some of them being middle aged (comparable to Madhva's own age also).

Taking note of the likelihood of the Madhva's party leaving Badari Kshethra late in autumn (just before the onset of winter due to his long stay which is on record in the visible as well as concealed Badari Ashramas), during his first visit, there is obviously no possibility of his performing the Chaturmasya at Hasthinavathi specifically mentioned in Shloka No. 34/35 of Chapter 10, in this return journey nor of his staying in Hardwar area till the next Chaturmasya was due. [His Hasthinavathi Chaturmasya described in Sumadhvajaya must therefore be placed in the second trip and most probably during the return from Badari only.](#)

Sumadhvajaya describes the following events in the vicinity of Haridwara:

1. Chaturmasya in Hasthinapura (Shloka 10.34-36).
2. During the event 1, Ganga formed a new channel to be close to his place of stay at a distance from the main channels (Shloka 10.35).
3. Visit to Kurukshethra, where Madhva showed to his disciples led by Sathya Tirtha the (Pandava) weapons such as his own Mace used by him as Bhimasena in fighting with elephants also recalling the battles and an ascetic destined to become Mareecha (in a future Thretha yuga) performing penance. (*There is also a mention elsewhere of Sathyatirtha himself having been a King in that war*). (10.49).
4. When Madhva was stopping in Hrishiksha (modern Rishikesh), he was invited by a Brahmin to come and receive his Bhiksha (hospitality), who then vanished promptly. Shiva appeared in a dream to a devotee In another place, and directed him to supply various kinds of materials for preparing a sumptuous meal, confirming that Shiva, the presiding deity of the place had himself offered his hospitality. (10.50)

Some relevant geographical information regarding the places is as follows:

- i. Rishikesh is only 18 Kms from Haridwara (as a straight distance) and is in the direction of Badari. Hence, it could have been visited either on the forward or return journey from Haridwara to Badari. Both the places are at substantial distances away from Thanesar (Rly station for Kurukshethra which is only 5 Kms away) or Hasthinavathi, which could be visited either in the forward or return direction travelling **TO** Haridwara. Both the latter places are themselves at substantial distances from each other.
- ii. Kotdwara towards the south-eastern direction of Haridwara is about 40 Kms (as a straight distance). After crossing the Ganga there, the distance to Sitapur/Nimsar (Naimisha kshethra) is around 360 Kms (en route to Lucknow etc.). One can also visit Shambal Kshethra near Moradabad on the way, which is associated with the Kalki incarnation and which was visited by Sri Vadiraja.)
- iii. Haridwar itself has crossing of the Ganga with the present road to Badari alternating on either side of the Alakananda/Ganga tributaries, which join in the Prayagas on the way. In the olden days, there would only have been forest trails, perhaps with a few crossings of the streams where villages would have been located and developed. Haridwar was an important and very ancient kshethra.
- iv. Gharmuktheswar from Delhi is around 90 Kms as a straight line towards due east. The road passes via Hapur, After crossing the Ganga, one proceeds almost due North to Haridwara for a distance of about 132 Kms (straight line),
- v. Kurukshethra is about 5 Kms away from Thanesar Railway station and is 130 Kms as a straight line distance from Hardwar nearly due west. The route would pass through the areas under close monitoring and control of Delhi sultans, as even Panipat where the battles for the Delhi throne were fought is due North of Delhi on the road to Thanesar and is only about 60 Kms from it. While one could envisage the travel of Madhva's party to Kurukshethra in the second Badari return trip, it will be hazardous in the conditions described for Balban's sultanate in the first trip and is thus unlikely.
- vi. Ancient Hasthinavati of the Kurus is presently identified with a place called Khatauli 22 Kms towards the north, from Meerut located on the Delhi Hardwar road – about 65 Kms total distance from Delhi. It is also about 60 Kms from Gharmuktheswar, towards the north west. But the location of (Kurukshethra) Thanesar is more than 120 Kms from Hasthinavathi. It is generally believed that Delhi which is on the banks of the Yamuna river is the location of Indraprastha, the capital of the Pandavas. There is a Hastinapur (a present day town), a few miles north of the Garhmuktheswar, which is also on the banks of the Ganga river. In any case, Hasthinavathi relics of today are in between the two main rivers, about 40 Kms from Ganga in the east and 60 Kms from Yamuna river in the west. The Bhagavata is clear about the river which was near Hasthinavathi. Dashama Skanda, chapter 90 describes Balarama, who was angry with the Kauravas on account of their holding Samba, the son of Krishna and Jambavathi, prisoner when he tried to woo Duryodhana's daughter – Lakshana, uses his plough weapon to drag the city of Hasthinavati into the river **Ganga** to destroy it, when the Kauravas begged for his forgiveness and agreed to the match. The present identification of Khatauli is traditional and there are some relics indicating the ancient city. There is also a theory that Hasthinavathi was located near Garhmuktheswar as already mentioned.

- vii. Assuming the generally accepted location for Hasthinavathi near Khatauli, Madhva's group must have travelled from Haridwara to Hasthinavathi – a substantial distance of 80 Kms (straight line distance) towards the Southwest to reach the place of Chaturmasya, if they came straight there. The trip to Kurukshetra would be towards the west of Haridwara a distance of 130 Kms. If Madhva's party went first to Kurukshetra from Rishikesh/Haridwara and then came southwards to Hasthinavathi, they would travel 120 Kms from Thanesar (Kurukshetra) to Khatauli (Hasthinavati).

Keeping these locations and distances in view, one could visualize the movements of Madhva as described in Sumadhavijaya. It is clear that the movements described in Chapter 10 were not arranged in the order of actual journeys as shown below:

*Crossed the Ganga -> did Chaturmasya in Hasthinavathi -> Ganga demonstrated her respect -> Varanasi visit -> Visited Kurukshetra (back again?) -> visited Rishikesh where he was honoured by Shiva, the presiding deity -> came to Ishupatha (Goa area) -> Goa -> Pashupe.*

The visit to Godavari river bank with its great significance to his philosophical system due to acquisition of the two famous disciples who succeeded him is not mentioned here as no miraculous events were involved there. But, one has to integrate the visit with the return journeys from Badari along with the above events in Chapter 10.

Let us look at each of the four items mentioned earlier of the places near about Haridwara, and assign possible occasions and the routes.

#### 1. Chaturmasya in Hasthinapura (Shlokas 10.34,35)

*Madhva visits Hastinapuri and performs Chaturmasya (34 – 36).*

.34. Then Madhva proceeded to HastinaPuri, (slightly inland from the Ganga), and stayed at one of the Mathas at a distance in a secluded location. Here he lived for the duration of Chaturmasya (a four month long period during the rainy season when the ascetic must stay at one place) and meditated on the innumerable qualities of the Lord.

.35. The divine river Ganga, desirous of serving Madhva, parted the earth and created a new stream to flow near the Matha where he was staying. Even goddess Saraswathi revered by Shankara and others considers herself blessed serving him. It is no wonder that Ganga much lower in hierarchy did so.

.36. Ganga, visible to all manifesting herself as a lady came and prostrated at the lotus like feet of Madhva, the great Guru from a slight distance. Her body was grace and beauty personified. The disciples were amazed at the sight.

As already mentioned, this could come about only during the return from Badari on the second trip, as it is unlikely that Madhva came all the way from Udipi on the forward trip in such a manner as to sit for Chaturmasya in Hasthinapuri, after finishing which he started for Badari via Haridwara/Rishikesh. If he did that it would

leave him too little time before winter to do the complete round trip, also considering that he spent some extra time away from his disciples on both occasions in the invisible Badaris and substantially more so on the first trip. Noting the location of Hasthinapuri referred to in Sumadhavavijaya as the same as near the present day town of Khatauli, his party could have crossed the Ganga on the second return trip in or close to Haridwar itself. This would fit in with his visits to Kurukshethra and Hasthinapuri followed by a longer journey eastwards on the return covering many Tirtha kshethras in UP, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The date of this journey is yet to be determined – and will be discussed later. Taking into account the Chaturmasya requirements Madhva should have completed his Badari trip before Ashada Masa and the rains and must have planned it in advance to sit for the mandatory 4 months there – perhaps in remembrance of the past events. Considering that the time spent in Vedavyasa Ashrama in the second trip could be perhaps shorter as compared to the first trip, he would have gone to Badari kshethra by Chaitra Masa – when the winter season would still be having North India in its grip.

During the above event, Ganga formed a new channel to be close to his place of stay at a distance from the main channels. In the note on Gharmuktheswar in the previous instalment, it has been mentioned: “Garhmukteshwar is a place of hoary antiquity, mention being made of it in the Bhagavata Purana and the Mahabharata. **It is said that it was a part of the ancient city of Hastinapur (the capital of the Kauravas)**”.

Though the present channels of Ganga are far away from Khatauli (40 Kms straight distance), there would have been many changes in the riverine channels in the last 800 years and what has been recorded in the fourteenth century could well be correct, even if assume Khatauli only as the place of ancient Hasthinavathi.

His Visit to Kurukshethra, where he showed to his disciples led by Sathya Tirtha, the (Pandava) weapons such as his own (Bhima's) Mace used by him in fighting with elephants as well as recollecting the battles themselves and identifying an ascetic performing penance destined to become Mareecha (in a future Threthayuga). (*There is also a mention elsewhere of Sathyatirtha himself being told that he was a King in that war*) should have been **earlier** to the Chaturmasya in Hasthinavathi. (10.49), which is further south. The mention of Sri SathyaTirtha's name again in the group of disciples seems to indicate that he was present in both the trips. The proposition that Madhva went to Haridwara through Kurukshethra on the first occasion. does not fit in with other circumstances as already described such as his stated hurry to reach there etc. The Kurukshethra visit along with Hasthinavati chaturmasya must have taken place in the second trip return.

The visit to Rishkesh as well as the hospitality of Shiva there, would also be possible In either of the two trips forward or return – though I would be inclined to place it in the return part of the first trip.

One important issue is the traditional list of important places of pilgrimage which Madhva would consider for visits as well as Important places of learning and

scholars in his time, with the names of contemporary persons known through historical records. The list of Pilgrimage places visited by Balarama (at the time of the Mahabharata war) would be a good guide for the first, though it may be somewhat biased for North India. This information is given in Bhagavata – Dashama skanda – Chapter 78 as follows:

*Balarama did not wish to take part in the Mahabharata war and started on a Pilgrimage. He went to Prabhasa Tirtha and then went up the streams of Saraswati river, where he visited different Tirthas (associated with the river). Following its eastern course as well as the rivers Yamuna and Ganga, he went to Naimisha, where the sages were re-engaged in Sathra sacrifice. Romaharshana, Sutha exponent of Puranas did not get up to honour him and Balarama got angry and killed him. When the sages remonstrated with him, he granted the boon of long life and capacity to expound the scriptures to his son. On their request, he killed Balvala, the son of the Asura Ilvala, who was troubling the sages. He then went to Kaushiki and the sacred lake from which the river Sarayu originates. He went on to Prayaga and on to the hermitage of Pulaha. He bathed in the rivers Gomathi, Gandaki, Vipasa and Sona. Then he went to Gaya and propitiated the Manes. He then went to the confluence of Ganga river with the ocean. He saw (Parashu) Rama on the Mahendra mountain and bathed in the Godavari, where it is divided into seven streams and then in Krishnaveni river and the Pampa lake (Hampi chakra Tirtha) as well as Bhimarathi river (Pandrapur?), He went to Srisaillam and after visiting the Dravida country, he went to the exceedingly holy Venkatadri (Tirupati), the shrine of Kamakshi and the sacred city of Kanchi. He then went to Kaveri, most sacred of rivers and the holy city of SriRangam, in which Hari is always present. After visiting Vrishabhadradi and Mathura of the south (Madurai), he went to Rameswaram. He then bathed in Krithamala and Thamraparni rivers and visited Malaya, one of the most sacred of the seven mountains. He visited Goddess Durga as Kanya, Ananthashayanam temple, and after making the round of Kerala country and Trigartas, he visited Gokarna. He visited Surparakha, Tapi river, Payoshni and Nirvindhya. He then entered Dandaka forest and to Mahishmathi city on the river Reva. He then reached Prabhasa again.*

The journeys were in a clockwise direction starting from the banks of the Saraswathi river (now extinct), and include all the traditional places visited by Sri Vadiraja in Tirthaprabandha. The sacred “lake” in which the river Sarayu originates is not known today, and the river with the name near Ayodhya is a tributary joining Ganga further on near Chapra. Similarly, the river near Lucknow is presently called Gomathi, which according to the Bhagavata should come to the east of Prayaga or Allahabad. The remnants of the old Saraswati river near Dwaraka in Gujarat is also called Gomathi and it is perhaps this river that is referred to by name in Sumdhvavijaya shloka – 16.2. Evidently some of the names have been switched or duplicated in time. Dwaraka is missing – as Balarama had originally started from there and Kurukshethra, Hasthinavathi, Mathura, Vrindavana associated with Krishna and the Pandavas etc as they became Tirtha’s after the Mahabharata war – and Badari is not mentioned, but other Tirthas in Himalayas related to the mythical Saraswathi river are named in the Purana – Prithudaka, Bindusaras, Tritha well, Sudarshana and Vishala, Brahma Tirtha and Chakra tirtha. Perhaps, the Brahma Tirtha refers to the Brahma kapala of Badari, as the place was fully associated with the Pandavas –

as known from Shathashringa mountains etc. Puri Jagannatha is also missing. In the list.

With regard to the places which were known as centers of learning, one could include Navadvipa in Bengal, Mithila in Bihar, Varanasi etc along with capitals of Hindu ruled states like Kannauj, Devagiri, etc existing at Madhva's time.

*To sum up, the first visit to Badari, where his favourite disciple Sathya Tirtha was also specifically mentioned as being present, would be through the traditional route from Udupi to North India crossing the Ganga via the present day Garhmuktheswar along with the meeting with Balban and would not have included any of the visits near Haridwara mentioned in Sumadhavvijaya above. In the absence of any clues for his actual route, one can only offer guesses. It is likely that he went in the first outward trip through Devagiri, (near the present day Aurangabad), where he met Iswara Deva (Mahaderva) and the events described in shlokas 10.4-5 would have taken place. As an omniscient saint, he would have planned his journey to reach Badari well in time for a long stay there – as already mentioned – well before Chathurmasya commenced. He might not have done any detours to visit places like those in Goa, Rajasthan, Gujarat, etc and would have followed the quickest route for a total journey length of about 2300 Kms (as per Google routing between Udupi and Haridwara which passes through present day highways NH3 and NH8). This distance is only a very approximate indication considering that during Madhva's own journey, there would be hardly any bridges to cross except minor ones on small streams, with detours to places where crossing by boats would be available, avoiding thick forests etc and also including places to offer worship like Kolhapur, Pandharapur, Mathura, Vrindavana etc. The actual distance is likely to be substantially more – say 3000 Kms. As the journey would be by walk along with the daily rituals of Puja etc and considering a time allowed for walking of 5/6 hours a day, an average of 20 Kms a day (allowing for crossing numerous Rivers and streams, detours and obstructions on the way) – one could consider about 150 days needed for the journey itself. Thus one could envisage the fitting in of this journey from Udupi to Badari kshethra between the Autumn of one year (say 1259 AD) and the rainy season of the next (1260 AD) allowing for some longer halts in pilgrimage places. No attempt is being made to define the route more precisely as it can only be a total guesswork at this stage unless some chance discovery of additional evidence of Madhva's visit becomes available in future with more intensive study.*

*During his first return visit starting in the winter of 1260 - spring of 1261AD, he might have received the hospitality of the deity Shiva in Rishikesh and travelled with a small party of his disciples in a route to cross the Ganga further east of his forward trip and going through Kotdwara etc from where he could have gone to Naimisha (near present day Sitapur in Uttarpradesh) and onwards to Kannauj, Brahmavartha (Bithur – near Kanpur), Ayodhya etc going towards the east via Prayaga, Varanasi and Gaya till he turned south again to go to Puri Jagannatha, Rajahmundry (Godavari river bank), etc. Perhaps in this trip, he might not have visited North Bihar*

*(Mithila), Bengal (Navadvip) as he had not yet composed most of his compositions to support his Brahma Suthra Bhashya, which he did only after his return to Udupi. This trip being longer in length (about 3000 plus Kms) as well as duration than the forward trip, would necessitate a Chaturmasya in between – perhaps in/on the bank of Godavari river or Jagannatha Puri in 1261 AD.*

All these conjectures are not based on clear evidence about the order of events, but are derived logically by a projection of today's situation into the past. But, there have been many changes in important parameters such as the paths of the river Ganga, locations of ancient towns and traditional routes involving crossings of major rivers in the area such as Ganga, Yamuna, Gandaki etc. But some understanding of what has been recorded in Sumadhavijaya faithfully and sincerely as real events, but unfortunately without sufficient evidence or details of places, times and order of events appears to be possible. I would apologise in advance for any errors in my derivations, which when pointed out and corrected may lead to a better and clearer picture becoming available.

In Chapter 9 of Sumadhavijaya, the actual sequence of events given by the author for the first return trip from Badari Kshethra is as follows:

- i. Madhva descends into the visible Badari from Vedavyasa Ashrama.
- ii. He receives the Bhiksha from Agnisharma and others there.
- iii. Composes Brahma suthra Bhashya and dictates it to Sathya Tirtha.
- iv. Leaves Badari and after traversing many places comes to Godavari river.
- v. Attends Vidvathsabha, meets Shobhana Bhatta, taught him Bhashya.
- vi. Shobhana Bhatta extols Madhva Bhashya in many Vidvat sabhas.
- vii. Comes back to Udupi after performing wonderful actions (*unspecified*) on the way.

The sequential order of events is silent about the route or details – except for the main event of converting and initiating the doyen of great Vedanta scholars at that time – Shobhana Bhatta, in the Godavari river bank. There is also no indication of when or where the latter took the vows of asceticism, though when his name is next mentioned in Sumadhavijaya is chapter 15, (Shlokas 120- 126) he is called by his ascetic name Sri Padmanabha Tirtha, and he is described as having come from Godavari river bank. The linking of the name Shobhana Bhatta with the ascetic name Padmanabha Tirtha is by tradition based on Sumadhavijaya verses. The tradition is that he became an ascetic in Udupi after they returned from the First trip to Badari. Sumadhavijaya describes only the manner of his extolling Tatvavada by comparing it to the legendary Conch with the right handed whorl, which is sacred to Lakshmi, Goddess of prosperity and wealth, without assigning whether he was an ascetic or Grihastha at that time. But considering that the Sumadhavijaya composition was written towards the last few years of Acharya Madhva on earth, when Sri Padmanabha was admittedly an important ascetic likely to succeed him in the

Peetha, it is likely that he had become an ascetic not very long after he met Madhva – probably in Udupi.

Sumadhvajaya evidence (Chapter 9 shlokas 15-20) places the meeting between Shobhana Bhatta (ordained as Padmanabha) and Acharya Madhva in a Vidvat Sabha (Assembly of scholars) on the banks of the Godavari river on his return from Badari during his first visit. A simple translation of the shlokas in Chapter 9 is as follows:

Madhva crossed many lands along with his entourage and reached the banks of the river Godavari.

.15. There were many scholars who had come there to secure rewards by demonstrating their scholarship, They knew all the eighteen sections (of the Vedas) and put forward many shruthies for comment (by Madhva) in examination. Madhva answered and explained all of them. He refuted six systems of philosophy also. (Charvaka, Baudha, Naiyyayika, Vaiseshika, Prabhakara and Bhatta).

.16. They examined Madhva separately in their own section of Veda and their own siddhantha (school of philosophy) and lost (as his knowledge was greater than theirs). Then they praised him – Oh, Great scholar, you are all knowing. There is none equal to you.

.17. There was one scholar in that gathering, who was well versed in all sections of the Vedas and regarded as the greatest scholar in interpreting the Vedas among them. This scholar known as Shobhana Bhatta prostrated again and again with great happiness to PoornaPrajna.

.18. He was a great scholar in Nyaya Shashtra and had refuted all the schools of philosophy prevalent at that time. He was also well versed with the Vedas, Mahabharatha and the Puranas and was following the rituals prescribed therein with great reverence. He became the disciple of Madhva and listened to his Bhashya from Madhva himself.

.19. Having heard the Bhashya from Madhva, he was not interested even in the least in studying other Shastras. This is similar to the white swan which has tasted the nectar of the lotus, does not ever want the nectar of other flowers.

.20. The lustrous Shobana Bhatta refuted the tenets stated by others in different gatherings of scholars by using the syllogisms stated by Poorna Prajna and said the following appropriate words showing scant regard for the other disputants.

Shobana Bhatta named Sri Padmanabha Tirtha was the first major disputant with Poornaprajna. He was a great scholar with a commanding presence in all fields of study of Shastras – Veda and Upanishats, Mahabharatha and other Ithihasa, and Puranas. He had already rejected prevailing schools of Vedanta as unsatisfactory even before he heard Madhva Bhashya. Such a scholar found that Madhva had answers to all his questions and became an enthusiastic exponent of the new

School. He was the first major speaker after Madhva on his Shashtra and took over the main seat of Madhva's lineage after him.

The essence of all the shlokas given above, shows that the Vidvadghoshti (assembly of scholars) was not a transient one, but must have been a periodical one arranged with help from rulers and meant to permit debates and disputations over a period of time – at least some weeks. This is clear from Shloka 15 itself, which mentions securing rewards etc. Madhva was the new entrant to the assembly as it must have been going on earlier, where Shobhana Bhatta's scholarship had been adjudged as most superior to that of all others present and he could well have presided over the assembly. After he heard Madhva's answers dealing with the doubts, questions and counters raised by others to give effective replies, Shobhana Bhatta realised his immense superiority and prostrated to him. Unlike others, who might have specialized in one or two sections of scriptures, Shobhana Bhatta was himself an allrounder with a very broad base of the Vedanta, Ithihasa, Nyaya and the Puranas, somewhat like Madhva himself. Madhva's unquestioned knowledge and authority in all the sections must have given him Joy, as he understood that he had met his master, who had answers to all his doubts and more. The appellation Purnaprajna, the scholar with complete knowledge must have acquired a significance far beyond the routine use of such an expression. The acceptance by Shobhana Bhatta of Madhva as his master, in an open assembly of well learned scholars would have resulted in a similar endorsement by most others and should have brought Madhva a rich harvest of disciples from many lands and different specialised branches of scriptural learning. This is clearly indicated in shloka 16 above. This event should have been followed by Shobhana Bhatta accompanying him thence to listen in detail (Shravana) of His Bhashya and its numerous supporting quotes from other source texts which Madhva would have given. As both the teacher and the student were extraordinary, such a session would be without parallel either in the past or in future. Though the date of this meeting is unknown, it must have taken place around the same time as the conversion of Sri Narahari Tirtha – but somewhat earlier, as he was also an Ashrama Jyeshtha. Madhva must have stayed for quite a long period there in 1261 AD – though whether it coincided with a Chaturmasya can not be determined now. It is very clear that the omniscient Madhva had planned the entire sequence of events for maximizing the results obtained.

It is likely that Padmanabha was older than Madhva by at least 5 years, as he was already acknowledged as the leading scholar and had refuted all competing systems prior to meeting Madhva in the assembly (Chapter 9.18), earlier to 1264 AD, while Madhva would have been less than 25 years of age at that time. Thus, He should have lived well into his nineties, before his final Vrindavana pravesha in Hampi/ NavaVrindavana in 1324 AD, 60 years later (taking note of the fact that he survived Madhva by six years). Sumadhvajaya also mentions that he wrote the Teeka Sannyayarathnavali on Anuvyakhyana composed by Madhva after the disputation with Thrivikrama Pandithacharya, which came up towards the later part of Madhva's

visible life. Padmanabha's Teeka on Madhva Brahmasuthra Bhashya (Satharkadeepavali) and his glosses on Geetha, Prakaranas etc would have been composed earlier. One could visualise the picture of his studying with Madhva for a few years after meeting him in Godavari river bank location by staying on with him and being deputed for Tatvaprachara all over the country by Madhva himself, as his main disciple. Thanks to the political turmoil and the Muslim invasions, his activity may have been confined to Andhra/Karnataka and Tamilnadu of the present day. This scenario fits in with the fairly short period of stay in the Peetha for both Padmanabha and Narahari Tirthas, 6 years and 9 years respectively, as they would be of comparable ages to Madhva, who himself disappeared after 79 years. Narahari Tirtha though slightly younger, should also have lived into his nineties as he outlasted Madhva by 15 years (after 1318 AD),

Though the name of the place where the assembly took place or specific occasion is not mentioned some assessments can be made in this regard. The age of Madhva at the time he ordained the next important disciple Shyama sastry (Sri Narahari Tirtha) can be guessed by the latter's first Shasana in 1264 AD, in which he was already referred to as Sripada, signifying his being an ascetic. HDSV suggests that he may have been around 22 years at that time, and Madhva may have been 25 years. There is no mention of Sri Narahari Tirtha in Sumadhvavijaya at all. Apart from his visits/stay in Orissa (1264 – 1293 AD) after initiation by Madhva, it is likely that he must have had a long initial stay in the beginning with Madhva after initiation for being taught the compositions like Brahma suthra Bhashya and Geetha Bhashya. He must have been a frequent visitor and generally staying with Acharya Madhva for about 24 years towards the end of Madhva's visible life (after 1293 AD or so when he would have been free of his active political life in Orissa till 1317 AD). He is also believed to have brought the Moola Rama set of Idols to Madhva, shortly before Madhva's disappearance, which is also not mentioned in Sumadhvavijaya. Madhva himself should have completed his three digvijayas – the southern tour, and the two northern tours well before 1293 AD (when he would be 55 years of age) with similar ages of his favourite disciples like Sathyatirtha, Padmanabha Tirtha etc.

Incidentally, one may also consider as to why Sri Narahari Tirtha was not even mentioned in Sumadhvavijaya, though his presence should have been well known and recognised by the author, both by virtue of his being a prominent disciple next to Padmanabha Tirtha, who has been eulogised in Sumadhvavijaya and his important role in Kalinga culminating in his bringing the famed Idols of Moola Rama, Seeta etc from there. The present day picture of his main role in Matha literature, based on Uttaradi matha sources originating some time after its first clearly defined unique pontiff Sri Vidyaniidhi, is highlighted by the bringing of the Moola Rama idols rather than his other achievements, emphasising that he was deputed by Madhva to his long service in Orissa only for this purpose, keeping in view the crucial importance presently attached to the Moola Rama Idols Inherited from Chaturmukha Brahma, with a long inheritance history which includes the legendary Rama incarnation of

Thretha Yuga also. Two prominent Mathas with illustrious occupants of the pontifical seats have been having active disputes about the ownership of these Idols which have also involved famous pontiffs known for their Piety and devotion etc – to mention a few – Sri Raghutthama, Sri Sathyanatha, Sri Vijayindra, Sri Raghavendra etc. It is argued emphatically that the Matha which “owns” the Idols is the Moola Matha – direct lineage of Acharya Madhva –as compared to other Mathas which are branches. Without getting into these disputes here, It is most surprising that the authentic and famed composition Sumadhvavijaya which has no rival text, which has dealt with Madhva’s biography till the end of his sojourn as a visible entity, never even hints at such an important issue or acquisition of Moola Rama Idols and the ascetic who made it happen. It seems that at the time when all these happened, no such special overwhelming importance was attached to these Idols as compared to many others of their lineages given to other ascetics by Madhva after worship. This importance seems to have been an add-on at the time of the second split of Madhva Mathas, when there was a dispute between Sri Vibhudendra and Vidyanidhi, as to who was the real official descendent and successor of Sri Ramachandra Tirtha, and the possession of these Idols was highlighted as the basis of such authenticity, by the Vidyanidhi branch to perhaps counter the greater popularity of the Vibhudendra branch due to his earlier ordaining and his great scholarship. This matter was carried further onwards in time and later resulted in the duplication of the Idols and continuous contests about which was the original set brought by Sri Narahari Tirtha – activities which are unacceptable for such great peethas. The seriousness with which these claims, which unfortunately can never be proved decisively to the satisfaction of all parties, is illustrated by the pains that “Sathkatha” takes in claiming - Madhava Tirtha’s Pooja box contained 28 items which included the Moola Rama Seeta idols, which was intact in “Uttaradi” Matha both at the time of the first division during Vidyadhiraja’s time and later when Sri Vidyanidhi apparently secured the entire Puja box in the second division between UM and SRS Mathas. SRS Matha acknowledges the “loss” of the Idols for some time, but their restoration by an act of transfer later. The persistent claim that the original “Moola” matha is the present day Uttaradi Matha rests on the unprovable statement of continuous possession of these famed Idols – but the question that if they are so important, why did Narayana Panditacharya never even mention their acquisition by Madhva and the great ascetic who brought them to him, raises serious doubts about this claim. One hopes that both the “owners” of the two idol sets rest their cases on the provable fact of the long lineage of great ascetics who graced these Peethas and remove this divisive issue from the agenda of discussions, as the original purpose of “proving” Moola Matha status is never attainable by this argument. Luckily SVM and SPR are saved of this unnecessary and improper contest.

Another interesting point has been made by Sri B Venkoba Rao, in his erudite english introduction to Sri Vyasayogicharitham. The time of actual bringing of the Moola Rama Idols by Narahari Tirtha to his Guru is determined based on a sthothra called “Narahari Sthothra” as 80 days before Madhva vanished from Udupi. As

Madhva according to this source finally departed for Badari on 11 January. 1318 AD (Magha shuddha navami of Pingala samvatsara), the Idols must have been brought on 23 October 1317 AD. By looking at the Shasanas of Narahari Tirtha in Orissa, his role as a regent was completed in 1290 AD and all except one doubtful shasana (in 1303 AD), had been written by 1294 AD. Thus his return to Udupi must have happened at least by 1295 AD, giving him 22 years of continuous stay with his beloved Guru – Acharya Madhva till 1317 AD. The temporal conflict involved in Sri Narahari Tirtha bringing the Moola Rama Idols only by 1317 AD, 11 weeks before Madhva's disappearance, though he was perhaps free to go back to Udupi in 1295 itself, 22 years earlier is thus patent. Orissa sources do not show any such long continuation of Narahari Tirtha in an advisory or other capacity after his regentship ending in 1290 AD. This story of 80 days worship of Moola Rama Idols is also repeated in "Jayatirtha Vijaya" of "SrimadVyasaTirtha Pujyacharana" (who seems to be different from either Vyasa Tirtha (direct shishya of Jayatirtha) as he has made several discordant statements like the number of wives of the Poorvashrama of Sri JayaTirtha or the well known Sri Vyasaraja of Vijayanagara fame) – along with a colourful story addition of Sri Narahari Tirtha moving on horseback and covering vast distances when he was chased by the King's guards to cross the borders of the Kalinga state on the same day, with the Kalinga treasury burning down after the idols were taken away. It is this story that has trickled down to the Sathkathas later, as it was intended to emphasise the primacy of the Moola Rama Idols with further imaginary embellishments. The image that Sri Narahari Tirtha evokes in Orissan sources of history as a great Vaishnava preacher, who had ruled the state for 12 long years to save it from anarchy and destruction and was also responsible for a transformation of their society which persists even today and the image of the same ascetic sneaking out with the Idols being pursued by King's guards and escaping them on horseback with their treasury burning itself down after the Idols were removed – boggles one's credulity. Mr. Venkoba Rao however has inferred that the original Narahari Tirtha sthothra which mentions "Khagajadinaani" interpreted as 80 days, is perhaps less credible than the other work based on JayaTirtha quoted above. He suggests therefore, that the real reason for the Idols being brought to Madhva by Narahari Tirtha was the likely extinction of the Kingdoms of Warangal and Kalinga by the imminent invasion by forces of Islam, led by Alluddin Khalji in the first decade of the fourteenth century and the direction to Narahari Tirtha by Madhva is itself an untrue embellishment. Thus, according to him, Narahari Tirtha brought the Idols on his own initiative and gave them as a present!

This version of the story of acquisition of the Moola Rama Idols based on the "JayaTirtha Vijaya", whose author is unknown does not explain the very long period of 1294 – 1317 AD, during which Sri Narahari Tirtha did virtually nothing notable or recorded after such an active life. The more authentic AnuJayatirtha Vijaya of Vyasa Tirtha, the immediate disciple of Sri JayaTirtha does not touch upon this subject at all, as it confines itself only to the story of JayaTirtha. The above longer work attributed to SrimadvyasaTirtha Pujyacharana is not an elaboration of the smaller

work – as there are differences in the story given by the two, showing that the latter was composed by some one else. This work which is also presently available in an incomplete form seems to be an attempt to rewrite history by using the reverence associated with the name of Sri Vyasaraaja to gain greater acceptability – as the great Saint of Vijayanagara never used the appellation Srimad and Poojyacharana to refer to himself in his own compositions. It is also perhaps post Vyasaraaja and hence not a fully credible explanation of events on its own strength on the events concerning Narahari Tirtha. Thus, the theory of eighty days period of worship of Acharya Madhva has to rest on the original shloka eulogising Narahari Tirtha mentioned earlier. A devaranama attributed to Sri Purandaradasa eulogising Sri Narahari Tirtha is also quoted to show the very short period of worship by Madhva along with the colourful story of how he was selected by the royal elephant to rule Kalinga, when the king died. In the light of the totality of these records of Sri Narahari Tirtha in Orissa, it seems doubtful that events took place as claimed in this devaranama. The only rational explanation that fits in with all records and facts as known now, is to accept that the Idols came back with Sri Narahari Tirtha, when he finally left Kalinga/Orissa in 1294/5 AD and were included the Puja Boxes of Acharya Madhva. The imaginative embroidering of the story such as his being specially deputed by Madhva for bringing the Idols, the coincidence of the death of the King of Kalinga when he went there and acquisition of regentship of the state by the chance selection of the royal elephant, his completing the 12 year period and coming back with the Idols when he was chased by the royal guards and escaping from their chase by riding hard on horse back, the royal treasury catching fire and being burnt to ashes etc are all done later – when establishing the religious authority of a Matha with the unique importance of the Moola Rama Idols became necessary and such “records” were found. As there have been similar instances of attributing Devaranamas to famous saints and tampering with sthothras and inventing an entirely non-existent episode (Sri Vijayadhwaja Tirtha) – one has to accept the truth based only on hard evidence and not on unproven “ancient” records which are quoted.

Sri Padmanabha has been credited with 15 works, directly dealing with the Sarvamoola compositions, being the oldest, most authoritative and well known commentator acknowledged by his successors including Sri Jayatirtha. Sri Narahari Tirtha has also been credited with 15 works. Only Sri Madhava Tirtha, with 17 years of stay on the Peetha and Sri Akshobhya with 15 years are credited with no works. The former is vaguely associated by unsupported tradition of having written the Bhashyas for the Vedas, no tangible record or even allusions to the same in other works have been discovered, giving rise to the possible doubt that the story of the other Madhava alias Vidyaranya of the Advaita school, who did have commentaries of the Vedas written a few years later has been wrongly attributed in this case. While Madhava Tirtha was in the seat during 1333-1350 AD, the writing of Veda Bhashya by Sayana (under the guidance of Vidyaranya-Madhava) was during the time of King Bukka of Vijayanagar (1356-1377 AD). The complete absence of any other

composition being attributed to Sri Madhava Tirtha is also indicative of this – the HDSV says that “He had probably no literary leanings”. While Akshobhya Tirtha himself has not written any major composition, he was known for his effective and decisive disputations with other schools and his imparting knowledge in systematic and comprehensive manner to the great JayaTirtha, who acknowledges it gratefully.

All these may also indicate that the author of Sumadhavijaya has not mentioned, only for fear of too much detail, names other than Padmanabha, the most prominent one amongst the Outsiders and Vishnu Tirtha (Madhva’s poorvashrama brother) in the Thaulava group along with the names of the eight ascetics worshipping Krishna Ikon. He does mention generally that there were disciples from many lands and many of them had their own disciples and disciples of their disciples also, even when Madhva was still visible. (Shlokas 120 – 139 of chapter 15). There were many ascetics and house holders in his entourage (towards the end of his stay) when Sumadhavijaya was actually written).

The longer periods of stay in the Peetha subsequently by Madhava and Akshobhya - 17 years and 15 years would show that they were younger correspondingly and might have come to and stayed with Madhva only in his later years – Madhava was named Vishnu Shastri in his poorvashrama. If we consider his Vrindavana pravesha in 1350 AD also at about 90 years of age, he would have met a 50 years old Madhva when he was around 25 years of age. In Akshobhya’s case, Madhva would be a further 15 years older – say 65 years of age, if we assume that he met Madhva at an age of 25 years. The succession of Padmanabha and Narahari would have been planned and decided by Madhva directly, while that of Madhava and Akshobhya would be events taking place after many decades after his disappearance and might have come about in the natural order of events, perhaps on the ground of their being initiated by Madhva himself, as is commonly believed. Though there must have been many more ascetic disciples, we have no other names of Madhva initiated disciples or Parampare, one can only conclude that these others continued as Bidi Sannyasis for their life time, while the house holders would have swelled the increasing number of shrothriya Madhvas. The fact that their number was large is also mentioned in Sumadhavijaya, which mentions that “there were many other great ascetics belonging to different regions”. While there would be some mobility of scholars going to important centers for purposes of debate and gaining recognition and victory, the difficulty and slowness of travel would make the movement of the preacher himself crucial in attracting new adherents from different regions. Thus Sumadhavijaya indirectly confirms that Madhva had travelled over different regions during his visits. It also describes in shloka 16.132 of disciples of the fourth generation already among ascetics even in Madhva’s time. In the class of house-holder shishyas, only the three great scholars of Likucha lineage are mentioned in the shloka 16.135. Thus, it appears that what has been recorded may be only be a part which is a limited and highly subjective one of the broad picture, as it appeared to its author. The Vrindavanas of the famous composer of

Harivayusthuthi – Thrivikarama Panditha and the author of Sumadhvavijaya, Narayana Panditha are however available today.

Description of Madhva's disciples in Sumadhvavijaya:

Chapter 15-

.132. The disciples of the disciples of Madhva and their disciples were many and were like ornaments to the earth. All of them had good qualities (such as Jnana, Bhakthi and Vairagya) as their ornaments.

.133. They were always sporting in the ocean of happiness in the study of commentaries of good Shastras. They were wearing the ornaments of being engaged in refuting the copious arguments put forward by evil persons (of opposite schools).

.134. Some had studied the Shastras only a little, but had great devotion. Some had average intelligence, but had, by repeated learning made up for that in their knowledge of the Shastras.

*Note: This is an indirect indication of the cross section of the large numbers of disciples, as it can not be referring only to the few quoted names. It is being stressed that though they were gifted with different capacities, all of them had great devotion and application for acquiring learning to the best of their abilities.*

.137. Others headed by Brahmanas (such as Kshathriya, Vaishya etc) who secure Moksha by performing the tasks of protection of the good people and who headed villages also became disciples of Madhva.

*Note: There is an important principle enunciated here. Most sections of society may not be able to devote all their time for acquisition of knowledge as Brahmanas do and may have to perform other tasks for the proper functioning of society as a whole such as feeding it, law and order etc. typified by Varnashrama Dharma. Any of them could become Madhva by conviction and by teaching including rituals such as Mudradharane being thus assured of their place in Moksha, if they perform their tasks with dedication and as a service to God, also acquiring true knowledge, devotion gradually. Vaishnava Deeksha given by Madhva to other than Brahmanas is confirmed here. **It is a pity that apart from a few saints like Sri Vadiraja, our Mathas invariably limit their activity only to Madhva Brahmanas and do not consider the others as serious aspirants for Moksha entitled to Upadesha and ritual acceptance into the Madhva fold. To some extent, it is this factor that is responsible for the proliferation of Mathas of other caste Mathas and Jagadgurus, when the original Brahmana Gurus abdicated their historic role.***

Sumadhvavijaya mentions a senior ascetic belonging to Likucha clan also, who would have been Ashrama jyeshta to Madhva, having been ordained earlier by his guru Achyuthapreksha and who asked him to write his own Brahmasuthra Bhashya. The relevant shlokas of Chapter 5 are quoted here:

*Senior ascetic asks Ananda Tirtha to give a discourse on the correct meanings of Brahma Suthras (27 – 29).*

.27. There was a senior ascetic born in the Likucha family who had all the ornamental qualities appropriate to his status as a great ascetic, such as detachment from worldly affairs, victory over the senses, steadfast courage, good speech etc, along with great devotion in the Lord. He told Madhva once:

.28. If the compositions such as (Shankara) Bhashya etc are against the tenets of Vedanta (as decided by the Brahma Suthras), let them be there, what is the harm to us? Wise Ananda Tirtha, will you please explain to us the correct meaning of the Suthras and Upanishads. (Vedanta).

.29. In these auspicious words of the senior ascetic, all the desires of the good people were manifested, in the same manner as all the directions are rendered bright by the light of a full moon in the autumn (clear and cloudless sky). Then just as the sky is illumined by light emerging from the Moon, the moon like face of Ananda Tirtha gave out the discourse which described the nature of Hari.

*Note: Here, the words Vishnupada, Asha, Shubhapoornayaa, prakashinee etc are used with independent meanings as applicable to Madhva or the simile.*

No further record or any story linking his actions are available

The fact that Acharya Madhva must have collected a big library of compositions can not be disputed based on the record of the theft of his library described in Sumadhvavijaya which must have been available for the reference of his disciples, even if we assume that Madhva himself did not need the source books due to his vast divine knowledge. His carrying his mobile library on an Ox is also well supported by tradition. Madhva has also stated in explaining a Taittiriya text:

“Maanusham Manusho dharmo  
Devah apihi maanushe  
Manushyavath pravarthanthe  
Naivaishvaryaprakashinah ithi cha”

*When one incarnates as a human being, he behaves like one and this applies to gods also. They behave like humans and never display their superhuman powers.*

Madhva must have therefore necessarily behaved and worked within the limitations of a human frame, at least as far as the external world is concerned, though it was of the highest possible standard and on some occasions, showed traces of his infinitely larger capacity to his own people.

Madhva must have returned to Udupi from the first Badari tour by 1262 AD and it is probable that his second trip was also completed in another 15/16 years. If one looks at the political and administrative changes during this period, the depredations against Southern and Central India by the Muslim conquerors of Khalji and Thuglaq dynasties after the accession of Jalaluddin to the Delhi throne in 1290 AD, were yet to come. The complete subjugation of the prominent Hindu kingdoms of Devagiri, Warangal, Telingana, Hoysalas came after Madhva's time, and they were still havens of support to Hindu culture after the wide spread subjugation of North India and its Hindu kingdoms and their cultural milieu which started with Ghazni Mahmud's first attack in 1000 AD. Most of its temples and cultural centers of historic antiquity such as Mathura, Nagarkot, Thaneshwar, Kannauj, Kanpur, Gwalior, Somanatha etc had been overrun, ravaged, looted and put to complete destruction for a quarter of a century with no respite year after year. This was followed by territorial conquest by Ghori and his successors. Except Orissa, and small Hindu kingdoms scattered around and under the mercy of local Muslim Governors under the Delhi Sultanate, the Hindus in North India were scarcely able to practice their ancient religions, let alone display any cultural activity. Madhva must have felt that he has to save what ever was possible for posterity in this climate of gloom and tragedy of monstrous proportions on a countrywide scale for Hindus in their own country. There is no doubt that his attempts to codify all the intellectual and esoteric aids of Vedanta religion unmatched by any other Teacher, was also accompanied by all out efforts to save available ancient records and preserve them in the form of his own compositions as well as copies saved as the southern rescensions in some cases.

*Madhva's purpose for extensive coverage of all centers of learning has also been stated by himself clearly in Mahabharata Tātparya Nirnaya as follows:*

#### Chapter 2 Slokas 4/9

Though the work itself is indestructible, the verses are mostly altered. Most of these have also disappeared and even one crore out of several crores of Slokas does not exist now.

With the work itself so disturbed, what is there to say of the meaning of the verses, which is difficult even to the gods (with superior intellects).

In Kali yuga, with the work having been so distorted, I have been directed by Hari to write a Nirnaya treatise.

I shall state the settled truths after having known fully the Vedas and extinct Sastras (compositions) with His grace, and **also having examined the various records available in different places.**

It is thus most likely that he did visit almost all important places where such concentration of scholars and teaching of traditional learning existed both for debates as well as collection of source texts, particularly as Madhva was invariably

exact and never prone to hyperbole or undue exaggeration in his statements. He said only whatever he meant. One also notices a mix of several rescensions of Mahabharata referred to by him in his Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya, and not the easily available southern rescension only. This effort at collecting copies would have also involved more intricate planning of his trips as well as **more time** – specially as copies were not likely to be readily available and had to be arranged to be made. It is well known that Madhva quotes from many sources not available today and which may not have been widely available even in his time. The charge of inventing new sources or plagiarizing his own material by new names is sometimes made by modern reviewers – who try to assess his vast capacity, his sincerity of purpose, his divine penetrative and encyclopedic mind with their own limited vision and fail miserably and predictably.

Sri Venkoba Rao has also pointed out that in 1261 AD, the ruler of Rajahmundry would be the Warangal king, who was at that time Rudramba and it is for this reason there is no description of any meeting between her and Acharya Madhva. This has been noted in part I of our study notes already. But, the distance between Warangal, the main fort city and capital and Rajahmundry is around 350 Kms and while the latter may have been a big town, it would be subject to conquest and occupation by contesting powers Orissa/Kalinga and Warangal and later by Vijayanagara etc. Thus, a religious festival or even a Vidvath Sabha under royal patronage may not be attended by the queen necessarily. The city of Rajahmundry being on the banks of the Godavari river and with easier travel access to Udupi via Guntur, Kurnool and places in Karnataka like Shimoga, Chitradurga, Bellary etc would be more popular for such gatherings than Warangal,, which is in the interior and without the river being nearby. It is also suggested by him that Shobhana Bhatta was a scholar based on the Warangal state – Godavari Delta, enjoying state patronage, and had to migrate to Hampi/Kampili state, when Warangal was destroyed in 1322 AD, with the fall of the King Prathapa Rudra. The two founders of Vijayanagara, Hakka and Bukka were also in the service of Warangal and fled to Kampili state on its fall. Sri Padmanabha and Narahari Tirtha's final resting place became Hampi for these reasons.

It could be perhaps suggested that the first return trip from Badari Kshethra with only one point viz Godavari river bank specifically mentioned and known firmly does indicate indirectly that the Route of Madhva's party should have passed through Prayaga, Varanasi and Gaya after which he would travel around 700 Kms down south to go to Jagannatha Puri in Orissa and then south westwards along the Orissa-Andhra coast up to Rajahmundry passing through Srikakulam etc for a distance of around 640 Kms. He would then have to travel another 1000 Kms approximate to reach Shimoga cutting across the width of South India. The Total journey length would be around 3400 Kms, as the first leg of the Journey from Haridwar to Gaya via Varansi, Allahabad etc is also 1000 Kms approximately. This distance could be covered in one year easily allowing for a Chathurmasya and stay

for some longer durations in important places.- allowing Madhva to reach Udupi back by end 1262 or early 1263.

The exact detailed route and list of places visited by Madhva's party on the return of the first Badari trip can not be defined more exactly without indulging in pure speculation with no evidence. We will examine the second Badari trip details as well as other events in Udupi itself in between and later on in the next instalments.

To be continued.

## **HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS**

### **Regarding the Periods of the first five great Madhva saints**

#### **Sri Padmanabha, Narahari, Madhava, Akshobhya and Jaya Tirthas**

##### **PART VII**

At the outset, it is necessary to take a critical look at all the data available with us pertaining to events which are more than 650 years old. It is often said about Hindus that we have no sense of history and no effort is made to preserve historical evidence. While not intending here to discuss the merits of this statement, it should not be forgotten that what we have suffered at the hands of successive invaders has no parallel - specially of the most destructive and brutal variety for several centuries. Perhaps it was all that the Hindus could do to preserve their cultural integrity against the brutes like Ghazni and Ghoris who revelled in killing "infidels" specially the learned men, destroyed wantonly magnificent temples, which usually served as foci of our learning and simply looted and destroyed all that they passed like a forest fire ravaging the earth. Thus an ancient civilisation (Sanathana Dharma) which has no record of transgressing and destroying other lands found itself at the receiving end of some of the most horrible crimes against humanity, just a little earlier and around the period of Acharya Madhva..

Providentially in the case of Srimadacharya, we have an excellent Biographer in the person of Sri Narayana Pandithacharya, who is credited with the following works :

1. Sumadhavijaya - the main work with 16 cantos, which is a detailed contemporary account of the Acharya.
2. Anumadhavijaya - A condensation of the above work written essentially for teaching the young children and daily recitation.
3. Manimanjari - This short work of 8 cantos serves as an introduction to Sri Sumadhavijaya.

4. Bhava Prakashika - This is a gloss which throws further light on places, names, incidents etc of Sri Sumadhvajaya with their Tulu names.

He has also given the names of all the previous 21 commentaries on Brahma Suthras.

*(It is noteworthy that Sri Sankaracharya did not have a contemporary Biographer at all, but his Biography was written later - after Sumadhva vijaya).*

A very pertinent question that needs answer is whether the fine inspection of Sumadhvajaya phrases and statements that are being relied upon in this analysis is itself justified –as the Poet, though sincere and with great literary merits, was not an eyewitness to most of the important incidents being discussed having arrived very late on the scene and could have the human frailties of exaggeration extolling in superlative but unreal terms, choosing only desired parts of the evidence and ignoring the inconvenient etc. At this stage and date, we can hardly judge the poet's description of events about their veracity in the absence of any other contrary evidence – but we can still look at his own basic record in putting down known facts and inconsistency of representation in the work. .

The structure of Sumadhvajaya seems to show that the events described in cantos 1 - 11 have been based essentially on hearsay or previous compositions, which are not available. The basis adopted has been very well described in BhAvaprakAshika. The poet says :

"PrAyEna naikamAthrOkthah kathithA iha sarvashah

mayA drushta dhruvam ithi prOktha prayena Poorushaihi"

"DvayOrvakthOrvirOdhEthu sveekruthA prabalasya Geeh

KavyAshrayE vA gurukirthayE vA prOktham svayaivApi maneeshayA vA

ThasmAnnashsa kushAgreeya dhiyapyavashyam"

The poet has considered in the biography only those events which have been seen by their own eyes by reliable persons, and when ever there were any differences they were carefully evaluated to choose the correct version based on the evidence. **Nothing has been included only for poetic reasons based only on imagination or to extol the reputation of the Guru.** He makes a request therefore to the intelligent readers not to doubt the veracity of his statements.

He also says :

"CharyA drushtA naraih kAshchith vismruthA devamAyayA

AvismruthAshcha purushaih nAsmAbhiah sakalA shruthAh

shruthAshcha Kashchin naiva ukthAh devaguhyathvanishchayAth"

Only some of the events were seen by others, and many were forgotten due to the action of DEvamAyA. All the events remembered were not told to the poet. Even among the events which he came to know, he has not included some as they are extremely secret (Guhyathama). In fact there is a clear statement in S. of such an event in the ordaining and blessings received by Sri Vishnu Tirtha, when the poet says that this "will not be described due to its being unintelligible to the mind and its being secret".

It is therefore fair to conclude that the poet has taken a lot of care to make his biography totally factual as far as his resources permitted him. The events in the Cantos 12 to 16 bear the stamp of a personal knowledge of the poet either by direct participation or through the accounts of two of his elders Sri Shankara P. (uncle) and Sri Thrivikrama P. (father). The description of Sri Madhva's daily routine, his visit to Vishnumangala temple at the invitation of the King Jayasimha, recovery of Sri Madhva's library at the king's intervention and its handing over to his uncle, the description of the prominent disciples and the 15 day long disputation between his father and Sri Madhva which ended in the former becoming a disciple etc have the wealth of detail, authenticity of personal knowledge and total clarity which could be explained only if these events were seen by or known to the poet at very close quarters.

This conclusion is also implicitly supported by the fact that such important events such as the installation of the Krishna idol in Udupi is covered by only 4 shlokas, while less significant events which he seems to have witnessed personally is described in detail. Sri C M Padmanabhachariar says - "It is probable that a biographical sketch of Sri Madhva was composed in his own time. Some one of his learned disciples seems to have kept a diary of his tours and sketched his doings from time to time, recording all the important events of his life'. There is also a mention in Sumadhva vijaya in the tenth canto of a disciple of Sri Madhva reciting many poetic compositions in front of an eager assembly of devotees. Many of the superhuman miracles are described in this Canto, and there is a possibility that many of the verses were "borrowed" into this canto subsequently. This canto is written in several metres and using a number of Alamkaras, rhythmic construction and literary beauty such as the employing of the same letter to convey a wealth of meaning : For example -

NAnEnEnAnEnA nEnO noonEna nanu nunnAh

NAnAnA nO noonma nAnEnAnOnanAnunnAh"

This verse simply means that MukhyaPrAna is the inner controller of all creatures except Lord NArAyana. As Sri Thrivikrama P. himself was a great Advaita scholar before he met Sri Madhva and would have impressed upon his son the traditional systems and practices such as an early Upanayana etc. it is reasonable to conclude that this gifted son of an eminent father would have composed this Biographical

sketch in the lifetime of Sri Madhva himself and offered it to his Guru. His father who had composed Sri HariVAyusthuthi and Thathvapraddlpa had done so. It is noteworthy also that since Sri Madhva's time, Sumadhvavijaya has had no rival work and on the other hand, the traditional practice of teaching youngsters Manimanjari (also composed by the same author) and Sumadhvavijaya has continued till today. Even the regular recital and study of these texts is considered as a sacred duty of Madhvas. All this would not be possible unless the work had the approval and sanction of Sri Madhva himself. This sanctity was accorded even though the two were still Grihasthas and did not occupy any position of formal pontifical authority.

Sumadhvavijaya is silent with regard to the sequence and actual dating of the various incidents that have happened after his return from Badari Kshethra after the first trip, (covered so far) except that some events have been broadly juxtaposed in a particular order and can be arranged accordingly. Thus, installation of Udupi Krishna must have taken place after the first visit to Badari and before the second visit. Geetha Bhashya was the very first composition written even before he went to Badari for the first time. Brahma Suthra Bhashya was written in Badari during his first visit, when Sri Sathya Tirtha was the prominent ascetic disciple with him along with some others, who wrote the Bhashya as per Madhva's dictation. At this time, he could not have yet met his main disciples like Padmanabha, Narahari etc, who were ordained by him during or after his return visit from Badari in Godavari river bank. Sri Narahari Tirtha must have essentially remained in Orissa till late years of Madhva as per his orders – as indicated by his shasanas there. His date of the first shasana 1264 AD indicates the higher time limit for the date of Madhva's first return from Badari and his route – possibly Godavari river bank, such as Rajahmundry and possibly a visit to the new Jagannatha Puri temple (constructed by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva – 1077-1147), a great Vaishnava kshethra nearby, where Sri Narahari Tirtha must have invited and taken him, as he was an important resident in that kingdom. Anuvyakhyana and Nyayavivarana were composed after the debate with Thrivikrama Pandithacharya in the last few years of his stay as a visible person in Udupi. Some smaller works like Krishnamrutha maharnava, Yathipranava kalpa etc must have come up towards his very last visible years. Acharya Madhva (Disappearance 1317/8 AD) was still on earth during the period of Allauddin Khalji, (1296 – 1316 AD), but his presence seems to have been limited to the Kerala and Konkan west coasts which were unaffected by Alluddin's conquests and wars. An important aspect of the study is the period of his second trip. Unlike the first trip, where some definitive evidence in the form of Shasanas of Sri Narahari Tirtha are available, there is no clear evidence except the guess-estimates about the periods of Madhva's life being assigned for different activities. One important event in this regard is the installation of the Ikon of Krishna in Udupi.

In this connection, it is interesting to look at the approximate sequence in which the Sarvamoola compositions were composed- mainly with a view to assess, which came in the interregnum between the two Badari trips, and which of them came

afterwards. The latter group could be further divided into those which came after Acharya Madhva had his debate with Sri Trivikrama Panditha and those before that. A few might have come at the very last stages of Acharya Madhva's stay in Udupi among his disciples visible to the world. The inter-se order of the compositions in each group may not be exactly as stated here – as it is not pertinent for the purpose of this discussion.

- I. *Compositions before first trip to Badari* – Kanduka sthuthi (as a boy), **Geetha Bhashya**
- II. ----- do ----- *In Badari* – **Brahma Suthra Bhashya**
- III. ----- do ----- *Between the two Badari trips* – **Anubhashya**, Geetha tātparya, 10 Upanishabhashyas, **Dvadasha Sthothra**, 3 Khandana Thraya, Pramana Lakshana, Katha Lakshana, Tatvasamkhyana, Tatvaviveka
- IV. ----- do ----- *After the second Badari (before meeting Thrivikrama)* **Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya**, Bhagavata Tatparya Nirnaya, VishnuTatva, Vinirnaya, Karmanirnaya, Rgbhashya, Tantrasarasamgraha, Sadacharasmrithi, Yamaka Bharata,
- V. *After the debate with Thrivikarma Panditacharya* – **Anuvyakhyana**, **Nyayavivarana**, **Thathvodyotha**, **Nakhasthuthi**, Yathipranava kalpa, **Krishanmurthamaharnava**, **Jayanthinirnaya**.

Note: The order of those in        colour and bold is clearly indicated in the context itself. The others are basically proposed based on likely order of composition for a developing school of Vedanta. This order is subjective and possibly debatable. The simplified basis is that the compositions needed for elaborating the Suthra Prasthanas as well as the Geetha were written earliest, following the Bhashyas, along with the short texts dealing with methodology of analysis and refutation of the main syllogisms of Advaita. The Nirnaya compositions on Mahabharata, Bhagavata as well as the ancillary compositions came next, which needed compilation and editing for textual reconstruction from numerous copies also. The group in V is mentioned as the last in Sumadhavavijaya evidence itself. The last two in this list were specially composed for the benefit of some devotees as per tradition. The compositions in IV would have taken much longer time amongst all due to their size as well as the nature of the work. .

Based on the above, the compositions in period III above are seen to be comparatively less voluminous than those in period IV without trying to make an assessment as to how a genius and divinity like Madhva would have dealt with them. Assuming Madhva's return from the first Badari trip in 1262 AD, when he would be 24 years of age, and his period of most active writing of compositions till he met Thrivikrama Pandita as to be up to the age of 65 years (till period V above), the total period for III and IV above will be about 37 years (also allowing for a long journey of 3-4 years for the second trip), which is divided approximately as 14 and 23 years based on the assessed volume of the compositions as written. (I am open to correction by better qualified scholars in this regard). Thus Madhva would be

planning to start for his second trip to Badari by 38/39 years of age - say by 1275 AD, on this very crude basis.

Another basis could be the period when the Idol of Krishna was anointed in Udupi. If one looks at Sumadhavivijaya chapter 9, it is seen that after his return to Udupi from the first trip to Badari, Madhva was consolidating his school by convincing his own Guru, the elder ascetic and others against their earlier leanings to Advaita and continued his compositions. The installation of Krishna Idol comes next, followed by Madhva presiding over a sacrifice ceremony by an old friend (of poorvashrama days) Vasudeva against the strong opposition of a local priest belonging to Jaraghatitha Gothra, in which his poorvashrama brother, (who became Vishnu Tirtha later when he took the vows of asceticism) was the Hothru. The second trip to Badari has been mentioned immediately thereafter,

It is also noted that with the sole exception of the Kumbbla king Jayasimha, who was involved in restoring the stolen compositions of Madhva, and Iswaradeva (presumably of Devagiri), no other King is mentioned by name in Sumadhavivijaya. There is no reference of royal honours and bounties given to the great prophet. The Thurushka king is mentioned in passing only to show Madhva's great qualities like renunciation, fearlessness and magnetic personality. At no stage was any attempt made to secure any grants or convert the rulers first, to get mass conversion of followers by Madhva or his disciples like true renunciates, as is reported in the histories of by some other prophets. All the conversions were in his time limited only to those who were themselves well equipped to put up a good case for their initial set of faiths and found Madhva's Tatvavada was overwhelmingly superior to them. Neither force nor inducements of a worldly nature were ever used, nor were mass conversions ever visualised. Even Narahari Tirtha has GIVEN grants in Orissa and not *received* them. The record of Kings giving grants of lands etc seem to start only after several generations of ascetics – this being one of the factors which have made it difficult to determine the periods and events in the earlier cases.

In these circumstances, we have to look at all possible indirect derivations based on logic etc to fix the period of the second visit. Some of these are discussed below:

1. Madhva's age at Varanasi visit mentioned in Sumadhavivijaya:

The visit to Varanasi is covered in 7 shlokas – 10.35 to 43 in Sumadhavivijaya. There are two events – the first, being a test of strength of Acharya Madhva with 15 young disciples who were proud of their strength, using it to the full against him together. They were felled to the ground and were unable to get up because of the pressure of Madhva's limbs and even fingers keeping them pressed down. The reference to their youth (YUnam) and their pride in their strength being used against their own beloved and respected Guru as per his own orders conveys a clear implication that he was thought to be weaker, due to his being past his own younger days. This can not refer to his first trip, where we have seen that he was only around 23/24 years of

age. Thus, indirectly one gets the implied conclusion that Madhva must have been at least a generation older than the disciples in their twenties – say around 40/45 years of age. The large number of young disciples in this incident not only implies a larger group but also considerable difference in ages between them and Madhva.

2. Madhva's direction and support for the Sacrifice performed after Krishna Idol installation and before second Badari Yathra.

The important point to be noted is the presence of Madhva's younger brother as a Hothru in this sacrifice. As already mentioned his younger brother was 8 or 10 years younger than him, based on Madhva's date of Sannyasa at 9 or 11 years. Considering that he must have completed his full education in Shastras and gained enough experience to qualify him as a main participant in the sacrifice, he must be at least 25/30 years of age at that time. This gives a range of ages for Madhva to be between 36 to 41 years. Of course, this criterion specifies only the lower age limit.

3. Madhva's installation of Krishna Idol dates as per Kaifiyaths.

According to the kaifiyaths recorded by Colonel Mackenzie and quoted by Sri Prabhanjanacharya in his book called Kala Nirnaya in Kannada, the date is recorded as 1238 AD, based on his birthdate as 1199 AD. As this actual date is incorrect, we could take the time interval of the two dates – Madhva's birth and Krishna Prathishtapana as valid information and estimate the actual date as  $1238+39 = 1277$  AD (when Madhva would be 39 years of age). Such an assumption is based on the logic that The Kaifiyath years are internally self-consistent, but have a basic error in calendar, of 39 years minus, due to the literal interpretation of the shloka of Mahabharata tãtparya Nirnaya as already discussed earlier. This event comes almost at the midpoint of Madhva's stay as a visible personality on earth. As Madhva would have already returned after his first trip to Badari by 1262 AD, he would have had 15 years to establish the scriptural and literary basis of Tatvavada by writing the essential works in this period and teaching his first set of disciples headed by Sri Padmanabha Tirtha etc. After this important landmark event, he could start for his second trip to Badari.

4. Madhva's Ganga river crossings:

As already discussed, as the first Ganga crossing was in the first Badari Trip on the way to Haridwara, the second crossing mentioned in Sumadhvavijaya seems to be in the second Badari trip and not in the return trip of the first as assumed wrongly often for reasons already mentioned. We can look for any hints about the location and time when this crossing took place, by going back to what the Poet has said in Sumadhvavijaya first:

*The miraculous crossing of the Ganga river late in the evening by Madhva alone in the second trip is described by Sumadhvavijaya 10 th Chapter as follows:*

***Madhva and entourage cross the river Ganga again on the (return?) journey (26 – 31).***

26. (After his return from Badari?), Madhva, the most learned of all those who are Kshethrajnas (who know the Supreme Being or who know all the holy places) and the prime teacher of the Shastras giving Moksha, along with his entourage offered his worship and prostrations to the immanent forms of the Supreme Being present in numerous holy waters (rivers, lakes etc) and holy places **enroute** and reached the shores of Ganga with its high waves **again**.

### Special note on the shloka:-

*This shloka is usually understood to refer to the return journey from Badari, as indicated in the words in brackets, which are not in the original, but assumed to be added, as it follows the description of the first crossing and some events including the direction of Sri Vedavyasa regarding the composition of Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya. (For instance, this is the meaning given by Sri Prabhanjanacharya in his kannada translation of Sumadhvavijaya – he has also mentioned the name of Kurukshethra as an illustration of the Kshethras referred to here, though it is located far away to the west in modern Haryana and not falling in the route from Haridwara to Ganga crossing). The equivalent sanskrit for the words in brackets are not found in the original, which only says that Madhva reached the Ganga AGAIN (**Punah**), after traversing numerous sacred Thirthas and Kshethras, where he worshipped the immanent forms of the Supreme Being in those deities. But, if this assumption is not there (leaving the words in brackets out), it would be seen that it could also refer to the forward journey to Badari also for the second time.*

*The words “Theertheshu theertheshu cha Kshethreshu cha” in the shloka imply a large number and certainly not just a few confined to the meandering Alakananda river and its prayagas. The word Kshetra is always used in the context of some important past event or place of a Deity described in scriptures – like Naimisha, Pushkara, Kurukshethra, etc denoting the special continued presence of the deity there. Except Badari and Hrishikesh no other kshethra could be thought of in the route to Badari from Haridwara traversed on the return journey in either Badari trip. The first forward journey to Badari has already been discussed earlier. Therefore, this occasion clearly indicates the second FORWARD Journey from Udipi to Badari.*

*This interpretation is more natural and appropriate and implies also that unlike Madhva’s first trip, where he was trying to reach Badari Kshethra as quickly as possible, in the second trip, he might have planned it with many more detours to cover Pilgrimage locations in the forward direction also, as can be reasonably expected. The fact that Madhva had again to cross the Ganga river using his supernatural powers and he found that there was a Hindu king **on the other side**, with a large assembly of scholars in session late in the evening after dark as described in the remaining shlokas here, shows that the occasion was entirely different and the location must have been far away from the place of the first trip crossing which was on the borders of a state ruled by the Turkish Sultan of Delhi*

*The key word in this interpretation is **Punah**. Normally, one presumes that this occasion would be the second of its kind, as the first has been already described in shlokas 8-19 of the same chapter. If it is applied to Madhva’s own Ganga river crossings, it would justify the interpretation that it happened on the return journey of the first trip itself. But, if we apply it as used by Sri Narayana Panditacharya as a second occasion where a miraculous river crossing was performed by Madhva, it could apply to any other occasion as Madhva could have crossed the Ganga many times in his pilgrimage with no special events – but the second occasion when such a miraculous event happened is being described here.*

In any case, it cannot refer to the return trip of the first visit to Badari as already pointed out. The circumstances of this crossing appear to be those of the second trip for the following reasons:

i. *The long stay in Badari during the first trip as well as onset of winter by the time the party reached Haridwara will preclude a Chaturmasya observance at least till the next year, (as already mentioned) which will necessitate Madhva’s staying on in Haridwara*

area for another 7/8 months. It is far more reasonable to assume that on that occasion, he went away from Haridwara for his longer trip covering Tirtha kshethras in the present day UP, Bihar etc. In any case, the crossing of the Ganga in the vicinity of Haridwara can not be avoided, which would have been incident-free.

ii. The author is clearly stating that immediately **after crossing** the river Ganga in the manner stated, at that time of the night, there was a Vidvath Sabha on the other bank with bright illumination, presence of a King etc. This cannot be the situation if Balban's guards were still present there or if it were in the front line of an area was ruled by Muslims. This clearly precludes the crossing at the same point during the return as for the forward journey.

iii. The next shloka describing his Chaturmasya in Hasthinavathi is clearly indicated **as the next**, by the use of the word **Thathah** in the shloka 10.34. This leads to the conclusion that the place where he crossed the river was somewhere near Hasthinavathi, but it was not Hasthinavathi itself. Though the visits to Kurukshethra and Hrishikesha have been covered in shlokas which follow it, the sequence has been clearly interrupted as a visit to Varanasi is inserted in between. The latter shlokas indicate that the occasions are not related to the order in the shlokas in their wording also.

iv. The visit to Kurukshethra could precede or follow the crossing of the Ganga river. But taking into account the Chaturmasya requirements of Hasthinavathi, its visit must be only on the return of the second trip from Badari as already explained. If the Kurukshethra was visited immediately before sitting for Chaturmasya in Hasthinavathi, it will be necessary that Madhva's party had left that much before from Badari to allow about 10/12 days for the extra distance of 250 Kms plus to come to Hasthinavathi by the roundabout route (see part 6 for distance details).

v. As the second crossing described here could have been either in the forward or return journey, one has to consider its location taking into account the subsequent events such as the Vidvath sabha etc, which indicates Hindu environment, no immediate war threat, the local ruler being present and a place of scholars where such assemblies would be held normally. If the Ganga crossing location is considered as a separate incident, as compared to the Hrishikesha, Hasthinavathi and Kurukshethra visits, by disregarding the meaning of the word *Thatah* as mentioned in III above, the location could be elsewhere also. This point will be discussed separately.

#### **Next shlokas:**

.27. It was sunset and there were no boats to cross the river. The disciples did not know what to do and sat down on the bank worried. Madhva saw his worried entourage and crossed the river Ganga alone without even getting his clothes wet.

*Note: Anumadvavijaya explains that he used the power of Jalasthambhana (making the water motionless and rigid for this purpose.*

*Poetic description of the worry of the disciples (28 – 29)*

.28. The disciples did not recollect (at that time) that Madhva (in his previous incarnations) was Hanuman who had crossed the ocean and Bhimasena who played sportingly in the Ganga. Otherwise, they would not have got scared and would not have doubted his ability to overcome dangers in crossing the river.

.29. When the sun illuminating the whole world with his groups of brilliant rays sets, the Lotus flowers which have opened during the day close back to buds and become

dull, as if in sorrow. Similarly when Madhva who was the cause of illumination (knowledge and happiness) of the disciples with his teaching of Tatvavada tenets was invisible (when he crossed the river in dark), they lost the gleam in their eyes and their faces wilted. (They were deeply worried about the safety of Madhva).

*Madhva had his disciples ferried to bank, where a Vidvath Sabha is in progress (30 – 33)..*

.30. The all powerful Madhva crossed the river with the ease with which (the very fast and powerful) Garuda crosses (distance equivalent to) the mere footstep of a cow. The king, Brahmins and others who witnessed his crossing the Ganga without getting even his clothes wet were amazed and greeted him with veneration.

.31. The boatmen were very much afraid of the enemies on the other bank and had stopped ferrying people across. But, the king who was wonder struck at Madhva's feat and effulgence ordered them to ply their boats. Thus Madhva got his disciples ferried across the river by boats.

.32. The disciples who were very eager to see their Guru, (when they had been ferried across) saw a broad area full of people on the river bank brightly illuminated with large lamps where an assembly of scholars who were pouring questions on controversial subjects was in progress.

.33. In the center stage of this Vidwat sabha, the disciples saw their teacher Madhva, who was well accomplished amongst the scholars who knew Vedas, discoursing on Vedas giving different profound interpretations. This scenario was similar to Brahma discoursing on the Vedas in an assembly of gods.

***Madhva visits Hastinapuri and performs Chaturmasya (34).***

.34. ***Then*** Madhva proceeded to HastinaPuri, (slightly inland from the Ganga), and stayed at one of the Mathas at a distance in a secluded location. Here he lived for the duration of Chaturmasya (a four month long period during the rainy season when the ascetic must stay at one place) and meditated on the innumerable qualities of the Lord.

During the second visit to Badari, about which we have only three shlokas in Sumadhvavijaya, already quoted earlier, there is no mention of a long stay or visit to Narayana Ashrama, but only of Madhva's presenting his compositions to Vedavyasa in his Ashrama, also unapproachable to other human beings. He obtained His approval to the compositions already written and secured his direct guidance and orders for the writing of Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya and also received the Vyasamushtis from him. This second visit to the Ashrama of VedaVyasa was also solo – with his disciples just noting an absence for some period. There is no mention of any actual compositions being done there at this time either in the visible Badari or in the mystical one, as he composed the huge Tatparya Nirnaya compositions involving massive references, critical editing of variant texts as well as reconciling missing shlokas etc in Udupi itself on his return (perhaps taking a fairly long time).. There is also a mention of his sitting in Hastinapuri for Chaturmasya on his return trip – obviously during his second visit – also indicating that he had come back early, well before Ashada Masa back from Badari visit, after crossing of the Ganga again

during his return. During this visit, there is no mention of any Muslim king or war like situation, but the boatmen were absent as it was getting dark, due to sunset and there was some fear of unspecified enemies. Madhva crossed the Ganga river alone first with his special powers and got the Hindu King present on the other side in a great assembly of scholars to depute the Boatmen specially for ferrying the disciples waiting on the other bank. The Chaturmasya stay at Hasthinavathi follows this crossing in the order of the shlokas, and the author uses the word Thathah – Then, as if he intends to say that it was the next action by Madhva. If we give due weightage to this statement by taking it as literally true, the second Ganga crossing could be in the region of the routes to Haridwara to Kurukshethra or Haridwara to Hathinavathi. Remembering that a wide river like Ganga which would be without bridges in Madhva's time anywhere, only boats would be used to cross the river at locations where the river currents are mild and some settlement would have developed on the river bank.

To consider the issues involved, it will be again necessary to review the political and military situations in the period of his second Badari trip. Based on the considerations discussed earlier, it is assumed that Madhva will be about 40 years of age, when he started for his Badari second trip, and he would be in Delhi/Haridwar area in 1279 AD (when he was 41 years of age).

Sri Venkoba Rao says:

“The recrossing of the Ganges by Sri Madhvacharya was probably in 1279 AD. In that year, Balban proceeded against Tughril, Governor of Bengal, who declared himself independent of Delhi and assumed Royal insignia. Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji, in his *History of Indian shipping*, says that Dhanuj Rai was the Indian prince who made an agreement with Balban to guard against the escape of Tughril by water. There is reason to believe that it is this Dhanuj Rai that received Sri Madhvacharya and sent boats for his party to cross the Ganges. The following shloka in the Tenth canto of Sumadhavijaya clearly applies to an Indian prince and not a Mussalman sovereign. If it was Dhanuj Rai that met Sri Madhvacharya, it shows that the latter was then touring Bengal.”

Let us examine this issue further:

It has already been shown that the Sumadhavijaya reference indicates a place near Haridwara area and not a place very far from it as Sonargaon, which is about 20 Kms south east of Dhaka, the present day capital of Bangladesh. Even if one were to disregard this vital factor, by considering that while Ganga crossing near Haridwara was also necessary and was done normally by boats and what is described in Sumadhavijaya is another crossing which has the element of supernatural powers of Madhva in it, one has to also note that Madhva's party may have had to cross Ganga itself many times in the long 1000 Kms plus route such as Prayaga, Varanasi etc also, where the special conditions mentioned could have existed – and why Sonargaon alone should be chosen needs to be explained. The data available for this location from history is as follows:

*Regarding the theory that Madhva's entourage might have been involved in the incident of Ganga crossing during the time of Dhanuj Rai of Deva dynasty in East Bengal, there is a*

*historical record that Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-1287 AD) ruling in Delhi had come so far as Sonargaon 20 kms near Dacca (in Bangladesh) in 1283 AD and entered into an agreement with Dhanuj Rai (called as such by the Muslim chronicles of Tarikh-i-Mubaraak Shahi, but whose name was Danujamadhava Dasharathadeva), by which the Hindu king would guard against the escape of a rebel Tighril Khan by crossing the river. It is also interesting that even in the 12 th century, a ruling clan of Karnataka origin, the Sena dynasty was ruling north Bihar and Bengal and one of its great kings Vikrama sena had defeated Kalinga, Kamarupa (Assam) and Kasi. But towards the close of the 12 th century, much earlier to the possible visit by Madhva, he was defeated by a Muslim army and was forced to flee and confine his rule to East Bengal (Vanga). Vikrama sena was a devout Vaishnava king, in whose court the famous poet Jayadeva reportedly stayed. His descendents continued in Vanga, east of the Brahmaputra river till 1260 AD or so. The Deva dynasty of which Danuj raj was a king in Balban's time, which overthrew this lineage were also Vaishnavas. In the event, the Sonargaon Hindu kingdom was obliterated by Muslims after Dhanuj Rai. The incident theorized about Madhva would have to occur when Balban was around 80 years of age and Madhva himself 44 years and can at best be considered for a very long return trip towards the south covering other places not included in Sumadhvajaya, with the Brahmaputra river (not the Ganga river) near Sonargaon near Dhaka in Bangladesh being crossed. No famed Theertha Kshethra in this area can be visualised today. Unless more specific evidence is found, the mere fact that Dhanuj Rai, who was a vassal of Balban, agreed to guard the Brahmaputra river against an enemy of Balban, cannot be the basis of building up the entire story of the Sumadhvajaya near Dhaka in Bangladesh, particularly as the dates do not match – Madhva's visit coming after the destruction of the Vaishnava kingdoms of Karnataka origin in North Bihar (Mithila) and west Bengal (Anga) kingdoms. The entire area was being ruled by a Muslim Governor based on Lakshnavathi, nominally under control of Delhi Sultans, but occasionally rebelling and fighting with it.*

The Sanskrit word *Thatah*, in sholka 34 indicating sequence of events can not be disregarded and if taken into account must be interpreted to mean that after **this crossing** of the Ganga, which came after visiting numerous Kshethras and Theerthas, Madhva went for his Chaturmasya in Hasthinavathi. As the interpretation of the first shloka describing the crossing seems to show that it was a forward visit towards Badari on the second trip, and the Chaturmasya must have come only on the return journey of this trip, the sequence broadly fits in with the actual statements in Sumadhvajaya. Thus, it can be concluded that Madhva went to Kurukshethra first on his second trip to Badari, crossed the Ganga towards Haridwara in the miraculous manner described in Sumadhvajaya and after completing his Badari stay, came back and did his Chaturmasya in Hasthinavathi. , This does not materially affect his program as the periods of his visits to Badari and Chaturmasya in Hasthinavathi were unaffected.

It may of interest to speculate about his second Badari trip routes. One important constraint is the limited period when Badari kshethra is accessible – May to October (both inclusive) even today. There is no reason to believe that the weather conditions in Acharya Madhva's time permitted a longer span of time for travel or stay. Out of this 6 months period, 4 months would normally be allocated for Chaturmasya (now a days reduced to 2 months) starting from Mid-July. If Madhva observed it in

Hasthinavathi on this occasion, he should have completed his Badari trip before Mid-july including travel time. Allowing for a travel time of at least 10 days each way for Haridwara to Badari and back and taking the long distances involved needing 10 to 12 days extra for visiting Kurukshethra also, the period available for stay in Badari itself, before reaching Hasthinavathi for Chaturmasya reduces to about 7 weeks in this trip, even if one reached Badari in very early May, when it is approachable. It is thus most likely, that Madhva would have completed his Kurukshethra visit before this. (Please also note that in the first trip, Madhva would have stayed the entire Chaturmasya period in Badari itself- including his visits to the higher Badaris).

Another important aspect is the completion of pilgrimages to various kshethras and Theerthas mentioned in one shloka here before reaching Kurukshethra itself in this trip. A hint is available in the incident mentioned in shloka 16.2 referring to a location on the shores of Gomathi river – clearly implying Madhva's visit to Dwaraka, where the river is still called Gomati. Similarly, a visit to Goa is also mentioned in shloka 10.52, after describing an incident in Ishupatha kshethra on the Konkan coast in 10.51. A visit to Dwaraka would imply a journey along west coast of India along a route which would have included the following important places of Theerthas and Kshethras. Sahyadri, Gokarna, Kolhapura, Pandharapura, Krishna river, Nasik (Godavari river), Thapathi river, Prabhasa, Banaganga, Dwaraka, Gomathi, Chakra Theertha, Bindu sarovara, Pushkara kshethra, Mathura, Vrindavana etc. This large group can be understood be summed up in the shloka 10.26. The return journey after Chaturmasya at Hasthinavathi could include the well known Brahmavartha (near Kanpur), Ayodhya, Varanasi, Prayaga, Gaya etc , along with important scholastic centers of the time at Mithila, Navadvip etc and state capitals like Kannauj, Patna (Pataliputra) etc. All the major sacred rivers like Ganga, Yamuna, Saraswati, Godavari, Narmada, Krishna, Kaveri would also be visited for ritual baths. The detailed route is of course just guess work with no real basis. But this larger round trip should well exceed 4000 Kms and taking note of at least two more Chaturmasyas would have taken 3 years to complete based on lengths of stay in important places. It is possible that the second of the chaturmasyas on the return trip could be in Varanasi itself, while the third would be some where in South India. Thus Madhva could well have taken 3-4 years to complete this long and final trip and came back to Udupi only by the time he was 43/44 years of age (1281/82 AD).

The return journey part of the second Badari trip has only one hint in Sumadhavijaya – about Madhva's being Middle aged during his visit to Varanasi (see shloka 10.37 – 42. It is interesting that 5 shlokas have been used to describe a feat of strength and stamina of Madhva against 15 of his own younger and strong disciples, and only 2 shlokas used to mention that a disputant was silenced by Madhva there. Unlike places like SriRanga and Rameswaram, no attempt has been made to describe Varanasi deities in Sumadhavijaya. One could perhaps reconstruct his possible route, which should include Allahabad (Prayaga), Gaya etc, and as it is likely that Madhva visited all important scholastic centers, it should

include Pataliputra (Patna – capital of Magadha), Mithila, Navadvipa as well as the Ganga river reaching the ocean. Gaya, Kalinga locations like Puri Jagannatha, and important places on the east coast would have also been covered. A brief status of the political and military situation during 1280-1285 AD is given below:

*Delhi (North India) – Ghaiyasuddin Balban.- Delhi empire being consolidated. Madhva could have found parts of Northern India, under Hindu control and conflicts in progress in such areas as Varanasi, Mathura, Haridwara etc. See the following extract of Balban's military efforts from Historical records.*

*After 1265 till 1287 AD, Balban was the ruling sultan which covers the period of Madhva's second trip also. It was almost a miracle that the Sultanate had escaped total dissolution. It was Balban's continuous efforts which saved the Sultanate. .*

*Balban was confronted by Mongols ruling Afghanistan, who were exerting constant pressure on the western border provinces of Sind, and Punjab, whose governors were repeatedly compelled to change their allegiance towards the victors. In the east or west. He faced a remnant Khalji muslim dynasty based on Lakhnawati (in Bengal) which not only intermittently repudiated their allegiance to Delhi, but tried to expand westwards into Bihar and some times even Eastern UP, right up to the areas of Oudh (Ayodhya) and Varanasi. Even in the Ganga Yamuna doab in west UP, pockets of resistance from old ruler dynasties including even Rashtrakootas in places like Badaun in UP were constantly being tackled by the Sultanate. The Deva dynasty of which Danuj rai was a king in Balban's time, which overthrew the earlier Sena dynasty (from Karnataka) of North Bihar/Bengal were also Vaishnavas. In the south of the Sultanate, the areas such as Gwalior, Jhansi and even Mathura were under the control of Chandelas based on Malwa during 1253/63. But, It is likely that by 1280 Balban had stabilised all the frontiers and restored peace and full control from Lahore in the west, Ganga doab area in the east, and Gwalior in the south.*

*While Balban had stabilized the Delhi ruled empire by dealing sternly with rebellions and invaders earlier, the biggest challenge came in 1280 AD, when Tughril who had been appointed as Governor by Balban himself in 1265 AD over Lakhnawati (Bengal) declared himself as independent. When the Governor of Awadh under Delhi tried to defeat him in war, Tughril won and forced the Oudh forces to retreat in three successive expeditions. Finally Balban himself assembled a large force and quickly pushed through to Awadh and North Bihar and Tughril had to evacuate the city of Lakhnawati. Balban pushed through to Sonargaon and then made the agreement with Dhanuj Rai mentioned earlier. Finally Tughril was killed and control of Laknnavati was given to another son of Balban after 3 years (1283 AD). His favourite son, Mohammed however was killed during a fight in the west with the Mongols in 1286 AD and Balban himself died in 1287 AD.*

*It is difficult to say exactly, how all this affected Madhva's journey through North India, as at least in the initial stage 1280/1281 Madhva would have been travelling in the affected areas. But, by the time the decisive battles were fought for Bengal, Madhva would have left the area as per available record. Presumably, he met with*

*no obstruction or hardship in his visits to North Indian locations like Prayaga, Varanasi etc. Further, at this stage of Muslim-Turk invasions, though the rulers were still Muslim and did not hesitate to destroy capitals of opponent kings and or their supporters ruthlessly, the systematic vandalism against temples and killing of nobles and priestly class had not developed into epidemic proportions and Madhva might have seen the Hindu pilgrimage centers in relatively undamaged conditions.*

*Nepal: During 1279-1307 AD, Nepal was ruled by Anantamalla. It was invaded from Tirhut (North Bihar) in 1320 AD or so and a new lineage was established of Harisimha, a Karnataka dynasty, which has continued as rulers of Nepal.*

*Malva in central India was still ruled by Hindu kings till 1305 when Allauddin finally destroyed the lineage finally and installed Muslim rule. In 1283 AD, Arjunavarman was ruling and he was succeeded by Bhoja 2 in 1283 AD. Gujarat was ruled by Sarangadeva and was attacked by Balban in 1285 AD and the Hindu dynasty ended in 1306 AD.*

*A broad picture emerges that during 1280-1285 AD, though there were smaller Hindu states struggling to survive in North India and Gujarat, they were under threat by Delhi. All the old important capital cities like Kannauj, Jhansi, etc had either been occupied or ravaged by invading forces.*

*Only South India (Deccan) and Orissa were still free as invasions by Allauddin came up after 1300 AD.*

*Orissa in 1280-85 was a strong and prosperous Hindu Kingdom essentially Vaishnava due to influence of Ramanuja's visit a century earlier. It would be a key area during Madhva's return trip for Badari and another visit to SriKurmam, and Kataka (Modern Cuttack), and Jagannatha Puri appears highly probable. There is a Shasana of Narahari Tirtha dated 1981 AD. Details of this Shasana may be seen in Part III of this series and is fully reproduced in Appendix II of HDSV by Dr. B N K Sharma. A brief summary is given here:*

**(1)** 1981 AD (Dated 13-3-1981) is one which is the most informative and definitive historically, clearly relating Sri Narahari Tirtha to the Madhva lineage.

- i. It mentions Acharya Madhva by name **twice** clearly – **First**, as AnandaTirtha Muni, the master whose lotus feet is being served by groups of ascetics (Munivrathaissevya padaravindayugala) – (very significant as Sri Narahari Tirtha normally resident in Orissa and had met him for the first time only there at least 18 years earlier with a small party of ascetics at the age of 24 years and perhaps just met him with his large Pilgrimage party), and **Second**, AnandaTirtha Bhagavathpadacharyasaraswathi, also saying clearly that his great Bhashya which brings back those misled by others of

inferior intellects into the path of well defined Bheda (The fivefold differences), and **whose speech is elegant with excellently arranged words, extols the greatness of the Lord of Kamala and confers attainment of His Lotus feet and removes the fear of Samsara of the supplicants**. It mentions specifically that the writer (of the shasana) has been assigned by his Guru, the duty of protecting the people and thereby continues his inherited duties of looking after the people born in the land of Kalinga as per Dharma (Righteousness) - This relates to his position at that time as Regent of the state looking after the boy king. The use of the words in present tense especially in underlined text speaking of Madhva whose presence and actions were in his immediate presence seems to indicate Madhva's visit to Orissa around this time.

- ii. It mentions Purushottama Tirtha as the first Guru of the lineage who had also composed a great sacred Bhashya which was capable of defeating other Bhashyas like an Ankusha to elephants.
- iii. Sri Narahari Tirtha as entrusted by AnandaTirtha, the excellent protector of the world himself, with the task of protecting the people of Kalinga and was thus committed to the great duty of security of the temple of Sri Kurmam, as his chief hereditary duty, and had protected them with his sword from Shabaras.
- iv. This new Praasada was constructed by him in front of the SriKurmam temple where the deity Yogananda Nrusimha was duly installed for worship. (This Praasada exists even today, but the Idol is missing. There is a story that the Idol may have been dropped into temple pond to save it from Muslim invaders).

History records that Sri Narahari Tirtha had already become a regent of the Kingdom with the death of Bhanudeva I, in 1278 AD, and the infant king Narasimha I was being protected by him. Thus the reference in this Shasana of 1281 AD to the ordained duty of protecting the people of Kalinga and ensuring the security of the SriKurmam temple (as his old hereditary duty which appears to have been there even in 1271 AD) with the express direction of his Guru is significant. It is also significant that unlike other Shasanas, there is NO mention of any royal personality in this Shasana at all – which supports the view that he did not have to take the approval of any other superior agency for the work.

All the above show that Acharya Madhva might have visited the area in the period, though he was not present during the ceremony of Yoga Narasimha installation. One can not imagine that the head of state of a large and prosperous Kingdom would have allowed his beloved ordaining Guru, to travel in or near his own domain without meeting him personally and taking him through his own field of activities such as the

SriKurmam temple, the newly constructed Anantha Vasudeva temple at Bhubaneswar and Jagannatha Puri. In fact, in a way, this could even be construed as a supporting proof for fixing the dates of Madhva's second North Indian visit. A careful search might still reveal further evidence of his visits in the area.

*Even a Madhva Matha at Simhachalam was founded by his disciple Sri Narahari Tirtha here, which seems to have continued till 1373 AD, as per HDSV indicating a large group of local Madhvas. Perhaps the almost continuous wars between Kalinga and Vijayanagara kingdoms resulted in breaking off of the linkages and slow decay of this Matha.*

*. Madhva might have also found the territory adjoining the southern bank of Ganga river in the eastern reaches under Orissan control. This situation continued throughout Madhva's stay on earth. See the following summary of historical events:*

***Anangabhimadev III had established a new city at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and the Kathajodi which was called Abhinava Varanasi Kataka. By 1230 A.D. he transferred his headquarters to this new city where he constructed a big temple of Lord Purushottama. This was the beginning of the great Cuttack City of today.***

*Anangabhimadeva III died in 1238 A.D. Anangabhimadeva was succeeded by his son Narasimhadeva I. By that time Izzu'd-din Tughril Tughan Khan was the Governor of Bengal and had semi-independent status. Narasimhadeva, apprehending danger from him, mobilized his forces against his territory. In the war that followed, after initial losses Narasimhadeva was able to completely rout the Muslims. Izzud'd-din himself fled away from the battle to save his life. On his request the Sultan of Delhi sent Qamaru'd-din Tamur Khan, the Governor of Oudh to help the army of Bengal but before the arrival of Oudh army the War at Bengal had already ended. The next year (1244 A.D.) Narasimhadeva invaded Bengal for the second time and the Oriya army attacked Lakhnor, the headquarters of Radha, and killed the Muslim commander and a large number of his troops. Quar'd-din Tamur Khan, who had been sent to help the governor of Bengal could not build consensus with him. Taking advantage of the ensuing quarrel between the two governors, the Oriya army plundered the Muslim territory. The leader of the Oriya army, Paramardideva, who was the son-in-law of Anangabhimadeva III, struck terror among the Muslim forces. The war with Bengal renewed in 1247 A.D. and this time also Paramardideva led the Orissan army and defeated Ikhtiyar Uddin Yuzbak, the newly appointed Governor of Bengal, but after getting assistance from Delhi, Yuzbak made offensive attack and advanced up to Umardan where Paramardideva was killed in the battle in 1255 A.D.*

***Narasimhadeva, like his father was a devotee of Lord Purushottama. The world famous Konark temple was built during his reign in the 1264 A.D.*** *Narasimhadeva I was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva I born of queen Sitadevi. During his time Narahari Tirtha the disciple of Ananda Tirtha (Madhvacharya) had great influence in Orissa. He had been appointed as a Governor of Kalinga. During the rule of Bhanudeva, Chandrikadevi, the daughter of Anangabhimadeva I, constructed the Ananta Basudev temple at Bhubaneswar in 1278 A.D. It was on the same year 1278 A.D. that Bhanudeva died and his son Narasimhadeva II, an infant then was crowned as the prince. Narahari Tirtha worked as regent for twelve long years taking care of the kingdom till 1290 AD. Narasimhadeva II is known to have fought against the Muslims of Bengal the results of which were indecisive. He had a peaceful and long reign of 28 years starting from 1278 to 1306. He was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva II.*

*Warangal:*

*This was the key state, which covered the area of Godavari river banks referred to by Sumadhvajaya, where Madhva had met his successor Padmanabha Tirtha. Based on the assumption that he was from Andhra, the place has been assumed as Rajahmundry. But, HDSV also refers to Padmanabha being called a great teacher of Karnataka (Karnataka purva Sajjanaguruh) by one of the foremost Madhva Shishyas – Sri Hrishikesha Tirtha in Sampradaya Paddathi and mentions that he might be from a border district of Karnataka at that time adjoining Godavari such as Puntamba or Paithan. In any case it is likely to have been a part of the Warangal state. Padmanabha also seems to have had connections with the Anegondi state later called by the name of its main fort at Kampili. It is also significant that there is a Shasana at Belur in his name and he chose his final resting place at Hampi, the heart of the newly emerging Karnataka Kingdom.*

*The Kakatiyas were earlier subordinate to western Chalukyas of Badami (in Karnataka), but declared independence in early 12th century. Rudra I was the first king who consolidated the kingdom. He was also a scholar who authored Nithishathakam in Sanskrit. He built temples in Ammakonda (original capital), Pillimari and Manthrakuta. He also constructed a shrine for Lord Shiva in Orugallu (Warangal), with its unique impregnable fort based on a single huge rock. He was succeeded by Mahadeva in 1195 AD, who had a religious bent of mind and neglected his duties. Jaitugi, the ruler of Devagiri invaded the kingdom and killed Mahadeva and took his son Ganapathi as captive, but later crowned him as King in Warangal in 1198 AD. Ganapathi was an able ruler, who restored his kingdom's frontiers and also invaded the south, briefly ruling even Kanchi. He defeated the Hoysalas also. But Sundara Pandya avenged the defeat at Kanchi and reoccupied the southern dominions won by Ganapathi. Ganapathi shifted his capital from Ammakonda to Warangal, with the famous sea port at Motupalli in Krishna District, visited by Marcopolo, the famous Italian traveler from Venice in 1293 AD. The traveler has praised Rudramba, the daughter of Ganapathi, who succeeded him. Rudramba ruled from 1261 – 1289 AD. She was formally designated as a Son through the ancient Puthrika ceremony and also given the male name Rudradeva. Her grandson Prathapa Rudra had been adopted as her son on the advice of Ganapathi deva and succeeded her. The dynasty ended when he lost to the Muslims and taken prisoner in 1322 AD.*

*It is most probable that Rudramba was ruling Warangal when Madhva visited the area. She would have just come into power and was facing the army of Devagiri under Mahadeva, which invaded Nalgonda district. A feudatory at Valluripattana called Ambadeva colluded with her enemies and declared independence for Kurnool and Cuddapah districts. This area could not be recovered in her time. She died fighting the rebel Ambadeva.*

*South India was still free from Muslim invasion at that time and the status of prominent Hindu kingdoms at Kalinga, Warangal, Telingana, Hoysalas in Dvarasamudra, Cholas, Pandyas etc has all been covered in earlier notes.*

Summing up, the probable scenario of Madhva's second trip to Badari started in 1278 AD from Udipi, visiting Pandharpur, Kolhapur etc, taking the western coastal route touching Goa on the way and on to Dwaraka visiting important pilgrimage locations like Nasik and after Dwaraka going to Pushkar in Rajasthan on to Kurukshetra via Brahmavartha, Mathura, Vrindavana etc. From there, he crossed the Ganga miraculously using the Jalasthambhana and took part in the assembly of scholars described in shlokas 10.26-33, and went on to Badari. After a stay of about

6/8 weeks there, the party returned via **Hrishikesh/Haridwara** and stayed for a **Chathurmasya in Hasthinavathi** described in Sumadhavijaya shlokas 10.34-36. On his return journey, He went to **Prayaga, and Varanasi, where his debate with a scholar Indrapuri** is recorded in Sumadhavijaya shlokas 10.42-43. Subsequently he might have visited **Mithila in North Bihar, Navadvip in Bengal**, finally turning south towards Kalinga and meeting his dear disciple Narahari Tirtha in 1280/81 AD whom he had ordained 18 years earlier. After visiting the temples in Bhuvaneswar, **Jagannatha Puri and SriKurmam**, he came south possibly visiting places like **Tirupathi** on the way to return to Udipi. There would be one more Chathurmasya after Hasthinavathi on the return visit. There is a likelihood **that this might have been in SriMushnam** (near Chidambaram), as his chathurmasya there is on record in Sthala Purana, and fitting it in during the southern trip after a Rameswaram Chathurmasya (already on record) will be difficult taking note of the distances involved. He would have taken about 3-4 years on this trip, as discussed. In this scenario, the visits on record are in green, while the highly probable ones are in red.

The further events in the visible life of Madhva and his disciples will be dealt with in the next sections.

To be continued